"Kanaky, my land, for your liberty I will never stop fighting": Investigating Kanak women activists' roles, experiences, and strategies within the independence movement in Kanaky, New Caledonia.

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This work is dedicated to

Teresia Teaiwa,
who taught me the depths of the taonga that is the Pacific, who encouraged this research in its infancy, and whose voice and work stayed with me throughout the research process. I hope that this work makes you proud.

and

Susanna Ounei-Small,
whose writings and activism inspired me from the beginning and throughout.

Abstract

This research uses a post-colonial feminist lens to investigate how development towards gender equality and equity can be promoted alongside processes of decolonisation in Kanaky-New Caledonia. In particular, it explores the ways that Kanak women in the pro-independence movement negotiate gender and indigeneity, and how these interactions subsequently influence society and the movement. Three key themes emerged from this research: violence, gender roles within the customary context compared to the western political context, and the responsive strategies that women employ. Issues raised related to violence focus on: physical violence related to political unrest, removal of self-determination, racial gaslighting around independence negotiations, gender and racial discrimination, and physiological and mental health. This thesis finds that Kanak women have different roles in customary contexts compared to political contexts. This thesis subsequently investigates how Kanak women experience and interpret these roles and highlights links and disconnects between gender roles and experiences in these two spheres. Tensions and negotiations between the customary sphere and the political sphere become very clear in institutions like the Customary Senate which occupies a place between the customary sphere and the Western political sphere. The Kanak women independence activist participants in this research utilise a plethora of strategies to navigate challenges they face in the customary sphere, in wider society, and within the independence movement. This indicates significant self-mobilisation of Kanak women towards gender equitable social change, which development actors should value and support. This research emphasises the intersectionality of Kanak women's experiences, the importance of self-determination to gender and development strategies, and the value of recognising and supporting self-mobilisation. Based on these research findings this thesis argues that decolonisation and decoloniality are integral to gender-focused development.

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Glossary

Aires coutumièrse — customary regions.

Bureau — highest level of the organisational structure of Union Calédonienne (see figure 9).

Case — Kanak-style hut.

Comitié des signataires — recent negotiation meeting surrounding voter requirements for the referendum.

Code de l'indigenat —Native Code

Colons — colonial settlers.

Concubinage — de-facto relationship.

Élus — elected representatives.

Faire la geste — customary act of gifting food, money, cloth, or other goods to a host, or as per Custom.

Gendarmes — military branch of police with jurisdiction over rural areas.

Igname — a type of yam important to many Kanak societies, often used in customary exchanges.

Kanak — the term used to refer to Indigenous peoples of Kanaky-New Caledonia.

Kanaky — the term used to refer to New Caledonia by independence activists.

La Coutume — Custom

La Parole — "the customary speeches that accompany exchanges that follow established pathways of alliances and obligations." (Paini, 1993, p. 265).

Les évènements — the series of violent events which occurred during the 1980s leading up to the signing of the Matignon Accords.

Porte-parole — the speaker who engages in La Parole.

Prend le parole — to take hold of la parole, take the proverbial microphone.

Robe popinée/Robe mission — a style of dress introduced by missionaries commonly worn by Kanak women.

Section de base — local branches of a political party (for Union Calédonienne see figure 9).

Whakapapa — lineage.

List of Acronyms

BRICS — Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa (band of 'Global South' economies).

CEDAW — Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women

CSW — Commission on the Status of Women

DUS — Dynamique Unitaire Sud

FLNKS — Front de Liberation National Kanak et Socialiste

FPAR — Feminist Participatory Action Research

GAD — Gender and Development

MDG — Millennium Development Goal

NC — New Caledonia

NGO — Non-Governmental Organisation

NZ — New Zealand

PALIKA — Parti de Libération Kanak

PAR — Participatory Action Research

PIC — Pacific Island Country

RDO — Rassemblement démocratique océanien

SDG — Sustainable Development Goal

SLN — Société le Nickel

UC — Union Calédonienne

UN — United Nations

UNGA — United Nations General Assembly

UNDRIP — United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples

UPM — L'Union progressiste en Mélanésie

USA — United States of America

USTKE — Union syndicale des travailleurs kanaks exploités

WAD — Women and Development

WID — Women in Development

MA TERRE "LA KANAKY"

KANAKY, TERRE DE MES VIEUX POUR LAQUELLE MES ANCIENS SONT TOMBES

KANAKY, TERRE DE MES AINES POUR LAQUELLE MES GRANDS SE SONT COMBATTUS.

KANAKY, TERRE DE MA GENERATION POUR LAQUELLE JE SUIS DETERMINEE.

KANAKY, TERRE DE MON AVENIR, POUR LAQUELLE JE ME PROJETE.

KANAKY, MA TERRE, MÈRE NOURRICIÈRE POUR LAQUELLE JE ME SACRIFIE.

KANAKY, MA TERRE OÙ SE REPOSE MON TOTEM POUR ME PROTÉGER.

KANAKY, MA TERRE OÙ SE DRESSE MA CASE POUR M'IDENTIFIER.

KANAKY, MA TERRE OÙ POUSSE MON IGNAME POUR ME FORTIFIER.

KANAKY, MA TERRE OÙ SE CONSTRUIT MA PIROGUE POUR ME VOYAGER.

KANAKY, MA TERRE OÙ S'EPANOUIT MON ÊTRE POUR MIEUX VIVRE.

KANAKY, MA TERRE, POUR TA LIBERTÉ JE ME BATTRAI A JAMAIS.

HMÉLITA.

(Bât H3/22 Cité Tindu).

My land, "Kanaky"

Kanaky, Land of my elders, For which my ancestors have fallen,

Kanaky, Land of my leaders, for which my great ones fought each other,

Kanaky, Land of my generation, for which I am determined,

Kanaky, Land of my future, for which I plan,

Kanaky, My land, nourishing mother for whom I sacrifice myself,

Kanaky, My land where my totem rests to protect me,

Kanaky, My land where my hut stands to identify me,

Kanaky, My land where my igname grows to fortify me,

Kanaky, My land where my boat is constructed to transport me,

Kanaky, My land where my being flourishes for a better life,

Kanaky, My land, For your freedom I will fight forever.

Hmélita Ranchain, 2003

Introduction

Land, and the importance of land, permeates the poem above, written by Hmélyta at the age of fourteen. Hmélyta says "Land of my elders, For which my ancestors have fallen". The long battle against colonisation, and the sacrifices that have been made are lamented. The elders have fought and lost, and fought and won. "Land of my generation" and "Land of my future". The fight is also now, for the youth of today, and the youth of the future. The land is the mother, and the totem, and the provider of food and transport. The land is the source from which life flourishes.

I chose this poem to begin this thesis because it illustrates the depth of importance that land has, and the deep currents that hold people to land, to culture, and to language, and which inform their fight for freedom. This poem illustrates the importance of independence for many Kanak women. The deep interconnection of the land with life, family, spirituality, food, and transport reflects the multiples connections of identities within humans. We are not just one: Woman; Man; White; Kanak. We are many, identities intertwined and interwoven.

This research aims to understand how development towards gender equality and equity[1] can be (and is) promoted alongside processes of decolonisation in Kanaky-New Caledonia. It interrogates the intersection of gender, development, and decolonisation in the literature through exploration of Kanak woman independence activists' roles and experiences in the independence movement and the strategies they adopt to influence the movement in Kanaky-New Caledonia[2] (Kanaky-NC). This research uses a postcolonial feminist perspective to

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[1] Equality refers to equal treatment between people, while equity refers to unequal treatment that is designed to remedy inequalities, or power differentials.

[2] Kanaky is the name for New Caledonia created and used by independence activists. I use it in this thesis in a commitment to decolonising efforts in my writing, except when referring to the government which I refer to as the Government of New Caledonia.

understand gender inequalities and inequities, activism, and processes of change. This informs important questions about the place of decolonisation in development.

New Caledonia is in the process of decolonisation from France. This process was agreed upon following violent clashes between independentist and loyalist activists in the 1980s. The process will culminate in a vote on independence on 4 November 2018 and two subsequent referenda if independence is not gained (each two years apart). There are claims that the independence movement is male-dominated and that men exclude women in the movement from positions of power. These views are expressed within the literature, in public discourses and in individual, private conversations. Some people (some Kanak women included) also fear that independence will hinder women's rights and that some of the gains made by women may be removed if independence is gained.

Tensions between advocacy arounds gender equity and equality and indigenous rights activism are present in a range of contexts. Western (white) feminism can be a significant neo-colonial force, and in some indigenous contexts men feel that a focus on gender equalities can undermine the shared cause. Despite this, very little literature on Kanaky-NC incorporates the voices of women committed to both gender equality and decolonisation. The strong Mana Wahine movement in Aotearoa-New Zealand shows that gender equality and decolonisation are intimately intertwined for indigenous women, and that many women mobilise activism and action within this intersection. In Kanaky-NC, Déwé Gorodey, an independence activist and the current Minister for Women's Affairs, has been active in this sphere for a long time.

Gender inequality is an important issue within the Pacific. The UNDP (2018) states that "In every country across the Pacific, pervasive gender inequality remains a barrier to progress, justice and social stability. It also hinders the achievement of development goals." (n.d.). In Kanaky-NC, gender inequalities persist predominantly in pay inequality and gender-based violence. Kanak women also face racial inequalities in higher education and employment. Claims of regression of gains to gender equality following independence are important to interrogate because that Kanaky-NC (along with French Polynesia and Wallis and Futuna) leads the Pacific in women's political representation. Among Pacific Island Countries (PICs) women's representation in government is extremely low—women are 6.1 percent of all parliamentarians (Baker, 2017). However due to a gender-parity law implemented in 2000 women hold 44.4 percent of seats in the New Caledonian congress (ISEE, n.d.). Therefore

potential regressions of gender equality has broader implications for development towards gender equity and equality in the Pacific region.

Kanak women's representation in politics is also important for ensuring that their views and experiences are considered in policy-making. Understanding how activism around gender equality intersects with calls for decolonisation can therefore provide insight into the possible future if independence is gained. Kanak women's participation in the movement and in governance systems in Kanaky-NC can also help to building a greater understanding of how gender roles in Custom interact with the political domain.

This thesis therefore seeks to answer the main research question: How can development towards gender equality and gender equity be promoted through, and alongside processes of social, cultural, and political decolonisation in Kanaky-NC? This is explored through these three research sub-questions:

1. What are Kanak women's roles, experiences, and interpretations of gender and indigeneity in Kanaky-NC?
2. What are Kanak women activists' roles, experiences and interpretations of gender in the independence movement (in political structures and political parties)?
3. What strategies do Kanak women use to negotiate issues of gender inequality faced in the movement and wider society?

These questions are investigated through a post-colonial feminist epistemology, using qualitative research methods. Methods include semi-structured interviews as the main method, with some participant observation and Photo Voice. This research provides a needed contribution to the literature on Kanak women's roles and experiences by putting their voices and perspectives front and centre. It also provides a timely insight into the gendered and racialised tensions present in efforts to decolonise and build autonomous spaces by Indigenous women in a Pacific context. More generally, this thesis offers a grounded and empirically rich understanding of key questions around gender, development and decolonisation. They emphasise the necessary intersectionality of Kanak women's experiences, the importance of self-determination to gender and development strategies, and the value of recognising and supporting self-mobilisation.

Following an outline of the historical context in chapter two, a broad literature review in chapter three, and discussion of methodology in chapter four, research findings are discussed in three key chapters. Chapter five addresses colonial violence, and the persistence of violence through structural inequalities. It investigates the impact of colonisation on gender norms and roles, and racial and gendered discriminations that Kanak women experience in their daily lives. Chapter six investigates Kanak women's roles in traditional customary contexts compared to the modern political context which characterises the independence movement, and investigates how Kanak women experience and interpret these roles. It highlights links and disconnects between customary gender roles and women's roles in Western politics. Chapter seven investigates the strategies that Kanak women use to address gender inequalities in wider society and in the independence movement. This highlights how the self-mobilisation of Kanak women creates social change. Chapter eight concludes with a discussion of how the research findings relate to the literature and the broader questions that they raise.

Historical and Political Context

To fully understand the significance of this research, it is important to understand New Caledonia's colonial history. What is now known as New Caledonia or *La Nouvelle Calédonie* has a long history of struggles against colonisation. Kanak is the term used for indigenous peoples in Kanaky-NC, which is comprised of the *Grande Terre*, and *les îles Loyauté* (the Loyalty Islands).

Figure 1. Map of Kanaky-New Caledonia. Retrieved from Google Maps 11 July 2018.

Kanaky-NC is predominantly Melanesian, although there are some linguistic and cultural Polynesian influences (Muckle, 2012). The indigenous people are believed to have been there since at least the Lapita period, around 1600 BCE – 500 BCE ("Histoire", 2018). Indigenous people lived in separate tribes during pre-colonial times, and did not identify as a collective (Ramsay, 2011). There were over 30 distinct languages used in 1774 (the highest figures report 37), though only 28 survive today (Vernaudon, 2015; Sam et al., 2009). During colonisation the umbrella term "Kanak" came to define the indigenous people as a group (Ramsay, 2011).

Captain Cook was the first European to arrive in Kanaky-NC in 1774, followed by Captain D'Entrecasteaux in 1793 (Lyons, 1986). Subsequent contact between Kanak and Europeans was initially based on trade, however some Kanak people were tricked or forced into slavery on Queensland sugar farms[3] (ibid.). Kanaky was annexed by France in 1853 and used as a penal colony until 1888 (Robie, 1989).

Relations between white settlers who migrated to settle in Nouméa, and Kanak people became increasingly strained. In 1878 there was a significant rebellion against the French colonisers, predominantly driven by wide-spread land theft by white settlers (Lyons, 1986). *L'indigenat*, or Native Code was enforced, under which Kanak people were restricted to their villages by the colonial administrators, forced to pay a 'head tax', and were subject to labour requisitioning (ibid.). *L'indigenat* was predominantly enforced on the Grande Terre, the Loyalty Islands were colonised by missionaries, with the church acting as the primary colonial authority (Muckle, 2012). Numerous other discriminatory laws were enforced up until 1946, including laws against selling alcohol to Kanak people, laws against nudity, and laws granting the Governor the right to appoint chiefs of tribes and to order people to change tribes (Lyons, 1986). Kanak people were not granted French citizenship until 1946. Citizenship was granted following calls for equal rights from Kanak people who had fought in World War II alongside white settlers and from those who had seen equal treatment of black and white American soldiers stationed in New Caledonia during the war (Lyons, 1986; Robie, 1989). The *Union Calédonienne* movement (a Kanak-led political movement) was started during this time.

The post-war years saw a number of political developments. Kanak people could vote for the first time, and New Caledonia was granted status as an overseas territory with increased

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[3] In the mid-to-late 1800s (Lyons, 1986).

autonomous powers of self-government (Chappell, 2010; Connell, 1987). See figure below for an abridged timeline:

Figure 2. Overview of colonisation and decolonisation timeline created by author. Information cited in-text.

The 1958 election of Charles de Gaulle as French president emboldened right-wing politicians and sympathisers in Kanaky-NC. This effectively reduced the power of the centre-left multi-ethnic party Union Calédonienne (UC) which had been birthed from the UC movement. A far-right French High Commissioner was placed in Nouméa and proceeded to roll back autonomous powers of the locally-elected Territorial Assembly (Chappell, 2013).

After French defeat in the Algerian War of Independence in 1962, 2000 *colons*[4] moved to Kanaky-NC from Algeria—most of whom were far-right supporters of de Gaulle and strongly opposed to decolonisation (Lyons, 1986). In addition, the largest nickel-mining and refining company—Société Le Nickel—gained increased economic and political power within the territory (ibid.). Kanaky-NC has the third-largest nickel deposits in the world and nickel has been the largest export commodity for Kanaky-NC since its discovery (Lyons, 1986). Société Le Nickel is owned by a group of multi-national corporations in France, therefore most profits are exported offshore (ibid.). This has been a significant site of conflict between independentists and loyalists (Horowitz, 2004).

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[4] White settlers.

In response to these developments several independentist political movements emerged (Lyons, 1986). In addition to the UC movement and political party, *Les Foulards Rouges* (Red Scarves) were formed in the late 1960s (ibid.). Les Foulards Rouges presented a Marxist resistance to colonization (Robie, 1989). Déwé Gorodey and Susanna Ounei-Small were two active members of Les Foulards Rouges who voiced concerns about how women were valued in the independence movement (Gorodey, 1994; Ounei-Small, 1990; 1994).[5] Les Foulards Rouges evolved into the *Parti de Libération Kanak* (PALIKA), which is now the second largest pro-independence political party (after UC). In 1984 several independentist political parties banded together to form the *Front de Libération National Kanak Socialiste* (FLNKS). Alongside UC and PALIKA[6]. Several other independentist political parties exist outside FLNKS.

Bolstered by the wave of independence sweeping across Africa and the Pacific, FLNKS and other independentists generated significant militant resistance to colonisation (Lyons, 1986; Robie, 1989). This led to a series of violent conflicts between independentists and loyalists, and independentists and the French military during the 1980s known as *les évènements* ('the events') (ibid.). Conflict culminated in 1988 with a group of Kanak independentists killing four *gendarmes*[7] and holding thirty-five employees of the gendarmerie hostage on the island of Ouvéa in demand for an independence referendum (ibid.). The French Administration sieged the hostage location to retrieve the gendarmes, killing nineteen Kanak independentists (Henningham, 1993; Robie, 1989).

Following this, an FLNKS delegation led by Jean-Marie Tjibaou agreed to sign a peace accord between independentists, loyalists and France (Robie, 1989). The Matignon Accords outlined a gradual process of decolonisation concluding with a UN-supervised referendum on independence to be held in 1999 (ibid.). In 1999, the date for the referendum was postponed by the Nouméa Accords. This new agreement also agreed to continue decolonisation, establishing a democratically elected government of New Caledonia with the power to pass legislation except those covering "justice, law and order, defence, currency, and external affairs" (Berman,

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[5] Following *les évènements* (discussed below), Susanna Ounei-Small remained an activist and moved to Aotearoa-New Zealand. Déwé Gorodey has become a significant figure in politics, previously serving as the Vice President of New Caledonia and currently as the Minister for Culture, Citizenship, and Women's Affairs.

[6] *L'Union Progressiste en Mélanésie* (UPM) and *Rassemblement Démocratique Océanien* (RDO) are other members of FLNKS

[7] Gendarmes are military police officers.

2001, p. 280). The Nouméa Accords also established a Customary Senate which is consulted on laws relating to Kanak identity (ibid.). The Customary Senators are selected according to customary processes in each of eight *aires coutumières* (customary regions). See map below:

Figure 3. Map of customary regions and names of Customary Senators as of 24 July 2018 (Sénat Coutumier, n.d.)

Currently, New Caledonia is an overseas collectivity of France with special status and is governed by a democratically elected government. In addition to the Customary Senate it has a legislative Congress and a Government composed of eight ministers (with cabinet composition proportional to political parties' vote). This structure is summarised below:

Figure 4. Government of New Caledonia structure. Adapted from (Gouvernement de la Nouvelle Calédonie, n.d.).

The vote on independence was deferred until 2018, which has now been set for the 4th November.

Literature review

Introduction

In order to understand how development towards gender equality and equity are promoted alongside processes of decolonisation in Kanaky-NC it is necessary to understand how the literature connects gender, development, and decolonisation. Gender norms in Kanaky-NC were changed by colonisation, impacting women's roles, power, and oppressions. Interrogating gender roles and norms is therefore a crucial part of decolonisation. Gender and development are also necessarily intertwined and women often experience development differently to men. Development and decolonisation are primarily linked in post-colonial and post-development literatures, decolonisation and gender are predominantly linked in post-colonial feminist literature, and there is a large body of literature on women, gender, and development of which this chapter will predominantly focus on gender and development literature. The intersection of gender, development, and decolonisation is sparsely covered in the literature despite the many indigenous women who work in this intersection daily. This chapter provides an overview of the literature on gender, development, and decolonisation. Shorter, more specific literature reviews are found within chapters four, five and six. This thesis contains a number of terms with multiple, complex, and contested meanings, including gender, women, decolonisation, and development. For the purposes of this thesis I will articulate how I conceptualise these terms either in this literature review or as the term arises.

Development and Decolonisation: Postcolonial and post-development theories

The term decolonisation is laden with the many ways that colonisation upended, ravaged, and infiltrated the lives of those it encountered. In many cases decolonisation is considered solely a political process, however it is crucial to include definitions which recognise ongoing processes

and address the impacts of colonisation on social norms, language, and worldviews. Firth (2000) defines decolonisation as a process undertaken by anticolonial movements in persistent colonies (specifically the French Pacific), secessionist movements, and "redistributive and culturally assertive" (p. 315) movements. Sailiata (2015) distinguishes between 'classic colonialism' (exploitation colonialism) and settler colonialism. She describes the former as "property as a right of commerce", and the latter as "property as a right of occupation." (p. 302). This refers to the ways that through settler colonialism, indigenous people's bodies, psyches, and cultures were exploited and quelled. The difference in these definitions is important for understanding the subject of this thesis. Political independence is a crucial component of decolonisation, but social, political, and economic dimensions are equally important.

Development and decolonisation intersect in a variety of ways. After WWII, modern development emerged, bolstered by Cold War efforts to sway newly independent former colonies to side with capitalist or communist economies (McEwan, 2009). Postcolonial theory interrogates the ways that colonisation has impacted people, cultures, norms, and structures of power, and how colonial relations are perpetuated in the current 'post'-colonial era (Fanon & Markmann, 1970; McEwan, 2009; Quijano, 2000; Said, 1985; Spivak, 2010). Anibal Quijano's (2000) concept of the *Coloniality of Power* describes the ways that colonisation has persisted into political, social, and racial hierarchies in post-colonial societies. This hierarchical system also relates to knowledge production and cultural norms and values (Quijano, 2000). While Quijano writes in a Latin American context, similar issues have been discussed by Māori academics in Aotearoa-NZ (Hikuroa, 2017). Quijano refers to *decoloniality* as an alternative to *decolonisation.* This term is used to move beyond a focus on political colonisation, to other ways that colonisation is enacted in 'post'-colonial contexts. This thesis will use both terms, but decoloniality is used to more specifically reference power structures.

Postcolonialism is especially important to consider in relation to development, as major development institutions continue to reflect colonial power relations. Many development institutions, such as the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and the United Nations were established during the post-WWII era by former (or current) colonial powers[8] (McEwan,

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[8] For example, the United Nations (UN) is responsible for several development institutions (such as the UN Development Program and the UN Children's Fund) which primarily rely on funding from wealthier economies which are predominantly located in Europe, and North America. However power dynamics are shifting with the increasing power of BRICS economies (Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South

2009). This results in colonial powers' continuing influence over newly-independent former colonies through conditional aid and loans (ibid.). Dependency theorists argue that development of Western countries is predicated on the exploitation of labour and resources from non-Western countries, therefore former colonial powers have an interest in maintaining and exploiting this dependency (dos Santos, 1970; Palma, 1978).

Post-development theorists also advocate around these issues of power, and analyse the ways that development discourse is demeaning and disempowering towards development recipients (McEwan, 2009; McGregor, 2009). This disempowerment can result in significant negative impacts on development recipients including loss of land, livelihoods, self-sufficiency, culture and the removal of self-determination (ibid.). Some post-development theorists reject the concept of development altogether (Escobar, 2012; Sachs, 2010), while others believe that development can be redeemed (Gibson-Graham, 2008). Critics of post-development argue that it romanticises non-Western and indigenous cultures, delegitimising their struggles and their agency in development interactions (Curry, 2003; McGregor, 2009). This critique is valuable for situating decolonisation within the development process. Decolonisation is ultimately a move forward, unpacking colonial norms and power structures while recognising that a return to a pre-colonial state is not possible and not always desirable.

To consider decolonisation in relation to development, development must be defined and conceptualised. Contestations over 'development' are significant for Kanak independence because resistance to decolonisation is often justified by arguments about the economic viability of independence. Theorists conceptualise development in various ways. Modernisation and Neoliberal development theorists and practitioners view development as primarily economic, and use gross domestic product or gross national income as indicators of development (Potter, Binns, Elliott, Nel, & Smith, 2008). These theories also view 'Westernizing' human development indicators as important, emphasising democratic political institutions and Western-style education (ibid.). Other theorists focus on human development indicators which focus on quality of life (ibid.). For example, Participatory Development theorists emphasise community vitality (Chambers, 1994). Shifts have also occurred in how development is conceptualised, from a focus on International Development (responding to inequities and inequalities between countries), to Community Development (responding to inequities and

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Africa). Other development institutions such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund are also governed primarily by Western (European and American) powers (McEwan, 2009).

inequalities within countries). This shift recognises that income inequalities between countries have decreased over the past 40 years while income inequalities within countries are increasing (Alvaredo, et. al., 2018).

Post-development theorists reject these theories and concepts of development. Esteva (2010) argues that 'development' necessitates a diagnosis of 'underdevelopment' which is measured by Western standards. Global development goals articulated through the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) reinforce the idea of a state of Development that must be reached in all parts of the world (McGregor, 2009). The definition of the term 'development' both informs and is informed by global development institutions. This is further compounded by the way that the UN categorises countries as 'developed', 'developing', and 'under-developed'.

Throughout my time as a student of Development Studies I have come to think of development as the continual process of change towards equality and equity, and the continual renegotiation of personal and communal definitions of equity and equality. From my personal definition of development, decolonisation is a form of development—specifically *development towards decoloniality*. In the context of Kanaky-NC decolonisation is in many people's minds, associated with decreased development. In Aotearoa-NZ, and in Kanaky-NC, I have had many interactions with members of the public who believe that France's economic injections into Kanaky-NC are all that stands between prosperity and 'underdevelopment'. Therefore development is perhaps commonly conceived of through the modernisation and neoliberal development definition, which may be less easily achieved through decolonisation. However I would argue that decolonisation can not only occur alongside development, but that decolonisation is *integral* to development.

Gender and Development

Men and women experience the world around them in different ways[9]. Women experience significant gender-based oppressions (Baliff-Spanville, et. al., 2013) which require unique development strategies. Women have also been negatively impacted by broader development strategies (Boserup, 1970; Boserup & Liljencrantz, 1975; Joseph, 1997; Momsen, 2009). Early

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[9] Definitions of men and women will be interrogated in the following section.

modernisation development efforts privileged productive labour and male leadership (ibid.). These issues were raised by feminists and led to gender issues becoming a significant part of the UN's development priorities in the 1970s (Cornwall, 2007).

The Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) was signed by most members of the United Nations in 1979. Development strategies for eliminating gender inequalities have subsequently evolved over time and undergone several ideological changes. Women in Development (WID) initiated women-focused development projects, while Women and Development (WAD) emerged as a gendered critique of modernisation in development theory and questioned the connection between capitalist, modernisation development approaches and the patriarchy (Rathgeber, 1990). Gender and Development (GAD) challenges the patriarchal social norms at the root of many gender inequities and urges governments and development projects to take an active role in valuing reproductive[10] as well as productive labour (ibid.). The GAD approach also recognises that men (especially non-Western men) also experience marginalisation, and that incorporating men is key to remedying gender inequities (Cornwall, 1997; Rathgeber, 1990).

Alongside these varied approaches, gender development indicators have changed over time. The MDGs included four gender-specific development indicators: reducing maternal mortality, and increasing the proportion of women in education, paid employment, and parliament (UNGA, 2015a). Whereas SDG goal five (gender equality) involves five targets with a range of indicators: rate of child marriage, rate of female genital mutilation, time spent in unpaid domestic or care labour, and the proportion of women in government positions and private sector managerial positions (UNGA, 2015b). Gender development goals are also integrated into other SDGs such as Goal 4 on education (ibid.).

Within the Pacific some of these targets are emphasised while others are less relevant. At a 2014 conference organized by the Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific, seven goals for an increase in gender equality were agreed upon: an increase in women's access to basic human rights; increased women's leadership across all sectors (government, NGOs, and civil society); support for local women's movements; an increase in budgets for supporting gender equality

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[10] Reproductive labour refers to unpaid labours such as household cooking, cleaning, and taking care of family members. These labours are typically disproportionately undertaken by women, and are historically de-valued in most development discourses which emphasise income generation.

in government; support for ratification of international agreements on women's rights; and development of regional partnerships for the promotion of women's rights (Gouvernement de la Nouvelle Calédonie, 2014). From this, the New Caledonian government outlined eight aims for gender focus:

> …reducing violence against women, increasing the number of women in decision-making bodies, increasing female employment, combating gender stereotypes, mainstreaming gender in development policies, development of women's solidarity economy, improvement in sexual and reproductive health, strengthening of women's leadership and good governance, and better knowledge of women's rights and exercise of these rights (common and customary) (ibid., no page. Translated by author).

This shows that contextualising gender-focused development is important. The New Caledonian delegation to the conference also emphasised the necessity to consider indigenous women's rights in development towards gender equality (the Australian and New Zealand delegations concurred) (ibid.). This shows that even within the Pacific region different countries have different priorities. Those who are not (or never were) settler colonies do not necessarily have the same needs as those that are (or were).

Gender and Decolonisation

There is significant literature on gender and decolonisation. These literatures can be broadly defined as Postcolonial Feminist (previously titled Third World[11] Feminism) and Indigenous 'Feminism'[12]. Feminism encompasses a range of perspectives which share a commitment to gender equality, and to combatting gender inequalities and discrimination against women (Jayawardena, 1986/2016). Postcolonial feminist literatures specifically focus on the plight of non-Western and/or non-White women, and recognise the intersections of gender with race, culture, and nationality (Alexander & Mohanty, 1997). The core principles of feminism do not

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[11] This term Third World is used with the recognition that it can be problematic because it reinforces a global hierarchy in which Western countries are considered superior. However, this is the word used in this literature, and therefore it is used here.

[12] I recognise that many Indigenous women and theorists reject the term 'feminism', as they believe that feminism is a Western imposition. By using this term I am not rejecting that perspective but am merely using the commonly used term to group these theorists, or this type of thought.

originate solely in the West, but have been asserted in many places at various times (Jayawardena, 1986/2016). Postcolonial feminists have also critiqued Western feminist discourses in a range of non-Western contexts (Mohanty, 1988; Narayan, 1997b) and asserted the value of aligning feminist goals with decolonising movements (Jayawardena, 1986/2016). Indigenous 'feminist' literature often relates this to a specific context. For example Mana Wahine literature in Aotearoa-NZ specifically addresses Māori women's experiences and roles in wider society and in Māori society, and seeks to understand Māori womanhood from a decolonial approach (Pihama, 2001; Simmonds, 2011). Postcolonial and indigenous feminist approaches also recognise the agency of Indigenous and non-Western women, not only the oppressions they face. The phrase *Mana Wahine* is inherently powerful[13].

It is important to define the terms 'women' and 'gender'. The traditional distinction between 'gender' and 'sex' denotes 'sex' as a biological category defined by biological characteristics while 'gender' is a social category traditionally ascribed to people based on their sex (Ballif-Spanville, et. al., 2013). In this sense 'female' refers to biological traits and 'woman' refers to the gender category traditionally ascribed to the female sex but which can also be self-determined[14]. In this thesis I use 'women' and 'female' to describe research participants as these were terms they used to describe themselves.

Colonisation has also impacted definitions of gender. María Lugones (2010) argues that gender is a colonially imposed construct. She argues that colonisation imposed dichotomies of 'human' (European, white) and 'non-human' (Indigenous, non-white) onto the colonised, and that gender dichotomies of 'man' and 'woman' reflect this (respectively). She argues that Western perceptions of gender roles in Indigenous societies were determined by observations of sexual divisions of labour because sexual division of labour and gender roles are inseparable within a Western, colonial lens. However the myriad of social norms accompanying sex and gender in Western society did not necessarily exist in Indigenous societies pre-colonisation. She also highlights that some pre-colonial societies did not have clear sexual division of labour, or gendered social distinctions, and therefore argues that pre-colonial gender norms cannot be uncovered, as gender is itself a colonial construct. Mana Wahine theorists make similar

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[13] The meaning of *Mana* differs between cultures in the Pacific. In Māori cultures it can mean respect, prestige, authority, rights or power ("Mana", n.d.).

[14] I recognise that this definition has been disputed by some queer and feminist activists and scholars (for example Androgeneity, 2018; Dennis, 2017; West & Zimmerman, 1987).

arguments about the imposition of colonial ideals on Māori women (Johnston & Pihama, 1994; N. Murphy, 2013; Simmonds, 2011). Lugones describes Native American cultures which lack gendered pronouns which is also the case in Te Reo Māori. Pihama (2001) asserts that the Māori word commonly translated to 'woman' in English (wahine) is only used in certain contexts: "There are many times and spaces that Māori women move through in our lives, wahine is one of those. There are others. There are varying terms that relate to times in our lives and relationships." (p. 265). She also highlights that there is no implied binary between terms commonly translated as man (tāne) and woman (wahine). Mana Wahine theorists assert the imposition of colonial gender norms and the devastating impacts that this had on Māori society (Johnston & Pihama, 1994; N. Murphy, 2013; Simmonds, 2011).

In Kanaky-NC, Déwé Gorodey (in an interview with Berman (2006)) says that Kanak women were predominantly ignored in colonial literature, in contrast to the exoticisation of Tahitian women. However, sexual relationships between Kanak women and male colonists had the effect of some women being driven from their tribes. In an interview with Susanna Ounei-Small (Gorodey, 1994), Déwé Gorodey says that she doesn't romanticise pre-colonial society as she recognises that as there was war prior to colonisation. However, she argues, colonisation brought new forms of violence—racial and gendered oppressions—which led to a de-valuing of Kanak women's roles within society[15]. Teresia Teaiwa (2008) highlights how militarisation privileges expressions of hyper-masculinity, which marginalises women.

Intersectionality illuminates Kanak women's contemporary experiences. Intersectionality refers to the ways that different identities intersect, and how individuals with these intersecting identities have unique experiences (and experience unique oppressions) (Crenshaw, 1989). Race, gender, sexuality, class, education, nationality and religious beliefs affect how individuals engage with and experience the world around them. The intersectionality of race and gender has been extensively discussed by black women in the United States. Sojourner Truth's (1996) 1851 speech later titled *Ain't I a Woman?* critiqued the hypocrisy of white feminism, and Audre Lorde (1984/2007) pointed to intersectionalities between race, gender, and sexuality. Mohanty (1988) critiqued the assumed superiority of Western culture and values, and the ways that Western feminists tend to homogenise and Other 'Third World Women'. She

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[15] Gorodey is referring to racial and gendered oppressions, but also colonial violence through the use of military power over indigenous peoples.

highlights the contemporary forms of colonisation in academic knowledge production and assumptions about non-Western women

Indigenous self-determination movements can therefore perceive a contention between gender rights and indigenous issues. While indigenous women experience unique challenges related to colonisation, Western feminism's role in further marginalising indigenous peoples can problematize advocacy against gender inequalities in indigenous contexts. Some men feel that highlighting gender inequalities can divide and undermine broader indigenous rights struggles (Simmonds, 2011). Some indigenous rights struggles are also male-dominated and men can be resistant to listen to and address gender issues (Burman, 2011). This contention is raised in the context of the independence movement in Kanaky-NC. Susanna Ounei-Small (1994) claims that the independence movement is male-dominated, and that men actively work to exclude women in the movement from positions of power, and from speaking out against its violent culture. This is also reflected in Berman's (2005) analysis of the movement:

> …the nationalist struggle to end colonialism has been a stumbling block to the emergence of a spirited and vigorous feminist movement. Any focus on gender inequality has been largely overshadowed by a perceived need to preserve 'traditional' practices so as to maintain customary identity against an ambush by European values. (p. 13).

This belief about the patriarchal nature of Kanak society is also reflected in Déwé Gorodey and Susanna Ounei-Small's interview described above (Gorodey, 1994). Gorodey discusses issues of rape and incest, as well as cultural norms which exclude women from public speaking.

Conclusion: Intersecting gender, development, and decolonisation

While it is clear that gender, development and decolonisation are deeply intertwined, little development literature addresses the intersecting complexities. Western-centric development has long been critiqued for harming women and indigenous peoples—especially indigenous women. However, to my knowledge, no theorists seek to imagine a development that specifically addresses these issues and places gender equality and decoloniality at the centre of the work. McEwan (2001) raises issues around the practicality of implementing development

programmes towards gender equality, bearing in mind decolonisation. She cites Sinha, Guy, and Woollacott's (1999) claim that working on developing a transnational feminist approach to decolonisation is crucial for recognising and navigating the "centrifugal force of discrepant feminist histories and the promising potential of political organising across cultural boundaries" (p. 1). The context of Kanaky-NC is useful to investigate to understand this more deeply as it is currently in a process of decolonisation and the role of Western feminism in gender development is contested in public and in the literature, while also having contributed to gender parity in the political sphere. This provides an important opportunity to analyse how these issues play out during a decolonising process. Berman (2006) argues that this decolonisation process in Kanaky-NC has further marginalised women's rights, while Nicolas (2010a) credits the independence movement with significant gains for women and girls' education.

No studies have investigated the roles and experiences of the women fighting for decolonisation of Kanaky-NC. These experiences illustrate the tensions that women experience between intersectional identities and the people or groups creating these tensions. Understanding Kanak women's strategies for negotiating issues related to their intersectional identities (both in the movement and broader society) helps to develop a deeper understanding of how gender-focused development can transpire alongside and through decolonisation. This may help development theorists and practitioners reconsider the framing of development, to encompass support for indigenous women, and integrate decoloniality.

Methodology

Introduction

Due to the complex, sensitive and politicised nature of this research, I was cognisant of the need to design the research with thought to the intersectionality of the subject matter. When reading about Kanak women, I was aware that a lot of historical and contemporary literature was not sensitive to the issues around racial inequalities and colonial legacies raised in postcolonial literature. Hélène Nicolas (2010, 2012, 2015, 2017) is the only researcher writing on Kanak women who claims a postcolonial feminist approach. In other academic literature, there is often little importance given to Kanak women's indigeneity, although some literature does recognise racial inequalities as important. I have grounded this research in a postcolonial feminist epistemological perspective to recognise the complexities of these intersectionalities.

I aimed to use a feminist participatory action research (PAR) methodology to ensure that participants' voices were present throughout. As a Pākehā[16] New Zealander—and therefore an outsider—I wanted to avoid extractive, reductive, neo-colonial research practices (Smith, 2012) and to be valuable to participants. The participatory method chosen was Photo Voice; I discuss below why this did not work well in practice. I developed this research topic with input from two Kanak women independence activists, and sought feedback and renegotiation of the thesis focus throughout. Regardless of this, I am hesitant to claim that this research is participatory. In addition, due to the short timeframe of a Masters thesis, this research has not yet resulted in any action, a crucial part of PAR. I hope that the research generated in this thesis will contribute to policy-making, or to shifting the Western feminist perspectives present in the literature, but the reality of this remains to be seen. Therefore it is more accurate to say that this research utilised a feminist methodology undertaken with PAR principles in mind. Qualitative research methods are used for this research because it seeks to understand the complexities of lived experiences, and because they are more compatible with a PAR approach.

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[16] New Zealand born of European descent.

Research epistemology

Postcolonial feminism

Academic knowledge was used as a tool of colonisation and Indigenous and non-Western peoples have been significantly marginalised in and by Western research and researchers, consciously and unconsciously (Smith, 2012; Vaioleti, 2006). Researchers' worldviews and implicit biases have contributed to this. Therefore, the epistemological underpinnings of this research acknowledge the contribution of implicit researcher biases to research. I do not seek to be impartial in this research, but approach this topic with acknowledgement of my personal belief in postcolonial feminism.

Postcolonial research seeks to identify colonially constructed knowledges and examine the power and impact of colonial constructions and colonial destruction (Smith, 2012). This may be the practice of homogenizing several groups into one category (e.g. Māori, or Indigenous), or the incorporation of Christian narrative into Indigenous legends (for a Māori example see N. Murphy, 2013). In addition to deconstructing, postcolonialism seeks to actively decolonise knowledge structures through elevating marginalised and silenced voices in academia, history, art, and social discourse (Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin, 2002; Smith, 2012; Spivak, 2010).

Postcolonial feminist research recognizes and interrogates knowledge bearing in mind intersectional oppressions faced by Third World and Indigenous women (Anderson & McCann, 2002; Mohanty, 1988). It also seeks to uncover colonial influences on contemporary gender roles (Mohanty, 1988). For this research it is important to recognise how structural violence related to colonisation impacts Kanak women. Issues that Kanak people face cannot be understood outside of their historical colonial context, and Kanak women's experiences can only be understood by examining all aspects of their lives. Recognition of this has shaped the research methodology for data generation and analysis.

Participatory Action Research Methodology

PAR seeks to achieve positive change by democratising the relationship between researchers and participants. PAR should be mutually produced and mutually beneficial (Bergold & Thomas, 2012; Kemmis, McTaggart, & Nixon, 2013; Kindon, Pain, & Kesby, 2007; McIntyre, 2007; Whyte, 1991). The 'action' component of PAR reflects the desire for the research to contribute to a desired change (Kemmis et al., 2013). I have chosen PAR in the hopes that my research will amplify the voices of Kanak women, benefit the community of activists working for decolonisation and gender equity, and contribute to awareness of decolonisation. As my field research occurred in the period preceding the independence referendum, I felt it was vital to contribute to the activism undertaken by the participants.

PAR research approaches arise from the postcolonial literature, predominantly Paulo Freire's (1970) critical examination of the construction of knowledge. Freire argues that oppressed peoples experience dehumanisation, and that they can be re-humanised by "learning to perceive social, political, and economic contradictions, and to take action against the oppressive elements of reality." (Freire, 1970, p. 17). This process he calls *conscientisação*, or *conscientisation.* PAR seeks to shift 'the researched' from objects of research to active participants in the process of creating knowledge about their lives (Kindon et al., 2007). Through the process of actively participating in research, research participants may experience conscientisation, gaining critical consciousness about their social surroundings and beginning to see various contradictions in their lives, and in social, economic and political systems (Kemmis et al., 2013). Kemmis et al. (2013) argue that this can motivate post-research activism (ibid.).

