Manga Entrepreneurial Strategies (1956-1972)

By

SUSAN MARIE PFLANZ
A.B. (University of California, Davis) 1968
M.A. (University of California, Davis) 1971

DISSERTATION

Submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in

Anthropology

in the

GRADUATE DIVISION

of the

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

DAVIS

Manga Entrepreneurial Strategies (1956-1972)

By

SUSAN MARIE PFLANZ
A.B. (University of California, Davis) 1968
M.A. (University of California, Davis) 1971

DISSERTATION

Submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in

Anthropology

in the

GRADUATE DIVISION

of the

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

DAVIS

Approved:

[redacted]

Committee in Charge

Deposited in the University Library.....
Date *Librarian*

Note on digital version of work:

This text was scanned from a photocopy in which the plates were not well-represented. Whenever possible, better copies of the plates have been added from original prints and slides held in the Edwin Cook Papers (MSS 0187), Mandeville Special Collections Library, University of California, San Diego.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
Plates.	iii
Figures	vi
Foreword.	vii
Acknowledgements.	viii
INTRODUCTION.	1
PART ONE: THEORY AND METHOD.	12
CHAPTER 1: BIG MEN AND ENTREPRENEURS--STRATEGIES OF CHANGE . .	13
CHAPTER 2: REVOLUTION IN AN ENTREPRENEURIAL PARADIGM	20
CHAPTER 3: AN ENTREPRENEURIAL MATRIX OF CHANGE	29
CHAPTER 4: OPTIMIZING STRATEGIES IN SOCIAL CHANGE.	35
PART TWO: THE MANGA DATA	47
CHAPTER 5: PRE-CONTACT LIFE.	48
CHAPTER 6: THE EVENTS OF CHANGE.	67
CHAPTER 7: WANDO, THE TRADITIONAL BIG MAN.	116
CHAPTER 8: MAI, THE ELECTED COUNCILLOR	130
CHAPTER 9: AMGOI, THE ENTREPRENEURIAL FAILURE.	158
CHAPTER 10: TSAPINDE, THE COMMITTEEMAN IN THE MIDDLE.	181
CHAPTER 11: THE RESOLUTION OF CONFLICT.	195
PART THREE: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS.	230
CHAPTER 12: THE INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF THE HIGHLAND LABOUR SCHEME.	231
CHAPTER 13: MANGA ENTREPRENEURIAL STRATEGIES.	245
Notes	251
Bibliography.	252

LIST OF PLATES

Plate		Page
1.	Manga Territory	49
2.	Two Traditional Style Women's Houses	53
3.	Two Cassowary Chicks	54
4.	Valuable Bird-of-Paradise Feathers	56
5.	A Manga Bride-price Banner in 1971	57
6.	An Elderly Sorcerer Whispers a Spell into Water	59
7.	Drinking the Sacred Water	60
8.	The Airstrip at Tabibuga in 1972	70
9.	The Jimi River Bridge in 1972	72
10.	The Plantation Manager's House	76
11.	Housing for Highland Laborers	77
12.	Coconut Palms	79
13.	A Coconut Palm Nursery	80
14.	Removing the Coconut Meat	81
15.	A Copra Drying Oven	83
16.	Loading a Truck with the Finished Copra	84
17.	Cocoa Pods Ripening	85
18.	Racks of Cocoa Beans Drying in the Sun	86
19.	The New Church at Kwiop in July 1972	91
20.	The Church Settlement at Kwiop	92
21.	Kennet and Koplan King, Anglican Educated Manga	94
22.	Coffee Beans Drying in Front of a House at Kwiop	97

Plate		Page
23.	A Coffee Buying Scene at the European Trade Store at Tabibuga	98
24.	Manga Women Digging a Fish Pond	100
25.	The New Piggery at Kwiop	101
26.	Twelve of the Fifty Jimi River Local Government Councillors in June 1972	105
27.	The Jimi River Local Government Council Meeting House at Tabibuga	106
28.	President Yingwai Presiding at a Council Meeting	107
29.	Taking the Census at Kwiop in August 1972	109
30.	Collecting Taxes	110
31.	Ndekai Kuk and His Wife Wura	112
32.	Manga Women Waiting to Sell Vegetables	114
33.	Wando, the Last of the Manga Big Men	117
34.	The Bride-price Return Payment for Wando's Deceased Daughter	124
35.	Wando's Subclan Store	125
36.	Mai, His Wife Wagi, and Their Two Children	131
37.	Councillor Mai (center) with His Two Assistants, Committee Tom (left) and Committee Tsapinde (right)	142
38.	Mai's Monthly Council Meeting Report to the Manga	144
39.	Mai's and Parim's Store at Kwiop	147
40.	Amgoi (third from right) at the Mud Man's Visit	159
41.	Tsapinde, His Wife Mitsi, and Two of Their Four Daughters	183
42.	Yamba's Store - Tsapinde's New Store Investment	186
43.	The Cash Bride-price from Minj	191
44.	The Manga Return Payment at the Minj Payment	192
45.	Men, the Accused Adulterer	201

Plate		Page
46.	Kubn, Men's Unhappy Wife, with Her Two Week Old Baby Girl.	202
47.	Men's Second Wife, Kungi	203
48.	Wondoma, the Adulteress.	205
49.	President Yingwai Presiding at the Men-Wondoma Court . .	212
50.	"Child Pulling" at the Men-Wondoma Court	214
51.	Negotiating the Fine at the Kombla Court	223
52.	Tsapinde and Kinyila at the Kombla Court	225

LIST OF FIGURES

Figures		Page
1.	A Sample of the Entrepreneurial Transition Matrix	32
2.	Model of a Manga Entrepreneur's Situational Logic	44
3.	Segmentary Levels of the Manga Phratry	51
4a.	Wando's Immediate Family	119
4b.	Wando's Genealogical Links to Amgoi, Tsapinde, and Kombla .	119a
5.	Wando's Transition Matrix	129
6.	Mai's Genealogy	137
7.	Mai's Transition Matrix	156
8.	Amgoi's Transition Matrix	180
9.	Tsapinde's Transition Matrix	194
10.	Statistics on the Institutionalization of the Highland Labour Scheme by the Manga	237
11.	Revolution in the Manga Bigmanship Paradigm	244

FOREWORD

The data compiled in this dissertation are derived from observations of and interviews with members of the Manga Tribe of the Jimi River Subdistrict of the Western Highlands District of Papua New Guinea. Fieldwork among the Manga was conducted from June to September of 1971 and from June to September of 1972. I was accompanied to the field by Dr. Edwin A. Cook who had previously studied the Manga from 1961 to 1963. Dr. Cook's dissertation, Manga Social Organization (1967), his published articles (see Bibliography), and his assistance and cooperation in the field were invaluable contributions to my research; however, the theoretical arguments, the selection and compilation of data, and the conclusions of this work are entirely my own except where specific references are made to other contributors.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am grateful to the following people for their support and assistance in completing my research and the writing of this dissertation:

Ndekai, Kimi, Tang, Kennent, Tsinge, Mai, Wando, Wagi, Tsapinde, Amgoi and the other Manga who shared their lives with us.

Jack and Marie Edwards, Ken and Lois Logan, Rod and Helen Cantlay at Tabibuga; Ken Fletcher, Barry Logan, and Scotty Adams at Mt. Hagen; Jim and Sheila Specht in Sydney, who extended their hospitality and friendship to us during our field research.

Marge and Don Heyman, Len and Ida Pflanz, Wink Pflanz, Keith and Betty Wood, Florence Wood, Leonard Pflanz, Mavis and Philip Dark, Marge Langness, Helen and Smoky Stover, Dick and Katie Krause, Ellen Ginsberg, Base Hedrick, and Jerry Handler, who make a fantastic network of family and friends.

I would also like to thank Sylvia Freeze and Valerie Arnold Schmidt for typing my first draft; Kathryn Lindauer for typing this final copy; Benjamin Orlove for his criticisms and suggestions; and the members of the Association for Social Anthropology in Oceania for their inspired Annual Meetings.

Finally, my special thanks to Edwin A. Cook for sharing the Manga with me and to William G. Davis for his continuing encouragement.

INTRODUCTION

Most studies of social change are concerned with how conventional cultural beliefs, values, and social practices are changing and how new ones are being institutionalized; but most examinations of this process have been interpolative--before and after--expositions which come along well after the major social changes have occurred. Such studies have tended to be societal in focus, with emphasis on macro-level analysis, especially in cases of colonialism.

Fredrik Barth (1967) has suggested that a better way to approach the study of change is by focusing on the distribution of actual behavior and the actual events involved in the change process. He recommends the study of social entrepreneurs (Barth 1963) as a methodological basis for this focus since such actors are often the key leaders of the change era; responding to new opportunities, constraints and risks; acting as examples to other members of their society; and stimulating the institutionalization of new social, economic, and political patterns of behavior.

This dissertation is a micro-level analysis of entrepreneurial strategies based on an expansion and application of Barth's methodological recommendations for the study of social change. At its center are the case histories of four entrepreneurs of the Manga tribe of the Jimi River Valley, who have employed a wide variety of optimizing strategies during a period of recent and rapid change in a small New Guinea Highland society. Their decisions, actions, and responses in the light of new

cultural alternatives are reviewed against a backdrop of the traditional style of leadership called Bigmanship. I will suggest that such Bigmanship was essentially a style of entrepreneurship and recommend a new methodological framework for the study of the role of the entrepreneur in social change which I will apply to the transition from traditional Bigmanship to modern entrepreneurship.

Barth on Social Change, Entrepreneurship and Optimizing Strategies

My interest in the study of entrepreneurship, social change and optimizing strategies derives from the work of Fredrick Barth in his article, "On the Study of Social Change" (1967) and in his introduction to The Role of the Entrepreneur in Social Change in Northern Norway (1963). Barth noted that "Traditional anthropological description in terms of pattern and custom . . . results essentially in accounts that do not adequately portray change . . . despite the fact that our material is becoming increasingly rich with most dramatic cases of change" (1967: 661). Barth argued that the solution to this anthropological inadequacy lay in: "(a) a greater attention to the empirical study of the events of change, and a need for concepts that facilitate this; (b) the necessity for specification of the nature of the continuity in a sequence of change, and the processual analyses that this entails; and (c) the importance of the study of institutionalization as an ongoing process" (1967: 661).

Barth also suggested that the role of the entrepreneur should be an important focus in processual analyses of social change. Specifically, he said:

> There are several reasons why anthropologists should investigate carefully the entrepreneurial activity in the societies which they study. Clearly, entrepreneurship is closely associated with general leadership

> and the social structure of communities. Also, it very frequently involves the relationship of persons and institutions in one society with those of another, economically more advanced one, and the entrepreneur becomes an essential "broker" in this situation of culture contact. But in the most general sense, one might argue that in the activities of the entrepreneur we may recognize processes which are fundamental to questions of social stability and change, and that their analysis is therefore crucial to anyone who wishes to pursue a dynamic study of society (1963: 3).

Barth also recommended the theoretical utility of "optimization analysis" in the study of entrepreneurship. He suggested that Game Theory, one kind of optimization analysis in statistics, can be used to heuristically describe entrepreneurial strategies. Barth assumed that entrepreneurs are minimizing their losses and maximizing their gains in the Game Theory tradition. I agree with Barth that optimization analysis may prove an important analog to entrepreneurial studies, but I will go beyond Game Theory in my approach to optimization and entrepreneurship. Following Prattis (1973) I intend to show that entrepreneurial strategies may vary according to political status at the time of contact and that such different strategies can account for a variety of "optimum" decisions in this period of rapid social change.

The New Guinea Highlands and the Literature

There have been few opportunities for anthropologists to be eye witnesses to the first years of colonial intervention in small, previously isolated tribal societies. Most data on social change were gathered by anthropologists decades and centuries after initial colonial contact (cf. Paine 1971, Strickon and Greenfield 1972, Salisbury 1970, Ortiz 1973). In the New Guinea Highlands, however, the sequence of colonial intervention and subsequent changes in tribal life did not begin until

the 1930's. Despite centuries of colonial intervention on the New Guinea coast, the Highlands were long rumored to be uninhabitable and uninhabited. On March 8, 1933, the Leahy brothers, gold prospectors, flew over the Western Highlands and were the first to discover "evidence of a fertile soil and a teeming population" (Leahy and Crain 1937: 15). The Australians, who gained control of the eastern half of the island of New Guinea following World War I, subsequently began their slow colonization of the Highland peoples. Over the next forty years, the Australians pacified tribe after tribe and gradually assimilated the Highlanders into the Australian version of colonial order. In 1975 Papua New Guinea was made independent of Australian role.

Because of its unusually long isolation from direct European[1] contact, the New Guinea Highlands was one of the last frontiers of the anthropology of "primitive" society. Anthropologists on the scene have occupied themselves largely with functionalist reconstructions of "pre-contact" societies. With the years, anthropologists such as Paula Brown on the Highland Chimbu ("From Anarchy to Satraphy" (1967)) and Mervyn Meggitt on the Mae Enga ("From Tribesmen to Peasants" (1971)) have gone from functionalist reconstruction to explanation of social change from a societal perspective. But such societal analyses of change meet Barth's criticism head-on--they emphasize pattern, not process. Even in the most detailed account of economic change in the Highlands, R. S. Salisbury's From Stone to Steel (1962), Salisbury did not analyze change from a "processual" perspective. Instead he provided an excellent analysis of the impact of the technology of steel tools on the old stone tool pattern of allocating time and resources. But Salisbury's adaptive unit is the group, not the individual, and his focus was on the net

results of change, not the process itself.

The literature on entrepreneurs in the Highlands has also avoided processual accounts of change in individual case histories. Ben R. Finney's work (1968, 1969) gives a detailed account of Gorokan entrepreneurship yet his analysis is not concerned with either the definition of entrepreneurship or the process of change itself. It is pattern, not process, which is the dominant theme in the literature on the Highland entrepreneur. A few anthropologists have given the individual case history some attention. For example, the histories of Paula Brown's Kondom (1967c), Andrew Strathern's Ru (1972b), and James B. Watson's Bantao (1960) are described in sufficient detail to outline individual assets and liabilities in the era of rapid Highland social change. Yet none of these men have been analyzed in terms of a theory of their impact as leaders of their fellow tribesmen, and no New Guinea Highland anthropologist has taken the triangle of rapid change, optimizing strategies and entrepreneurship as the basis for an explanation of the process of change. The Manga tribe offered a unique setting for just such a study.

The Setting

The Manga tribe, a small phratry of about 350 Narak speakers in the central Jimi Valley, was not directly contacted by an Australian pacification patrol until 1956. The Australian patrol finally entered Manga territory after reports of heavy fighting in the central Jimi were carried to the nearest Australian outpost at Minj. The Manga had just lost a war to their nearest neighbors, the Yuomban. Recognizing imminent defeat, the Manga had ignominiously dispersed to stay with

affines in surrounding tribes. Planes flying over the area saw these abandoned Manga houses and gardens being burned by the victorious Yuomban. The Australian patrol returned the Manga to their lands, routed the Yuomban with a show of superior weaponry, and established the Pax Brittanica in the Jimi Valley. Shortly thereafter, a site for a permanent patrol post in the Jimi Valley was chosen at Tabibuga, four hours' walk from the Manga census point at Kwiop. An era of rapid change had begun.

In the years from first contact in 1956 to the end of my field-work in 1972, Manga men in particular had undergone a dramatic change in their lifestyle--a transition from warring tribesmen to business-minded peasants. While food staples were still produced through slash-and-burn farming and pig husbandry, the Manga had adapted readily to the new order. Men regularly went on two year labor contracts to work for coastal plantations through the "Highland Labour Scheme."[2] The Manga sold their own coffee beans for cash to spend at local trade stores. Many members of the tribe were on the verge of being baptized by the local Anglican missionaries and some sent their children to mission schools. The Manga elected their own representatives to the Jimi River Local Government Council and to the House of Assembly at Port Moresby.

This Manga setting provided an excellent opportunity to study social change for several reasons: First, because the Manga had been isolated almost completely from direct contact with Europeans until 1956. Second, because the tribe had been studied by E. A. Cook in 1961 and 1962. Cook's data on the Manga and his assistance in the field in 1971 and 1972 gave this study a temporal perspective and a depth of detail which might otherwise have been lost to the anthropological record. And, third, because the Manga were a small group of only 350

people, it was more feasible to study the influence of a few entrepreneurs on their fellow tribesmen's adaptations to change.

Fieldwork

Most anthropological research has three parts—planning, the fieldwork itself, and interpretation of the data. This study of social change profitted from a somewhat unique advantage: the actual fieldwork was divided into two periods with almost a year intervening. Thus, I had two opportunities to plan, to conduct fieldwork, and to interpret the data.

During the first months of research in 1971, I was intent on laying an "economic" foundation for an account of entrepreneurial behavior in the 16 years of change. Formal interviews were conducted with 26 men (whom E. A. Cook had interviewed in 1961 and 1962), and with 26 women (mostly the wives of these 26 men). In these interviews we reviewed changes in Cook's Manga genealogies and the information inherent in such a genealogical record—marriages, bride-prices paid or owed, births, deaths, major illnesses, and absences to the coast for work on the Highland Labour Scheme. Since Cook had not been allowed to interview women in 1961 and 1962, the genealogies of women were a new part of the record.

Living among the Manga, we were able to observe their interaction in public meetings and in local courts. From this combination of formal interviews and participant observation of Manga life emerged a set of four men who seemed to exemplify the diversity of entrepreneurial leadership in change. Above all, each of these men had been influential in directing the path of change in Manga life since 1956.

The most obvious selection of an entrepreneur was Mai--the man elected by the Manga as their representative to the local Jimi River Government Council. Mai was the only Manga trained to be a truck driver and mechanic. With the combination of his position as local elected leader and innovator of local businesses, he had been able to monopolize many of the lines of communication between the Manga and the outside world. He was the major instigator of successful political, economic, and social innovations among the Manga.

By far the most unusual of the Manga entrepreneurial candidates was Amgoi. Amgoi was a classic case of an entrepreneurial failure. He took risks and he innovated--but he always lost his shirt, largely because he failed to measure up to his social responsibilities. His was a perfect example of the failure of an "economic man"--his independence, his avariciousness had little value in Manga society.

Wando, the last of the powerful big men/sorcerers among the Manga, was living evidence that the pre-contact Manga big man was an entrepreneur. Wando led the "conservative" elders in their response to new innovations. His leadership gave the traditionalists a modified position between the old and new values. Wando had developed one set of values for himself while he accepted a different set for his children. He continuously advocated a position of social responsibility--no matter whose laws were being followed.

Tsapinde, the fourth entrepreneur, was a budding big man at the time of European contact. He had been caught on the edge of traditionalism between his brothers, Wando and Amgoi. He aggressively pursued a atrategy of entrepreneurship on a tightrope of limited assets and numerous liabilities in both modern and traditional lifestyles.

In fieldwork during 1972 these four Manga entrepreneurs were interviewed extensively and then observed in a series of public meetings and local courts. I was intent on examining the events of change and the continuity of change in their lives. In courts and public meetings, there was overt evidence of the conflicts between old and new values. The continuity in this period of change was manifested in the compromises which allowed conflicts to be resolved within the tribe through the local court system.

Thus, my fieldwork focussed on three different levels of abstraction. In a historical-ethnographic mode, I used data which summarizes both the pre-contact life-style and the major events of change which have affected Manga life since direct contact in 1956. Such events include on-going programs such as the Highland Labour Scheme; the Anglican Christianization, Education and Health programs; the process of political education; the introduction of a variety of agricultural programs; and the influence of anthropologists.

At another level, I have described these major events of change and other more minor events in terms of the histories of individual Manga entrepreneurs. Such personal histories of the transition era combine the methodological parameters of the life history with what van Velson calls the Extended-case Method or Situational Analysis (1967: 129-149). Each case history is summarized in a transition matrix which allows for an assessment of these entrepreneurial risks at different times in different contexts.

At still a third level of abstraction, I will describe the on-going scene at major court trials held in 1972. Such trials reflect the actual process of social change and reflect the conflicting alternatives

and the manipulations of the entrepreneurs described previously. In terms of a methodological approach, these courts are observed in sufficient detail to represent an extension of the case histories of entrepreneurs rather than "The Case Method in the Field of Law" as prescribed by Epstein (1967).

This three-fold methodology has socio-historical, individual, and situational levels of analysis. No one of these methodologies could provide sufficient data to explain the process of social change. Lukes (1968) argues that "methodological individualism" is a sterile "prescription for explanation" just as Barth argues (1971) that structural functional explanations in terms of "pattern and custom" fail to adequately portray change.

Perhaps the answer lies in recognizing that human beings do not act in a vacuum. Unlike the mathematical ideal of a rational game player, no individual ever has perfect knowledge of a situation and no individual can be sure that whatever his choice it will not affect other people nor can their choices and opinion affect his choice. Every choice we face, every action we take, is based on a degree of risk since we are part of an unpredictable social world. Any individual can attempt to follow a rational strategy, but that strategy is constantly being reassessed in the light of his interaction with other persons. The exploration of changing strategies must not rely on any one methodology, but a set of methodologies which together begin to explain the social, historical, individual, and processual aspects of change.

The dissertation will be divided into three parts. The first part describes an interpretive framework for studying entrepreneurship, optimizing, and the process of social change. In Chapter One, I will review the concept of entrepreneurship as it has been defined in the

literature, and especially as it has been defined in the New Guinea setting. In Chapter Two, I will describe the notion of change from the perspective of an entrepreneurial "paradigm" which hypothesizes a pre-contact leadership model based on pre-contact Manga history. In Chapter Three I will outline an entrepreneurial matrix for examining change in entrepreneurial parameters during the post-contact era. In Chapter Four I will review the previous anthropological literature on optimizing models and suggest a more individualized analysis of change strategies which reflects the distribution of actual behavior rather than group behavior.

The second part of the dissertation includes chapters on the Manga in the pre-contact era, the events of Manga change, and case histories of four Manga entrepreneurs who have used different strategies based on their individual circumstances to cope with the issues of change in their lives. Following these four entrepreneurial chapters is a synopsis of the behavior of all four of these entrepreneurs in local court cases. These cases offer a forum for a variety of strategies aimed at evaluating and manipulating the conflicts of the era of change for each entrepreneur's advantage.

The third part of the dissertation includes a chapter which summarizes each of the four entrepreneur's attitudes toward one new opportunity and how that attitude is reflected by other men of the Manga who shared similar attitudes and interests at different times since 1960. In the concluding chapter I will summarize the dissertation, review the concept of the pre-contact entrepreneurial paradigm, and the changes which have taken place in that paradigm since contact, and predict possible future changes in the entrepreneurial leadership of the Manga.

PART ONE: THEORY AND METHOD

CHAPTER ONE: BIG MEN AND ENTREPRENEURS— STRATEGIES OF CHANGE

Cyril Belshaw (1955) was the first anthropologist to separate an anthropological definition of "entrepreneurship" from its Western economic connotations and to apply his formulation of the concept to Melanesian data. Belshaw reviewed the economist Fraser's summary of the four fundamental connotations of entrepreneurship: (a) management of a business unit, (b) profit taking, (c) business innovation, and (d) uncertainty bearing (Fraser, 1937, in Belshaw 1955: 147). Belshaw pointed out that Western economists in 1955 were most interested in the business innovation connotation of entrepreneurship. Anthropologists, on the other hand, were more interested in the "cultural milieu" of the entrepreneur in primitive and peasant societies, and particularly in the role of the entrepreneur as a leader in economic change in societies undergoing development after colonization (1955: 147).

In Belshaw's own definition, "expansive management" was the key to an anthropological definition of the entrepreneur. Belshaw defined the Melanesian entrepreneur as (1) a self employed man (to preclude those who were employed by others), (2) interested in business growth (to preclude those businessmen who were not expanding their enterprises), (3) taking the initiative in administering resources (to preclude those who hired managers), and (4) involved in the "marketing of products for cash" (to preclude those Melanesians who were still outside the cash economy) (1955: 147).

