

## **Panel Discussions**

## Trade and Development in the Pacific

Barry Coates, *Oxfam New Zealand*

### Overview of Panel Discussion

There are multiple processes currently being undertaken to reduce trade barriers in the Pacific and open up Pacific Island economies to foreign investment. The resulting trade agreements will not only affect the structure of the economy, but will have far-reaching impacts across Pacific societies, including health care, education, tourism, agriculture and culture. Yet there has been little public debate on the implications of these agreements in the Pacific, and few opportunities for civil society to influence their outcomes.

The panel at DevNet conference analysed the major trade agreements under negotiation, including key issues in the World Trade Organisation (WTO) agenda, WTO accession agreements with Tonga, Samoa and Vanuatu, negotiations on Pacific regional agreements (PICTA and Pacer) and the European Union's negotiations with the Pacific nations under the Cotonou Agreement.

The panel was chaired by Professor Vijay Naidu, Director of Development Studies at Victoria University, formerly University of South Pacific.

Dr. Claire Slatter, Lecturer at University of South Pacific in political studies, public policy and women's studies and co-ordinator of Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era (DAWN) provided an overview of the trade agreements under negotiation and the implications for the Pacific Island nations, particularly with regard to poverty, human rights and gender rights.

Barry Coates, Director of Oxfam New Zealand, formerly Director of World Development Movement in the UK, focused on the accession negotiations with Vanuatu, Samoa and Tonga. An analysis of the draft accession agreement for Tonga (a leaked document since there is little public information of accessions) revealed that it would significantly reduce tariffs and tariff income (possibly as high as one third of government revenue), introduce far reaching legislation on the rights of foreign companies and open up most of Tonga's service sectors.

These commitments exceed those of other acceding countries and far exceed the commitments made by most developing country members of the WTO. New Zealand's Trade Negotiations Division had played an active role in the Working Party on Tonga's accession, joining with other rich nations to secure more liberalisation than some members of the Working Party themselves (eg. US and EU agriculture commitments, reservations on services commitments by most Working Party members).

Discussion in the seminar mainly focused on the incoherence of New Zealand's policies on trade and foreign relations and its policies on trade negotiations. There was support for a stronger role for academics and NGOs to provide capacity-building amongst Pacific civil society in New Zealand and the Pacific countries on trade negotiations and their implications for poverty, human rights and sovereignty

## Recent Shifts in New Zealand's 'Education for Development' Policies

Eve Coxon, *University of Auckland*

When invited by the conference organisers to take the lead on the 'Education for Development' Panel by providing a thirty-minute presentation that would lay out the "groundwork" to which other panellists would respond, I was given the following guidelines:

- to offer some critical insights into the place of education in development processes;
- to discuss current interests in the internationalisation of education, with particular reference to recent developments in the Ministry of Education (MOE) and Education New Zealand (ENZ); and
- to explore NZAID's focus on education as a crucial sector for aid delivery, especially to the Pacific; and
- to reflect on how the above fit current processes of education globalisation.

Together the wide-ranging and overlapping set of issues encompassed by the above provides a focus on the key debates and trends in international education development during the past 15-20 years of accelerated economic globalisation. They also steer this paper's discussion towards a consideration of how these debates and trends have impacted on New Zealand's official position with regard to the relationship between education and development, as revealed by very recent shifts in both MOE and NZAID policies and strategies. By directly addressing the second and third of the above guidelines, it is intended that the first and fourth will also be covered. First, however, some background on earlier developments