PAR also encourages researchers to critically reflect on their power and influence through ongoing action-reflection processes (Kemmis et al., 2013; Kindon et al., 2007). Paolo Freire (1974) discusses how action-reflection processes are an integral part of conscientisation, as reflection is crucial for understanding and recognising oppressions. Action is necessary to attempt to change oppressions, this action then requires reflection, which sparks further action, and so on. Reflexivity is a key part of this (Cahill, Sultana, & Pain, 2007).

Reflexivity is a personal practice of reflection on one's positionality, interaction with others, analysis of research findings and the consequences of the research (Archer, 2007; Cunliffe,

2003; England, 1994). Reflexivity is a tool researchers can use to "remain critically alert […] to a particular danger of self-deception […] about the extent to which their own self-interests and the self-interests of other participants overlap." (Kemmis et al., 2013, p. 9). Researchers must interrogate their own belief systems and power in relation to participants' belief systems and power. They must then interrogate how this translates into the subject matter and data (Rose, 1997). In practical terms this means that researchers must constantly negotiate the ways in which they are interacting with participants. Researchers must also have important and difficult conversations to reveal positionalities and ensure that participation is fully informed.

Reflexivity in practice involved reflection on research interactions with literature, with participants, and with various contexts. This then informed further engagement. Through this I refined interview and research questions to orient this research towards focuses that participants raised. I kept a reflective journal in which I recorded my emotions and observations, especially those that made me uncomfortable. I also found my assumptions contradicted in a variety of scenarios; I will elaborate on this in the ethics section of this chapter.

Despite the activist benefits of PAR, it is important to acknowledge its inability to fully mitigate power differentials between researchers and participants. Research is often identified, designed, and guided by academics before participants are involved (Kindon, 2010). McGee (2002) argues that participation in research is therefore a *means* rather than as an *end*. Maximising participation and minimising power differentials is difficult, especially if there are time-pressures, and/or no established group with whom power can be shared. This can become increasingly difficult if the research is valuable, but not the top priority of the groups it aims to involve. In addition, PAR practitioners can be emotionally removed from the research which can lead to over-enthusiasm in proliferating research without properly consulting participants (D'Amico, et. al., 2016). Researchers must be prepared to adapt, alter, or abandon research plans if communities do not want the research, or do not have sufficient time and energy to participate.

Feminist Participatory Action Research

This research is approached from a postcolonial feminist epistemology and therefore it also draws on feminist methodologies. Feminist research methodologies share some similar characteristics to PAR. They seek to equalise research relationships and aim for research to

result in positive social change, especially for women (Kirsch, 1999; Letherby, 2003). They also interrogate researchers' assumed objectivity and gendered assumptions (Letherby, 2003). Haraway (1988) refers to this assumed objectivity as the "god trick" (p. 581): the idea that it is possible to "see everything from everywhere" (ibid.) with correctly designed research. Haraway argues that research should focus on "partial, locatable, critical knowledges sustaining the possibility of webs of connections called solidarity in politics and share conversations in epistemology" (1988, p. 584). As I am not Kanak or Indigenous, it is crucial that I recognise my own biases in relation to this research and that my interpretations of research findings will always be subjective.

The key difference between feminist and PAR methodologies is feminism's explicitly feminist epistemology which aims for research to challenge patriarchal structures and unequal gender relations and norms (Letherby, 2003). This is an important part of this research, and therefore it is necessary to integrate feminist methodologies into PAR for this research. Different feminist methodologies follow different threads of feminist theory, but all stress the importance of valuing diverse ways of knowing and generating data (Kirsch, 1999; Letherby, 2003). Letherby (2003) argues that feminist methodologies must value non-traditional ways of knowing and understanding that have long been excluded by the male academy such as experiential, private, and personal accounts. Women's public discussion of their experiences are often considered less valid than men's corroboration of women's experiences (Beaty, 2017; Valenti, 2015). Feminist methodologies argue that research should value the multiple ways that women generate knowledge and share their experiences (Letherby, 2003).

Validating women's personal experiences through research practice can be a powerful method of subverting patriarchal norms and valuation of knowledge within academia (Letherby, 2003). I therefore also draw on non-academic literatures to generate full understanding of this subject matter. This includes non-peer reviewed writings, speeches, videos, and poetry. This recognises that women's experiences do not always need to be corroborated by academia to be valid. In addition, it recognises that few Kanak women have entered academia, and that they should still be heard and believed. My research aims to integrate PAR and feminist methodologies and therefore is written from the epistemological perspective that research is subjective and that in the social sciences there are no 'truths' out there to be discovered through research, but rather multiple subjectivities which are all relevant (Letherby, 2003). These can be pieced together to

begin to understand the complexities of Kanak women's lives and gender relations in the social structure of Kanaky-NC.

Practically, Reid and Frisby (2008) argue that feminist PAR (FPAR) necessarily involves:

> (1) centering gender and women's experiences while challenging patriarchy; (2) accounting for intersectionality; (3) honoring voice and difference through participatory research processes; (4) exploring new forms of representation; (5) reflexivity; and (6) honoring many forms of action. (p. 93).

Feminist methodologies also require researchers to practice reflexivity around their relationships and interactions with participants (Kirsch, 1999; Letherby, 2003). It recognises the humanity within the self of the researcher, the subject, and the participants (ibid.). This can bring researchers and participants closer, through shared struggles, life experiences, and/or beliefs, or it can highlight a confronting distance in these areas (ibid.). As Patricia Maguire (1987) says:

> Participatory action research is like a dance. You must listen to the music to feel the beat and get the rhythm, to sway and move with your partners (Meulenberg-Buskins, 1996). You must listen to yourself. Pay attention to the voice within you that signals something's not right here. Pay attention to your annoyances and discomforts. Periodically revisit your touchstone - what do I believe? Are my action choices congruent with my beliefs? This, more than any "how to" checklist will help you stay the course with integrity. (p. xvii)

Macguire's quote is particularly valuable for considering the informed consent process which will be discussed in the ethics section of this chapter.

PAR with Indigenous communities: Pasifika methodologies

Incorporating decolonising principles into research methodologies is crucial to ensuring that research with Indigenous communities is valuable and meaningful, and reduces the possibility of harm. This comes from a place of understanding that research and academia have excluded, exploited and marginalised Indigenous communities (Smith, 2012; Vaioleti, 2006). Misunderstanding Indigenous worldviews and cultural norms can drastically alter the results of

research with Indigenous peoples and can have incredibly damaging effects[17]. Linda Tuhiwai Smith (2012) argues that:

> From an Indigenous perspective Western research is more than just research that is located in a positivist[18] tradition. It is research which brings to bear, on any study of Indigenous peoples, a cultural orientation, a set of values, a different conceptualisation of such things as time, space and subjectivity, different and competing theories of knowledge, highly specialised forms of language, and structures of power. (p. 92).

For this research, it is important to recognise and value Indigenous Pasifika ways of knowing and generating knowledge. This is especially important as I am not Indigenous, and while I am *from* the Pacific, I am not *of* the Pacific. Hikuroa (2017) argues that Indigenous peoples (in his case Māori) have been using methods of observing, recording, and testing hypotheses for centuries, but that conclusions drawn and methods of recording differ significantly from Western research and science. Hikuroa describes how oral histories and stories are used to codify and transmit knowledge across generations. Pākehā and other Western researchers must value the various ways of knowing and understanding that emerge when undertaking research.

Kaupapa Māori, Talanoa, and Fa'afaletui are a few of the research methods and methodologies grounded in Pasifika cultures and values have emerged over the past few decades. Talanoa is perhaps the most prolific and draws on the use of metaphor and story-telling which are common in Pasifika cultures (Sua'ali'i-Sauni & Fulu-Aiolupotea, 2014). Vaioleti (2006) defines Talanoa as "talking about nothing in particular, and interacting without a rigid framework." (p. 23). Like PAR and feminist methodologies, Talanoa acknowledges the subjectivity and humanity of the researcher and the importance of the connection between the researcher and participants. I was conscious of Talanoa during my field research. Many of the interviews conducted in this research were undertaken as conversations, and some participants responded to interview questions with extensive narratives which showed the connections between various elements of this research. However, I did come back to the interview questions which had not been

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[17] This occurs frequently throughout the development world, from the small details of project implementation to the broader concepts of what constitutes development (Curry, 2003; Gegeo, 1998; Norberg-Hodge, 2013).

[18] Positivist refers to an epistemology that assumes objectivity, and believes that universal truths exist and can be ascertained through research.

addressed after the narrative ended. I respect that some Pasifika researchers may still consider this to be Talanoa, but as a non-Pasifika person I do not feel that I can make that claim.

Research Methods

This research used qualitative research methods. "Qualities are like smoke; they are real and we can see them, but they won't stand still for us or form straight lines for our rules to capture," say Berg and Lune (2012, pp. 3-4). Qualitative methods seek to dig deeper into the meaning behind various phenomena in the social sciences. In contrast to quantitative research methods, which aim to identify broad trends, qualitative research values depth over breadth (Berg & Lune, 2012; Liamputtong, 2010). Qualitative research methods are used in this research because I am incorporating personal stories and lived experiences into academic literature through this research. This research also seeks depth of information on lived experiences which only qualitative methods provide. This research involved semi-structured interviews, and sought to also incorporate Photo Voice, however was largely unsuccessful in this.

Photo Voice

Photo Voice is a participatory qualitative research method whereby participants reflect on questions, strengths, concerns, places, or events in their lives, and communicate these reflections through taking photographs (Wang & Burris, 1997). Photo-voice involves four phases: (1) the opening phase, (2) the active photo shooting phase, (3) the decoding phase, and (4) the analytical scientific interpretation phase (Kolb, 2008, p. 6). In the first phase participants consider the research questions in collaboration with the researcher and/or each other (in my case the participants were given the option of either), and decide on a more concrete focus for their photographs. The researcher and participants talk through the subject matter and what the questions mean, and ensure that participants understand the exercise and the research focus. In the second phase the participants take photos which relate to the concepts that have been agreed upon. In the third phase the researcher 'interviews' the photographs taken with the participants (in this case one-on-one). This enables investigation into the deeper meanings of the photographs taken. Participants reflect on their reasoning for taking this particular photograph and discuss the deeper meanings of the photographs for them. This can result in further discussion and reflection, and may lead to conscientisation (Carlson, Engebretson, & Chamberlain, 2006; Kolb, 2008; Wang & Burris, 1997). Then in the fourth phase researcher

and participants analyse the photographs and interview transcripts to identify themes and verbalise observations (Kolb, 2008).

In this way, Photo Voice is often viewed as a more direct participatory method because participants are the ones who take the photographs, and therefore they can directly convey their interpretation of the world with the reader/viewer with minimal tampering from the researcher. They also have time to consider how they want to represent themselves, their lives, and their experiences in the research, and have a relatively large window of time in which to craft their contributions. As Rose (2012) argues,

> technologies and images offer views of the world; they render the world in visual terms. […] These images are never transparent windows into the world. They interpret the world; they display it in very particular ways, they represent it. (p. 2)

While researchers still retain power over the research and representation by choosing which photographs to include in their writings (as well as writing about the photographs), participants can still communicate more directly with readers. In addition, participants can share aspects of their experiences that may be difficult to translate into words or text. Photo-voice is also considered a valuable method to reach policymakers (Wang & Burris, 1997). If participants desire it, photos can be used to engage the general public, as they are a respected mechanism of communication within Western spheres (for example in governments, inter-governmental organisation, and international non-governmental organisations) (ibid.).

I chose photo-voice because of the above benefits, however I now understand that there are significant limitations of this research method. Ultimately, only three of the thirteen participants (Kanak independence activist women) who were offered Photo Voice agreed to participate in this method, and of those three only one participant followed through with this method. Photos included in the thesis are labelled with the name of the photographer and, if it is myself, whether it was at the request of a participant. Those who chose not to participate in Photo Voice cited limited time and the more complicated nature of this research method. Of those who elected to participate in Photo Voice but did not follow through, limited time was also the issue. One participant did not take the photos due to limited personal time, and another did take photographs however had limited time for a follow-up interview. Unfortunately, I contracted a parasite during my fieldwork and had to reschedule the follow-up interview, and another one

was not able to be made due to the participant's busy schedule. As all participants are independence activists they understandably have limited time and energy. I now recognise that I should have considered this before selecting Photo Voice as a research method.

There are also ethical questions related to photo-voice around photographing others, and ensuring they have informed consent, and copyright and distribution rights of images (Wang & Burris, 1997; Wang & Redwood-Jones, 2001). In accordance with recommendations from the Victoria University Human Ethics Committee, I directed participants not to take photographs in which any person can be identified. However, one of the participants disagreed strongly with this directive. She argued that if she asked verbal permission then she should be able to take photographs of others. For her, taking photographs of her family was important. Directing her about which photos I could print in my research felt very uncomfortable. I felt that I had chosen this method because I wanted to be participatory, but placing restrictions on participants felt un-participatory. Ultimately I was not able to use many of the photos that were taken because they were of other people. Nonetheless, I have learnt a lot about Photo Voice as a research method and the challenges of genuinely participatory research.

Semi-structured interviews

The semi-structured interviews were much more successful. Interviews are a valuable method of information-gathering in qualitative research. One-on-one and face-to-face interviews, when done well, can build relationships and trust between the interviewer (researcher) and interviewee (participant) (Berg & Lune, 2012). Semi-structured (or semi-standardized) interviews have a loose structure, with some prepared questions and topics of discussion, however they allow for deviation of conversation and mutual sharing between interviewer and interviewee (ibid.). Semi-structured interviews also allow the interviewer to gauge the flow of communication and alter the interview accordingly. In some situations I altered the order of questions or asked questions in a less obtrusive way if participants appeared uncomfortable, or had already answered a question through an earlier narrative. In addition, semi-structured interviews allowed me to investigate further when participants raised an interesting topic which I had not anticipated in my interview questions.

Interviews are heavily influenced by the communication style of the interviewer and interviewee, and interviewees respond in vastly different ways depending on their culture,

personality, and level of comfort[19]. For this research I was conscious of postcolonial and Talanoa principles around acknowledging and validating Indigenous worldviews, ways of knowing and forms of communicating ideas (Sua'ali'i-Sauni & Fulu-Aiolupotea, 2014). As a Pākehā woman I felt it was important to communicate my positionality as well as my perspective on Indigenous rights and decolonisation in order to build trust and inform consent. I also felt that it was important to communicate my research epistemology in order for participants to be informed of how I planned to approach this research subject. Therefore, when I introduced myself to participants I discussed my personal background, and expressed my belief in decolonisation, and my motivations for undertaking this research being grounded in post-colonial feminism (although I didn't always use the term 'post-colonial feminism').

Participants were recruited through emailing people I identified as women's rights activists and through the independence movement. I also attended a march for automatic inscription of all Kanak people on the electoral roll and approached women who spoke in the public forum. Through this I met a couple of significant women who were gracious enough to connect me with further men and women they felt would be interested in participating. The snowballing technique did mean that I did not get an even spread of participants across political parties. In addition, I became unwell during the final weeks of my field research and was unable to travel rurally to meet with more research participants. I therefore do not have an even split of rural and urban research participants as I had planned.

In total I interviewed sixteen participants, thirteen women and three men. There was approximately an even split of participants with origins in the Loyalty Islands compared to the Grande Terre. Other demographics are summarised below:

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[19] This is informed by my own experience, having worked for six years as a massage therapist during which I complete intake interviews with a large number of different people, of different ages and nationalities.

Age and Gender	Profession	Political Party	Lives (Rural/Urban)
20s – 1 w	Government – 4 w, 1m	Union Calédonienne – 6 women, 3 men	Rural – 3 women
30s – 5 w, 1m	Healthcare – 2 w		
	Lawyer – 2 w		
40s – 1 w	Teacher – 1 w	PALIKA – 4 women	Urban – 10 women, 3 men
50s – 2 w, 1 m	NGO worker – 1 m		
	Foreign Embassy – 1 w	DUS – 1 woman	
60s – 4 w, 1 m	Unemployed – 1 w	No affiliation – 1 woman	
	Retired – 2 w, 1 m		

Figure 5. Table of participants' demographics ('m' = men, 'w' = women).

Interviews with women enabled communication of their personal, embodied experiences as well as communication of knowledge gained thorough their employed or political positions. Interviews with men were useful for gaining a broader perspective on the culture within the movement, and understanding how men relate to gender issues. As the goal of this research is to privilege women's voices, I conducted significantly fewer interviews with men and did not offer men participation in Photo Voice.

Participant observation

In addition to the above methods, I have referred to my personal observations to provide further context and analysis to the research findings. Crang and Cook (2007) describe participant observation as

> …a three stage process in which the researcher somehow, first, gains access to a particular community, second, lives and/or works among the people under study in order to grasp their world views and ways of life and, third, travels back to the academy to make sense of this through writing up an account of that community's 'culture'. (p. 37).

The participant observation in this thesis is not intended to be the primary source of research findings, merely an addition to findings that emerged from the semi-structured interviews. The participant observations in this thesis come from my experiences at political meetings, such as planning meetings for a newsletter titled "Le Voix de Kanaky" (the voice of Kanaky), my

presence at a political congress of Union Calédonienne, and experiences of being invited to people's houses, a funeral and regions like Canala, Thio, and Ouvéa.

Ethical Issues

Positionality

Identifying positionalities is key to PAR. Positionality refers to one's personal identities, privileges, oppressions and worldview, and how this relates to interactions with others (England, 1994; Sultana, 2014). Recognising the ways that positionalities impact research interactions allows researchers to recognise and acknowledge the subjectivities inherent in the research process (England, 1994; Rose, 1997).

I am a young, upper-middle class, educated, Pākehā woman of predominantly European origin. My ancestors include emissaries of the British empire in Australia and India, some Indian ancestry through these emissaries, and early settlers to Aotearoa from England, Scotland and Sweden. One of my ancestors to Aotearoa almost[20] participated in the raid on Parihaka, one of the most abhorrent British acts on Māori during the New Zealand Wars. All my ancestors who immigrated to the Pacific did so with the privilege of European origin, white skin, and the backing of a large, powerful, and brutal empire. I have inherited this privilege, and have been raised with white skin and European cultural heritage into a society which values both. While I recognise that I am not my ancestors, I would not be here without them, and I have inherited a privilege that they violently carved for those of European descent in Aotearoa, throughout the Pacific, and in other places throughout the world. However, I also recognise other ancestors who were colonised, and recognise the intense brutality that they would have experienced at the hands of the British Empire, especially the women.

My upbringing reflected a meshing of many cultures. My parent's sentimental and religious links to India gave me my first names and many cultural values and norms. I grew up with Hindu mythologies and folklores and admiring the many women represented there. In addition

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[20] He would have participated on behalf of the British Crown however he was shot and killed by another soldier in his regiment before the raid.

I attended Kōhanga Reo[21], and was raised with Māori mythologies, worldviews, language, and mentors. This upbringing has brought me a deep belief in many Māori and Hindu cultural values. It also showed me the deep privilege that whiteness, and fluency in Pākehā culture and norms, affords me in Aotearoa-NZ. Straddling more than one cultural world was comparatively easier for me than it appeared to be for most of my Māori peers growing up. I have been constantly aware of this throughout the processes of research. In addition, while I resonate with Māori worldviews, I do not have a deep understanding of Kanak cultures and need to be careful that I am not making assumptions about Kanak culture and norms based on my knowledge and experience of Te Ao Māori.

My gender is also an important aspect to my identity and influences how I experience the world. Many experiences and oppressions of womanhood are present in my life and infiltrate my unconscious in the same way that the privilege of whiteness does. While some experiences of living as a woman in a patriarchal culture were shared with research participants, others were very different. Homogeneity of experiences of womanhood can never be assumed. I am constantly aware of this, and reflect on how this influences my research and my interactions with participants and others. In addition, I was raised in a middle-class to upper-middle class family and have a university education. I was aware prior to undertaking fieldwork that this could influence interactions, however most participants were university educated, and employed in well-salaried jobs. The predominant difference I felt was being Pākehā, and being non-indigenous. This is important to be aware of as I will never fully comprehend this lived experience, which is important to acknowledge when writing on this subject.

Ethical issues related to this research

This research was approved by the Victoria University of Wellington Human Ethics Committee. There were several ethical issues that were important to consider in planning this research and throughout the data collection, analysis, and writing. Power relations can emerge in each stage of the research process. Researchers often initiate and design the research process. Researchers are also usually the party with access to funding, or with enough social capital to raise funds or apply for grants. In recognition of this researchers should aim to be be open and flexible to changing their proposed research at any point in the project. Researchers should also

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[21] Te Reo Māori immersion pre-school, literally translated to 'language nest'.

consult with members of the participating communities or parties to collaborate on research design as much as possible. For this research, in November 2016 I went to Kanaky-NC and met with two key women who were involved with gender advocacy and active members of the independence movement. I consulted on my proposed research topic, and invited comments or changes. This continued as the research progressed, and I welcomed the introduction of new subject matter in the semi-structured interviews.

Recruitment of participants is also a space in which researchers can leverage power over participants, and the recruitment process contains unavoidable power relations (Kemmis et al., 2013; Kindon, 2010; Kindon, Pain, & Kesby, 2007). Regardless of efforts to incorporate all members of a community there is an inherent politics involved in whose voice gets heard. The base price of entry is that participants must have enough time, energy, and mental capacity to participate (Smith, 2012). This can exclude some members of society — e.g. people who are sick with acute or chronic illnesses, those with the least income (who often work long hours), parents (especially mothers, who often take on the bulk of the domestic labour), or those with mental or physical disabilities. Researchers should aim to reduce the barriers to participation as much as possible. When working with parents, researchers should be inclusive and welcoming of children within the collaborative space.

As discussed earlier, the Photo Voice component of this research was largely unsuccessful due to time constraints. I was conscious not to pressure participants into participating, and to value the limited time that some were able to offer to this research. One participant was unable to respond to all the interview questions due to limited time for the interview. While I did attempt to reschedule for the remainder of the interview, I was conscious not to push too much for this and to value the time she gave. In addition, some sort of financial compensation for time can also be helpful. Unfortunately for this research I did not have the funds to compensate participants more than the customary practice of *geste* (gesture or gift). For those who had taken significant time to help in shaping the research and aid in recruiting participants a slightly larger gift was given. I also provided a *geste* of money or cloth to the host of homes or events that I visited. I was not always aware of when it was appropriate or necessary to do this, so I was often guided by friends who would gift on my behalf and whom I would reimburse.

Ethical issues also exist in valuing and representing the diversity and multiplicity within groups during the data generation and data analysis stages (Cahill, 2007; Cahill et al., 2007; Kemmis

et al., 2013). Participant groups have internal politics which often include hierarchies. This can influence participation (Evans, 2013). Researchers may struggle with the extent to which they should disrupt group dynamics in order to ensure equal participation of all members. This can be especially difficult when incorporating postcolonial epistemologies into PAR as outside researchers—especially white/Pākehā researchers—must be aware of not perpetuating white-saviour complexes of 'saving'/'liberating' the local people from 'dangerous' social hierarchies. I became increasingly conscious of this during the first few interviews I conducted, as I realised that if I was only interviewing participants who were contacts of one 'gatekeeper' then the research would not include participants from a diverse range of political parties. Ultimately I used the snowballing recruitment technique and was fortunate to benefit from contacts with two primary 'gatekeepers' who belonged to the two main political parties.

Another ethical issue that I encountered with being introduced by a 'gatekeeper' was the risk of being misrepresented, or misrepresenting myself. One 'gatekeeper', who became a good friend speaks *fakaouvea* (the sole language in Kanaky-NC with Polynesian roots). As some of the words were similar to Te Reo Māori which I studied in high school, I was able to understand some words in *fakaouvea*. While I made it clear to research participants that I am Pākehā, this 'gatekeeper' would sometimes introduce me to others as from New Zealand and ask me to repeat the Māori words that I had shared. In some situations she simply said "From New Zealand, Māori". This made me uncomfortable, and I would clarify that I am not Māori, but that I speak some Māori language. This made me think deeply about issues associated with using a language such as Te Reo Māori to connect with other indigenous peoples in my work. Te Reo is highly politicised in Aotearoa-NZ, and often its legitimacy and importance is questioned due to its lack of wide-spread use among much of the population—predominantly Pākehā people. My continued discomfort about this experience has led me to think deeply about mutual representation in research. How I represent the research participants is important, but how they represent me is also important, and is something I have a lot less control over.

I was conscious throughout this process of the importance of considering colonial history, and the individual and societal trauma that can arise from this, and taking steps to ensure that I always engaged respectfully with issues around this. I was also conscious of historical and intergenerational trauma when engaging with questions around colonialism (Gagné, 1998). The topic of this research may raise strong emotions and traumatic memories for the participants. The interview questions did not ask specifically about any kinds of colonial or gendered

violence, however these topics did emerge in responses. I endeavoured to be respectful, and engage with the issues without enquiring further than was necessary for clarification.

Informed consent is crucial to research, and continual, ongoing informed consent is crucial to working with marginalised peoples. Informed consent involves navigating power-relations among those involved in the research, and paying attention to non-verbal signals of discomfort or dis-ease from participants. In addition, Letherby (2003) suggests that "giving something of oneself is important" (p. 83). Being open and honest with participants about the researcher's own subjectivities, identities, experiences and vulnerabilities can mitigate unequal power-relations. However, care also needs to be taken to ensure that this transparency does not burden the participants, or engender feelings of obligation to reveal similar vulnerabilities.

In this research I undertook verbal informed consent with all participants and ensured that information was communicated clearly to participants. None of the participants were illiterate, however I did read out the consent form for a participant who was cooking at the time. Verbal consent was also gained from all participants in addition to the written consent form. When participants were recruited by a 'gatekeeper' I was careful to ensure that they did not appear to feel obligated or coerced into participating in the research. All participants were provided a transcript of their interview in the interview language (French or English) a draft of the thesis, and an Executive Summary of the thesis in French. They were encouraged to withdraw any content, clarify their position, or change their identifying characteristics. Several participants chose to do this. This is imperfect as most participants do not speak English and I was not able to translate the whole thesis, however within the constraints I believe the process succeeded in its intentions. I have kept in phone contact with participants who do not have Internet access.

Researchers have the ultimate power when it comes to writing up the research findings, and often in the distribution of the research findings (Cahill et al., 2007). While this can be mitigated in some cases by having participants co-author or co-present research, this cannot be the case for my research as it is for my Masters in Development Studies qualification and therefore to meet the qualification requirements I must solely author the research. I tried as much as possible to relay participants' direct words, however due to word count I had to synthesise participants contributions in some places.

I have ensured that research participants could choose how they are represented in relation to the quotes, what description I give about their identities, and what pseudonyms I use if they choose to remain anonymous. Thus some participants' jobs and ages are provided while others' are not. Participatory action research methodology acknowledges that participants may wish to be identified by name in the literature if they wish, some participants chose this, and I reaffirmed all quotes in context with them prior to finalising the thesis. Those whom I could not reach I have chosen to apply a pseudonym for the marking stage of the thesis and endeavour to reaffirm consent during the marking period prior to publication. Confidentiality is important, and I have taken all measures to secure data and all identifying material of participants who chose to remain confidential. All identifying and confidential information is kept in a safe location, on an encrypted hard drive.

I conducted 15 of 16 interviews in French and therefore translated from French to English. I am cognisant of the power that is enacted when translating between languages and cultures (Trask, 1999). As Bassnett and Trivedi (1999) highlight:

> translation does not happen in a vacuum, but in a continuum; it is not an isolated act, it is part of an ongoing process of intercultural transfer. Moreover, translation is a highly manipulative activity that involved all kinds of stages in that process of transfer across linguistic and cultural boundaries. (p. 2).

Language, and imperfect translations have also been a marker of colonisation and has been used as a tool of oppression (a famous example of this is the mistranslation between the Treaty of Waitangi and Te Tiriti o Waitangi in Aotearoa). I have endeavoured to translate to the best of my ability and have provided the original text as footnotes. Some words or concepts cannot be translated word-for-word. In these cases I have provided a translation I believe reflects the sentiment of the original text.

Methods of Analysis

The analysis in this research reflects the epistemological foundation. I have endeavoured to provide an intersectional postcolonial feminist analysis of the findings in this research. Through this I have endeavoured to honour the diversity of experiences and views that were reflected in

the research data. Each participant told different stories, among which there are connections, agreements, and tensions. I have aimed to reflect this in the presentation and analysis of the research findings.

Data analysis was undertaken through the process outlined by Cresswell (2003). Each interview was transcribed by myself, and then coded using NVivo software. I began with three main themes which I felt represented the most salient themes in the interview data. I also devised a series of pre-determined codes, however added a significant number of coding categories as I worked through the data. The number of codes ballooned, and then was refined by myself following the research process. I then created a mind map of all the coded categories, and drew links between them. The final refining of research finding categories was undertaken during the process of writing up and analysing the research data. Translation of quotes was also undertaken alongside writing up research findings. Data was interpreted through a postcolonial feminist lens, as detailed above.

Limitations and Further Research

This research is relatively limited, only providing insight into the experiences of 13 women and 3 men. The findings are therefore not intended to be extrapolated, but to provide a depth of understanding. In addition, interviewees were only from three different political parties, therefore larger studies may be able to capture a greater diversity of experiences among other political parties. It would be useful to undertake a comparative study between women's experiences in loyalist and independentist political parties, to understand whether there is a difference in their experiences. This may provide a deeper insight into women's experiences in politics in New Caledonia in general. In addition, a larger study would be able to compare rural and urban women better. This study was not able to do this well due to limited time and illness.

Conclusion

This research aims to understand the intersection of gender, development, and decolonisation during a heightened political period, which requires a deeper understanding of Kanak women independence activists' roles, experiences, and strategies in the independence movement. While one of the methods chosen (Photo Voice) was largely unsuccessful, I believe that the research

aims have been achieved through the methods of interviews and participant observation. There are several ethical issues that have been important to raise and interrogate during the process of conducting this research, however I have sought to be reflexive throughout, and follow the action-reflection cycles articulated in PAR research methodology. In addition, I feel that this research will provide a valuable postcolonial feminist analysis on gender and indigeneity in Kanaky-New Caledonia, and that this will be a significant contribution to the literature around this subject, which is limited from this epistemological perspective. Ultimately I hope that this research, and the way that it has been conducted, will be of value to academics and independence activists in enabling a deeper understanding of this subject.

Colonial Violence and Structural Inequalities: the lived effects of colonization

Introduction

A significant theme that emerged from conversations with participants around Kanak women's lived experiences of gender and indigeneity was violence surrounding colonisation. This chapter investigates intersectional experiences that Kanak women have had in relation to their gender and indigeneity. It first contextualises the research findings using literature on gendered and colonising violence. It then discusses historical state violence, and how the legacies of this violence are felt among the participants today. As outlined in the introduction, colonisation in Kanaky-NC resulted in both physical violence and structural inequalities. Physically violent effects included the *code de l'indigenat* (Native Code) and violent conflicts between Kanak people and colonisers throughout the 20th Century.

Structural inequalities are underpinned by the removal of self-determination for indigenous peoples and institutional racism. The introduced social, cultural and institutional norms also significantly impacted gender roles and norms in Kanak society. This has contributed to intersectional oppressions that Kanak women experience today. Intersectional inequalities manifest in Kanak women's limited access to education and employment opportunities. Inequalities are also exhibited through significant rates of gender-based violence, economic inequalities and health inequalities. I also argue that the removal of self-determination is as important as the physical violence enacted against Kanak peoples during colonisation. Other less-overt forms of violence, like the French representatives sharing alternating narratives for Kanak and non-Kanak communities, can also be a form of violence, and, I argue, a form of

racial gaslighting. These issues are detailed and investigated in this chapter. This research does not quantify these issues, but reflects the concerns raised by participants.

Literature on Violence and Structural Inequalities

Globally, there is a significant literature related to the violent effects of colonisation. This predominantly focuses on death, displacement, land dispossession (Atkinson, 1990; Barta, 1987; Finnane, 2002; Moses, 2000; Watson, 2009), European cultural imperialism (including European impact on indigenous gender roles) (Canut, 2010; Diouf, 1998; Mikaere, 1994; N. Murphy, 2013; Nandy, 1988; Trask, 1999; Watson, 2009), and the introduction of racial hierarchies (Fanon & Markmann, 1970; Jugé & Perez, 2006; Paradies, 2016; D. R. D. Thomas, 2013). Postcolonial feminists and indigenous feminists argue that colonisation had significant negative impacts on gender norms and roles, and resulted in significant marginalisation of indigenous women within the colonising culture *and* indigenous cultures (Alexander & Mohanty, 1997; Anderson & McCann, 2002; Burman, 2011; Johnston & Pihama, 1994; Lugones, 2010; Mikaere, 1994; Rountree, 2000; Simmonds, 2011). An example of this can be seen through Ngahuia Murphy's (2013) discussion of the ways that Christian narratives were used to reshape Māori legends, and how menstruation was subverted from an expression of women's power to bear children and their crucial role in establishing *whakapapa* (lineage), to a shameful and unclean bodily function.

There is little analysis of such gendered effects of colonisation in the literature on Kanaky-NC. Alan Berman (2006) is one of few authors to investigate the impact of colonisation on gender norms. He argues that Kanak women have been marginalised through the Western construction and ownership of knowledge. Colonial authorities and anthropologists consistently privileged male points of view and knowledge while side-lining women and their oral histories and customs (ibid.). In addition, French colonisers perpetuated gender inequities through the relegation of women to the domestic sphere and the stigmatisation of sexual activity (ibid.).[22]

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[22] Although Berman acknowledges that there is no record of the extent to which women's sexual freedoms were normalised pre-colonisation.

In addition to shaping norms and knowledge, early colonisation involved significant sexual exploitation of Kanak women by colonisers (Lyons, 1986). Jolly and Macintyre (1989) highlight that some of the written accounts of early sexual encounters reflect the European distaste for extra-marital sex, and that in some cases the sexual relations may have been consensual, and the women obtained status through obtaining material possessions for sex. However Lyons (1986) does state that Kanak women who had sexual relations with white men were shunned by their communities.

Gender roles and relationships were an important bastion of colonisation. The *mission civilisatrice,*[23] and its British counterpart focused specifically on gender roles, women's behaviour and dress, and enforcing European and Christian notions of family structure (Brown, 1944; Fitzgerald, 2001; Latai, 2015; Mikaere, 1994; Rountree, 2000). In addition, the scholarship on indigenous gender relations prior to and during colonisation was undertaken by male anthropologists, male voyagers and missionaries (Etienne & Leacock, 1980; Rountree, 2000). Missionary women's perspectives have also been studied through their personal diaries and letters (e.g. Rountree, 2000). This meant that gender roles and relationships—like other aspects of indigenous life—were often misinterpreted through the lens of the European values of the time. Prior to the 1890s British women had similar legal status to children (Williams, 1993). They were under the guardianship of their father or husband, and did not have the entitlement to vote, hold property in their name or (if they worked) control their own wages (ibid.). Prior to 1970, French women did not have any legal parental rights if their husband was alive (Glendon, 1974).

Despite this, some colonisers expressed outrage at what they saw to be oppression of 'the weaker sex':

> The Victorians saw women in non-Western societies as oppressed and servile creatures, beasts of burden, chattels who could be bought and sold, eventually to be liberated by

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[23] Translated to 'civilising mission'. Close to the concept of 'the white man's burden', the *mission civilisatrice* was a concerted effort on the part of French colonisers to assimilate indigenous peoples into French culture, based on the idea that European culture was the more advanced, 'civilised' and superior culture (Nolan, 2002).

"civilisation" or "progress", thus attaining the enviable position of women in Western society. (Etienne & Leacock, 1980, p. 1)

In contrast, where they encountered societies in which women held prestigious positions, colonisers refused to acknowledge the women's place—such as the female Rangatira[24] in Aotearoa (Mikaere, 1994)—and worked to relegate women to the acceptable realm for Western women: the domestic sphere (Fitzgerald, 2001; Rountree, 2000). This had a significant effect on indigenous constructions of femininity and masculinity which contributed to socio-economic, cultural and spiritual marginalisation (Hokowhitu, 2004; Mikaere, 1994). It also affected outsiders' perceptions of indigenous peoples: anthropologists perceived menstrual huts and separate eating areas for men and women as evidence of gender inequalities (Leacock et al., 1978, p. 270). Lyons (1986) asserts that in Kanaky-NC separate eating areas were evidence of pre-colonial gender inequality (p. 21). However, as Nicholas Thomas (1987) argues, separate eating areas does not necessarily constitute gender inequality.

These issues were accentuated by racialized views. Underhill-Sem (2010) highlights how indigenous people in Melanesia were perceived as more 'savage' due to their darker skin colour. Cultural exchanges during marriage ceremonies (labelled 'bride-price') in some parts of Melanesia were interpreted as the sale of women and thus also evidence of women's lower status. I will not wade into the 'bride-price' debate, however in Kanaky-NC it is common to *faire le geste* (make a gesture) for many occasions—not only weddings—suggesting that the practice has been misconstrued in the literature (at least in the context of Kanaky-NC). One participant discussed *le geste* in relation to marriage with pride in the communal contributions of family resulting in a large wedding feast which would not otherwise be possible.

In the contemporary literature there is recognition of structural inequalities facing Kanak women—sexual and domestic violence, alcohol abuse, limited education and economic exclusion (Berman, 2006; Halemin and Solomon, 2008; Ounei-Small, 1990; Hamelin and Demmer, 2013). In 2008, Salomon and Hamelin reported that 34 percent of Kanak women surveyed had experienced some form of sexual violence within the past year, and 17 percent had experienced attempted rape or rape. Other issues discussed in the literature are alcohol

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[24] Māori leader, commonly translated as chief.

abuse (by both men and women), domestic violence, and barriers to women's participation in the labour market (Berman, 2006; Hamelin and Salomon, 2004; Hamelin et. Al., 2009).

Kanak communities in Kanaky-NC also face poverty and a lack of opportunity to benefit from the extensive nickel wealth, from which France has earned a significant amount during the colonial process (Berman, 2006; Winslow, 1991). Where Kanak people *have* been employed as labour in the mines, women have been excluded from the work opportunities by the gendering of mining work (Berman, 2006). However, few papers analyse the intersectional reasons why Kanak women experience these issues. State violence, while mentioned in some literature about Kanak people, and the independence movement (Graff, 2012; Merle, 2004) is also not addressed in any literature on Kanak women. This will be investigated in the subsequent section followed by analysis of structural and normative inequalities.

Findings and Discussion

Imperial and state violence: the role of the *code de l'indigenat*

Imperial and state violence is an integral part of colonisation, and has contributed significantly to the experiences of Kanak peoples and to the current political climate. In Kanaky-NC state violence has been enacted relatively recently. The *code de l'indigenat* ended in 1946, two years before the oldest participant in this research was born. The realities of the *l'indigenat*—forced labour, forced displacement, and violence—are remembered by many Kanak people and have shaped their everyday realities. Some participants discussed painful memories or accounts of colonial practices, and how they provided motivation for independence activism. Didier, a government minister, states how his family was subject to colonial punishment through *l'indigenat:*

> My family [has] two origins. We are from here, Koné. In 1917, at the time of the war in Europe, the first World War, the French army, the state, asked people to go to [Europe] to war. And my elders said no, we're not going. So the soldiers came and drove them from

their tribal area. So we went from [Koné] to [Ponérihouen]. […]. So my father arrived like that, and then we stayed in Poindimié.[25]

Didier Poidyaliwane, 51, male, Government Minister, (8 November 2017)

The displacement described by Didier, was not uncommon under the *code de l'indigenat,* and is an underlying cause of unrest within Kanak communities. During my time in the field I heard of physical conflicts between families within a tribe because one of the families was moved there by the colonial administration. This speaks to the lingering effects of colonial practices and intergenerational trauma.

Maadra, an advisor to a government minister, also highlighted the importance of colonial violence to her commitment to independence. She specifically referenced the forced labour that her family members endured:

> I'm 60 now. I lived a little part of the realities of colonisation. But my adoptive parents, especially my father, underwent the forced labour in the North. Under colonisation, at the end of colonisation. I also learnt about the forced labour from my parents. My parents also [taught me], when we went to our fields. Because […] we lived in a tribe on the edge of sea, and you had to cross an entire property that belonged to the *colons*. And when we went through all that property to go to our fields, which were on the banks of the river […] a few kilometres away. And we went on foot, […] but when we crossed there, we couldn't go beyond the little path, otherwise we would be shot. So these are things that mark [colonisation] […] for me…you know.[26]

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[25] *Ma famille à moi [elle a] deux origines. Elle d'ici, Koné. En 1917, au moment de la guerre, en Europe. Première guerre mondiale. L'armée française, l'état a demandé à des gens de partir là-bas, faire la guerre. Et eux, mes vieux, ont dit non. On ne va pas là-bas. Donc les militaires ils sont venus et les ont chassés. Et nous on est passé de là [Koné] à la [Ponérihouen]. [L'état] a fait la guerre. Donc voilà. Donc mon papa il est venu comme ça, ici, et après on est resté là à Poindimié.*

[26] *J'ai 60 ans maintenant. J'ai un peu vécu une partie des réalités de la colonisation. Mais mes parents adoptifs, mon père surtout, il a fait les travaux forcés, dans le Nord. Sous la colonisation, voilà, c'est à la fin de la colonisation. Ça, les travaux forcés, j'ai vécu aussi avec mes parents, fin surtout oui mes parents, […], quand on allait vers faire nos champs. Parce qu'il fallait qu'on, nous on vivait dans une tribu au bord de mer, et il fallait traverser toute une propriété qui appartenait aux colons. Et quand on traversait tout cette propriété là pour aller dans nos champs qui étaient au bord de la rivière […] à d'autres kilomètres. Et on allait à pied, donc on traverser. Mais quand on traversait là, il ne fallait surtout pas qu'on dépasse le petit sentier, sinon se faisait tirer tout. Voilà. Donc ça ces sont des choses qui marquent. Qui marquent pour moi je te… voilà.*

From both these accounts it is evident that violence and its subsequent trauma persists among Kanak people. State and imperial violence did not end in 1946 with the *code de l'indigenat*. The violence and bloodshed of *les évènements* during the 1980s has characterised the fraught battle for independence in recent years. Several independence leaders were assassinated during this time, as were activists, fathers, brothers and sons. Several research participants experienced loss of family members, friends or acquaintances during this time. In Canala, a participant pointed at various hills and described the major confrontations and assassinations that occurred there during the 1980s.