Belshaw was trying to separate the ambitious young Melanesian businessman from his complacent counterparts who had managed small-scale family businesses (especially copra) for decades without taking much initiative toward expansion. But Belshaw's fourth category of "marketing products for cash" also distinguished the modern entrepreneur from his traditional counterpart--the Melanesian "big man." "Big man" is a title in Neo-Melanesian used to label the egalitarian, achieved form of leadership which prevailed throughout Melanesia before European contact.

In 1963 Fredrik Barth gave another anthropologically appropriate definition of entrepreneurship. Barth said: "To the extent that persons take the initiative, and in the pursuit of profit in some discernible form manipulate other persons and resources, they are acting as entrepreneurs" (1963: 6). Fraser's connotations of innovation, management, profit taking, and risk, and Belshaw's cash-marketing/expansive management are implied in Barth's definition. Innovation and risk are encompassed in taking the initiative; profit is broadened from a cash/business orientation to include such non-material forms as "power, rank, or experience and skills" (1963: 8); the management becomes the manipulation of persons and resources. Barth's concern is truly with the entrepreneur in his "cultural milieu" and with "factors encouraging and channeling or inhibiting such (entrepreneurial) activity" (1963: 6).

Yet Barth was as guilty as Belshaw of defining traditional big men outside the entrepreneurial realm when he distinguished entrepreneurs from: ". . . the incumbents of traditional statuses who act in accordance with institutionalized patterns" (1963: 7). He said the distinction was

> . . . a question of degree and emphasis on the following features: (1) the entrepreneur's more single-minded

> concentration on the maximization of one type of value: "profit" . . . (2) the more experimental and speculative, less institutionalized character of the activity of the entrepreneur, who must act in terms of a deductive prognosis of results, rather than--as may the encumbents of institutionalized statuses--accumulated experience which gives empirically founded expectations of results . . . (3) the entrepreneur's greater willingness to take risks, exemplified by his (i) committing a greater fraction of his total assets in a single venture, (ii) putting trust in his own deductive reasoning as against common opinion, and perhaps even (iii) delighting in gamblers' odds, where other actors might entertain a conservative, exaggerated fear of the risk of loss (1963: 7-8).

While these distinctions may be relevant to the more institutionalized character of leadership in Norway, they are not applicable to a contrast between traditional Bigmanship and modern entrepreneurship in the New Guinea Highlands.

The role of the Melanesian big man was not a stagnant set of institutionalized rights and duties. If one accepts that his "profits" were not limited to a cash objective, then each big man was as experimental, as speculative, and as adventurous as his modern entrepreneurial counterpart. A more complete description of Bigmanship will clarify the compatibility of the two concepts.

Marshall Sahlins (1963) compared the Melanesian big man with the Polynesian-style Chief. Although he glosser over many of the features of Bigmanship which vary from tribe to tribe, he generalized about such roles as follows:

> The Melanesian big-man seems so thoroughly bourgeois, so reminiscent of the free enterprising rugged individual of our own heritage (sic). He combines with an ostensible interest in the general welfare a more profound measure of self-interested cunning and economic calculation. His gaze, as Veblen might have put it, is fixed unswervingly to the main chance. His every public action is designed to make a competitive and invidious comparison with others, to show a standing above the masses that is the product of his own personal manufacture (1968: 162).

Paula Brown has less dramatically summarized the classic features of Bigmanship to include (1) access to social connections through multiple wives, husbands of classificatory sisters, and "adoption" of youthful clan members as followers, (2) ability to fight, (3) and personality attributes such as attractiveness to women, speaking ability, boldness, and intelligence (Brown 1963: 5-6). There is additional evidence to suggest that the "true command ability" of big men varied from tribe to tribe. Sahlins maintains that a big man had such command ability (authority) only within his coterie of loyal, lesser followers and had influence (power) but not authority over a larger galaxy of men who were less closely linked to his immediate network (1968: 163). Bigmanship, then, was an achieved status--innovative, profit oriented (in Barth's general sense), risk-taking and managerial.

Strathern (1972a) recognized the close correlation between the role of the big man and the new Melanesian entrepreneur. He pointed out that the same organizational models (e.g. kinship links) were used by big men and by new businessmen who wished to establish and manage stores and buy trucks. He demonstrated how kinship bases for business enterprise could have a negative effect on capital expansion since some of the cash necessary for rapid reinvestment must be redistributed through ceremonials to the entrepreneur's followers. If an entrepreneur failed to keep up his social responsibilities, he was not a true big man and he would not have the prestige and influence necessary to lead others or to get them to invest in further enterprises. My point here is that much of the explanation of modern cash-oriented entrepreneurial behavior in New Guinea specifically is related to the interpersonal networks, the responsibilities, and the strategies of the big man of the pre-contact era. Belshaw did not emphasize the social dimension of

entrepreneurial leadership in his "economic" definition of cash/profit oriented, expansive entrepreneurship.

Belshaw did note that a man was probably not an entrepreneur unless he "undertakes ordinary management tasks" (1955: 147). Burridge (1975) maintains that management was the major feature of the Melanesian big man's role. Failure to give credence to managerial responsibilities of both Bigmanship and entrepreneurship caused T. S. Epstein to bemoan the "narrow horizon" of Melanesian entrepreneurs among New Britain's Tolai (1970: 16-26). She described how the indigenous Tolai entrepreneurs reached a point of diminishing potential once simple investment in trade stores and trucks have been made at the local level. Although the advantages of ready access to land, unskilled labor, and capital from local savings allowed for the establishment of other small businesses, Epstein said that the "expanded horizons" of larger enterprise and investment were beyond the management skills of most native entrepreneurs. What she does not say is that entrepreneurs may have based most of their investments within the network patterned after a big man's alliances since trust beyond the level of a network is tenuous. Therefore, the responsibilities of big men, in terms of management and the redistribution of wealth through ceremonial contributions, must still be met by the new entrepreneurs. Such investment relationships are reciprocal, based in part on ceremonial redistributions as the big man's contribution to a relationship.

Epstein suggests that education can solve this impasse, but I would note that the fruits of such "economic" education may be more socially disruptive than constructive, particularly if Western economic values are taught with no appreciation of local responsibilities and

prestige. An investment of profits in one's ceremonial responsibilities may at times have greater utility to the individual entrepreneur than any new competing business opportunity. The high social profits from such ceremonies are obtained at a low risk to the entrepreneur in possible contrast to the unknown risks of a new business venture. Salisbury, for example, shows that mong the Tolai large investments in major businesses outside the local business community have shown very low rates of profitability when compared with the small amount of cash that can be invested in highly profitable local businesses (1970: 372).

In the case of the Manga, the advantage of an anthropological analysis over an economic one is that it allows consideration of the full range of "sectors" of investment open to both big men and entrepreneurs. Big men invested heavily in non-market, ceremonial redistribution which brought them both social and political esteem with related groups. Big men could then tap this ceremonial esteem to obtain wives or aid in warfare or support in future ceremonies. Wealth accrued to the successful big man in the form of women, children, pigs, shells, and valuable feathers. By redistributing these items to his kinsmen and allies, he assured the political standing of himself and his followers.

With European contact many of the parameters of Bigmanship changed. Warfare was outlawed. Christianity discouraged polygyny and sorcery practices. Modern money broke into traditional spheres of exchange allowing food to be purchased alongside traditional valuables. Men earned cash wages which allowed them to buy traditional valuables at younger ages, reducing the control of their elders. Old assets became inflated, old spheres of exchange broke down. A new "sector" of investment developed in business opportunities at the local level. Wealth

could be converted to cash and invested in trade stores or trucks which were run for cash profit. But such cash profits could still be reinvested in the traditional ceremonial sector to gain political and social prestige.

I am hypothesizing that during the years from 1956 to 1972 Manga big men/entrepreneurs followed three major strategies: a traditional big man strategy, a modern entrepreneurial strategy, and a mix of the two. By "traditional strategy" I refer to the man who continued to accumulate assets in the pre-contact manner and to invest those assets in redistributive ceremonies aimed at building and affirming a reputation as a big man in the pre-contact political style. By "modern entrepreneurial strategy," I refer to the man who earned cash first through wage labor and later in marketing local products and invested those cash profits in new opportunities in a new business sector or in elected political position aimed at gaining a leadership status beyond the bounds of traditional alliances in the Jimi Valley in a post-contact political sector. By "mixed strategy" I refer to the man who gained wealth through either traditional or modern opportunities and who invested that wealth in either traditional pursuits or modern business and political opportunities according to his information about the benefits, costs and risks in any particular situation.

By 1972, all Manga big men/entrepreneurs had adopted some investment compromises which allowed them to be classified as mixed strategists. Later chapters focus on this process of individual adaptations.

CHAPTER TWO: REVOLUTION IN AN ENTREPRENEURIAL PARADIGM

To further understand the continuity between Bigmanship and the new Entrepreneurship, we need a set of concepts which clarify the process of change. Thomas Kuhn (1962) was also concerned with developing such concepts in his own work on the process of change in the natural sciences. As the foundation of his theory Kuhn uses the term "paradigm" to refer to a stable period in scientific belief in any one of the natural sciences—an era when scientists in that discipline agree on the underlying range of assumptions and the field of experimental interest with which they occupy their time. He defines a scientific paradigm as "some implicit body of intertwined theoretical and methodological belief that permits selection, evaluation and criticism" (1962: 16-17). Kuhn goes on to explain the social process which underlies changes or "revolutions" in such a paradigm.

Kuhn suggests that change in a scientific paradigm can stem from the scientists themselves, particularly young scientists who are not yet caught up in the current theoretical and methodological belief system, or from the discovery of a new "instrument" such as the x-ray which forced paradigm revolution in physics from outside the then current belief system. Nevertheless, it is easier for young men to recognize anomalies peripheral to the current framework of scientific interest. As Kuhn says:

> Almost always the men who achieve these fundamental inventions of a new paradigm have been either very young or very new to the field whose paradigm they change. And

> perhaps that point need not have been made explicit, for obviously these are the men who, being little committed by prior practice to the traditional rules of normal science, are particularly likely to see that those rules no longer define a playable game and to conceive another set that can replace them (1962: 89-90).

This initial phase when anomalies are first recognized Kuhn calls the "crisis period." A paradigm crisis "simultaneously loosens the stereotypes and provides the incremental data necessary for a fundamental paradigm shift" (1962: 89). ". . . all crises close with the emergence of a new candidate for paradigm and with the subsequent battle over its acceptance" (1962: 84). Kuhn calls this post-crisis phase the "pre-paradigm state." The ultimate resolution of the debate between proponents of the old and new paradigms ends when a choice is made by the "relevant scientific community" (1962: 93). Kuhn suggests that the old paradigm really dies out only when its proponents--the elders of the field--themselves die.

Kuhn has described a general process that transcends the issue of scientific paradigm change. His concept of the paradigm may also be useful to an examination of Manga social change. Parallelling Kuhn's theory, the Manga had a Bigmanship Paradigm in the pre-contact era. With the advent of new forms of wealth and authority they recognized anomalies in that paradigm. Led by a new generation of innovators they began to reassess the beliefs and strategies of the old paradigm and to build a new foundation for a modern entrepreneurial paradigm. In 1972 the Manga were still involved in the arguments of the change process. The elders, raised in the big man paradigm, still advocated some aspects of that traditional strategy. Until they die these Manga will continue

in the pre-paradigm state. Conflict data from courts and public meetings confirm that anomalies are still being recognized and resolved in public confrontations between proponents of the old and the emergent paradigms.

This change in labels offers some advantages in addressing the typical issues of social change. The term "paradigm" seems to have more pragmatic connotations than a term like "model" which connotes an ideal state. Paradigms have both ideological and behavioral components. The whole notion of paradigm revolution refers to a change process which stems from a human recognition of irresolvable anomalies in a belief system. The common structural-functional concepts of anthropology do not leave room for recognizing how individuals reassess their beliefs according to their own knowledge, responsibilities, and interests. It is this personal dilemma to which Kuhn alludes in his work.

The Bigmanship paradigm was not just an ideal but a means of assessing new behaviors--a body of belief that permitted selection, evaluation, and criticism. There was no one perfect example of a big man, no "model" big man, since every man had to be evaluated according to his own unique qualities.

The Career Paradigm

In turning to my own data on Manga Bigmanship, the significance of the actual process of achieving big man status in pre-contact society was newly apparent. I recognized that the achievement process leading to big man status parallelled what Leeds (1964) called a Brazilian "career" in his own explanation of social change. Each young Brazilian "careerist" was first concerned with establishing a springboard, a

connection from which to begin building his name. From his initial success, he goes on to expand his connections and influence, creating "a presence growing in time" (1964: 133). Leeds maintains such careers are fundamental parts of Brazilian economic and political process. Manga Bigmanship showed evidence of a similar "career paradigm": a spring-board period; a self-promotion period; and a patronage period.

In elaborating on this achievement process, I returned to entrepreneurial definition to review two related terms--the "broker" and the "patron." Boissevain (following Mayer 1966) has defined these two terms. He says that a patron is an entrepreneur who "manipulates" first order resources which he controls directly. Such first order resources might include land, jobs, scholarship funds, specialized knowledge . . . (1975: 147-148). The broker, according to Boissevain's definition, is an entrepreneur who "manipulates" second order resources--strategic contacts with other people who control first order resources or with those who have access to such persons (1975: 147-148).

The mature Manga big man was predominately a patron, concerned with the management of his "first order resources." Younger Manga men with families seemed to parallel the broker, concerned with the expansion of their network of "second order resources." An even younger, unmarried man seemed most concerned with innovation, willing to gamble his few assets to achieve a reputation as a "hot" man.

Since I have shown that the New Guinea big man before European contact profitably may be viewed, in fact, as an entrepreneur, such a career orientation might also be used to call attention to the procesa of achieving Bigmanship.

The Manga big man's career varied according to a man's age, marital status, affinal ties, his initiative, his productive potential, his participation in exchanges and feasting, his talents as lover, warrior, sorceror, speaker, and his ability to manage all of his responsibilities to his ancestors, his allies, his exchange partners, and his kinsmen. The following is a brief description of the hypothetical stages of the pre-contact big man career paradigm.

First, there was a gambling/innovation stage in which a young unmarried Manga man could parlay his personal assets, his looks, speaking ability, charm, daring, and in particular his talents as a lover and fighter, into a reputation as a "hot man" (see Cook 1967: 261). At this stage, a young man owed few responsibilities to his family or to others and was able to spend much of his time in pursuit of personal pleasure or reputation. He had little to risk but his life in their pursuit, and successful daring had a definite social reward.

Second, there comes a promoter/broker stage in which a young married man in his late twenties or early thirties uses his reputation as a successful warrior, husband, contributor, father, and fighter to expand his personal network of reciprocal relationships with other men and the social units they represent. While he may still be pursuing other potential wives for his younger brothers, much of his effort is spent in investing in affirming affinal connections through trade and ceremonial exchange. Such alliances assure the promoter aid in warfare, support in future ceremonials, and marital security. Like the Brazilian careerist the promoter/broker is "a presence growing in time." The expansion-growth theme motivates this level of entrepreneurship.

Third, there is a manager/patron stage of the man in his late thirties and forties in which the final stage of Bigmanship occurs. He concerns himself with the marriages of his maturing "children," their bride-prices, and the organization and leadership of his followers in ceremonies or war. The responsibilities of this mature stage are considerable, especially in ceremonial relationships to the ancestors. The volatile behavior so admired in younger men is not as appropriate. The managerial connotation of entrepreneurship dominates during this phase and actions are oriented toward political, social and religious responsibilities for the widest following.

Although all Manga men were potential big men, many apparently chose not to follow such a career plan. Burridge says "a traditional Melanesian community would be divided into four sets of persons: managers, sorcerors, ordinary men, and rubbish men" (1975: 94). I would expand the previously defined manager category to include youthful gambler/innovators and up-and-coming promoter/brokers. Among the Manga sorcery had both negative and positive connotations. When used for the good of the group as in diving sorcery, it was an asset. When used against the group, as in death sorcery or ghoulism, it was a liability and the sorceror subject to social ostracism or execution. A Manga big man could increase his reputation beyond mere influence and power to a level of fear and awe by manifesting sorcery powers.

A sorcerer, however, was not necessarily a big man. He could also be either an ordinary man or a rubbish man. An ordinary man was a careful follower "who sought the comforts of conformity and played it safe" (Burridge 1955: 95). A rubbish man was the opposite of a manager, sort of an "achieved failure."

Each of these six "sorts" of men might be weighed on a scale of investment risk and social responsibility. The rubbish man has nothing to risk and meets few responsibilities. The ordinary man avoids risk in his investments and meets only required responsibilities. The sorcerer has a reputation for high personal risks, but his investment risks vary along with his responsibilities according to his status in one of the other five categories. The gambler/innovator has little to risk but he may squander it in a high risk investment in hopes of gaining a "springboard." He has few social responsibilities because of his youth. The promoter/broker has the greatest risk since he is just building his assets. His responsibilities vary according to the size of his family and his ambitions. The more he circulates his assets, the greater his potential for success. The patron/manager has the most assets to invest which reduces his risks since he can tap a wider circle of resources. His social responsibilities are consequently the greatest of all six categories of persons because of that wider circle of relations. At the patron stage of a man's career, heavy social restrictions and responsibilities limit innovative behavior. The latter stage involves the redistribution of accumulated wealth to satisfy the demands of kinsmen and followers. The ceremonial pursuits associated with appeasing the ancestors to secure success in warfare and fertility dominated the life of the big man-patron. Any loss of status through unresolved internal conflicts within a big man's following could have been interpreted as the beginning of the end of his power and prestige as a true big man. In Chapter Six, these stages will be described in more detail as they apply to the Manga. These brief examples serve to illustrate the entrepreneurial nature of all three stages of Bigmanship in the pre-contact era.

This notion of a pre-contact three-stage paradigm offers a backdrop for understanding the impact of colonialization on men of all three stages. Different criteria were used by the Manga themselves to evaluate entrepreneurial gamblers, brokers and patrons before contact and after contact. This small isolated tribe was thrown into a crisis even before pacification began, when they lost a war to their nearest neighbors and were returned to their lands by the first pacification patrol. The post-contact crisis suggested a whole range of anomalies with which the Manga were at a loss to deal until some years later. With the return of young men from their first two year labor contract, the Manga began to enter the "pre-paradigm" state in which attempts were actually being made to argue, from two points of view, the solutions to anomalies which had appeared—a modern strategy advocated by the young "entrepreneurs" and a traditional strategy advocated by the older "entrepreneurs."

As Kuhn noted among scientists, it is the young who are less bound by vested interests which encourages them to recognize anomalies and push for paradigm change. The old argue for the science of the past. I will hypothesize that a man's position in the old Bigmanship paradigm determined his attitude toward change and his subsequent position in arguments between the old beliefs and the new ones. First, patron/managers who had reached the last phase of their big man careers argued for the traditional beliefs of the pre-contact era in the "pre-paradigm" stage. Second, promoter/brokers caught in the middle of their careers advocated a wait-and-see attitude, requiring proof of new schemes before they would take action to advocate the old over the new. Third, ambitious young gambler/innovators used their positions of little responsibility and social approval for "high risk" actions to pursue further

knowledge of the new colonial paradigm. They learned the language, the rules of technology, modern money and business, and the strategies of managers and politicians who had been successful in the new paradigm.

The elders were forced to rely on these young men for more and more information about the new system. The latter occupied a new intermediary position at the supratribal level, explaining the new system to the elders and explaining the Manga system to the colonial authorities. This rapid assimilation of new values brought these young gamblers quickly to unforeseen levels of authority in the broker/promoter phase and forced young men to accept many of the responsibilies of the old paradigm, since their acceptance of traditional responsibilities caused the more conservative members of the tribe to feel less threatened by the changes which the young advocated, thus reducing the risks involved in the new paradigm.

Many elements of the old leadership paradigm have been continued and apparently will continue as long as the young leaders themselves remain a part of their local society. Thus, some of the morally enforced restrictions of the past continue because of the face-to-face nature of everyday life. Business relationships, partnerships, and credit often are related to personal networks founded on the values of the old big man paradigm. While obvious aspects of the new paradigm have been accepted overtly, such as elected leadership, money, and "business," many fundamental parts of the old system of reciprocity and redistribution continue in this pre-paradigm state. In fact, the Manga may continue to assimilate only those aspects of the new paradigm which do not contradict their responsibilities.

CHAPTER THREE: AN ENTREPRENEURIAL MATRIX OF CHANGE

If entrepreneurs can be compared to any ideal, with any model, that comparison should derive from the personal histories of real entrepreneurs and the judgments of their actions by members of their own society. Rationality is a situational attribute related to the decision made by one man at one time in one place, under given informational constraints.

To understand the processes of change, the anthropologist studying social change can acquire knowledge of the strategies, risks and responsibilities of individual entrepreneurs. He can use these data as a starting point for assessing the uncertainty underlying efforts to promote or prevent the adoption of new social choices.

At the lowest level of analysis, however, I needed a framework for comparing such cases. The four Manga entrepreneurs briefly mentioned in the introduction were selected as case studies because they met my own broad definition of the entrepreneur which encompassed traditional Bigmanship and the new business and political leadership. In 1972, I returned to the Manga to apply another of Barth's ideas to these data--his "model" of entrepreneurship. As Barth says of this approach: "Such a model should represent the essential variables that influence an entrepreneur's choices: initial structural features of the environment, and factors restricting the course of an enterprise once it has been launched" (1963: 9). Barth calls the elements of this model the entrepreneur's "niche," "assets," and "restrictions." An

entrepreneur's niche is "the position which he occupies in relation to resources, competitors, and clients" at the point in which he "seeks to exploit the environment" (1963: 9). The entrepreneur's assets are the total of "capital, skills, and social claims which he may employ in that niche" (1963:9). Restrictions or liabilities are "the effective limits which are imposed on the entrepreneur's freedom of choice, once his assets are given and his choice of niche is made"(1963: 19). The entrepreneur uses his assets to achieve the "optimal exploitative effect in a niche" (1963: 3).

As Strathern notes, Barth's model diverts attention from the profit-seeking nature of the old definitions of Belshaw and Fraser toward the "total set of values" that the entrepreneur pursues, and the kinds of transactions he consequently maintains with other persons, in particular other leaders, inside his community (1972: 378). Abraham Gitlow's work suggests that in the New Guinea Highlands a "total set of values" could include such diverse incentives as: desire to project one's personality on one's work, love of family, love or affection, desire for friendship, desire for wealth, desire for sport or play, religion, or the desire to placate the spirits, desire for prestige (in both individual and group behavior), loyalty, jealousy, self-interest, cupidity, curiosity, a desire for power, a desire for a good name or reputation, a desire for security, and a desire for revenge (1947: 105-108).

In order to reduce the complexities of such potentially diverse incentives to a meaningful level of abstraction, I have expanded on Barth's model of entrepreneurship to categorize the general features of Manga entrepreneurial endeavors during a period of intense social change from 1956 to 1972.

While Barth's model applies to a static view of entrepreneurship at one particular time and place, it did not in itself explain entrepreneurial behavior in a context of rapid social change. Taking Barth's concepts of a niche, assets and liabilities, I added the elements of social arena, time, and strategy to form a matrix for synopsizing the main features of any Manga entrepreneur's career from 1956 to 1972. Figure 1 on the following page outlines a sample of such a matrix.

First I divided Barth's "niche" into two aspects: "niche" in my definition is only the position an entrepreneur "occupies in relation to resources, competitors and clients" (Barth 1963: 9). Thus in the pre-contact Bigmanship paradigm there were three niches: the gambler/innovator niche, the promoter/broker niche, and the patron/manager niche. But these niches have another dimension which refers to the "social arena" in which the actor, "seeks to exploit the environment" (Barth 1963: 9). The term "arena" is used in game theory to refer to the setting for the game. I have used this term because it connotes a series of confrontations as opposed to the more static term "situation." I have designated five "social arenas" for the Manga Transition matrix--the intra-sub-clan arena, the intra-clan arena, the intra-tribal arena, the inter-tribal arena, and the supra-tribal or contact arena.