### Brief background on late 1980s-'90s developments in New Zealand and globally

The restructuring of New Zealand's public services that began in the mid-to late '80s, in line with the neo-liberal economic agenda then gaining international ascendancy, had wide ranging effects for education, domestically and in terms of the Overseas Development Assistance programme through which New Zealand retained some international influence especially on the small island states of the Pacific. Moreover, the development of the Asia-Pacific as the fastest growing economic bloc in the new the global economy had, by the end of the 1980s, added a new urgency to the New Zealand government's attempts to reposition itself within the region. The 'resiting' of New Zealand 'in a new geopolitical space' was an essentially 'market-oriented strategy to enable the continuing development of the New Zealand-Asia-Pacific trade relationship' (Dale and Robertson 1997:213-215). One aspect of this was the move to develop an education industry based on the internationalisation of the New Zealand education system and the export of our educational services to the Asia-Pacific market. The Education Amendment Act of 1989 set the criteria for the recruitment and enrolment of full fee paying students into our education institutions. An agency tasked with developing this market, New Zealand Education International Limited (NZEIL), and owned by the education institutions that were to use its services, was established. As Small points out (1998:11) these developments combined two aspects of what were then, and still are, claimed to be the two key ingredients for increasing New Zealand's economic growth: access to lucrative Asian markets and an education system designed 'to invest in people, our greatest human resource' (Ministry of Education 1993:7).

New Zealand's educational response to and participation in the regionalisation of Asia-Pacific demonstrated two key characteristics. First, it was overwhelmingly economic, focused on the means whereby the economies of the region could profit through expanding markets and further integration into the global economy; as such, the diverse cultures and specific histories of the region were homogenised. Secondly, it was Asia-centred: Pacific Island countries were almost totally marginalised within both the discourse and regional structures. In brief, what these tendencies mean in terms of New Zealand's educational relationship to "Asia" was a shift from assistance through the provision of aid (for example, the provision of places for Asian students in our educational institutions under the Colombo Plan) to exploitation through profit (Small 1998: 12). In terms of New Zealand's educational relationship to the "Pacific" side of the regional epithet, they resulted in a reorientation of the Official Development Assistance programme, the primary medium through which a New Zealand educational influence has been maintained throughout the post-colonial Pacific, in line with the overriding concern to promote integration into the global economy as the only effective development strategy for Pacific Island states (Coxon 2002).

Throughout the 1990s, the official New Zealand perspective on the relationship between education and development, both domestically and in its relations with other countries, was consistent with a neo-liberal model of development in which the well-critiqued human capital theories, at the core of educational thinking through the modernisation programmes of the 1960s, were rejuvenated to the point they became the mainstream of educational reform in first world as well as third world economies. Such thinking underpinned the restructuring of New Zealand education and had consequences (some of which are only now becoming clear) for all participants; the particular repercussions being discussed here - for the education export industry and the ODA programme - were reflective of those being experienced globally.

The shift from New Zealand's previous role of 'benevolent provider' of education to the poor of Asia in the spirit of educational internationalism, to 'the hawk' of profit-motivated educational services to their children by way of educational internationalisation (Small 1998:19), was consistent with shifts in discourses about international development co-operation including the education and development relationship. Under United Nations leadership there had, until the 1980s, been a strongly held commitment to respond humanely to the expressed needs of 'developing' countries, but the strengthening of those multilateral organisations that were dominated by core countries (e.g. World Bank and International Monetary Fund) and excluded peripheral countries (OECD), concurrent with the weakening of Unesco and UNDP as the key influences on thinking about the education/development relationship, led to significant changes at the level of discourse and a 'global convergence' (Samoff 1994) in the development policies and strategies upheld by multilateral agencies and national governments alike, which had consequences for both domestic education provision and the development of education services for export.

Karen Mundy (1999:105-6) describes how these developments changed the nature of international educational relationships, resulting in both "defensive" and "disciplinary" forms of education assistance. They are defensive insofar as they equip advanced capitalist countries with the education defences suitable for heightened competition under economic globalisation. The increasing convergence of education policy directions in western countries and importance attached to such mechanisms as cross-national surveys on educational performance are examples of this. By the end of the '90s, the OECD had become the central forum for co-ordinating education policy in advanced capitalist countries and the main provider of cross-national statistics and research globally. The international competitiveness

generated by this has had implications in terms of reforming national systems in order to better prepare their products for the international labour market, and also to position themselves as exporters of educational services within global education markets (ibid).