When on Ouvéa I drove past a memorial for the nineteen independence activist men killed by the French military in 1988, a significant loss for a relatively small community. One participant, Maryka, is from Ouvéa and knew some of the men killed. She asked me to take a photograph of a shawl she wears for events, marches and political meetings. This shawl has the image of each of the nineteen men who were killed, and the words "Maté mo Kanaky", which means "Died for Kanaky" in *fakaouvea*. See the figure below:

Figure 6. "Died for Kanaky" Images of the 19 Kanak men killed in the 1988 hostage-taking. Photo by the author at the request of Maryka.

Maryka told me that several Kanak youth wanted her to reproduce the shawl for them to wear. This underscores the importance of remembering these events and honouring those who died, for both older independence activists who remember the events and younger independence activists for whom the memories are important.

Independence negotiations and subliminal violence

Not only was the colonial violence itself traumatic, but to end the violence, those committed to independence were required to concede to the French state as an "independent arbitrator" in negotiations (surrounding the Matignon and Nouméa Accords, and the referendum) which were framed as between loyalists and independentists. This can be seen as another form of institutional violence. Two of Jean-Marie Tjibaous' brothers had been assassinated by loyalists not long before the negotiations, and Eloi Machoro, the beloved president of the Union Calédonienne, had been killed by gendarmes three years earlier. The image of Eloi Machoro, depicted in the figure below, has become a symbol of resistance against colonisation:

Figure 7. Image of Eloi Machoro. "Victim of French colonial order. Black Martyr. Eloi Machoro. Freedom fighter. Assassinated 12 January 1985". Image from USTKE (2010).

Eloi Machoro's sister Caroline attended negotiations for the Matignon Accords and described the trauma that these negotiations invoked for Jean-Marie Tjibaou and herself:

> I do realize that it was very difficult for Jean-Marie. Because, here we were, we had to give in to people who for us were the killers of our brothers. It was necessary to go through the following: you had to talk to them, you had to shake their hands, you had to talk to them in a civilized way. And it was difficult, but Jean-Marie was there and so he helped a lot too.[27]

> *Caroline Machoro, 65, female, Member of Congress (16 November 2017)*

As Caroline highlights, recognising that these negotiations engendered their own trauma is important to understand the entirety of colonial violence. This dual discourse of France as both an external arbitrator between independentists and loyalists, while simultaneously expressing support to loyalists, is a significant form of violence. In addition, the positioning of France as an external arbitrator perverts the process of decolonisation.

While France is officially non-partisan, officials express support for the loyalist cause. For instance, at a conference that I attended at the University of New Caledonia on the 17th November 2017, one of the speakers was an ex-official within the French metropolitan administration. To a majority loyalist audience he spoke along the lines of "we are with you, we do not want independence". Emmanuel Macron, the French president, implied a similar attitude during his recent trip to New Caledonia (Marin, 2018; Patrick, 2018; A. Thomas, 2018). Wess, a midwife, argued that this dual positioning is a form of psychological and social colonisation:

> At the economic level [decolonisation] will work, but at the psychological and the social level it is not working very well. Because I have trouble seeing how anyone who colonized yesterday, will suddenly become a de-coloniser the next day. Here I would have hoped, I

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[27] *Je conçois effectivement que ça ne soit pas très difficile pour Jean-Marie. Parce que, voilà, on était la fallu céder la main à des gens qui pour nous étaient les assassins de nos frères. Il fallait passer par de suit, il fallait leur parler, il fallait leurs serrer la main, il fallait leur parler en manière civilisé quoi. Et c'était assez difficile, mais bon, Jean-Marie était là et donc il a beaucoup aidé aussi.*

would have liked a third party who is neutral, who gets in the middle and acts as a referee. Because I do not feel that we completely understand [how to go about] decolonisation.[28]

Wess, 47, female, Midwife (7 November 2017)

Wess's comments illustrate that colonisation operates not only at the political, administrative and economic levels, but also at deeper social, cultural and psychological levels. While they may not be the primary concerns of the French Administration, these social, cultural and psychological levels are the most insidious parts of colonisation (Jugé & Perez, 2006). In addition, I argue that this dual rhetoric of France claiming to be non-partisan and simultaneously providing encouragement to one party is a form of racial gaslighting perpetrated against the majority Kanak independentist community.

Gaslighting is an action in an abusive relationship in which one party attempts to make the other party question their own sanity through invalidating their experiences (Kline, 2006). Davis and Ernst (2017) define racial gaslighting as "the political, social, economic and cultural process that perpetuates and normalizes a white supremacist reality through pathologizing those who resist." (p. 3). According to Davis and Ernst this is enacted through racial spectacles, using "narratives that obfuscate the existence of a white supremacist state power structure" (ibid). In Kanaky-NC, the French state creates a narrative of impartiality which obfuscates their economic and political interests, harming those already marginalised by colonisation.

In addition, France's position as arbitrator of decolonisation undermines the process. The *comité des signatiares* (committee of signatories) meeting in late 2017 resulted in a significant shift of voter registration rules for the referendum. Prior to the meeting, non-indigenous voters had to have lived in Kanaky-NC prior to 1984, but this meeting led to an agreement that non-indigenous people who have resided in Kanaky-NC since 1994 (as opposed to 1988) can vote in the referendum. This has led one independentist political party to boycott the referendum (the *Parti Travailliste*). They argue that the integrity of the process has been undermined, and

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[28] *Au niveau économique ça [la colonisation] va marcher, mais le côté psychologique et le côté social ça pas très bien marché. Parce que j'ai du mal à qu'on se voir qu'une personne qui colonisé hier, va devenir tout d'un coup décolonisateurs le lendemain. Voilà. J'aurais espéré, j'aurais voulu qui une tierce personne qui est neutre, qui se mette au milieu et puis qui fait un peu l'arbitre. Parce que je n'ai pas le sentiment qu'on sait complètement décolonisés.*

that "it's a state plan to take the Kanak people to a dead end" (Tromeur, 2018, translation by author). This shows the tenuous nature of a decolonisation process guided by the coloniser[29].

Those participants who lived through *les évènements* are cognisant of the threat of violence during the 2018 referendum, not only between independentists and loyalists, but also between different independentist groups. Caroline recounted how Jean-Marie Tjibaou and Yeiwéné Yeiwéné (another independence leader) were both assassinated by independentist activists who were unsatisfied with the results of the 1988 Matignon Accords. She illustrates the importance intra-movement violence here:

> We saw how it happened before, Jean-Marie Tjibaou, Yeiwéné Yeiwéné, they were not killed by gendarmes or by the fascists, they were killed by their own people. And we still do not know how they got their weapons. So, we are still in danger today, when we have an abdication, when we are honest, when we have the ambition of general interest and the ambition to continue to fight to the finish line. This fight for which some fell, and they are dangerous. We know it, but we do not stop as a result. We must continue the fight anyway.[30]

> *Caroline Machoro, 65, female, Member of Congress (16 November 2017)*

Through the fight for decolonisation deep cleavages have emerged within and between communities. The possibility of violence is not far from many people's minds.

Self-determination as integral to decolonisation

Almost all participants, when asked about their personal motivations for being an independence activist and their hopes for independence, mentioned some form of self-determination.

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[29] This is a point that Maryka wished me to emphaisise upon reading an executive summary of this thesis.

[30] *On a bien vu comment ça s'est passé prochain, Jean-Marie Tjibaou, Yeiwéné Yeiwéné, ils n'ont pas été tué par des gendarmes ou par les fachos, ils étaient tués par leur propre gens. Et on ne sait toujours pas comme ils ont eu les armes. Alors, on est toujours en danger encore aujourd'hui, quand on a de l'abdication, quand on est honnête, quand on a l'ambition de l'intérêt général et l'ambition de poursuivre le combat jusqu'au but. Ce combat pour lequel certains sont tombés, et bien on est dangereux. On le sait, mais ce n'est pas pour ça qu'on s'arrête quoi. Il faut continuer quand même. Le combat.*

However their responses emphasised a variety of ways that self-determination is important. Caroline describes how self-determination cements the legitimacy of Kanak peoples:

> For me independence is like ... well it's through independence you could say that we are properly a people in our own right. And independence means that these people can decide for themselves what is good. For the Kanak people and for all the people who live in this country.[31]
>
> *Caroline Machoro, 65, female, Member of Congress (16 November 2017)*

This quote emphasises decision-making power and processes, and highlights how colonisation has removed Kanak people's ability to "decide for themselves what is good". Pahatr[32] echoes the importance of decision-making:

> But as indigenous people we must be able to make the decision. It's a question of dignity for me. Beyond other means. Beyond economic means, for me it is a return to the question of human rights.[33]
>
> *Pahatr, female (7 November 2017)*

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[31] *Pour moi d'indépendance c'est comme… bah c'est de l'indépendance c'est à dire qu'on a effectivement on est un peuple à part entière. Et l'indépendance c'est que ce peuple-là puisse décider par lui-même de ce qui est bon. Pour le peuple Kanak et pour tous les gens qui vivent dans ce pays.*

[32] My name is Pahatr. I have a masters of public law specialised in regional and international cooperation. I also spend most of my time volunteering. I am vice president of an association fighting for human dignity and I am also a member of a Union Calédonienne political party that is part of the Kanak and Socialist National Liberation Front (FLNKS). I present myself with all my belongings but the most important for me is to "be" beyond all these identities.

Je m'appelle « Pahatr". J'ai une maitrise de droit public spécialisé en coopération régionale et internationale. J'investis également la majorité de mon temps à faire du bénévolat. Je suis vice-présidente d'une association qui lutte pour la dignité humaine et je suis aussi membre d'un parti politique union calédonienne qui fait partie du front de libération nationale kanak et socialiste (FLNKS). Je me suis présentée avec toutes mes appartenances mais le plus important pour moi, c'est "être" au delà de toutes ces identités.

[33] *Mais en tant que peuple autochtone on doit être en mesure de prend nous en la décision. C'est une question de dignité pour moi. Au-delà de moyen. Au-delà de moyen économique, pour moi c'est un retour une question de droits de l'homme.*

The importance of human rights that Pahatr emphasises is also reflected by Fote, a retired magistrate, who adds that independence is crucial because colonisation not only removed economic power but also dehumanized Kanak peoples:

> For me independence is a form of resistance against the occupation of the country and against everything, because colonization, for me is not only an economic exploitation but it is also an operation of dehumanization of Kanak people, a little like colonized people everywhere.[34]
>
> *Fote Trolue, 69, male, Retired Magistrate (7 December 2017)*

Fote's words parallel Wess' comments earlier that colonisation impacted social and cultural practices, norms, and beliefs. Fote's emphasis on colonization's dehumanisation of Kanak peoples illustrates the importance of self-determination for indigenous peoples.

Self-determination at the individual and group level is recognised as an important component of human freedoms in the psychological, human rights and international affairs literatures. Self-determination is one of the primary human rights enshrined in the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the International Covenant of Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, and the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) (Castellino & Gilbert, 2003). Article 3 of UNDRIP specifically references the right of indigenous peoples to self-determination "By virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development" (UNGA, 2007). This recognises that the removal of self-determination permeated the colonial process, and that self-determination has been one of the key goals of Indigenous struggles since the beginning of colonisation. Removal of self-determination enabled colonisers to expand their empires and exploit land, resources and labour.

In International Law (Javaid, 2009) and in International Relations (Selassie, 2004) self-determination is viewed as strictly political, and is defined as the right of a peoples to self-government. However, as articulated by Fote, the importance of self-determination goes

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[34] *Pour moi l'indépendance est une forme de résistance contre l'occupation du pays et sur tout contre, parce que la colonisation, pour moi est non seulement une exploitation économique mais c'est aussi une opération de deshumanisation de peuple Kanak donc comme un peu partout de peuples colonisés.*

beyond political self-government. Durie (1998) describes his vision of self-determination for Māori as governance and decision-making by Māori, using Māori systems of governance, and respecting diversity among tribes and regions. It also involves "being strong numerically, economically, and culturally—and neglecting any notion of passive assimilation into nation or international conglomerates" (ibid. p. 5), and protecting the environment.

This broader definition of self-determination is important for understanding the importance of the concept. French colonisation, underwritten by the *mission civilisatrice*, justified colonisation on the basis of the cultural superiority of the French over indigenous peoples (Nolan, 2002). Fote, argues that colonisation was enabled through a process of dehumanisation which allowed the colonisers to justify their actions through a parent-child narrative in which the indigenous populations were considered savage, uncivilised, and child-like:

> [Colonisation] is based on deference, the negation of the colonized, but at the same time racism. Due in part to the concept of a superior race and an inferior race. And this is the point of dehumanization because we are going to decree that everything that belongs to the colonized, especially at the level of culture at the level of the social organization, was something that does not exist, does not belong to a civilization. And so we have to go civilize them.[35]
>
> *Fote Trolue, 69, male, Retired Magistrate (7 December 2017)*

Fote's insights highlight the ways that colonisation enacted psychological, cultural, and spiritual harms through characterisations of indigenous races, cultures, and peoples as being inferior to those of the colonisers. This reflects Fanon's (Fanon & Markmann, 1970) writings on the Colonisation of the Mind, and Quijano's (2000) *Coloniality of Power* outlined in chapter three.

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[35] *En fait la première chose c'est une colonie déjà en Nouvelle-Calédonie, elle est basée sur la déférence, la négation des colonisés, mais en même temps le racisme. Parce que en parti du concept de race supérieur et race inférieur. Et c'est là-dessus qu'il y a la déshumanisation parce que justement on va décréter que tout ce qui appartient aux colonisés, notamment au niveau de la culture au niveau de l'organisation sociale, c'était quelque chose qui n'appartient pas à une civilisation. Et donc il faut aller civiliser.*

These colonial hierarchies reflect the deeper importance of self-determination. Colonial constructions of racial hierarchies resulted in different methods of colonisation of the Loyalty Islands compared to Grand Terre (Muckle, 2012). The Grande Terre was largely colonised by the military while the Loyalty Islands were largely colonised by missionaries (ibid.). Muckle (2012) argues that differences were partially due to ideas of colonial racial hierarchies favouring Polynesian peoples inhabiting the Loyalty Islands over Melanesian peoples. The different experiences of colonisation were mentioned by several of the participants and are an example of how the *Coloniality of Power* (Quijano, 2000) was expressed through the construction of racial hierarchies in Kanaky-NC.

In addition, self-determination is an important component of gender equity and equality. Astrid, the chief of cabinet for a government minister, highlights this link:

> [Women's] emancipation is required to participate in the emancipation of the country. [...] It ties in with the process of self-determination of a country where a people have the right to dignity. All these rights are closely linked with women's rights, because it's their lived experiences, it's their wellbeing. A liberated country, it's going to be a liberated population. [...] So [women] must feel free from discrimination and violence because most of the violence that exists today are discrimination and colonisation. The new forms of colonisation they aspire to continue to increase the violence and discrimination. So this fight for the liberation of the country must also participate in the fight for the liberation of women from all these discriminations, all of these... up to the point of globalization can be harmful for women.[36]
>
> *Astrid, 35, female, Chief of Cabinet for Government Minister (15 November 2017)*

As Astrid says, self-determination is directly linked with women's rights and beliefs around gender equality. Women's rights to be autonomous over their own bodies and lives, and

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[36] *[L']émancipation [des femmes] à participer à l'émancipation du pays. [...] Ça rejoint le fait du processus d'autodétermination d'un pays ou un peuple a le droit à dignité, alors que c'est tous ces droits qui sont autant liés avec les droits des femmes, parce que l'on vit c'est leur bien-être. Un pays libéré, ça va être une population libérée, [...] [Donc] [l]es femmes, il faut qu'elle se sente libéré de toutes la discrimination et la violence parce que la plupart des violences qui existent aujourd'hui il y a des discriminations, la colonisation, les a participé. Les nouvelles formes de colonisation elles aspirent à continuer d'augmenter les violences et discrimination. Donc ce combat de libération du pays doit participer aussi au combat de libération des femmes de tous ces discriminations, de tous ces... jusqu'à porte la mondialisation peut être de manière néfaste pour les femmes.*

women's rights to participate in political decision-making, are directly linked to self-determination (Kabeer, 2005). For indigenous women this means that self-determination is an intersectional project, requiring attention to intertwined gender and colonial oppressions.

Intersectional Oppressions and Structural Inequalities: expressions of structural colonial violence

Colonisation not only enacts violence through political and military assertions of power, but also through the marginalisation of indigenous peoples, culture and worldviews. Kanak women face multiple oppressions related to their gender. The participants in this research reported experiencing gendered discrimination in access to education, within employment, and at home. This is consistent within the broader feminist literature as well as the Kanaky-NC specific literature (Berman, 2006; Ounei-Small, 1990; Paini, 2003; Salomon & Hamelin, 2007). However, many participants also highlighted the importance of intersectionality for understanding the lives and experiences of Kanak women. Cingöne, a lawyer, described how racial and gendered discriminations combine to create unique experiences for Kanak women:

> And it is true that we suffer from discrimination, we experience a hyper-complex discrimination in different stratas. There is discrimination in relation to sex, and discrimination in relation to being Kanak, due to our origin. That's why I say it's super complex. It's difficult. Examples are seen every day, every day. Whether in our professional identity, our identity as mothers, our identity as women.[37]
>
> *Cingöne, 35, female, Lawyer (7 December 2017)*

The intersectionality that Cingöne described is consistent with those articulated in black and postcolonial feminist literature as described in chapter three. However, as stipulated earlier, different contexts enact gender and racial oppression in different ways. Participants related significant experiences of racism that they encounter in their everyday lives. Cingöne describes

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[37] *Et c'est vrai qu'on souffre de discriminations, on fait nous en serait plus dans une discrimination hyper complexe, donc ou à différentes strates. Il y a de discrimination par rapport au sexe, et à une action par rapport aux Kanak. À notre origine. C'est pour ça que je dis que c'est hyper complexe. C'est difficile. Des exemples bah on le vit tous les jours, chaque jour. Que ce soit dans notre identité professionnelle, notre identité en tant que mère, notre identité en tant que femme.*

situations in which she has been under surveillance in shops, and being refused entry to a nightclub while a group of white youth were allowed entry:

> So that's humiliating. They tell us it's full, so we said ok we won't go in. Behind us there is a group of white youth who arrived, and who went in. So that… many times that happened to us. And I'm better when I'm alone because I'm mixed-race. And when I'm with other young Kanaks, it's often my brothers and sisters. We are not able to enter, this is humiliating.[38]

> *Cingöne, 35, female, Lawyer (7 December 2017)*

While the expression of racism that Cingöne describes may seem less violent than the physical violence discussed earlier, it is nonetheless incredibly harmful. George Yancy (2008) (a black man in the USA) describes the significant harm that these interactions can cause:

> When followed by white security personnel as I walk through department stores, when a white salesperson avoids touching my hand, when a white woman looks with suspicion as I enter the elevator, I feel that in their eyes I am this indistinguishable, amorphous, black seething mass, a token of danger, a threat, a rapist, a criminal, a burden, a rapacious animal incapable of delayed gratification. (p. 844).

He highlights that this kind of racism is not only dehumanising, but also that it is a form of possession by white people, over his body and his personhood. Because he is black, he is seen as dangerous, and this grants white people, and institutions of white supremacy, the compulsion to control his body. He writes, "It is a peculiar experience to have one's body confiscated without physically being placed in chains." (p. 846). Understanding Kanak women's experiences requires understanding these everyday experiences of racism and dehumanisation. They are also vital in understanding the participants' desire for self-determination and their hopes for full decolonisation—not only in the political sense, but also in the sense of decolonisation from colonial racial and gendered hierarchies.

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[38] *Donc ça c'est humiliant. Ils nous dits que c'est complet, on a dit non on ne va rentrer pas. Derrière nous il y a un groupe de jeunes Blancs qui arrivent, et qui rentre. Donc ça… plusieurs fois ça nous est arrivé. Et moi je passe mieux quand je suis toute seule parce que je suis métisse. Et quand je suis avec d'autres jeunes Kanaks, souvent c'est mes frères et sœurs. On ne passe pas, ça c'est humiliant.*

Education: racial inequalities and French cultural dominance

An exemplar of the persistent French social and cultural dominance in Kanaky-NC can be seen in the education system. Simone, a school holiday programme teacher, argues that the French-style education system does not accommodate Kanak ways of life:

> You see our system. We start school at […] 7.15-7.30 in the morning. Those who live far away, they must wake up at 5 am in the morning to go to school in this case, because the bus is in traffic jams. […] Children must go to school at three years old. The mandatory years [in Kanaky-NC]. I decided not to put my daughter in school.[39]
>
> *Simone, 35, female, School Holiday Programme Teacher (1 November, 2017)*

Simone also describes a lack of units on Kanak culture similar to those she has found on Māori culture in Aotearoa-New Zealand school curricula. Despite a push towards adding Kanak languages to the school curriculum (Sam et al., 2009), the mainstream schooling system in Kanaky-NC rests on the French model. As Simone describes, this education model is inflexible: a contemporary effect of colonial administration. Several participants mentioned the schooling system as an example of how French values persist in a way that is inflexible to Kanak culture and customs. However Western education was also highlighted by many participants as an avenue for women to achieve space within politics (this will be discussed further in chapter seven). Racial inequalities in education are also discussed by some participants as a structural inequality. Education is clearly a requirement to achieve a position of status within wider New Caledonian society but is not structured to integrate Kanak culture and values.

Mekunë, a Senior Nurse and Manager at a psychiatric hospital, discusses how success in employment is related to educational attainment which is less accessible to Kanak women:

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[39] *Alors regarde notre système à nous. On commence l'école à […] 7 heures et quart, 7 heure et demie. Ceux qui habitent loin, ils doivent se réveiller à 5 heures le matin pour aller à l'école dans le cas, parce que le car il est dans les embouteillages et voilà. […] L'obligation pour aller à l'école, ces trois ans. Les ans obligatoires chez nous. Moi j'ai décidé de pas mettre ma fille à l'école.*

> I said that today the fight is even harder. Because today you must earn your place in society, because more and more people are asking for diplomas. For the Kanak woman it's is very hard, because […] today all Kanak speak French in primary schools, etc. We speak French, but it's still difficult to access university access to higher education. It's not easy. We are getting there, but it's hard. The fight is very hard.[40]
>
> *Mekunë, 58, female, Senior Nurse/Manager Psychiatric Hospital (27 November 2017)*

Mekunë's highlights that Kanak women must adopt French cultural mannerisms and master French language, and that even if they do so they still struggle to succeed. Gorohouna and Ris (2013) report that in 2009 three percent of Kanak people had graduated from higher education, in comparison with 23 percent of non-Kanak. These figures appear shockingly disparate, although younger generations are closing the gap somewhat. Rivoilan (2015) reported that, in the 2014 census, 67 percent of Kanak youth aged 25 to 29 held a degree, which was favourable to Wallisians-Futunians (63 percent), but not to Europeans and "other communities" (93 and 81 percent respectively). Interestingly, at the 2014 census, women had surpassed men for the percentage holding a bachelor's degree (37 percent compared with 33 percent), however it is unclear where Kanak women sit in relation to Kanak men.

Racial, Gendered, and Cultural Discrimination in Employment

Several issues related to gender and racial discrimination in accessing employment and in pay equity were identified by participants. Issues were also raised in relation to the lack of Kanak people in professions such as medicine, aviation and the judiciary. This is partially caused by inequities in education, however educational attainment is not always the issue. Wess describes how a gender gap persists despite education:

> We still have cases where we're doing the same job, but you're not paid the same because, just because you're a woman. From the attribution of competence, sometimes

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[40] *J'avais à dire qu'aujourd'hui la lutte est encore plus dur. Parce que aujourd'hui il faut gagner sa place dans la société, c'est que de plus en plus on réclame des diplômes, voyez. Elle Kanak là dans bah c'est très dur, parce qu'on a la… aujourd'hui tous les Kanak parlent français dans les écoles primaires ou quoi. On parle le français, mais c'est difficile quand même l'accès à l'université d'accéder aux grandes études. Ce n'est pas évident. On va vers ça, mais c'est dur. La lutte est très dur.*

we have the same level of education as a man. But you will not be given the same responsibility as the man, in society or in a company. Despite being on the same level in terms of skills and education. Here we are still suffering.[41]

Wess, 47, female, Midwife (7 November 2017)

The pay inequality that Wess describes corroborates pay inequality statistics in Kanaky-NC (ISEE, 2016) and global trends (Blau & Kahn, 2003; Pacheco, Li, & Cochrane, 2017). However, it is important to note that the gender-pay gap in Kanaky-NC is significantly smaller than it is in France: 3 percent compared to 15.5 percent (ISEE, 2016). Wess' description of pay inequity as 'suffering' illustrates the impact that it can have on women: both the demoralisation that women feel when learning that their work is not valued as highly as their male colleagues, and the gendered economic inequalities that pay inequity can lead to.

In addition to individual impacts, the representation of Kanak people in important professions such as medicine has direct effects on the well-being of society. A lack of Kanak doctors means that Western medicine is less accessible to Kanak people, especially those who live in rural tribal areas[42]. In Aotearoa-New Zealand research has shown that indigenous people have better health outcomes with medical practitioners who are indigenous themselves or who are highly sensitive to their specific needs (Cook, Clark, & Brunton, 2014; Cram, Smith, & Johnstone, 2003; Ellison-Loschmann & Pearce, 2006). Having worse health outcomes is also attributed to racial discrimination by medical professionals (ibid.).

Racial and gender stereotyping can also play a role in employment recruitment processes which Marotro, who has a role in government focusing on women's affairs, highlights:

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[41] *On a encore des cas on fait le même boulot, mais tu n'es pas payé pareil parce que, juste parce que t'es une femme. Voilà. De l'attribution des compétences des fois on a les mêmes diplômes avec un homme. Mais on t'a contribuera pas la même responsabilité que l'homme, dans une société ou dans une entreprise. Que on est sur le même piédestal au niveau compétences au niveau des diplômes. Voilà on subit encore.*

[42] I experienced this first-hand when visiting rural areas and became sick during my field research. The roads to the medical centre are long and winding, and there is limited cellphone access. There are limited medical facilities on islands other than Grand Terre. One person I met during my research had relocated from the Loyalty Islands to the city due to a need to be near medical facilities.

Discrimination is also the fact that when Kanak women go looking for a job they are more likely to take European women, or women from other communities than the Kanak woman because of clichés. There are clichés. She is a victim of clichés, the Kanak woman. She's a Kanak woman, so will she be capable? Does she have adequate skills? Can we trust her? Will she respect the working hours? Will she be absent for customary reasons? Etc. There are many clichés like that which subject Kanak woman to discrimination, and racism. And that's a fact.[43]

Marotro, 64, female, Role in government focusing on women's affairs (27 November 2017)

This quote highlights the intersectional ways that Kanak women experience stereotyping. It agrees with Gorohouna and Ris (2013) who found significant employment disparities between Kanak and non-Kanak people with the same qualifications. They also found employment disparity between men and women of all ethnicities with the same characteristics (education, income of family, etc.), however the racial gap was wider for Kanak men than for Kanak women—Kanak women did disproportionately better with a university degree than without. In the above quote, Marotro also points to the 'clash' of cultures in which customary duties can draw a Kanak employee away from work, meaning that employers are less likely to hire them. Maadra details this further:

Another example is that I have a cousin who dies. A cousin huh? My aunt's son, or ... I'm leaving. I must leave. Paid or unpaid, it's not my problem. I must be with the family, that's it.[44]

Maadra, 60, female, Advisor to Government Minister (23 November 2017)

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[43] *Alors évidemment des discriminations aussi le fait qu'elles soient des femmes Kanak lorsqu'elles vont chercher un emploi aussi donc on va plus prendre des femmes européennes, ou des femmes des autres communautés que la femme Kanak parce que c'est des cliché. C'est des clichés. Elle est victime de clichés la femme Kanak. C'est une femme Kanak, donc est-ce qu'elle sera capable ? Est-ce qu'elle a suffisamment de compétences ? Est-ce qu'on pourra lui faire confiance ? Est-ce qu'elle va respecter les horaires de travail ? Est-ce qu'elle ne va pas s'absenter pour raisons coutumières ? Etc. Donc il y a plein de clichés comme ça qui fait que la femme Kanak en compte des discriminations, et le racisme voilà. Et ça c'est un fait.*

[44] *Donc il y a tout ça. Il y a aussi d'autre exemple c'est que moi j'ai un cousin qui meurt. Un cousin hein ? Le fils de ma tante, ou… je pars. Je suis obligé de partir. Payer ou pas payer, ce n'est pas mon problème. Moi il faut que je sois là-haut dans la famille, voilà.*

Maadra's description of customary duties for Kanak people is important for understanding the cultural conflicts that Kanak people must navigate in a society based on French social norms. Maadra is not saying that this is a valid reason to not employ Kanak people, but that New Caledonian society is not designed to accommodate these customary duties, and therefore Kanak people either lose out on jobs or lose out on sleep and energy. Several participants referenced late nights due to customary duties or being with family in the evenings when they are not at political meetings. These issues are not mentioned by Gorohouna and Ris (2013), and to my knowledge are unexplored in other literature on ethnic differences in employment despite being similar issues being known in Aotearoa-NZ.[45]

Maadra argues that independence and self-determination will facilitate a new way of functioning within all realms of society to encompass true multi-culturality, and that Kanak customs and practices can be recognised within all spheres of society, including employment. This also raises questions about how social and cultural institutions could be reimagined through decolonisation, how diversity of cultural norms could be integrated into Western institutions, or whether these institutions need to be reinvented to accommodate diverse cultural lives.

Gender-Based Violence

Gender-based violence—specifically domestic violence and sexual violence—is highlighted in the literature as one of the key issues facing women in Kanaky-NC (Berman, 2006; Hamelin & Salomon, 2004; Hamelin et al., 2009). This issue was also raised by several participants. Rose, a Policy Officer at a foreign consulate highlighted that the rates of gender-based violence are higher in Kanaky-NC than they are in metropolitan France:

> Another form of discrimination I would say is the more visible one which is violence against women and girls. That's still a huge problem here, we actually have a higher rate than in metropolitan France. So that really rings a bell I guess for us here, which is associated a lot with alcohol and drugs.[46]
>
> *Rose, 33, female, Policy Officer Foreign Consulate (30 November 2017)*

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[45] Mayeda, Pasko, and Chesney-Lind (2006) do mention similar issues for Samoan students in Hawai'i.

[46] Interviews with Rose conducted in English.

Rose's analysis of violence against women being linked to alcohol and drugs was shared by a number of participants, however Marotro specified that she thought it was caused by general inequalities between men and women. This is consistent with the study by Hamelin and Salomon (2004) which found that in three quarters of the reported cases of sexual violence the aggressor had been drinking. This study highlights the disparity between physical and sexual violence experiences by Kanak women (12 percent of Kanak women) compared to women of other races (3 percent for Europeans, 4 percent for Polynesians, and 5 percent for others). They postulate that this may have something to do with the number of Kanak women who live in rural areas compared with women of other ethnicities. However these statistics are quite old. While Hamelin and Salomon's report compared their sexual violence figures to a 1 percent figure in metropolitan France, a report by Debout, Fourquet, and Morin (2018) found that in France 12 percent of women had experienced rape[47]. These issues are therefore widespread in both Western and non-Western societies.

The widespread nature of these issues in Western and non-Western societies was emphasised by participants who responded to this question. This did not involve dismissing the issue but rather noting that gender inequalities are sometimes emphasised more in non-Western societies[48]. Note also that these statistics—derived from surveys or from police and health centre reports—are sensitive to underreporting on violence against women. The current political climate (with the MeToo movement) is making it easier for women to come forward. In France the MeToo equivalent is #balancetonporc (squeal on your pig). Media outlets reported a 23 percent increase in reports of sexual assault following the balancetonporc/MeToo discourse (Horobin & Meichtry, 2017).

Cingöne pointed to Kanak youth increasingly denouncing sexual violence. She also pointed out that Kanak women need to find internal sources of momentum for the movement to end sexual violence:

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[47] It is unlikely that figures have dramatically increased between 2004 and 2018, however recent movements against sexual violence may have led women to be more willing to report incidences.

[48] A similar postcolonial analysis of discourses like this between India and the United States can be seen in Narayan (1997).

We denounce this, and the problem in denouncing that we young women Kanak have is that we find ourselves with another problem is that we control our history to get to the bottom of things. There is #balancetonporc that goes through all the networks, and it makes us emotional, as women, we share, we understand. It's compassion. Now when you think about it, in New Caledonia, as Kanak, this problem it is not posed to us here in this way. But we are always caught in [debating] whether it's the culture. And the colonial movement which is currently in the process of political decolonization, does not actually encourage reflection in this sense. It's very complex, it's hyper-complex in Caledonia.[49]

Cingöne, 35, female, Lawyer (7 December 2017)

Cingöne's querying the applicability of Western solutions to Kanak social issues demonstrates the complexity that Kanak women face in navigating violence perpetrated by members of their own community. As discussed in chapter three, when indigenous women highlight gendered violence perpetrated by indigenous men they can be criticised for selling out their community to side with Western feminists. As Cingöne says, pre-colonial and colonial cultural norms can become enmeshed, obscuring which issues are due to colonisation and which are related to the indigenous culture. This makes the issues more difficult to address.

Gendered Discrimination in Kanak communities: Colonial lens and colonial impacts

As discussed in chapter three, postcolonial and indigenous forms of feminism demand close analysis of discourses that posit non-Western cultures as more sexist than Western cultures. Discourses which see non-Western cultures as more sexist engage in the racial gaslighting discussed earlier. In these discourses, Western culture (and the individuals who transmit it)

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[49] *On dénonce ça, et le problème en dénonçant ça nous les jeunes femmes Kanak c'est qu'on se retrouve avec un autre problème c'est qu'on maîtrise bien notre histoire pour pouvoir aller au fond des choses. Là il y a #balancetonporc qui passe par tous sur les réseaux, et tout ça nous prend émotionnellement en tant que femme, qu'on partage, on comprend. C'est de la compassion. Maintenant quand on réfléchit au fond, en Nouvelle-Calédonie, en tant que Kanak. En fait ce problème là ils ne se pose pas chez nous de cette manière-là. Mais on est prise tout le temps dans c'est de la culture et le mouvement colonial est actuellement le processus de décolonisation politique qui a mis en place, ne favorise pas en fait la réflexion dans ce sens-là. C'est très complexe, c'est même hyper complexe en Calédonie.*

claim a paternalistic relationship, portraying the non-Western or indigenous culture as child-like, savage, and the women as agency-less victims in need of illumination. This portrayal ignores the gender norms of European culture at the time of colonisation, and how they were transmitted during the early decades of colonisation. Maryka, a retired pre-school teacher, uses her father as an example of how gender roles in Kanak society have changed in her lifetime:

> The men today, they always say that they are the strongest […]. But me, I always refer to my father at home. My father he always had respect, he did everything at home. He did everything. He shared roles at home with my mom. The housework. Mom, she had us children. Dad he went to the field, even sometimes he went with Mum to the fields. […] but when he came back home he shared all the tasks with Mum, he did the dishes, he did the sewing, […] he shared everything at home. I always said my mom at home, she was a queen, Dad he respected her as her own woman.[50]
>
> *Maryka, 61, female, Retired Pre-school Teacher and Pre-school Assistant (9 November 2017)*

Maryka argues that colonial gender norms have changed conceptions of manhood, and of men and women's roles. Her father sewing and cooking—tasks that are constructed as 'feminine' in Western cultures—represents a more flexible construction of gendered roles. This corroborates assertions made in indigenous and postcolonial feminist literature about increased gender inequality in indigenous cultures following colonisation (Johnston & Pihama, 1994; Lugones, 2010). Similarly, Fote argues that violence against women in a (post)colonial context must be understood in relation to the violence of colonisation, and the ways this violence was transmitted into the psyche of the indigenous peoples:

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[50] *Eux les hommes aujourd'hui, ils sont toujours dits qu'eux c'est le plus fort […]. Mais mois je faire référence toujours à mon père à la maison. Moi mon père il a toujours respecter il faisait tout à la maison. Il faisait tout. Il partager les rôles à la maison avec ma maman. Le travaille de la maison. Maman elle avait nous, les enfants. Mais papa il allais au champ même des fois il part ensemble avec maman au champ. […] Il partage tous les tâches à la maison, quand il est revenu à la maison, il fait aussi la vaisselle, il fait de la couture, il a fait de… quoi ? […] il partage tous à la maison. Moi j'ai toujours dit ma maman à la maison elle a été une reine aussi, papa il lui a respecté dans sa personne de femme.*

It is the Caledonian society of colonial origin, which is a violent society. And what I said earlier is that there is a part of this violence of colonization that is felt and lived in this society, as in other societies. [51]

Fote Trolue, 69, male, Retired Magistrate (7 December 2017)

Fote's observations about the violence experienced during colonisation being 'inherited' into indigenous cultural norms reflects the importance of identifying and acknowledging colonial violence to fully understand current inequalities and traumas. Paradies (2016) points to settler colonialism as a driver of mental health issues among indigenous peoples. This is due to the trauma of colonisation, the intergenerational trauma for those whose parents and grandparents experienced the trauma of colonisation, as well as contemporary experiences of racism.

Fote also identifies urbanisation and modernisation as shifting gender roles (this was a view shared by other participants). He says that following urbanisation women easily found work as cleaners or housekeepers while the men, if they could find work, went into the mines. The women became the breadwinners, and the men who remained unemployed increased their alcohol use. This caused a dramatic increase in violence. Mekunë's observations concur with this analysis. She argues that modernisation and Westernisation have resulted in disconnection of Kanak people from the roles that defined gender relations pre-colonisation:

But for me it's the arrival of Westernisation that resulted in the Kanak world not being a good place for women. Because alcohol arrived, cannabis arrived, there was the introduction of cars. So there are accidents, we move around more. So today we say it's hard for women because, if the husband does not work, he drinks, well it's hard for the woman because she must get a job, so not only is she going to work 8 hours a day, but after that when she arrives home, she has to take care of the children. But what's more, she has to endure the husband who arrives drunk, or who drank Kava and then beats everyone. [52]

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[51] *C'est la société calédonienne d'origine coloniale, qui est une société violente. Et ce que je disais tout à l'heure donc il y a une part justement de cette violence de la colonisation qui est ressenti et vécu dans la société, comme dans les autres société.*

[52] *Mais pour moi c'est l'arrivée de l'occidentalisation qui a fait que on dit que la femme aujourd'hui ce n'est pas bon le monde Kanak pour elle. Parce qu'il y a l'alcool qui est arrivé, il y a le cannabis qui est arrivé, il y a l'ouverture on est dans les voitures. Donc il y a des accidents, on se déplace plus. Donc*

Mekunë's observations corroborate the colonial impact on gender relations, especially on constructs of femininity and masculinity and on what it means to be a woman or a man. She also identifies alcohol and drug abuse as an effect of colonial violence and a cause of violence against women. In responses from research participants, alcohol use is not only identified as an issue among men, but among women as well. Alcohol abuse is also considered an issue in other indigenous communities (Brave Heart, 2003; Hunter, 1998), and has been linked to the aforementioned traumas associated with racism, discrimination, and disenfranchisement related to colonisation (Brave Heart, 2003; Paradies, 2016). Colonial impacts on gender roles and norms are important to unpack, and perhaps recognising the impact of this is useful for encouraging a fluid negotiation of gender roles and relations within Kanak culture. This appears to be in process and will be discussed in the subsequent chapters.

Health inequalities as a legacy of colonial and structural violence

Tug-of-war between identities: gender, race, and indigeneity

Colonial violence and social and cultural inequalities take a heavy toll on those who live these phenomena as everyday realities. Kanak women may feel trapped by racial and gender discrimination and may face challenges participating fully in Western feminist activities where their culture and race may not be validated, or in indigenous activities where they may face gender discrimination (Burman, 2011). Navigating these different intersectionalities may be further compounded if the women are mixed-race. Cingöne discusses the impact that being mixed-race Kanak and European Caledonian had on her as a youth:

> So it's this feeling, these emotions, that I could not explain, being young, when I did not
>
> understand why I was angry, and always likely to be talking about the Kanak people. These

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aujourd'hui on dit c'est dur pour les femmes parce que, si le mari ne travaille pas, il boit, bien la femme c'est dur pour elle parce qu'elle va aller chercher du boulot, donc non seulement elle va travailler, 8 heures par jour, mais après la sortie du boulot, quand elle arrive à la maison, il faut qu'elle s'occupe des enfants. Mais en plus il faut qu'elle supporte le mari qui arrive alcoolisé, ou qui a bu Kava et puis qui on bat tout le monde quoi.

spaces of emotion, incomprehensible for a young, mixed-race adult who denounces this environment. So that reinforces the feeling that the only way that encourages this suffering is perhaps that the system in which we lived no longer exists.[53]

Cingöne, 35, female, Lawyer (7 December 2017)

The mental health challenges of being mixed-race and female that Cingöne describes appear to be common. In 2009 the Customary Senate (CEFSC, 2009) reported that suicide was the leading cause of death for 15-24 year olds in Kanaky-NC and that 53 percent of mixed-race girls had suicidal thoughts. In addition, among young people who reported having an unhappy childhood or growing up in a large family which had economic problems, 69 percent of girls reported having suicidal thoughts, compared to 48 percent of boys (ibid., p. 21).

The experience of being a mixed-race girl appears to be particularly difficult. The "tug-of-war" between Kanak and Western culture is identified by the report as an important factor in the frustrations of both Kanak youth and adults, especially among youth who move to the city in search of work or education. The loss of social and cultural landmarks, and the loss of traditional culture, are also cited as contributing factors. As outlined earlier, women can feel tensions between gender and indigenous identities, and mixed-race youth may feel these tensions more acutely.