"Time" refers to the period since first contact with Europeans. Each of the entrepreneurial careers in later chapters is summarized into three five-year periods allowing for a change of niche, assets, and liabilities over each period. The first time period from 1956 to 1961 began with pacification. I have labelled this the Luluai-Tultul era because the Australians appointed three older men to act as the Luluai (chief) and Tultuls (constables). The Luluai and his assisting Tultuls

	T_1 (1956-1961)	T_2 (1962-1966)	T_3 (1967-1972)
Supra-tribal Arena	N: A: R: S:	N: A: R: S:	N: A: R: S:
Inter-tribal Arena	N: A: R: S:	N: A: R: S:	N: A: R: S:
Intra-tribal Arena	N: A: R: S:	N: A: R: S:	N: A: R: S:
Intra-clan Arena	N: A: R: S:	N: A: R: S:	N: A: R: S:
Intra-subclan Arena	N: A: R: S:	N: A: R: S:	N: A: R: S:

Key: T-Time S-Strategy
N-Niche
A-Assets
R-Restrictions (Liabilities)

Figure 1: A Sample of the Entrepreneurial Transition Matrix

were responsible for directly meeting the demands of the European arena. The men who took on these positions had limited influence in the traditional Bigmanship spheres of their tribe, and were notoriously unable to enforce their orders or persuade the Manga to follow them. This was the period of greatest uncertainty in relations between the Manga and the supratribal arena.

By 1962, however, the Manga entered a new phase commensurate with their increased information about the outside world. They had a resident anthropologist helping to explain the outside world; they had ten of their own young men return from the coast to introduce and explain many new ideas, and they had resident Anglican catechists educating themselves and their children, hence, the second period was 1962-1966.

The third period, 1967 to 1972 was distinct because the Manga elected their own leaders and further elaborated their knowledge of the supratribal arena through coffee sales and local business investments. During this third period, the traditional Bigmanship paradigm was confronted with a competing colonial paradigm imposed by the newly elected leaders. The conflicts of that confrontation were still being publicly argued in 1972.

The pre-contact big man based his strategies on different behavior in each of the first four "social arenas." The fifth, or supratribal arena, emerged with pacification. The colonial intervention from this arena introduced new opportunities, benefits, and costs into other Manga social arenas and new levels of organization and control into the traditional leadership paradigm. The Transition matrix will demonstrate how an entrepreneur's niches, assets, and liabilities changed in interactions with members of his own sub-clan, clan, tribe,

other tribes, and with "outsiders" in the years from 1956-1972. The confusions of the early stages of contact have rapidly been overcome by a process of negotiation as each entrepreneur has manipulated his new opportunities, new information, and new links with outsiders who control money, women, and information about the world beyond the Jimi River Valley. The young men who had immediate experience with their version of the "modern-European" paradigm have had to return to confront the entrepreneurs of the past who still argue for their "traditional" values and that logic. At points of confrontation between disparate values, members of a group undergoing culture change can take different "optimal" positions regarding any new choice and may publicly argue the relative merits of new and old. Representatives of either ideal are "optimizing" their values in these arguments. A big man who argues for the old values, the old responsibilities, need not be any less "entrepreneurial" than his younger, more "business" oriented counterpart. Each is optimizing or arguing to maximize his own position in leadership and trying to persuade others to follow him. This concept of the entrepreneur includes old and young, successes and failures, those who promote change, and those who avoid change.

In the next chapter I will elaborate on a set of six entrepreneurial strategies which apply to these diverse bases for decision-making in the change era. These strategies are extensions of the three pre-contact niches of the Bigmanship paradigm: the gambler/innovator niche, the promoter/broker niche, and the patron/manager niche. The notion of strategy then will be used to categorize the dominant behavioral aspect of the niche in any time segment of the matrix.

CHAPTER FOUR: OPTIMIZING STRATEGIES IN SOCIAL CHANGE

In Chapter One I reviewed definitions of entrepreneurship and suggested that traditional Melanesian leadership was entrepreneurial. In Chapter Two, I proposed a conceptual framework for explaining the social transition from a traditional big man's career to a modern entrepreneurial career among the Manga. This "Revolution in an Entrepreneurial Paradigm" offers a simple outline of the impact of individual values and leadership on a sequence of dramatic culture change. In the third chapter, I suggested that recent changes in Manga entrepreneurial careers can be summarized in a Matrix based on Barth's model of entrepreneurship.

To round out this methodological framework for entrepreneurial analysis of change, one further element is needed--an element which involves the personal assessment of new opportunities in social change. As I have implied at other points, social change begins with a few individuals making decisions to accept or reject a new alternative. If these innovative leaders accept a new alternative, they must then promote its acceptability to their fellow group members. Their example of "successful" innovation can encourage others to adopt the alternative for themselves. But the issue addressed in this chapter will be the process of optimum decision-making in a period of rapidly changing social alternatives.

The entrepreneurial matrix that I described in the previous section is intended to summarize some of the parameters of individual

decision-making in a period of revolution in the big man paradigm among the Manga. Each of the Manga entrepreneurs who will be described in later chapters has been affected by the changing goals, strategies, assets, and restrictions of this era of change in Manga society. In elaborating the "rationality" of different entrepreneurs at different points in the entrepreneurial matrix, I discovered a set of optimization models from mathematics which were heuristically relevant to the analysis of the entrepreneur's decision making. My introduction to these models came through Douglas White's review of the use of optimization models in anthropology (1973: 385-402). White's survey shows that most anthropological accounts of optimizing behavior have been applied to "group" behavior. Anthropologists seem so conscious of the mathematical limitations of their data that they have not seen that non-mathematical assumptions made in optimization models might benefit from reassessment according to the realities of individual rationality. In this section I will describe briefly the major assumptions of optimization models. Following on White's review of these models in anthropology, I will explain the "societal" bias of previous work. Then I will show how different kinds of optimization models reflect differential knowledge of any decision-making context. These models can be used to describe various states of "rationality" in entrepreneurial decisions in the culture change matrix. At the end of this section I will hypothesize different transitional optimization rationales for Manga entrepreneurs. I will not be concerned with the mathematical but with the heuristic implications of the models in terms of their utility for dealing with social change strategies.

The Use of Optimization Models in Anthropology

White's excellent review of the use of optimization models in anthropology describes the wide range of probabilistic and deterministic assumptions which have been included in the general category of optimization models. Since I will be limiting my perspective on optimization models to that category which White calls "probabilistic" models, as opposed to "deterministic" models, some review of the distinction between the two categories is necessary.

Basically, optimization models are differentiated according to the amount of information an "actor" is assumed to control and on which he bases his decision. In mathematical parlance, the probability of making an optimal choice depends on how much "certainty" the actor has about potential losses and gains in any decision amking context. White distinguishes three general categories of decision making certainty: (1) decision making under conditions of certainty (d.m.u.c. or absolute information on the utility of each choice); (2) decision making under conditions of risk (d.m.u.r. where information is more limited but utilities can be estimated with limited information); and (3) decision making under uncertain conditions (d.m.u.u. where the actor controls a very limited amount of information about the utility of his choices but must still make a choice). I will be concerned with the use of probability models (categories 2 and 3 above) in assessing entrepreneurial decision making, but a review of the assumptions of deterministic models (category 1 above) which would include the archetype "economic man", will explain why they are inapplicable to entrepreneurial decision making. In White's words:

> The unwillingness of anthropologists to utilize classical optimization models of economics . . . is completely justified, when we consider that these models require axioms such that they afford the decision-maker (1) perfect knowledge of the existing situation so that he can predict exact outcomes for each of his possible actions, (2) complete sensitivity to information in the form of linear functions for strategic commodities (e.g., exact knowledge of the current shape of supply and demand curves), (3) ability to rank order outcomes in terms of some criterion as to maximization or optimization of his goal, (i.e., a rank-ordering of the utilities of outcomes), and (4) knowledge that whatever his choice, it will not affect the operation of the system (i.e., there will be no feedback between actors or between an actor and the system). This is a model for decision making under certainty (d.m.u.c.) of outcomes, and for anthropological purposes all but axiom 3 are patently absurd. Axiom three assumes that actors know their preferences and act to optimize goals, but does not specify what is maximized. Axiom three is a subject for anthropological investigation (1973: 387-388).

Recognizing the impossibility of decision-making under conditions of absolute certainty, models of decision making under conditions of risk or uncertainty are much more reasonable reflections of decision making by entrepreneurs.

White considers in detail one of the classic examples of optimization models in anthropology--Davenport's "Game Theory Analysis of Jamaican Fishing Strategies" (1973: 389-392). A review of this article and other articles based on the same data and also explained in terms of optimization analysis, will demonstrate some of the flaws in current applications of optimization modela in anthropology. Davenport (1960) described a setting in which Jamaican fishermen must decide to follow one of three fishing strategies: (1) They may choose to fish inside a protective coral reef in flimsier boats for fish which sell for a lower price with a lower capital investment in fishing equipment. (2) They may choose to fish for higher priced fish outside the reef

where a strong but unpredictable current jeopardizes their more expensive boats and fishing equipment. (3) They may choose a combination of the two strategies. Davenport hypothesized that the strategy of the fishermen is such that they might be said to use a "game theory" optimization model in which "nature," i.e., the unpredictable current, is their opponent. Deterministic optimization analysis is ruled out because the current is unpredictable, so there can be no certainty about the occurrence of the "opponent." Davenport gave the net income for a fishing month for different strategies under different conditions, i.e., with the current running and without it. There were no cases of a totally "outside" strategy in real life but he included this possibility in his two-person (the fisherman vs. nature), three strategy (inside, outside, in-out), zero sum game. Using this game theory Davenport predicted that the optimal strategy is "in-out" and assigned the value of zero to the outside strategy. This reflects the true situation in which no captain fished exclusively outside. The dominant strategy was completely inside in real life which was not the optimal choice according to Davenport's analysis.

Three other anthropologists reviewed Davenport's Jamaican data and suggested other optimization models which might be applicable in the Jamaican setting. Kozelka (1969) suggested that a Bayesian model of expected gain or "decision making under uncertainty with prediction" might apply. A Bayesian model assumes that the fishermen have some use of information on a day-to-day basis to predict when the current will flow. This is the most pragmatic of the optimization models and is related to learning theory. The social actor constantly is reevaluating his information and reconsidering his possible choices and utilities

on the basis of any new information. This strategy has the highest profit potential in White's calculations.

Read and Read (1970) also reviewed Davenport's data and suggested that a model of the "maximization of expected value" or utility might apply. This "expected utility" model is a model of decision-making under conditions of risk. It assumes that the fishermen use information on the statistical average of nature's behavior to assess their risk. Read and Read extended Davenport's own figures on the analysis of profit to prove that the expected gain of a totally outside strategy is the most profitable alternative of the three. Since Davenport assures us that this alternative is used by no fishermen, Read and Read point out that there are certain obvious limits to Davenport's logic. Read and Read also maintain that Davenport's assumption that "the fishermen, as a group, are behaving according to the minimax utility" (1960: 10) is invalid because Davenport lacks sufficient data to prove that assumption. They suggest that a much more complex assessment of the potential costs and profits must be made before any predictive computation of the best strategy could be made.

Finally, Savage's (1951) "no information" model was also applied to these data by White. This model assumes the ultimate lack of information--conditions of absolute uncertainty--in which the difference between the best and worst outcomes is the criterion for choice. Under this type of uncertainty, the group of fishermen would choose to fish completely inside the reef in order to achieve a minimum of regret and never to chance a loss to the unpredictable current.

I agree with Read and Read that Davenport has several major flaws in his logic: First, that there is any such thing as a "group"

strategy on the part of the fishermen. Second, that there is any such thing as a strategy of nature which is also minimizing losses (of fish?) and maximizing gains (of wrecked boats?). Third, nature does not re-evaluate conditions on the basis of its "opponents" moves. Read and Read suggest that a much wider assessment of the costs and profits would better reflect the best strategy. But they leave their suggestions in the realm of "economic" maximization. Even Davenport's own account suggests that there is a prestige factor involved in operating successfully outside the reef and in the use of better "outside" boats in inter-village racing (1960: 5). The prestige gained in winning such races as well as the economics of prizes might account for a continuing in-out strategy. There might also be a negative or "loser" tag applied to those fishermen who are relegated to the inside strategy alone.

All of these four applications of optimization models to the Jamaican fishing strategies accept Davenport's assumption of a group strategy rather than an individual strategy. I would suggest that if anthropologists are to gain insight on the impact of technological change, they should begin by examining the optimizing behavior of a set of real individuals who represent different strategies, e.g., a half-dozen Jamaican captains might be asked for an account of their experience and connections to the outside world, their profit and loss histories, their familial responsibilities and debts, etc. This combination of individual histories, individual optimization strategies, and personal responsibilities could be the beginning of a true understanding of each fisherman's adaptation to the unpredictable current. If a device which predicted the current was introduced, a "group" strategy could not reflect different attitudes toward the new innovation,

but individuals could be assessed as "ripe" for such technological innovation. If the social scientist continues to assume that the same strategies are shared by all members of a community, he has no way to explain culture change. Then these individual optimizing behaviors can be generalized into a set of hypotheses which might apply to a variety of Jamaican fishing strategies. For example, it may be the case that young captains invest their inheritances in flashy, modern equipment because they are interested in the prestige accruing to those who win intervillage boat races. Because of their heavier investment and their reputation, they must fish the in/out strategy to make enough monetary profit to break even. Once these men have married and are responsible for their family, they may choose a different strategy to reflect their changing circumstances. Older captains who have faced a run of bad luck with the current may still opt for an in/out strategy based on their own experience and the need for greater profit to make up for past losses. A range of optimizing models could then be applied to different individual strategies based on different motivation, different structural/functional constraints, and different decision making factors.

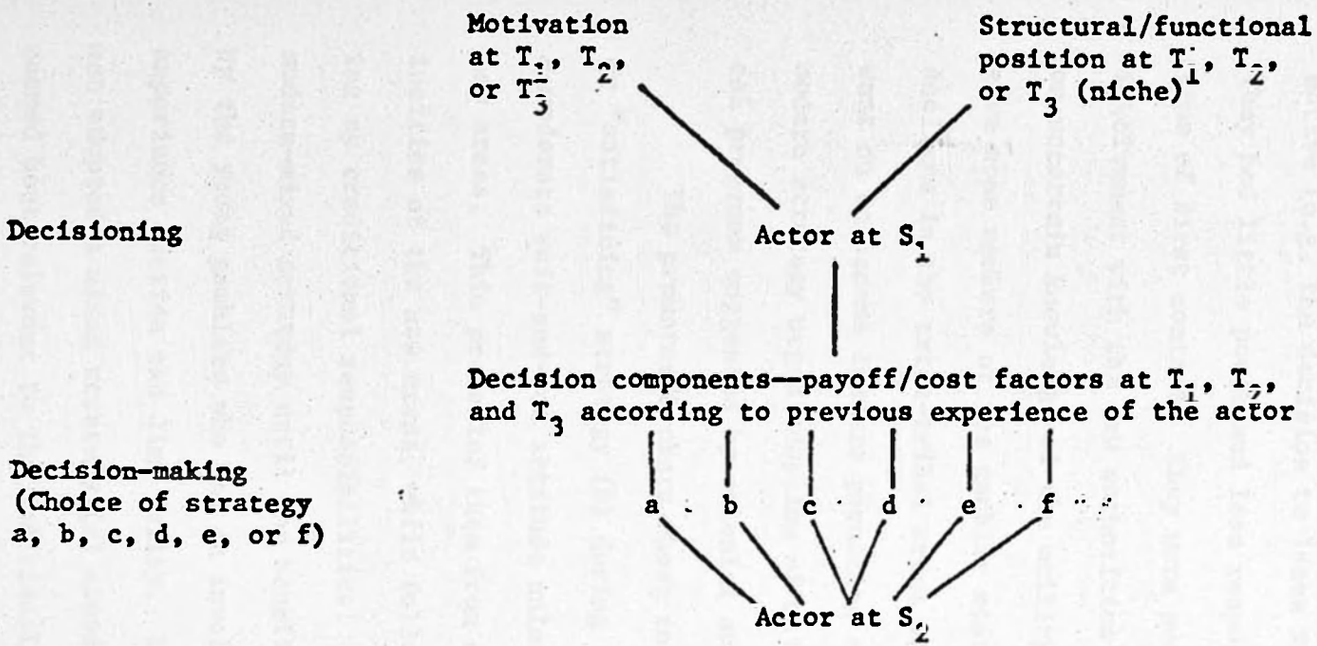
A similar position is taken by J. A. Prattis (1973), who introduced a decision making model based on individual strategies. This decision making model was aimed at explaining the complexity of decision making in the distribution of Rossell Island Shell Money--a famous case of debate between substantive and formalist economists. Prattis' model is used to prove that three different kinds of strategists make different decisions in redistributing shell money that they control, according to their own status and their knowledge of the costs and benefits of their shell money distributive alternatives. Prattis says that economists

have tended to concentrate on maximizing models--models which assure that a rational actor will choose an alternative with a maximum payoff (1973: 47). He suggests that in situations where anyone's gain is someone else's loss (cf. Foster (1965)), the actor may be constrained to choose a "minimax" solution wherein he "minimizes the chances for maximum loss" (1973: 47). Prattis goes on to recognize a third strategy, a "satisficing" strategy, in which an actor has time and information constraints operating on him "which promote choosing the first alternative to meet a minimal payoff (1973: 47).

These maximax, satisfice, and minimax strategies are not necessarily commensurate with the states of decision making of Manga entrepreneurs at the time of contact since Prattis is describing Rossell Island economic leadership during a period of known costs and payoffs--a period of d.m.u.r. (decision making under risk). The diagram on the following page (Figure 2) is based on Prattis' diagram of an actor's situational logic (1973: 49). I have modified his maximax, minimax, and satisficing strategies in order to better describe the Manga alternative strategies.

Like the Rossell Islanders, before contact all Manga entrepreneurs might be described as the same kind of d.m.u.r. optimizers, basing their decisions on a day-to-day reassessment of their information on the probable utility of one choice over another. The parameters of personal decision making were based on a known set of probable outcomes. But after contact there followed an immediate state of absolute uncertainty in all decisions relating to the new "supratribal arena."

It is my suggestion that decisions made by Manga entrepreneurs in this period of confusion and uncertainty were directly influenced by



Key: S_1- Current state of actor
S_2- Desired end state of actor
T_1- 1956-1961
T_2- 1962-1966
T_3- 1967-1972

T_1 Strategies (Decision making under uncertain conditions)
- a: Innovative/High risk
- b: Bayesian/"Wait and see"
- c: Minimum regret/Avoidance

T_2 or T_3 Strategies (Decision making under risk conditions)
- d: Modern
- e: Mixed (including elements of d & f)
- f: Traditional

Figure 2: Model of a Manga Entrepreneur's Situational Logic after European Contact (based on Prattis 1973:49)

their status as either gambler, promoter, or manager in the pre-contact Bigmanship paradigm. This status combined with experience in the contact arena to create later strategies.

A set of optimization strategies can be applied to heuristically explain the adoption of diverse entrepreneurial responses to change. During the first five years of contact (T_1) young innovator/gamblers were more likely to be "forced" to choose an unknown alternative (e.g. the decision to leave Kwiop with the first patrol) because they had little power and less responsibility in Manga terms at the time of first contact. They were pushed to the forefront of innovative involvement with the new authorities in a high risk strategy (a) based on uncertain knowledge of the utility of their choices. This experience gave some members of the gambler status a distinct advantage in future dealings in the extra-tribal arena at T_2 and T_3 from 1961-1972 and they went on to become leaders promoting a modern strategy (d). Such a modern strategy urged adoption of major economic, religious, and political programs suggested by colonial authorities.

The promoter/brokers chose to continue an essentially Bayesian or "satisficing" strategy (b) during the early period at T_1 (1956-1961)--a moderate wait-and-see attitude unless forced to make a decision in the new arena. This prevented them from directly experiencing the opportunities of the new arena, while following traditional values and keeping up traditional responsibilities. They did not choose to shift to a modern-mixed strategy until the benefits of the new arena had been proven by the young gamblers who had an involuntary monopoly on direct contact experience outside the Jimi Valley. In later years (T_2 and T_3), these men adopted a mixed strategy (c) aimed at promoting whichever efforts seemed most relevant to the individual's interests at that point in

time and space.

The manager/patron big men adopted their own conservative response to new alternatives. Essentially concerned with confronting the new "arena" as little as possible, these leaders assumed that the new authorities were essentially unpredictable and that the best that could be achieved was a strategy based on a minimum of regret (c) during T_1. Regrets evolved from direct contacts with the unpredictable representatives of the new "arena" during that early period so big men made sure that less powerful Manga bore the brunt of that direct confrontation and this resulted in a continuation of their largely traditional strategy (f) in the years from 1961-1972 (T_2 and T_3) aimed at promoting the values of the past including the economic, religious and political values where they have not been directly challenged and overcome by administration policy. During the last years these big men made some concessions toward the new alternatives and did indirectly involve themselves in a mixed strategy—usually through the activities of their children. In overt terms, however, they continued to follow a traditional strategy in the decisions which affected their own involvement with the world outside the Jimi Valley.

The next chapters will describe the Manga setting for change, the events of change, how those events changed the strategies of individual entrepreneurs and how some of those changes were negotiated by these entrepreneurs.

PART TWO: THE MANGA DATA

CHAPTER FIVE: PRE-CONTACT LIFE

Many of the details of Manga life before contact are available in Cook's 1967 dissertation on "Manga Social Organization." In this chapter I will only briefly recap the major parameters of Manga culture in that era, summarizing the social organization, technology, and ceremonial and warfare cycles which I will relate to the precontact Bigmanship paradigm.

Manga territory is centered on the north wall of the central Jimi River Valley which lies between the Bismarck Mountains and the Wahgi-Sepik Divide in the Western New Guinea Highlands. The aerial photograph (Plate 1) on the next page, taken in 1972, shows the mountainous Manga lands. At the top of the slopes are native trails which mark the narrow ridge tops. The walking trail in the upper right meanders down toward the pre-contact "fight grounds" where the Manga and their enemies staged formal warfare in 1956. The upper end of the trail ends at the Togban Ridge, the ceremonial center of Yuomban territory. The lower end of the trail points to the Kwiop Ridge, the ceremonial center of Manga territory.

As the photograph shows, Manga lands are geologically young, a series of sharp mountain ridges cut by fast flowing rivers and streams. Kwiop is the Australian census point for the Manga and is pinpointed on maps as the center of Manga territory although there is no village there as such. The low point of Manga lands ia at the Jimi River, approximately 2200 feet above sea level (Cook 1967: 8). The large portions

[Note: Scanned from photocopy - no image visible]

Plate 1: **Manga Territory**

of primary forest vegetation in Manga territory have never been gardened, suggesting that the area is only recently settled. Extensive data on the ecology of the general area can be found in Cook (1967), Rappaport (1968), and Clark (1971).

The Manga are one of seven Narak speaking phratries in the Jimi Valley area (Wurm 1961; Cook 1966). They share cultural and linguistic similarities with the Kuma of the middle Wahgi Valley (Cook 1969; Reay 1959). Significant linguistic and cultural differences between the Narak speaking groups and their non-Narak speaking neighbors in the 21-mile long Jimi Valley suggest that the area may have been settled at different times by several divergent populations emigrating from more populous neighboring valleys. The Manga were censused at 344 persons in 1962 and at 359 persons in 1972.