The disciplinary role of educational assistance, according to this view, relates to its contribution to the diffusion of neo-liberal approaches to education in non-core countries. During the late '80s and '90s, the World Bank consolidated its position as the largest provider of education development finance and provider of education development expertise, and increasingly became the co-ordinator of global initiatives in education for development. What has been referred to as the Bank's "global blueprint" for education development (Coxon 2002; Samoff 1994), provided a universalised set of policies and procedures for education no matter the context, within a dominant aid discourse with sought to marry a faith in the globalisation of markets with an espoused commitment to poverty reduction – education was awarded a key role in the poverty agenda. The global mechanisms developed through the '90s to ensure the implementation of prescribed policies and procedures, such as the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and Education for All (EFA) targets, are described as globally owned but this masks the intense contestation that has gone on between and within various countries about the narrow conception of the education/ development relationship, and of what is considered useful knowledge, they imply. Some commentators argue that these mechanisms, with their focus on poverty alleviation, explicitly privilege Basic Education and downplay the importance of other sub-sectors; in doing so they tend to discourage critical analysis of how education contributes to development (Coxon and Tolley 2003).

### **Recent Developments in New Zealand's Education Export Industry**

In the past few years much media attention has been extended to the rapid development of the market in New Zealand education services to international, particularly Asian, students. Between 1999 and 2003, enrolments of international students in both public and private education providers increased by 318 per cent, and by the end of June 2004, a total of 345 language schools and other private providers were providing courses to international students in New Zealand (Mallard 2004a; 2004b). Mainstream media reporting on the economic consequences of a significant number of industry failures in the area has become commonplace, often with commentary from those directly involved – educators in the institutions providing the services and international students themselves – expressing their concerns about the quality of the learning programmes provided and/or the effects on educational provision for domestic students.

As the vulnerability of this aspect of the \$2.2 billion education export industry – the recruitment of full fee paying overseas students into New Zealand's education institutions - has become clear, more focus has gone onto developing another aspect; education that is delivered by an institution based in one country to students located in a different country. Although, since 1995, when New Zealand, under the WTO General Agreement in Trade and Services (GATS), made a full commitment to both market access and national treatment for private tertiary education in cross-border supply and commercial presence, we have been one of the most liberalised nations for transnational tertiary education, so far no foreign university has begun operating in New Zealand and New Zealand institutions have not established themselves to any extent in other countries (Ziguras 2003).

However, in the past year the Government, through the Ministry of Education and the revamped NZEIL, now known as Education New Zealand (ENZ), has begun putting in place a number of strategies to enhance the economic benefits for New Zealand of increased involvement in offshore education delivery. The 2004 Budget included a *Moving Forward in International Education* initiative, '...designed to lift our overseas profile, and strengthen the education sector through international exchanges of top students and staff' (Mallard, 2004a).

The \$40 million package, a five-fold increase in funding to this area, is described by ENZ's CEO as the 'biggest single initiative since the Colombo Plan' (Stevens 2004).

To facilitate this, ENZ developed an industry wide strategy for international education, in which four central purposes for involvement in international education are identified: extending New Zealand's capacity to generate and apply knowledge; underpinning New Zealand's foreign relations and trade; developing global competence and understanding among New Zealanders; and growing New Zealand's export of educational services (ibid).

One component of the overall strategy, the MOE's Export Education Innovation Programme - out for discussion at the time of writing- (Ministry of Education 2004) has a clear focus on offshore delivery, making the point that the provision of offshore education services and products is seen internationally as a very significant growth area, and may become more important than onshore export education over the next ten to fifteen years. It is proposed that funding will initially focus on supporting offshore activities in China, other Asian markets and the Gulf States and points out that New Zealand 'lags well behind ... our competitor countries' in this aspect of education export. Nations which during the '90s greatly increased their offshore provision of tertiary education by working within the GATS framework include the United States, Britain and Australia (Ziguras 2003). MOE does make it clear that a selective approach and concern for quality will be applied to those institutions applying for funding to develop their offshore delivery (Ministry of Education 2004), leading one to assume that universities, particularly those with a sound international reputation, are the targets of the initiative.

Of course, universities have always seen themselves as international communities of scholars, but recent developments are not so much reflective of universities' role in the internalisation of education as enhanced competitiveness among global powers for the control of knowledge: its production, distribution and consumption. An example of such an initiative is the European Union 'Lisbon Declaration' of 2000 by which the EU has pitched itself against the United States and Japan to become the most competitive knowledge-based economy in the world (Dale 2004).