Silent martyrs: the physiological tolls of fighting for self-determination

Increasingly there is a visible physiological toll on activists globally[54]. Though this effect of colonial violence is often unrecognised it is important to interrogate. Constant fighting for freedoms adds significant stress on the mind and body. This is gendered as women often work full-time jobs and do most reproductive labour. In addition, Kanak people also have customary duties. To emphasise this, Cingöne described her regular day: Waking at 4 :30 in the morning to get her children ready for school; Dropping them off at school before getting to work at 7-

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[53] *Donc c'est ce sentiment, cette émotion, que je n'arrivais pas à expliquer en fait étant jeune, quand je ne comprenais pas pourquoi j'étais en colère, et toujours susceptible d'être en parler du peuple kanak. Ces espaces d'émotion là, incompréhensible pour une jeune adulte métisse qui dont dénonce cet environnement. Du coup ça renforcer le sentiment que la seule façon qui pousse cette souffrance c'est peut-être que le système dans lequel on vit n'existe plus.*

[54] This can be seen in contexts such as the USA where Black Rights Matter activist Erica Garner recently passed away from her second heart attack at the age of 27. See Jeje (2018).

7:30am; Working all day with only thirty minutes for lunch; Picking children up from school; Getting home from 5-7pm; Making dinner; Putting children to bed by 8-9:30pm. If she has customary duties or political meetings she will go then complete those and can be out until after 3am on weekdays. This takes a significant physiological toll. She describes the health impacts that this has had for friends:

> I have girlfriends who have had small heart attacks, and we know there are more [people who have had heart attacks]. Others who have developed cancer, I do not have the research to show that is related, but I think it adds a lot. The stress of others who have ulcers, still as many others who die. And men are the same. Even though I make my own schedule, the stress accumulates between customary functions. Life in modern society, life at home as a dad. All these identities are overloaded by the colonial problem, which we have not settled, and that we understand today as young people who are not situated in our history. We do not have the key to understand everything. It accumulates, it becomes overloaded, and I think that this is our first challenge if we are in the struggle for the development of equality.[55]
>
> *Cingöne, 35, female, Lawyer (7 December 2017)*

This reflects a significant result of the clash of cultures that Cingöne discussed earlier, and the challenges of negotiating customary duties alongside the Western work structure that Maadra raised. These challenges imply that if Kanak people want to succeed in French society they cannot integrate cultural values and norms. In addition, if Kanak people wish to agitate for the end of colonisation it will cost them. The prolonging of the referendum to allow Kanak people to decide on their future through the Matignon Accords and the Nouméa Accords (which both prolonged the referendum on independence that was the source of conflict during *les évènements* necessitates more sacrifice of time, energy, and subsequently health that many years of activism brings. These issues are another violent legacy of colonisation.

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[55] *J'ai des copines qui ont fait des petites crises cardiaques, il y a plus, on le savoir. D'autres qui développe des cancers, je n'ai pas la presse scientifique que s'est liée, mais je pense que ça ajoute pas mal. Le stress d'autre qui ont des ulcères, d'autre qui meurt encore autant. Et les hommes c'est pareil. Même si l'emploi du temps il moi en charger, mais le stresse accumulé entre les fonctions coutumières, la vie dans la société moderne, la vie à la maison en tant que papa. Tous ces identités surchargées par le problème coloniale, qu'on a pas réglé, et qu'on comprend aujourd'hui en tant que jeune qui ne sont pas assis dans notre histoire. On n'a pas de clé pour tout comprend. Ça s'accumule, ça se surcharge, et je pense que ça c'est notre premier défi si on situait dans la lutte pour le développement de l'égalité.*

Conclusion

Acknowledging and unwrapping the various layers of colonial violence is crucial for understanding Kanak women's experiences of gender and indigeneity. Direct forms of colonial violence such as assassinations, dispossession, and removal of political autonomy are important, but pervasive cultural and social forms of colonisation can be more challenging to identify and address. The findings in this chapter highlight the ways that colonial violence in Kanaky-NC aligns with global experiences of violence experienced by indigenous peoples: political unrest, coloniser gaslighting, and the physiological toll of fighting for independence. The findings in this research accentuate the importance of intersectional analyses of gender inequalities with interrogation of the racial and cultural inequities that Kanak women also experience.

The concept of self-determination emerges throughout this chapter as relating to both political institutions, and to social and cultural self-determination. Issues relating to self-determination include the undermining of Kanak culture through the *mission civilisatrice* and the dominance of French cultural and social norms which are still present today. In addition, the impact of French culture and colonial gender discourses on gender roles and relations in Kanak societies has proved complex to detangle. Regardless of pre-colonial Kanak gender relations, it is clear from these research findings that self-determination is regarded by Kanak activists as necessary for encouraging fluidity of cultural change today, specifically regarding gender-based violence.

This chapter highlights the importance of understanding histories and contemporary experiences of violence that Kanak men and women experience. These findings contextualise the following chapter's investigation of gender roles within Kanak society and within the contemporary politics of the independence movement.

Living in Two Spheres: Kanak women's role in custom and modern politics

Introduction

Kanak women's roles vary depending on which social space they occupy. In the findings presented in this chapter participants clearly identified two different social spaces, or spheres, which Kanak woman independence activists inhabit: the Customary sphere and the Western political sphere. The Customary Sphere (which will be used interchangeably with *La Coutume*) refers to traditional Kanak spaces which can include tribal areas, and activities which are regulated by Custom—such as weddings or funerals. Customary gender roles differ between different regions and tribes, however participants highlighted designated roles for women based on traditional norms around women as mothers and caregivers, and being less publicly visible than men. The Western political sphere refers to political spaces and activities introduced through colonisation such as Government, Congress, and regional councils. In the political sphere gender roles are not strictly designated and are predominantly based on Western political norms and normative influences from Kanak societies. While women face barriers to participation in the higher echelons of politics, the female participants felt that they can and should have access to the same roles as men.

While these two spheres appear relatively well defined, some institutions bridge both. An example of this is the Customary Senate, an institution established by the Nouméa Accords which acts as a bridge between Customary authorities and the Western political system by overseeing and approving laws related to Kanak identity. Participants disagreed on whether women should have a place within this male-dominated institution.

This chapter will first review the relevant literature to contextualise the findings. It will then examine participants' experiences and interpretations of gender roles and relations within La Coutume and broader society. Following this, the chapter will examine participants' experiences and interpretations of gender roles and relations within the Western political sphere—specifically, within independentist political parties and movements. Finally, this chapter will investigate the issue of women's place within the Customary Senate. This chapter aims to deepen understandings of the female participants' lives, and interrogate nuances of indigenous women's experiences often glossed over in Western feminist analyses of Kanak women's lives. This chapter seeks to understand how cultural and societal norms impact the lived experiences of Kanak women independence activists, and limits or enables their political participation.

Literature review

Women and Custom in Melanesia

Women's rights are an important issue within the Pacific region, however there are significant tensions between the introduction of feminism as a Western ideology and customary norms and practices that exist in various forms in Melanesia. In Kanaky-NC these customary norms are collectively referred to as *La Coutume* (the custom)*, which Paini (1993) translates to "the way of the land" (p.216). La Coutume encompasses norms and rules around social organisation and social practices. *Faire la coutume* (to do the custom) refers to customary exchanges performed at important events such as marriages, births and deaths.[56] At a smaller scale, when being received in someone's home it is customary to *faire la geste* by giving money, food or cloth to the head of the hosting household.[57]

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[56] For example, I attended a festival of dance hosted by a tribe in Thio, on the east coast of the Grande Terre, with performances by groups across Kanaky-NC. Each group offered gifts which were accepted by the chief of the hosting tribe according to La Coutume.

[57] These customs are often selectively chosen in the literature to refer to La Coutume around marriage as bride-price, without contextualising the practice in the wider context of La Coutume. Bride-price has resulted in some abuses of women's rights in some parts of Melanesia. Macintyre (2000) discusses the increase in court cases brought by young women against bride-price transactions. However, it is important to understand the ways that Western, colonial understandings of this practice have, in some contexts, changed the meaning of the practice.

Within Melanesia, there are many representations of La Coutume, often referred to as *Kastom*. Custom, Kastom, and La Coutume are frequently pitted against modernity and Westernisation in the literature, especially in relation to gender roles and norms. Custom in Melanesia is often portrayed as constrictive for women by reference to seclusion during menstruation and childbirth, segregated housing for men and women, bride-price, and women's inability to speak in public forums (Douglas, 1998). Some authors have argued that human rights abuses in the Pacific have been defended on the grounds of Custom (Jolly & Macintyre, 1989; Macintyre, 2000). This is also the case in Kanaky-NC in which La Coutume has been used as a justification for lack of action on sexual violence (Salomon, 2017).

However as discussed in the previous chapter it is equally important for academics to investigate the effects that Christianity had on altering gender norms (Douglas, 1998). Early Christian missionaries emphasised the nuclear family as the core social unit, therefore destroying "zones of traditional female autonomy and repose" (Douglas, 1998, p. 4). In addition, Nicolas (2017) reports that the missionaries in Lifou (one of the Loyalty Islands) preached the importance of sexual subservience of women to their husbands, instilling in men a belief that they had a right to sexual access to their wives. Even in situations where this was not explicitly taught, the removal of tapu[58] around menstruation meant that men became less afraid of women's power, and were therefore more willing to violate women's bodies against their wishes (Jolly & Macintyre, 1989). Thus, the impact of Christianity on Custom needs to be considered when analysing Custom. As mentioned in chapter three, for some Māori women, uncovering these colonial influences on traditional customs has been emancipatory, helping women navigate tensions between tradition and modernity.

Custom is not only denoted in some literature as the root of patriarchal power exercised over indigenous women, but also as a well of strength on which women can draw in times of need. During the political turmoil in Bougainville, for example, women returned to Custom to exercise their customary power as land-owners, and emerged as peacemakers in the conflict (Douglas, 1998). This was especially powerful as Bougainville has matrilineal land ownership customs which provides women with authoritative positions in their communities (Douglas, 1998). Kanaky-NC has a complex system of land ownership, in which land is owned by men

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[58] Tapu is a word found in many Polynesian languages which can loosely be translated to 'sacred' in English. It often refers to spaces, or people in certain states or times, which should not be interacted with or which should be treated with reverence.

but passed down through the maternal uncle. It is not the land-owner's sons who inherit his land, but his sister's sons.

Throughout Melanesia it is clear that women's role as mothers is valued and important (Boseto, 1998; Mowbray, 2000; Tarisesei, 1998). Tarisesei (1998) says, "According to the Melanesian philosophy of communalism, zais ('grandmothers'), bubus ('ancestors'), wives, mothers, aunts, sisters, daughters and nieces are the root of our social security and the backbone of stability and sustainability within our human community" (p. 9). Paini (1993) explains the changing status of Drueulu women in Lifou, Kanaky-NC when they become mothers, "Once a married woman becomes a mother, her husband calls her ifeneköng [literally 'the carrier of my children']." (p. 208). Women's roles as mothers also extend to teaching children about La Coutume (Nicolas, 2010a).

Women in politics

Custom influences women's participation in politics. In the Pacific region, men dominate government executives and legislature (Baker, 2017). This is often justified by a discourse of paternalism and reference to the traditional place and roles of women within custom (see Macintyre, 2000). This discourse is compounded by colonial administration and missionary discourse which reinforced male dominance in decision-making (ibid.). For instance, Macintyre (2000) argues that women in Papua New Guinea are worse off since independence. She suggests that "[j]ust as the process of colonization deprived indigenous men of their former political autonomy, so independence has deprived women any decision-making role in modernization" (p. 152). Sensitivities to neo-colonial aid relations have made those in power defensive to critique about gender issues by outsiders, especially from Australia (ibid.). However MacIntyre argues that those who are defensive to this critique view women as the bearers of custom, which restricts them from entering spaces of modernity (such as political offices) and becoming wage-earners (ibid.). Women who seek to criticise social gendered discourse "have to operate within the small discursive space between anti-colonialism and national pride" (Macintyre, 2000, p. 153). By walking this fine line they can be criticised for perpetuating Western feminist discourses, and for vilifying custom and tradition (ibid.).

Similar tensions are also experienced in Kanaky-NC. Susana Ounei-Small (1994), an early activist for Les Foulards Rouges[59], recounts:

> Déwé Gorodey and I first began to analyse the women's struggle when we were in jail together in 1974. When we raised it in the movement, almost everyone—men and women—was hostile. We were accused of copying 'women's libbers' in France and 'dividing couples' and 'dividing the movement'. We were told it was against custom to talk about contraception and try to take the place of a man. (p. 200-201)

In Kanaky-NC women are also accused of trying to undermine the independence movement and create divisions between independentist men and women. This was an argument against a Gender Parity Law for political representatives (Berman, 2005). Nonetheless the Gender Parity Law was successful, and has resulted in a significant rise in the number of women in Congress and the Executive. After the 2014 election, women held 44.4 percent of seats in Congress (ISEE, n.d.).

Salomon (2000) identifies the beginning of significant pro-independence agitation as the start of a form of "Kanak feminism", a label used by the same author in 2017[60]. This highlights that many Kanak women were unable to pursue women's rights while still under the heavy thumb of colonisation. Nicolas (2015) also identifies the independence movement's advocacy against colonial schooling systems as a significant contribution to gender equality. In colonial schools Kanak children were segregated from white children and were subject to sub-par schooling and restricted from taking examinations which would enable them to attend university (ibid.). Nicholas says that the unsegregated schooling resulting from this advocacy significantly reduced racialized oppressions faced by Kanak women and girls. As will be discussed in chapter seven, participants believe that Kanak women's access to higher education has increased economic independence and awareness around gendered issues including violence.

Since the 1980s there has been a significant—if not unified—movement of Kanak women towards gender equality. Several Kanak women have created organisations which combat

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[59] See chapter two for further information on Les Foulards Rouges.

[60] I will avoid the term Kanak feminism in this thesis, due to the rejection of the label "feminist" by many of my female participants.

gender-based violence and seek economic independence for women (Nicolas, 2017; Salomon, 2017). As Susana Ounei-Small (1994) argues, it is not only about achieving independence, but about "what sort of society we are fighting for" (p. 201). In 2004 some prominent Kanak women concerned with women's rights called for a shift in Customary legal structures to address patriarchal decision-making (Nicolas, 2010a; Salomon, 2017). This speaks to women's roles within La Coutume, specifically in relation to *La Parole,* "the customary speeches that accompany exchanges that follow established pathways of alliances and obligations." (Paini, 1993, p. 265). Déwé Gorodey (1994) argues that this is considered a male domain:

> Despite our roles, there are certain places or certain powers where we women have no access. I refer, for example, to public speeches, the public announcement of the alliance of the clans, the genealogical discourse. We have no access to this because it is the man who makes such speeches in public. An example is *la grande case*, the big hut where all the important decisions of the clan are made, which belongs to the men. True, the men built that hut, but if they can go in there and speak in the name of their clan, to the glory of their clan, to recount the prestige of their clan, they have to acknowledge our role of enlarging the clan, making alliances so that the clan can expand. So, if you like, there is a discourse there which is public, an ideological discourse, which remains a patriarchal discourse because the woman has no access to the power of *la parole.* (p. 32)

However Paini (1993) highlights that the gendered dimension of La Parole has been misrepresented as a ban on women speaking in any public situation, when it is only for Customary settings. In addition, La Parole in a Customary setting is reserved for elderly men, and therefore not only a gender bias (ibid.). Paini references cases in which she has seen women *prend la parole* (take the proverbial microphone), though they apologised for their actions in advance in deference to the elder women present.

Findings and Discussion

Kanak women in La Coutume and society

Inequities, equity and complementarity between men and women

Participants disagreed on whether Kanak culture and society holds some patriarchal elements. Several shared views that Kanak society holds some patriarchal elements. However, all except one participant were quick to point out that the situation is much more complex than a simple reading of Kanak society as patriarchal, emphasising that Kanak society is influenced by colonisation and is becoming more equitable for women. Isa, who lives rurally in Canala, reported that she feels that in her region there is relative equality between men and women:

> For us here, right now, in my region, it's going well. We are complete [complementarity between men and women]. It's going well at the level of Kanak society. We make decisions about children together. We make the decisions about customary issues together, all of this. There is no one that goes beyond the other. It's not like in.... There was a time where the man decided a lot, he did it himself, and... today in our own time, that's it, we are together.[61]
>
> *Isa, 57, female, campsite host, gardener and dress-maker, (30 December 2017)*

Isa's experiences provide a valuable perspective on the social change that she feels has happened in the region of Canala. This perspective should be situated in the context of a young woman recently being raped and mutilated in a Canala commune (Whaap & Lindor, 2018). However, the massive response that this event evoked from both men and women is representative of the kind of collective mobilisation against gender issues that Isa describes.

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[61] *Déjà à nous là en ce moment, ici dans ma région, ça se passe bien. On se complet. Ça se passe bien au niveau nous les Kanak hein, voilà. On est ensemble pour prendre les décisions sur les enfants. On est ensemble pour prendre les décisions dans les trucs de la coutume, tout ça là. Il n'y a pas l'autre qui dépasse l'autre. Ce n'est pas comme à... Il y a avait une époque là où l'homme il décidait beaucoup, il faisait lui-même, et... aujourd'hui dans le temps à nous, ça y est, on est ensemble.*

Many participants believed that men and women have complementary roles which enable everyone to contribute to society. Marotro argues that both genders have complementary functions within Kanak culture, but face discrimination outside of La Coutume:

> Yes, [women] are discriminated against, however at the level of their milieu even in traditional circles there is no real discrimination. Because they are Kanak women, in their society they have their place, they have their role, they have their function. And all this is done in complementarity with men. So I do not know if it should be seen in a discriminatory way. But in any case women do not feel this as discrimination within their traditional society. On the other hand, where Kanak women are confronted with discrimination, then we keep going. The different forms of discrimination are still very much present and they are essentially based on race.[62]
>
> *Marotro, 64, female, Role in government focusing on women's affairs (27 November 2017)*

The distinction that Marotro highlights illustrates the grievances that many Kanak women hold. According to her, women do not necessarily link gender issues to traditional culture—the common link within the literature—but to colonisation and racism, and to spheres which are not organised by La Coutume. Although this was a common view among participants, not all participants agreed. Some believed that La Coutume supports some practices which harm women. Men predominantly hold power in decision-making; there are situations in which women are excluded from small-scale loans and other community development initiatives; men inherit land over women; the maternal uncle is attributed social status for children over the mother; and in some Customary settings women do not *prend la parole* (this will be discussed later in this chapter). Participants also said that women must make twice the effort of men to achieve the same goals in employment and politics.

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[62] *Oui elles subissent des discriminations, alors au niveau de leur milieu même dans les milieux traditionnels il n'y a pas véritablement de discrimination, du fait qu'elles soient des femmes kanak parce que dans leur société, elles ont leur place, elles ont leur rôle, elles ont leur fonction. Et tout ça se fait en complémentarité avec les hommes. Alors je ne sais pas s'il faut le voir cela sous une forme discriminatoire. Mais en tout cas les femmes ne ressentent pas cela comme de la discrimination au sein même de leur société traditionnelle. Par contre là où les femmes kanak sont confrontées à la discrimination puis on garde la suite. Les différentes formes de discrimination sont toujours très présentes et elles sont essentiellement basées sur la race.*

As a single mother who works, Rose expressed that she does not feel constrained by her gender in Kanak society:

> Personally, I don't feel as though my culture is stopping me from doing what I want to do. I mean I've travelled, I've studied, I've got probably an unorthodox family at the moment, being a single Mum and just living independently without being dependent on a partner or a husband. It's just quite different when people look at me, but I try to explain that "this is the way I've chosen my life", and with time my family respect my decision. When I go regularly to my island home and village I don't see culture as stopping me from doing what I want to do, from contributing to my political movement, and my hopes and aspirations for political emancipation and independence. No.
>
> *Rose, 33, female, Policy Officer Foreign Consulate (30 November 2017)*

Rose's opinion—that women have a valid role within Kanak culture and that she is able to live a different lifestyle to her parents—conflict with the representations of Kanak women within the literature. Paini (1993) claims that, among her research participants in Lifou, many families were concerned with their daughters getting pregnant outside of marriage and some quickly arranged a marriage after their daughters fell pregnant. Nicolas (2012) identifies two places where it is common for unmarried mothers to adopt their children out to a family member (in Lifou and Ponérihouen). I met many unmarried parents during my fieldwork, and it appeared to me more common for couples with children to be in *concubinage* (de-facto relationships) than married. This may be due to age or to most of them living in Nouméa. However, the children of one of my older participants were also from a de-facto relationship, and therefore it is clear that issues in one region (or within one study) cannot always easily translate to another. The perspectives on gender and culture expressed here are multifaceted and different women have different experiences. The multiple dimensions to lived experiences of this issue are important to consider when readings of the literature present a singular point of view.

Women's roles as mothers and educating on La Coutume

Almost all participants discussed women's role as mothers when discussing gender roles within Kanak society. Many participants also pointed to women's roles in educating children on La Coutume and to women being able to create links between tribes as crucial social roles. Caroline points out that this is a role with a lot of responsibility, which demands a lot of respect:

> When a woman raises a child, we always say, when you educate a child you educate a people. How is it said? "Educating a child is educating a whole people". It means that the woman has a great responsibility. This is what she teaches to her little one, that it is true that this man will be a good leader, or a delinquent. […] But the education of a child is enormous. And that's the responsibility of the woman. The achievements of a man, the foundations are laid during his infancy until a certain age. […] And it is his mom who instils the basics of the society the respect, the values, everything.[63]
>
> *Caroline Machoro, 65, female, Member of Congress (16 November 2017)*

Caroline is saying that women's roles as mothers and educators is vital, as they therefore ensure that all members of society are active citizens. While many research participants viewed women's roles as mothers as important social roles, a few participants did express views that this restricted women's choices. Smyla, who lives rurally, expressed discontent with the large amount of domestic work placed on women and the practice of patrilocality (women moving to live with their husband's family after marriage):

> For me, she has a big job, the Kanak woman. And it's hard sometimes, to play this role. For example, if you are married, you do not see your brothers and sisters anymore. I [would] stay with my husband's family. I [would] work with my husband's family. I [would] cook everything. [I would look after] the field, the children. But I [would] no longer go back to my family, because I'm married. They have already given me. Alternatively, I believe that there are men who do not leave the door open to their wife. To get work or... She has to stay at home. Her job is to be home. It's not outside the house. There are also families where it's open, it's free. And there are children who are like that, who are lost because there are no parents to watch, to cook. Because the parents work.[64]

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[63] *Quand une femme élève un enfant, nous on dit toujours plus c'est qui qu'il a dit, quand tu éduque un enfant tu éduque un peuple. Comment ils avaient dit ça « Eduque un enfant c'est éduquer tout un peuple. » Ça veut dire que la femme elle a une très grande responsabilité. C'est ce qu'elle apprend à son petit des tout petits, qu'il est vrai que cet homme-là sera un bon responsable, ou alors un délinquant. […] Mais l'éducation d'un enfant c'est énorme. Et c'est la responsabilité de la femme. Les acquis d'un homme, les bases sont posées pendant sa plus petite enfance jusqu'à un certain âge. […] Et c'est sa maman qui inculque les bases de la société le respect les valeurs tout.*

[64] *Pour moi, elle a une grand travaille. La femme Kanak. Et c'est dur des fois, de jouer c'est rôle là. Par exemple si on est marié, mais je ne plus voir mes frères et sœurs. Je reste chez la famille de mon mari. Je fais le travail chez la famille de mon mari. Je fais la cuisine tout. Le champ, les enfants. Mais je plus*

Smyla touches on a range of issues here: some women can feel trapped by their roles as mothers and wives but there are childcare issues if they work. This can also be problemitised by women's roles as educators on La Coutume. Tarisesei (1998) discusses similar issues with Kastom in Vanuatu. She discusses the various ways that have been suggested of ensuring that Kastom is still taught to children when mothers work, or children spend most of their youth in school. It has been suggested that Kastom is integrated into the curriculum (ibid.). As discussed in chapter five, there is no equivalent integration of Custom into education in Kanaky-NC.

Mekunë also argues that the conception of women as mothers has led to resistance to allow them into the public sphere:

> For me it is complex, the representation of the Kanak woman, it is very complex. Because we will respect her because she gives life. But in what she can do in front of the public world, before ... it is not too recognized. We will recognize her at home ... but we will not put her in front [in public]. It is progressing a little as I have told you but ... no, it is very, very badly seen, it is not well seen. [...] I would say that in terms of access it is difficult, she must make three or four times more effort than a man of the same age.[65]
>
> *Mekunë, 58, female, Senior Nurse/Manager Psychiatric Hospital (27 November 2017)*

Mekunë's view that it is difficult for women to be valued outside of the home contrasts with the earlier perspectives. It reinforces observations made by participants in chapter five that women have to work twice as hard as men to occupy the same spaces. This can potentially be

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pas de retourner chez ma famille, parce que je suis marié. Ils m'en déjà donner. Sinon je croire qu'il y a les hommes ils laissent pas le porte ouvert à leur femme. Pour aller chercher du travail ou… Il faut qu'elle reste à la maison. Son travail c'est la maison. Ce n'est pas dehors de la maison. Après il y a des familles où voilà c'est ouvert, c'est libre. Et il y a des enfants qui sont comme ça, qui sont perdu parce que voilà il n'y a pas des parents pour surveiller, pour faire la cuisine. Parce que les parents ils travaillent.

[65] *Pour moi elle est complexe cette représentation de la femme Kanak, elle est très complexe. Parce que on va la respecter, parce qu'elle donne la vie. Mais dans ce qu'elle peut faire au-devant dans le monde public, devant…ce n'est pas trop reconnu. On va la reconnaître parce que à la maison… mais on ne va pas la mettre devant. C'est en train d'émerger comme je vous dis mais…non, c'est très, très mal vu quoi, ce n'est pas bien vu. […] Je dirais qu'en termes d'accès c'est difficile elle doit faire trois ou quatre fois plus d'efforts qu'un homme du même âge.*

a consequence of social and cultural norms which designate women's roles as inside the home, and men's roles as 'breadwinners'.

Women in the Customary Sphere: complex identities

Participants disagreed about the extent to which women's roles were strictly defined within Custom. One participant argued that Custom is restrictive on women's activities, however, many participants said that it is more complex. Maadra argued that she is comfortable with her role within the Customary sphere, despite her job affording her power to speak in the political sphere:

> I forgot to tell you that I do all this [in the government], but when I come back to my family, my brothers are in front. I'm in the [back]... I do not know if you have heard about it, but there's what's called space theory. That is to say that you have spaces, you have a space where you have rules, which govern things. So I'm inside. I am in that. When I am here, I know that here I am positioned in the organization of work in relation to my knowledge, my skills, what I am capable of doing. So I'm positioned like this here in the government, but when I go back to my family I'm positioned as a sister, as an auntie, [...] as a woman.[66]
>
> *Maadra, 60, female, Advisor to Government Minister (23 November 2017)*

Maadra is referring to the negotiation of different social roles in different social spheres. The Sociology of Space, which Maadra refers to, is a broad field of study on how space can be conceptualised in relation to place, structures, institutions and people. Martina Löw (2008) argues that spaces are simultaneously a *product* of action and *structure* action by either enabling or constraining it. In this way, the customary sphere prescribes roles for women and enables them to fulfil these roles within this sphere, however it also constrains women from

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[66] *J'ai oublié de te dire que moi je fais tout ça ici, mais quand je reviens dans ma famille, ce sont mes frères qui sont devant. Je suis dans le…je ne sais pas s'il a entendu parler de ça, mais il y a ce qu'on appelle la théorie des espaces. C'est à dire que t'as des espaces, t'as un espace où t'as des règles, qui régissent les choses. Donc moi je suis dedans. Je suis dans ça. Quand je suis ici, je sais qu'ici je suis positionné dans l'organisation du travail par rapport à mes connaissances, mes compétences, ce dont je suis capable de faire. Voilà. Donc que je suis positionné comme ça ici au gouvernement, Mais quand je repars dans ma famille je suis positionné en tant que sœur, en tant que tantine, en tant que voilà, en tant que femme.*

taking a more visible role within this sphere. Women's power in the Customary sphere is a foundational, less visible power. However, Maadra argues that when she is at her work in the political sphere, she does not experience these constraints, and therefore occupies different roles and can take different actions.

The reflections shared in this chapter speak to the variability of Custom, and women's varied and negotiated roles within it. They also highlight the various ways that women relate to Custom—some are happy with their roles, while others feel that changes are desirable. This is a challenging issue, and it is important to recognise the regional differences between women's experiences and in the ways that Custom is expressed differently. The nuances reflected here somewhat challenge the way that this issue has been presented in some of the literature, and reflects the fluid, evolving nature of La Coutume, and Kanak culture.

Kanak culture evolving

Many participants argue that Kanak culture is fluid and is becoming more sensitive to gender issues. Many participants discussed the adaptability or adaptations of La Coutume as both a strength of La Coutume, and a necessity for it to adapt to colonisation and modernity. Maryka highlighted the ways that Kanak people (especially those who live in the city) live in-between La Coutume and Western modernity. In the cities people must work to survive and to send their children to school, unlike the subsistence lifestyle she experienced as a young child in Ouvéa. While they still participate in Customary activities, these activities must adapt to work obligations.

> Today to be Kanak, it is a lot of effort because we are in our own country, but we live in two worlds. We have our Kanak world where there are obligations, rites, things to do. At the same time we have to live in today's Western society that [is very different] […] It means we have two feet, feet like that [in two different places]. We are in between two [worlds].[67]

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[67] *Aujourd'hui le Kanak il fait beaucoup d'effort parce-qu'il est dans son organisation à lui, nationaux dans ce qu' il est, il vie dans deux monde. Il a son monde à lui Kanak, ou il y a des obligations, des rites, des choses à faire. Au même temps il faut qu'il vit dans la société d'aujourd'hui occidentale qui a un autre, quoi, ça fait qu'il y a deux pieds, la pieds comme ça. Il est entre deux.*

The difficulty that indigenous and minority peoples face in navigating these dual worlds is well documented (Coulthard, 2014; Stewart-Harawira, 2005).[68] Maadra argues that while La Coutume must evolve with the Kanak people, it is important to retain some elements:

> Custom, for me the custom it must not be fixed. It must evolve. It must evolve. There are some fundamental things to keep, but you have to change it. It must be changed because we no longer live in tribes. […] But I do not live as before, and even the others up there to the tribe do not live as before, they have TVs now. They have other things. […] I think the changes they're already there, we're living them. We are already living them. […] So that's why I say that culture is... It must be changed. It must be changed. But it's ... well, I say there are things you keep in you, it's innate in you.[69]
>
> *Maadra, 60, female, Advisor to Government Minister (23 November 2017)*

Maadra's quote indicates that change can happen in some areas of Custom without impacting other areas. In this sense, it is possible to have a duality of keeping some traditions while challenging other traditions that may be restrictive.

Fote agrees with Maadra's comments and argues that Kanak identities have become somewhat intertwined with French identities. He claims that idealising La Coutume is dangerous, and that Custom is inherently flexible, therefore, there is no justification for using it to marginalise women. He illustrates both the multifaceted, changing nature of Custom and the ways that colonial identities intertwine within the individual and become difficult to unravel, as discussed in chapter five. In this sense decolonisation entails reworking and de-linking from the colonial

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[68] Maryka added (30 July 2018) emphasis to the notion of respect for other cultures, which she feels is not currently afforded to Kanak people and cultures.

[69] *La coutume, pour moi la coutume elle ne doit pas être figée. Il faut qu'elle évolue. Il faut qu'elle évolue. Voilà. Il y a des fondamentale qu'il faut garder, mais il faut la faire évoluer. Il faut la faire évoluer parce que nous on ne vit plus en tribu. […] Mais je ne vis plus comme avant même les autres là-haut à la tribu aussi ils ne vivent plus comme avant ils ont la télé maintenant. On avoir autre chose. […] Je pense que les changements ils sont déjà là, on est en train de les vivre. On est déjà en train de les vivre. […] Donc c'est pour ça que je dis que la culture elle est…Il faut la faire évoluer. Il faut la faire évoluer. Mais c'est… bah je dire il y a des choses que tu gardes en toi, c'est inné en toi.*

legacy. According to Grosfoguel (2007) this involves a "broader transformation of the sexual, gender, spiritual, epistemic, economic, political, linguistic and racial hierarchies of the modern/colonial world-system." (p. 219). Grosfoguel aligns with Fote's view that the decolonial process cannot be achieved through reductionism.

Wess also agrees with Fote's claim that Kanak culture is inherently flexible and constantly evolving. She argues that Kanak culture has been static because some men have been resistant to change gendered roles:

> I will not say that Kanak culture is bad for contemporary Kanak women today. It is that the society has evolved but the Kanak culture has remained static at a given time. [...] as I explained earlier, culture was made for a given moment for human beings of a time. But these human beings unfortunately do not evolve [...] It's the men who make sure we do not move forward, we have to stay [static]. And that's how imbalances are created, and that's how we come to say that Kanak culture is not good for women today. But it's just because we have not followed the evolution. Where at some point there are people who, for their own benefit, said "no, no, we do not evolve, it's better to stay like that". [...] We need to be a culture of wanting to change, to find a balance, or something good.[70]

> *Wess, 47, female, Midwife (7 November 2017)*

Wess' analysis of men's resistance to interrogating gendered cultural norms indicates the ways that power struggles within the independence movement can occur. A notable example of this is the resistance of some male independentist leaders to the implementation of the Gender Parity Law (Berman, 2005). The men referenced Custom in their arguments against this policy, an argument which was largely decried by independentist Kanak women (ibid.). The gendered social changes that this policy caused are discussed later in this chapter. This resistance to gender equality is also present in other indigenous movements for self-determination (Burman,

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[70] *Moi je ne dirai pas que la culture kanak est mauvaise pour la femme contemporaine, Kanak actuelle. C'est que la société elle a évolué mais la culture Kanak elle a resté à un moment données statiques. [...] comme j'expliqué tout à l'heure, la culture a été fait pour un moment donné pour des êtres humains d'un temps. Mais ces êtres humains là malheureusement n'évoluent [...] C'est l'homme qui fait qu'il ne faut pas qu'on avance, il faut qu'on en reste là. Et c'est comme ça que ça se crée des déséquilibres, et c'est comme ça qu'on arrive à dire que ça va plus la culture Kanak pour les femmes d'aujourd'hui. Voilà. Mais c'est juste parce qu'on n'a pas suivi l'évolution. Où qu'à un moment donné il y a des gens qui pour leur propre intérêt, ils ont dit « non, non on n'évolue pas, c'est mieux assez reste comme ça ». [...] Il faut qu'on est une culture de vouloir changer pour trouver un équilibre ou quelque chose de bien.*

2011; Simmonds, 2011). This illustrates the importance of negotiated processes of decoloniality which consider gendered experiences. Women can play a crucial role in these processes.

It is important to view women not only as an integral part of Kanak culture, but also as agents of change. While Wess's perspective that men are resistant to change is valid, other participants also point to women's role in changing La Coutume, and their history of appropriating symbols of restriction. For example, Astrid points to Kanak women's claiming of the *robe popinée* as a Kanak cultural artefact. The *robe popinée,* or *robe mission* is a style of dress introduced by missionaries to instil modesty in Kanak women. It has now been appropriated as a symbol of female Kanak identity (Paini, 2017).

Kanak women in the independence movement

Behind-the-scenes supporting – cooking for political congresses

Many participants highlighted women's roles within the movement as being predominantly behind-the-scenes: setting up conferences and meetings, ensuring those actively participating have everything they need, and cooking for meetings and political congresses. Many participants argued that these roles are important, and that they allow women to express their commitment to the movement. Pahatr highlights that women's roles behind the scenes should not be misunderstood as women being less invested in independence:

> I, who am very active in the field, will say that there are as many women as there are men. It's the same proportion. But I will say that everyone is invested in different ways. Men are much more advanced in public spaces so it looks like men are more invested politically. But I notice that behind the scenes women also give a lot. I will provide a small example from our political meetings, for example in Union Calédonienne, it is the men who speak, but the mothers are there, the women are there. At meetings of the Secretariat, they are there to bring us pens, notebooks to write, they are there to cook for us. They are also

there to think, it is also they who give ideas to our men so that men also carry our messages.[71]

Pahatr, female (7 November 2017)

As Pahatr points out, women who choose not to take less visible roles in politics can contribute to the movement through behind-the-scenes roles. However, it is interesting that Pahatr excludes herself from this group of women, and describes them as 'mothers'. This indicates a generational element to women's participation. There are also differences between political parties. Mekunë points out that PALIKA has more women in high-level positions than UC. However women in UC still participate:

In UC the women are very present in the popular meetings, in the organized meetings. And they bring a lot of ideas, and thoughts shared by men. But often it is the men who lead to the front of the stage. See? It's the same at the political Congress, it's a lot of men. We have a lot of elected men, but they are surrounded by women and heads of cabinets … […] Of the independentist parties, women are very valued in PALIKA. In PALIKA women are very much in front, they have female ministers, see? Not like the UC, in UC there are no women ministers, it's only men.[72]

Mekunë, 58, female, Senior Nurse/Manager Psychiatric Hospital (27 November 2017)

Interestingly, when I asked Mekunë whether she had considered joining PALIKA instead of UC because of this, she said that there were one or two dominant men in PALIKA who were

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[71] *Moi qui milite beaucoup sur le terrain je dirai qu'il y a autant de femmes que d'hommes. C'est la même proportion. Mais je dirai que chacun investi de différentes façons. Les hommes sont beaucoup plus mis en avance dans les espaces publics donc qu'on dirait les hommes sont beaucoup trop investis politiquement. Mais vous remarquerais que derrière les femmes elles donnent aussi beaucoup. Je donne un petit exemple dans nos réunions politiques, par exemple à l'Union Calédonienne, ce sont les hommes qui parlent, mais les mamans sont là, les femmes sont là. Pour faire le Secrétariat, ils sont là pour nous mener des stylos, des cahiers pour écrire, ils sont là pour nous faire la cuisine. Ils sont aussi là pour réfléchir, c'est aussi eux qui ont les idées à nos hommes pour que les hommes portent aussi nos messages.*

[72] *Pour l'UC les femmes elles sont très présents dans les réunions populaires, dans les réunions organisées. Et du coup elles amènent les idées, beaucoup la réflexion, partagée par les hommes. Mais souvent après les hommes amènent au devant de la scène. Voyez ? C'est pareil bah au Congrès c'est beaucoup des hommes, on a beaucoup d'élus hommes, mais ils sont beaucoup entourés de femmes, et chefs de cabinets les… […] aux partis indépendantistes, où la femme elle est très mise en valeur, c'est le PALIKA. Au PALIKA les femmes elles sont très devant, voilà ces des ministres, on a des ministres femme, voyez ? Pas comme à l'UC, à l'UC il n'y a pas des ministres femmes c'est que des hommes.*

resistant to change on gender issues and therefore she had decided to join UC instead. This perspective highlights that gender issues can be both normative, or related to specific individuals within an institution.

The responses about women predominantly having behind-the-scenes roles in political congresses surprised me. I attended a political Congress for Union Calédonienne during my field research and observed both men and women preparing food. It appeared to be predominantly youth who were preparing the cold food, and some elderly women and (a few) men who were tending to meat cooking over a fire. See the photograph below:

Figure 8. Women cooking over fire at Union Calédonienne Political Congress 2017. Photo by author.

On inquiry, Maryka told me that each region takes responsibility for hosting the Congress each year, and that the members from that branch take responsibility for providing the food and labour. My observations may have been indicative of the slow change that some participants discussed. I also noticed loudspeakers in the outside kitchen area which ensured that those

preparing the food could hear the Congress proceedings. In addition, people would switch roles with those listening in the hall, taking turns actively participating and preparing food.

These roles fit with broader literature on women's engagement in political processes. Margaret Conway (2001) discusses how gendered norms and role expectations for men and women can restrict women from occupying high-level positions within political parties. The gendered roles discussed earlier of women as mothers and as domestic labourers can translate into political contexts where women may feel comfortable occupying supporting roles. Pahatr's specific identification of the women in supporting roles as mothers demonstrates a cross-over between women's roles in general society and in the political movement. This can also be seen in the portfolios that women are given if they do enter the political sphere, which are often in traditionally feminine areas such as women's affairs, education and healthcare (Chinula, 2017).

Women as politicians

Under the Gender Parity Law, women have flooded into roles in regional and national politics. Prior to this there were significantly fewer women in politics (Berman, 2005). However Johanito highlights that an early female politician, Yvonne Hnada, was a pioneer of social policy and social welfare:

> In the first government of Tjibaou in 1982 there was a woman, Lady Hnada. And she was a minister of the Tjibaou government. We had women in 1982, the first Tjibaou government that set up the tax system in Caledonia. Who developed CAFAT [the social security system]. Housing, home ownership of Kanaks in Mourabelle. All these social policies that still exist, [...], it was Tjibaou government and Madame Hnada. Well, today we have women in UC: we have women who are mayors [...] We have elected representatives, we have several elected women. We have political leaders, we also have people in charge of the administration who are very invested in politics. So the woman has her place.[73]

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[73] *Dans la politique ce n'est pas pareil mais le rôle de la femme, il y a toujours des femmes des responsables politiques. Le premier gouvernement de Tjibaou en 1982 il y avait une femme. Dame Hnada. Et cette dame-là, c'était un ministre du gouvernement Tjibaou. On a eu des femmes en 1982, le premier gouvernement Tjibaou qui a mis en place le système fiscal en Calédonie. Qui avait développé la CAFAT. De logement, l'accession à la propriété des Kanaks à Mourabelle. Tous ces politiques sociales qui existent encore, ils sont ça, c'était gouvernement Tjibaou et que Madame Hnada. Bah*

While the Gender Parity Law significantly increased the number of women entering politics, there were earlier pioneers, as Johanito notes. Caroline, an elected member of Congress, details how she rose slowly through the ranks to reach her position, being a committed member of the independence movement and holding several support roles in regional politics:

> After the signing of the Matignon Accords, I was Deputy Chief of Staff to the President of the Northern Province. And as the head person, I came to advise the president. To speak with the president and to answer him. He asked me for advice too. It's a bit like how we live in the tribe. It happens like that a bit in the tribe as well. Even more than usual being from Canala. He was a nephew and so we knew each other well, and we applied the same rules, from aunt to nephew to politics. And then, after that I became collaborator of other groups in Union Calédonienne. And it's the same, I was a civil servant [and] I worked more on their files, I prepared their files. When they had political interventions to do they asked me to write and prepare their intervention. Whether it is the Assembly of the Province or elsewhere. That's the work I did for several years until 2004 and at that time, I just felt that these policies, these men, did not take sufficient advantage of my work—of the things I wrote and my analysis. That they listened but afterwards they did not utilise it sufficiently, I felt that it was a bit of a waste of the work that I did. And so I said to myself that if I become a politician myself I can present my own judgments and defend them myself. And that's how in 2004 I submitted my candidacy. In fact, I asked for my party to submit my candidacy. And the party submitted my candidacy.[74]

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aujourd'hui on a des femmes hein à l'UC on a des femmes qui sont maires [...]. On a des élus, on a plusieurs élus femmes. On a des responsables politiques, on a des responsables aussi de l'administration. Qui sont très investis dans la politique, donc la femme a sa place.