The Manga phratry (occasionally called the Kulakamaruwaga by the Manga themselves) is composed of two ideologically exogamous, patrilineal, largely patrilocal clans called the KulakaeNgeyka and the Timbamaruwaga (Figure 3).[1] These clans are further divided into dual named segments which Cook calls clan-moieties. These clan moieties are called Kulaka, ENgeyka, Timbaga, and Maruwaga. Each clan moiety is further divided into at least two but not more than five sub-clans as listed in the chart on the next page. The two largest sub-clans of the Maruwaga clan-moiety have been further divided into sub-sub-clans. These social segments are an important part of an accurate understanding of Manga social relationships both before and after European contact. The entrepreneurs whose lives will be described in later chapters are all members of the KulakaeNgeyka clan. I chose to follow Cook's own emphasis on this group in order to better compare the changing

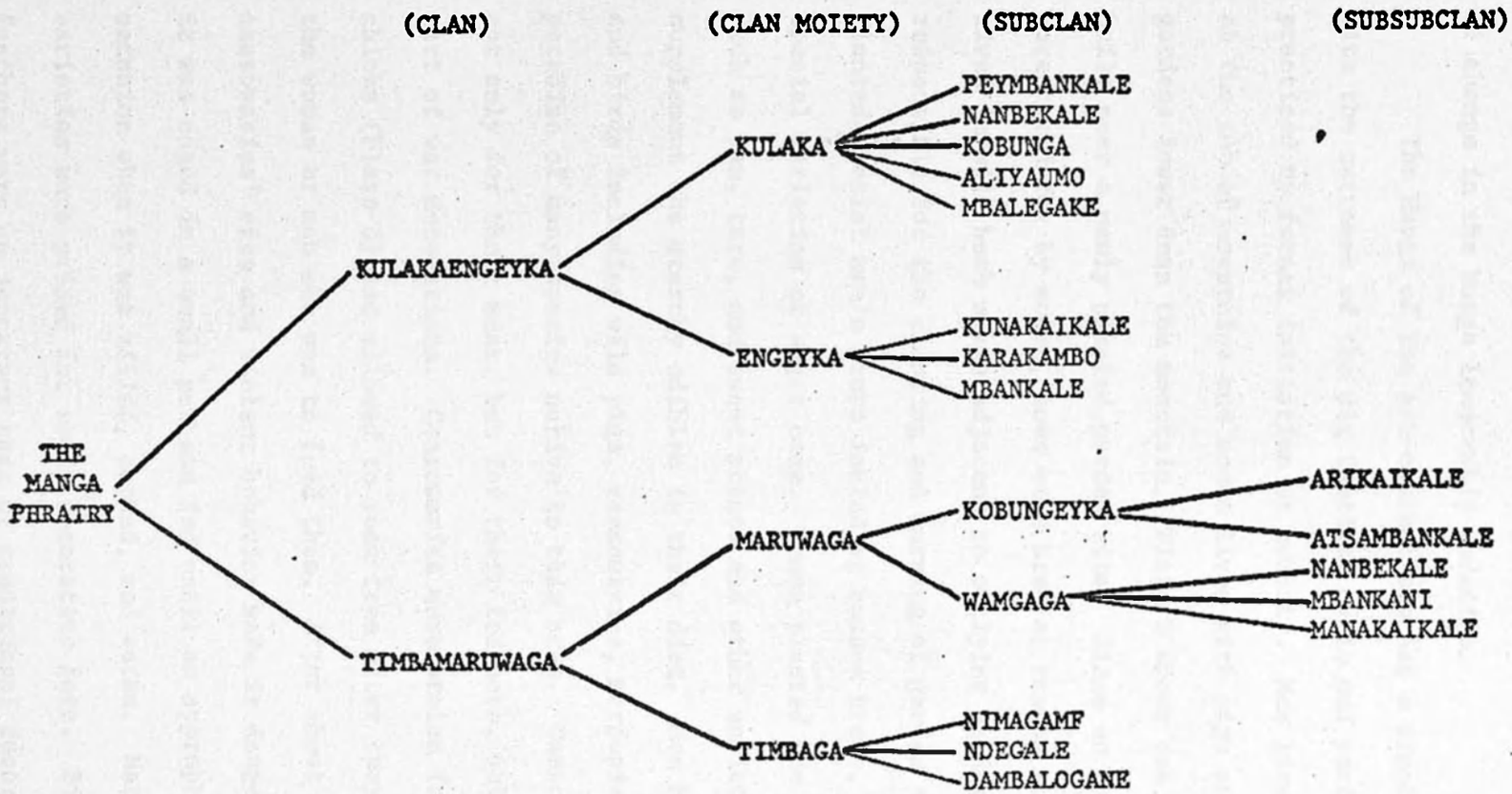
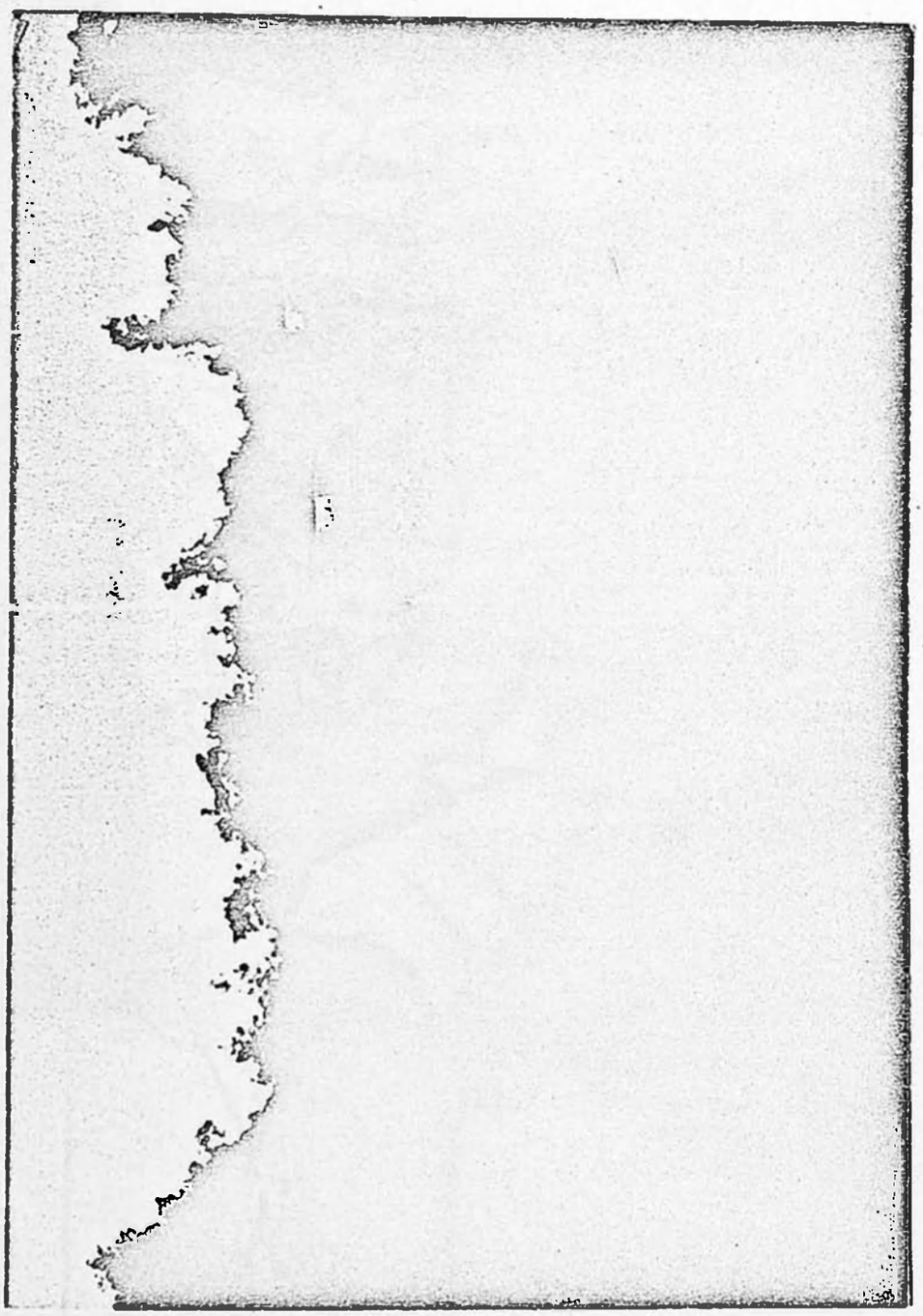


Figure 3: Segmentary Levels of the Manga Phratry (based on Cook 1969:99)

circumstances of individual members of the clan between 1962 and 1972. Members of the Timbamaruwaga clan play a secondary part in my assessment of change in the Manga leadership paradigm.

The Manga of the pre-contact era had a simple life-style despite the extremes of the pig festival cycle and periods of war. They practiced no formal initiation at puberty. Men lived in men's houses at the top of mountains and women lived with pigs and children near their gardens lower down the mountain. Plate 2 shows two traditional houses built near a newly planted garden site. Since no uncastrated male pigs were cared for by women, sows were bred at random to wild boars which lived in wild bush areas adjacent to outlying gardens. Men were responsible for the clearing and burning of garden sites. Men also planted special men's crops including banana trees, pandanus trees, and special varieties of sugar cane. Women planted the main root crops such as yam, taro, and sweet potato and other varieties of greens to supplement the starchy edibles in their diet. Men hunted wild animals and birds including wild pigs, cassowaries, marsupials, and birds-of-paradise of many species native to this area. Cassowaries were desired not only for their meat, but for their feathers, which were an important part of war decorations. Cassowaries were stolen from their nests as chicks (Plate 3) and allowed to roam free after they had indented on the woman or man who was to feed them. After about two years, the cassowaries' size and violent behavior made it dangerous. At this time it was caged in a small pen and fed until an appropriate ceremonial occasion when it was killed, cooked, and eaten. Marsupials of many varieties were prized for their decorative furs. Birds-of-paradise feathers were an important part of traditional decoration and trade



[Note: Scanned from photocopy — no image visible]

Plate 2: Two Traditional Style Women's Houses

Plate 3: Two Cassowary Chicks

(Plate 4). The bride-price banner in Plate 5 includes a central row of round shells (maindima) worn on the forehead, three rows of gold-lip shells (kina) and a surrounding display of various bird-of-paradise feathers. The Australian pound notes are a new addition to the banner since money was introduced into the bridal exchange system about 1965.

Because Cook (1967) has described Manga life in great detail and because Rappaport (1968) has described the neighboring Tsembaga in further detail, I will not repeat a complete assessment of pre-contact rituals here. I am mainly concerned with the transition period. Briefly, however, the Manga pre-contact culture involved a ritual cycle which encompassed a seven to ten year period. At the end of each such cycle, the Manga celebrated an eighteen month long series of ceremonies aimed at Manga revitalization in terms of fertility and fighting strength. For the Manga, life, including ceremonial life, was divided into two parts aligned with the opposing forces of "hot" and "cold." All rituals concerned with maintaining the fighting strength of men's groups were associated with "hot" things. All rituals associated with the fertility and health of women, children, crops, and pigs were "cold." A "hot man" was a successful warrior and leader. Such a man could not risk contaminating himself with the coldness of sexual relations during periods of warfare or at a time when warfare was imminent. The spirits of deceased "hot" men clung to the tops of mountains and rituals designed to appeal to them for aid in warfare were conducted at their burial sites on mountain tops. The spirits of lesser men and women were buried at the foot of a mountain, near the coldness of rivers.

As Cook describes it (1967: 271-313), the Manga pig festival was organized to ritually revitalize the Manga in terms of both "hot"

Plate 4: Valuable Bird-of-Paradise Feathers

Plate 5: A Manga Brideprice Banner in 1971

and "cold" forces. The first half of the festival--associated with "cold"--was devoted to clan-moiety rituals aimed at erasing any animosity between the Manga and spirits of their key ancestors. The Manga ask their ancestors to bless the future health and well being of the Manga, their pigs, and gardens. New houses were built to erase ill omens carried by the old house sites, pig paths were sorcerized to increase the fertility of their travelers, courtship ceremonies held to the tune of "alluring" flutes attracted women to marry Manga men.

In 1972, ceremonies were held by the Timbaga sub-clan to initiate this fertility phase of the new pig festival. Plate 6 shows an elderly sorceror whispering into a bamboo tube of Jimi River water. He is beseeching the ancestors of this sub-clan to erase the contamination of enemy spirits and to insure that those who are touched by this water will be blessed with good health and fertility. Plate 7 shows another elder of the sub-clan giving some of the sacred water to one of his sub-clan sisters. All men, women and children of the sub-clan drank some of this water. Two other sacred tubes of it were set aside to purify the women's garden houses.

The second half or "hot" part of a Manga pig festival was devoted to the reconfirmation of alliances through the slaughter and redistribution of pigs to all kinsmen and war allies. A series of ceremonies associated with this half of the festival were conducted in the daytime to the sound of a vibrant drumbeat. Many of the actions of men mocked warfare and emphasized the strength and aggressiveness of Manga warriors to their invited audience. At the end of the festival, the psychic strength of each clan reached its peak--new women had been attracted to marry Manga men during the festival, old debts of war and

Plate 6: An Elderly Sorcerer Whispers a Spell into Water

Plate 7: Drinking the Sacred Water

women had been paid and new credits established with allied clans, and magic had realigned the Manga with the support of their ancestors for the coming years. Thus a kind of built-in impetus for warfare was associated with the end of each festival when hundreds of pigs had been slaughtered for the glory of the Manga. It was very common for such festivals to be followed by a war, since neighboring enemy clans often held their pig festivals during the same periods.

The Manga Bigmanship Paradigm

As stated earlier, most analyses of New Guinea bigmanship have emphasized the final stage of attainment when a man has recognized managerial and leadership qualities (cf. Brown 1967, Burridge 1975, Langness 1968, Meggitt 1967). But it is actually only one stage of a life long career--only a part of the masculine ideal. Manga men began their careers as mere youths, entering the local courtship ceremonies as "passive" recipients of the desires of women. But like the reputed passiveness of teenage American girls in courtship in the 1950's, the Manga men made the best of their potential. As Cook explains (1967: 109-115), the young men made great efforts to decorate themselves to appeal to the women during these /kananta/ or courtship evenings. They experimented with various forms of love magic aimed at making themselves irresistible to women. They lied to the young women with promises of a sister to exchange or a rapid bride-price payment if the girl would "run away" to "marry" them. Such elopements were often ill advised and squelched rapidly by the girl's angry father or brother who had other plans for her marital disposal--plans more in line with their personal interests. This early stage of young manhood was the freest and most

playful era of male Manga life. Men often were reluctant to take on family responsibility, a fact which accounted for many short term marriages at the outset of a man's marital career. They gambled with skill in their appeals to unlikely brides, attempting to "get something for nothing" by luring a woman to their side to prove their own attractiveness as a male and then putting the responsibility for her care onto female relatives. This was the stage of experimentation, when men were allowed to discover their own potential talents as diviner or sorceror under the supervision of their elders. They also experienced their first warfare sometime during this age, but had no leadership responsibilities toward others. Such youthful freedom encouraged short term planning, a limited sense of responsibility, and acted as a stimulus to inventiveness. This was the age of the gambler/innovator strategy--an acceptable step in a budding big man's career.

But gradually such carefree days melted into a new set of liabilities associated with the young husband and father. Men who had established their reputation for attractiveness to women had to go on to accept the responsibilities of family life if they intended to add to their personal reputation. Men continued to court additional women even after they had established one firm marriage relationship, because prestige accrued to men who were able to attract many women. Although men did not usually have more than two wives at one time, they often were able to reallocate these extra women to their clan mates to establish an indebtedness for the future. Women were now "owned" until a large bride-price had been paid and such bride-prices, /anakolima/, were not usually paid by the Manga until a woman had two living children--often 7 to 10 years after she had first come to live with her husband.

Marriages in which the bride-price had not been paid were easily dissolved except in cases of sister exchange, war reparation brides, or other women used as exchanges or to repay a debt. (See Cook 1969 for a further explanation.)

If a man was intent on making his wife or wives happy, he worked hard to gain the wealth necessary to pay their bride-prices in a generous fashion. Affinal relationships were an important part of war alliances, trading partnerships, and sources of capital for ceremonial events such as the pig festival. If a man wished to be able to tap the allegiance of such relatives, he had magnanimously to offer them his generosity in hospitality and in wealth--pigs, pearlshells, feathers, and women of his own sub-clan. This, then, was the stage of the middleman--the broker intent on building a personal network of alliances to support him in times of ceremonial redistribution and in times of war. Among the Manga, a man of middle years could promote his personal reputation by being a successful fighter, a generous kinsman, a budding sorceror, or diviner. A few such men were singled out at the time of a pig festival to wear special wigs and act as the symbolic reincarnation of ancestors. These wigs made the men "irresistible" to women according to Cook (1967: 301-302) and their attractiveness gave added prestige to help them achieve the final stage of big man status. This big man status was not an absolute prerequisite to full Bigmanship but it was a recognition of the potential of an up-and-coming Manga promoter.

The final stage of Manga Bigmanship occurred when a man was labelled /yua wei/--literally "true man." Such a title was one of respect, not of authority, in this kind of egalitarian political system. Each /yua wei/ obtained his position on the basis of his personal

history--on his record as warrior, speaker, lover, worker, father, husband, and ally. Each Manga big man had a different degree of influence based on his own network of allies and his personal reputation. The most powerful Manga big men were those with proven talents as war-magic practitioners on top of a reputation for responsible leadership in other spheres (Cook 1967: 254). Sorcery talents increased their "hotness." (See Lowman-Vayda (1968) for evidence of a similar pattern among the Maring.) The Manga compared a true big man to a large tree spreading its branches to protect those that sheltered beneath it. The essence of this latter phase of Bigmanship was in this sense of responsibility to a man's followers rather than any power to dictate or order that group of followers. In the traditional Manga setting the patron was not a dictator but an equal in decision-making.

Rappaport's description of decision-making by Tsembaga big men closely parallels the Manga case:

> The ability of such a man to effect compliance with his wishes depends upon his persuasiveness, and not upon his exclusive occupancy of a particular position in the social or political structure. Indeed, there is no limitation upon the number of big men that may be present in any subclan or clan. The Tsembaga are truly egalitarian in that there are as many big men as there are men whose capabilities permit them to be big men. Moreover, there is not on the part of men in general any abdication, either expressed or tacit, of decision making in favor of big men. Everyone has a voice in decision making, if he cares to raise it, and anyone may attempt to initiate action by himself proceeding to act and thereby instigating others to follow (1968: 28-29).

> The 'spheres of influence' of even the most respected big men are very limited. The ability of any such man to effect compliance with his wishes diminishes the structural distance: it is greatest within his subclan and among the residents of his own men's house, less among other subclans within his clan and among residents of other men's houses, and even less (although perhaps still considerable) among members of other clans within the local population. The renown of such men usually transcends the local population,

> but their direct influence outside their own local group is restricted to affines, cognates, and nonkin trading partners (1968: 29).

The Manga big man, like his Tsembaga counterpart, was both patron and manager to his followers but without the authority to order them to follow his directions. A big man's influence may have fluctuated according to the need for ceremonial and warfare leadership at different times in the Manga ecological cycle. His responsibilities to his followers were a continuing liability but meeting those responsibilities was a major source of his prestige. (Compare with Meggett 1967, Langness 1968.)

Big men were especially responsible for attracting or persuading women into their clan and for "assigning" the majority of these women to young men as wives. These young men were in turn responsible for contributing to ceremonies organized by the big man and other members of their clan. They were also expected to rally to the big man's side in periods of warfare.

Such a patron-client relationship did not have the element of profit as its major focus in pre-contact Bigmanship. The ceremonial redistribution of "pigs, pearlshells, and women" was the source of a clan's prestige. Valuables were not assessed as "profits" and were not important in themselves (except for the decorative uses of shells and feathers). Women, pigs, and other valuables were symbols of potential prestige which accrued to the clan only through the act of giving them away on ceremonial occasions. In a court case in 1972 a traditional big man complained because his sub-clan brother had to pay him a pig as a fine. He said that eating such a brother's pig was the equivalent of eating one's own pig for no reason. Such an act

of irresponsible gluttony gave no man added stature. A pig was valued according to the ceremonial context in which it was consumed. In the same incest case, this big man said that a man's daughters and sisters were valued according to their potential bride-prices. If a man had intercourse with his sister or daughter, he was stealing that bride-price from his brothers. Both instances suggest that the ceremonial redistribution of valuables was another major source of prestige for the traditional Manga big man. Thus the final patron/manager stage of traditional Manga Bigmanship was marked by the liabilities of social responsibility and leadership in the ceremonial redistribution of valuables for the prestige of the group as a whole. Such big men also had to maintain a close relationship with their deceased relations who could assure the health and well being of the Manga in terms of war. Big men walked a narrow tightrope of responsibility toward both the dead and the living. Such "hot" men had to be particularly careful to keep appropriate food taboos and to ameliorate the ancestors with sacrifices at moments of stress during illness or the death of a relative. They were especially vulnerable to attacks by enemy sorcery and were careful to stay close to their own "hot" mountaintops during periods of vulnerability. Such restrictions helped to make the Manga big man conservative in his attitude toward the world outside the Jimi Valley.

CHAPTER SIX: THE EVENTS OF CHANGE

The History of Contact with Europeans

As Cook (1967: 4-10) has already reported, in late April and early May of 1956, Australian pilots flying from the Wahgi Valley in the Central Highlands to Madang on the north Coast of Papua New Guinea reported seeing villages in flames in the still uncontrolled area of the Jimi River Valley. Jimi natives crossing to the Wahgi told stories of a major war along the north wall of the central Jimi Valley (Attenborough 1960: 44). The area had been briefly censused in 1952 but no further administrative attention had been pointed there until these reports of rampant warfare filtered back to administration authorities. The Department of Native Affairs dispatched a patrol to the area to enforce the peace and to bring the area under complete administrative control. Among the victims of this war had been the Manga. The Yuomban, their bitterest enemies and closest neighbors, finished their pig festival a month before the Manga in 1954. They did not wait for the completion of the Manga festival and attacked the vulnerable Manga before they had been able ritually to reaffirm their strength. After almost two years of fighting the Manga were routed and left their lands. The Yuomban rushed after them to burn their houses and gardens. It was the sight of these widespread fires which first drew the attention of the Australians. On May 19, 1956, an Australian Pacification patrol led the Manga back to resettlement of their lands after a brief skirmish in which they fired on the attacking Yuombans. To date, warfare ended

in the Jimi with that patrol.

Once the Manga were reestablished on their lands, the first pacification patrol "took" three teenage Manga boys back to the patrol post in the Wahgi to attend school, to learn Neo-Melanesian (the pidgin English used by the Australians to communicate with the natives of most of British or Australian controlled Melanesia), and to become familiar with Western customs so that they could return to explain the new ways to the Manga. Three young men, including Mai and Amgoi, just slightly under courtship age, accompanied the patrol. This experience was the beginning of their entrepreneurial careers which will be discussed in detail in later chapters.

Before this contact, however, the Manga had not been totally isolated from indirect European influences. Australians had first entered the New Guinea Highlands in the 1930's looking for gold (cf. Leahy and Crain 1937). These early prospectors were surprised to find densely settled native populations in control of the area, since it had been thought to be uninhabited for many years. Over the years, the Australians had strengthened their control of the Highland area little by little, enforcing the peace and establishing patrol posts after pacification of each area. Long trade networks to peoples outside the Jimi (where both salt and fine stone axes were produced) had introduced a few steel tools (especially steel axes) to the Manga at least 10 years before direct contact. Crops such as corn, peanuts, beans, and some new varieties of bananas had also been introduced through trade.

Salisbury (1962) has described the implications of the adoption of steel implements by the New Guinea Siane. He maintains that the energy expended by males in garden clearing (and in the preparation and sharpening of stone tools) may have been reduced by as much as two-thirds

to three-quarters by the introduction of steel axes (1962: 219-220). Thus, a man with a steel ax would have been able to accomplish in one day what it had previously taken him three days to accomplish with stone implements. Salisbury (1962: 205-206) hypothesized that the time freed by steel technology may have been expended in efforts to increase the wealth and power of each group of men, perhaps resulting in an increase in the time spent fighting and in ceremonial performances associated with fighting ritual.

The last Manga war may have been partly induced by this increase in free time. There is some evidence to suggest that the pig festival cycles began to occur more frequently because men had more time to devote to pig raising, to courtship, to trading expeditions, and to ceremonial pursuits in general. The formal all night ceremony of courtship (kananta) was introduced about the same time that the first steel axes were brought to the Jimi, and that new entertainment may have occupied a portion of this new "free time."