### **Recent developments in New Zealand's Educational Aid Programme**

In July 2002 NZAID was established as a semi-autonomous body under the ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, thereby replacing NZODA as a division of MFAT, with poverty elimination in the Pacific as its central focus. This move was a direct consequence of a 2001 Ministerial Review of NZODA, *Towards Excellence in Aid Delivery*, which supported the findings of two earlier DAC reviews, in 1996 and 2000, in claiming that the New Zealand aid programme lacked a single clear mission. It recommended that this focus should be poverty elimination. It also recommended that the MDGs should be adopted as agency objectives and that the number of partner countries be significantly reduced, so that New Zealand's aid could concentrate on the Pacific region. In order that these and other

recommendations (including the adoption of the EFA goals) could be put into action, it was clear that NZAID needed to restructure its education policy (Coxon and Tolley 2003).

Although in the last few years, New Zealand's visibility and reputation has been that of a reliable and innovative development partner - described as being "more responsive, closer to the ground, less arrogant, less driven by multinational or national economic objectives" (cited in Coxon and Tolley 2003) - its tertiary-biased approach to education was criticised in two DAC reviews, a 1999 report from the Minister for NZODA's advisory committee, a 2001 Oxfam commissioned study on Basic Education, and the Ministerial Review in 2001 (ibid). All recommended that New Zealand's aid to education should be shifted more towards basic education.

NZAID's new education policy statement, *Achieving Education For All* (2004), reflects the new agency's long term commitment to internationally developed MDGs and the EFA goals. However, while it centres education's importance to poverty elimination it also very importantly prioritises education as both a human right and an end in itself. Another notable point is that although it upholds the global targets for Basic Education as represented by the MDGs and EFA, and commits to working towards increasing the basic education share of its total education spend to 50% (as compared to less than 5% in 2000) it does so within a much broader definition of basic education. Whereas, basic education has increasingly become limited to primary schooling within the international discourse NZAID's definition encompasses early childhood, primary and junior secondary education, literacy programmes, indigenous education initiatives, technical-vocational education and training and distance learning. This very worthy recognition of diversity in education development and local traditions in partner countries, is reflective of the historically developed political and cultural relationships, and the geographic proximity, New Zealand has with its development partners in the Pacific region – the major focus of its aid efforts.

Another key aspect of the new policy which reflects the dominant aid discourse is the move towards sector-wide approaches as a means of promoting donor harmonisation and partnership. Following the establishment of NZAID the mechanism through which the agency should best deliver its aid was much discussed through several national consultations with the development community. A clear direction towards a sector wide approach (SWAp) was indicated through these discussions as an aid modality particularly suited to 'cohesive education development (Coxon and Tolley 2003) and has been incorporated into the policy as the means of 'using and strengthening local institutions and capacity ... for effective education service delivery' (NZAID 2004:14). Indications are (at the time of writing) that NZAID funding will be increasingly pooled with that of larger donors/IFIs such as AusAID, World Bank, Asia Development Bank and the European Union. Given that NZAID is a relatively small donor it will be of interest to see how the relationship with larger and more powerful donors works out; for example, how will New Zealand deal with Australia's assertion of its own national interest as the main objective of its aid programme?

The centring of the notion of "partnership" within NZAID's education policy is consistent with the prevalent development discourse and characteristic of other bilateral and multilateral agencies' policies in the wake of the establishment of EFA – the global partnership for education development. While this appears to be a potentially very positive development, the risk that in a world of partnerships no-one is to blame for failure except perhaps the recipient country, has been noted by some commentators (e.g Klees 2001; Samoff and Carrol 2002). There is also the possibility that partnership mechanisms such as SWAps could stifle critique, debate and the search for alternatives, thus giving donors added strength and reducing the space for 'partner' countries' own educational agenda. The extent to which this "harmonisation and co-ordination" between the donors will allow for the voices of Pacific partners in defining their own education needs only time will tell.

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## Women Taking Action to Build Peace and Influence Community Decision Making

Mary Kini, *Kup Women for Peace, Simbu Province Papua New Guinea*  
 Sarah Garap, *Kup Women for Peace, Simbu Province Papua New Guinea*

In traditional times women never stopped tribal fighting in Simbu society in the highlands of Papua New Guinea. Three women from Kup declared, 'we are already victims of warfare. It cannot get any worse. Let us give our lives to work for peace.'