[74] *Après la signature des accords de Matignon, j'ai été directrice de cabinet adjoint du président de la province nord. Et m'arrivait, en tant que tête, de conseiller de président. De parler avec le président, de répondrai aussi. Il me demandait conseil aussi. C'est un peu comme ça qu'on vit à la tribu. C'est un peu comme ça se passe à la tribu donc plus que c'était quelqu'un aussi de Canala, c'était un neveu et donc on se connaissait bien, et on appliquant les mêmes règles, de tante à neveu. Sur le, ce vie à politique. Et puis, donc, et après je suis devenu, après j'ai été collaborateur d'autres groupes, des groupes de l'Union Calédonienne. Et c'est pareil, je travaille sur le...comme je suis fonctionnaire donc je travaille plutôt sur leurs dossiers, je prépare leurs dossiers. Quand ils ont des interventions politique à faire ils me demandent d'écrire et de préparer leur intervention. Que ce soit de l'Assemblé de la Province ou ailleurs. Comme ça que dans le travail j'ai fait pendant plusieurs années jusqu'en 2004 et à ce moment-là, moi j'ai estimé justement que ces politiques-là, ces hommes-là, n'exploitent pas assez*

Caroline shows that there is some respect for women's work, and that traditional roles, such as aunt and nephew, can sometimes favour women's input. In addition, her decades of work helped her achieve her position. Although if she were a man she may have been encouraged to become a politician earlier, she did express that she was not comfortable to undertake this role until she was ready. This shows that gender norms can be negotiated, and that Customary relationships do not necessarily constrain women. While she believes she reached her position through a slow rise through the ranks and not because of the Gender Parity Law, she does argue that the Gender Parity Law has supported women entering politics.

Rose argues that although the Gender Parity Law has helped women entering politics, there are still ideas about what is 'women's work'. This is evident in the gendered distribution of portfolios among female politicians:

> We have one lady who's a mayor of a municipal here [referring to the only female Kanak mayor within the UC], we have a lot of women élus [elected politicians], Kanak women élus in the Loyalty Islands, up north and down south. But a lot of them are taking up positions that are kind of gendered stereotypes, for example in charge of women's affairs, in charge of family affairs or social stuff. Only Caroline Machoro is different because she's actually taken up the challenge of being the president of the commission within Congress for international relations and also fiscal reforms and tax and all that stuff, so that's really hard-core and that's great.
>
> *Rose, 33, female, Policy Officer Foreign Consulate (30 November 2017)*

While Rose notes this restriction placed on female politicians, she recognises they bring a valuable perspective on gender issues when they are in power:

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mon travail. Que j'écrivais des choses que je faisais des analyses, qu'ils écoutaient mais après ils n'exploitaient pas assez, j'ai estimé que c'était un peu gaspiller le travail que je faisais. Et donc j'ai dit cette fois si je vais devenir moi aussi un élu politique va amener directement moi-même mes appréciations là où entre dois de défendre. Et c'est comme ça qu'en 2004 j'ai présenté ma candidature en fait, j'ai demandé est-ce que mon parti présente ma candidature. Et le parti à présentait ma candidature.

I've noticed that the advantage of, I think for New Caledonia in Melanesia, is that we have the parity law. Which is automatic being part of the French state. And although there was opposition towards that introduction here in New Caledonia I think it was good, because now we have a lot of political leaders who hold positions that are quite important. And a lot of these politicians, especially the women are quite vocal and they defend, and they try to push to improve the living standards of women across the nation.

Rose, 33, female, Policy Officer Foreign Consulate (30 November 2017)

The importance of female political representation for improving gender issues is emphasised in the broader literature on women in politics. Sue Thomas (1991) found that an increase in women in the United States Congress correlated with implementation of policies aimed towards women, children and families. Lovenduski and Norris (2003) also found that female politicians in the UK were more favourable towards policies targeting gender equality and affirmative action, though this did not necessarily affect their parties' policies. While the parity law has impacted the number of female politicians, many participants expressed that women still faced challenges in occupying high-level positions as politicians and within the organisational structure of the political parties. It is important to note, as several participants did, that loyalist political parties also lack women in high-profile positions. It is important to also bear in mind that this is an internal analysis of the independence movement, not a comparison to loyalist political parties.

Women in high-level positions: opportunities and barriers

The independence movement in Kanaky-NC is composed of many groups and political parties. Within political parties, the organisational structure comprises both internal positions and publicly elected positions. While each political party is different, the example of Union Calédonienne is presented here, as described by Didier:

Figure 9. Structure of Union Caledonienne Movement as related by Didier.

It is important to note that the Gender Parity Law only relates to publicly elected politicians, which on the above map only applies to the Congress (it also includes local government). The internal organisation of the political party is not subject to this law. This includes the Bureau, the highest level of the UC organisation comprising seven elected members. In 2016 one of these positions was occupied by a young woman, Brenda Wanabo, but she was voted out in the 2017 election, resulting in the Bureau being comprised entirely of older men. Several participants saw this as evidence of the challenges that both women and youth face in occupying high-level positions. Caroline points out that she is the only woman on the Executive Board of UC, which is composed of the Bureau and eight regional representatives.

While it is clear that there is a slight disconnect between the Gender Parity Law's impacts on women holding political offices and gender parity in political parties' organisational structures, many participants expressed that they felt that their local *section de base* (local political party branch), is making an effort to reach gender parity (one participant is a female President of a

section de base). Rose argues that, despite the loss of the only female member in the UC Bureau, at the municipal level there is more progress, especially within Nouméa:

> I mean just looking at how that feminine youth lost her position because of the internal disagreements within the party, but if we're struggling already to have equal geographical representation it's an even more difficult challenge to have a gendered balance representation within the political bureau. It's a huge challenge. But then at the institutional level it's fine because it is guaranteed through parity law. It's just really within the political party, I should have a look at the interior regulations of the UC […]. I'm not sure whether each local committee has that gender balance, but I know for my political section de base for Nouméa it's always gender balanced—for example when we have referees to go and do the overall election for the bureau we make sure that there's gender equality—for example our president is a woman. So we're very gender balanced but I think it depends on where you are. For example in *Centre*, Nouméa we're more conscious about gender parity and… whereas if it was in the village or in the rural areas or in the islands it's still on who has more experience, and it's usually the men.
>
> *Rose, 33, female, Policy Officer Foreign Consulate (30 November 2017)*

This desire for gender parity within local branch decision-making is also identified within PALIKA. Cingöne says that she was pleasantly surprised at the men's relative openness to gender issues, and their desire for female representation:

> We did not have any natural opposition to women, they proposed to me to be a delegate of the *section de base*, delegates are the leaders. The leaders of the *section de base.* And they nominated me because they absolutely wanted to elect a woman, a point of view from a woman. And we are two, we are a pair: a woman and a man. There was no fight for that, it's the result of their [earlier] fight actually. Today we see a pleasant evolution.[75]
>
> *Cingöne, 35, female, Lawyer (7 December 2017)*

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[75] *Même si on n'a pas naturellement d'opposition en fait qu'elle est une femme, là ils m'en proposer moi, d'être délégués de la section de base, délégués c'est les responsables. C'est les responsables de la section de base. Et c'est eux qui ont proposé parce qu'ils veulent absolument mettre une femme, une façon de voir d'une femme. Et on est deux, on est un binôme qu'une femme, un homme. Il n'y a pas eu, il y a pas de me battre pour ça, c'est le résultat de leur combat en fait. On voit aujourd'hui les évolutions agréables.*

These comments reflect a positive shift within the base structures of groups in the independentist movement, if not the higher levels. Many participants identified one of the restrictions in this to be cultural norms in Kanak society around women's place in relation to positions of power and to public speaking. Fote argues that though this is the case, a cultural shift is slowly happening:

> [Women] are less visible at the head of parties and all that, but in the *comités de bases*, in the reflection of youth groups and all that, there are many women who are active. But I think it's stages of evolution, little by little they will come and the men will not be able to do anything about it. For the moment it's true that women, I think they are frustrated. Because thanks to their education and all that, say "but I'm as competent as a man to be able to talk". […] It is because there is also in the consciousness of women, she continues to function as women of traditional society. And so for her to strongly claim a place precisely at the head of a party or more like that, it's like going out of her role. And so for the moment there is a hesitation, but it's a matter of time for me, [I think] that tomorrow she will be more in this debate.[76]
>
> *Fote Trolue, 69, male, Retired Magistrate (7 December 2017)*

Fote's argument that, in people's 'consciousness' the role of women is outside the public sphere, was echoed by several other participants. This is considered to affect both women's likelihood to put their names forward and voters' preferences (most of these high-level positions are elected by the party membership). These normative issues are highlighted in global literature on women in politics. Lovenduski (1996) points out that men have dominated political spheres for longer than women, and therefore have been able to set the 'rules of the game', making these spheres difficult for women to access.

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[76] *Elles sont moins visibles encore à la tête des partis et de tout ça, mais dans les comités de base, dans la réflexion des groupes de jeunes et tout ça, il y a beaucoup de femmes qui animent mais je pense que c'est des stades d'évolution, mais petit à petit elles vont y venir et les hommes n'y pourront rien. Pour le moment c'est vrai que les femmes, je pense qu'elles sont frustrées. Parce que grâce à leur diplôme et tout ça, dise « mais je suis autant compétente qu'un homme pour pouvoir aller discuter ». […] C'est qu'il y a aussi dans la conscience des femmes. Elle continue à fonctionner aussi comme des femmes de la société traditionnelle. Et donc pour elle revendiquer fortement une place justement à la tête d'un parti ou des plus comme ça. C'est comme si en fait sortir de son rôle. Et donc pour le moment il y a une hésitation, mais c'est une question de temps pour moi, que demain bah elle va plus être dans ce débat.*

Fote highlighted that traditional gender norms previously restricted women entering education, but that perspectives have shifted on that topic and therefore perspectives on gendered political roles will likely shift as well. Nicolas (2010) outlines these shifts in education, and specifically credits them to decolonisation and the independence movement. Both Fote and Didier highlight UC's shift in considerations when nominating and electing representatives. Previously the role parameters and the function of the role were considered. However, candidates' skills and capacity have recently been emphasised. Fote argues that this shift away from decisions being based on a person's identity towards competency-based selection has helped women.

Women occupying more positions will mean that some men will miss out on those positions. This can produce significant resistance. Maryka argues that politicians often become corrupted by their large salaries. This is perhaps why some men are resistant to relinquish positions within political parties. In addition, women often do most of their household's reproductive labour, and therefore have less capacity for politics. As discussed in chapter five, Kanak women have other demands on their time such as work and Customary duties, and adding political duties to this can be challenging. Didier points out that husbands' support of their wives' political participation is important, especially if they will have to hire a babysitter to look after the children while they are at political meetings:

> Even at my age or even younger than me. When you come back at night, and the husband comes to see his family, and then to cook, to babysit, for .... But then, you have to discuss it in the family. […] It is a question of organization for the family, because otherwise it is a lot of time. The movement demands a lot of time. We, I have a meeting normally once a month. Once a month, for politics. But right now we see each other twice a week. After work. […] If in the family the husband is as much of an activist as the woman, it is simpler. But if the husband is not an activist at all, it will get challenging. In the tribe it's a different story. In the tribes, or the islands etc., in the north, we know that people are there for activism, so it's better. There is no problem. But here in the city […] it's different.[77]

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[77] *Même à mon âge ou même plus jeune que moi. Quand tu rentres le soir, et le mari de la voir sa famille et puis pour faire la cuisine, pour garder les enfants, pour…. Mais et puis après, il faut en discuter dans la famille. […] C'est une question d'organisation pour la famille, parce que sinon ça c'est beaucoup de temps, les mouvements on a beaucoup de temps. Nous, moi je fais en fait une réunion normalement une fois tous les mois. Une fois par mois, pour la politique. Mais en ce moment on se voit*

Didier's argument that women in politics can more easily participate if they have supportive spouses suggests that women's decision to occupy these roles is heavily influenced by their family context and their environment. This decision involves negotiating public and private relationships, Didier's reference to a rural-urban divide highlights that modernity and urban lifestyles strain individuals' and families' time and energy.

In addition, Maadra argues that women are sometimes not taught the necessary skills to take up high-level positions. She argues that the gender-parity law has ensured that women are mentored as politicians, and members of Congress, however that this mentoring does not necessarily happen for internal position, and therefore women are considered less competent for these positions.

> It is true that you are in a movement at the same time, you are obliged to consider the opinion of the movement. But I personally say "ok I come from a movement, I know the ideology of the party, I wear it with me, it's my breath of life, it's something that makes me live, that makes me breathe every day being a politician". So from there I think I'm able to take the right positions. Not only that, but there is also the fact that among women, regulations now allow us [to take up political positions]. There are Kanak women ministers. The regulations allow this. It even obliges, yes it forces us to be on the lists [Gender Parity Law]. You see? But afterwards often it is the organization of the movements which do not always ensure that women when they arrive in posts of responsibility have all the elements, all the tools which are necessary to be able to be a bit autonomous. Not autonomous but... [..] "I decide like that, I decide like that, I decide like that" [able to make decisions for themselves".[78]

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deux fois par semaine. Après le travaille. [...] Apres si dans la famille le mari est aussi militante que la femme, c'est plus simple. Mais si le mari n'est pas du tout militante, ça va coincer. A la tribu c'est autre chose, c'est à dire que dans les tribus, ou dans les îles etc., au nord, on sait que les gens sont là pour le militantisme, donc ça passe mieux. Il n'y a pas de problème. Mais ici dans la ville c'est...voilà. C'est différente.

[78] *C'est vrai que t'es dans un mouvement en même temps, t'es obligé de tenir compte de l'avis du mouvement. Mais moi personnellement je dis « ok je viens d'un mouvement, je connais l'idéologie du parti, je la porte avec moi ça, c'est mon souffle de vie c'est quelque chose qui me fait vivre, qui me fait respirer tous les jours en étant une femme politique. Donc à partir de là je pense que je suis capable de*

This perspective reinforces the success of the Gender Parity Law while also identifying areas it has had less effect. Mentoring is an important factor in the success of new people entering an organisation or structure (Blass, Brouer, Perrewé, & Ferris, 2007). It is important for both learning how to undertake a new job, and for learning the norms and customs of the organisation (ibid.). Women entering new positions are less likely to be mentored, and their mentoring will less often result in successful outcomes (ibid.). This suggests the importance of role models for women, a factor several participants mentioned as a success of the Gender Parity Law.

Wess, however, notes that while women should be able to occupy high-level positions within the independence movement's political organisation, much of the important work happens at the grassroots, and at the *section de base*. She feels that those occupying high-level positions often become overly focused on the politics of their positions and lose touch with ground-level issues. While it is important for women to be in positions of decision-making, the importance of grassroots work to the overall movement should not be disregarded. Maryka says that she has withdrawn from party-political activism as it frustrated her. She is instead involved in several NGOs and is very active as a grassroots activist for decolonisation and environmental justice. Simone also highlights how grassroots activism can be more effective at reaching those who feel disenfranchised, especially during the independence referendum.

La Parole in Politics

As outlined in the literature review, public speaking, or to *prend la parole,* is often considered a male domain in Kanaky-NC. Discussion is an important part of Kanak culture and therefore understanding the right to speak is important in understanding gendered power dynamics

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prendre les positions qu'il faut. Il y a non seulement ça, mais il y a aussi le fait que souvent les femmes, parce que la réglementation a nous permet maintenant. Il y a des ministres femmes Kanak. La réglementation elle nous le permet. Elle oblige même, oui elle oblige à ce qu'on soit sur les listes. Tu vois ? Mais voilà. Mais après souvent c'est si tu veux c'est l'organisation des mouvements qui font que parfois les femmes quand elles arrivent sur des postes de responsabilité elles ont pas forcément tous les éléments, tous les outils qu'il faut pour pouvoir être un peu autonome. Pas autonome mais… oui savoir…oui « je décide comme ça, je décide comme ça, je décide comme ça ».

within Kanak society. When I was in Kanaky-NC, many non-Kanak people raised Kanak women being unable to speak in customary settings to illustrate women's marginalisation within Kanak society. While some participants repeated this sentiment, others noted that in some families and clans women do talk publicly. A few participants argued that gender is not the primary organising principal in all customary areas of Kanaky-NC, but that social hierarchies are more informed by birth order (with more power endowed in eldest children), and the family's standing within the chiefly structure. Astrid says that as the eldest child she discusses issues freely with the men in her clan though she knows that gendered discrimination happens in areas other than her customary area in Ponérihouen:

> For me it's true that I discuss things with my grandfather, I discuss things with my father. This is how I see us reaching agreement, so we discuss. I even get advice from them, but that depends on the social and cultural realities or the social organization in each customary area. Because for us we are in a customary area where there is no hierarchy. We have the chief, he is a good clan leader, and for me he's there to help these topics. […]. But it does not necessarily happen everywhere. There is a recent study that has been done for the solidarity economy bank for women, which still shows that in some places women do not have access to land. And so that means that maybe women have tried to go to their customary forums to discuss, maybe they have listened to them, but they are not being acted upon, so there is still a lot of effort to be done in many parts of the country, and even in my own tribe, etc. We still need a lot of awareness.[79]
>
> *Astrid, 35, female, Chief of Cabinet for Government Minister (15 November 2017)*

The level of discussion that Astrid describes reflects that women with a higher social status do have more capacity to take a seat at the table. However, she recognises that this is not the case

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[79] *Moi c'est vrai que je discute avec mon grand-père, je discute avec mon père. C'est comme ça que je le vois d'accord donc on discute. Même moi je reçois des conseils d'eux hein, mais après ça dépend des réalités sociales et culturelles ou l'organisation sociale dans chaque aire coutumière, parce que pour nous on est dans les aires coutumière où savoir il n'y a pas de hiérarchie quoi. On le petit chef il a assez abordable le chef de clan, et pour moi il est là pour aider ces sujets […]. Mais ça ne se passe pas forcément partout pareil. Il y a une étude tout récemment qui a été fait pour la banque de l'économie solidaire des femmes qui montre encore que par endroit des femmes n'ont pas accès aux fonciers. Et donc ça veut dire que peut être les femmes ont essayé d'aller voir leurs instances coutumières pour on discuter, peut-être qu'ils les ont écoutés, mais ils ne sont pas donné suite donc il y a beaucoup d'efforts encore à faire dans plusieurs endroits du pays, et même dans mon propre tribu, etc. il y a encore beaucoup de sensibilisation à faire.*

for all women in her clan, or in other parts of Kanaky-NC. Marotro argues that the view that women are not able to speak in Kanak culture is an external view fuelled by misunderstanding the organisation of Kanak society:

> There are men who do not have the right to speak in custom. Because they do not have a social position that allows them to speak. There are women who do not have the right to speak on their own in this social position. On the other hand, there are other women who can speak in public. There are other women who can talk. That's why it's a society with spokespersons. These are men or women who share the thoughts of the group, the family, the clan. Because me for example, if I go to a meeting, if I go to a space where there is discussion, because of the place I have in my family, in my clan, I could not speak. On the other hand, there is another woman who will speak for us because she will be the spokesperson.[80]
>
> *Marotro, 64, female, Role in government focusing on women's affairs (27 November 2017)*

Marotro is saying that the *porte-parole* or spokesperson is an important role in Kanak society and is decided by family hierarchy or birth order. The *porte-parole* speaks on behalf of people who do not have the right to *prend la parole*. This nuance is reflected in Paini (1993). However women may not always have had this chance to participate in *la parole*. Marie-Claire Beboko-Beccalossi (2017), a Kanak women's rights activist, quotes her own words at the 2007 International Women's Day celebration:

> The day before yesterday our great grandmothers moved from silence to speaking, within the family and among themselves within the different clans. Yesterday our grandmothers moved from speaking to representing, within the family and the clan. (p. 184).

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[80] *Il y a des hommes qui n'ont pas le droit de parler dans la coutume. Parce qu'ils ne sont pas une position sociale qui leur permette de parler. D'eux mêmes qu'il y a des femmes qui n'ont pas le droit de parler dans cette position sociale. Par contre il y a d'autres femmes qui peuvent prendre la parole en public. Il y a d'autres femmes qui peuvent parler. C'est pour ça que c'est une société de porte parole. C'est celle des hommes ou des femmes qui portent la parole du groupe, de la famille, du clan. Parce que moi par exemple, si je vais dans une réunion, si je vais dans un espace où ça discute. Par rapport à la place que j'ai dans ma famille dans mon clan. Et je ne pourrais pas parler. Par contre il y a une autre femme qui va parler pour nous parce qu'elle sera la porte-parole.*

This represents a change which may be taking place, among *tribu* and clans, in the role of women. This restriction on *la parole* is also only within the Customary sphere, women are free to *prend la parole* outside of the Customary setting. Many participants emphasised this separation between the customary sphere and the political sphere—especially in relation to *la parole*:

> On the other hand she can speak in other spaces, the Kanak woman. She can speak in a meeting to the province, to the government, in a town hall, in an association all that there she speaks. [...] There she speaks too. Because it is outside the customary space.[81]
>
> *Marotro, 64, female, Role in government focusing on women's affairs (27 November 2017)*

This shows that while the cultural norms around gender roles may not disappear in the political sphere, there are no concrete restrictions outside of this. While they may influence who is practiced at speaking in public, politics theoretically occupies an egalitarian space. However several participants said that, in practice, men do often dominate *la parole* in political spheres:

> The impression that men speak more in more grand spheres that's true. It's true despite the fact that we have established parity in the country. We still find that we have a majority of men in the higher spheres who will speak. [...] We have very few women or not at all. I do not know how it goes in the local right but at our place in congresses or in our meetings, for example, I speak mainly at independence and nationalist rallies, for example—I'm speaking mainly about the Rassemblement Indépendantistes et Nationalistes[82], because I am a member of it—us women we participate in the discussion. But after a while, it's not us anymore, it's the men. And there we talk to the press, and

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[81] *Par contre elle peut prend la parole dans d'autres espaces la femme Kanak. Elle peut parler dans une réunion à la province, au gouvernement, dans une mairie, dans une association tout ça là elle prend la parole. [...] À là aussi elle prend la parole. Parce que qu'elles sont en dehors de leur espace coutumier.*

[82] The Rassemblement Indépendantistes et Nationalistes (Group of Nationalists and Independentists) is an activist organisation which organises demonstrations and produces an independentist newsletter.

they take photos and so we see that it is they [the men] who are in front. But if you understand what is happening we also participated, but in fact we are not valued.[83]

Wess, 47, female, Midwife (7 November 2017)

This is important also to consider not only who speaks but who is valued when they speak. The Global Media Monitoring Project (GMMP, 2010) report a dearth of focus on women in reporting in the Pacific. Of 327 news stories analysed, only 46 had a female subject. Therefore this issue can be attributed to both media reporting and male-dominant norms within the independence movement. Tione Chinula (2017) found that female politicians were relatively absent from media reporting in Kanaky-NC. She attributes this to the lack of female politicians in high-profile, high-level roles within political parties.

Wess also notes in the above quote that she speaks publicly when necessary. Several other participants also noted that they had done or did this regularly. However, Maryka says that while she often speaks in public, she does not always feel that her words are taken seriously:

I say that it is true that when I speak, I told you earlier. I am listened to, I want to be respected I am listened to, but they do not always take into account what I said.[84]

Maryka, 61, female, Retired Pre-school Teacher and Pre-school Assistant (9 November 2017)

Women must not only be able to talk, but also be taken seriously, and listened to. However, when asked, some other participants did say that they felt taken seriously when they spoke. Education might be an important factor here. Pahatr says that she feels that while some women

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[83] *La première impression que les hommes parlent plus dans les grandes sphères ça c'est vrai. C'est vrai malgré qu'on a instauré la parité dans le pays, ils se trouvent quand même qu'on a une majorité des gens masculins dans les hautes sphères qui vont parler. [...] On a très peu de femmes voire pas du tout. [...] Je ne sais pas comment ça se passe dans la droite locale mais chez nous il y a dans les congrès ou dans nos réunions, par exemple—moi je parle essentiellement de rassemblement indépendantistes et nationalistes, parce que je suis dedans— nous les femmes on participent à la discussion. Mais après à un moment donné ce n'est plus nous c'est les hommes. Et là on le prend avec la presse, les photos et comme ça on voit que c'est eux qui sont devant, mais si on voit en sous bah nous aussi on y a participé, mais on ne nous met pas en valeur en fait.*

[84] *Moi je dis que c'est vrai que quand je parle je t'ai dit tout à l'heure. Je suis écouté, je suis respecté je suis écouté, mais ne tiens pas toujours compte ce que j'ai dit.*

choose not to speak publically due to norms in La Coutume, more women should endeavour to share their points of view in public forums, and that men should step back to enable them:

> Men bring more [voice] to public spaces, because we also leave them this space. But I think women should have a little more courage. And take this space also to express their point of view, because I think that women's points of view are also very interesting because it also brings ideologies based on feelings to accompany reflections. […] [Men should also leave space for women because] it's not just men's fight. It's humanity's fight. So women have their place. But it's necessary for women to have the courage to put themselves forward. And women should also have the courage to speak. And our men should also have the wisdom to give them their place.[85]
>
> *Pahatr, female (7 November 2017)*

Pahatr's analysis highlights that men should enable more spaces for women to speak, and that women should have the courage to speak in public fora. She also highlights the importance of women's contributions as part of the fight for independence.

Women as Mothers, Activists, Peace-makers: bringing a different perspective

> Man cannot walk alone. He always needs the woman. If not, he will fall.[86]
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> *Smyla, 27, female, not in paid employment (30 November 2017)*

As Smyla articulates above, the complementarity between men and women—as an important part of Kanak culture—is a reason why women should be considered valuable to the movement. This is an opinion shared by most of the participants. In La Coutume, they argue,

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[85] *Les hommes ils vont beaucoup plus mettre en avant dans les espaces publiques, parce que on leur laisse aussi c'est espace là. Mais je pense que les femmes il faudrait qu'ils aient un peu plus de courage. Et de prendre aussi cette espace là pour aussi eux exprimer leur point de vue, parce que je pense que les points de vue des femmes sont également très intéressants parce qu'elle amène aussi du ressenti accompagner des réflexions idéologies. […] [C'est important pour les hommes de laisser d'espace pour les femmes parce que] Ce n'est pas seulement un combat masculin. C'est un combat d'humanité. Donc les femmes ont toute leur place. Mais il faudrait que les femmes, ils s'avoient le courage de se mettre en avant. Et il faudrait que les femmes puissent avoir aussi le courage de prendre la parole. Et il faudrait aussi que nos hommes, puissent aussi s'avoir la sagesse de leur laisser la place.*

[86] *L'homme il ne peut pas marcher tout seul. Il a toujours besoin de la femme. Si non il va tomber.*

women fulfil important social roles, and those social roles give women unique experiences and perspectives that are missing in a politics which is dominated by men. In addition, women should be involved because politicians make rules and regulations that affect all members of society. Mekunë highlights the importance of having politicians and decision-makers with multiple lived experiences:

> Society is made of men, women, young people, old people, … Society exists because there is a man, there is a woman, there are young people, there are old people. So for me it is important that the woman can be taken into account, that she can get involved, that she be recognized, that we give her place too. It's a place of equals. Like youth, you must give space to young people. For me it's important, because the vision of the world also is not the same. A man's worldview is not the same as a woman's worldview, or a young person's worldview. You see? And it is precisely the mixture of all these visions that make us have a varied society, humanized, so to speak.[87]
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> *Mekunë, 58, female, Senior Nurse/Manager Psychiatric Hospital (27 November 2017)*

The argument that all worldviews should be represented by politicians is consistent with much of the literature on women in politics. Lovenduski (1996) argues that more women in politics leads to an increase in gender-sensitive decision-making. Mansbridge (1999) however points out that this depends on the type of legislative body, and whether they have a strong 'whip' system requiring members vote a certain way. Nonetheless she notes that politicians who are female and people of colour are more likely to understand how their fellow women and people of colour experience and respond to public events and policy. The classic example of this is access to women's reproductive and maternity health care. Cis[88] men will never experience the specific needs that these policies are implemented to address, and therefore they will have less

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[87] *Une société elle est faite d'homme, des femmes, des jeunes, des vieux, des… La société elle existe parce qu'il y a un homme, il y a une femme, il y a des jeunes, il y a des vieux. Donc pour moi c'est important que la femme puisse être prise en compte, qu'elle puisse s'engager, qu'elle soit reconnue, que qu'on lui donne sa place aussi. C'est une place d'égal à égal. Comme un jeune il faut laisser la place aux jeunes. Pour moi c'est important, parce que la vision du monde aussi elle n'est pas la même. La vision du monde d'un homme elle n'est pas la même que la vision du monde d'une femme, ou la vision du monde d'un jeune. Voyez ? Et c'est justement le mélange de toutes ces visions qui font que on a une société variée, humanisé on va dire.*

[88] The term cis refers to people who identify with the gender traditionally assigned to their biological sex.

ability to make effective policy. Cingöne argues that biological differences do impact on men and women's views of the world:

> Me, for example, I am more sensitive to certain things than my colleagues or my male colleagues, so we see different things because biologically we are different. But what I notice more and more is getting older, growing up, which contrary to what we thought was my vision of things on a subject that may be a threat or contradict what the man had said. More and more we feel this complementarity, and the interest of having two representations of the world.[89]
>
> *Cingöne, 35, female, Lawyer (7 December 2017)*

As Cingöne says, it is not necessary to view men and women's different views of the world as opposing; one can view them as complementary. Many participants argued that women's customary roles as mothers gives them a unique perspective which is important to bring into politics, and sometimes a different approach to politics less dominated by Western constructs of masculinity. They also noted that women also have a right to have be represented in politics and to participate if they choose to, and that this applies to Kanak women in particular. Kanak women have a significant role to play in decolonisation policies due to their unique experiences of the intersection of gender and colonisation described in chapter five.

Caroline argues that women's roles as mothers enable them to bring emotion into politics which she views as a strength:

> We are mothers, what we are considering that we are here to… first to defend the interest of our children. But when I say our children I mean the children of the country. Because when we are women we have this consideration. We are not robots, we are not machines. Men often make cold decisions. Coldly. It is necessary, it is necessary of course. But we are here to humanize, to put a little more human in the decisions there. And that's what's

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[89] *Moi par exemple je suis plus sensible à certains choses que mes collègues ou mes camarades masculins, donc on voir des choses différents parce que biologiquement on est différente. Mais ce que remarque moi de plus en plus on vieillissant, on grandissant, ce que contrairement ce qu'on a pensé c'était ma vision des choses sur un sujet qui peuvent être une menace ou contredire ce que l'homme avait dit. De plus en plus on ressent cette complémentarité, et l'intérêt d'avoir deux représentations de monde quoi.*

important, and I regret a little bit that women today, certain women who are in the upper echelons who are elected, and today they prefer to talk about the electorate. […] They talk about numbers, they talk about the law, they talk about technique. While they should talk more about the human aspect of the thing. It softens the debates and then, when they debate they are quieter, they are more serene. They are going to light the fire. While it takes a serene debate soothed just to move forward. And to prevent things that happened before from happening again.[90]

Caroline Machoro, 65, female, Member of Congress (16 November 2017)

Caroline's justification for women bringing a different way of operating into politics is especially relevant for the current political climate, given the threat of violence that accompanies countries in the throes of decolonisation (as discussed in chapter five). Many other participants also argue that women's role as mothers plays an important part in this.

Arguments like this (that women are innately more emotive and caring) can be seen as gender-essentialising, and therefore problematic from a feminist perspective. If these arguments *did* assume innate differences between men and women, I would agree that they could restrict women's abilities to occupy certain roles. However, I feel that these quotes are written from the point of view that these traits are *socialised* based on 'masculine' and 'feminine' roles prescribed through La Coutume. While men are also emotional and care about children, they are often less encouraged from expressing these traits, especially within a professional context.

As discussed in chapter five, colonisation has significantly impacted gender roles, and therefore arguing from a Western feminist perspective that these views are gender-essentialising

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[90] *Nous sommes des mères de famille, ce que nous sommes en considération que nous sommes là pour…d'abord pour défendre l'intérêt de nos enfants. Mais quand je dis nos enfants ce sont les enfants du pays. Parce que quand on est femme on a cette considération. On n'est pas des robots, on n'est pas des machines. Souvent les hommes prennent des décisions froides. Froidement. C'est nécessaire, c'est nécessaire bien sûr. Mais nous sommes là effectivement pour humaniser, pour mettre un petit peu plus d'humain dans ses décisions là. Et c'est ça qui est important, et je regrette un petit peu que les femmes aujourd'hui, certaines femmes qui sont dans les hautes sphères qui sont élus, et aujourd'hui ils préfèrent parler le corps électoral. […] Ils parlent de chiffres, ils parlent de la loi, ils parlent de technique. Alors qu'ils devraient plus parler de l'aspect humain de la chose. Ça adoucira déjà les débats et puis, quand il est les débats ils sont plus apaisé, ils sont plus sereins. Elles, elles vont allumer le feu. Alors qu'il faut un débat serein apaisé justement pour avancer. Et pour éviter que les choses qui se sont passées avant, que ne se reproduise quoi.*

discounts the ways that colonial powers created many of these norms and narratives. These comments show a desire among these participants to challenge the value that colonial norms detracted from so-called feminine qualities such as displaying emotions, caring for children, and a 'softer' form of engagement with political opponents. As Maryka says (quoted in chapter five) colonisation and urbanisation led to a de-valuing of these qualities in men. Hokowhitu (2004) describes these issues in the context of Aotearoa-New Zealand, showing how colonial narratives narrowed the acceptable expressions of emotion for Māori men so much that they either had to silence their emotions and acquiesce to their own dehumanisation or express their emotions through hyper-masculinity and violence.

In the past, female politicians like Margaret Thatcher had to over-present traditionally masculine qualities to succeed, being emotionally removed from political decisions and being hyper-aggressive in international crises (Caprioli & Boyer, 2001). More recent female politicians have been able to express more traditionally feminine qualities, such as Jacinda Ardern's instruction to NZ government agencies to incorporate "kindness" into their attitude to people who seek social services (T. Murphy, 2018). This is a significant contrast to most government rhetoric and thus not the norm in Western politics. This, I believe, proves the value of Caroline's arguments: that it is valuable to consider emotions as a positive force within politics, and to consider traditionally feminine traits as desirable in politicians.

Wess also argues that Kanak women have some similar experiences to Western women, and therefore they can easily reach across political divides:

> I still hope that the woman will bring balance to this country. There are things in which we [different cultures] are not the same, in which we are not on the same side. But there are certain things that we experience in common, that makes us all just women, from different cultures, or different sides. We get to understand each other anyway. There are experiences as a woman. There are themes, there are places we can find commonalities even if we do not agree politically between us.[91]

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[91] *J'ai quand même l'espoir que la femme sera à l'équilibre dans ce pays. C'est il y a des choses qu'on ne qu'on soit pas pareil. Mais de faite que l'on n'est pas du même bord. Mais il y a certaines choses que l'on conçoit pareil, qui faite qu'on est justes femmes. Que des différentes cultures, ou de différents bords. On arrive à se comprendre quand même. Voilà. Il y a des choses on se retrouve en tant que femme. Il y a des thèmes, il y a des chantiers où on se retrouve même si on n'est pas d'accord politiquement entre nous.*

This collaboration was seen in 2000 during debates about the Gender Parity Law (Berman, 2005). Women from both sides of the political spectrum banded together on this issue as they felt it was in their shared interest. Similarly, both Kanak and non-Kanak women are under-represented in senior political positions and therefore may find further common ground.

The Customary Senate: where do women fit?

While most participants agreed that women's role within the customary sphere differed to that within the political sphere, it is unclear where their place is within the Customary Senate—an institution which occupies a particularly interesting and complex space. Participants disagreed on whether the Customary Senate is an institution within La Coutume or a Western political institution, or whether it occupies a space between the two.

The Customary Senate was established under the Nouméa Accords in 1999 and is a consultative body which informs Congress on laws related to Kanak identity. It is populated by elected representatives from each of the eight customary regions. It is one of the institutions which Demmer and Salomon (2013) have critiqued due to its male dominant structure and institutional norms. Salomon (2017) also argues that there is a danger that these Customary legal institutions will entrench Kanak gender norms into legal structures which will harm women. In 2005, some Kanak women began lobbying for the incorporation of women in the Customary Senate (ibid.). I questioned research participants on their position within this debate. As will be discussed below, the various ways that the Customary Senate is perceived have important implications for women's political participation.

Those who argue that the Customary Senate is a Western political institution ask why women cannot be admitted. Mekunë expresses this here:

> Actually I have not really thought about it, but the Customary Senate is the result of a political agreement. They represent the customary areas, so it's really, we're going to say a political idea. It's not a customary cultural organization, see? In the customary organization we have an organization made up of men. […] So the Customary Senate for

me is a rather political and Western representation. Why not? I say yes why not. It's like town halls, before never saw women, now we see more and more women, even in the independentist world. So all the better, too, there are women. And I am rather for, rather for.[92]

Mekunë, 58, female, Senior Nurse/Manager Psychiatric Hospital (27 November 2017)

Mekunë's argument suggests that women should be able to take a place within the Customary Senate if it is a Western institution, and that this could benefit women. Rose also follows this argument, and suggests the role women could have:

When you look at the actual role, and the structure, where it is placed within the French Republic, it's a French institution, so I don't understand why women cannot be [involved]— they can be within the Senate, not necessarily a customary title, but rather a role similar to director of women's issues—Conseillère des Femmes.

Rose, 33, female, Policy Officer Foreign Consulate (30 November 2017)

Rose added that in her work she has reached out to the Customary Senate for events and for information on women's affairs, and that she has found it frustrating that there is no designated role for gender engagement.

Among those who believed that the Customary Senate is a Customary institution there was agreement that women should have a space, but disagreement on how this should look. Isa argues that women should have a place because the Customary Senate deals with issues that women face. However, she is emphatic that this position should be elected by the *aires*, like the other positions are:

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[92] *En fait je n'ai pas vraiment réfléchi, mais le Sénat Coutumier c'est une émanation du dés accord politique. Ils représentent les aires coutumières donc c'est vraiment, on va dire une pensée politique. Ce n'est pas une organisation culturelle coutumière, voyez ? Dans l'organisation coutumière on a une organisation faite d'hommes. […] Donc le Sénat Coutumier pour moi c'est une représentation plutôt politique et occidentale. Pourquoi pas ? Moi je dis bah oui pourquoi pas c'est comme les mairies, avant voyez jamais de femmes maintenant on voit de plus en plus de femmes, même dans le monde indépendantiste. Donc du coup tant mieux aussi il y a des femmes. Et je suis plutôt pour, plutôt pour.*

It's a good idea. Because if it is necessary to regulate the affairs of the women, it is not the men who will settle our affairs eh. In customary affairs, if there is a women's problem up there in the Customary Senate, men are not in a position to settle that. We must be up there in the Customary Senate to be able to solve the problems. […] [But only if] you are supported by your customary leaders.[93]

Isa, 57, female, campsite host, gardener and dress-maker (30 December 2017)

This view that women should be nominated into these positions is shared by some other participants. However, Johanito points out that it is difficult to see women being elected by *aires coutumières* (see figure 3) given the gender norms by which the aires are operated:

A woman could […] represent [the *aire*] as a female senator, *Senatrice Coutumière*. Could represent her chieftaincy, her clan, and all that. But it's true today. If it happens, it's going to be revolutionary. […] I do not care, me [personally] if we have a woman representative of the chieftaincy in the Senate Customary. […] For me it's not disturbing if there is a woman. But today it's going to be complicated for the elders.[94]

Johanito Wamytan, 37, male, Director of Arts-Based NGO (7 December 2017)

Johanito's analysis outlines the complexity of considering the Customary Senate as a Customary institution. Including women could be seen as a challenge to Custom itself. He also compares gender equality on this issue in Kanaky-NC to Europe and Australia to illustrate that moves towards gender equality in institutions are often slow. He does argue that women's

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[93] *C'est une bonne idée. Parce que s'il faut régler les affaires des femmes, ce n'est pas les hommes qui va régler nos affaires hein. Dans les affaires coutumières. Voilà. S'il y a un problème de femme là haut dans le Sénat Coutumier, l'homme il est mal placée pour régler ça. Il faut que c'est nous qui soyons là-haut là dans le Sénat Coutumier pour pouvoir régler les problèmes à nous.. […] [Mais seulement si] tu es porté par tes coutumiers.*

[94] *Une femme peut représenter [l'aire] comme une femme sénatrice, sénatrice coutumière. Peut représenter sa chefferie, son clan, et tout ça. Mais c'est vrai qu'aujourd'hui. Si ça se fait, ça va être révolutionnaire. […] Ça ne fait pas longtemps qu'on a été colonisé. […] Donc je pense que ça va prendre du temps. Pour changer les mentalités. […] Pour les hommes aujourd'hui, comme je t'ai dit nous les Kanak on a une société patriarcale. C'est difficile de dire qu'on va mettre une femme pour nous représenter, parce que, patriarcale c'est l'homme. C'est juste ça qu'il faut qu'on comprenne. Parce que moi ça m'est égal, moi après qu'on met une femme pour représenter la chefferie au Sénat Coutumier. […] Et pour moi ce n'est pas dérangeant qui il y a une femme. Mais aujourd'hui ça va être compliqué pour les vieux.*

participation in Custom is changing, and that this change is happening despite resistance from some older men.