After pacification, the Australians established a patrol post on the Southern side of the Jimi River at Tabibuga, four hours walk from the Manga census point at Kwiop. Another Narak speaking tribe, the Morokai, were resident on the patrol post site, so the Manga had many affines with which temporarily to reside on their visits to the post. The patrol officers used local corvee labor to construct government buildings of native materials, to build roads at the patrol post site, and to cut out an airstrip at Tabibuga (Plate 8). Between 1956 and 1959, when the airstrip was finished, several hundred Jimi Valley men worked on these projects, supported by foodstuffs supplied by their women. In 1970 a road was completed connecting Tabibuga with the

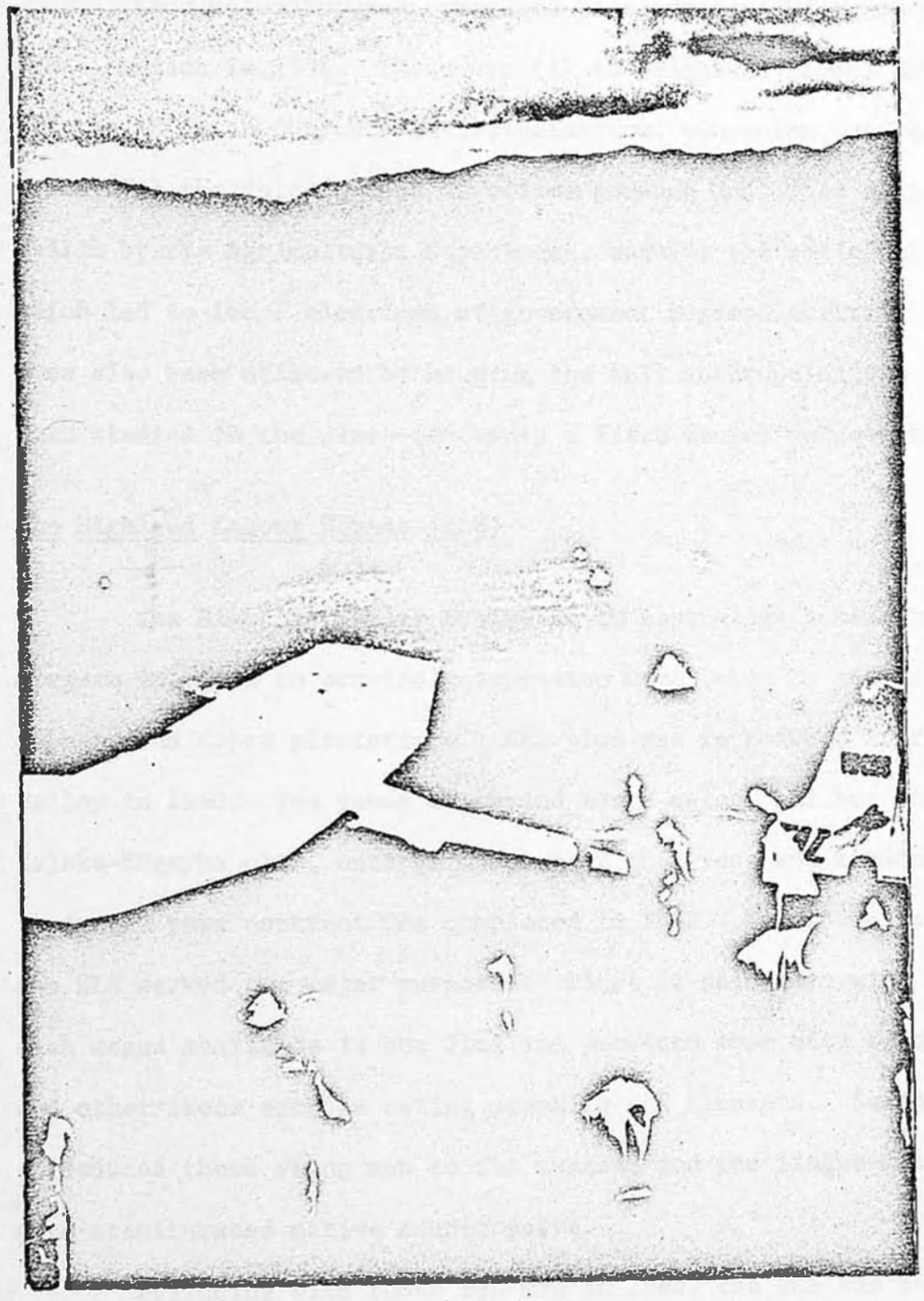


Plate 8; The Airstrip at Tabibuga in 1972

[Image scanned from original slide, asc2_mss0187_0408, in the Edwin Cook Papers, Melanesian Archive, Mandeville Special Collections Library, University of California, San Diego]

Plate 8: The Airstrip at Tabibuga in 1972

Central Highlands towns of Minj and Mount Hagen. In 1972, the Manga lands were still linked to Tabibuga by a walking path and a primitive bridge across the Jimi River (Plate 9).

Four major European programs have advanced Manga acculturation since contact in 1956. These are (1) the Highland Labour Scheme, (2) the Anglican Church's Christianization, education, and health programs, (3) the introduction of coffee growing and other agricultural skills by the Agricultural Department, and (4) the political education which led to local elections of government representatives. The Manga have also been affected by housing the only anthropologists to do long term studies in the Jimi--certainly a fifth factor in acculturation.

The Highland Labour Scheme (HLS)

The Highland Labour Scheme is an Australian administrative program intended to provide inexpensive wage labor to coastal cocoa, rubber, and copra plantations. The plan was introduced in the Jimi Valley in 1960. Ten young unmarried Manga males, all but one from the Kulaka-ENgeyka clan, entered the scheme that year and returned after their two year contract was completed in 1962. For these Manga men, the HLS served two major purposes: First it paid them with the first cash wages available in the Jimi and provided them with European clothes and other items such as eating utensils and blankets. Second, it introduced these young men to the customs and the lingua-franca of their more acculturated native counterparts.

Beginning with those ten men in 1960, the HLS has been the major "educational" experience for almost every healthy Manga male over 18 and under 35. By 1972, 80 of 124 adult men had been to the coast

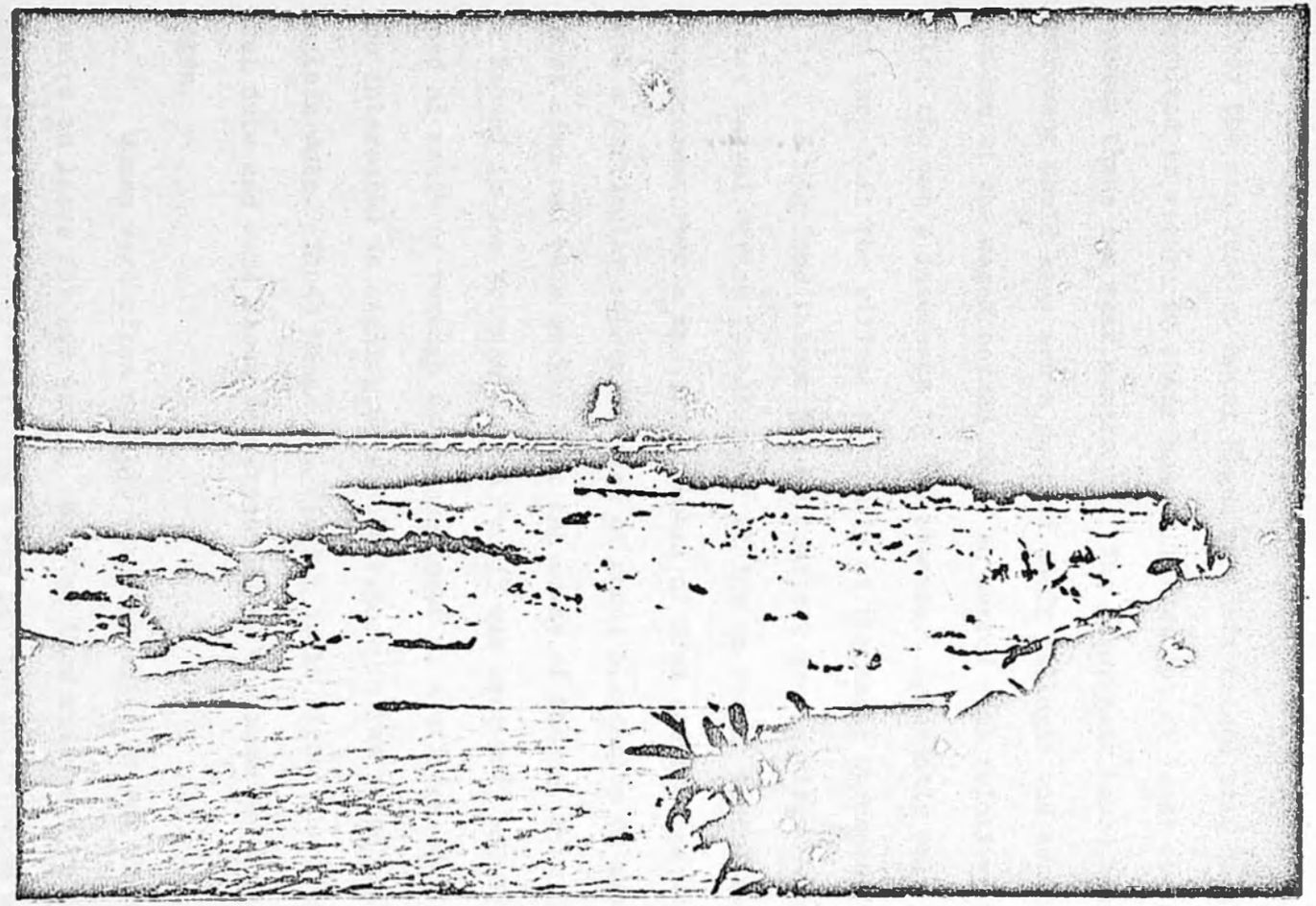


Plate 9: The Jimi River Bridge in 1972

[Image scanned from original slide, asc_mss0187_0381, in the Edwin Cook Papers, Melanesian Archive, Mandeville Special Collections Library, University of California, San Diego]

Plate 9: The Jimi River Bridge in 1972

on at least one two-year contract. In 1972 alone, 38 Manga men were at the coast. A modest estimate suggests that at least $5,000[1] had been released into the Manga economy as HLS wages paid to these laborers. The government set aside a portion of each month's wages to be paid after the men reached Mount Hagen on their return trip home. Men were required to return to their home villages for at least two months between these two year contracts. The government hoped that this requirement would keep men a part of their villages and assure that some portion of the wages earned would be shared with relatives who looked after the man's interests in his absence. Apparently only two Manga men have left the village to remain at the coast permanently.

A Highland Labour Scheme contract was initiated when the Jimi River Patrol Office (Subdistrict Office in recent years) received an announcement that a specified number of Jimi contractees was needed to work a particular rubber, copra, or cocoa plantation on the coast. (Most Jimi men have worked near the towns of Madang, Port Moresby, or at Rabaul in New Britain.) The "word" was sent out, usually through word of mouth or through an announcement at a village meeting, that men interested in signing up should report to the patrol office on a certain date. Those Manga men wishing to go signed their contracts on that date and were flown (or driver after the road was built) to Mount Hagen.

Women were often unhappy when a husband or son announced his desire to leave for two years. Many of them cried and on occasion a woman (wife or mother) attacked a man for the anticipated neglect of her. Fathers, too, often were unhappy at the desertion of their sons, particularly if they were old men and needed a son's assistance in

garden preparation. On at least two occasions a man had left the village alone to walk to Minj, or the nearest road, to sign up for the HLS by himself as a response to marital conflicts.

In order better to understand the European view of the Highland Labour Scheme, I traveled to the Highland Labour Compound at Mount Hagen and to the coastal town of Madang, where I visited a joint cocoa and copra plantation which employed Highland laborers. The following information was made available during these visits.

In the temporary housing compound at Mount Hagen, tenants stayed up to five days before going to the coast and up to three days on their return. The average number of men in residence was around 160 but the temporary population rose to 700 after the 1970 Hagen Show, an event organized for the benefit of both Native and European populations involving the ceremonial display of native dress, weapons, agriculture, and animal husbandry. The compound enclosure was attractively landscaped and maintained by the transient population. It had six tin roofed sheds with wooden beds down either side of a football-field sized courtyard, with a cooking enclosure and latrines at one end and the government office and storehouse at the other. The men were fed communally from huge boiling pots. They were given blankets and utensils when they first arrived which they used in the compound and then carried with them to the coast. Compound gardens provided food, usually sweet potatoes and other common fruits and vegetables. All but one or two employees were temporary laborers on their way to the coast.

Minimum wage in 1972 was $5.90 in Australian dollars per week for all rural laborers, but deductions were made for food, housing, transportation, savings, and a reparation fee; in case the worker ran

away during the first twelve months, this 25¢ per week went back to the employer to repay air fare expenses and other miscellaneous costs. After a year this $13.00 went back to the laborer. The minimum wage of 1972 had been raised to $8.00 at Port Moresby and suggestions had been made that it should go to at least $10.00 or $12.00 per week in the near future. Moresby laborers were asking $20.00 a week as a minimum wage.

During their stay in the compound, men were given tuberculosis tests, malarial spleen measurements, and checked for leprosy by a medical orderly. These tests were given both going to and returning from the coast. Men such as the Manga who were from areas above 3,500 feet in elevation were given special attention for malaria prevention, which included regular doses of quinine derivatives and use of mosquito nets.

By mutual agreement with their employer men could return home before their contract was completed. Such agreements occurred in cases of family illness, personal illness, or if the employee got into trouble; e.g., when he was given a substantial jail sentence for a crime, or if the employer labelled the man a troublemaker. A contract had to be broken in the presence of a labor officer and the employee himself.

The accompanying photographs were taken at a plantation near Madang on the northern coast of Papua New Guinea. They illustrate the kind of environment in which so many young Manga men have worked since 1960.

Plates 10 and 11 contrast the attractive living facilities of the plantation manager with the corrugated iron building which housed the Highland laborers. In the latter facility, the amenities were limited. There was a communal firestrip about two feet wide down the

Plate 10: The Plantation Manager's House

Plate 11: Housing for Highland Laborers

center of the building where each man could build a small fire for heat or for cooking. Each man was given a daily ration of food at this small plantation and there was no cooking house with a full time cook such as the Manga men reported for the larger plantations. At the sides of the firestrip were wooden platforms for sleeping. Blankets were issued but no mattresses. Water was available from the rainfall tank at the right of the picture for washing and drinking. Privies were built nearby.

This particular plantation was an old German holding cleared before World War I. The very tall palms in Plate 12 were planted in 1919 before the Germans lost their rights to Papua. These tall palms were well past their prime in terms of productivity. In recent years younger palms had been planted between the rows of older trees as shown in Plate 12, but it takes some years for these palms to reach full productivity. Palms are grown from nuts in carefully nurtured nursery plots such as the one shown in Plate 13. The healthiest specimens from these nurseries are planted in well-spaced rows at about two years of age. Some Highland Laborers were trained to care for these nurseries rather than to do the more typical jobs. Others were trained as "house-boys" to cook and/or clean for the plantation manager and any other European residents on a plantation.

Most Highland Laborers working on a coconut plantation spent their time cutting a daily allotment of coconut meat and bagging it for trucking to drying ovens where copra was made. The workers shown in Plate 14 are working at this job. They collected fallen ripe nuts in the husk, or climbed to cut ripe nuts from the tall palms. They used axes to break off the outside husk and to crack the inner shell into halves. Then they took a sharp knife and cut a "three finger" shape in

Plate 12: Coconut Palms

Plate 13: A Coconut Palm Nursery

Plate 14: Removing the Coconut Meat

the meat which allowed the white coconut easily to come away from the shell. Each man was required to fill three bags of coconut meat each day for six days a week.

The bags were collected on a truck and taken to a copra drying furnace such as the one shown in Plate 15. These furnaces were fired by coconut husks and kept hot twenty-four hours a day. Laborers who worked on the furnace were called "firemen" and worked in twelve hour shifts to make sure the ovens did not cool off. The meat was dumped onto racks inside the oven and checked regularly for mildew or dampness. Wetter meat was placed at the top of the oven and then brought to lower shelves as it dried. This insured that only the driest copra was bagged for market. Damp copra was worthless on the market since it rotted rapidly. Plate 16 shows a truck being loaded for shipping with 165 pound bags of copra.

This small plantation also had a cocoa operation. Laborers were taught to pick the ripe pods (Plate 17), remove the beans, and lay them out of drying racks (Plate 18). This plantation was so small that some cocoa beans were dried in the sun rather than by mechanical means. Others were dried and sorted using an oven fueled by the coconut husks, a more complex and expensive operation.

Still other Manga have been laborers on rubber plantations at Port Moresby. While we were not able to visit a rubber plantation, the Manga who have worked on one said that the pay is better because the rubber processing is a "gummy" business. Men on these rubber plantation contracts also made extra money selling produce from their small truck gardens to the big Port Moresby produce market. This money could add up to several hundred dollars in extra earnings for the frugal

Plate 15: A Copra Drying Oven

Plate 16: Loading a Truck with the Finished Copra

Plate 17: Cocoa Pods Ripening

Plate 18: Racks of Cocoa Beans Drying in the Sun

savers. The next chapters will give further details of the Highland Labour Scheme as seen through individual case histories.

The Anglican Influence

Soon after pacification, the Jimi Valley was divided into four separate religious domains by interested missionary groups. The American Nazarenes, Scottish and American Catholics, German Lutherans, and British/Australian Anglicans all had interests in the area, but each mission had tacitly agreed to keep to its own territory (after some initial territorial skirmishes).

The Anglicans first sent native lay catechists to Kwiop in 1961. A church was built there by the Manga but insufficient church support was available to keep it going after 1963. A two grade Anglican school was started at Kwiop for a brief period during this era to teach local children Neo-Melanesian and basic arithmetic. According to one of the Anglican European missionaries, these early stages of Anglican missionization involved "buying" attendance ("buyim lotu") with tobacco or some other small trade item. In recent years the church leaders were trying to reverse this incentive scheme and asked the native people to support the church by giving them envelopes for contributions every three months or so. This plan had not met with great success.

In March of 1971 two Anglican lay catechists of the Siane tribe began another Christianization program at Kwiop. They hoped to have the Manga "Christianized" in less than three years by encouraging regular church attendance and by holding catechism classes in the evenings.

There was an Anglican school for the first four grades at Togban on the next mountain ridge from Kwiop. Unfortunately Togban belonged

to the Yuomban, the traditional enemies of the Manga. Sixteen Manga children attended school at Togban in 1972. They lived at the school in dormitories during the week and returned to their homes on the weekends, although Togban is only a half hour's walk away from Kwiop. This live-in schooling encouraged better attendance records and allowed the students time to help with chores and upkeep of the school grounds. However, some Manga parents still sent their children to school carrying enough food for a week rather than allowing them to eat "enemy" food. Only three of the sixteen Manga students were girls. The ages of the children attending varied from seven or eight to fourteen or fifteen. According to persons who had been to school, they were usually asked to leave when they showed too much interest in the actions of the opposite sex.

Four Manga males had sixth grade educations and two of these were resident at Kwiop in 1972. Three of these had been educated in Anglican schools; the other was supported through a government program including carpentry training. Those teenage girls who reported going to school up to fourth grade had very little proficiency in pidgin since they had almost no context in which to use the language, unlike the men who used the pidgin at the coast for most of their communication on the job and in socializing with other groups outside the Jimi Valley.

The Anglicans also supported a health program in the Manga area which included a monthly mother-child clinic. In 1972, the visiting European Anglican nurse saw sixty-one children under about eight years of age and eight pregnant women in one day's visit. Records were kept of the weight of children and any major health problems that had been treated. No regular government health program was usually available in inaccessible areas such as this one. The nurse rode in on horseback

and left in a helicopter, much to the entertainment of the local population. She said she saw only six healthy children among the sixty-one she examined at Kwiop. Most children had malnutrition because of the poor pre-natal health of their mothers and the low protein diet which they were fed.

Manga women do not usually feed their children any animal protein until their two year molars have come in. Children are nourished with their mother's milk alone until about a year of age, or when walking begins. Then they are fed children's foods such as sweet potatoes, pumpkin, and banana. Compare the photographs of the children in Plate 36 on page 131 and Plate 41 on page 183 The boy and girl in the first photograph have been fed a substantial quantity of canned meat as part of their regular diet. Although they are younger than the two little girls in the second photograph who have been fed a traditional low protein vegetable diet, they are substantially stronger, heavier, and healthier. The visiting nurse lectured the women on feeding the children more meat and brown rice, but little attention was paid to her admonitions by most mothers since they had little money for store food and brown rice was generally not available at trade stores.

In one case she saw a young Manga mother, obviously ill herself, whose child was close to death from severe malnutrition. She told the woman to ask the Australian authorities to fly her to Mount Hagen for treatment of the child, but the woman was despondent and refused. The child died within two months. This case was somewhat unique since the woman was not punished for allowing her child to die. Her husband had virtually abandoned her for his third trip to the coast on the HLS and her own health was not good enough to allow her to care for the child.

It is a Manga belief that both parents must feed a child to make it grow properly and the husband, who was regarded as responsible for the child's death, was to be jailed on his return.

The Anglicans had also built a "haussik " (hospital or medical clinic) at Togban near their school. They had some medical supplies and a "doctor boy" (or paramedic) there at most times. Manga who were seriously ill would sometimes go there to stay until they were well. Some of the elderly Manga disliked having to travel into enemy territory at a time of personal weakness. Also, a sick person was usually required to make this thirty to forty-five minute walk on his own two feet. Such energy often was absent in a raging case of influenza or pneumonia. Adult patients were rarely carried to medical assistance. A young Manga man died of pneumonia in 1971 because no one would carry him to medical aid at Togban.

In 1971, the two Siane lay catechists at Kwiop started their program of training the Manga for baptism. They sought the assistance of the Manga councillor in asking that community labor be used to build a new church. After four months of work, the church neared completion (Plate 19). Built in an attractive Gorokan design, the Manga seemed proud of their new church. It was centrally located near the main Manga store, the councillor's house, and the Anglican catechists house (Plate 20).

