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**ELECTIONS AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE  
EASTERN HIGHLANDS PROVINCE  
1964–2007**



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**Elections and Political Development in the  
Eastern Highlands Province, 1964-2007**

by

**Wilson Thompson Orlegge**

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**ABSTRACT**

In the colonial era of the Highlands region, which was from 1945 to 1975, colonialism assisted in the creation of rural entrepreneurs through the rural progress societies, co-operatives, companies, business groups and populist development corporations or as sole traders and partners. Through their successful control over factors influencing production and business enterprises and organisations these entrepreneurs were able to determine and gather support for local, provincial and national political institutions. They were able to influence decisions towards their own interest as well as to benefit their communities through the political institutions and government agencies such as the Local Government Council, Provincial Assembly and the National Parliament.

## **INTRODUCTION**

This paper looks at the emergence and development of rural entrepreneurs in Eastern Highlands Province and how they were projected to their economic status and political leadership. This development has been documented by Finney (1969, 1973, 1987, 1993), Donaldson and Good (1979, 1981, 1983, 1984, 1988), Donaldson (1979), Amarshi, Good and Mortimer (1979), Stewart (1984, 1989) and Hegarty (1983). In the political arena, most of the Election studies from 1964 to 2007 (Bettison, Hughes and van der Veur, (1965); Epstein, Parker and Reay (1971), Epstein and Reay, (1975); Stone (1976), Hegarty (1983); King (1989); Saffu (1996); May and Anere (2002), have analysed and illustrated the trends in the elections.

The conclusion is that the trend set in motion has taken root, as the new educated elite is now dominating politics in Goroka and in the Eastern Highlands Province in general (Orlegge, 2002). However, 2002 and 2007 election results indicate recurring features that return to previous elections such as election of semi educated rural entrepreneurs, tertiary educated and naturalized citizens. This case study is generally a historical perspective of how the rural entrepreneurs have dominated, as well as contributed to, the political development and advancement of their society, of Eastern Highlands Province and of Papua New Guinea (PNG). The study also demonstrates how this dominance has now been transferred to the domain of the educated elite.

## **ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL LEADERSHIP**

Karl Marx in his writings stated that man is not an abstract idea but is integral to the state and society. The relationship was explained through the class division. Marx argued that class division could not be found in all societies but was a creation of history (Molyneux, J., 1985). Class division only arises when there is surplus production. People who are able to control the means of production form the dominant or ruling class, both economically and politically (Held *et al*, 1993:21). Finney (1973), in his study of entrepreneurial development in the Highlands of PNG, stated that economic success went hand in hand with political leadership.

In pre-capitalist societies that were involved in production for their own consumption and for barter, the onset of colonialism brought about capitalism. This played a central role in establishing social classes in whatever forms it took or became known, as in the developing countries.

This case study discusses the background of winning candidates in the National Elections in the Eastern Highlands Province from the first elections in 1964 to the 2007 elections and their role and contribution in the political, social and economic development of the province. Looking at the history of election results in Eastern Highlands Province there is a trend evident in the background of the winning candidates. Therefore, it would be necessary to discuss the development of entrepreneurial formation in Papua New Guinea and how these rural entrepreneurs dominated politics in Goroka and Eastern Highlands Province. Also, it has been stated that colonialism had assisted in the formation and development of entrepreneurship and that these entrepreneurs were placed in a better position for active political participation and in influencing decision making for development and business purposes (Donaldson & Good, 1988).

Not much has been written about entrepreneurs in PNG due to its belated experience with colonialism and capitalism. However, a good number of people have written extensively about business leaders, rich rural peasants and rural capitalists in the Goroka area of Eastern Highlands Province. This evolved from Finney's (1973) identification in 1967 of ten (10) leading New Guinea Highlands entrepreneurs followed by Donaldson and Good's (1981, 1983, 1984, 1988) analysis of rich rural peasants and capitalists and its development or is a criticism of it. Finney (1969, 1973, 1987, 1993) explained the historical and descriptive nature of Melanesian 'bigmen' in business. Amarshi, Good and Mortimer (1979) provided a Marxist analysis of the social relations and economic development in PNG and postulated Marxist theories and thus drew a lot of criticism and support from academics to expand this area of study.

In his 1967 study, Finney (1973) identified ten persons who were called business leaders or entrepreneurs because they were innovators and risk takers who accepted and introduced western concepts, technologies, ideas and crops to a society that was hardly removed from the Stone Age. Amarshi, Good and Mortimer (1979) identified the rich rural peasants as those individuals who had the ability to mobilise their resources and those of others to establish private rural enterprises. These enterprises were usually under the control of one of two leaders and not the whole group who had pooled their resources and labour together, according to Donaldson and Good (1981; 1988), rural entrepreneurs were those persons who controlled and owned factors of production and produced a surplus for generating revenue. Despite the definition and terms used to identify these individuals and others that followed, for various academic persuasions, they were entrepreneurs based in rural areas.

The history of elections, candidacy and election of members for the Goroka Open seat has been well documented where an early shortlist of possible winning candidates can be compiled. In the first Elections in 1964, six out of the ten candidates were leading entrepreneurs in Goroka identified by Finney (1973) as business leaders. Moreover, in the subsequent elections up to 1987 there were many candidates who were identified as business leaders (Finney, 1969, 1973, 1993), rural peasants (Amarshi, Good and Mortimer, 1979; Hegarty, 1983) and rich, rural peasants and rural capitalists (Donaldson and Good, 1981, 1983, 1988; Stewart, 1989) but they were basically rural entrepreneurs mostly engaged in primary production of coffee, cattle and vegetables and later in trucking, trade stores and restaurants. The elected members of the Goroka Open electorate, from the first election in 1964 up to 1987, were those who were identified as people from the rural entrepreneurial class. Similarly, this was applied to other electorates in the Eastern Highlands Province and this principle was adapted by Orlegge (2002) but further developed that the dominance of the entrepreneurs has been on the decline, with young and educated members coming within the ranks to take over. Consequently the focus is now on the educated elite but with some reservations

## **IS POLITICAL LEADERSHIP A PRODUCT OF COLONIAL EXPERIENCES?**

Scant literature on Latin America and Africa has been cited to enable comparison with the experiences of PNG. Latin America and Africa were subjected to long colonial domination but the fact is countries within that region (Latin America and Africa) are labeled as developing countries, of which PNG is one of them. Especially in Africa, there is similarity in the pre-capitalist mode of production and the way of living. It is also important to note that the economies of PNG and of African countries are dependent on primary production, the location of people in rural areas and the Westminster type of government.

Keller (1981), writing on two types of political participation in an African city, stated that there was widespread interest and participation in politics in the pre-independence era from all sectors of the population. Certain persons who were products of the colonial period; that is, those employed or educated by the colonial administration or the missionaries, spearheaded the struggle for an end to colonialism. These persons were the privileged few who were chosen among many to be educated abroad and assisted in the colonial administration. Likewise, some traditional leaders were given recognition and a few others were able to conduct business. These people organised mass based political movements to wrest government control from colonial powers. This was a notable feature of African countries, which happened due to the struggle for political independence.

Different individuals participated in different forms of political activity based on their particular skill and motivation. Certain groups of people were expected to act politically due to their own interest. Keller (1981) stated that the difference in political and social participation in Africa was a function of social structural conditions. According to Ross (1983), political participation refers to the behavior of individuals designed to affect the various actions either directly or indirectly, hence the various outcomes of political decisions in their society.

The post-independence period in Africa saw the leaders of the independence movements who are now the governing elite and are found in the upper echelon of the society no longer interested in encouraging widespread political activity. They now consider that this is dysfunctional to the economic development of the country and to their own positions and interest. Political participation has become an activity, which sees those individuals with higher social status most likely to participate. Money, education and one's status in the setting determine it. The conclusion drawn in Africa today is that the higher the individual's status in society, the higher his or her level of political participation.

According to Keller (1981), class formation in Africa and particularly in Ethiopia, was the result of colonial intrusion. Social classes were crystallized and those who were active participants in the political sphere were at the top. Those people had standing due to education, affiliation with colonial institutions and agents. Rose (1983) concurs with the conclusions made by Allen (1981) regarding mass support for independence, after which the supporters were left to themselves and the everlasting overthrowing, coups d'état that go on in many African countries today. In conclusion, those with social standing and higher level of education are the active participants in the political and administrative functions of the government.

Without going into much detail, the conclusions made for Latin America are no different for Africa. Hoskin and Swanson (1973) in a paper in Columbia and Latin American countries

describe how people of lower economic status are gathered for mass appeal and support. Those people with higher economic status are engaged in power play. They occupy the organizational hierarchy of the party to gather mass support. However, the beneficiaries are those of higher social and economic status who are actively involved in the politics of the day though the decisions would end in the community. While at the helm of politics, their active participation is even greater due to the status they already had.

**IS THERE ANY CORRELATION WITH THE PAPUA NEW GUINEA EXPERIENCE?**

For PNG, most of the literature is based on coffee and politics in the eastern Highlands Province. The country was transformed from a relatively classless, subsistence-based economy, which had existed prior to colonization, to a stratified society, which is also highly dependent on money. According to Connell (1979), the indigenous urban society is now composed of the elite, the bureaucracy, the petty bourgeoisie, the proletariat and the marginal group. In the rural area, there exists a class of peasants, which has a conflicting definition for this particular group. The term peasant is defined as those who own resources and can provide for their own subsistence as well as enter into market relations with the outside economy. Peasantry has emerged irrespective of repression and control of group organizations and is a product of the colonial situation.

The emergence of the big peasants today has been brought about from the pre-capitalist PNG society. There were persons who had leadership status through their physical prowess, fighting skills, oratory skills, wealth accumulation, knowledge of traditional history and possession of supernatural powers and knowledge in land demarcation. Newman (1968) provides a list of those leaders of the Gururumba society of Eastern Highlands Province. They were the hamlet leaders, clan leaders, warrior leader and bigman through wealth and leader through possession of supernatural powers (shaman). According to Connell (1979), there were no viable political units and usually a lack of centralized authority. A warrior leader might be good in tribal fights but he might have to consult the shaman or the hamlet leader for their support. A hamlet leader's directive could not be superimposed on the other hamlets. There was always a need to consult and get consensus for decisions to be effected. There was no concept of office (Connell, 1979).