Many participants argued that the Customary Senate occupies a space between Western political institutions and Custom, and this causes uncertainty as to women's role within it. Some argue that women have roles within both Custom and Western politics, and therefore women should also have roles within the Customary Senate. Marotro argues that it is a customary *institution*, and therefore different from Custom itself, so women should have a role:

> The Customary Senate is an institution. It is a political institution, just like the government, like the Economic and Social Council, as the Congress is an institution of the country. In particular, they discuss the question of identity, the Kanak identity and all that goes with the Kanak identity. And so there, normally we must find women. Because Kanak society is made up of men and women.[95]
>
> *Marotro, 64, female, Government role in Women's Affairs (27 November 2017)*

Marotro's response highlights the somewhat ambiguous divide between the Customary sphere and the Western political sphere in the context of Customary institutions. Her emphasis on the importance of women's participation in these bodies—especially contributing their experiences to decision-making—suggests participation in the Customary Senate is another expression of self-determination. This view is shared by Astrid, who says that issues concerning women are discussed in the Customary Senate and therefore women should be involved, and by Cingöne, who adds that there is valuable work related to Kanak women and Custom which will not be done if women are not involved.

Maadra argues that the ambiguity around the Customary Senate is because the intention of the Customary Senate in the Nouméa Accords was for the aires to be represented by *porte-paroles*, who represented the views of the chiefs and the regions. However chiefs themselves now sit in the Customary Senate. Maadra also says that the chiefs' roles in the Customary Senate means

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[95] *Le Sénat Coutumier c'est une institution ça. C'est une institution politique, au même titre que le gouvernement, comme le Conseil économique et social, comme le Congrès c'est une institution du pays. Où on va discuter notamment de la question de l'identité, de l'identité Kanak et tout ce qui va avec l'identité Kanak. Et donc là, normalement on doit trouver des femmes. Parce que la société Kanak elle est composée d'hommes et de femmes.*

that they are less involved in their communities. Maryka argues that the process of addressing issues in the family and in the clan is not functioning as it should, and that most issues related to women shouldn't reach the Customary Senate but do because they are not addressed elsewhere. If processes improve then women do not need a place in the Customary Senate; if they do not, women should have a designated role.

The range of perspectives on this issue reflect the importance of spatial regulations, and the effect of the categorisation of institutions. It highlights that academic feminist analyses of Customary institutions do not reflect La Coutume and Kanak culture as a whole. The complexity of integrating Custom and political institutions to any degree will also affect how both types of institutions are seen. This also highlights the complexity that Kanak women face of living in these two spheres, and the negotiations that take place in navigating these undefined spaces.

Conclusion

This chapter attempts to capture the various spaces that Kanak women occupy in society, in Custom and in politics. Kanak women's roles, experiences and interpretations of gender and indigeneity require a deep analysis of the spaces that they occupy. According to this research, within Custom women's roles are more defined, however their interpretations and experiences of this differ vastly depending on their region, family ties, and social status. Custom is diverse, and adaptable to changing circumstances. While most of the literature suggests that Custom is restrictive and damaging for women, the findings in this chapter challenge the universal applicability of these claims. From the findings in this chapter it appears that Kanak women experience these spaces and relate to these regulations differently. Some participants did feel that Customary regulations are rigid and challenging to navigate, while others felt that they are fluid and negotiable. Many participants highlighted the containment of the Customary restrictions to Customary settings, emphasising that they do not restrict women's participation in politics.

Within the Western political sphere Kanak women's roles appear to be less defined, and their experiences differ based on their political affiliations and position within the movement. In the Western political sphere gender equality is regulated by the Gender Parity Law, however

women still face gendered norms. The political sphere can also contain normative barriers to women's entry. All participants in this research felt it important that women access all levels of politics for representation and for navigating a challenging future during the referendum on independence. Moreover, women in politics can normalise and value socialised 'feminine' qualities in politics. This is important both for changing political culture and for challenging gender-normative leadership ideals.

Participants debated women's place within the Customary Senate. The Customary Senate does not fit clearly into the Customary or Western sphere. That participants disagreed about whether women should enter the Customary Senate emphasises the importance of differing gender regulations across different spaces and their impacts on Kanak women's place within the institution. This case emphasised the need for Kanak women to negotiate between these two spheres, and the contentious role that these negotiations can create. This also highlights the challenge of decolonising political institutions.

Strategies: Kanak independence activist women making change.

Introduction

Despite the challenges faced by Kanak women within society and within the independence movement, they abound with strategies for surviving and for thriving. All the female participants are fervently committed to the cause of independence and work tirelessly for decolonisation, alongside other causes including gender issues and the environment. This chapter begins with an overview of the relevant literature and follows with a discussion of the research findings which detail the various strategies that women use to make change. It then covers participants' opinions on the idea that gender equality will regress if independence is gained will be analysed and discussed. This chapter specifically relates to literature on development planning towards gender equity and equality.

Many female participants gained positions within the independence movement through their own tireless work, or through the work of prior women who championed a movement in which women are valued. Women's organisations have also been instrumental in enabling women's involvement, and continue to do important work for rural and urban women. Participants shared that Western education can provide women with skills that are valued within Western political structures and Kanak education can remedy cultural disenfranchisement. Self-advocacy, negotiation and discussion—in politics, the workplace, in the *tribu* and at home— also appear to be crucial for changing gendered stereotypes of Kanak women.

In addition, there is a role for the media in contributing to the changing of gendered mentalities, and a role for government in creating policies that support women. Men also have a vital role in demanding gender equality in decision-making forums and supporting women who raise

grievances. Efforts are being made to increase men's support for gender equality within some political parties. The Gender Parity Law appears to have facilitated capacity building and have provided an entry-point for women into politics. While most participants agree that gender issues are sometimes obscured by other decolonisation efforts, all argue that efforts towards gender equality will not diminish following the referendum, if independence is gained.

Literature Review

The relationship between gender and development has been recognised since the 1970s. Since then, approaches to gender and development have changed over time. This is reflected in the development literature. With the signing of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) in 1979, development began to incorporate gender equality into project agendas and plans (Cornwall, 2007). As discussed in chapter two, development ideals around gender inequality have changed (from WID to WAD to GAD). GAD is most relevant to this research because it challenges patriarchal social norms, it recognises reproductive labour, and it recognises intersectionality of gender inequalities with race, class, sexuality, and ability (Cornwall, 1997; Rathgeber, 1990). It also views women as agents of social change rather than as passive victims, and seeks to understand how development actors can assist them (ibid). This chapter details the ways that women are enacting social change to highlight their agency and active self-mobilisation.

An important part of the decolonization process is the ability for indigenous peoples to define their own social norms and values. Globally, gender equality development goals have been a site of external pressures conflicting with local ownership. Chandra Mohanty (1988) was one of the first academics to call out the colonising and marginalising aspect of Western feminist narratives, specifically related to non-Western women. Since then, postcolonial and intersectional women's empowerment movements have grown in strength.

As discussed in chapter three, use of SDGs as a broad framework for gender is not directly applicable to the context of Kanaky-NC where different goals for gender equality have been established. The desire of the New Caledonian government (the work of Déwé Gorodey and others in her office) to incorporate indigenous rights into goals around gender equality is important. UN Resolution on the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development (UNGA, 2015b)

mentions indigenous peoples six times, including twice within the SDGs. The only SDG which specifically mentions indigenous people in relation to development towards gender equality is SDG 4, target 5: "By 2030, eliminate gender disparities in education and ensure equal access to all levels of education and vocational training for the vulnerable, including persons with disabilities, indigenous peoples and children in vulnerable situations" (p. 17).

However the Committee on the Status of Women[96] (CSW) has passed two resolutions focused on indigenous women: resolutions 49/7 and 56/4. Resolution 49/7 asks that government and NGOs recognise the marginalisation of indigenous women, recognise their needs, and encourage their participation in development planning (CSW, 2005). Resolution 56/4 calls for a broader range of actions from governments, intergovernmental organisations, civil society and the private sector to realise equal rights for indigenous women (CSW, 2012). It also calls for recognition of indigenous forms of knowledge in healthcare and education, indicating a desire for decolonisation of development towards gender equality rather than just a promotion of women's rights within Western frameworks. A concept note from a CSW event in March this year states that participants will discuss the "Role of Indigenous women defending indigenous lands and territories, challenges and opportunities" (*Indigenous Women: Key actors in achieving the 2030 Agenda" (Implementing SDG 5)*, 2018, p. 2). This indicates a broader outlook for the high-level 'gender agenda' in relation to indigenous women.

Critiques of top-down development projects have long called for attention to be paid to indigenous knowledges and strategies for change (Curry, 2003; Gegeo, 1998; Overton, 1999). Gegeo (1998) argues that, historically, development has resulted in further marginalisation of already marginalised communities. Participatory development has been viewed as an avenue by which external (often international) development actors can support positive development outcomes through recognising and privileging local knowledges, capacities and methods of enacting change (Chambers, 1994, 1997). However, participatory development has not always been sensitive to gender issues (Kaul Shah & Gujit, 1998). It can also be co-opted into a 'tyrannical' set of protocols which absolve organisations of top-down critiques without fundamentally examining their internal processes (Cooke & Kothari, 2001).

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[96] The CSW is a Commission within the UN Economic and Social Council. It is comprised of elected UN member states and it drafts resolutions related to women's empowerment (UN Women, n.d.).

The desire to empower community knowledges has sometimes led to the privileging of male voices within communities, or the separation of women's issues from broader development projects (Kaul Shah & Gujit, 1998). Western feminist discourses in gender development compounded this issue, as participatory development practitioners struggled to align those discourses with participation (ibid.). Jules Pretty (1995) has argued that participation in development therefore needs to be considered not as a model but as a scale of development 'models' ranging from 'token participation' to self-mobilisation with support from government or other institutions. It is this self-mobilisation category which is valuable for this chapter, and will be discussed further in chapter eight. Pretty defines self-mobilisation as:

> People participate by taking initiatives independently of external institutions to change systems. They develop contacts with external institutions for resources and technical advice they need, but retain control over how resources are used. Self-mobilization can spread if governments and NGOs provide an enabling framework of support. Such self-initiated mobilization may or may not challenge existing distributions of wealth and power. (Pretty, 1995, p. 1252).

Self-mobilisation grounds participatory gender development in the existing strategies and actions in the community which respond to the needs that local women identify, while recognising how they can be integrated into broader development initiatives. This is an important framework for this thesis, which seeks to understand the perspectives of Kanak women and the strategies they use to negotiate actions around gender, decolonisation and development. In particular, this chapter seeks to understand how Kanak women act to influence the independence movement and wider society: how they self-mobilise around issues they experience.

Despite the difficulties outlined in previous chapters, women have often mobilised to combat gender inequalities in Kanaky-NC. Berman highlights Kanak women mobilising to address gendered inequalities through a local Women's Liberation Movement (Berman, 2006). Paini (2003) also illustrates women mobilising under different church groups to create solidarity, and to rally against community issues like alcoholism. These movements have been very effective. As discussed in chapter six, independentist women have successfully agitated for the implementation of the Gender Parity Law which significantly increased women's participation in government (Berman, 2005). This united front of independentist, loyalist, Kanak and non-

Kanak women contrasts to the controversial nature of the law amongst feminists in France (ibid.). In addition, this law was much more effective in New Caledonia than in France. Compared to 12 percent of the French parliament being women, by 2004 46.3 percent of seats in the New Caledonian Congress were held by women (ibid.). Many women across the political spectrum have become prominent including Déwé Gorodey (pro-independence) and Marie-Noëlle Thémereau (anti-independence) (Berman, 2005).

Findings and Discussion

Women in Organisation, and Women's Organisations: supporting economic independence and activism

Women's organisations emerged in the research findings as an important way for women to support each other. Women's organisations in Kanaky-NC can be linked to churches or tribal areas, or can unite a broad range of women under a specific cause. According to Fote, women's church groups supported women's entry into political independence movements through the protestant churches' shift in gendered positions. Women took up positions as deacons[97], which shifted gendered roles within the church. Maadra discussed the importance of women's church associations and she detailed how women's associations are organised through schools or in specific neighbourhoods to provide an avenue for women to raise issues, and have them brought to commune and government decision-makers:

> So the fact that women put themselves in associations, they get together to develop activities where they are able to connect with each other to do things. So they become a force despite everything. […] [T]hey are really active. I know some associations here in Nouméa. In the neighbourhoods or even in schools, which are predominantly populated by mothers. […] [W]hen they bring issues to the associations, then the associations will bring it to the level of the communes, at the level of the commune, it carries through to the government level.[98]

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[97] A deacon is a minister within a Protestant church who ranks below a priest ("Deacon", n.d.).

[98] *Mais c'est qui, qui où devant dans tout ça, de par son rôle dans la société Kanak, bah c'est la femme. Donc le fait que la femme elle se met dans des associations, elles se mettent ensemble pour développer*

As Maadra says, women have developed systems in which they can band together and influence decision-makers. Within the literature on Melanesia, Christian women's groups are valued for providing women with a collective social platform in which they can organise (Douglas, 1998, 2003; Macintyre, 2000).

Women's groups within tribes are also vital for enabling women to organise on social issues and support women's business activities. Wess says that women's groups can also provide a basis for joint economic activity:

> In the *tribus* they are organized in groups of women. I do not know if you've heard of it, but quite a few *tribus* across the country. […] [Groups of women] organize themselves sometimes for small jobs. […] After they build up their small bank account with the pennies inside. They are also organized for […] cultural events for example. We have many who organise for weaving, for gardening, and plants. For sewing, here they are organized as well. After they sell their products, so all that comes in their petty cash. Afterwards, they also organise when there are, for example, conferences or meetings on violence against women. They are also organized to address childrens' failures at school. I would say that women manage to develop strategies. There are even some who have […] economic women's groups. Which is to say that they organize themselves to start small businesses. And currently I think there is a group of women who is organizing but, they call it 'the lonely group' or something like that, I do not remember the exact terms. Where women get organized to create a small economy, a small society, and then everyone

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une activité pour…voilà elles arrivent à se connecter entre elles pour faire des choses. Donc elles deviennent une force malgré tout. Elles deviennent une force malgré tout. Et quand elles se retrouvent dans les associations ou…surtout dans les associations, moi je dis elles sont vachement actives, en fin je connais quelques associations ici dans Nouméa. Ça soit dans les quartiers ou même dans le milieu scolaire, où ces sont surtout les mamans qui sont dedans. Et bah malgré tout au sein de leur association elles arrivent à placer des positions parce que elles en ont fait, elles ont rencontré des problèmes dans les pratiques de tous les jours. Donc c'est la force ça aussi. Donc quand elles portent ça dans les associations et puis qu'après les associations ils vont porter ça au niveau des communes, au niveau de…voilà commune qui remonte ça au niveau du gouvernement.

brings something. You if you make pottery you bring you pots to sell, you if you do the sewing you bring dresses to sell. And all this in a little society.[99]

Wess, 47, female, Midwife (7 November 2017)

As Wess states, women organise around their needs, be they social, cultural or economic. The literature discusses women's associations in Kanaky-NC being organised around social issues like alcohol abuse (Paini, 2003) and sexual violence (Salomon, 2017). However, there is little research into economic associations and their impact on Kanak women's access to capital. This may be an interesting site to investigate in the future.

Isa has several small enterprises. She sews *robes missions* and sells them at markets. In addition, she hosts a tourist campsite. She also grows most of her own fruits and vegetables and sells the excess. Isa links this to forms of independence: from an employer, from internationally produced food, and from relying on someone else to meet her needs. While she may coordinate with other women in her *tribu* to go to markets and to coordinate her campsite, for her, a life closer to subsistence is a form of independence:

We said that we are going to be independent, I must be independent already here at the *tribu*, at home. So I'm already doing some projects, to make some money to get in to…voilà. I do not need to go outside, I bring the stranger home. And then that's how I can make money doing it while working. While making banana field, one makes a field of taro, field of yams. I do not need to go to Nouméa. I am independent, they speak of independence up there [in the higher spheres of the independence movement], and I can

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[99] *Dans les tribus ils s'organisent en groupes des femmes. Je ne sais pas si vous en avez entendu parler, mais pas mal de tribu dans tout le pays. Ils s'organisent en groupes de femmes. Ils s'organisent des fois pour des petits travaux. […] Après ils se constituent leur petit compte en banque avec les sous à l'intérieur. Ils s'organisent aussi pour tout ce qui…manifestations culturelles par exemple. Si on a beaucoup qui ont dedans pour le tressage, pour le jardinage, et les plantes. Pour la couture, voilà ils s'organisent aussi de cette manière. Après ils vont vendre leurs produits, donc tout ça viennent dans leur petite caisse. Après s'organise aussi quand il y a des, par exemple des colloques ou des réunions sur la violence faite à la femme. Ils s'organisent aussi pour tout ce qui est échec scolaire de l'enfant. Moi je dirai que les femmes arrivent à monter des stratégies. Il en a même qui ont des […] groupements économiques de femmes, c'est à dire qu'elles s'organisent pour monter une petite affaire. Et actuellement je pense qu'il y a un groupement des femmes qui s'organise mais, ils appellent ça la groupement solitaire ou quelque chose comme ça, où je ne me rappelle plus les termes exacts. Où les femmes s'organisent pour créer une petite économie, une petite société, et puis tout le monde apporte. Toi si tu fais de la poterie tu amènes t'es pots pour vendre, toi si tu fais de la couture tu amènes t'es robes pour vendre. Et tout ça dans une petite société.*

play this role there, so that I am already independent of shops. [...] I am independent because I have my henhouse, I have my garden. So I can eat what I planted. And sell too.[100]

Isa, 57, female, campsite host, gardener and dress-maker, (30 December 2017)

While this lifestyle contrasts with most of the other participants who engage in wage-labour, it is valuable that, for some women, this is a preferable lifestyle, which is supported by women's organisations.

In addition, women-led organisations are organised in a way that allows women to participate while navigating their busy lives. This is also something that women can do as leaders of political organisations. Marotro highlights how women schedule meetings with busy lives in mind:

And so, I see that they think of strategies when we discuss them. For example, they will say yes, but for example, it may be necessary to put the meetings at a particular time because the women, at a certain time, take care of the children when they come home from school, they must first do their work, their work, household chores, to allow them to come to meetings afterwards.[101]

Marotro, 64, female, Role in government focusing on women's affairs(27 November 2017)

She says that this contrasts to men's organisation of political meetings. While this may appear simple, it is fundamental to enabling women to participate in politics. This shows that women's

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[100] *On a dit qu'on va être indépendant, il faut déjà que je sois indépendant déjà ici à la tribu, à la maison. Donc je fais déjà des projets, pour gagner de l'argent pour faire entrée de…voilà. Ce n'est pas la peine que je sorte dehors, je fait venir l'étranger chez moi. Et puis c'est comme ça que je peux gagner de l'argent, en faisant en travaillant. En faisant une chant de bananière, on faisant un chant de taro, chant d'igname. Ce n'est pas la peine que je part à Nouméa. Je suis indépendant, ça parle d'indépendance là-haut, et moi je peux jouer ce rôle là, que je sois indépendant déjà du magasin. [...] Que je sois indépendant que j'ai mon poulailler, que j'ai mon jardin. Voilà pour que je puisse manger ce que j'ai planté. Et vendre aussi.*

[101] *Et donc, je vois qu'elles pensent à des stratégies quand on en discute. Par exemple elles vont dire oui mais il faut par exemple, il faut peut-être mettre les réunions à telle ou telle heure parce que les femmes, à ce moment elles s'occupent des enfants, ils viennent de sortir de l'école, il faut qu'elles fassent d'abord leur travail, leurs travaux, ménagers domestiques, pour leur permettre après de venir aux réunions.*

commitment to supporting each other helps women participate in associations and political movements.

The contribution of education to *conscientisation*, and women's financial independence

Many participants discussed education as valuable in reducing inequalities faced by Kanak women. Participants differentiated between Western education and Kanak education. Kanak education, as explored in chapter five, is the transmission of knowledge on La Coutume and tribal histories from parents or grandparents to children. It is also considered important for addressing social, political and economic inequalities between men and women, and between Kanak and non-Kanak people.

Didier points to Western education enabling Kanak women to get good jobs and provide financial independence:

> So they work, they have a job, they have skills. School has enabled this evolution. The education of women. When you go to school and you have a diploma then you can get a job, you are independent of men. So they can do what they do, do what they want, but it is their decision.[102]
>
> *Didier Poidyaliwane, 51, male, Government Minister, (8 November 2017)*

Didier's claim about economic freedom reflects the development literature. Education appears to be crucial in women's economic freedoms which can benefit a variety of gender development indicators, such as decreasing the number of children women have (Kritz & Gurak, 1991; Samarakoon & Parinduri, 2015), increasing contraceptive use, and promoting reproductive health practices (Samarakoon & Parinduri, 2015). It may also enable women to

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[102] *Donc ils travaillent, ils ont un travail, ils ont des compétences. Ceux qui a fait évolué, c'est l'école. C'est l'éducation des femmes. Quand on va à l'école et qu'on réussit un diplôme qu'on a un métier on est indépendant des hommes. Donc on peut faire ce qu'on va, faire ce qu'on veut, mais voilà on peut décider.*

share decision-making in the household with their husbands, although the opposite can also occur, depending on culture and context (Malhotra & Mather, 1997).

In Kanaky-NC, Nicolas (2010a) argues that increasing Kanak girls' education in Lifou has provided women more autonomy in social and political life. It has also reduced families' desire to marry girls off quickly when they fall pregnant, as they can provide for their children themselves (ibid.). Cingöne says that she feels that her studies enabled her to better understand the political situation and to contribute to the independence movement:

> I had to go to France [to study] for ten years, [which] helped me. Sometimes in a violent way, eh. If I had not experienced these things which helped me actually understand what was happening at home, I think that I would not have been invested in it in this way in the independence movement, in a political party. I would not have focused on it because it would not have been a priority.[103]
>
> *Cingöne, 35, female, Lawyer (7 December 2017)*

Cingöne describes education as contributing to conscientisation. As discussed in chapter four, conscientisation is a concept developed by Paulo Freire (1970), who argues that education should provide a pathway to freedom by increasing knowledge to more clearly understand contemporary reality. Conscientisation is the process of becoming enlightened about one's own circumstances through this deeper and broader understanding of social and political position.

In this way, Marotro highlights how education has enabled some Kanak women to be more cognisant of their rights:

> [Stereotyping of Kanak women] still exists nowadays, but in a way that may be less important you could say. Because Kanak women are all now if they are young, they are graduates, they come out graduates of studies, they know their rights. In our mother's

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[103] *Mon parcours personnel dans les études, j'ai dû partir en France pendant une dizaine d'années, ça m'a aidé aussi. Des jours de manière très violent hein. Si je n'ai pas eu ces éléments là pour m'aider en fait à comprend ce qu'il se passait à moi. Je n'aurais pas pu, je pense que le mouvement indépendantiste, en tant que parti politique, je n'aurais pas épousé de cette manière-là. Je repars entrée à l'intérieure parce que ça n'aurait pas été une priorité.*

time women did not know absolutely their rights, they were not informed, so there was a lot of damage to their dignity, to their rights.

Marotro, 64, female, Role in government focusing on women's affairs(27 November 2017)

This suggests that parts of the education system enable Kanak women to become critically conscious of their gender oppressions. However, Kanak women do not only gain respect through Western social systems. Freire (1974) also argues that education can be a means of domination. Western education-based development policies have been critiqued for alienating indigenous peoples from indigenous knowledges and ways of being (Norberg-Hodge, 2013; Nordtveit, 2010).

Considering the dominance of French culture in Kanaky-NC, and the inequalities between white Caledonians and Kanak communities, Western education has strategic value in teaching the 'rules of the game', to reach a position in which change can be made. It is nonetheless crucial to recognise the issues with the French education system outlined in chapter five. Western education should perhaps be seen as one component of integrated strategies which also value Kanak forms of education. Didier highlights the importance of Kanak education alongside Western education:

I'm sure we can't say that we should just leave the Kanak culture. No, that's not how we will solve the challenge. The Kanak woman, she's going to make sure to continue a Kanak education and at the same time to tell the children to go to school, you have to educate yourself […] to have a job, to have work and to feed your family.[104]

Didier, 51, male, Government Minister (8 November 2017)

This is in addition to advocacy for reforming education to be more sensitive to Kanak needs. The independence movement appears to be filling some of the gaps in the formal education system. Some younger participants only learnt about Kanak histories through their participation in the independence movement:

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[104] *Moi je suis sûr qu'on ne peut pas dire la culture Kanak on laisse. Non c'est pas comme ça qu'on doit résoudre le défi c'est ça. C'est comment la femme Kanak, elle va faire en sorte de continuer une éducation à la Kanak et en même temps de dire à les enfants il faut aller à l'école il faut éduquer pour […] pour avoir un métier, pour avoir du travaille des mains et nourrir sa famille.*

[In the movement] I first learnt history that I did not learn at school. The history of my country, Kanaky. And then, after a little movement, how to do politics. I discovered a few different tribes through our different meetings. We travel around. I also discovered information about the Pacific, and about Pacific countries. […] And other countries that want their independence too.[105]

Smyla, 27, female, not in paid employment (30 November 2017)

Smyla further discussed how learning Kanak histories and about decolonisation in other Pacific countries fostered pride in her country and her culture. Pahatr articulates why storytelling and raising awareness (or conscientisation) about inequalities is crucial:

I don't speak about strategies, but about raising awareness. Already I think that before talking about strategies it is important to educate the people on, what happens to us? Why we lack confidence, why we lack self-esteem? Why? What is happening? We must tell our story. Sometimes we are not valued. What is happening? In what system do we live? Is there racism? Is there discrimination? We must first observe in order to be aware because then we can take stock, and then we can think of the strategies. But I do not think we can immediately plan strategies without fully understanding what happens to us.[106]

Pahatr, female (7 November 2017)

While Pahatr argues that understanding racial and structural inequalities is a precursor to independence strategies, I think that it is a valuable strategy in itself. Her descriptions reflect the process of conscientisation. Through this process, change happens within an individual's

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[105] *J'ai appris d'abord à l'histoire, que je n'ai pas appris à l'école. L'histoire de mon pays, Kanaky. Et puis voilà, après un peu le mouvement, comment faire la politique. J'ai découvert un peu différent tribu grâce à nos différentes réunions. On se déplace. J'ai découvert aussi les informations du Pacifique, et du pays du Pacifique. […] Et même des pays qui veulent leur indépendance aussi.*

[106] *Alors moi je ne parlerais pas des stratégies mais de sensibilisation. Déjà je pense qu'avant de parler de stratégies c'est important de sensibiliser les gens sur qu'est-ce que nous arrivent ? Pourquoi on manque de confiance on ne peut pas, on manque d'estime de soi ? Pourquoi ? Qu'est-ce qui se passe ? Il faut nous la raconter notre histoire. Des fois on se ne sont pas valoriser. Qu'est-ce qui se passe ? Dans quel système on vit ? Est-ce qu'il y a le racisme ? Est-ce qu'il y a la discrimination. Il faut déjà observer en suite être sensibiliser parce qu'il arrive pour pouvoir les comptes quand, et ensuite on pourra penser aux stratégies. Mais je ne pense pas qu'on puisse tout de suite mais des stratégies sans avoir préconsciente de ceux qui nous arrive.*

psyche: change in self-belief, or increased links to a culture which may have become distant through colonisation.

Isa argues that Kanak culture is vitally important for Kanak women, and therefore gender development needs to stem from, and place value on, Kanak culture:

> We need our culture. We grew up. We are women today, women in politics, women piloting aircrafts, women talking in government, women running businesses. But we have left behind [sexism], it's thanks to our culture. It is the culture which gives a sense, a feeling which stays with you... you do not leave the land. We do not have the fate of a martyr, we come out of a clan. It's this clan, it's this clan that's part of our culture.[107]
>
> *Isa, 57, female, campsite host, gardener and dress-maker, (30 December 2017)*

The value of culture that Isa is articulating, is important for understanding strategies from an intersectional point of view. As discussed in chapter five, disenfranchisement of indigenous peoples from culture and history has been a form of violence enacted by, and caused through, colonisation. Dockery (2010) argues that, in Australia, individuals with a stronger attachment to their indigenous culture have better socio-economic outcomes. He argues that development planning needs to value culture, instead of focusing on assimilation. This can involve the education system. Wexler (2009) claims that for indigenous youth "a positive ethnic identity seems to provide minority adolescents with self-esteem gained through coping skills that make them more likely to use active strategies to confront hardship." (p. 269). This is especially pronounced for youth who have experienced racism: having a strong, positive relationship with their culture correlates with psychological well-being (ibid.).

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[107] *On a besoin de notre culture. On a grandi. On est des femmes aujourd'hui, des femmes qui font la politique, les femmes qui pilote les avions, les femmes qui parlent au gouvernement, des femmes qui gèrent les entreprises. Mais on est bien sorti, c'est bien grâce à la culture à nous. C'est la culture grâce à le sens, le sent qui circule en sort... on ne sort pas d'un Caillou. On n'est pas des sorts d'un martre, on sort d'un clan. Voilà. C'est ce clan-là, c'est ce clan qui fait partie de notre culture.*

Conscientisation and the importance of self-esteem for mobilisation

The participants also identified self-belief and high self-esteem as important for coping with both gender inequalities and racism. Pahatr argues that though Kanak women have a lot to contribute, their contributions were devalued by colonisation. It is important that Kanak women know the value of their contributions:

> I think the challenge for me is that [Kanak women] should be aware of their value. Self-esteem, confidence in oneself— these are values that are very, very important. And which are qualities that allow us to put ourselves forward. Not to be egotists, but to defend our struggles too, the women's fight, and also the fight of humanity. […] Self-esteem is very important. You know me as a Kanak woman to reconceive myself in a context of our history where we were colonized, where our rights were undermined, our rights as human beings were flouted. It's very difficult to stand up straight, or stand up and be able to assert one's worth as a human being, as a woman. And as a Kanak woman. […] It's very, very difficult. So I think the big work we are already doing is to be aware that we had a painful story, which a lot of the elders did. But I think that to forget the story is not what will settle things, it's very important that we become aware. Secondly, we need to be aware of it so that we can put in place tools to move forward, and thirdly, […] it is a power to place value on oneself. For me, to trust ourselves, to develop our self-esteem despite our rights being flouted. Very, very important. From there, we can stand right in front of you and then do interviews.[108]

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[108] *Je pense pour moi le défis il faudrait qu'elles prennent conscience de leurs valeurs. Femmes. L'estime de soient, la confiance on soit, ces sont des valeurs qui sont très, très important. Et qui sont des matériaux qui nous permettent de se mettre en avant. Non pas pour mettre en valeur un égoïste, mais pour voir aussi défendre nos combats aussi, le combat des femmes, et le combat aussi de l'humanité. […] Moi je dirais anciennement hein, l'estime de soi, c'est très important. Vous savez moi en tant que femme Kanak pour me reconstruire dans un contexte de notre histoire où il a été colonisé où notre droit a été mis à mal, ou notre droit en tant qu'être humain ont était bafoué, c'est très difficile de se remettre droit, ou se mettre debout et de pouvoir affirmer sa valeur en tant qu'être humain, en tant que femme. Et en tant que femme Kanak. [..] C'est très, très difficile. Donc je pense que le gros travaille à faire déjà, c'est déjà d'être conscient qu'on a eu une histoire douloureuse, beaucoup l'ainé hein, mais je pense qu'oublier une histoire c'est pas ça qu'il va régler les choses, c'est très important dont prend conscience. Deuxièmement il faut en prendre conscience pour pouvoir mettre en place des deux outils pour essayer justement de s'en sortir, et troisièmement quand je disais sans sortir, c'est pouvoir de mettre un peu des valeurs sur soi. Pour moi avoir confiance à nous, comment développer notre estime*

Pahatr emphasises self-esteem as crucial for Kanak women to engage with those outside the gender or independence movements. She also highlights that this process of garnering self-esteem can be a painful process of acknowledging the multiple oppressions that Kanak women face and have faced throughout colonisation. This highlights the importance of conscientisation to building self-esteem and encouraging self-mobilisation. Conscientisation is especially poignant for identifying the violent narratives that silence and immobilise oppressed peoples (Freire, 1970). As discussed in chapter five, colonisation still harms the mental health of Kanak people—especially youth—and therefore conscientisation may help improve mental health.

However, increasing women's self-esteem can challenge patriarchal and colonial narratives that seek to entrench social hierarchies. Marotro articulates how men can be resistant to women having the self-esteem to occupy positions of power:

> But these are challenges for women, in the political field it is always a challenge because men consider it an area that belongs to them. It's gendered, it's sexist stereotypes, that's part of it. And so, as I said earlier, we have to deal with these stereotypes.[109]
>
> *Marotro, 64, female, Role in government focusing on women's affairs(27 November 2017)*

The gendered stereotypes which Marotro describe pose a challenge to women, and so it makes sense for women to cultivate self-esteem before entering into the public sphere.

Women face the challenge of changing these sexist and racist stereotypes and mentalities in wider society, and within feminist movements for gender equality. Cingöne discusses how Kanak women navigate feminist movements and integrate a feminist agenda with

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de soi, malgré que nos droits on était bafoué. Très, très important. À partir de là, on peut se mettre là droit devant vous et puis faire des entrevues.

[109] *Mais ce sont des défis pour les femmes, dans le domaine politique c'est toujours un défi parce que les hommes considèrent que c'est un domaine qui leur appartient. Ça c'est des constructions de genre, c'est des stéréotypes sexistes, ça fait partie de cela. Et donc, comme je disais tout à l'heure il faut s'attaquer à ces stéréotypes quoi.*

decolonisation. She describes the 'shock' between Kanak and Western cultural norms, which can be difficult to navigate even with a shared agenda:

> This kind of shock, for me as a woman this shock, in fact, the shock that characterizes the meeting of the two societies, it's not that we will continue to live, us women. When we are in the women's movement in Kanaky-New Caledonia and we talk about our place in society, we question ourselves [about this], we have not yet... we do not have the answer. [...]. And today we meet after several years of activism, our mothers, the grandmothers of our mothers. That, we speak of personal progress in the decolonization of the spirit.[110]
>
> Cingöne, 35, female, Lawyer (7 December 2017)

The struggle to understand how intersectional identities fit within a colonised society, and navigating different identities adds to the challenges that Kanak women explore though conscientisation. Issues related to self-esteem are important to understand in relation to women's intersectional identities. As Cingöne says, Kanak women's identities must be navigated in Kanak and Western feminist contexts. This requires significant discussion and negotiation.

Negotiation and discussion: shifting reductive gender mentalities at home, in employment and in political fora

Many participants argued that discussion and negotiation are crucial to changing mentalities and subsequently ameliorating gender and racial inequalities. In families and in workplaces, female participants felt that discussing issues and sharing experiences has changed mentalities. Astrid argued that Kanak norms around negotiation and discussion in decision-making has enabled rigorous discussion which has resulted in positive change for women:

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[110] *Cette espèce de choc, pour moi en tant que femme ce choc on fait, le choc qui caractérise la rencontre des deux sociétés, il n'aura qu'elle on continue de vivre, nous les femmes. Quand on est dans les mouvement de femmes en Kanaky-Nouvelle-Calédonie et on parle de notre place en fait dans la société, on se pose la question en fait, on n'a pas encore...on n'a pas la réponse. [...] Et aujourd'hui on se rencontre après plusieurs années de militantisme, nos mamans, nos grandes mamans de nos mamans. Que, on parler de cheminement de personnelle nous décolonisation de l'esprit.*

I am a Kanak woman, my culture brings a lot to the emancipation of women, because …
you know the government is collegiate[111] today, but this consensus it's because in Kanak
culture we have a lot of advice, discussions, and discussion before we legislate. So if there
was not this force of Kanak Coutume, there would not be talk, discussion, exchange. I
think that we would not have had this level of development that there is today in New
Caledonia, because there is no room for speech, exchange, and consensus. And women's
rights are well advanced because there has been a lot of space for discussion before
putting measures in place, and for the measures to be adapted to women's economic,
social, cultural and social contexts.[112]

Astrid, 35, female, Chief of Cabinet for Government Minister (15 November 2017)

Astrid's words demonstrate that progress in gender equity can transpire through non-Western
norms, specifically through indigenous values around discussion. This also contributes to
discussions around the importance of social, cultural, and political self-determination discussed
in chapter four, and understanding how self-determination is crucial for the emergence of self-
mobilisation which will be discussed later in this chapter.

Astrid also highlights how early activists within the independence movement, such as Déwé
Gorodey, helped to illuminate gender issues within the movement and the wider community.
She says that contemporary women are doing the important work of raising sensitive topics
and questioning women's place in La Coutume:

It's true that in my family too, we have challenges. It is a subject of discussion where we
speak freely today. Where there are old taboos, if you talk about the sexuality of women,

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[111] A collegiate government is one whose Executive branch is composed of members of different
political parties.

[112] *Moi qui suis femme Kanak, ma culture elle apporte beaucoup à l'émancipation des femmes, parce
que… vous savez le gouvernement est collégial aujourd'hui, mais ce consensus là c'est parce que chez
nous les Kanaks il y a beaucoup des conseils, des discussions et avant légiférer donc on discute. Donc
s'il n'y avait pas cette force de la coutume Kanak là se passe à la parole, à la discussion, à l'échange.
Je pense que l'on n'aurait pas eu ce niveau de développement qu'il y a aujourd'hui en Nouvelle-
Calédonie parce que il n'y a pas cette place à la parole, à l'échange, et aux consensus. Et les droits des
femmes ces sont bien avancée c'est parce que il y a eu beaucoup d'espaces d'échanges de discussions
avant de mettre en place des mesures, et pour que les mesures soient adaptées au contexte
économique, social, culturel à des femmes.*

if you talk about gender issues, violence. These are things that we now say, we need to raise questions about all of the obstacles to the emancipation of women.[113]

Astrid, 35, female, Chief of Cabinet for Government Minister (15 November 2017)

Broaching taboo topics, such as sexuality, is a challenging but important strategy for ensuring that politically charged issues are aired among families or in *tribu*. Developing and utilising these skills in the *tribu* or at home can also benefit women in the workplace, as Marotro details:

For example, at an individual level for example, there are young girls when they face injustices [...] in relation to employment, for example, well they will demonstrate, they will say that they do not agree, they will fight, they will be able to talk to their boss. So women are beginning to speak out more and more now. Not in all cases, but it is starting. It's a more individual than collective.[114]

Marotro, 64, female, Role in government focusing on women's affairs(27 November 2017)

This is important for understanding Kanak women's increasing self-confidence within the workplace. Having this confidence to speak out can also affect pay equity. In Western settings, women are often chastised for not negotiating salaries more aggressively. However, women negotiating pay does not guarantee that they will receive equitable outcomes (Stevens, Bavetta, & Gist, 1993). Gendered perceptions of negotiation can also affect women's efficacy in negotiation (Stuhlmacher & Walters, 1999; Wade, 2001).

Other participants also highlight the importance of negotiating wages. Wess discusses how in a feminized profession such as midwifery negotiating salaries is a significant challenge for women, especially if they are employed by the state, however in the private sector negotiation

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[113] *C'est vrai que dans ma famille aussi, on en panne. C'est un sujet de discussion où on en parle librement aujourd'hui. Où on a les vieux tabous, si vous parler de la sexualité des femmes, si vous parlez de la question du genre, des violences, c'est des choses que maintenant on se dit, il faut tous les freins à l'émancipation des femmes et les obstacles il faut l'élever.*

[114] *À un niveau individuel par exemple, il y a des jeunes filles lorsqu'elles sont devant des injustices [...] par rapport à l'emploi, par exemple, eh bien elles vont manifester, elles vont dire qu'elles ne sont pas d'accord, elles vont se battre, elles vont être capables de parler à leur patron. Donc elles le manifeste de plus en plus maintenant les femmes. Mais bon pas dans tous les cas, mais en tous les cas ça commence. Aussi bien c'est un peu individuel que collectif.*

can be very effective. Maadra says that women must be prepared to shift a little when negotiating in the workplace and that listening is important. She stresses that, in her personal and professional experience, collaboration has been effective.

Within the independence movement, Rose and Maryka argued that discussion helps make change and ensure women's voices are heard. Maryka described her recent discontent with the outcome of a major political meeting, and how she held one of the decision-makers accountable:

> I told you, with the people with whom I converse easily, and when I see that there is a problem, I say it right away. Maybe we could do it like that or…. […] Even at home when there is something happening, I say it right away. We have a small meeting, or I will go to the person with whom there is something wrong, to say do you think what happened was good? […] I told you it has been two nights that I have not slept because I am not happy with the result of the *comité des signataires*. With someone with whom I communicate easily, I sent messages to tell him what I think.[115]
>
> *Maryka, 61, female, Retired Pre-school Teacher and Pre-school Assistant (9 November 2017)*

Not only does Maryka feel she can discuss openly, but she feels responsible to hold politicians and other representatives to account for their actions. Rose also reported doing this. She describes how she broaches important gender issues with political leaders where she has access to them:

> Because as part of my work I do a lot of questioning on gender issues. A lot of the élus, the political representatives—whether from the north, the south, and the islands—when we have our congresses I put them on the sidelines and say "Hey, how's work? How's it

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[115] *J'ai te dit, moi quand, avec les personnes avec qui je discute facilement, et quand je vois qui est un problème, tout suite je dit les chose. Je [le] dit. Peut-être pourquoi c'est comme ça qu'on aurait peut faire comme ça ou…voilà. […] Même à la maison quand il y a des, quelque chose qui se passe, je dit tout de suite. Pour faire une petite réunion, ou je vais voit la personne avec qui il y a quelque chose qui ne va pas, pour dire est-ce je pense ce qu'il est bonne ce qui était [passé] […] Voilà. Je t'ai dis que ça fait deux nuits que je dors pas parce que je ne suis pas contente des résultats de comité des signataires. Avec une personne avec qui je communique facilement, je lui envoi des messages pour lui dire ce que je pense.*

going", "What do you think about parity law, do you think we should take it further into the new society project?" Because it was missing in our draft society project, and it was during our Congress […] that I actually, I presented my case. […] Well I guess…it's up to us women to determine our future. And if we want that value of that parity law to be maintained then we have to lobby for it, we have to work towards it…the great thing about nation-building is that you can be part of it. And being part of it is being active and lobbying for it, and promoting it. Which is what I do when I talk to these other political élus. Women and men. I try to tell them that we're a beautiful example in the Pacific region, and this is definitely something we have to keep.