The Manga divided, however, in their acceptance of the church's directives and teachings. The lay catechists maintained that no man with two living wives could be baptized in the church. Several young men, including many of the young leaders discussed in subsequent chapters of this paper, had made a major concession to the church in giving up

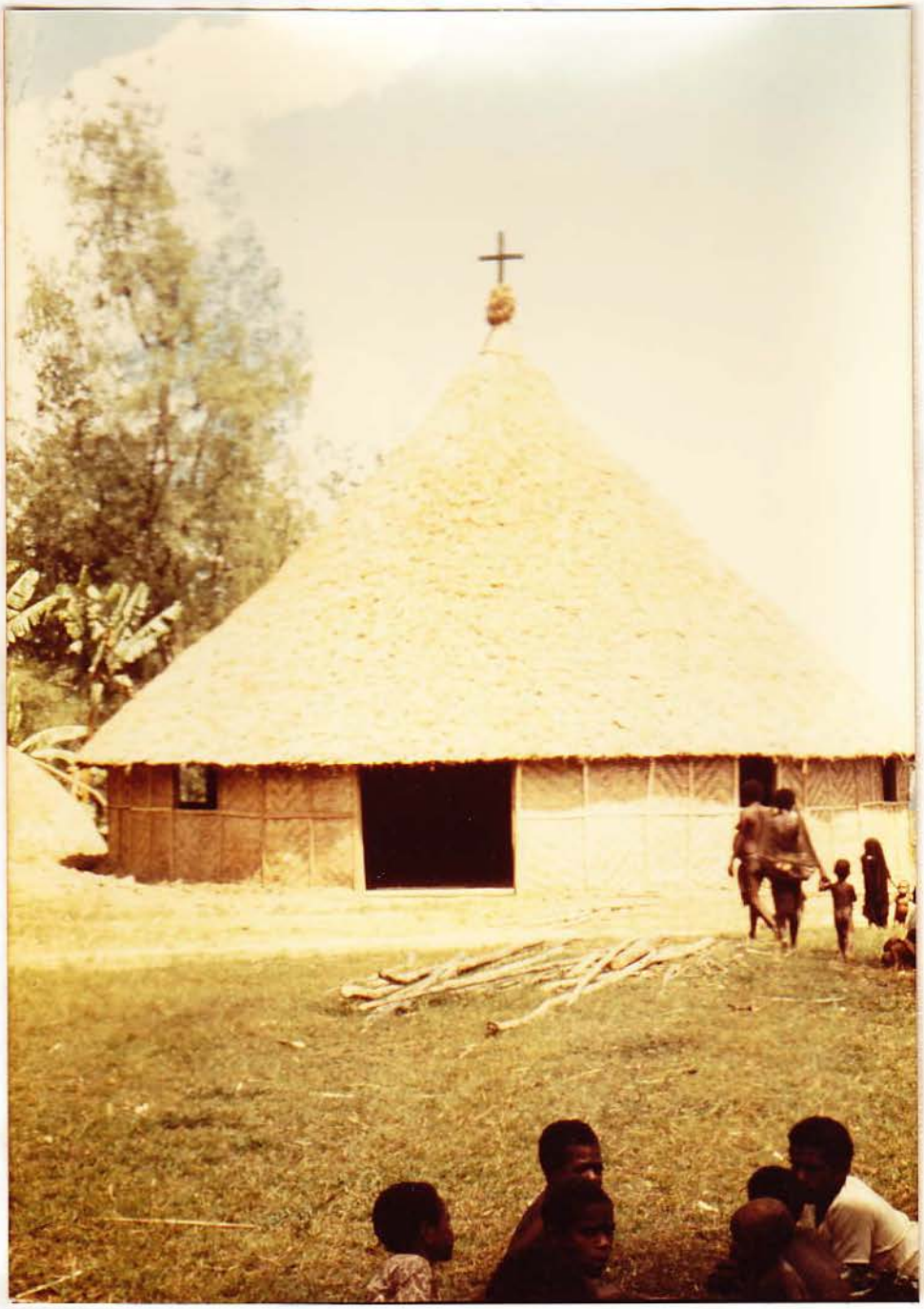


Plate 19: The New Church at Kwiop in July 1972

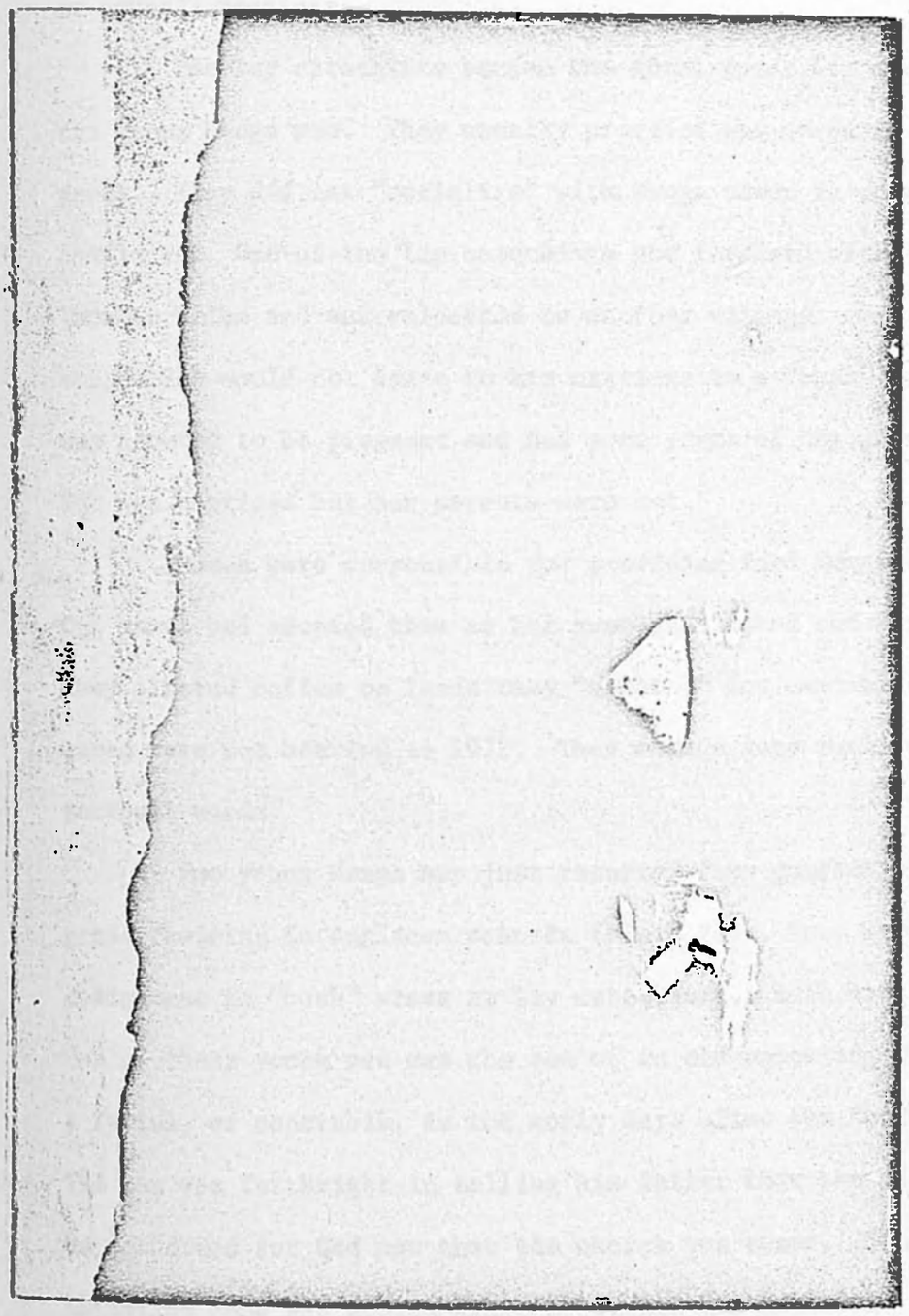


Plate 20: The Church Settlement at Kwlop

[Note: scanned from photocopy. No better copy available]

their polygamous intentions. Older men with more than one wife did not attend church although they sat outside the church during services since Sunday was the day for many court hearings and village reports or council meetings.

The lay catechists became the focal point for socializing among the young Manga men. They usually provided the cards in local card games. They did not "socialize" with Manga women in order to avoid conflicts. One of the lay catechists got involved with a girl from the Yuomban tribe and was relocated to another village. His Siane family supposedly would not agree to his marriage to a "bush" girl. The girl was reputed to be pregnant and had some years of Anglican schooling. She was baptized but her parents were not.

Women were responsible for providing food for the lay catechists. One woman had adopted them as her sons and looked out for their pigs. They planted coffee on lands they "annexed" for church use but the trees were not bearing in 1972. They made a very small wage for their personal needs.

Two young Manga men just returned from completing their sixth grade training in Anglican schools (Plate 21). They were waiting for assignment to "bush" areas as lay catechists. Both had been baptized. One of these young men was the son of an old sorceror, Ngarin, who was a Tultul, or constable, in the early days after the Australians came. The son was forthright in telling his father that the old ways should be abandoned for God now that the church was there. The son, whose Christian name was Koplan King, persuaded his father to ignore the ceremonial onset of the pig festival cycle in light of the new opportunities of Christianity. The old man followed his eldest son's wishes

Plate 21: Kennet and Koplan King, Anglican Educated Manga

and since his clan-moiety, the Timbaga, was full of old men and bad luck, they followed Ngarin in his plan to adopt the new ways. Several months after each of the other three clan-moieties had killed their pigs to initiate the first half of the new festival, Ngarin was taken gravely ill. He sought out the services of another old sorceror from his clan, ToBa, and asked him to divine the cause of his illness. ToBa determined that the ancestors were angry with Ngarin for not starting the festival cycle in the recognized manner. ToBa named two pigs to be killed to save Ngarin from death and then named the other three pigs to be killed for the onset of the ceremonial cycle.

Ngarin told his son what had happened and said that he was an old man who must follow the old ways until he died. Then his son could follow the new. Ngarin then initiated the cycle with a complex series of minor rituals, dedicated to the appeasement of the ancestors and the future flowering of his clan. Plates 6 and 7 are photographs of this ceremony.

The Manga were to be baptized in 1973 as part of the culmination of the pig festival. It was the church's program to combine the pig festival with Christmas festivities to allow a ceremonial erasing of old enmities between groups. Once the ceremonial rites had been performed by the old sorcerers, the old ways were to die and the new ways of Christianity take their place. We were not witness to those events.

Government Agricultural Programs

Coffee was introduced to the Manga as a cash crop in the mid-1960's. The chapters on Mai and Amgoi will give more details about the introduction of coffee to the Manga. By 1971, the first plantings were

mature and the Manga were on their way to cash cropping for marketing in the world coffee market. At the time the plan was introduced, coffee prices were relatively high, but by 1971 the market price was almost half what it was in the mid- and late sixties.[2]

This cash income at the local level was making changes in many facets of native life. This was the first direct opportunity that women had to earn their own money and to spend it as they desired. Prior to that time they acquired most of their goods as gifts from husbands, relatives, or lovers, with little cash to spend for themselves. As mentioned previously the Anglican nurse encouraged the women to buy food for their children, particularly high protein foods such as canned meat or fish.

Coffee was picked and dried on tarpaulins (Plate 22) and then carried by hand to the patrol post in 60 to 75 pound rice bags. Two stores regularly purchased the coffee beans and on Fridays, when the road was open to the Minj area, a coffee truck came in and bought coffee independently. The coffee truck was reputed to be able to pay the highest prices for the coffee, but it was not there consistently because of road conditions. The Namasu store was reputedly second highest but did not always have enough cash on hand to pay for the coffee. The European owned store paid the least for the coffee but was most consistent in its buying practices. Plate 23 shows the latter store with its weighing scale in sight.

Manga informants said that it took about three weeks to fill a 100 lb. bag with coffee beans. Such a bag was worth about $10 in 1972. The Anglicans said that the price of such a bag was $20 before the coffee market dropped out. Government reports said that the acid

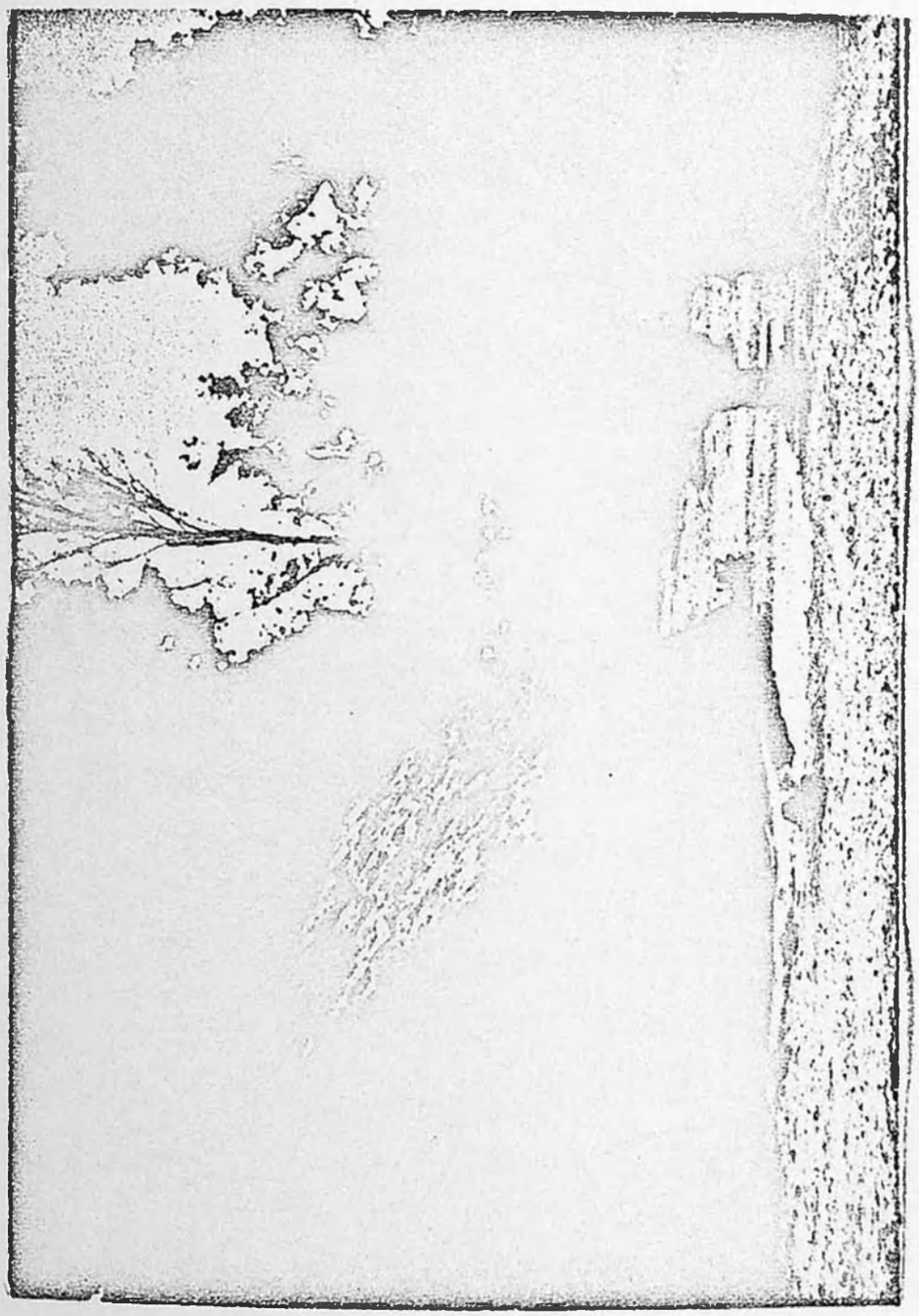


Plate 22: Coffee Beans Drying in Front of a House at Kwlop

[Note: Scanned from photocopy. No better copy available]

Plate 23: A Coffee Buying Scene at the European Trade Store at Tabibuga

conditions of the youthful soil in the Jimi gave a high quality of coffee bean, but no great difference in price was paid for it since the higher quality was largely unrecognized by buyers.

By 1971, there were an estimated 7,300 to 7,625 coffee trees planted at Kwiop according to a coffee censusing patrol. By 1972, most Manga coffee growing families had some trees in full production. One man had purchased a $105 coffee bean husking machine. The machine was cranked by hand to automatically remove the red "berry" coating from the coffee bean and produce clean beans. At the time of fieldwork, the man had not yet reaped much profit from the machine since most of the coffee picking and cleaning was still being done by hand, usually by the women.

Other government agriculture programs encouraged the Manga to begin two other projects--a fish pond project and a piggery. The fish pond (Plate 24) was built by hand, largely female, labor at Kwiop in 1972. It was to be stocked at government expense with a "miracle" fish, Talapia, which multiplies rapidly. The fish were intended to become a supplemental source of animal protein, especially for women and children. Since fish were not a regular part of the Manga diet except for tinned "horse mackerel," the success of the fish project was not assured before we left the Jimi in 1972.

The piggery (Plate 25) was built by one of the young men with a sixth grade education, Ndemang Kuk, who was trained as a carpenter at the Minj vocational school. The piggery was intended to house a part European boar whose services would be used to improve the Manga breeding stock. The Manga women had never kept uncastrated male pigs in their care; sows were bred by wild boars only. One potential problem for this project arose when the Manga women we spoke to declared that

Plate 24: Manga Women Digging a Fish Pond

Plate 25: The New Piggery at Kwiop

they had no idea when female pigs came into their fertile cycle so they did not know when to bring them to the piggery for breeding. We do not know if this problem was resolved since no sows had been bred to the new boars by the time we left in 1972.

Government Political Education

As soon as the Jimi area was pacified in 1956, a patrol came through the Manga lands and required that the Manga appoint three leaders who would be responsible for communicating government requirements and policy at the local level. Subsequently a Luluai (chief) and two Tultuls (constables), one from each clan, were appointed. Since these men had little Bigmanship authority under the best pre-contact circumstances, they were often ineffective in carrying out the policies of the government. As C. D. Rowley notes (1966: 84), none of the Luluais and Tultuls of the postcontact era were necessarily men of high indigenous status "although they were selected as such by the Australians." Rowley suggested that these men were sometimes pushed into the foreground by those with real power to bear the brunt of misunderstandings and to "frustrate attempts to change the established order." It was the case that the most influential of the Manga Bigmen did not choose to lead the new changes. Certainly those who were powerful sorcerers refused to jeopardize their power with an unknown factor of Australian authority.

The Luluai and Tultul system was further limited among the Manga because the Luluai of one clan had no influence or authority over the issues of the other clan. Secondarily, if the Tultul was from a particular clan-moiety, the opposing clan-moiety might deny that he had

any rights of authority over their activities at all. Since the Timbamaruwaga clan Tultul was from the smallest Manga clan moiety, he was the least effective of the transition leaders.

The Luluai and Tultuls had limited responsibilities to the administration. They had some officially sanctioned authority to organize the building and upkeep of the government rest houses and to call up local men to carry cargo boxes for touring patrols. They also made some attempts to curtail violence at the local level since it was rapidly apparent that violence in any major form was punished by the new administration. On the other side, however, should a Tultul or Luluai fail to have the necessary manpower at the stated place and the stated hour, a patrol officer of the early era would not have been reluctant publicly to beat the Tultul who failed to carry out the government demand. The Tultul of the small Timbaga clan-moiety was always being threatened with removal from "office" when he failed to persuade the more numerous Maruwaga half of his clan to follow his orders.

Whatever limited authority the Luluai and Tultuls had by right of their persuasive ability as respected leaders, it was reinforced by the threat of an Australian jail sentence. They did attempt to adjudicate minor disputes, but it was difficult for them to persuade participants not to resort to the violences of the past. Most such disputes might have been resolved in the old days by the persuasions and mediation of the big men or through greater violence either between individuals in fights or actual warfare. In Luluai-Tultul times, from 1956 through 1965, if physical injuries were sustained from the use of a dangerous weapon, court cases reverted to the patrol officer's

jurisdiction where the Manga soon learned their chances of achieving "justice" in their own terms were slim. Violence was punished as violence, not because of the underlying motive which stimulated the violent act.

In 1965 the Jimi River Subdistrict was established and political education patrols went out formally to establish the Jimi electorate roles. In 1966 the first Jimi River Local Government Council (JRLGC) was elected. (See Chapter 8 for further details.) The JRLGC had fifty elected members in 1972. Plate 26 shows twelve of these Councillors. The man at the left with hands on hips is the President of the JRLGC, elected by the Councillors from their own numbers. Each Councillor (addressed by the title "Council _____") wore his badge of office during the monthly meetings held at Tabibuga. The JRLGC Meeting House (Plate 27) was built of native materials with open windows on two sides. Plate 28 shows the President of the Council presiding at a meeting in June of 1972. The Jimi Councillors were seated at a long table down the center of the building. The President, the Council secretary, and the Council treasurer were seated at the head table. The two men standing behind the President's table were paid translators. In 1972, seventeen of the elected membership spoke fluent Neo-Melanesian. In the early Luluai and Tultul system it was necessary for the government to employ seven different translators to meet the requirements of seven different languages in the area. By 1972 only two and occasionally three translators were hired to translate council meetings.

Both adult men and women had the vote. Elections were conducted over three week periods with the candidates using weekend meetings as opportunities to discuss their different ideas about government. In

Plate 26: Twelve of the Fifty Jimi River Local Government Councillors in June 1972

Plate 27: The Jimi River Local Government Council Meeting House at Tabibuga

Plate 28: President Yingwai Presiding at a Council Meeting

1966 the first representative to the House of Assembly was elected from the Jimi. After he died in office, a by-election was held electing Thomas Kavali to the seat. Kavali was proven an active member in politics at the national level, founding his own national party and being appointed to the Chairmanship of the Committee on Roads.

Each elected councillor supervised the election of an unspecified number of assistants called "committeemen" and addressed as "Committee _____." In the case of the Manga each clan-moiety elected (informally) their own representative. These representatives helped the Councillor carry out government orders and government programs. They often directly supervised projects for the Councillor and assisted him in conducting courts at the local level.

In 1968 the Jimi electorate went to the polls to elect their second representative to the House of Assembly. Candidates for that office were encouraged to campaign ("toktokwakabout") as part of the political education process, trying to get people to tell the candidates their "worries," so that the candidate could explain his position on each issue of concern.

With the establishment of permanent coffee production in parts of the Jimi, and with great demands for better roads to the area, the JRLGC passed regular head taxes for all men over the age of eighteen. Different areas had different taxes depending on how much "bisness" there was in the area. Tax monies in 1972 amounted to $4.00 for each adult Manga male. In August of 1972 the Manga were censused (Plate 29) on the same day that taxes were collected (Plate 30). $496 in taxes were collected that day and over $20,000 in taxes were collected for the entire Jimi Subdistrict. Most of the funds were to be spent on new

Plate 29: Taking the Census at Kwiop in August 1972

Plate 30: Collecting Taxes

bulldozers to keep up the road to the area, the top priority in the JRLGC's plans.

The Impact of Anthropologists on the Manga

The Manga had a sense of themselves which at times verged on being "the chosen people" of the Jimi Valley. This conceit (called "big headedness" in anglicized Neo-Melanesian) stems from two events: First, the Manga war losses of 1956 were avenged through the intervention of the first pacification patrol--who not only took revenge against the enemy Yuomban for the Manga, but paved the way for the Manga to burn their enemies' houses and gardens in retribution. Such support from the outside world was beyond any Manga's imagination. Second, a white man named Cook came to live with them at Kwiop in 1961. The Manga were quick to assume he was the patrol officer's brother (they were both over 6'2" tall) but when they learned his name was "Kuk"--he was immediately accepted as a replacement for their own great warrior named "Kuk" who had been killed in the 1956 war leaving a wife and eight children. The large family jokingly addressed E. A. Cook as "father" thereafter. The photograph (Plate 31) on the next page is of Ndikai Kuk and his wife Wura. Ndikai was E. A. Cook's first fluent Neo-Melanesian-Narak interpreter when he was only a runaway schoolboy. Five of the eight Kuk children had worked for us as interpreters at different times.