Connell (1979) stated that the authority of the leaders was often based on personal authority rather than inheritance, descent or supernatural sanction. A warrior leader's son might not be a good fighter and so could not be a leader. The status had to be achieved on one's own merits rather than be ascribed. As for the Goroka society, those who had achieved leadership status were transformed during colonial period to act as government officers, workers and enforcers of colonial power.

The emerging rich capitalists or entrepreneurs gained control of significant resources and monopolized access to government services and agencies. Basically, they were called leaders, "bigmen" or rural entrepreneurs by many including Finney (1969, 1973, 1987, 1993), whilst Marxist analysis was provided by Donaldson (1980), Donaldson and Good (1978, 1981, 1983, 1984, 1988), Amarshi, Good and Mortimer (1979) and Stewart (1984, 1989) called these same persons rich, rural peasants or capitalists. Donaldson and Good (1981) characterise class formation in terms of big peasantry, small rural and urban working class and small educated petty bourgeois.

Entrepreneurs characterise 'bigmen' who have the resources and prestige to mobilise cash and labour surplus. Peasants are categorised as people who are tillers of soil who have land and engage the family unit to produce and sustain themselves (Connell, 1979). The small rural and urban working classes that represent about 10 percent of the population are engaged in formal paid employment. The small educated petty bourgeoisie are those who were educated and trained to work in the colonial system and are now holding very senior positions in public service or in the private sector or have gone into business themselves.

This group is now placed in the higher echelons of the society, given their early start, influence and interaction, mostly among themselves. However the scope of this case study is the big rural peasants and capitalist or entrepreneurs who were engaged in the capitalist mode of production and their impact on political development in the district, province and the country. It includes those with or without education and those who had contact with the colonial system. This case study discusses how successful, rich, rural peasantry and capitalists were active politically and discusses their influence at local, provincial and national level in Eastern Highlands Province.

According to Connell (1979), inequality within and between rural areas is now entrenched and certain government agencies actually contribute to this process, for example, through the provision of agricultural extension services to people with large cultivated plots and to the 'bigmen'. When coffee was introduced in the Highlands region in late 1950s, nurseries were established on plots of 'luluais' (village leaders appointed by the Government as its representative) and of government officials, for distribution to villagers. Those individuals who had nurseries had more trees planted and higher acreage than others did. Even in the early 1980s, the PNG Development Bank (now the National Development Bank) loans were often given to rising rural peasants than to the smaller peasants (Donaldson and Good, 1988). This practice is inevitably directed to increase the production of the rising peasants/entrepreneurs and enhance their status in the society. In the foregoing, we discussed how the rich rural capitalist, entrepreneurs, or businessmen organised various economic units and were able to gain resources and assistance from state institutions through their influence and active participation in politics. Stewart (1984) studying the 1977 National Elections stated that class power (entrepreneurial) in Eastern Highlands Province does translate into political power.

## **THE BACKGROUND OF WINNING CANDIDATES, 1964–2007**

### **The First and Second House of Assembly Elections, 1964–1968**

In the 1964 Elections, there were only four open electorates in EHP, namely Goroka, Henganofi-Lufa, Okapa and Kainantu. In addition, there was the Highlands Special, which was province-wide, and included Eastern Highlands and Simbu. The Goroka Open Electorate in the 1964 Elections comprised what are now the Unggai Bena, Daulo and Goroka Electorates. The first member of the 1964–1968 House of Assembly for Goroka Open was Sinake Giregire, a resident of what is now Daulo Open. He was one of the youngest to be identified by Finney (1973) in 1967 to be included among the ten leading businessmen in the Highlands region of New Guinea. Giregire had work experience as an agricultural station assistant and a mechanic and he later became an alluvial gold miner, operated a sawmill and, with the money saved, he returned to his village to plant coffee.

He was young but his money and entrepreneurial skills resulted in his tribesmen respecting him and providing him with a large tract of land and free labour to develop it. He established himself as a farmer and coffee planter and when the Asaro Watabung Local Government Council (the Council for the whole of current Daulo Electorate) was introduced in 1958, Giregire was elected Councilor and ultimately the Council President. By 1956, Giregire was an established planter and vegetable farmer and one of the first indigenous people to become a member of the expatriate-dominated Highlands Farmers and Settlers Association. This was no ordinary feat, as his wealth then equaled or surpassed that of many expatriate planter or trader. He was far advanced and was considered one of them (Orlegge, 2008). In 1961, he was instrumental with an expatriate (John Wells) to establish Highlands Commodity Exchange Ltd, the first Highlands company, which was majority owned by indigenous and managed by expatriates (Orlegge, 2008). In the 1964 House of Assembly, Giregire was the only highly educated indigenous Highlands member though it was only at the level of Grade 8 (Bettison, Hughes and van der Veur, 1965). In the 1964 Elections, six of the ten leading entrepreneurs in the Highlands region contested the Goroka Open seat whilst the other four were drawn from former administration interpreters, domestic servants and an expatriate (J. Wells).

The Henganofi-Lufa Electorate comprised what are now Henganofi and Lufa Electorates. This electorate is famous because it was the only electorate where the candidate scoring the highest first preference did not win the seat. Bono Azanifa was a domestic servant and during the war served as a carrier. After the war, Bono Azanifa was appointed the first luluai of his Dunantina area and later Paramount Luluai for the Henganofi area. Azanifa introduced coffee to Henganofi by establishing a coffee nursery and distributed seedlings to the village people. He went around educating people and assisted in establishing nurseries, and in transplanting, harvesting and pulping coffee.

Azanifa was the first from Henganofi to establish a big coffee plantation, was instrumental, with the expatriates, in setting up the Kafe Company, and was a Director on its Board. This company had many Henganofi people contributing money as shareholders and the company bought indigenous coffee. Azanifa was from outside the Goroka area but was identified and included in the ten leading entrepreneurs due to his constant business interests in Goroka town. As the paramount luluai, Bono Azanifa organised the Henganofi people to build the Kesevaka Road that connects the Dunantina area to the Highlands Highway and to Dumpu in the Madang Province. Azanifa, the only candidate from Henganofi polled more than 95

percent of all Henganofi votes as first preference. However, the preference of the other five Lufa candidates spread amongst them ensured the election of Ugi Biritu from Lufa.

Ugi Biritu was an administration interpreter but like the others who had contact with the expatriates, he had his own cash earning projects such as a small coffee plot and a vegetable and peanut garden. Eventually, he had a vehicle, which became a Public Motor Vehicle providing transport services between Lufa and Goroka. He was not established at the same level as Bono Azanifa but was a potential and rising entrepreneur and perhaps one of the first Lufa to engage in modern cash economic activities. It was not long before Azanifa won the Henganofi Electorate convincingly in the 1967 By-Election when the incumbent, Ugi Biritu, died in a car accident.

Muriso Warebu from Okapa was elected member for the Okapa Electorate. Like Giregire and Biritu, Warebu had had early contact with the colonial administration as an interpreter. He had 8000 coffee trees planted, a sizeable coffee garden in Okapa and Lufa Districts, then and had his own sawmill operating. At the introduction of the Local Government system, he was elected a Councilor and in the first elections, it was no surprise Warebu became the Member of House of Assembly (hereinafter MHA) for Okapa Electorate. For the Highlands Special and Kainantu Open Electorate, a former District Commissioner and an expatriate planter and President of HFSA, Ian Downs, and an expatriate patrol officer, Barry Holloway, respectively were elected. The Highlands Special, like the other regional electorates, was restricted through prescribed educational level whilst in Kainantu Open; most of the candidates were local entrepreneurs and councilors such as Ono Aia, and paramount luluai and coffee farmer, Anarai Wake.

The four indigenous MHA (Giregire, Warebu and Biritu and later Azanifa) from the Eastern Highlands were rural entrepreneurs who were involved in coffee cultivation and vegetable gardening as well as other pioneer income earning activities such as PMV operations, sawmills, peanut farming and cattle rearing.

In the 1968 Elections, there were six open electorates and the EH Regional Electorate comprising Eastern Highlands and Simbu. In the Second House of Assembly Elections in 1968, Sinake Giregire moved over to the new Daulo Open Electorate and with his reputation as a young entrepreneur, former Council President, business leader and proponent of rural economic development, there was little challenge to Giregire winning the seat (Finney, 1973). In the Goroka Open electorate, most of the candidates were from those business leaders identified by Finney. These included Soso Subi, Bin Aravaki, Akunai Rovelie, Sabumei Kofikai and other candidates with exposure to colonial administration such as interpreters, teachers, policeman, laborers and luluai.

Kofikai from the Bena area was elected to the 1968–1972 House of Assembly. Kofikai was one of the ten leading businessmen identified by Finney. Kofikai apart from being a business leader with 2000 coffee trees and a trade store had earned his reputation as a councilor and for the service he rendered to Goroka, Daulo and Unggai Bena area in introducing coffee whilst in the employ of the Department of Agriculture, Stock and Fisheries (Donaldson & Good, 1988). Kofikai was elected because of his status and his work in introducing coffee and he capitalised on this by asking those who knew him but were from outside his Bena area to give him their second preference votes after casting their first preference votes for their favorite candidates (Finney, 1973). In an election that used a preferential system, Kofikai, a

former teacher and DASF employee, highly educated by standards then in the whole of the Highlands region and with his work and business acumen, did well and won.

In Okapa Open, Muriso was re-elected. The Henganofi-Lufa seat was redistributed to become Henganofi and Lufa Open respectively. Bono Azanifa's status as paramount luluai, entrepreneur, councilor and Kafe Council Vice President and his recent victory in a By-Election for the Henganofi-Lufa seat in 1967 were fresh in the minds of the people in Henganofi. Like Sinake Giregire and Muriso Warebu, Azanifa retained the Henganofi seat with ease. In the redistributed seat of Lufa Open, Papuno Aruna, a catechist and truck owner, won. Though not considered a rich rising farmer-trader by Donaldson and Good (1988) due to scant information about him, Aruna could have used his vehicle for passenger and freight service to earn revenue. A person would naturally be identified as an entrepreneur since owning a vehicle in those days would only be from earnings from business activities. Truck ownership was, by the standards then, the highest form of tangible property that showed the affluence and economic leadership of any indigenous person.