<div align="right">Rose, 33, female, Policy Officer Foreign Consulate (30 November 2017)</div>

Rose demonstrates the value of lobbying for gender-equitable legislation within the political sphere. She shows that negotiation can happen in a variety of spaces. While some view independence, and the subsequent nation-building, as a challenge to gender equity and equality, these participants show that independence can be an opportunity to reshape institutional structures and norms.

Men's role in working towards gender equality

It is important to recognise the roles that men can play in reducing gender inequalities. Fote argues that men must actively create space for women rather than merely saying they support them:

It's easier in this case to say "yes but the women, they should talk more." But we can not tell women to talk more, by closing the door. Or by closing the microphones, no it is necessary... But little by little […] they discover, that the women's claims, far from what we think, are not at all destructive of the values of society but on the contrary, they will safeguard them.[116]

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[116] *C'est plus facile dans ce cas-là en disant « oui mais ça c'est les femmes il faudrait qu'elles parlent plus ». Mais on ne peut pas dire aux femmes de parler plus, en leur fermant la porte justement. Ou en fermant les micros, non il faut... Mais petit à petit […] ils découvrent, que la revendication des femmes, loin de ce qu'on pense n'est pas du tout destructrice des valeurs de la société mais au contraire, ça vient sauvegarder.*

Fote's argument relates to limitations on women's ability to negotiate in the workplace. Not only must women have the ability and the will to negotiate, men must be willing to listen. Men must also be willing to vacate space for women to occupy. This is equally important in the workplace as in the political movement. GAD highlights the importance of understanding men's experiences (Rathgeber, 1990), which is important when considering the oppressions that Kanak men face. Men are not only important actors in development, they are implicated in gender inequalities and are therefore crucial to ameliorating them. Astrid highlights this:

> For me, one must speak of men. […] because women, alone, they cannot undergo a revolution alone. Even for improving their own condition of life. Even if they want to contribute to the emancipation of their country, or the country's independence, I have to think that there is a part for men to say that there is an important place for women as actors in society.[117]
>
> *Astrid, 35, female, Chief of Cabinet for Government Minister (15 November 2017)*

Astrid also argues men can contribute to gender equality in political parties by demanding gender parity in political representation. Rose concurs with her experience of UC's Nouméa *section de base*:

> I know for my political *section de base* for Nouméa […] when we have referees to go and do the overall election we make sure that there's [women]—for example our president is a woman. […] I think it depends. For example in Centre, Nouméa we're more conscious about gender parity. Whereas if it was in the village or in the rural areas or in the islands it's still on who has more experience, and it's usually the men. […] I think it's slowly starting to change. But it's a slow change. [It] depends on the people as well, for example the group from the Loyalty Islands. Two years ago, they came up to me, I had just returned

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[117] *Pour moi, il faut qu'il une parle des hommes. […] parce que les femmes, elle tout seule, elles ne feront pas la révolution tout seule. Même pour leur propres…l'amélioration de leur conditionne de vie. Même pour qu'elles souhaitent apporter pour l'émancipation de leur pays, ou l'indépendance du pays, il faut que…je pense qu'il y a une part qui revient aux hommes de de dire ce qu'il y a plus de place qui soit faite aux femmes dans la société entant qu'actrice quoi.*

from working overseas for a while. […] And they came up to me during the political congress and they said, "We want you in the political bureau". And I was like "What?" They said, "We're going to put your name through" and I'm like, "No! I'm not ready." […] [It was] because their wish was to present a gender-balanced proposition for a bureau, not just present all the men. […] What he told me was that we want to have an equal gendered representation and also people who are educated and experienced.

Rose, 33, female, Policy Officer Foreign Consulate (30 November 2017)

Rose and Astrid's comments demonstrate that within UC and PALIKA, the two largest independentist political parties, there are men supporting women into important roles. Marotro says PALIKA has begun to train men on gender issues, because they realised that many men still did not take gender equality seriously:

We do training, a lot of training. We have started training on this aspect, to create a trigger in the minds of the leaders who are men on the political or the institutional or administrative level, to sensitize them to the question of gender, gender equality because they are not at all sensitive to that. So that means that because they are not sensitive to that, well they are not going to think, to take into account the vision of women, the word of women, the aspirations of women, the expectations of women. No, it's still very difficult. And we really need to educate the mass people there.[118]

Marotro, 64, female, Role in government focusing on women's affairs(27 November 2017)

As Marotro highlights, PALIKA is committed to men participating in gender equity initiatives. These trainings show a commitment to shifting gender inequalities at the institutional level.

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[118] *C'est pour ça qu'on fait des formations, beaucoup de formations. On a commencé des formations sur cet aspect-là, pour créer des déclics dans la tête des dirigeants, qui sont des hommes que ce soit sur le plan politique ou sur le plan des institutions ou administratives pour les sensibiliser à la question du genre, de l'égalité hommes-femmes parce qu'ils ne sont pas du tout sensibles à ça. […] Donc ce qui veut dire que parce qu'ils ne sont pas sensibles à ça, et bien ils ne vont pas penser, à prend en compte la vision des femmes, la parole des femmes, les aspirations des femmes, les attentes des femmes. Non ça c'est encore très difficile. Et on doit vraiment sensibiliser les homme masses là quoi.*

Gender development organisations are increasingly recognising the importance of incorporating men (Ruxton, 2004). Men disproportionately perpetrate gender-based violence, and are often gate-keepers to pay equity and the promotion of women within the workplace (Ruxton, 2004). In the independence movement, men hold most high-level positions and therefore are well situated to resist or aid women's accession to these roles. Men's own activism can also affect their wives' freedom to be activists (as discussed in chapter six). Therefore, men are crucial to the realisation of gender equity. However, men also experience intersectional social pressures from constructions of masculinities, sexuality, class and race (Cornwall, 1997). As discussed in chapter five, colonial constructions of indigenous masculinities impact men's experiences and subsequently their actions (Hokowhitu, 2004). It is important to understand Kanak men's roles alongside women in the struggle against colonial gender norms. The understanding of some men in the movement about gender inequalities is demonstrated by the thoughtful responses of the male participants to this research subject.

Government's role in progressing towards gender equality

The capacity for women to speak out and negotiate is supported by legal rights. Marotro says that women feel more confident speaking out now that they are more aware of their legal rights:

> Kanak women now, if they are young, they are graduates, they come out graduates of studies, they know their rights. At the time of our mothers, women did not know absolutely their rights, they were not informed, so there was a lot of damage to their dignity, to their rights. However now things are happening, things are going differently although there are still people discriminating, but I think with more knowledge about rights. With more reactions and reactivity on their rights. We know that the issue of rights is very important. Women will be less discriminated against, they will react, they react against discrimination.[119]

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[119] *Les femmes Kanak maintenant sont tous si elles sont jeunes, elles sont diplômées, elle ressortent diplômés des études, elles connaissent leurs droits, alors que les époques de nos mères ne connaissaient absolument pas leurs droits, elles ont n'été pas informé, donc y avait beaucoup d'atteinte à leur dignité, à leurs droits. Alors que maintenant les choses se passent, se passent autrement bien que il y a encore des gens de discrimination, mais je pense que avec plus de connaissances sur les droits. Avec plus de réactions et de réactivité sur leurs droits. On sait que la*

Government plays an important role in creating legal rights and ensuring that women understand these rights. Women's willingness to pursue their legal rights shows that the role for government is significant. As discussed in chapter five, the recent outcry against the rape of a girl in Canala suggests that women are unwilling to be silent on issues like gender-based violence when they will be supported by the law. Fote says that this has affected men's behaviour:

> Yesterday [gender-based] violence was denounced less than now. Because women have now become aware of their rights, their roles too, and the need to denounce this violence. Because they have realized that it is essential for the balance of their society. And so they feel stronger and stronger, and increasingly supported by public policies such as the *condition feminine*. We encourage them not just to be quiet, but to denounce it, and that actually facilitates a change in men's behaviour. Men now, they'll think twice before hitting a woman. Because they know that the woman can go and file a complaint, the system is all set up.[120]

> *Fote Trolue, 69, male, Retired Magistrate (7 December 2017)*

As discussed earlier, women's increased courage in speaking out has created social changes, which are supported by legal structures. Fote's claim that women are more willing to condemn gender-based violence agrees with research by Salomon and Hamelin (2007) who argue that Kanak women are now more willing to speak out than they were previously, though they are not well supported by customary legal structures.

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question des droits c'est très très important. Les femmes seront moins discriminés, elles vont réagir, elles réagissent d'ailleurs contre les discriminations.

[120] *Hier [la violence à l'égard des femmes] était moins dénoncer que maintenant. Parce que les femmes maintenant elles ont pris conscients de leurs droits, leur rôle aussi, et de la nécessité de dénoncer ces violences, parce qu'elles ont pris conscience que c'est indispensable pour l'équilibre de leur société. Et ainsi elles se sentent de plus en plus forts, et de plus en plus en fait soutenus par des politiques publiques notamment comme la condition féminine. On les encourage justement à ne plus se taire, mais allez dénoncer, et ça, ça permet en fait même un changement de comportement des hommes. C'est que l'homme maintenant, il va réfléchir à deux fois avant de taper une femme. Parce que il sait que la femme peut aller déposer plainte, il y a tout ça se met en place.*

Marotro says that the central government can facilitate cultural change against gender-based violence. Although progress has been made, further work to strengthen public policies is necessary:

> We need to do a lot of institutional work also to help these women. There are weaknesses, it is imperative that we intensify all politics at the level of public policies. Take into account discrimination. Violence against women is something as much at the level of the government as of the provinces and the private sector, this is absolutely necessary to accentuate.[121]
>
> *Marotro, 64, female, Role in government focusing on women's affairs(27 November*
> *2017)*

Marotro's quote reinforces the need for women in politics. However, it is clear that herself and her colleagues are working towards improving legal support for women. If independence is gained then this work may help establish gender-equitable rights for the new nation. Astrid highlights the work that Déwé Gorodey's office is doing to ensure that this is emphasised during the referendum:

> The women's sector [of government] and the policies it has put in place, are these policies allowing women to be more autonomous, more emancipated? Because their emancipation is required to participate in the emancipation of the country. Do [women] know their rights? It ties in with the process of self-determination of a country where a people have the right to dignity. [...] It is necessary that [women] are emancipated. So on Women's Day next year, Madame Gorodey hopes that women can make a real assessment, and mobilise to say "Are we ready to enter a new country? Are we going to enter a new status for this country, which will be a sovereign state?". Because women say they are ready, because that's it, we are emancipated, we feel good, we feel empowered. So we have aspirations, we have prospects, so we are ready to go. But for that we need

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[121] *Il faut qu'on fasse un gros travail institutionnel aussi pour aider ces femmes. Là on a des faiblesses il faut absolument qu'on accentue tout ses politiques au niveau des politiques publiques. Prend en compte la discrimination, les violences à l'égard des femmes ça c'est quelque chose aussi bien au niveau du gouvernement que des provinces et du secteur privé qu'il faut absolument accentuer quoi.*

to feel that there is an overall movement. Hence the importance of the Women's Day in 2018, and after that a concert in support of the referendum in 2018.[122]

Astrid, 35, female, Chief of Cabinet for Government Minister (15 November 2017)

The government-led efforts that Astrid describe aim to bolster support for leaving France and to ensure that men within the independence movement understand the importance of gender issues in securing independence. This is linked to the identification of self-determination as an intersectional issue for Kanak women discussed in chapter five. These efforts aim to mobilise women collectively to act for their future and to signal women's importance within this movement.

The impact of the Gender Parity Law on women in politics

The Kanak women who participated in this research entered the movement in different ways, and those who occupy significant positions gained their positions via different avenues. Almost all participants belong to an independentist political party. This appears to be a valuable way to organise within the movement. Caroline, as cited in chapter six, became a member of Congress by taking progressively more senior political jobs. Marotro also highlights how her job in government helped her gain a position within PALIKA. The Gender Parity Law also

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[122] *Voilà condition féminine et des politiques mis en place, est-ce que ces politiques on permit ce que les femmes elles sont plus autonome, elles sont plus émancipées ? parce que demande leur émancipation à participer à l'émancipation du pays. Est-ce qu'elles sont plus… elles connaissent leurs droits ? Ça rejoint le fait du processus d'autodétermination d'un pays ou un peuple a le droit à dignité, alors que c'est tous ces droits qui sont autant liés avec les droits des femmes, parce que l'on vit c'est leur bien-être. Un pays libéré, ça va être une population libérée, voilà par le bien-être des femmes donc il faut qu'elle se sente libéré de toutes la discrimination et la violence parce que la plupart des violences qui existent aujourd'hui il y a des discriminations, la colonisation, les a participé. Les nouvelles formes de colonisation elles aspirent à continuer d'augmenter les violences et discrimination. Donc ce combat de libération du pays doit participer aussi au combat de libération des femmes de tous ces discriminations, de tous ces… jusqu'à porte la mondialisation peut être de manière néfaste pour les femmes.*

[…] Mais il faut qu'elle s'émancipe donc la journée de la femme l'année prochaine, Madame Gorodey a souhaité qu'on fasse un vrai bilan, qu'on se mobilise pour dire « est-ce que on est prêt à entrer dans un nouveau pays ? Est-ce qu'on épreigne entrer avec un nouveau statut d'un pays, qui sera un état souverain ? ». Parce que les femmes elles se disent on est prêt, parce que ça y est on est émancipés, on se sent bien, on se sent autonome. Donc on a des aspirations, on a des perspectives, donc on est prêt à y aller. Mais pour ça on a besoin de sentir, voilà un mouvement d'ensemble d'où l'importance de la Journée de la femme en 2018, et pour ça après, on après une…un concert en soutien justement au referendum en 2018.

appears to have had a significant effect, not only on the number of women occupying political positions, but on the availability of mentoring for women who wish to enter into politics. Fote argues that, despite the resistance against the introduction of the Gender Parity Law, almost twenty years on it has changed gendered norms in politics:

> And society will discover that [women in politics] is not at all a danger for society, but on the contrary. It allows a new balance. […] Inside Kanak society and political organizations, the debate is posed. And, I said just now it's still in [people's] conscience. Little by little it will come out of the conscience, and [there are] women who will bring these problems out of conscience. Because from the moment it leaves the consciousness and [women] fully claim a place both in parties and in society.[123]
>
> *Fote Trolue, 69, male, Retired Magistrate (7 December 2017)*

As Fote says, the Gender Parity Law has not only affected Western political institutions, but by proving women's capability in politics it has sparked debate about women's place within other institutions, such as the Customary Senate as discussed in chapter six. Rose highlights that Kanaky-NC's Gender Parity Law is unique in Melanesia, but that it has been effective at increasing political attention on women's issues:

> Although there was opposition towards that introduction here in New Caledonia I think it was good, because now we have a lot of political leaders who hold positions that are quite important. And a lot of these politicians, especially the women are quite vocal and they defend, and they try to push to improve the living standards of women across the nation.
>
> *Rose, 33, female, Policy Officer Foreign Consulate (30 November 2017)*

The effectiveness of the Gender Parity Law on women's political representation which Rose highlights here can inform gender quota laws in the broader Pacific context. Gender quotas'

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[123] *Et la société découvrira que ce n'est pas du tout un danger pour la société, mais en contraire. Ça permet des nouveaux équilibres, et que ces nouveaux équilibres, bah il faut les assumer. Et nous ici, on suit au niveau de la Nouvelle Calédonie on suit, et à l'intérieur et de la société kanak et des organisations politiques, bah le débat il est posé. Et, je disais tout à l'heure c'est encore dans la conscience. Petit à petit ça va sortir des consciences, et ces sont les femmes qui vont faire sortir ces problèmes des consciences. Parce qu'à partir du moment où elle sort de la conscience et qu'elle revendique pleinement une place aussi bien dans les partis que dans la société.*

effects appear to depend on cultural and social context[124]. This has important implications for cultural receptivity to gender equitable policies in Kanaky-NC.

Gender equality on the agenda of the independence movement: implications for independence

Some people fear that independence will harm women's rights and that some of the gains made by women, such as the Gender Parity Law, will be removed if independence is gained. This links into the wider discourse about the independence movement being male-dominated and a difficult space for women to participate in. As seen in the findings throughout this thesis this is a simplification of the complex dynamics of the movement. While I have not attempted to contrast the independence and loyalist movements, many participants highlighted that men dominate politics on both sides of the political spectrum.

To interrogate this concern one must interrogate whether gender inequalities are important to many people within the independence movement. I was also interested in whether participants felt that the fears outlined above are justified. Some participants were brief and expressed the view that the movement as a whole supported efforts towards gender equality, while others argued that there remains work to be done, however there are many strong women within the movement who will continue to fight for gender equality after independence. Astrid says that while some women are well respected within the movement, such as Déwé Gorodey, there remains work to be done for other women. Pahatr says that the movement for gender issues will continue, and that these issues are currently unemphasised by the independence movement because independence takes precedence:

> You see the debates around gender are smothered by the questions of our country's status. That is, we have debates that we put forward, and so there are other issues that we minimize. It's not to say that that's not important. But you have to be aware of that. That's why there are feminists for example, I'm sure there are feminists in the independence movement, but their fight of feminism, they have subdued it to lead a fight

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[124] Larson (2012) describes how gender quotas have not had a real impact on gender-based policies in Iran. However Burnet (2012) says that gender quotas have been very effective at changing cultural norms and gendered expectations in Rwanda.

for independence. […] But afterwards, I'm sure [women will agitate more]. […] Me for example, I have a foothold in politics, but that will not stop me tomorrow if there is a protest for the rights of Kanak women.[125]

Pahatr, female (7 November 2017)

The capacity issues that Pahatr highlights here were corroborated by many participants involved in politics when explaining why they valued independence. Rose agrees with Pahatr's claim that there is currently little capacity for the movement to address gender inequalities. She argues that women must ensure that gender issues are raised and will continue to be raised following independence:

Well I guess it's up to us women to determine our future. And if we want the value of parity law to be maintained then we have to lobby for it. It's work…the great thing about nation-building is that you can be part of it. And being part of it is being active and lobbying for it, promoting it. Which is what I do when I talk to these other political élus [elected politicians]. Women and men. I try to tell them, you know we're a beautiful example in the Pacific region, and this is definitely something we have to keep.

Prasanthi: And what are their responses?

Oh they're like "Yeah for sure, of course" it's definitely going to continue.

Rose, 33, female, Policy Officer Foreign Consulate (30 November 2017)

Rose's comments illustrate that politicians are generally receptive to gender issues and committed to maintaining social and political gains that women have made. While these issues

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[125] *Tu vois le débat du genre il est étouffé par les questions de notre statut du pays. C'est à dire, on a des débats qu'on met plus en avant, et donc il y a d'autres combats qu'on minimise. Ça de pas dire qu'il faut le faire. Mais il faut en prend conscience de ça. C'est pour ça qu'il y a des féministes par exemple, je suis sûr qu'il y a des féministes dans le mouvement indépendantiste, mais leur combat de féminisme, ils ont étouffé pour mener un combat d'indépendance. […] Mais après, je suis certaine, tu vois moi par exemple j'ai un pied dans la politique, mais cela ne me peche pas demain si un mouvement qui va manifester pour que le droit de la femme Kanak.*

are clearly not prioritised by everyone, Rose's comments indicate that decision-makers do not actively oppose including gender equity into plans for independence.

Caroline also argues that the women who have fought for existing gains will remain in Kanaky-NC and remain fighting for gender issues following independence. She says that she will personally fight to maintain the Gender Parity Law and other achievements:

> It's the trust people place in independence. When we will be independent, we will still be us. […] We will still be there to defend these acquisitions when we are independent. In independence, it will be a democracy. There will be elections, but it will be between us. And everyone will support pro-woman initiatives. I am making a program so that parity remains, I will fight so that the parity remains in front, it is necessary to speak of the gains that have been made there. […] We are a country that is developing, we will continue. In independence the country will continue to develop. […] There will be democratic elections, programs. We will put parity on the program. […] I say that us women, we proceed very slowly. A long pause. Very slowly, very slowly, very slowly. But we get there slowly, but at least when we're there, we do not move. […] Once we have won something, we do not relinquish it. It's an asset.[126]
>
> *Caroline Machoro, 65, female, Member of Congress (16 November 2017)*

Caroline's belief in moving slowly and ensuring that gains are maintained demonstrates how women, and female politicians in particular, may operate in Kanaky-NC. While decolonising states are often politically unstable, this may not be the case for Kanaky-NC. The long process of decolonisation ensured that institutions and political norms have been established. Caroline's emphasis that the women currently making these gains will "be there" following independence is important to acknowledge and value. To not acknowledge this is to deny these

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[126] *C'est la confiance que les gens font à l'indépendance. Quand on sera indépendance est qui ça sera toujours nous… […] Ils seront encore là pour défendre ces gens d'acquis là dans l'indépendance. Dans l'indépendance c'est la démocratie qui va jouer. Il y aura des élections, mais ça sera désormais entre nous. Et chacun fera un pro-femme. Moi je fais un programme pour que la parité reste, je me battrai pour que la parité reste en face il faut parler de cette acquis-là. […] On est un pays qui est en train de se développer, on continuera, quand dans l'indépendance le pays continuera à se développer. […]. Il y aura des élections en sera en démocratie, les programmes. Elle mettra la parité dans son programme. […] Je dis, nous les femmes on arrive tout doucement. Une pause déjà long. Tout doucement, tout doucement, tout doucement. Mais une fois qu'on a gagné quelque chose, on ne nous ne retire plus.*

women their agency. Salomon (2017) claims the activity of "Kanak feminists" has declined in recent years, however from these research findings I would argue that many women have continued to work for gender equality (though perhaps in less visible ways) and are committed to doing so in the future. This is demonstrated through the many strategies employed by these participants in private, public, and political spaces.

Conclusion

As has been illustrated through this chapter's findings, Kanak women have many strategies for improving gender issues. This demonstrates significant self-mobilisation on self-identified gender inequalities. Significant changes for gender and racial equity have been negotiated by Kanak women in politics, employment and wider society. Some of these strategies (education, legal protections, increasing awareness on gender issues and retaining the Gender Parity Law) require support from government. Other strategies can be employed by individuals, including negotiation, discussion, and rising through political ranks to higher-level positions. Some of these strategies, like the Gender Parity Law, may be useful in other development contexts however that comparison is outside the scope of this thesis.

In addition, those concerned about the impact of independence on gender inequalities should consider the work that has been done (and continues to be done) by actors within the independence movement. While some activism is less visible, all activism contributes to larger goals. The findings in this chapter help to deepen understandings of how gender, development and decolonisation are inextricably intertwined in Kanaky-NC, and how activists mobilise to resolve intersectional inequalities.

Conclusion

Conclusions drawn from research findings

This research aimed to understand Kanak women independence activists' roles and experiences in the independence movement, and how they act to influence the movement and broader society towards gender equity and equality. The overarching question that this research addresses is how development towards gender equality and equity can be promoted alongside processes of decolonisation in Kanaky-NC. This relates to broader thinking on the intersection of gender, development and decolonisation, and on how this intersection is lived and negotiated. This research highlights the absolute importance of intersectional analyses of gender development for indigenous women. In addition to their intersectional experiences of racial and gender discrimination, this thesis has unpacked how the Kanak women in this research experience colonial and neo-colonial disenfranchisement through Western economic, social, and political systems. Participants also shared their experiences of colonial violence: both physical violence and the violence of colonial gender norms, expectations and roles. It is therefore important to recognise and value the work that they do to ameliorate gender inequalities in society and in politics.

The first sub-question of this thesis sought to understand Kanak women's experiences of gender and indigeneity in Kanaky-NC, with a particular focus on the multiple forms of colonial and neo-colonial violence they experience. Chapter five explored how Kanak women experience gender and indigeneity, with a particular focus on the multiple forms of colonial and neo-colonial violence they experience. It found that Kanak women experience both racial and gender discrimination, and are also marginalised through their experiences of colonisation. This includes colonisation's effect on gender norms, expectations and roles within Kanak society. The participants in this research corroborated literature on gender and racial oppressions including inequitable access to higher education, pay inequality, stereotyping in employment, tensions between work responsibilities and customary responsibilities, physical

violence, and mental health issues including alcohol and drug abuse. Their experiences also include direct violent effects of colonisation. The displacement of families caused by the Native Code still causes intra-tribal conflict. Many participants remembered the violence during the 1980s, and are cognisant of future threats of violence, especially around the independence referendum. This includes intragroup violence.

Some participants were concerned with the supposed impartiality of France as an arbitrator of independence negotiations. This is exacerbated by French officials, such French President Emmanuel Macron whose recent visit to Kanaky-NC appeared to support the loyalists. I argue that the dual discourses delivered by France—as an impartial arbitrator and as indicating a preferred outcome—are a form of racial gaslighting. This interpretation demonstrates the reach of its harm. Psychological harms like this are less obvious than physical violence, and can therefore be challenging to address. Participants expressed particular concerns with the dehumanisation enacted by colonisation, and the perpetuation of this through resistance to decolonisation by loyalists and by the French state.

Chapter six presented findings related to research sub-questions one and two which seek to understand Kanak women's roles, experiences and interpretations of gender and indigeneity in wider Kanaky-NC society (1), and in independentist politics (2). The research findings emphasised that Kanak women occupy different roles in different spheres. Custom (or La Coutume) designates roles for women based on traditional norms around women as mothers and primary caregivers. These roles are less visible than those held by men. However, within the modern political sphere roles are not strictly designated and organisation is predominantly based on Western political norms.

In relation to the first research question, there was disagreement over the extent to which Custom and Kanak society reflect patriarchal norms. Most participants agreed that women's roles—as mothers, educators on Custom and as soft power influencers over husband's decisions—allowed women to contribute to society. However, participants disagreed on whether these roles restricted women. While some participants are content with these roles or feel no pressure to conform to them, others say that the roles can limit women's acceptance into the workforce and the public sphere. La Parole, and women's right to speak in customary spheres, is sometimes used as an exemplar of patriarchal norms within Custom. Some women lack the right to speak in large customary gatherings, though they sometimes meet in smaller

groups of women to discuss issues. Some women also said that they *do* speak with men in their clan; therefore these customs depend on the customary region. Participants shared that in some regions La Parole is organised by social status. In these regions some men cannot speak in the customary sphere while some women can. Participants also highlighted that Kanak culture is constantly adapting, and therefore current restrictions will not necessarily persist. Moreover, some central tenets of Custom are useful for resolving gender issues, examples being the focus on discussion and on airing grievances publicly. Changes to Custom and culture can bring tensions, and women play important roles in these renegotiations.

The second part of chapter six addressed the roles, experiences and interpretations of gender and indigeneity of Kanak women in the independence movement. The research findings suggest that Kanak women hold more diverse roles in the political sphere than in Custom. While they have traditionally occupied behind-the-scenes roles (e.g. cooking for political congresses) some women occupy more visible roles. The Gender Parity Law has significantly increased women's entry into formal politics, and has changed institutional norms, though women were also involved in early independentist politics. However, female politicians still tend to hold gendered portfolios (such as health, education and social welfare).

Differences between the customary and Western political spheres are important. Gendered restrictions on who can speak publicly in the customary sphere do not apply to the political sphere, however men do tend to dominate and some women expressed that they feel they are not taken as seriously as men are. Women also struggle to enter high-level positions within the organisation structure of the political parties. Participants suggested that this was because of gender norms, and men not wanting to vacate paid positions. Women may also face barriers from unsupportive husbands, especially if they need help with childcare to attend political meetings. All participants emphasised the importance of women in politics for representing a variety of lived experiences in politics, because women are socialised to think more about children, and to express emotional sensitivity to political opponents.

While most participants agreed that women have different roles in the customary and political spheres, participants disagreed on women's place in the Customary Senate in relation to whether the Customary Senate is an institution within Custom, a Western political institution, or somewhere between the two. Participants who considered it a Western institution argued that women should have a place within it as they do within Western politics. However, if it is

a Customary institution then women's place within it is contestable. Some participants argue that conceiving the Customary Senate as within Custom implies that women can be adequately represented by men, as they are within some Customary areas. Others argue that women have a role within Custom, and therefore they should also have a role within Customary institutions. A final set of participants argue that the Customary Senate is not functioning as it was intended, that therefore it potentially needs to be reconsidered, and a role for women should be considered later when deciding what should replace it.

Finally, chapter seven addressed the third research sub-question on the strategies that Kanak women use to negotiate gender-based issues in the movement and in wider society. Despite the many challenges outlined above, the female participants are committed to the cause of independence and make change in multiple and varied ways. Women's associations and organisations are used to support women in denouncing gender inequalities and in supporting economic growth. Western education is also a strategy for ensuring women's access to financial independence and to politics. It can also increase Kanak women's awareness of racial and gender inequalities and their legal rights. However, Kanak education is also viewed as vital for connecting Kanak youth to their culture and in building self-esteem. Western education therefore needs to be more sensitive to Kanak culture and to adapt to the Kanaky-NC context more generally, for example by teaching local history at school and integrating Kanak worldviews. This could include changing the schooling age, and adapting school hours for Kanak children and parents.

Negotiation and discussion were also identified as strategies that women use to change stereotypes and negotiate gender and racial inequalities. These include opening up discussion around taboo or sensitive topics at home and in the tribe, and negotiating workplace disputes. The latter could help reduce the gender pay gap. Discussion also ensures that women's voices are heard in the movement. This helps hold politicians to account and ensures that gender issues are integrated into decolonisation plans and processes. These discussions also encourage men to reduce gender inequalities. In fact, it is acknowledged that men can be important players to demand gender parity in political institutions and make space for women.

There is also an important role for government in ameliorating gender inequalities. It is important that women be aware of their legal rights. Participants argued that women speak out more often when they are cognisant of their legal rights. Furthermore, men's behaviour changes

as legal consequences become more likely. Similarly, participants reported the positive effects of the Gender Parity Law on the number of women entering politics, on capacity building for women, and on changing norms around women in politics.

When asked if they believe that gender issues are treated as important in the independence movement, participants gave mixed responses. Some were unequivocally positive, while others felt that work remained to be done. However many participants believed that if independence is gained, women currently fighting for gender equity will continue to do so. In response to questions around perceived risks of losing gains to gender equality if independence is realised, many participants believed that gains women have made, such as the Gender Parity Law, will be retained under independence. Some argued that fighting for independence detracts energy from other domestic issues, and therefore following independence there might be more space for work on gender issues.

Decoloniality in development towards gender equity and equality

As discussed in chapter three, there is little literature on the intersection between gender, development and decolonisation. This research raises several questions around the relationship between these different concepts and fields of change, in particular how decolonisation fits into present mainstream development policies and practice. There are certainly theories that link certain elements of gender, development, and decolonisation (as discussed in chapter three). However, no theories specifically address the intersectionality of the three. McEwan (2001) is one of few authors to write about the intersection of these three concepts, but she only outlines the gap between them.

The presence of gender development in decolonisation processes is discussed in chapters six and seven. The gradual adaptation of Kanak culture and the independence movement to issues raised by their members around gender inequality show that development towards gender equality is present, if sometimes slow. As Caroline says in chapter seven, the gradual nature of this change does not mean that it is insignificant, but potentially that the change is more deeply rooted. The 'self-mobilisation' (Pretty, 1995) of Kanak women within the decolonial process can be seen as an example of highly self-organised participatory development.

Some level of self-determination is important for self-mobilisation. However, self-determination is absent from many development objectives. Aside from the UN forum on decolonisation and the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples permanent forum and special rapporteur, there are no broad development goals that specifically address self-determination and decolonisation. While the CSW is moving towards this area, there is still little recognition of the importance of self-determination in the literature and in development practice. As seen in chapter five, colonisation has had, and continues to have, a significant impact on Kanak people's lives. Kanaky-NC is one of a handful of countries in the Pacific which has not politically decolonised. This means that it is sometimes excluded from development analyses and statistics, and therefore its' inequalities are less visible to development actors. For example, on the UN Development Program's country profile list, New Caledonia is absent, implying that the development indicators are either not collected or are counted as part of France. However, when counted in development indices, Kanaky-NC is one of the most 'developed' nations in the Pacific (Gall, 2018)—generally measured by Gross Domestic Product or Gross National Income.

Development as the discipline we know today was largely established as a response to rapid political decolonisation. US President Harry Truman's speech in 1945—marked by many as the beginning of modern development discourse and practice (McEwan, 2009; Potter et al., 2008)—related to the abundance of nations fighting for independence, many of which are now considered 'developing' or 'under-developed'. Postcolonial theorists argue that this shows that development was a response from former imperial powers to the loss of their colonies. So can development properly address postcolonial critiques? Decolonisation is not often enough at the core of development theories. While power-sharing is important in participatory development initiatives, this does not necessarily imply support for decolonial processes and self-determination.

There are obvious challenges to incorporating decolonisation into development practice. Incorporating decolonisation as a development goal would imply support for 'separatist' movements, posing legal and diplomatic challenges for aid donors. These challenges cannot be properly addressed in this thesis but would pose a worthy topic for future research. The limited provision for social and cultural decolonisation in development goals is especially relevant to gender development because some gender roles and social norms (as highlighted in chapter five) have been negatively impacted by colonisation. Therefore, any gender development

strategies in post-colonial contexts which do not incorporate decolonial goals may struggle to address a root cause of gender inequalities. Self-determination is also crucial, as women's rights to self-determination and autonomy are crucial elements of gender equity and equality. This is especially important for indigenous women who, as evidenced in this thesis, experience intersectional subjugation of their rights to self-determination.

This research aligns with post-development in its critique of development as an apolitical activity. Development is always fraught with deeply political intentions, negotiations, and activities (Ferguson, 1994). However this thesis argues that decolonisation does not always have to be marginal, and that the self-mobilisation of the participants in this research (and the mobilisation of many other indigenous women) prove this. It is possible to place decolonisation at the centre of development strategies towards gender equality and equity, or at least have the two processes coexist in a fruitful way. While this is not currently part of mainstream development's agenda, I believe it should be. The work that Kanak and other indigenous women do within and outside of the independence movement is considerable, and demonstrates the absolute necessity of intersectional understandings of gender equality. Their strategies and strengths should be recognised and supported as a highly valuable part of cultural, social, and political 'development' in Kanaky-NC, and are likely to be just as important if and when independence is gained.

Through this thesis I have aimed to place Kanak independentist women's words, perspectives, and experiences at the centre of academic conversations about their lives and work. This has highlighted to me the importance of land, self-determination, independence, and the complexities of decolonisation. I have been awed by the hope, endurance, creativity, and depth of commitment that the participants in this research have. I hope that through this thesis I have made a contribution to academic and non academic debates around independence and gender-focused development. I also look back and recognise how much I've learnt and been transformed by this process and the people I've met. I commenced this topic with fourteen year-old Hmélyta's words, and I feel that these words are also important to invoke at the end. Remembering the women, the lives, and the generations affected by colonisation and decolonisation.

"Kanaky, My land where my being flourishes for a better life,
Kanaky, My land, For your freedom I will fight forever."

Appendices

TE WHARE WĀNANGA O TE ŪPOKO O TE IKA A MĀUI
VICTORIA
UNIVERSITY OF WELLINGTON

Decolonisation, gender, and development, investigating the intersections in Kanaky, New Caledonia

INFORMATION SHEET FOR PHOTOVOICE AND INTERVIEW PARTICIPANTS

Thank you for your interest in this project. Please read this information before deciding whether or not to take part. If you decide to participate, thank you. If you decide not to take part, thank you for considering my request.

Who am I?

My name is Prasanthi Cottingham and I am a Masters student in *Development Studies* at Victoria University of Wellington. This research project is work towards my thesis.

What is the aim of the project?

This project is looking the experiences of Kanak women specific to their involvement with the independence movement in Kanaky, New Caledonia and how they negotiate the gender dynamics within the movement that they encounter. It aims to look at the interaction between development, decolonisation, and gender and provide insight into how development on gender issues can occur alongside, and integrate into the fight for indigenous self-determination.

This research has been approved by the Victoria University of Wellington Human Ethics Committee (Reference Number: 0000025152).

How can you help?

Photo Voice

If you agree to take part you will participate by taking photographs which relate to your experiences of being a woman within the independence movement. You will also participate

in either group meetings with approximately four other women to determine the nature of the photos you will take OR you will meet with me one-on-one to discuss the focus of the project. You will be asked to take photos between 15th October 2017 and 10th December 2017. You can choose to withhold any photographs you have taken, or withdraw your participation from the project at any time, without giving a reason. **You can withdraw from the study by contacting me at any time before April 30 2018**. If you withdraw, the information you provided will be destroyed or returned to you as soon as request is received.

You are asked not to take photographs in which people can be identified either by face, clothing, or body modification such as tattoos. Any photographs in which people (other than yourself) can be identified will not be used in any publications. If you choose to take a selfie as part of the project, you will need to consent to the use of your image, however you can withdraw this consent before April 30 2018.

Interviews

If you agree to take part I will interview you one-on-one at a location that is convenient and comfortable for you. I will ask you questions about the photos you have taken, what they mean, and which ones you feel are most important. I will also ask you about what independence means to you, your experiences of being a woman within the independence movement (challenges and positives), your strategies for navigating these challenges, and your thoughts on gender and decolonisation in Kanaky. The interview will take place within an agreed-upon time frame between us. A second interview can be organised if need be. I will audio record the interview with your permission and write it up later.   You can choose to not answer any question or stop the interview at any time, without giving a reason.

If you choose to take part in the photo-voice part of this project, it will be important for me to also conduct a one-on-one interview with you (unless you choose to withdraw before the end of the project). However you may choose to only participate in an interview, and not the photo-voice component. In this case, I will provide you with an alternative information sheet.

What will happen to the information you give?

This research is confidential[*]. This means that the researchers named below will be aware of your identity but the research data will be combined and your identity will not be revealed in any reports, presentations, or public documentation). Unless you choose for it to, your name (or that of your organisation) will not be used in any written documentation. In small projects your identity might be easier to recognise by others in your community, however I

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will take all precautions possible to maintain your confidentiality is maintained. You should also be aware that you may be identified as a participant through location or identity markers in the photographs. Therefore if you are concerned we can work together to choose photos that maintain your confidentiality. It is also important for you to respect the confidentiality of any other research participants you meet.

Only my supervisors and the transcriber (who will be required to sign a confidentiality agreement) and I will read the notes or transcript of the interview. The interview transcripts, summaries and any recordings will be kept securely and destroyed on 31 December 2028. You can contact me or my supervisor between now and then if you would like them destroyed earlier.

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What will the project produce?

The information from my research will be used in my Masters dissertation AND a report to New Zealand Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade (who have provided some funding for the research). It may be used for academic publications and conferences in the future.

If you accept this invitation, what are your rights as a research participant?

You do not have to accept this invitation if you don't want to. If you do decide to participate, you have the right to:

- choose not to answer any question;
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- withdraw from the study before *30 April 2018*;
- ask any questions about the study at any time;
- receive a copy of your interview recording;
- receive a copy of your interview transcript*;*
- receive a digital or physical copy of all photographs you take;
- withhold or delete any photographs you do not wish to share;
- be able to read any reports of this research by emailing the researcher to request a copy.

If you have any questions or problems, who can you contact?
If you have any questions, either now or in the future, please feel free to contact either:

Student:
Name: Prasanthi Cottingham
University email address:
prasanthi.cottingham@vuw.ac.nz

Supervisor:
Name: Marcela Palomino-Schalscha
Role: Lecturer
School: Geography and Development Studies
Phone: +64 4 4635899
Email: marcela.palomino-schalscha@vuw.ac.nz

Decolonisation, gender, and development, investigating the intersections in Kanaky, New Caledonia

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Name: Prasanthi Cottingham
University email address:
prasanthi.cottingham@vuw.ac.nz

Supervisor:
Name: Marcela Palomino-Schalscha
Role: Lecturer
School: Geography and Development Studies
Phone: +64 4 4635899
Email: marcela.palomino-schalscha@vuw.ac.nz

Human Ethics Committee information

If you have any concerns about the ethical conduct of the research you may contact the Victoria University HEC Convenor: Associate Professor Susan Corbett. Email susan.corbett@vuw.ac.nz or telephone +64-4-463 5480.

Decolonisation, gender, and development: investigating the intersections in Kanaky, New Caledonia

INFORMATION SHEET FOR INTERVIEW PARTICIPANTS - WOMEN

Thank you for your interest in this project. Please read this information before deciding whether or not to take part. If you decide to participate, thank you. If you decide not to take part, thank you for considering my request.

Who am I?

My name is *Prasanthi Cottingham* and I am a Masters student in *Development Studies* at Victoria University of Wellington. This research project is work towards my thesis.

What is the aim of the project?

This project is looking the experiences of Kanak women specific to their involvement with the independence movement in Kanaky, New Caledonia and how they negotiate the gender dynamics within the movement that they encounter. It aims to look at the interaction between development, decolonisation, and gender and provide insight into how development on gender issues can occur alongside, and integrate into the fight for indigenous self-determination.

This research has been approved by the Victoria University of Wellington Human Ethics Committee (Reference Number: 0000025152).

How can you help?

If you agree to take part I will interview you one-on-one at a location that is convenient and comfortable for you. I will ask you questions about what independence means to you, your thoughts about gender relations and other hierarchies within the independence movement, the challenges women face within the movement and the strategies that women use to address this, the opportunities for women within the movement, and your personal experience of being a woman within the movement. The interview will take place within an agreed-upon time frame between us. I will audio record the interview with your permission and write it up later.   You can choose to not answer any question or stop the interview at any time, without giving a reason. **You can withdraw from the study by contacting me at any**

time before April 30 2018. If you withdraw, the information you provided will be destroyed or returned to you.