This was the beginning of the work of Kup Women for Peace in March 2000.

Kup Women for Peace (KWP) was built on the collective effort of leading women activists of Kup Sub-District to address issues of tribal fights, violence against women and children, and to build peace among the various clans and tribal groups. They used their tears as weapons for peace and through this brought about a process of re-thinking by the men who were involved in the fighting.

### Context

The Kup Sub-District is part of Simbu Province in the rugged PNG Highlands. Simbu province is positioned in the middle range of Papua New Guinea's provinces in the ranking of most indicators of health, nutrition, education and income. However, in many other ways it can be considered among the least developed provinces in Papua New Guinea. Simbu is highly populated, with limited arable land, no large scale commercial agriculture and very limited urban sector (Garap, 2000). It is situated south of the Kerowagi District Administration Center, separated from it by the Wahgi River. To the west, it borders with Minj District in the Western Highlands Province and to the east, Dom Sub-District in the Kundiawa District. According to the 2000 census Kup has a population of 24,000, and Simbu province has 260,000 in total.<sup>1</sup>

Kup is a comparatively undeveloped area in Simbu Province, due largely to the area being away from the highlands highway and the main trunk roads. Government services in Kup previously comprised 8 community schools, a health sub-center, a police station and road linkages into most of these areas. However the roads are not maintained and are impassable by vehicles and therefore mostly unused.

The major cash crop is coffee like most areas in Simbu Province, but due to road problems and lack of proper market infrastructure the ability of people to get their produce to markets is restricted and the income level of the majority of people is low. Hold-ups by rascals (criminals) are sometimes a problem, mostly to do with stealing of coffee bags.

Kup's under-development is also due to another major problem, tribal fighting, with successive major fights since 1971. Because of high incidences of lawlessness the area is frequently referred to as the 'cowboy country' or 'outlaw country'.

The tribal fight in 1999 was worse than other tribal fights people had experienced in the past. Many people were killed. Whole villages were burnt down, women raped, women and even children were killed and public servants ran away as they too were attacked. The Kup government station was closed and has since become overgrown with grass. Government services such as schools, the health center and police station were closed and roads were blocked to prevent people from entering enemy's land. People began to migrate out of Kup. Those who remained together built big villages (unlike before) on either mountain ridges or deep gullies for safety purposes. This has given rise to large areas being barren and empty. The village courts ceased operation due to the tribal fighting and also by the fact that village courts magistrates had not received their allowances since 1997.

In this context there was no process of law and justice so life became survival of the strongest. Young men with guns replaced the authority of traditional leaders. The most ruthless survive. Traditional '*brukim suga*' (breaking sugar cane) peace ceremonies have not been effective. Rarely now does an offender become convicted of his crime because no one dares to be an informer and tell the law enforcement authorities about illegal and criminal activities.

In early 2002 the police returned to Kup with merely four staff. However, they provide only a minimal presence. Quite recently, at a meeting of a Working Committee on efforts to restore government services in February, 2003 the Police Commander for Kup, Sergeant Major Kerenga stated that since they arrived back in 2002 they have yet to make one single arrest. He challenged the elites and community leaders of Kup to assist in the restorative justice efforts if they were serious about upholding law and order.

### Achievements from 2000 March – December 2003

From the struggle and work of four women to build peace, KWP has now become a community based peace-building effort and members of the whole community of Kup as stakeholders are participating as agents and beneficiaries. After three years of operation KWP has achieved many positive results, including:

- Free movement of people through enemy tribal land and into towns, schools and other places without any restrictions and need for wariness.
- People are taking into account both their potential to destroy, and to change things positively and live a better life.
- Aggressive men and known hardcore criminals and the youth have begun to support the women, first by settling down themselves and second, actively supporting and participating in the work of the women.
- Men are now discussing the dangers of keeping guns and getting rid of their weapons.
- Women came to all prospective candidates who stood for the 2002 national and local level government elections and obtained a promise not to go to war over the results. Nine out of eleven candidates kept their promise.
- A lawyer was engaged to draw up rules of acceptable behavior in the community; such issues would include penalties for wrong done, limited bride price, limited compensation payments, no more fighting, etc.