Barry Holloway, an expatriate former patrol officer, left the Kainantu seat to contest the Eastern Highlands Regional Electorate. The Kainantu seat was won by another expatriate, Noel Casey who, with Bono Azanifa, had been instrumental in introducing coffee in Henganofi and who had by this time owned and operated his own coffee plantation in Kainantu. Holloway was not successful in the Regional Electorate as another expatriate, Dennis Buchanan, was elected.

### **The Third and Fourth General Elections, 1972–1977**

In the 1972 Elections, EHP had seven open electorates and the regional (provincial) electorate. Giregire, by then was an established rich entrepreneur and politician, won the Daulo Electorate seat without much competition. In 1969, Giregire as a vocal and leading member of HFSA, organized other indigenous farmers and members to establish the Farmers and Settlers Cooperative Society Limited, which was also accepted by expatriate members of HFSA, to become the leading farm and agricultural supply company, now called Farmset Ltd (Orlegge, 2008). The Highlands Commodity Exchange Ltd has grown and expanded into many business activities. Giregire was the only indigenous Director with voting rights and was a Director of Clarens Coffee Ltd, Goroka Fermentary Ltd and Goroka Coffee Producers. He even went to the extent of trialling the growing of tea, raised a nursery for tea, and was a proponent for the establishment of a tea industry in EHP.

In 1971, Giregire called on the government to encourage fish farming in the Highlands and even proposed the setting up of a Grain Industry Corporation to promote and encourage the farming of rice, wheat and other grain crops. By 1972 Elections, Giregire was a well established politician, having served as Under Secretary to Assistant Administrative (Services) and Ministerial Member for Agriculture, Stock & Fisheries and Post and Telegraphs (Minister from 1964 to 1972) and on the Select Committee on Constitutional Development from 1964 to 1968 and was well established in business. He was the first Papua New Guinean to own a large coffee plantation, the first to obtain a huge bank loan and the first to build and own a factory. This was a coffee factory with all the equipment necessary to process it to the green bean stage (Woolford, 1976).

For the third House of Assembly, Akepa Miakwe, the owner of a large coffee farm, rating just behind the ten entrepreneurs, and President of Goroka Local Government Council, won

the seat from entrepreneur and fellow Bena, Sabumei Kofikai. Suinavi Otio, an owner and operator of a trucking business, was elected to replace Papuno Aruno, another truck owner and operator, for the Lufa Open Electorate seat. In Henganofi, Bono Azanifa lost his seat to a former interpreter and councilor, Atihemi Kimi, whilst in the new electorate of Obura Wonenara, another interpreter, Onamauta Beibe, was elected (Donaldson & Good, 1988).

Donaldson and Good (1988) did not classify Atihemi Kimi and Onamuta Beibi as entrepreneurs due to scant information about them. However, conclusion can be drawn that Atihemi Kimi was also President of Kafe Council and had coffee gardens and pulpers and would ordinarily be considered an entrepreneur then. This is also similar to the case of Beibi who, was interpreter or administration worker like Kofikai, Azanifa and Warebu, was able to take advantage of his knowledge of the cash economy and was able to establish himself in that area just like his contemporaries.

Another rich farmer-trader, John Pokia, removed Muriso Warebu in the Okapa seat. Pokia was one of the first Highlanders with entrepreneurs like John Akunai and Giregire, to use the *Land Tenure (Conversion) Act* to obtain freehold title over customary land. In 1971, Pokia obtained freehold title over 47 hectares of land in Okapa. He was a health education officer who, like Giregire and the others, used his contact with expatriate and modern influence to establish a trade store and a cattle project. Like others in such economic ventures, Pokia was elected Councilor and subsequently President of Okapa Council before winning the Okapa seat from fellow rural entrepreneur, Warebu.

In Kainantu, Moses Sana Sasakila, a cattle farmer with 200 acres of cattle land, won the vacant seat, which the expatriate, Noel Casey did not contest due to his intention that indigenous people must be given the opportunity to determine their own political destiny. The trend was set as winning candidates were originally employed in colonial administration and were rising, or had become established rural entrepreneurs. With colonial experience and as successful entrepreneurs they had an advantage over other contestants. Although trade stores may sound funny, in those days, trade store owners were the elite, the businessmen or the moneymen, as one would call them today. As for the Regional seat, there were no indigenous winning candidates as Dennis Buchanan served from 1968 to 1972 and Barry Holloway won the seat in the 1972 Elections.

In the Fourth Elections in 1977 for the Second National Parliament, electorates were redistributed, hence the breaking up of Goroka again into Goroka and Unggai-Bena. There were thus eight open electorates and the provincial electorate. With the redrawing of electoral boundaries, Miakwe moved over to the new Unggai-Bena Open Electorate and represented it from 1977–1982. During his term as MHA for Goroka (1972-1977), he organised thousands of Bena people and some from Unggai and Goroka to contribute money to take over expatriate businesses. Being successful, Miakwe was instrumental in the formation of Bena (now Eastern Highlands) Development Corporation that took over many expatriate coffee plantations, not only in Bena and Goroka but also throughout the Eastern Highlands Province. This was a success and with his early reputation as entrepreneur, councilor, Council President and MHA for Goroka, Miakwe had little difficulty winning the Unggai Bena seat.

Following the vacancy in Goroka, that electorate was hotly contested by the old entrepreneur vanguard such as Soso Subi, Bin Aravaki and John Akunai, as well as former administration officials such as Atau Waukave, the then President of Goroka Council and Nogo Susuke, a

policeman and coffee farmer with State Lease land at Kainantu. The contenders also included two young men, Bebes Korowaro and Silas Atopare. Atopare, no ordinary young man but an educated and young, rising, rich entrepreneur, won the Goroka Open seat for the 1977–82 term. Atopare had worked as a Rural Development Officer, but had resigned to manage an expatriate plantation and eventually became involved in the Gohonaga Business Group and Farmers & Settlers Marketing Cooperative Ltd (Orlegge, 2008). He was also involved in the populist business organisation, the Asaro-Watabung Rural Development Corporation as its Manager and Secretary in the neighboring Daulo Open Electorate. He had established himself as farmer entrepreneur by organising his clansmen to pool their resources together for coffee buying, investment, a cattle project and a passenger and freight business venture. Atopare by then had 25 hectares of coffee and some cattle and vegetable gardens (Donaldson & Good, 1988). In that election, Bebes Korowaro, a journalist with some work experience in the provincial bureaucracy, contested and came second. He had substantial shares in one of the six business groups that owned the Gouna Development Corporation, a populist business organisation that was organised and led by the rich rural entrepreneurs, including Atopare.

In the Daulo Electorate, Giregire had intended to contest for the Prime Minister position and had formed his own political party, the Country Party, in 1974. During the Constituent Assembly to adopt the Constitution, he had joined with John Momis to form the Nationalist Pressure Group; a lobby intended to push the views of the members of the Constitutional Committee. In 1975, Giregire nominated along with Sir John Guise for the position of first Governor General of Papua New Guinea and had lost by three votes. In 1977 Elections, Giregire had endorsed the highest number of candidates of any political party. By 1977, Giregire was the only person to have served on all Constitutional Committee in the 1964, 1968 and 1972 including the one that formulated the current Constitution of PNG and was the founder and Leader of United Party (1967) and Country Party (1974) and established entrepreneur and leading businessman in Papua New Guinea.

In the hope that his Daulo Open seat was secure with confidence in his status as party leader and vocal parliamentarian, Giregire did not realise the threat at hand. Giregire was confident due to his early political and business leadership and having served on all Constitutional Planning Committee, Undersecretary for Administrator –Services, Ministerial Member for Agriculture, Stock & Fisheries and Post & Telegraphs. However, Gai Duwabane removed Sinake Giregire in the 1977 Elections. Like Silas Atopare, he was no ordinary person, though young, but was a Director on the Asaro Watabung Rural Development Corporation. A former policeman, Duwabane had returned home to engage in commercial vegetable farming and had established his own large coffee plot and was also a shareholder in one of the six business groups that owned the Gouna Development Corporation (Donaldson & Good, 1988).

Suinavi Otio retained his Lufa seat and by then was established in coffee farming, owning coffee plantations. The Henganofi seat was won by another rural entrepreneur, Sunuki Kroki'e, who was a coffee grower and trade storeowner. Like his predecessors, Kroki'e was a Councillor and President of Henganofi Council and a member of the Eastern Highlands Interim Provincial Government. Since losing the 1972 Elections, former member, Bono Azanifa had become a member of the Eastern Highlands Area Authority and had been appointed Member of the Interim Eastern Highlands Provincial Government. In 1977 he was elected to the Eastern Highlands Provincial Government.

Another Council President and member of Eastern Highlands Interim Provincial Government (EHIPG), Undapmaina Kalagune, was elected to the Obura Wonenara seat. Moses Sana Sasakila had vacated the Kainantu seat in favour of the Obura Wonenara seat, but failed in his bid to get elected. Yubiti Yulaki, a coffee and cattle farmer and PMV owner and operator, replaced him in the Kainantu seat. Ono Aia, Council President and regular candidate in Kainantu was elected to the Provincial Assembly. So was Muriso Warebu from Okapa. In Okapa, Pokia lost to Billy Hai, a coffee buyer. Barry Holloway retained the Regional seat but as mentioned previously, Eastern Highlands Province (EHP) had a trend of electing rising, rich, rural farmer-traders and entrepreneurs.

However, this trend was beginning to change with the election of young and educated rural capitalist farmers such as Silas Atopare and Gai Duwabane. The focus was changing to the educated and more or less towards those in public and private enterprise employment. Bebes Korowaro, educated at the Administrative College, was employed as a broadcaster and eventually as Provincial Manager, National Broadcasting Commission, Eastern Highlands, came second to Silas Atopare in the Goroka Open Electorate. In the Obura Wonenara Electorate, a young University of Technology Engineering graduate, Lennie Aparima, came second. When the incumbent Undapmaina Kalagune died in a Talair plane crash in December 1978, Aparima was the logical choice and so won the By-Election for that seat. The focus changed to this new breed of educated members, which will be described for the Elections from 1982 to 2002.