What will happen to the information you give?

This research is confidential*. This means that the researchers named below will be aware of your identity but the research data will be combined and your identity will not be revealed in any reports, presentations, or public documentation. .) Unless you choose for it to, your name (or that of your organisation) will not be used in any written documentation. . In small projects your identity might be easier to recognise by others in your community, however I will take all precautions possible to maintain your confidentiality is maintained.

Only my supervisors and the transcriber (who will be required to sign a confidentiality agreement) and I will read the notes or transcript of the interview. The interview transcripts, summaries and any recordings will be kept securely and destroyed on 31 December 2028. You can contact me or my supervisor between now and then if you would like them destroyed earlier.

What will the project produce?

The information from my research will be used in my Masters dissertation AND a report to New Zealand Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade (who have provided some funding for the research). It may be used for academic publications and conferences in the future.

If you accept this invitation, what are your rights as a research participant?

You do not have to accept this invitation if you don't want to. If you do decide to participate, you have the right to:

• choose not to answer any question;
• ask for the recorder to be turned off at any time during the interview;
• withdraw from the study before *30 April 2018*;
• ask any questions about the study at any time;
• receive a copy of your interview recording;
• receive a copy of your interview transcript;
• be able to read any reports of this research by emailing the researcher to request a copy.

If you have any questions or problems, who can you contact?
If you have any questions, either now or in the future, please feel free to contact either:

Student: Supervisor:

---

* Confidentiality will be preserved except where you disclose something that causes me to be concerned about a risk of harm to yourself and/or others.

Name: Prasanthi Cottingham
University email address:
prasanthi.cottingham@vuw.ac.nz

Name: Marcela Palomino-Schalscha
Role: Lecturer
School: Geography and Development Studies
Phone: +64 4 4635899
Email: marcela.palomino-schalscha@vuw.ac.nz

Human Ethics Committee information

If you have any concerns about the ethical conduct of the research you may contact the Victoria University HEC Convenor: Associate Professor Susan Corbett. Email susan.corbett@vuw.ac.nz or telephone +64-4-463 5480.

Decolonisation, gender, and development: investigating the intersections in Kanaky, New Caledonia

INFORMATION SHEET FOR INTERVIEW PARTICIPANTS - MEN

Thank you for your interest in this project. Please read this information before deciding whether or not to take part. If you decide to participate, thank you. If you decide not to take part, thank you for considering my request.

Who am I?

My name is *Prasanthi Cottingham* and I am a Masters student in *Development Studies* at Victoria University of Wellington. This research project is work towards my thesis.

What is the aim of the project?

This project is looking the experiences of Kanak women specific to their involvement with the independence movement in Kanaky, New Caledonia and how they negotiate the gender dynamics within the movement that they encounter. It aims to look at the interaction between development, decolonisation, and gender and provide insight into how development on gender issues can occur alongside, and integrate into the fight for indigenous self-determination.

This research has been approved by the Victoria University of Wellington Human Ethics Committee (Reference Number: 0000025152).

How can you help?

If you agree to take part I will interview you at a location that is convenient and comfortable for you. I will ask you questions about what independence means to you, your experiences of being Kanak and in the independence movement, what hierarchies you perceive within the movement, how you perceive women within the movement (roles, challenges, and opportunities) and your personal experience and thoughts around how men view these issues, challenges, and opportunities. The interview will take place within an agreed-upon time frame between us. I will audio record the interview with your permission and write it up later.   You can choose to not answer any question or stop the interview at any time, without

giving a reason. **You can withdraw from the study by contacting me at any time before April 30 2018. If you withdraw, the information you provided will be destroyed or returned to you.**

What will happen to the information you give?

This research is confidential[*]. This means that the researchers named below will be aware of your identity but the research data will be combined and your identity will not be revealed in any reports, presentations, or public documentation. .) Unless you choose for it to, your name (or that of your organisation) will not be used in any written documentation. . In small projects your identity might be easier to recognise by others in your community, however I will take all precautions possible to maintain your confidentiality is maintained.

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- choose not to answer any question;
- ask for the recorder to be turned off at any time during the interview;
- withdraw from the study before *30 April 2018*;
- ask any questions about the study at any time;
- receive a copy of your interview recording;
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Name: Prasanthi Cottingham
University email address:
prasanthi.cottingham@vuw.ac.nz

Name: Marcela Palomino-Schalscha
Role: Lecturer
School: Geography and Development Studies
Phone: +64 4 4635899
Email: marcela.palomino-schalscha@vuw.ac.nz

Human Ethics Committee information

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Décolonisation, genre, et développement : enquête sur les intersections en Kanaky, la Nouvelle-Calédonie

FICHE D'INFORMATION POUR LES PARTICIPANTS DU VOIX-PHOTO ET DES ENTREVUES

Merci pour être intéressé dans ce projet. Lisez cette information avant décidée si vous prendriez parti de cette recherche s'il vous plaît. Si vous décidé que vous allez participer, merci. Si vous décidé que vous n'allez pas participer, merci pour considérer cette requête.

Sur moi

Je m'appelle Prasanthi Cottingham. Je suis étudiante de master aux études de développement à l'Université Victoria à Wellington, en Nouvelle Zélande. Ce projet de recherche contribué à ma thèse.

Le but de ce projet

Cette recherche s'efforcera de comprendre les expériences des femmes indépendantistes kanakes dans le mouvement pour l'indépendance de Kanaky, et comment les femmes kanakes négocient la dynamique du genre qu'elles rencontrent dans le mouvement. L'objectif plus large est d'examiner l'intersection du genre, du développement et de la décolonisation et offrir un aperçu de comment le développement du genre peut se manifester à côté de la lutte pour l'autodétermination autochtone et c'est aussi intégré. Cette recherche est approuvée par le comité d'éthique de recherche sur des sujets humains de l'Université Victoria à Wellington : numéro de référence : 0000025152.

Comment vous pouvez contribuer

Voix Photo (Photo Voice)

Si vous acceptez, vous participerez par prendre des photos qui représentent vos expériences d'être une femme dans le mouvement pour l'Independence. Vous participerez dans les réunions de groupe (environ cinq femmes) OU les rencontres individuelles (avec moi) pour déterminer plus spécifiquement l'objet des photos (lequel que vous préfère). Je vous serai demandé prendre les photos entre 15 Octobre et 10 Décembre 2017. Vous pouvez choisir de ne pas dissimuler certaines photos qui vous avez pris, ou se retirer votre participation du projet à tout moment, sans raison. **Pour se retirer votre participation du projet me contactez à tout moment avant 30 Avril 2018**. En ce cas l'information vous avez me donner va être détruit ou retourner à vous.

On vous demande d'éviter prendre les photographes dans lequel les gens (sauf que vous-même) peuvent-être identifiés par visage, vêtements, ou les modifications du corps comme les tatouages. Si vous choisir de prendre un 'selfie' pour ce projet, il faut que vous donnez votre consentement pour l'utilisation de votre image, cependant vous pouvez retire ce consentement avant 30 Avril 2018.

Les Entrevues

Si vous en convenez de prendre parti, je vous rencontrerai à un emplacement pratique et confortable pour vous. Je demanderai des questions relatives aux photos que vous avez prendrez, leurs importance, et lesquels sont plus important pour vous. Je vous demanderai sur l'importance d'indépendance pour vous,   vos expériences d'être une femme dans le mouvement pour l'indépendance (les défis et les positifs), vos stratégies pour naviguer les défis, et vos pensées concernant genre et décolonisation à Kanaky. Les entrevues prendront aussi longtemps que nous décidons entre nous. Une deuxième entrevue peut se dérouler si c'est nécessaire. L'entrevue va être enregistrée par audio avec votre permission et je vais faire une transcription après. **Vous pouvez choisir de refuser toute question ou arrêter l'entrevue à tout moment, sans raison. Vous pouvez de vous retirer de l'étude par me contacter avant 30 Avril 2018.** En ce cas l'information que vous avez me donner va être détruit ou retourner à vous.

Si vous choisissez de participer à la voix-photo dans ce projet, c'est important pour moi d'aussi avoir une entrevue individuelle avec vous (à moins que vous choisissez de retirer avant la fin de ce projet). Cependant vous pouvez choisissez de participer seulement dans une entrevue, et ne participez pas dans le voix-photo. Dans ce cas, je vous donner un autre fiche d'information.

Qu'arrivera-t-il à l'information que vous donnez?

Cette recherche est confidentielle[*]. Les chercheuses nommées dessous va être conscient de votre identité, mais les données résultant seront compile et votre identité ne va pas exposer dans tous les reports, exposés, ou documentation publique **à moins que** vous le choisissez. Dans les projets petits votre identité peut-être plus clair aux autres dans votre communauté, cependant je vais prendre tous précautions possibles pour maintenir votre confidentialité. Vous devrez savoir aussi que peut-être vous pourriez identifiée comme participants par les endroits ou les marqueurs d'identité dans les photos. Si vous êtes inquiet sur ça, nous pouvons travaille ensemble pour choisir les photos qui maintenir votre confidentialité. C'est

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[*] Confidentialité va être préservée sauf que quand vous divulguez quelque chose que me rend inquiète sur les risques de danger à vous-même et/ou les autres.

important que vous respectiez aussi la confidentialité de l'identité des autres participants que vous rencontriez.

Seulement ma directrice de thèse, le transcripteur (qui faudra signée un accord de confidentialité), et moi va lire les notes et la transcription de l'entrevue. La transcription, les résumes, et tous les enregistrements sera protégé et sera détruit à 31 Décembre 2028. Vous pouvez contacter à moi, ou ma directrice de thèse si vous voudraient qu'ils soient détruits plus tôt.

Les photos vous prendrez vont rester votre propriété intellectuelle après le recherche mais vous devez signée le droit d'utilisation à moi pour la publication de la thèse, les articles académiques, les rapports académiques, et les procédures de la conférence (académiques) dans le futur. Vous pouvez retirer ce consentement tous fois avant 30 Avril 2018.

Le projet produira quoi ?

L'information de cette recherche va être utilisée dans ma thèse de master et un rapport à la Ministère des Affaires Etrangères et Commerce de la Nouvelle-Zélande (qui avaient versé quelques fonds pour ce recherche). Peut-être il sera utilisé pour les publications académiques et les présentations académiques aux conférences dans le futur.

Si vous acceptez cette invitation, quelles sont vos droits en tant que participant de recherche ?

Vous ne devez pas accepter cette invitation si vous ne voulez pas. Si vous accepter, vous avez les droits pour :

- choisir de ne répond pas à tous les questions ;
- demander que l'enregistreur éteint à tout moment dans l'entrevue ;
- retirer de l'étude avant 30 Avril 2018 ;
- demander les questions sur l'étude à tout moment ;
- avoir une copie d'enregistrement de votre entrevue(s) ;
- avoir une copie du transcrit de votre entrevue(s) ;
- avoir une copie digital ou physique de tous photos que vous prendrez ;
- retenir ou supprimer tous les photos que vous ne voulez pas partager ;
- lire tous les rapports de ce recherche par envoyer un demande à moi par email (la plupart les rapports va être écrit en anglais, mais je vais vous envoyer un résumé de recherche en français avant 31 Décembre 2018).

Si vous avez les questions ou problèmes, vous pouvez contacter :

Si vous avez des questions, maintenant ou dans le futur, contacter un ou l'autre dessous s'il vous plaît :

Etudiant (moi) :
Nom : Prasanthi Cottingham
Adresse email universitaire :
prasanthi.cottingham@vuw.ac.nz

Directrice de thèse :
Nom : Marcela Palomino-Schalscha
Rôle : Conférencier
Département : Géographie et Etudes aux Développements
Adresse email :
marcela.palomino-schalscha@vuw.ac.nz
Numéro de téléphone : +64 4 4635899

L'information du comité d'éthique des sujets humaines (Human Ethics Committee - HEC)

Si vous avez des préoccupations sur le conduit éthique de ce recherché vous pouvez contacter le rassembleur du HEC à l'université Victoria : Associate Professor Susan Corbett. Email susan.corbett@vuw.ac.nz or téléphone +64-4-463 5480.

TE WHARE WĀNANGA O TE ŪPOKO O TE IKA A MĀUI

VICTORIA
UNIVERSITY OF WELLINGTON

Décolonisation, genre, et développement : enquête sur les intersections à la Kanaky, la Nouvelle-Calédonie

FICHE D'INFORMATION POUR LES PARTICIPANTS DES ENTREVUES – FEMME

Merci pour être intéressé dans ce projet. Lisez cette information avant décidée si vous prendriez parti de cette recherche s'il vous plaît. Si vous décidé que vous allez participer, merci. Si vous décidé que vous n'allez pas participer merci pour considérer cette requête.

Sur moi

Je m'appelle Prasanthi Cottingham. Je suis étudiante de master aux études de développement à l'Université Victoria à Wellington, en Nouvelle Zélande. Ce projet de recherche contribué à ma thèse.

Le but de ce projet

Cette recherche s'efforcera de comprendre les expériences des femmes indépendantistes kanakes dans le mouvement pour l'indépendance de Kanaky, et comment les femmes kanakes négocient la dynamique du genre qu'elles rencontrent dans le mouvement. L'objectif plus large est d'examiner l'intersection du genre, du développement et de la décolonisation et offrir un aperçu de comment le développement du genre peut se manifester à côté de la lutte pour l'autodétermination autochtone et c'est aussi intégré. Cette recherche est approuvée par le comité d'éthique de recherche sur des sujets humains de l'Université Victoria à Wellington : numéro de référence : 0000025152.

Comment vous pouvez contribuer

Si vous en convenez de prendre parti, je vous rencontrerai à un emplacement pratique et confortable pour vous. Je demanderai des questions relatives aux l'importance d'indépendance pour vous, vos expériences d'être une femme dans le mouvement pour l'indépendance (les défis et les positifs), vos stratégies pour naviguer les défis, et vos pensées concernant genre et décolonisation à Kanaky. Les entrevues prendront aussi longtemps que nous décidons entre nous. Une deuxième entrevue peut se dérouler si c'est nécessaire. L'entrevue va être enregistrée par audio avec votre permission et je vais faire une transcription après. **Vous pouvez choisir de refuser toute question ou arrêter l'entrevue à tout moment, sans raison. Vous pouvez de vous retirer de l'étude par me contacter avant 30 Avril 2018.** En ce cas l'information que vous avez me donner va être détruit ou retourner à vous.

Qu'arrivera-t-il à l'information que vous donnez?

Cette recherche est confidentielle[127]. Les chercheuses nommées dessous vont être conscient de votre identité, mais les données résultant seront compilé et votre identité ne va pas exposé dans tous les reports, exposés, ou documentation publique à moins que vous le choisissiez. Dans les projets petits votre identité peut-être plus clair aux autres dans votre communauté, cependant je vais prendre tous précautions possibles pour maintenir votre confidentialité. C'est important que vous respectiez aussi la confidentialité de l'identité de tous autres participants que vous rencontriez.

Seulement ma directrice de thèse, le transcripteur (qui faudra signée un accord de confidentialité), et moi va lire les notes et la transcription de l'entrevue. La transcription, les résumes, et tous les enregistrements sera protégé et sera détruit à 31 Décembre 2028. Vous pouvez contacter à moi, ou ma directrice de thèse si vous voudraient qu'ils soient détruits plus tôt.

Le projet produira quoi ?

L'information de cette recherche va être utilisée dans ma thèse de master et un rapport à la Ministère des Affaires Etrangères et Commerce de la Nouvelle-Zélande (qui avaient versé quelques fonds pour cette recherche). Peut-être il sera utilisé pour les publications académiques et les présentations académiques aux conférences dans le futur.

Si vous acceptez cette invitation, quelles sont vos droits en tant que participant de recherche ?

Vous ne devez pas accepter cette invitation si vous ne voulez pas. Si vous accepter, vous avez les droits pour :

- choisir de ne répond pas à tous les questions ;
- demander que l'enregistreur éteint à tout moment dans l'entrevue ;
- retirer de l'étude avant 30 Avril 2018 ;
- demander les questions sur l'étude à tout moment ;
- avoir une copie d'enregistrement de votre entrevue(s) ;
- avoir une copie du transcrit de votre entrevue(s) ;
- lire tous les rapports de ce recherche par envoyer un demande à moi par email (la plupart les rapports va être écrit en anglais, mais je vais vous envoyer un résumé de recherche en français avant 31 Décembre 2018).

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[127] Confidentialité va être préservée sauf que quand vous divulguez quelque chose que me rend inquiète sur les risques de danger à vous-même et/ou les autres.

Si vous avez les questions ou problèmes, vous pouvez contacter :

Si vous avez des questions, maintenant ou dans le futur, contacter un ou l'autre dessous s'il vous plaît :

Etudiant (moi) :
Nom : Prasanthi Cottingham
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prasanthi.cottingham@vuw.ac.nz

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Département : Géographie et Etudes aux développements
Adresse email :
marcela.palomino-schalscha@vuw.ac.nz
Numéro de téléphone : +64 4 4635899

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Si vous avez des préoccupations sur le conduit éthique de ce recherché vous pouvez contacter le rassembleur du HEC à l'université Victoria : Associate Professor Susan Corbett. Email susan.corbett@vuw.ac.nz or téléphone +64-4-463 5480.

Décolonisation, genre, et développement : enquête sur les intersections à la Kanaky, la Nouvelle-Calédonie

FICHE D'INFORMATION POUR LES PARTICIPANTS DES ENTREVUES – HOMME

Merci pour être intéressé dans ce projet. Lisez cette information avant décidée si vous prendriez parti de cette recherche s'il vous plaît. Si vous décidé que vous allez participer, merci. Si vous décidé que vous n'allez pas participer merci pour considérer cette requête.

Sur moi

Je m'appelle Prasanthi Cottingham. Je suis étudiante de master aux études de développement à l'Université Victoria à Wellington, en Nouvelle Zélande. Ce projet de recherche contribué à ma thèse.

Le but de ce projet

Cette recherche s'efforcera de comprendre les expériences des femmes indépendantistes kanakes dans le mouvement pour l'indépendance de Kanaky, et comment les femmes kanakes négocient la dynamique du genre qu'elles rencontrent dans le mouvement. L'objectif plus large est d'examiner l'intersection du genre, du développement et de la décolonisation et offrir un aperçu de comment le développement du genre peut se manifester à côté de la lutte pour l'autodétermination autochtone et c'est aussi intégré. Cette recherche est approuvée par le comité d'éthique de recherche sur des sujets humains de l'Université Victoria à Wellington : numéro de référence : 0000025152.

Comment vous pouvez contribuer

Si vous en convenez de prendre parti, je vous rencontrerai à un emplacement pratique et confortable pour vous. Je demanderai des questions relatives aux l'importance d'indépendance pour vous, vos expériences d'être kanak et dans le mouvement pour l'indépendance, les hiérarchies que vous percevez dans la mouvement, comment vous percevez les femmes dans la mouvement (les rôles, les défis et les opportunités) et vos expériences personnel et pensées sur comment les hommes regard ces questions, ces défis, et ces possibilités. Les entrevues prendront aussi longtemps que nous décidons entre nous. Une deuxième entrevue peut se dérouler si c'est nécessaire. L'entrevue va être enregistrée par audio avec votre permission et je vais faire une transcription après. **Vous pouvez choisir de refuser toute question ou arrêter l'entrevue à tout moment, sans raison. Vous pouvez de**

vous retirer de l'étude par me contacter avant 30 Avril 2018. En ce cas l'information que vous avez me donner va être détruit ou retourner à vous.

Qu'arrivera-t-il à l'information que vous donnez?

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Le projet produira quoi ?

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Si vous acceptez cette invitation, quelles sont vos droits en tant que participant de recherche ?

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- retirer de l'étude avant 30 Avril 2018 ;
- demander les questions sur l'étude à tout moment ;
- avoir une copie d'enregistrement de votre entrevue(s) ;
- avoir une copie du transcrit de votre entrevue(s) ;

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[128] Confidentialité va être préservée sauf que quand vous divulguez quelque chose que me rend inquiète sur les risques de danger à vous-même et/ou les autres.

- lire tous les rapports de ce recherche par envoyer un demande à moi par email (la plupart les rapports va être écrit en anglais, mais je vais vous envoyer un résume de recherche en français avant 31 Décembre 2018).

Si vous avez les questions ou problèmes, vous pouvez contacter :

Si vous avez des questions, maintenant ou dans le futur, contacter un ou l'autre dessous s'il vous plaît :

Etudiant (moi) :
Nom : Prasanthi Cottingham
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prasanthi.cottingham@vuw.ac.nz

Directrice de thèse :
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Decolonisation, gender, and development: investigating the intersections in Kanaky, New Caledonia

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN PHOTO-VOICE AND INTERVIEW

This consent form will be held for 10 years.

Researcher: *Prasanthi Cottingham,* Victoria University of Wellington.

• I have read the Information Sheet and the project has been explained to me. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction. I understand that I can ask further questions at any time.

• I agree to take part in the photo-voice project and be a photographer.

• I agree to take part in an audio recorded interview.

• I agree to take part in group meetings OR one-on-one meetings (circle one) to cover the focus of the photo-voice project.

I understand that:

• I may withdraw from this study at any point before 30 April 2018, and any information that I have provided will be returned to me or destroyed as soon as request is received.

• The identifiable information I have provided will be destroyed on 31 December 2028 **OR** as soon as my request is received.

• Any information I provide will be kept confidential to the researcher, the supervisor and the transcriber.

• I understand that the results will be used for a Masters dissertation, a report to New Zealand Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade (who have provided some funding for the research) and that it may be used for academic publications and conferences in the future.

• I understand that the photographs I take will remain my intellectual property however I grant the right of use to the researcher (Prasanthi Cottingham) for thesis publication, academic articles, reports, and conference proceedings from 30 April 2018.

- I would / I would not* [select one] like to have my information connected to my real name in any documentation arising from the project.

- I consent/I do not consent* [select one] to information or opinions which I have given being attributed to [me/my organisation] in any reports on this research and have the authority to agree to this on behalf of the organisation.

- I would like a copy of the transcript of my interview: Yes ☐   No ☐

- I would like to receive a copy of the final report and have added my email   Yes ☐   No ☐
  address below:

Signature of participant: _____

Name of participant: _____

Date: _____

Contact details: _____

Decolonisation, gender, and development, investigating the intersections in Kanaky, New Caledonia

CONSENT TO INTERVIEW

This consent form will be held for 10 years.

Researcher: Prasanthi Cottingham, Victoria University of Wellington.

- I have read the Information Sheet and the project has been explained to me. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction. I understand that I can ask further questions at any time.

- I agree to take part in an audio recorded interview.

I understand that:

- I may withdraw from this study at any point before 30 April 2018, and any information that I have provided will be returned to me or destroyed as soon as request is received.

- The identifiable information I have provided will be destroyed on 31 December 2028 **OR** as soon as my request to destroy is received.

- Any information I provide will be kept confidential to the researcher, the supervisor, and the transcriber.

- I understand that the results will be used for a Masters dissertation, a report to New Zealand Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade (who have provided some funding for the research) and that it may be used for academic publications and conferences in the future.

- I would / I would not* [select one] like to have my information or opinions connected to my real name in any documentation arising from the project.

    o   * The name I would like used instead is _____

- I consent/I do not consent* [select one] to information or opinions which I have given being attributed to [me/my organisation] in any reports on this research and have the authority to agree to this on behalf of the organisation.

- I would like a copy of the transcript of my interview: Yes   No ☐

  ☐

- I would like to receive a copy of the final report and have added my email   Yes   No ☐
  address below:
  ☐

Signature of participant: _____

Name of participant: _____

Date: _____

Contact details: _____

Décolonisation, genre, et développement : enquête sur les intersections à la Kanaky, la Nouvelle-Calédonie

CONSENTEMENT POUR PARTICIPER DANS LE VOIX-PHOTO ET LES ENTREVUES

Ce formulaire de consentement sera retenu pour 10 ans.

Chercheur :   Prasanthi Cottingham, Université Victoria à Wellington.

- J'avais lire la fiche d'information et le projet avaient m'a expliqué. Je suis satisfaisant avec la réponse à toutes mes questions. Je comprends que je peux demander les questions à tout moment.
- J'accepte de participer au projet Photo Voice et j'accepte d'être photographe pour le projet.
- J'accepte de participer à l'entrevue enregistrement par audio.
- J'accepte de participer dans <u>les réunions de groupe</u> OU <u>les rencontres individuelles</u> [encerclez une réponse] pour déterminer plus spécifiquement l'objet des photos.

Je comprends que :

- Je peux retirer de cette étude avant 30 Avril 2018, et tous l'information que j'avais données me sera retournée ou détruit après avoir reçu ma demande.

- Les renseignements personnels j'avais donnée sera détruit à 31 Décembre 2028 OU après avoir reçu ma demande pour les détruit.

- Les renseignements personnels je donne sera maintenir confidentielle à la chercheur, la directrice de thèse, et le transcripteur.

- Je comprends que les résultats seront utilisés dans une thèse de maitrise, un rapport à la Ministère des Affaires Etrangères et Commerce de la Nouvelle-Zélande (qui avaient versé quelques fonds pour cette recherche), et qu'il sera utilisé pour les publications académiques et les présentations académiques aux conférences dans le futur.

- Je comprends que les photos que je prendrai seront restées ma propriété intellectuelle après la recherche mais j'accorde le droit d'utilisation au chercheur pour la publication de la thèse, les articles académiques, les rapports académiques, et les procédures de la conférence (académiques) dans le futur. Je comprends que je peux retirer ce consentement tous fois avant 30 Avril 2018.

- <u>Je veux</u> / <u>Je ne veux pas</u> [encerclez une réponse] d'avoir l'information ou les opinions que je donne connecter à mon nom vrai dans la documentation qui devenir de ce projet.

    o * Le nom que je veux d'être utilisé est _____

- J'accorde / Je n'accorde pas [encerclez une réponse] d'avoir l'information ou les opinions que je donne connecter à mon organisation dans la documentation qui devenir de cette projet et j'avoir l'autorité d'accorder pour cet organisation.

- Je voudrais une copie du transcrit de mon entrevue(s) :   Oui ☐   Non ☐

- Je voudrais une copie du rapport final et j'avoir écrit mon adresse email dessous :   Oui ☐   Non ☐

Signature de participant :___ _____

Nom et prénom de participant : _____

Date : _____

Coordonnées (adresse email) :_____

TE WHARE WĀNANGA O TE ŪPOKO O TE IKA A MĀUI

VICTORIA
UNIVERSITY OF WELLINGTON

Décolonisation, genre, et développement : enquête sur les intersections à la Kanaky, la Nouvelle-Calédonie

CONSENTEMENT POUR PARTICIPER DANS LES ENTREVUES

Ce formulaire de consentement sera retenu pour 10 ans.

Chercheur :   *Prasanthi Cottingham,* Université Victoria à Wellington.

- J'avais lire la fiche d'information et le projet avaient m'a expliqué. Je suis satisfaisant avec la réponse à toutes mes questions. Je comprends que je peux demander les questions à tout moment.
- J'accepte de participer à l'entrevue enregistrement par audio.

Je comprends que :

- Je peux retirer de cette étude avant 30 Avril 2018, et tous l'information que j'avais données me sera retournée ou détruit après avoir reçu ma demande.

- Les renseignements personnels j'avais donnée sera détruit à 31 Décembre 2028 OU après avoir reçu ma demande pour les détruit.

- Les renseignements personnels je donne sera maintenir confidentielle à la chercheur, la directrice de thèse, et le transcripteur.

- Je comprends que les résultats seront utilisés dans une thèse de maitrise, un rapport à la Ministère des Affaires Etrangères et Commerce de la Nouvelle-Zélande (qui avaient versé quelques fonds pour cette recherche), et qu'il sera utilisé pour les publications académiques et les présentations académiques aux conférences dans le futur.

- Je veux / Je ne veux pas [encerclez une réponse] d'avoir l'information ou les opinions que je donne connecter à mon nom vrai dans la documentation qui devenir de ce projet.

    o   * Le nom que je veux d'être utilisé est _____

- J'accorde / Je n'accorde pas [encerclez une réponse] d'avoir l'information ou les opinions que je donne connecter à mon organisation dans la documentation qui devenir de cette projet et j'avoir l'autorité d'accorder pour cet organisation.

- Je voudrais une copie du transcrit de mon entrevue(s) :   Oui ☐   Non ☐

- Je voudrais une copie du rapport final et j'avoir écrit mon adresse   Oui ☐   Non ☐
  email dessous :

Signature de participant :   _____

Nom et prénom de participant : _____

Date :_____

Coordonnées (adresse email) :_____

SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW GUIDE – ENGLISH

Women (photovoice participants)

1. General information – age, occupation, how long they have been involved in the independance movement.
2. Why are you in the independence movement? (What would independence mean to you?)
3. Ask about photographs (while looking through the photographs together – either physical or digital copies).
    a. What do they mean to you?
    b. Why did you take them?
    c. Which photographs stand out for you? Why?
    d. How have you found this project?
4. How would you describe gender relations in Kanaky-New Caledonia?
5. Could you give me a few examples of contexts in which women face discrimination in Kanaky-NC
    a. What are some of your experiences?
    b. What strategies do you use to negotiate them?
6. Do you feel than any one group is more represented in the organisation of the movement? (tribe, education, etc)?
7. How would you describe gender relations in the movement?
8. Do you think you have a different experience within the movement as a woman than you would have as a man?
    a. Do you think there are considerable issues for women within the movement?
        i. What helps ameriorate these challenges? What strategies do you use?
        ii. Do you discuss this with other women in the movement?
9. Do you feel that women's issues are taken seriously in the movment?
10. How are women's contributions recieved within the movment?
11. Some Kanak women with whom I have spoken have told me that they do not want independence because they worry that women will lost institutional gains they have made in the past few years, like the gender parity in government. Do you fear that this is a significant problem for the movement?
12. Do you feel that it is important for women to participate in the movement?
13. I have heard that some people want women to take a place within the Customary Senate, do you think this is a good idea?
14. How does it make you feel/how do you respond when you hear other people say that Kanak culture is bad for women?
15. What have you learned about being in the movement so far?
    a. Has this changed how you feel about independence as a Kanak woman?

Women (non-photovoice participants)

1. General information – age, occupation, how long they have been involved in the independance movement.
2. Why are you in the independence movement? (What would independence mean to you?)
3. How would you describe gender relations in Kanaky-New Caledonia?
4. Could you give me a few examples of contexts in which women face discrimination in Kanaky-NC
   a. What are some of your experiences?
   b. What strategies do you use to negotiate them?
5. Do you feel than any one group is more represented in the organisation of the movement? (tribe, education, etc)?
6. How would you describe gender relations in the movement?
7. Do you think you have a different experience within the movement as a woman than you would have as a man?
   a. Do you think there are considerable issues for women within the movement?
      i. What helps amerliorate these challenges? What strategies do you use?
      ii. Do you discuss this with other women in the movement?
8. Do you feel that women's issues are taken seriously in the movment?
9. How are women's contributions recieved within the movment?
10. Some Kanak women with whom I have spoken have told me that they do not want independence because they worry that women will lost institutional gains they have made in the past few years, like the gender parity in government. Do you fear that this is a significant problem for the movement?
11. Do you feel that it is important for women to participate in the movement?
12. I have heard that some people want women to take a place within the Customary Senate, do you think this is a good idea?
13. How does it make you feel/how do you respond when you hear other people say that Kanak culture is bad for women?
14. What have you learned about being in the movement so far?

Has this changed how you feel about independence as a Kanak woman?

Men (non-photovoice participants)

1. General information – age, occupation, how long they have been involved in the independance movement.
2. Why are you in the independence movement? (What would independence mean to you?)
3. How do you see women within the movement?
4. Do you feel than any one group is more represented in the organisation of the movement? (tribe, education, etc)?
5. For you is there a gender difference between higher positions within the movement?
6. How would you describe gender relations in the movement?
7. How would you describe gender relations within the movement?
     a. What roles do you think there are for women within the movement?
     b. What roles and opportunities do you think there are for women within the movement?
8. Ask about the challenges they see that Kanak women face within the movement.
     a. Do you feel that there are any significant challenges for women within the movement?
     b. Do you feel that women's issues are taken seriously in the movement?
9. Ask about challenges Kanak women face outside the movement.
10. How would you describe gender relations in Kanaky?
11. What are some challenges for women in Kanaky/New Caledonia?
12. How do you think that men in the movement view these wide challenges? (outside the movement)
13. How do you feel/how do you respond when you hear other people say that Kanak culture is bad for women?
14. Are men in the movement working to shift these perspectives?

Group meeting/One on one meetings (photovoice participants)

1. Discuss ethics, do forms etc.
2. Explain other aspects of the information sheet- that they can withdraw/withold information.
3. Discuss the research and the aims of the research.
    a. Explain collaborative research, and my desire to incorporate indigenous methodologies. – simple terms, clear, relevant.
4. Explain how photo voice works, and why I chose this method.
5. Discuss the ethics of photographing other people, and how to make sure others are not identifiable in photographs.
6. Discuss other visual methods, such as Batafeo (Kanak forms of weaving and basketwork), and explain the the project is open to incorporating this as form of expression.
7. Introduce general aims of research and ask them to identify key aspects that are important to them – that they feel the most affinity with.
8. Ask what they think is most important to focus on.
    a. Emphasise that focus on positive as well as on issues are both welcome.
9. Go over the technical aspects of using cameras if necessary.
10. Discuss support places that can be accessed if they experience an instense emotional response to the process – who might be appropriate to see.
11. Discuss an intermediary person who might be appropriate to contact me if participants want to withdraw but cannot access phone or internet. Also discuss a potential code to use if they do not want others to know they are withdrawing.
12. Ensure everyone is fully consensual and understands how the process works and how to get in touch with me throughout the process. Discuss the ongoing, negotiated nature of consent.

SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW GUIDE – FRENCH

Les femmes (les participants du photovoice)

16. Information générale – âge, profession, lieu d'où vous venez, où vous habitez, est-ce que vous êtes part d'une partie politique, le temps qu'elle sont parti du mouvement indépendantiste.
17. Pourquoi vous êtes dans la mouvement pour l'indépendance ? (Qu'est-ce que cela représenterait pour vous ?)
18. Enquérir sur les photographes (en train de regarder les photographes ensemble – digitale ou physique).
    a. Qu'est-ce que cela signifie pour vous ?
    b. Pourquoi vous avez pris ce photo ?
    c. Quelles photographes sont la plus important pour vous et pourquoi ?
    d. Qu'est-ce que c'est votre expérience de ce projet ?
19. Comment décririez-vous les relations du genre en Kanaky ?
20. Pouvez-vous me donner les exemples des contextes en Kanaky où les femmes subissent la discrimination ?
    a. Quels sont quelques de vos expériences ?
    b. Quelles sont des stratégies que vous utilisez pour négocier ?
21. Pensez-vous qu'il y a un groupe qui est plus représenté dans l'organisation du mouvement que les autres ? (une Tribu, personnes plus diplômées, etc.)
22. Comment définiriez-vous les rôles du genre (sexe) dans le mouvement ?
    a. Pensez-vous que les femmes ont les mêmes opportunités que les hommes de prendre les positions plus hautes ?
    b. Pensez vous qu'il va changer dans la futur ?
23. Pensez-vous que vous avez une expérience différente dans le mouvement parce-que vous êtes une femme ?
    a. Pensez-vous qu'il y a des défis considérables pour les femmes dans le mouvement ?
        i. Qu'est-ce qui améliore les défis ? Quelles stratégies utilisez-vous ?
        ii. Parlerez-vous sur ce sujet avec les autres femmes ?
24. Pensez-vous que les enjeux des femmes sont pris aux sérieux dans le mouvement ?
25. Les contributions des femmes, comment sont-elles reçues dans le mouvement ?
26. Quelques femmes kanak avec qui j'avais parlé m'a dit qu'elles ne veulent pas l'indépendance parce que elles ont peur que les femmes vont perds les chose institutionnels qu'elles on gagné dans les derniers années, comme la parité du genre en gouvernement. Avez-vous peur que c'est un grand problème pour le mouvement ?
27. Pensez-vous que c'est important pour les femmes de participer dans le mouvement ?
28. J'avais entendu que quelques personnes veulent que les femmes prennent une place dans la Senat Coutumier, pensez-vous que c'est une bonne idée ?
29. Comment vous sentez-vous/ qu'est-ce que vous pensez quand les gens disent que la culture Kanak est mauvaise pour les femmes ?
30. Qu'avez-vous appris en étant dans le mouvement ?
    a. Pensez-vous que ces expériences ont changé vos réflexions sur l'indépendance en tant qu'un femme kanak ?

Les femmes (pas participer dans photovoice)

1. Information générale – âge, profession, le temps qu'elle font partie du mouvement indépendantiste.
2. Pourquoi vous êtes dans le mouvement pour l'indépendance ? (Qu'est-ce que cela représenter pour vous ?)
3. Comment décririez-vous les relations du genre en Kanaky ?
4. Pouvez-vous me donner les exemples des contextes en Kanaky ou les femmes subissent la discrimination ?
   a. Quels sont quelques de vos expériences ?
   b. Quelles sont des stratégies que vous utilisez pour négocier ?
5. Pensez-vous qu'il y a un groupe qui est plus représenté dans l'organisation du mouvement que les autres ? (une Tribu, personnes plus diplômées, etc.)
6. Comment définiriez-vous les rôles du genre (sexe) dans le mouvement ?
   a. Pensez-vous que les femmes ont les mêmes opportunités que les hommes de prendre les positions plus hautes ?
   b. Pensez-vous qu'il va changer dans le futur ?
7. Pensez-vous que vous avez une expérience différente dans le mouvement parce-que vous êtes une femme ?
   a. Pensez-vous qu'il y a des défis considérables pour les femmes dans le mouvement ?
      i. Qu'est-ce qui améliore les défis ? Quelles stratégies utilisez-vous ?
8. Parlerez-vous sur ce sujet avec les autres femmes ?
9. Pensez-vous que les enjeux des femmes sont pris aux sérieux dans le mouvement ?
10. Les contributions des femmes, comment sont-elles reçues dans le mouvement ?
11. Quelques femmes kanak avec qui j'avais parlé m'a dit qu'elles ne veulent pas l'indépendance parce que elles ont peur que les femmes vont perds les chose institutionnels qu'elles on gagné dans les derniers années, comme la parité du genre en gouvernement. Avez-vous peur que c'est un grand problème pour le mouvement ?
12. Pensez-vous que c'est important pour les femmes de participer dans le mouvement ?
13. J'avais entendu que quelques personnes veulent que les femmes prennent une place dans la Senat Coutumier, pensez-vous que c'est une bonne idée ?
14. Comment vous sentez-vous quand les gens disent que la culture Kanak est mauvaise pour les femmes ?
15. Qu'est-ce que vous faites pour faire votre soin personnel ? Pour assurer la résilience ?
16. Qu'avez-vous appris en étant dans le mouvement ?
    a. Pensez-vous que ces expériences ont changé vos réflexions sur l'indépendance en tant qu'un femme kanak ?

Men (non-photovoice participants)

1. Information générale – âge, profession, le temps qu'elle sont parti du mouvement indépendantiste.
2. Pourquoi vous êtes dans la mouvement pour l'indépendance ? (Qu'est-ce que cela représenterait pour vous ?)
3. Comment définiriez-vous les relations du genre (sexe) à Kanaky en générale ?
4. Comment envisagez-vous les femmes dans le mouvement ?
5. Avez-vous l'impression qu'il y a un groupe qui est plus représentez dans l'organisation du mouvement ? (Tribu, l'éducation, etc.)
6. Pour vous est-ce qu'il y a une différence du genre dans les positions plus hautes dans le mouvement ?
7. Comment définiriez-vous les relations du genre (sexe) dans le mouvement ?
   a. Quels rôles pensez-vous qu'il y a pour les femmes dans le mouvement ?
   b. Quels opportunités pensez-vous qu'il va être (pour les femmes) dans la future?
8. Pensez-vous qu'il y a des défis considérables pour les femmes dans le mouvement ?
9. Pensez-vous que les enjeux des femmes sont pris aux sérieux dans le mouvement ?
10. Quels sont quelques défis pour les femmes à Kanaky ?
11. Comment pensez-vous que les hommes dans le mouvement voient ces défis (dehors la mouvement) ?
12. Comment sentiez-vous quand les gens disent que la culture Kanak est mauvaise pour les femmes ?
13. Est-ce que les hommes dans le mouvement travailler pour changer ces points de vue ?

One on one meetings (photovoice participants)

1. Parler sur les éthiques (Discuss ethics, do forms etc.)
2. Exprimer les autres éléments de la fiche d'information –qu'elles peuvent se retirer/ou refuser les questions.
3. Discuter la recherche et les objectifs de recherche.
   a. Expliquer la recherche participatif et collaborative, et mon désir d'incorporer les méthodologies autochtones – les termes simple, claire, relevant.
   b. Demander quels partis de la recherche elles sont en affinité avec.
   c. Demander aux elles les quels partis elles veulent se concentrer. (Souligner que les positifs sont aussi importants que les négatifs.
4. Explique comment on fait photovoice et pourquoi j'ai choisi cet méthode de recherche.
5. Discute les éthiques de photographe les autres et comment d'assurer que les autres ne sont pas identifié dans les photos.
6. Discute les autres méthodes visuelles, comme le tressage, et les autres vanneries, et explique que le projet est ouvert d'intégrer les autres formes d'expression visuels.
   a. Discute les choses techniques des caméras si c'est nécessaire.
7. Discute les places pour accès le support si elle expériences les réponses émotives – qui peuvent être approprié de voir.
8. Discute quelqu'un qui peuvent être approprié de me contacter si les participants veulent se retirer du projet mais ne peuvent pas accès l'internet ou le téléphone. Aussi discute un code potentiel si elles ne veulent pas que les autres connaître.

9. Assurer que tous sont consensuel et tous comprendre le processus et comment de me contacter au long du processus. Parler sur le processus du consentement qui continu est négociée.

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