In 1961 and 1962, Cook brought the Manga prestige through his physical presence. He also trained several young men to work as interpreters and as helpers, encouraged others to continue school, and explained many of the government policies to the Manga and many of the

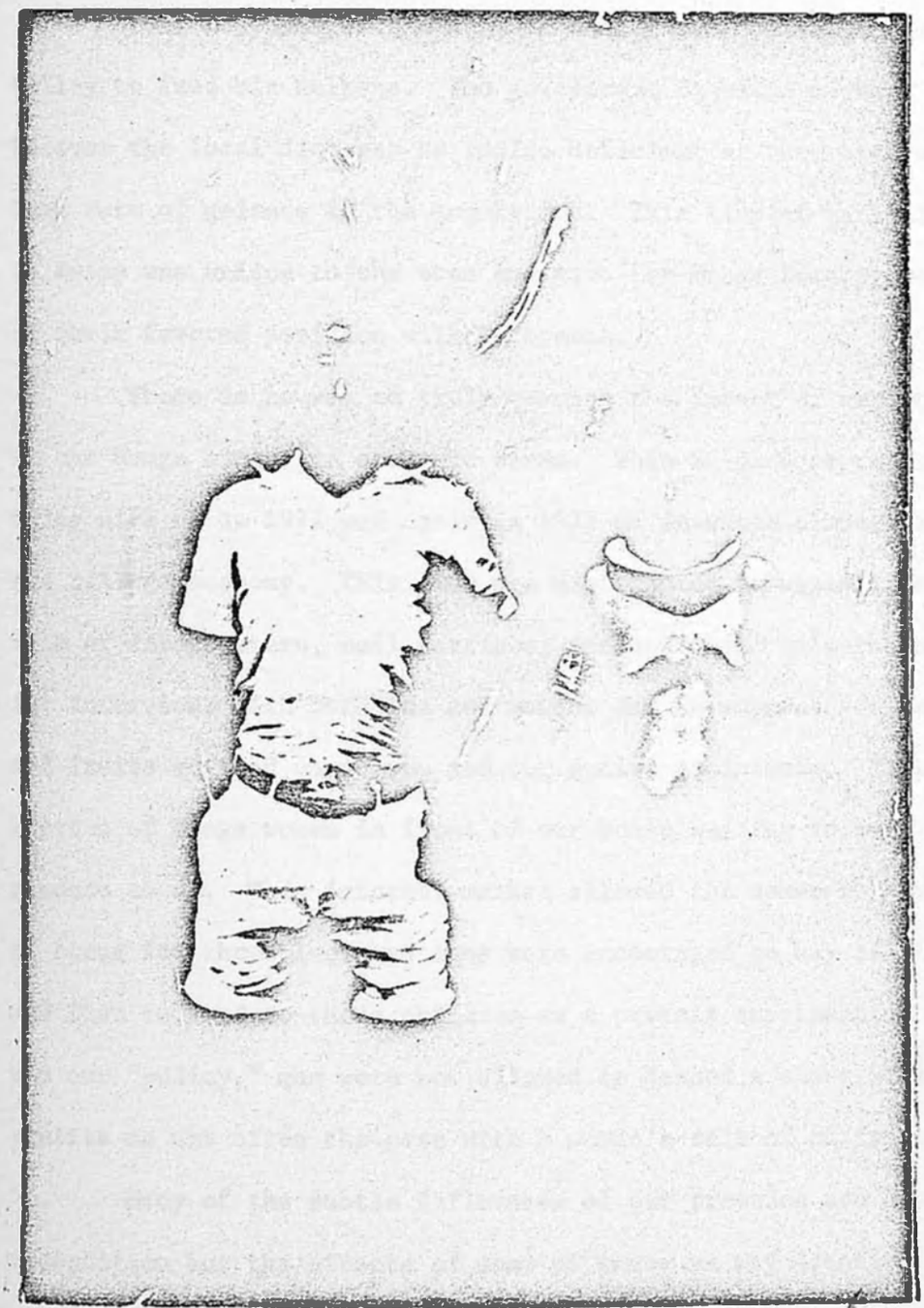


Plate 31: Ndekai Kuk and His Wife Wura

[Image scanned from original slide, asc2_mss0187_0572, in the Edwin Cook Papers, Melanesian Archive, Mandeville Special Collections Library, University of California, San Diego]

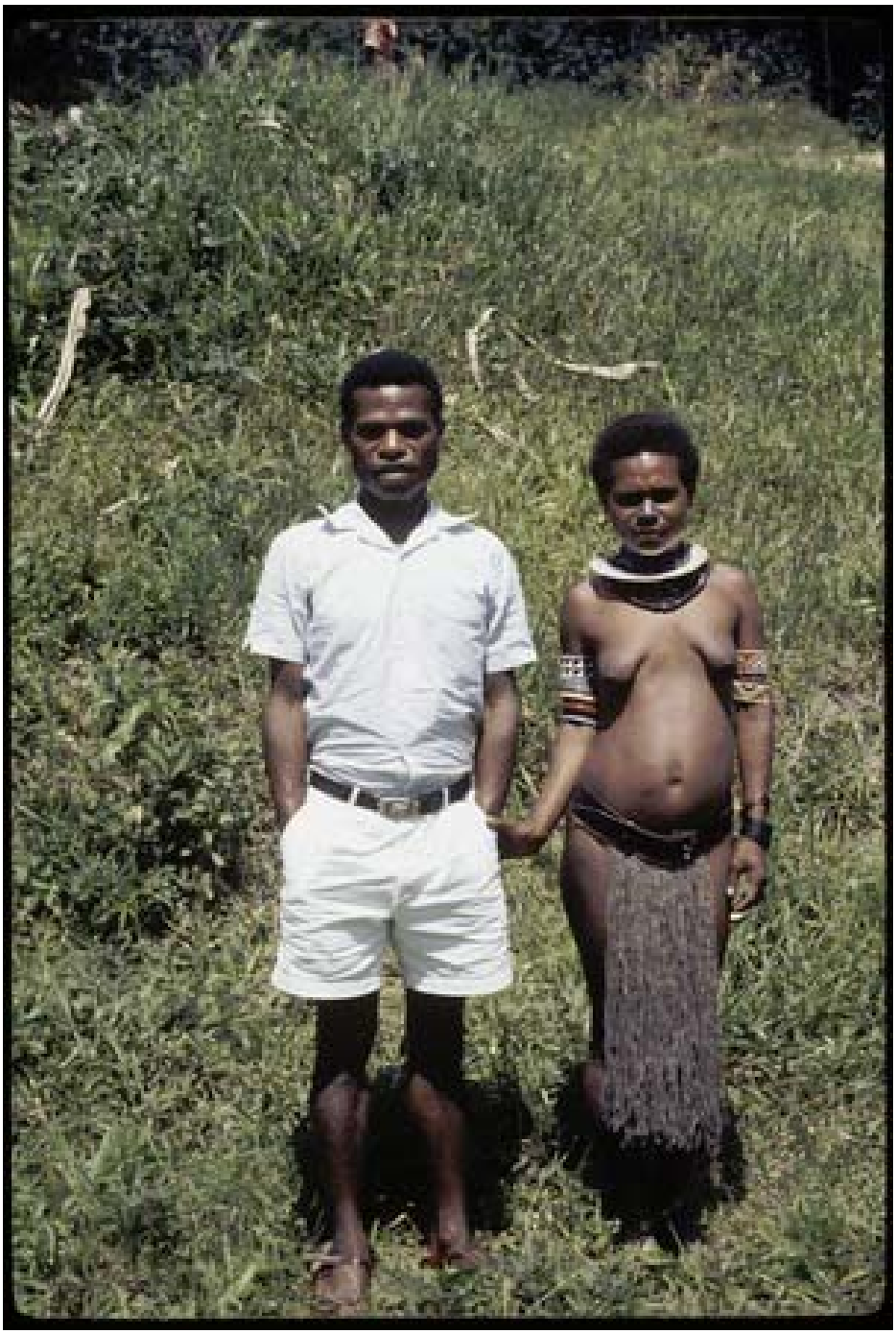


Plate 31: Ndekai Kuk and His Wife Wura

Manga policies to the resident patrol officer. Such communication helped to ease the confusions of this early transition era for both sides.

Cook also bought quantities of food from women all over the Jimi Valley to feed his helpers. The government required payment in salt because the local diet was so iodine deficient at that time with a high rate of goiters in the population. This flow of marketing women to Kwiop was unique to the area and gave the Manga further recognition of their favored position with Europeans.

There is no way to truly measure the impact of anthropologists on the Manga except in economic terms. When E. A. Cook returned to Kwiop with me in 1971 and again in 1972 we invested almost $1,000 in the village economy. This cash was distributed as wages to a diverse crew of interpreters, mail carriers, and household helpers; as fees for interviews with both men and women; and as payment for vegetables and fruits to feed ourselves and our native assistants. Plate 32 shows a group of Manga women in front of our house waiting to sell their produce to us. This informal market allowed the women to have money to spend for themselves and they were encouraged to buy tinned meat and fish to feed to their children as a protein supplement. Since this was our "policy," men were not allowed to demand a share of their wives profits as was often the case with a woman's sale of coffee beans.

Many of the subtle influences of our presence are beyond our recognition but the effects of some of those we may identify are an important part of Manga acculturation. As an example, we took photographs of each sub-clan during the census of 1972. When the name of one sub-clan was called, no one appeared, even though all the Manga were

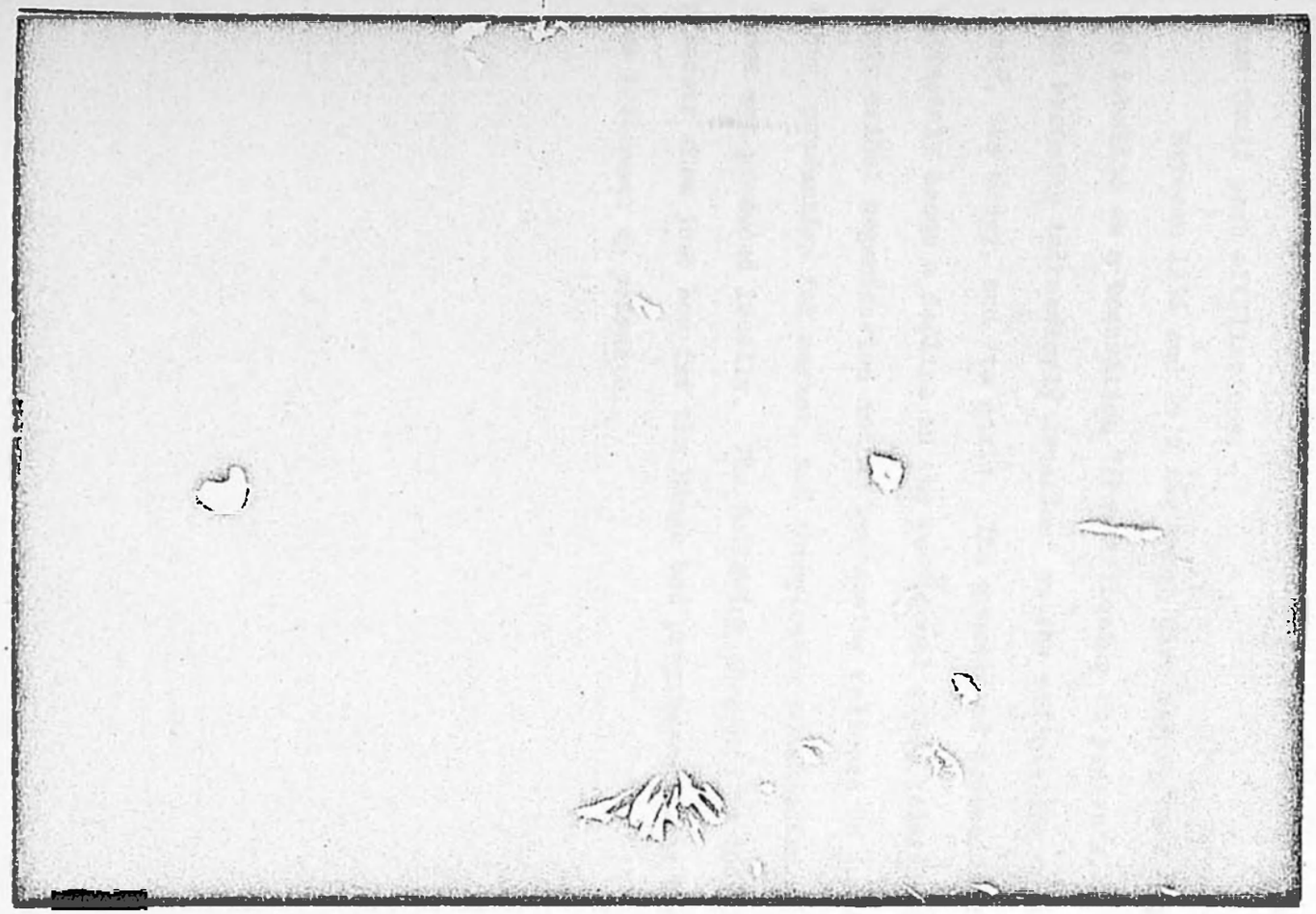


Plate 32: Manga Women Waiting to Sell Vegetables

[Image scanned from original slide, asc2_mss0187_0579, in the Edwin Cook Papers, Melanesian Archive, Mandeville Special Collections Library, University of California, San Diego]

Plate 32: Manga Women Waiting to Sell Vegetables

standing around. Finally two young men were pushed forward as the remnants of this group. When I asked about their ignorance of their sub-clan affiliation, they said that I should ask Cook about such data because he was the keeper of Manga history and no one had ever told them their past affiliations.

Between 1956 and 1972 the Manga were making what Meggett (1971) had labelled as a transition "from tribesmen to peasants." The Manga were becoming increasingly dependent on the stimulation of the outside world, its money, and its goals. The process of peasantization ultimately means a decline in the reciprocal group relationships of their tribal organization and an increasing reliance on individual paid labor, production for market, and conspicuous consumption of Western items not produced locally. The following chapters on individual entrepreneurs show just how far the Manga had progressed along the road from tribesmen to peasants.

CHAPTER SEVEN: WANDO, THE TRADITIONAL BIG MAN

In 1972, only one Manga man, Wando, still actively manifested all the characteristics of the traditional big man described in the preceding chapter. His picture (Plate 33) on the next page shows some of the reasons that his personal power was undiminished by the years. Since 1956, Wando carried an arrowhead in his right eye and the continually superating wound apparently did not affect his general health. On his left eyebrow ridge a large subaceous water-filled tumor developed during the years. Obviously, a man without great personal strength could not have lived with such physical disadvantages. Even the European doctors at Mount Hagen who examined Wando were surprised that he had lived for any length of time with such a large foreign object embedded so close to the brain. The doctors offered to operate to remove the arrowhead, but Wando refused to stay away from his home grounds for the two months necessary to recuperate from the surgery at Hagen, believing that his sorcery powers would be diminished by such a long absence from his source of power.

Wando's Bigmanship is founded on his reputation as a war leader, on his skills as a diving sorceror and death sorceror, and on his efforts to organize and promote exchanges of women and ceremonial wealth for the benefit of his clan. He always firmly adhered to the taboos of his position as a sorceror and he was respected by the Manga for his extra powers over other men.

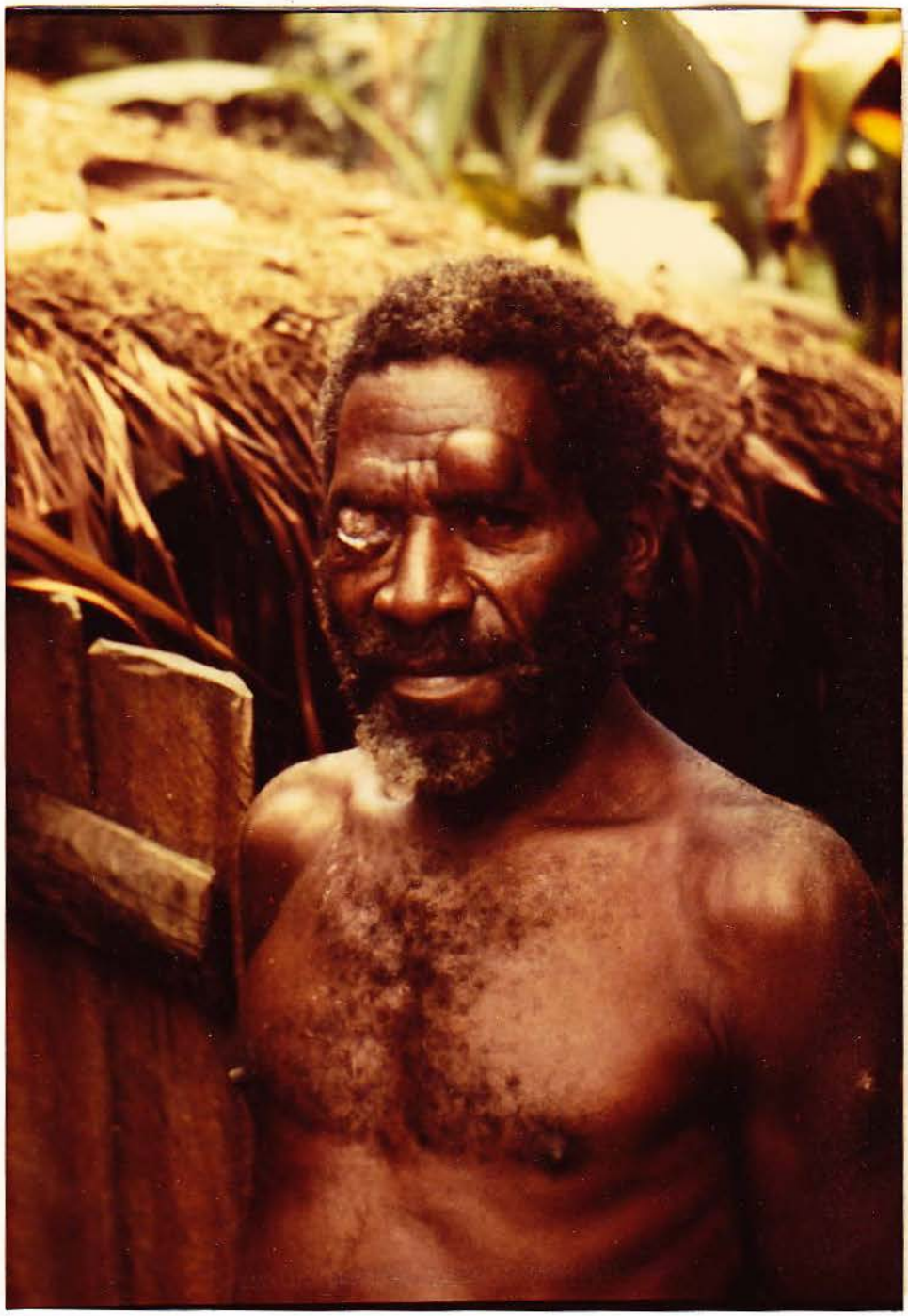


Plate 33: Wando, the Last of the Manga Big Men

This power was evidenced long before contact when Wando was involved in a direct murder of a clan-moiety brother accused of ghoulism and sorcery. Wando and another man of his sub-clan ambushed the man and killed him. No retribution was allowed against the murderers after one of the major big men, Kuk, decreed that the victim had indeed been a ghoul. The sub-clan of the murdered man switched its allegiance to the other clan-moiety after the incident. Some animosity is still evident between the two sub-clans involved.

In a later pre-contact instance of death sorcery, Wando told his sister Membe that she must marry as a sister exchange. When she ran away to a man outside the designated group, Wando told her that she would die because she had not followed his orders. She did die as a relatively young woman. Wando accepted responsibility for causing her death and refused to raise her children since his curse might be carried over to their generation. The kinship charts (Figures 4a and 4b) on the next pages detail Wando's own family and his relationship to his half-brothers, Amgoi and Tsapinde, who will be discussed in Chapters Nine and Ten.

Such a kinship chart does not show the eleven women that he had "brought" to other men of his clan-moiety through the years. Wando stated that if a man of his "line" needed a wife, it was his responsibility as big man to secure a woman from his network of contacts. The majority of these women were obtained through Wando's personal persuasion--reminding allied lines of war debts, revenge payments or of the need to maintain personal links over time (see Cook 1971). This redistribution of women to young men of his clan-moiety gave Wando influence over their lives and formed the basis of his support as a Manga leader.

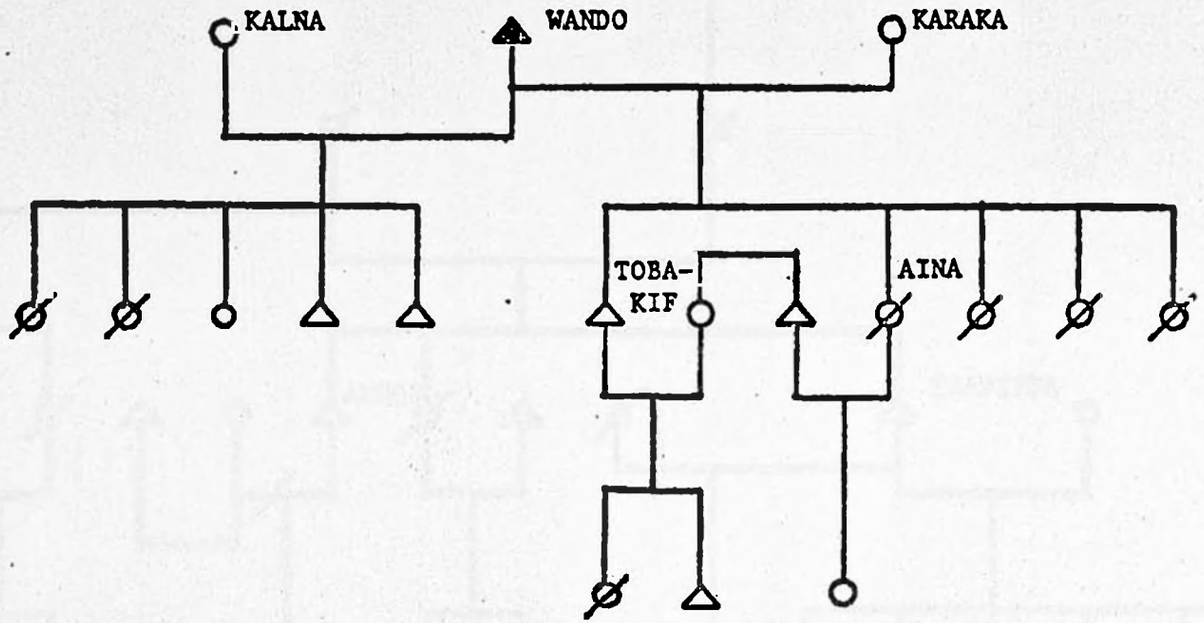


Figure 4a: Wando's Immediate Family

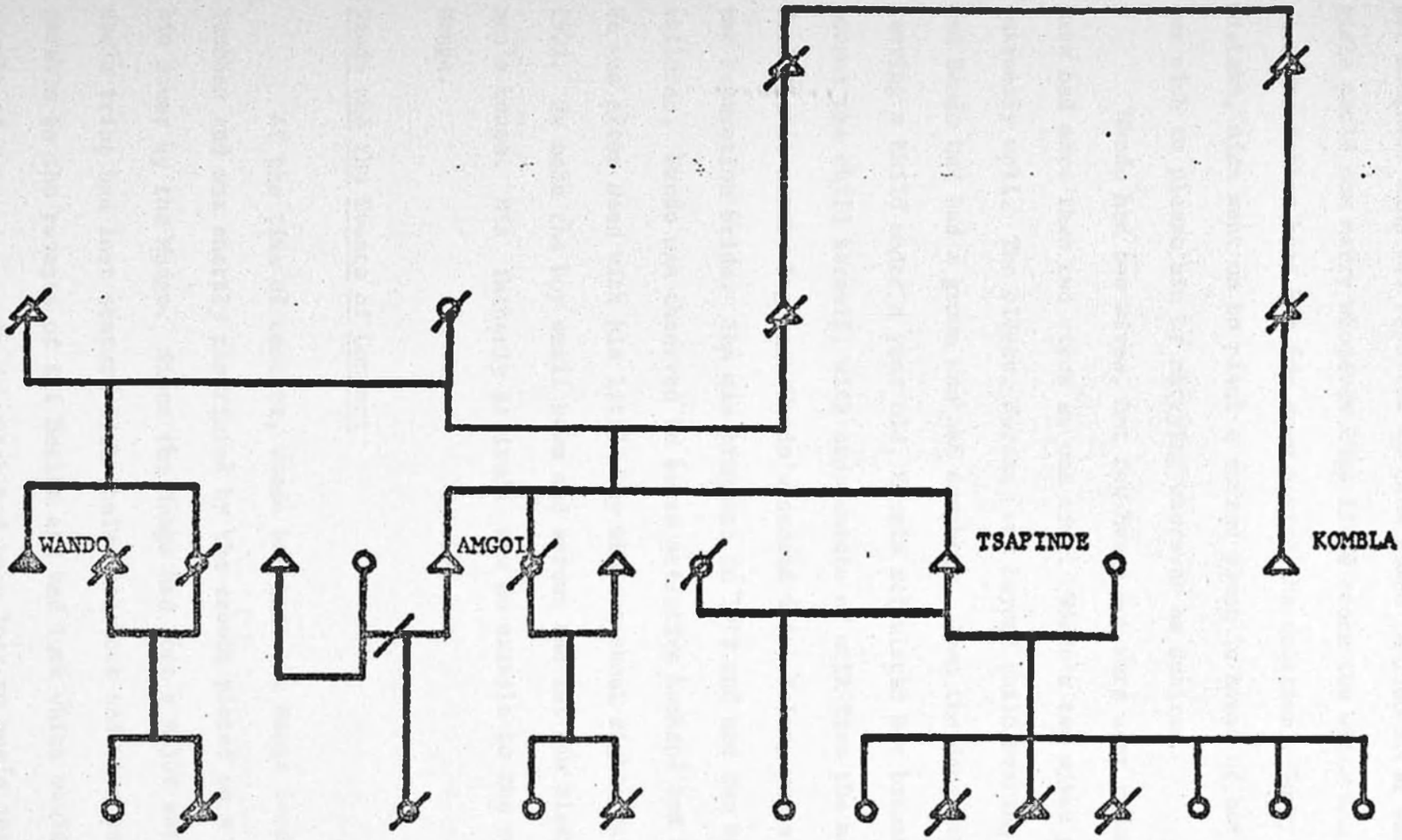


Figure 4b: Wando's Genealogical Links to Amgoi (Ch. 9), Tsapinde (Ch. 10), and Kombla (Ch. 11)

Wando ruled his own nuclear family with an iron hand. His eldest daughter Aina was reported to have asked in 1960 if it was true that girls could now marry whomever they liked since the white men now said so. Her father beat her for even asking the question. Sorry for her mistake, Aina went on to plant a sacred plant in honor of her father and her wish to please him by marrying wherever he desired.