### **The Fifth and Sixth National Elections: The Rise of the Educated Rural Entrepreneurs, 1982–1987**

It was not surprising in 1977 when one of the founders of Gouna Development Corporation, Hari Gotaha, gave his personal support to Bebes Korowaro, given his status as an educated member and indirect shareholder in Gouna Development Corporation. This support transpired into reality in 1982 when Bebes Korowaro with links to the rich rural entrepreneurs and their populist development corporation unseated Atopare for the 1982-1987 National Parliament.

This was the real start of the election of educated members of the society based on tribal affiliation and status. Atopare was involved in Gouna Development Corporation, where the established Gohonaga Cooperative acquired shares and was involved in organising Mimanalo Business Group from Mimanalo Constituency to acquire shares whilst Gotaha, Ketawo and Korowaro were from Gahuku Constituency. Isembo Olekevea, a pioneer teacher and later employed by Highlands Commodity Exchange Ltd was the chairman of Gohonaga and Mimanalo Business Groups and Deputy Chairman of Gouna supported Silas Atopare in his initial election and his re-election bid in 1982. Previously, rich rural capitalists or entrepreneurs were drawing support and votes across tribal and language groupings. Gai Duwabane, though a rural capitalist, was educated and sure enough retained his Daulo seat.

Akepa Miakwe won the Unggai Bena seat but had a Court of Disputed Returns petition. As Iambakey Okuk, the firebrand Highlands politician and National Party Leader lost his Chimbu Regional seat; Miakwe brought Okuk, who was married to a Bena woman, to run in his stead. With the support of Akepa Miakwe and his loyal National Party supporters, Okuk won.

John Giheno, a science graduate from University of PNG and a deputy principal at Kabiufa High School, unseated the incumbent, Sunuki Kroki'e, in Henganofi Electorate. Suinavi Otio retained his seat and with the purchase of Kami Plantation had established himself in the coffee business. A policeman, Labi Yabinoya and a teacher, Avusi Tanao, won the Okapa and Kainantu seat respectively whilst university educated Aparima was returned to the Obura Wonenara seat. The trend of electing educated members continued at the national scene whilst the older entrepreneurs and other young emerging entrepreneurs went to the provincial government. John Akunai, Wale Kabiliha, Bono Azanifa, Muriso Warebu, Ono Aia, Samuel Kuso, Enoch Maio Mole, Isembo Olekevea, Auwo Ketauwo and James Yanepa contested as well as took leading roles as elected members in the provincial government system.

In 1987, the Eastern Highlands Province continued to have eight open electorates and a regional electorate. In the 1987 National Elections, a previously unheard of candidate, Mathias Ijape, was elected to the Goroka Open Electorate. Ijape was a policeman and had a law degree. He had been employed as a prosecutor in the Police Department and later with the Department of Attorney General. Ijape amassed enough tribal support to win the seat from Korowaro. Gai Duwabane, John Giheno and Avusi Tanao were returned to their Daulo, Henganofi and Kainantu Open Electorate seats respectively.

Iambakey Okuk, who had been the incumbent for Unggai Bena seat, had died in 1986 and thus the seat was vacant. Benais Sabumei, a member of the populist Eastern Highlands Development Corporation, a National Party strongman and the son of Sabumei Kofikai, former MHA for Goroka, was elected. Sabumei had graduated from the University of Papua New Guinea and had trained as a diplomat. His highest position in the public service had been Deputy Secretary in the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade but he had resigned to serve as Chief Executive Officer of the biggest coffee export company in the country, Angco Ltd. Sabumei had links with the Eastern Highlands (formerly Bena) Development Corporation (EHDC) which had shares in Angco Ltd. By agreement, Angco Ltd was managing all the EHDC coffee plantations. Benais Sabumei also served as the Chairman of the PNG Rugby Football League.

In the neighboring Lufa Electorate, Jerry Kavori, a university graduate and formerly Warden of Students at the Goroka Campus of the University of Papua New Guinea unseated Suinavi Otio. The Obura Wonenara Electorate is the biggest in the country but largely undeveloped and dependent on air transport. Peter Gaige was originally from Simbu, but being a long serving aid post orderly in Marawaka, mobilised the support of the isolated Marawaka and Obura people to do the unexpected in unseating Lennie Aparima. Aparima is from a village in Tairora Constituency near the Kainantu Electorate. In Okapa, Yabanoya was unseated by Billy Kepi, another young rural entrepreneur who owned retail shop complex and the first coffee factory in Okapa and was a coffee buyer. Unfortunately, Billy Kepi died and in a By-Election, Castan Maibawa, a university graduate who was working as the Executive Officer for Okapa Council, won the vacant seat.

In the Eastern Highlands Regional Electorate, the indigenous people were very skeptical of the stranglehold on the seat by expatriates since 1964, even though Barry Holloway was a naturalized citizen. In 1987, this stronghold on the regional electorate was broken by Aita Ivarato from Okapa to unseat the fatherly and popular figure, Sir Barry Holloway. Ivarato, a graduate of UPNG, had worked as a Research Officer with Okuk's National Party and later with the Agriculture Bank. He was teaching at Bena High School when he resigned to contest the election. Ivarato appealed to the traditional support base of Holloway in Okapa, Kainantu

and Obura Wonenara. He amassed enough votes from the eastern electorates of Okapa, Obura Wonenara, Lufa, Kainantu and Henganofi. Ivarato campaigned by telling eastern electorates that the western districts of Unggai-Bena, Goroka and Daulo had used the labour force of the eastern electorates to propel the western electorates. This had resulted in business expansion and economic advantage as well as a higher level of education for the western electorates. This worked out well for Ivarato.

### **Other National Elections: The Rise of the Educated Elites, 1992–2007**

In the seventh election held in 1992, the educated elite had been able to retain the political leadership. The people also found an identity of political leadership in the province for the years to come. In his first term in Goroka Open seat, the incumbent, Mathias Ijape paid school fees for community and high school students in the electorate through his Electoral Development Fund. This was a most welcome sign with the depressed world market price for coffee. In the dying moments of the 1987–1992 parliamentary term, Ijape sealed the Rothmans to Lapegu Road to his village as a ring road to Asaro and sealed the Asaroka High School Road. With his school fee assistance and road sealing, Ijape got a majority of votes along the roads and from his tribesman for a second term from 1992 to 1997.

Apart from Ijape, the incumbents in Okapa (Maibawa), Obura-Wonenara (Gaije), Kainantu (Tanao) and Eastern Highlands Provincial (Ivarato) were returned to their respective seats. In the Daulo Electorate, Sowa Gunia, a coffee farmer and a fellow Director of the Asaro Watabung Rural Development Corporation, defeated Duwabane. Another diplomat and businessman, Kevin Masive, defeated Benais Sabumei in Unggai Bena open electorate, whilst a former police officer, Mathias Karani, won the Lufa Open seat. In Henganofi, Viviso Seravo was elected. Viviso graduated from Goroka Technical College and worked for some years in his trade but, being interested in coffee, had gone back to his village to become a coffee buyer. As a coffee farmer and with his popularity in coffee buying, Seravo was elected for the Henganofi seat. The previous member, Giheno, took the matter to court to force a By-Election and eventually won the seat again to serve as Minister, Deputy Prime Minister and, in the later part of 1997, as Acting Prime Minister.

In the 1997 Nationals Elections, the EHP continued to have eight open electorates and a regional electorate. A review of the issues and the conduct of elections in the EHP is described by Orlegge (2002), postulating that political leadership has been transferred from the rural entrepreneurs to the educated elites. An analysis of the general trend is provided in that paper which is specific to the Goroka Open Electorate but also provides the general overview of all the candidates for the Goroka Open Electorate in 1997. The following is a summary of the 1997 Election winning candidates and brief background to assist us in this analysis.

In the 1997 National Election, Mathias Ijape was unseated by Henry Smith in the Goroka Open Electorate. Smith is a teacher by profession and had tertiary qualifications in education and a Master's degree in Urban Management. Prior to his election, he had been the Town Manager for Goroka Town (Orlegge, 2002). In Daulo Electorate, Ron Ganarafo was elected. Ganarafo was one of the early University graduates from the Daulo electorate and had since been employed with the Coffee Marketing Board and its successor the Coffee Industry Corporation, rising to the highest echelons as the Chief Executive Officer of the statutory authority responsible for the coffee industry in PNG.

Kevin Masive, John Giheno, Peter Gaige and Avusi Tanao lost the elections in respective seats of Unggai-Bena, Henganofi, Obura Wonenara and Kainantu Open Electorates, whilst Matthias Karani and Castan Maibawa retained their Lufa and Okapa seats respectively.

In Obura Wonenara Electorate, Muki Taranupi defeated Peter Gaige. Taranupi is from Pundibasa area in the Arona Valley, Yonki and had a degree in education. He had taught at Kainantu and Okapa High Schools and risen to serve as Headmaster. He resigned to contest the election and was elected. In the neighboring electorate of Kainantu, long-term Member, Avusi Tanao, was unseated by Baki Reipa. Reipa was a technical college graduate who had been employed for quite some time with Ok Tedi Mining. He had, during the campaign, indicated that being employed with Ok Tedi, he knew how roads and infrastructure were built and that he would have no problem in addressing this area, and this seemed to appeal greatly to the people from Kainantu. In that election, Yuntuvi Bao, a university graduate, former reporter with the National Parliament and Patrol Officer came second. This election was disputed and a By Election was held in which Baki Reipa was re-elected and Bao came second again.

In the Lufa Electorate, Mathias Karani, former Police Officer and Provincial Liquor Commissioner for EHP was re-elected, while Castan Maibawa was elected for the third time in Okapa Open Electorate. In Unggai-Bena Electorate, Damson Lafana was elected. Lafana is a college graduate and a teacher by profession. After teaching at Kabiufa Adventist High School, he left to start his own bottle buying and other business in Lae. He was from Unggai Constituency and was the first person from that constituency to win the Unggai Bena Electorate, which had traditionally been held by people from the more densely populated and more politically advanced Bena Constituency.

