[Not in original text.] A glimpse and a provocation. Mt. Hagen, 1965 exchange festival (Kawelka and Tipuka). For all that male dancers are aware of other men in the crowd, their most attentive audience often and most largely consists of women.

**Figure 81.** While several women are looking at the performers, a crowd of young women and girls get ready to form their own dancing circle. As stimulated by the event they might be, their eyes are in fact anywhere but on the dancers. Mt. Hagen, Western Highlands, exchange festival (Kawelka and Tipuka). 1965. Photograph: Marilyn Strathern. [Note: A line a male dancers is just visible at the top of the photo.]