<sup>1</sup> Such figures can be unreliable. The Electoral Commission records on the Common Roll have names nearly double the census figures. Actual figures could be less as a lot of people have migrated.

- Government Officers in 2003 began conducting a fact-finding mission to determine whether normal government services can be restored. This was possibly because of the 1999 fight, which literally destroyed government services, and government employees fled the scene.
- After the successful event organized by the KWP on Human Rights Day 2002, the educated elites of Kup were moved to assist in the restoration and development work. They now formed a Working Group, eventually to be called the Kup Restoration and Development Authority.
- KWP have a key role in this decision making group and have been publicly commended for their courageous work in the mobilization of people to say 'no' to all forms of violence, particularly tribal fights.
- When the KWP women speak in community meetings the people now listen.
- Discussions on tribal fights are introduced with school children in schools.
- People are talking peace and beginning to develop processes to achieve peace.
- The capacities of the leaders of KWP have been further developed by their participation in provincial, national and regional workshops. Three KWP leaders participated in an ASPBAE organized Melanesia wide Workshop held in Port Moresby in November 2002.
- They also participated in a Highlands level Workshop in April 2003 on 'Women and Governance in the PNG Highlands' organized by ASPBAE and MERI I KIRAP (Women Arise, a newly formed Highlands women's NGO).
- In September 2003, 6 members and supporters of KWP participated in a Simbu Provincial level Workshop also organized by ASPBAE and MERI I KIRAP on the theme of increasing women's role in decision-making.
- Two members of KWP also attended six weeks training on violence against women and crisis management with the Fiji Women's Crisis Center in October 2003.
- At an organizational development workshop of MERI I KIRAP in January 2004, the Coordinator for Kup Women for Peace was appointed by MERI I KIRAP general assembly to become a member of the MERI I KIRAP Interim Executive Council.

Mr. Tumun (2001) refers to other positive indicators of change since 2001 as:

- In mid February 2001 Kumais, Enduglas and Bandis all put their differences aside to come together and partake and witness the ordination and first mass of Father William Au from Kup. There was not enmity but a sense of loving regret.
- Again the three groups put their differences aside and hosted the re-opening of the Kup Police station, which is being maintained. The Simbu Governor, Fr. Louis Ambane and the Provincial Police Commander officiated.
- All groups within Kup have taken up the task of road maintenance work on the feeder and trunk roads near them every Monday on self-help basis (reviving the colonial pattern).
- As a final settlement on the latest tribal fight between Kungai and Graiku against the other tribes of Kumai in 2001, the Graiku agreed to pay compensation for the shooting of a young teacher that sparked the fight. Further compensation was agreed to for the killing of a woman. These compensations were made in November 2002.

#### **What happened to the men?**

- Men did women's work while the women did peace work (husbands & sons).
- Men in the Peace team allowed women to take the lead.
- Men listened to women.
- Young men are changing their bad habits and are reforming by doing community work. They have also declared they will no longer take up the arms (weapons) to fight.

These men need to be supported so that they keep the momentum of peace building going.

It is in the absence of government presence, or the lack of the processes of law and justice, that these women mobilized their available resources, which was "their social roles as mothers and carers". At great personal risk, they continue to work to prevent violence and to build peace

#### **Beyond Tribal fights and lawlessness: Challenges for the future**

The KWP will persevere with those who expressed interest in surrendering. One of the men who surrendered is now an active and vocal supporter of KWP and is now undertaking compensatory community work. For the first time in ten years he has dared to show his face in Kundiawa, the Provincial capital. He had been running away from the Police all these years.

KWP's additional and more important challenge in 2004 and onwards is the area of gender violence. A committee was formed to address problems of violence against women.

The Peace workers have reviewed their work and feel strongly their next task is to concentrate on gender issues and to allow the men and the community at large to keep the momentum going in stopping tribal fights. Their new direction is to work with the village courts and the community leaders to help set a local justice system where lawlessness, particularly violence against women is controlled. The Kup Women for Peace have started their own process of peace building – using their tears as weapons for peace. What they did was done to the very best of their ability.

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