In Henganofi, John Giheno, a university graduate, educator and third term Member had held senior Ministerial portfolios such as Minister for Police, Minister for Lands, Minister Trade and Industry and Minister of State and eventually served as Deputy Prime Minister and Acting Prime Minister in the later part of 1996 and during the election period following the 'Sandline' controversy. Giheno was unseated by Viviso Seravo who had won earlier in 1992, but lost the seat in a successful Court petition and By-Election. Seravo from Fayantina Constituency would not be classified as highly educated compared to Giheno, from Kafetina. Viviso Seravo would be respected in his own Council area and Constituency as a person of renown, having gone to technical college earlier than those recently graduating from Universities and had established himself as a farmer and coffee entrepreneur.

In the EH Regional Electorate, an NGO activist of Melanesian Solidarity fame, who was involved in organizing student and community protests in the 'Sandline' controversy, where mercenaries were hired to go to quell the Bougainville uprising, was elected. He was Peti Lafanama from Lufa, who won by a very big margin against the incumbent, Aita Ivarato. Lafanama is a university graduate who had been involved in NGO activities both during and after university. People throughout the country were very skeptical of the Members of Parliament of the 1992–1997 Parliament because of the Sandline controversy. At the same time, the Commission of Enquiry was in progress. In EHP, Lafanama campaigned strongly that the Members had not been able to lead properly. He campaigned against the issue of the World Bank-sponsored Structural Adjustment Program relating to customary land registration and against the increase in the salary of Members of Parliament. The University students from the province and the NGO movement were actively involved in promoting awareness and education about these same issues. Matthias Ijape, as Minister for Police was

one of the principal figures in the Sandline saga was from EHP and thus Lafanama was able to draw votes from all sectors (Orlegge, 2002). However, it was alleged later in a Court of Disputed Returns that the campaigns of Lafanama had dissuaded voters away from the incumbent Member and that he had used circumstances and issues such as the claim that if the incumbent Member was elected, people would lose their land. Thus the Election was declared null and void and a By-Election was held in 1999 for the Provincial Electorate. Lafanama was elected again. Smith, an expatriate businessman came second in both the 1997 Election and the 1999 By-Election.

In the ninth National Elections, held in 2002, there was no re-distribution of electoral boundaries hence EHP had eight open electorates and a regional electorate. A surprising feature was that all the incumbent Members in the open and regional electorates were not re-elected. In Daulo Electorate, Ben Kiagi, from the immediate vicinity of the Watabung Station was elected. He had been educated to school-leaver level, owned a liquor outlet and a vehicle used for transporting his own trade items, passengers and coffee. Since 1964, the people of Watabung Constituency had never won the Goroka Open and later Daulo Open and hence, they were intent on wresting the seat from the Lower Asaro just as the people of Upper Asaro were also intent on retaining it. In this election, there were fewer numbers of candidates from Watabung and Upper Asaro.

In Goroka Open Electorate, Bire Kimisopa was elected after some political and legal tussles with the former MP, Mathias Ijape. Kimisopa had come fifth in the 1997 Elections. He is a university graduate and a practicing accountant, who had after the last elections been preparing for the 2002 Elections, which enabled his election.

In Obura Wonenara Electorate, John Koigiri, one of the first University graduates of the Marawaka area, defeated Muki Taranupi. In the 1997 Election, Koigiri, a lecturer at the University of Technology, had come second although he had been tipped to win. This time, it eventuated. Similarly, in the neighbouring Kainantu Open Electorate, the runner up in 1997, Yuntuvi Bao, was elected in 2002. Lufa Electorate had the lowest number of candidates nominated among all the Eastern Highlands electorates. Lufa had only 22 candidates and from amongst them, Yawa Silupa, a semi-educated coffee farmer and trader, was elected.

In the neighboring Okapa electorate, a similar pattern ensued in which Castan Maibawa, who had served two or more terms, was unseated by Tom Amukele. Amukele had rudimentary mission education as had Silupa, but he had been working in Port Moresby and had eventually set up his own business in trade stores and PMV operations. He was seen as a father figure by Eastern Highlanders in Port Moresby and hence twice contested the Moresby Northwest Electorate, including the 1997 Elections. However, he returned to Okapa and concentrated on assisting churches, the youth and women groups and focused on the Gimi and Keiyagana-Kanite Constituencies. His charismatic approach resulted in his election.

In Unggai-Bena Electorate, Benny Allen, a teacher like the incumbent, Damson Lafana, was elected. Allen was a teacher by profession but had left teaching to work in the private sector and was manager of a liquor distribution company, Negiso Distributors. He is from Mohuweto in the Upper Bena Constituency and once again the seat returned to the traditional occupants. In Henganofi, Bahanare Bun, a medical doctor and private practitioner, was elected well ahead of the incumbent, Viviso Seravo who ranked seventh, Robert Atiyafa, former premier, who ranked fourth, and John Giheno, a former Member who ranked fifth.

In the Eastern Highlands Regional Electorate, Peti Lafanama was ousted by Malcolm Smith who came second in the 1997 election and the 1999 By-Election. Smith scored 132,000 well ahead of Lafanama who came second and scored 54,000. This was probably an indication that the election of nationals who had wrestled the seat from the expatriate naturalised citizen, Sir Barry Holloway, in 1987, and held power for 15 years, did not result in the anticipated development and the promised electoral programs. This resulted in overwhelming votes being cast for Malcolm Smith throughout all the districts of the province, unlike some candidates who scored well in some districts but not in others due to residence, language, work experience or level of campaigns mounted in some or all the electorates.

Finally, having raised the issue why certain educated persons were elected over others such as in Unggai Bena, Goroka, Henganofi, Kainantu and the EH Regional Electorate; a separate analysis is required of all the candidates, including their place of residence, education, training, work experience, issues addressed, where primary votes were obtained from and the reason for these votes, as was done in Goroka Open Electorate (Orlegge, 2002). Being highly educated was the principal reason for election but other factors also influenced that election. Similarly, it has been explained that the election of those of the old entrepreneur class like Amukele and Silupa and the young, less educated entrepreneurs like Kiagi, as well as an expatriate naturalized citizen like Malcolm Smith. For example, the first 15 ranking candidates in Daulo were very prominent and educated and represented all the Constituencies (Asaro (4), Lower Asaro (4); Upper Asaro (3); Watabung (4).

The issue of why Kiagi, who was not highly educated and did not have more prominent work experience and economic prominence than the other three from Watabung Constituency, and does not have one or two factors against the other 14 candidates and even against Ron Garanafu, requires further analysis. As in the case of Daulo, the first 15 candidates in Goroka Open comprised a mix of highly educated, professionals as well as entrepreneurs. An analysis is required to follow on from the 1997 Election as provided by Orlegge (2002).

## RECURRING FEATURES OF THE ELECTORATES

In this part, we consider a bird's eye view of all the Electorates and the incumbents' level of education, occupation, involvement in business and involvement in communal business such as co-operatives and interest associations or in developmental business organisations such as development corporations. The purpose of this part is to provide an analysis within the electorate regarding certain features such as being a businessman or a government employee or being from the same association or development corporation.

**Table 1: Highlands Special (1964), Eastern Highlands (1968–2007)**

Member	Year	Education Level	Occupation	Business Interests	Economic Organisation
I. Downs	1964	College	District Commissioner	Coffee	UACC <sup>1</sup> /HFSA <sup>2</sup>
D. Buchanan	1968	High school	Businessman	Coffee/airline	HFSA/commerce <sup>3</sup>
B. Holloway	1972	College	Patrol Officer	No	KKB <sup>4</sup>
B. Holloway	1977	College	Member of Parliament (MP)	No	As above
B. Holloway	1982	College	MP	No	As above
A. Ivarato	1987	University	Teacher	No	No
A. Ivarato	1992	University	MP	No	As above
P. Lafanama	1997	University	Activist	No	MELSOL <sup>5</sup>
M. Smith	2002	High school	Pilot/businessman	Helicopter	Commerce <sup>3</sup>
M. Smith	2007	High school	MP	Travel/hospitality	Nil

Notes: <sup>1</sup>UACC Upper Asaro Coffee Community Ltd

<sup>2</sup>HFSA Highlands Farmers & Settlers Association Inc and Farmset Ltd

<sup>3</sup>Commerce Chamber of Commerce (Goroka or Kainantu)

<sup>4</sup>KKB Kainantu Kaunsil Business Ltd (associated with); by 2002 has 60% shares in Farmset Ltd

<sup>5</sup>MELSOL Melanesian Solidarity Inc. (an NGO)

In the Eastern Highlands Regional Electorate, three expatriates held the seat from 1964 to 1987. They were all educated up the tertiary level, had experience in the country and belonged to economic organisations. This was followed by two nationals from 1987 to 2002, both of whom had tertiary education. However, in the 2002 National Elections, an expatriate naturalised Papua New Guinean citizen was elected. He was an educated entrepreneur. The trend appeared to be in favour of expatriates and those with tertiary education. This may have had something to do with local and district politics. During the reign of the two national members, indications were that they favored their own districts or regions.

**Table 2: Okapa Open, 1964–2007**

Member	Year	Education level	Occupation	Business interests	Economic organization
M. Warebu	1964	Elementary	Interpreter/councilor	Coffee/sawmill	No
M. Warebu	1968	As above	Member of House of Assembly	As above	No
J. Pokia	1972	Elementary	Orderly/councilor	Coffee/cattle	No
B. Hai	1977	High school	Coffee buyer	Coffee	Yes
L. Yabanoya	1982	High school	Policeman	No	No
B. Kepi	1987	High school	Coffee buyer	Coffee/store	No
C. Maibawa	1988	Tertiary	Council manager	No	No
C. Maibawa	1992/1997	As above	Member	No	No
T. Amukele	2002	Primary	Businessman	Real estate	No
B. Oiyavera	2007	High school	Fireman	No	No

In Okapa, the incumbents from 1964 to 1977 had rudimentary education, were engaged in administration work as interpreters and medical orderlies and progressed to business activities and when the Council system was introduced, they were elected. From 1977 to

1987, the incumbents were educated to high school level and after leaving employment had been engaged in farming and income earning opportunities. From 1987 to 2002, Castan Maibawa, educated to tertiary level and employed in the urban area, returned to hold the seat for three terms. However, the person who unseated him did not match his education level but had been involved in business for quite some time. Indications during the election were that, an educated person had occupied the seat for too long but the electorate did not show that, despite Maibawa been appointed to important Ministry's such as Police, Mining, Petroleum & Energy and Provincial Affairs, for entire career, vital government services has been delivered such as improvement to health, police and transport services. The level of service, the people of Okapa were referring to needs to be elaborated, as what they wanted to see that was not being delivered by Maibawa, despite declaration of rural hospital and eventual road upgrade for sealing under Asian Development Bank loan arrangement for Okuk Highway to Lufa to Okapa Road.

**Table 3: Henganofi Open (Henganofi-Lufa; 1964), (Henganofi, 1968-2007)**

Member	Year	Education level	Occupation	Business interests	Economic Organization
U. Biritu	1964	Elementary	Interpreter	Peanut/coffee/PMV	Yagaria RPS
B. Azanifa	1967	Nil	Luluai/Councilor	Coffee/PMV	HFSA
B. Azanifa	1968	Nil	MHA	As above	Kafe RPS
A. Kimi	1972	Nil	Interpreter/Councilor	Coffee	No
S. Kroki'e	1977	Elementary	Council President	Coffee	No
J. Giheno	1982	University	Teacher	No	No
J. Giheno	1987/1992	As above	Member As	No	Henganofi DC
V. Seravo	1997	College	Farmer/coffee buyer	Yes	No
B. Bun	2002	University	Doctor	Yes	No
F.Orimyo	2007	University	Teacher	No	No

Notes: RPS Rural Progress Society or Cooperative  
DC Development Corporation

Henganofi Open Electorate has a similar pattern to that of Okapa. The incumbents from 1964 to 1982 had rudimentary education, were engaged in administration work as interpreters and luluais and progressed to business activities and when the Council system was introduced, they were elected as councilors. From the position of Council President or Vice President, they were elevated to the national level as Members of Assembly and later Parliament. Like Muriso Warebu of Okapa, Bono Azanifa of Henganofi was later elected to the Provincial Government Assembly.

**Table 4: Lufa Open, 1968 –2007**

Member	Year	Education level	Occupation	Business interests	Economic Organization
P. Aruno	1968	Elementary	Catechist	Coffee/PMV	No
S. Otio	1972	Elementary	Businessman	Coffee/PMV	No
S. Otio	1977/1982	As above	Member	Coffee plantation	No
J. Kavori	1987	College	Student Warden	No	No
M. Karani	1992	High School	Police Officer	No	No
M. Karani	1997	High School	MP	No	No
Y. Silupa	2002	Nil	Coffee buyer	Coffee	Yes
Y. Silupa	2007	Nil	MP	As above	Yes

From 1982 to 2002, the incumbents were all educated to tertiary level. However, Viviso Seravo, though not more highly educated than Giheno, did unseat him in 1997 when the latter was Acting Prime Minister. This aspect of PNG politics is indeed interesting, when voters do

not care whether their representative is a Minister or Prime Minister but will vote for him as long as he is popular and can deliver to the expectations of the people in the electorate and not necessarily at national or international level.

The trend in Lufa resembles the trend in Henganofi and Okapa Open Electorates from 1964 (when Lufa was still part of Henganofi) to 1987, in that incumbents had basic education and had served in the colonial administration and then left to get involved in introduced crops and farming ventures. From 1987 to 2002, the two incumbents were educated to tertiary level and had no business interests, unlike their predecessors. It is surprising that the incumbent in 2002 was barely educated but was involved in farming and local business ventures such as the early predecessors, Ugi Biritu, Papuno Aruno and Suinavi Otio. The reason may be that the people felt they were better served by entrepreneurs or those with business experience and not by educated persons who may have little experience in understanding the conditions of the electorate.

**Table 5: Kainantu Open (Kainantu, Obura-Wonenara, 1964-1968), (Kainantu, 1972-2007)**

Member	Year	Education level	Occupation	Business interests	Economic organizations
B. Holloway	1964	College	Patrol officer	No	KKB <sup>1</sup>
N. Casey	1968	College	Businessman	Coffee	HFSA <sup>2</sup>
M.S. Sasakila	1972	Basic	Interpreter/cattle farmer	Cattle/coffee	No
Y. Yulaki	1977	High school	Coffee buyer	Coffee	KKB
A. Tanao	1982	High school	Teacher	No	No
A. Tanao	1987 /1992	As above	Member of Parliament	Nil	Nil
B. Reipa	1997	College	Tradesman	No	No
Y. Bao	2002	University	Public servant	No	No
S.Besseo	2007	High school	Entrepreneur	Vegetables/stores	No

Notes: <sup>1</sup>KKB Kainantu Kaunsil Bisnis Ltd is owned by all council wards in Kainantu

<sup>2</sup>HFSA Highlands Farmers & Settlers Association, which also started Farmset Ltd

Kainantu is different from most electorates (apart from Highlands Special/Eastern Highlands) in that it had two expatriates representing the people for two terms. In fact, Noel Casey decided not to contest but to allow the indigenous people to be elected to determine the people's and the nation's destiny as self-government had been discussed then.

The trend then follows Okapa where Sana Sasakila (1972–1977) had basic education and had engaged in administration work, ending up in local business activity. The 1977 to 1982 incumbent had been educated to high school level and after leaving employment had been engaged in business activity. He was succeeded by Avusi Tanao who, like Labi Yabanoya, was a policeman. Unlike, Yabanoya, Avusi Tanao was not engaged in business but managed to serve for three terms.

The member for Kainantu in 1982-1997, Avusi Tanao, had high school education and he was followed by Baki Reipa (1997) and Yuntuvi Bao (2002), both of whom had tertiary education. In Okapa, however, the members from 1982 to 1988 (Yabanoya and Kepi) had high school education and were followed by Maibawa (1988-2002) who had tertiary education but who, surprisingly, was succeeded by the businessman Amukele who only had primary education. Okapa had therefore reverted, like Lufa, to the pre-independence era pattern of electing entrepreneurs and not necessarily persons with education. It may be that Kainantu started late in trialling with educated nationals and the pattern may repeat!

**Table 6: Obura Wonenara, 1972–2007**

Member	Year	Education level	Occupation	Business interests	Economic organization
O. Beibi	1972	Basic	Interpreter	Coffee	no
K. Undaipmaina	1977	Basic	Council president	Coffee	no
L. Aparima	1978	University	Student	No	no
L. Aparima	1982	As above	Member of parliament	No	Taiga DC1
P. Gaige	1987	Primary	Aid post orderly	no	No
P. Gaige	1992	as above	MP	as above	As above
M. Taranupi	1997	University	Teacher	no	No
J. Koigiri	2002	University	Lecturer	no	No
J. Boito	2007	High school	Coffee buyer	coffee	No

Note: Taiga Development Corporation Ltd is a company formed for people of Tairora and Gadsup to acquire expatriate plantations and business.

Obura Wonenara District was part of Kainantu until 1972. It followed, until 1977, the pattern of Okapa, Lufa, and Henganofi where elected leaders had rudimentary education, had been engaged in administration work as interpreters, had then progressed to business activities and after the introduction of the Council system, had been elected at the national level.

An unusual pattern was the election of a University of Technology student in the By-Election of 1978. He retained the seat until 1986. It is unique in that this electorate had jumped from barely educated (less than 6 years of primary education), leaders to a leader with university education. However, it appears to have been a big jump as the people may not have been ready for it. Therefore, in 1987, when other electorates were voting in candidates with tertiary education, probably based on Obura-Wonenara's earlier example, this electorate itself reverted to electing a member with only basic education. This member, Peter Gaige, who had served the administration as a medical orderly, served for two terms (1987–1997).

From 1997 to 2002, the two incumbents were educated to tertiary level and had no business interests. These two incumbents were employed in an urban setting and in formal employment, unlike their predecessors, and were highly educated and trained educators. Another surprising feature may emerge as in the situation of Lufa and Okapa and Daulo.

**Table 7: Goroka Open (Goroka/Unggai-Bena/Daulo Districts; 1964), (Goroka/ Unggai-Bena Districts; 1968–1972), (Goroka District; 1977–2007)**

Member	Year	Education	Occupation	Business	Economic organisation
S. Giregire	1964	High School	planter/trader	yes	HCE/HFSA
K.Sabumei	1968	Teacher training school	Teacher/farmer	yes	HFSA
A. Miakwe	1972	Primary	Farmer	yes	HFSA/HCE/EHDC
S. Atopare	1977	Agriculture college	Manager	yes	HFSA/AWRDC**
B. Korowaro	1982	Administrative college	Manager	no	Gouna DC
M.Ijape	1987	University	Lawyer	no	No
M. Ijape	1992	university	Lawyer	no	No
H. Smith	1997	university	Teacher	no	No
B. Kimisopa	2002	university	accountant	no	No
T. Harokave	2007	University	Engineer	No	No

Notes: HCE Highlands Commodity Exchange  
 HFSA Highlands Farmers & Settlers Association and Farmset Ltd  
 DC Development Corporation  
 EHDC Eastern Highlands Development Corporation  
 AWRDC Asaro Watabung Rural Development Corporation  
 \*\*Atopare was a member of HFSA, shareholder of Farmset and Gouna DC, Secretary of Gohonaga Cooperative and also Secretary and Manager of AWRDC.

In Goroka Open, the analysis is interesting and includes education and membership of economic organisations. The incumbents from 1964 to 1977 had better education than their other contemporaries in the electorates mentioned above. Due to their education and their proximity to the colonial administrative headquarters of Goroka, Giregire, Sabumei and Miakwe had better experience in work and business and were members of the expatriate dominated Highlands Farmers & Settlers Association. They also formed their own communal business and developed patron client relations.

In 1977, Silas Atopare, a young man, was elected. Though this may have been due to his education, there were better educated men such as Paul Ine and Patrick Gehapina contesting. Atopare's election may have been due to his experience in introducing individual and communal business and taking a lead in it. With his youthful appearance and his education, he was seen as more of a business and community leader than were any other established entrepreneurs and educated candidates.

From 1982 to 2002, the Goroka Open followed the pattern in Henganofi where educated men such as Giheno were elected and remained in office for some time. In 1982 Korowaro dethroned Atopare. He in turn was dethroned in 1987 by Mathias Ijape, a University graduate who had been a public servant but also involved in personal or communal business entities.

In 1992 Ijape, one of the educated elite, was able to maintain political leadership. This pattern was also reflected in Okapa (Maibawa), Henganofi (Giheno), EH Provincial (Ivarato) Unggai-Bena (Kevin Masive) and Lufa (Mathias Karani).

In 1997, Goroka Open continued to elect the educated elite by returning Henry Smith. The same happened in Daulo Electorate (Ron Ganarafo), Unggai-Bena (Damson Lafana), Lufa (Matthias Karani) and Okapa (Castan Maibawa) and Obura Wonenara (Muki Taranupi). This pattern was reinforced in 2002 when Bire Kimisopa, a private accountant, was elected.

The 2007 results for Goroka are interesting as to where the trend is. Is it continuing on at the educated level or would it turn back as in Daulo, Lufa and Okapa by attracting entrepreneurs without education or those involved in communal business development.

**Table 8: Daulo Open, 1968 – 2007**

Member	Year	Education	Occupation	Business interests	Economic organization
S. Giregire	1968	Teacher training	Planter/trader/Member of House of Assembly	Coffee, trading, investments	HCE/HFSA
S. Giregire	1972	As above	MHA	As above	HCE/HFSA
G. Duwabane	1977	High school Police college	Policeman/farmer	Coffee	AWRDC *
G. Duwabane	1982	as above	MP	as above	as above
G. Duwabane	1987	as above	as above	as above	as above
S. Gunia	1992	High school	Farmer	Coffee	AWRDC
R. Ganarafo	1997	University	Chief executive officer	No	No
B. Kiagi	2002	High school	Store owner	Coffee/trade store/PMV	No
NK. Patrick	2007	High school	Coffee buyer	Coffee	No

Notes: HCE Highlands Commodity Exchange  
 HFSA Highlands Farmers & Settlers Association and Farmset Ltd  
 DC Development Corporation  
 EHDC Eastern Highlands Development Corporation  
 AWRDC Asaro Watabung Rural Development Corporation  
 \*Duwabane was a shareholder of Gouna DC and Gohonaga Cooperative and a Director of AWRDC.

The analysis of Daulo Open represents Goroka initially and then, in the latter part, Lufa. Daulo Electorate was part of Goroka Open in 1964. Sinake Giregire was Member of House of Assembly for Goroka and later Daulo from 1968 to 1977. With his early missionary and administration exposure, he was better educated and richer than his contemporaries. The role of HFSA in Daulo is important. The proponent of AWRDC, Fred Leahy, was the President of the Asaro Branch of HFSA Inc. AWRDC has no shareholders as the HFSA, Asaro Watabung LGC and Fred Leahy held all shares of AWRDC in trust for people of the District.

In 1977, by electing Duwabane, Daulo followed the pattern in Goroka where Silas Atopare, a young man, had been elected. Duwabane was Secretary and Manager of AWRDC in Daulo District but was also a member of HFSA and shareholder in its business arm, Farmset Ltd, and assisted in the establishment and operations of cooperatives and communal business in Goroka. Duwabane was not only an educated man, but was also a Director of AWRDC and, like Atopare, had his business interests in Goroka.

From 1982 to 2002, the Daulo Open follows initially in the footsteps of Goroka Open, Unggai Bena (proponents of Rural Development Corporation – EHDC, AWRDC and Gouna DC) in the likes of Duwabane and Gunia and stabilised as in Kainantu with educated men such as Ganarafo; Smith; Damson Lafana and Karani but gradually steps back to the business era as in Lufa Open and Okapa Open in 2002 and 2007.

In 2002 Ben Kiagi, a trader and small entrepreneur, was elected. Are we going back to the days of communal business entities or to the stranglehold of AWRDC or is it just a minor departure that has been described above. It may appear that it is repetition of the Giregire era in Goroka and Daulo from 1964 to 1977.

**Table 9: Unggai Bena, 1977–2007**

Member	Year	Education level	Occupation	Business interest	Economic organization
A. Miakwe	1977	Primary	Farmer /Member of House of Assembly	Coffee	HFSA/HCE/EHDC
A. Miakwe	1982	as above	MP	as above	as above
I. Okuk	1983	High school	Mechanic/MP	coffee	Kamaneku DC/EHDC
B. Sabumei	1986	University	diplomat	yes	EHDC
B. Sabumei	1987	as above	MP	as above	as above
K. Masive	1992	University	Diplomat	Retail	no
D. Lafana	1997	College	Teacher	yes	no
B. Allen	2002	College	Teacher	No	no
B.Allen	2007	As above	MP	no	No

Notes: HCE Highlands Commodity Exchange  
 HFSA Highlands Farmers & Settlers Association and Farmset Ltd  
 Kamaneku DC Kamaneku Development Corporation in Kundiawa is similar to those in EHP, which Okuk set up for his tribesmen in Simbu but was associated to wife and Akepa Miakwe, who were involved with EHDC.  
 EHDC Eastern Highlands Development Corporation

The analysis of Unggai Bena Open is similar to that of Goroka and Daulo initially. In 1964, Unggai Bena was part of greater Goroka Open and remained after Daulo was created in 1968 until boundaries were re-distributed in 1977. In 1977, Miakwe, who had been the member for Goroka Open electorate, decided to contest the new Unggai Bena Open seat, leaving Silas Atopare and others to contest the vacant Goroka Open seat. Miakwe was elected in the new seat and represented the entrepreneur era as with Lufa, Kainantu, Henganofi and Okapa.

From 1983 to 2002, Unggai-Bena followed very closely the pattern of Goroka, where Okuk, with high school education fitted in with Korowaro of Goroka and Duwabane of Daulo, who had college and high school education respectively. When Okuk died, Benais Sabumei, a man with tertiary education who was closely related to EHDC, was elected. He was returned in 1987 and like Ijape, was dethroned by another educated man and a former diplomat (Kevin Masive) who was then dethroned by another man with tertiary education (Damson Lafana).

Unggai Bena followed the trend of Goroka Open Electorate where in 2002, the educated elite had been able to retain political leadership, although in Unggai Bena, this was achieved by the educated dethroning each other as in the case of Allan and Lafana. In 2002, Unggai Bena Open voted in Benny Allan. This was similar to the other electorates that also elected candidates who had tertiary education such as Bire Kimisopa in Goroka, Bahanare Bun in Henganofi, John Koigiri in Obura Wonenara and Yuntuvi Bao in Kainantu.

Similarly as suggested for Goroka Open in 2007 Elections, the results for Unggai Bena Open in 2007 will be interesting as to where the trend is. Is it continuing at the educated level as in Obura Wonenara; Henganofi and Kainantu or would it turn back as in Daulo, Lufa and Okapa by attracting entrepreneurs with little or no education.

**Table 10: A comparison of the educational status of winning candidates, 1964–2007**

	Okapa	Kainantu	Obura-Wonenara	Henganofi	Lufa	HS/EH <sup>1</sup>	Goroka	Daulo	Unggai-Bena
1964	Basic <sup>1</sup>	College <sup>4</sup>	College <sup>7</sup>	Basic	Nil	College <sup>4</sup>	High school	High school <sup>7</sup>	High school <sup>7</sup>
1968	Basic	College <sup>4</sup>	Basic	Basic	Basic	High school <sup>4</sup>	High school	High school	High school
1972	Basic	Basic	Basic	Basic	Basic	College <sup>4</sup>	Primary	High school	Primary
1977	High school	High school	Basic I	Basic	Basic	College <sup>4</sup>	College	High school	Primary
1982	High school <sup>5</sup>	High school	University	University	Basic	College <sup>4</sup>	College	High school	High School
1987	High school <sup>2</sup>	High school	Primary	University	College	University	University	High school	University
1992	Tertiary <sup>6</sup>	High school	Primary	University	High school	University	University	High school	University
1997	Tertiary	College	University	College	High school	University	University	University	College
2002	Primary	University	University	University	Basic	High school <sup>4 5</sup>	University	High school	College
2007	High school	High school	High school	College	Basic	High school <sup>4 5</sup>	University	High school	College

Notes: <sup>1</sup>It was Highlands Special in 1964, and then became Eastern Highlands from 1968 onwards.

<sup>2</sup>A By-Election in 1988 followed the death of the incumbent. The new member had tertiary education.

<sup>3</sup> Basic education is elementary not higher than Grade 3 and High school is at Grade 10. Colleges include agricultural, technical, teachers college whilst university refers graduate or postgraduate level.

<sup>4</sup> Expatriates were elected hence their level of education.

<sup>5</sup> Those who have attended police and military college are listed as High school as such training in PNG is less than 3 months and does not qualify as full college training.

<sup>6</sup> Tertiary level indicates University level education but also Diploma or Certificate such as Diploma in Teaching from UPNG Goroka Campus or UPNG and Unitech Certificate or Diploma in Commerce etc.

<sup>7</sup> In 1964, Obura Wonenara was within Kainantu, Lufa with Henganofi and Daulo and Unggai Bena with Goroka. In 1968, Daulo and Lufa were created followed by Obura Wonenara in 1972 and Unggai Bena in 1977.

## **THE ROLE OF BUSINESS AND ECONOMIC ORGANISATIONS**

We have seen in the previous section the role of business and economic organisations in determining the political establishment and similarly their role in a number of electorates such as Goroka, Daulo and Unggai-Bena Electorates.

The establishment of Development Corporations, a form of business organisation, was the result of 'bigmen' marshaling clan resources to finance business. This practice was first formalized through the colonial state initiatives such as co-operatives, savings and loan societies and rural progress societies.

The sitting member for the Goroka Open Electorate in 1977 was a rising entrepreneur, Silas Atopare. He was a plantation manager, trained and advised by a colonial coffee planter, Fred Leahy. The members of the population with tertiary (colleges and university) education and better paid jobs felt threatened. To win the election in 1982, a contender would have known that without support from across the electorate, he would lose the election.

The leaders of populist development corporations and business organisations wanted candidates who would identify with their cause. Evidently, Gai Duwabane, Silas Atopare and Akepa Miakwe were elected to represent AWRDC and EHDC in Daulo, Goroka and Unggai Bena Electorates respectively. In 1982, it was Duwabane, Bebes Korowaro, Akepa Miakwe (later Okuk) and John Giheno elected from AWRDC, Gouna Development Corporation, EHDC and Henganofi Development Corporation in Daulo, Goroka, Unggai Bena and Henganofi Electorates respectively.

In 1987, the elected members were Duwabane in Daulo, Benais Sabumei in Unggai Bena and Giheno in Henganofi. Another AWRDC director, Sowa Gunia, replaced Duwabane in 1992 in the Daulo Electorate, while Giheno was returned in Henganofi. The business leaders and their supporters as shareholders and contributors to the business venture knew their interests would be protected and that they had common interests and a purpose, which would be served.

Donaldson and Good (1979) describe the development of social class relations as the result from complex interactions between forces of change within the pre-capitalist communities and the external form of change in the form of a colonial state and representatives of colonial capitalists. Former patrol officers took up land to grow coffee by entering into partnership with locals. The partnership was required by colonial agents for good working relationships. The entrepreneurs were well organised politically through their main voice, the Highlands Farmers and Settlers Association (HFSA). Through this organisation, coffee could be marketed. HFSA sought to recruit national growers to identify with European planters and advocated for credit to be extended to them. Sinake Giregire, a rising farmer, was elected an Executive of HFSA and as MHA for Goroka and Daulo from 1964 to 1977. He became the leader of Country Party through this process. A few other indigenous farmers admitted to membership of HFSA were Bepe Moha, Soso Subi, Bin Aravaki and John Akunai.

Agricultural officers, who were agents of the colonial government, helped establish communal coffee pulperies and rural progress societies. These enterprises failed but the people at the helm were able to use them as stepping stones to greater wealth and political power. The populists Development Corporations were based on this colonial model. Those who ran the corporations were the leading elements of the rich, rural businessman

community. In the 1977 Elections, rural capitalist or entrepreneurs candidates made up 20 percent of sample class provided winners within the entire sample, being those elected. Also important was the control of the then Eastern Highlands Interim Provincial Government by entrepreneurs. The control of provinces political institution (Councils, Area Authority and Interim Provincial Government, EH Provincial Government and House of Assembly and National Parliament) and their active political participation was vital for economic development and growth.

Donaldson (1979) provided evidence why the new class of entrepreneurs was not politically active in the pre-independence era. The colonial state introduced co-operatives and rural progress societies to initiate communal and collective agriculture development. Contributions to co-operatives were limited due to maximum share restrictions by the state. Donaldson argued that this was an attempt by the state to train entrepreneurs but also to restrict the ability of people to accumulate wealth and was therefore a hindrance to the emergence of national bourgeoisie, which might have made unpalatable political demands to the colonial state then. The rise of the PNG bourgeoisie was suppressed hence their absence in the pre-independence era.

The rich rural capitalist, entrepreneurs or businessmen emerged through their control of productive resources and their political action through the local political institutions. The development of the Development Corporations had no restriction on shares or on the number of members. Its influence was great both economically and politically. It prepared the ground for the establishment of an indigenous capitalism. During the colonial period, Sinake Giregire was being groomed by HFSA and went on to enter the political scene. The inhibited rural entrepreneurs were to make their mark, modeled on the colonial initiative such as rural progress societies shifted to the newly established communally owned development corporations.

Asaro Watabung Rural Development Corporation contributed three parliamentarians, namely the late Gai Duwabane, Silas Atopare and Sowa Gunia. Bena Development Corporation contributed Sir Akepa Miakwe, Sir Iambakey Okuk and Benais Sabumei. The Gouna Development Corporation had Bebes Korowaro as well as making an impact on the EHPG, with three members. Due to those members' influence, the EHPG purchased 16,000 shares in the once expatriate-dominated Farmset Co-operative, owned 40 percent of Goroka's leading hotel, invested K40, 000 in Pacific Helicopters which was owned by Gouna Corporation and yet another K40, 000 in Gouna Corporation itself.

It reminds us the entrepreneurs and rural capitalists actively participated in the political process and the influence they exerted on the government machinery. As soon as Papua New Guineans in the modern education system came out, they too wanted to be part of this political system. They had learnt about government and politics and they wanted to try it, so they contested the elections as educated members and eventually they replaced the old rural entrepreneur class, taking control of the electoral institutions of the state.

## DISCUSSION

In Africa, the members of the entrepreneurial class and the educated elite were instrumental in eliminating colonialism, they themselves being the product of colonialism. They organised mass based political movements that elevated them to power. After independence, members with money, education and standing in the society actively took part in and influenced the political process. They did not want mass based movements, in order not to destabilise economic conditions and their own class interests.

In PNG, colonial institutions were established to help people but at same time, these institutions tried to maintain political stability so as not to create a national bourgeoisie. However, the colonial rural progress societies and co-operatives assisted in training national entrepreneurs whilst colonial capitalist institutions like the Highlands Farmers and Settlers Association groomed their own national members to be one of their own and supported their interest and that of their investments. Sinake Giregire was one such candidate who was advanced by the association.

After independence, Development Corporations based on the colonial model were established. Their members participated actively in politics at the local, provincial and national levels and influenced government agencies in their area of interest. Although the colonial rural progress societies were generally doomed, some of the people heading them rose to prominence, were able to prosper economically and became actively involved in politics at all levels.

This was the real start of the election of educated members of the society based on tribal affiliation and status. Previously, rich rural capitalists or entrepreneurs were drawing support and votes across tribal and language groupings (Orlegge, 2002b). Gai Duwabane, though a rural capitalist, he was educated and sure enough retained his Daulo seat. Akepa Miakwe won the Unggai Bena seat but had a Court of Disputed Returns petition and since firebrand Highlands politician lost his Chimbu Regional seat, he brought Iambakey Okuk who was married to a Bena to run in his stead. With the support of Akepa Miakwe and his loyal National Party supporters, no doubt Okuk won. John Giheno, a science graduate from University of PNG and a deputy principal at Kabiufa High School unseated the incumbent, Sunuki Kroki'e in Henganofi Electorate.

Suinavi Otio retained his seat but has established himself in coffee with the purchase of Kami Coffee Plantation. A policeman and a teacher, Labi Yabanoya and Avusi Tanao won the Okapa and Kainantu seat respectively whilst the educated Aparima was returned to the Obura Wonenara seat. The trend on the election of the educated members continued at the national scene whilst the older entrepreneurs and other young emerging entrepreneurs went to the provincial government. John Akunai, Wale Kabiliha, Bono Azanifa, Muriso Warebu, Ono Aia, Samuel Kuso, Enoch Mole, Isembo Olekevea, Auwo Ketauwo and James Yanepa contested as well as took a leading role in the provincial government system.

## CONCLUSION

The development of entrepreneurs and their role and impact in politics in Eastern Highlands Province was the result of colonial influence and motivation and a pre-adapted traditional wealth accumulation and distribution system. Through colonial institutions such as district administrators, rural progress societies, co-operative societies and expatriate planters, indigenous Papua New Guineans, who were either traditional leaders or young educated men working for these institutions, were assisted to engage in their own income earning opportunities. They were able to own and control factors of production as well as resources and the surplus labour of fellow clansmen. This group, who had obtained greater prestige and status, were called the business leaders (Finney, 1973) or rural capitalist (Donaldson & Good, 1981, 1988).

Populist development corporations and business groups were established. With exposure to modern influence and the participation in capitalist activities, these rural capitalist and entrepreneurs were better placed to mobilise support for entering state institutions such as local-level governments, area authorities, provincial governments and the National Parliament. They sought and engaged in active political participation through their influence on other members of the society. Over the years, since the introduction of Local-Government Councils and the first House of Assembly election in 1964 to 1977, almost all the elected members from EHP were considered business leaders, rising rich rural peasants, rural capitalists, rural farmer-traders or rural entrepreneurs. Irrespective of the terms different writers used, they were referring to the same group of individuals called entrepreneurs.

In EHP, former luluai, interpreters, agriculture workers or those who were closely involved with the colonial administration naturally occupied the Council Presidency. In addition, this group used their experience in modern institutions to introduce modern economic activity, consequently taking the lead and gaining respect and status. As postulated by Finney (1973) economic success goes hand in hand with political leadership and economic leadership features in many successes (Donaldson & Good, 1981 and 1988), many entrepreneurs went on to become councilors, Council presidents or members of provincial Governments or went straight into the national scene at the Parliament level.

This was the trend from 1964 until 1977 when Atopare and Duwabane, young rural capitalists, made headway into the world of the older generation as young rural entrepreneurs to replace their older counterparts. It was also the beginning of the election of educated people and other respected figures. The days of risks, taking risk-leading roles by entrepreneurs was shifting. Lennie Aparima took the initiative as a young educated man and by 1982, the scene was set. Korowaro, Giheno, Labanoya and Tanao removed the older rural entrepreneurs. This was the age group of the catalyst in which Atopare and Duwabane led the way. Aita Ivarato, Benais Sabumei, Mathias Ijape and Jerry Kavori followed in 1987 with Masive entering the scene in 1992 and by 1997 to 2007; politics in Goroka, Henganofi, Unggai Bena has been dominated by University level and in Daulo, Lufa, Kainantu and Obura Wonenara by coffee traders and entrepreneurs.

Indeed, the old pioneer rural entrepreneurs and the second generation entrepreneurs dominated the politics of EHP in the Local Government Council, Provincial Government and national level until 1982 when the new dimension and focus was set. Gradually, this focus changed to the educated men and by 1992, the politics had shifted entirely at all levels to the new generation modern educated class. Only time will tell whether the new breed of

entrepreneurs will make a comeback to dominate politics or whether the well educated will carry on from their 1982 to 2007 counterparts.

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