Wando had two wives, but few Manga men were ever remembered to have had more than two wives at one time. Wando's two wives got along extremely well. The oldest, Karaka, was beyond child bearing age. She and Wando had had a grown son and daughter. When the daughter died leaving a child under a year old, Karaka stimulated her breasts and nursed the child herself, with supplements of milk from the medical facility at nearby Togban. Wando's second wife, Kalna, was a Yuomban war reparation bride. She was pregnant in 1972 and had two other young children. Wando was observed to be an attentive husband and father. He was often seen with his little boy who was about eight years old in 1972. He made the boy small bows and arrows and let him sleep at his men's house. His fatherly attitude was an example to the rest of the Manga.

Wando and the Events of Contact

At the time of contact, Wando had left the Manga lands to the Yuomban and was sharply restricted by the taboos placed on a man of his power by the Manga. Since the Manga had lost a major war, the whole tribe had lost stature with their ancestors and were more vulnerable to the ravages of ill health and bad luck which would be the result of returning to lands which had been lost to one's enemies. The

Manga were a relatively small phratry and the power of any individual Manga at that point could not have been the equivalent of their more powerful enemies. The Australian patrol directly challenged those enemies, the Yuomban, and defeated them as the Manga watched. But despite this example of Australian power, there was not sufficient evidence to encourage a man of Wando's status to forsake his known position for a new alternative. Wando's status as big man was based on his manipulation of traditional symbols of wealth and power. A continuation of that pattern was his most viable alternative unless he chose to find a whole new basis for prestige. From Wando's position, then, a conservative strategy would have been imperative.

When the Australians resettled the Manga on their lands in 1956, Wando began his "low profile" strategy in interaction with the new authorities. He avoided taking an interim position as a Luluai (chief) or Tultul (constable), since such a position might have required him to abandon his traditional responsibilities and directly confront the unknown. He initially took a very conservative stance with the Australian authorities and with the new business practices which have been established from time to time in the village. He went on to accept changes, but only as they were proved to be viable alternatives. At the peak of his promoter/broker interests, Wando was the major participant in the pig slaughtering of the pig festival ceremonies which ended in 1962. According to Cook (1967: 465) Wando had twice as many pigs to redistribute in that festival than his nearest competitor in his own clan. Of a sample of 48 men all owning at least one pig, the average number of pigs per owner was 5.66 for that festival. Wando had 26 pigs.

Wando's labor resources were tapped to the maximum during this period. His wives asked him not to take the role of a "wig wearer" during the festival because they needed his full time help in controlling and feeding his substantial pig herd. As a "wig wearer" Wando would have had an honorary part in the culmination of the festival. Such an honor was often cited as evidence that a man is a budding big man. In Wando's case he was beyond that level of influence and did not require the status of wig wearer as a stepping stone in his career. His success was already assured. Instead, Wando acted as organizer and assistant sorceror to the two elderly sorcerors of his clan-moiety. He learned many of the details of the festival ceremonies under their leadership.

Wando's Business Interests

Wando adopted those aspects of the modern strategy which had very low risks. He did not lead in modern business enterprises, although he supported some, saving his wealth and money for traditional prestige goals such as bride-price payments and contributions to the ceremonial exchanges of others of his clan.

Wando had his own coffee plants and he and his wives and his grown son all worked to pick and dry the beans. They did not, however, follow the increased consumption habits of the rest of the new Manga peasantry. Wando forbid his wives from spending money on trivialities such as store food and clothing. They had a few bits of finery which they had been given by young men returning from the coast as thanks for looking after the young man's pigs or gardens. If they had any store-bought gift from Wando it was a knife or other necessity of

housewifery. All coffee money that they received went into a canvas bag that Wando wore at all times. In 1972, Wando was saving money to pay for his son's wife and all coffee money was set aside for that purpose. His daughter Aina had been sent as an exchange for the son's wife, but Aina had died leaving the one daughter which his old wife Karaka had managed to save. He paid the price of his son's wife and for their one child, a sum reputed to be over $500 to the Bubgili people, former Manga enemies. The Bubgili returned only $300 of the money saying that the woman was dead and there would be no more children from her so they were just going to pay for the child. Plate 34 shows the scene of the return payment as a tense crowd awaits an accurate count of the return payment. It was usual in a case like this for the husband's lineage to pay the lineage of the dead woman for "allowing" her to die. The Bubgilis had never made a death payment for Aina and this was further salt in the wound. Wando was justifiably angry at this slight and the two sides were close to violence when his sub-clan brother Kinjan stepped in and offered to pay anyone who had been slighted by the Bubgilis. In the old days a man as powerful as Wando would have acted violently over such a slight, but he acquiesced to the demands of the pacification era.

Wando also participated in contributions to Mai's store. (See the chapter on Mai for full details.) He was one of those who became dissatisfied with not receiving any return interest on his investment and demanded the return of his money. He then helped finance a sub-clan store for one of the young men of his own sub-clan (Plate 35). This store was not intended for profit but for sub-clan convenience. Wando took pride in this sub-clan enterprise. As it

Plate 34: The Brideprice Return Payment for Wando's Deceased Daughter

Plate 35: Wando's Subclan Store

evidenced, social profit was more important than monetary profit to Wando.

Wando was also instrumental in seeing that justice was done when one of the committeemen at Kwiop gambled away the fine money Wando had given him to keep his classificatory brother's wife out of jail at Tabibuga. The committeeman, Tsinge, who insisted that the money had been stolen and would be returned soon, was spotted gambling at the river on the way back from the woman's court. Since the woman in question was sent to jail (for throwing a knife at her husband), Wando was justifiably angry that Tsinge had not properly defended her and had lost Wando's money besides. Neither Wando nor his son participated in gambling since it "ate" money and gave nothing in return. Wando insisted that Tsinge be fired from his job since he was not properly handling the interests of the Manga. He was fired.

Despite all the pressures to change, Wando was the spokesman for the old values in village gatherings. He was never known to shirk work, whether for the government or for his own relatives. Two of his younger children were in school at Togban and he had supported that school with his personal labor. He saw that the young would be following the new ways but he would not. He was one of the major forces behind the election of Mai Kopi as councillor since he had always been dissatisfied with the representation of the Manga point of view in legal cases at the patrol post. Wando stood up for his position in tribal conflicts, but he sent a younger man like Mai to support his position at the patrol post.

Wando and other big men who lived after the point of direct pacification faced a problem of adapting their strategies to the new

ways or taking a back seat while continuing to esteem traditional values. There are cases, such as that described by Paula Brown (1967), in which a man with traditional stature had been able to take advantage of the new authority supported by the Australians and further his position as a result. Kondom, a Chimbu big man, was able to progress from the position of traditional Bigmanship to a whole new power position, first as Luluai, then as President of the Local Council, and finally as Representative of the Chimbu District to the Legislature. Kondom strongly supported all government programs and was the epitome of a modern strategist in his later years. He combined both kinds of power to his absolute advantage.

Wando's position with the administration had been one of avoidance, but Wando's conservatism led him to support change once he had become familiar with enough information about such changes to incorporate them into his own personal set of standards of behavior. He supported Mai in his efforts to encourage the Manga toward education, road building, and even the church, because these represented duties toward the new administration. By following the dictates of Mai, the Councillor, Wando could avoid any personal confrontation with the government which might have jeopardized his power in his waning years. Thus he needed not go to church or the coast or school himself to perceive its advantage for younger members of the tribe. Wando's Bigmanship had been enhanced by this duality of adjustment in times of change. He had continued his managerial role and the ceremonial endeavors appropriate to the traditional big man in local contexts. He rarely placed himself in the supratribal arena since he apparently recognized that his lack of knowledge and mutual language

prevented him from forcefully presenting his position with the Australians. He had been similarly limited in his actions toward other tribes, such as the Bubgili's, since the threat of violence was virtually squelched at that level. He had maintained a respected position at the local level, but the position was limited by his age and health. He did not have the control that violence assured him in the old days. His physical strength and even his use of death sorcery was limited by the Australian legal system to which he distantly adhered. His voice was heard mainly at the local level. He retained the respect of his clansmen as long as his personal strength held out.

The matrix on the next page summarizes his changing authority in the years since contact (Figure 5).

	T_1 (1956-1961)	T_2 (1962-1966)	T_3 (1967-1972)
Supra-tribal Arena	N: uncertain A: none R: sorcery taboos as death sorcerer on leaving Jimi S: minimum regret/avoidance	N: uncertain A: none R: sorcery avoidance of enemy contamination S: minimum regret/avoidance	N: coffee producer (1971) A: cash R: cash only for traditional redistributions S: traditional/avoidance
Inter-tribal Arena	N: emerging /yua wei/sorcerer A: two wives, daughter of marriageable age R: sorcery restrictions and bigmanship responsibility S: traditional	N: bigman/manager/sorcerer A: Major distributor in the 1962 pig festival R: Sorcery outlawed by the administration S: traditional	N: bigman based on reputation A: son to coast with HLS, cash crop, store R: Ignorance of new economics responsible for finding S: traditional wives
Intra-tribal Arena	N: bigman/limited authority A: at the tribal level Wives, sorcery reputation R: No authority beyond influence or fear S: traditional persuasion	N: bigman/manager/patron A: Major pig festival contributor to allies R: sorcery taboos of the festival cycle S: traditional	N: bigman/patron A: sorcery knowledge & ceremonial leadership skills R: no knowledge of new arena S: traditional
Intra-clan Arena	N: bigman/divining sorcerer A: working wives, pig herd, traditional alliances R: sorcery taboos, heavy kinship responsibilities S: traditional	N: bigman/manager/patron A: finds wives for younger men, major distributor R: sorcery powers and violence limited by Admin.. S: traditional	N: bigman/ pig festival organizer A: grown son, skills as sorcerer/leader R: owes son's b-p, daughter dies S: traditional
Intra-subclan Arena	N: father/husband/brother A: 2 hard working wives, near grown children R: responsibilities to a wife kin network S: traditional/promoter	N: bigman, etc. A: redistributes accumulated wealth in pig festival R: widens responsibilities with above redistribution S: traditional/manager	N: bigman/father, etc. A: cash income, son to coast, son's wife's labor in cof- R: son's bride price due, fee cash demands w/o skills S: traditional/mixed economic

Key: T-Time S-Strategy
N-Niche
A-Assets
R-Restrictions (Liabilities)

Figure 5: Wando's Transition Matrix

CHAPTER EIGHT: MAI, THE ELECTED COUNCILLOR[1]

In 1972 Mai Kopi, the currently elected Manga representative to the Jimi River Local Government Council, was a husky, handsome, and vigorous man in his early thirties. Dressed in shorts and shirt, polished black oxfords and white socks, he was the personification of the rising young political leader in the New Guinea Highlands. Mai lived at Kwiop with his wife and two children (Plate 36) in a "modern" three room bamboo house which sits on a rise beside his tin-roofed store, overlooking the newly built Goroka-style Anglican church (Plate 20). His days were full as he directed government work projects or conducted local courts from his kerosene drum seat. His nights were spent playing cards or entertaining visitors in his home. His wife bragged of the store-bought gifts that Mai often brought her from his card winnings or his coffee profits. Her house was full of trade store symbols of sophistication: a portable radio, kerosene lamps, blankets, cups and saucers, eating utensils and dishes, a tea kettle, and many items of Western dress for herself and the children.

In contrast to his fellow tribesmen, Mai's affluence was marked. The elder Manga males and most women still dressed in traditional skirts of net and string in 1972. They spent only a few shillings of their coffee earnings on store food or finery. The old men complained bitterly about the squandering of money on such frivolities. Many continued the old ways, living in separate men's houses built in the traditional low-roofed style, observing food taboos and bemoaning the

Plate 36: Mai, His Wife Wagi, and Their Two Children

loss of their sons to the Highland Labour Scheme. Sorcery accusations and fears still bubbled to the surface of their conversations. Younger men and many teenage girls exhibited varying degrees of sophistication in their adaptations to Western styles. They were rarely seen in traditional dress except on ceremonial or courting occasions. Many of the young spoke Neo-melanesian with some fluency after a year or two of school or two years' work on the coast. Mai's life history will offer further detail on major changes in the Manga lifestyle over the seventeen years since his first contact with Europeans.

Mai and the Events of Change

Mai had an uneventful childhood, marked only by occasional incidents of skirmish fighting between the Manga and their traditional enemies in the type of warfare common to Highland groups prior to Australian pacification. In the mid-1950's, however, major warfare broke out between the Manga and their closest neighbors, the Yuomban. The tide of war turned against the Manga and Mai's father, Kopi, was killed in the fighting. Mai and his elder brother fled the burned-out Manga lands to stay with affinal kinsmen a half-day's walk down river. In 1956, Mai returned to his home ground when he learned that an Australian patrol had been sent into the Middle Jimi to establish peace.

Barry Griffin, the Patrol Officer leading this peacemaking expedition, returned the scattered Manga to their land at Kwiop. When Griffin left the area, Mai and two other Manga teenagers accompanied the patrol back to the established patrol headquarters at Minj. These young men were to be taught the basics of Neo-melanesian and encouraged to achieve some familiarization with "Western ways." It was expected

that they would subsequently return to the Jimi to assist their people in making the contact transition.

Mai's stay at the small government school at Minj was short. He was punished several times for "playing hooky" and inevitably he ran away with his Kwiop mates. They stayed for some months in the vicinity under the care of the government interpreter, Nopnop, who had accompanied Griffin on his Jimi pacification patrol. The young Manga fellows were soon mature enough to participate in courting and they made their decision to walk back to the Jimi to pursue that social objective. When they reached Banz, however, a policeman encouraged them to stay at the Kerowagi patrol post doing odd jobs and learning more about the ways of the Australians. Mai confessed that he spent most of his three years at Kerowagi occupied with young ladies.

In 1959, Mai and his Kwiop mates again decided to return home. At Kol in the upper reaches of the Jimi Valley they briefly joined the patrol of a government doctor working his way down the Jimi to Tabibuga where the new government patrol post had been built in the central Jimi. Mai acted as an interpreter for that patrol.

At Tabibuga Mai found the newly built patrol post and a completed air strip. He remained at the post for a short time as an informally "employed" interpreter but soon left for his home at Kwiop, a four hour walk away. After Mai had returned to Kwiop, the Patrol Officer sent out messages stating that opportunities were available for young men in the Jimi to participate in the Highland Labour Scheme. Mai signed up immediately and, as the most fluent speaker of Neo-melanesian available, was appointed "boss boy" to a line of 36 men from the Jimi (including seven others from his own village).

Mai continued for eight months as boss of the Jimi line at a copra-cocoa plantation on an island off the Madang Coast (Karkar). In the ninth month of his contract he was reassigned as the assistant to the plantation workshop mechanic. The mechanic taught him the intricacies of the gasoline engine and how to drive a truck. Six months later the plantation manager took notice of Mai's new skills and reassigned him as a truck driver. As a driver he earned fourteen dollars extra each month in addition to his regular pay of one dollar per month plus "scale" on his contract. His skill as a mechanic insured his success as a driver since Mai could repair his vehicle as well as drive it.

Upon finishing his contract, Mai returned to the Highlands as required by his contract. Before he left Madang, however, the plantation manager gave him a letter which promised Mai airfare to Madang if he wanted to return to work there on a monthly basis as a driver. Since labor contracts require that the laborer return to the Highlands for at least two months between contracts, Mai spent a few months at Kwiop and then went to Tabibuga to take advantage of the promised opportunity to return to Madang. The patrol officer discouraged Mai from returning to the coast. He took the letter from the plantation manager and reassured Mai that there would soon be opportunities for driving employment at the patrol post. (At that time there were no vehicles on the post except for one jeep owned by the Nazarene mission.) Mai was then hired by the patrol officer as a carpenter's apprentice. A disillusioned Mai quit a year later when he suffered a painful but not permanent injury to his hand. After sending his fingertip back to Kwiop for burial, Mai asked the patrol officer for monetary compensation.

Since this was not forthcoming, he took a bag of coffee seeds distributed at the post and returned home to Kwiop. Mai planted the coffee there against the expressed wishes of the traditional leaders who were very reluctant to adopt such innovations.

Coffee plantings take several years to mature so Mai left Kwiop again in 1965 to work as a truck (bus) driver for the Kerowagi Local Government Council. He worked there from mid-1965 to early 1966, earning a respectable salary of $48.00 a month. The Kerowagi area offered many opportunities for card-playing and courting young women so Mai was content there in his high paying and prestigious job.

Mai's Political Career

In early 1966, the Jimi River area was reorganized as a single electorate division (having previously been split between the Minj and Wahgi electorates). An election was scheduled to select the representatives to the new Jimi River Local Government Council. Patrol officers toured the Jimi to explain the new political system. The old system of the appointed Luluais and Tultuls was to be replaced with a single elected official in each village, the councillor. The local "kaunsil" (as he is called in Neo-melanesian) then appoints, or has elected, a committee to help him in his local duties. At Kwiop the consensus was reached that the Manga had no viable candidate for councillor among the resident male population. While there were numerous "nominations," no general agreement could be reached because of the basic division of the Manga into two clans, the KulakaeNgeyka and the Timbamaruwaga. At the time candidates were being discussed, it became apparent to the combined clans that any candidate affiliated with one clan would not

be expected equally to represent legal claims of the other clan. Many were of the opinion that: "If we choose a man just from Maruwaga, the Kulaka would get angry. If we choose another man from Kulaka only, the Maruwagas become our enemies. Everyone agrees, we want a man from the middle."

To the Manga, a man "from the middle" was someone in close genealogical proximity to both exogamous Manga clans. Mai had such a heritage as shown in Figure 6 on the next page. His father's father was a Maruwaga; his father's mother returned with her two young sons to reside with her Kulaka clan-moiety brothers of the Aliyaumo subclan. Her sons, including Mai's father, remained affiliated with Kulaka-Aliyaumo. Mai overtly identified himself as a Kulaka-Aliyaumo. However, one of Mai's father's mother's other grandsons had chosen to reestablish residence with his Maruwaga relatives. His decision to change residence was precipitated by his desire to marry a classificatory Kulaka sister. Local opinion agreed that if he realigned himself with the Maruwaga clan through a change of residence, he could marry the girl. If he had remained in Kulaka-Aliyaumo residence, the marriage would have been regarded as incestuous. His example showed that Mai, too, might easily redefine his overt genealogical affiliation.

Mai was not the only Manga who qualified as such a "middle man." Two others from his Aliyaumo lineage were asked if they would take the Councillor role, but both felt they were too old and had too little understanding of the new ways. General agreement settled on the absent Mai and a contingent left for the patrol post to explain the situation to the resident patrol officer. A telegram was sent to Mai at Kerowagi asking for his speedy return. When he arrived at Kwiop he

Key: M–designates Maruwaga residence
K–designates Kulaka residence
*–designates subclan brother who changed his residence from M to K to avoid incest taboos

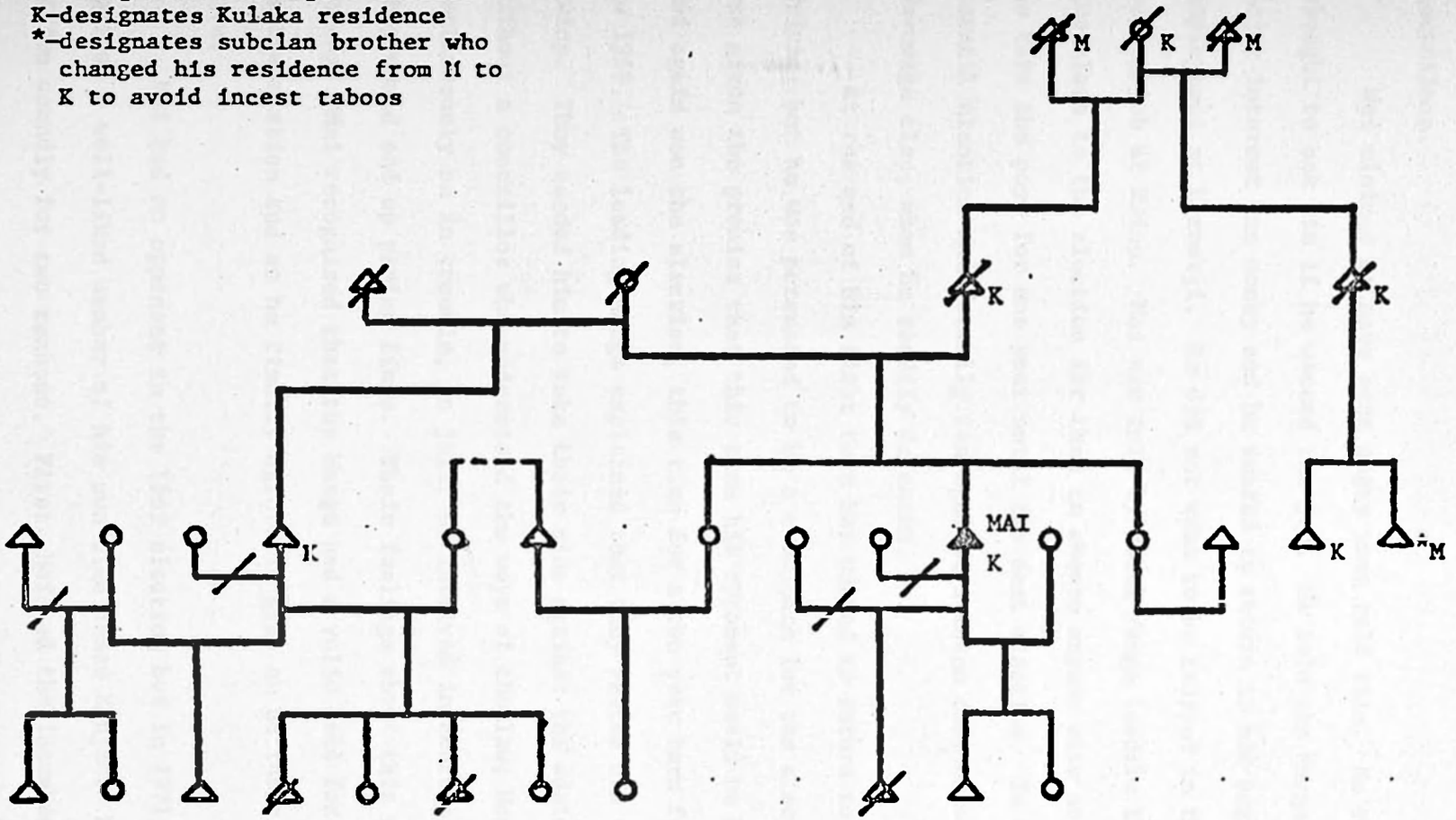


Figure 6: Mai's Genealogy

was told that everyone had agreed he should be named the Manga councilman.

Mai claimed to have been angry when told this. No one had thought to ask him if he wanted the job. He told the Manga that his major interest was money and he wanted to return to his high wage employment at Kerowagi. He did not want to be trapped in this low paying job at Kwiop. Mai was told by local Manga leaders that it was too close to the election for them to choose anyone else so Mai agreed to take the post for one year until the next election. In the first council election Mai formally ran against a token candidate from the Maruwaga clan, whom he readily defeated.

At the end of his first term Mai wanted to return to his truck driving but he was persuaded to be a candidate for the election. He was given the promise that this time his opponent would be elected, but Mai again won the election, this time for a two year term from 1967 to 1969. The leading Manga explained that they wanted him to stay at Kwiop. They needed him to take their side against the administration. Without a councillor who understood the ways of the law, Manga would continuously be in trouble, in jail, or involved in court cases where they would end up paying fines. Their feelings about this were very strong. Mai recognized that the Manga had a valid need for such representation and so he finally agreed to stay on as their representative.

Mai had no opponent in the 1969 election but in 1971 he ran against a well-liked member of his own clan named Kinjan. Mai defeated Kinjan soundly for two reasons. First, Mai had the incumbent's advantage. Mai called newly elected Councillors "nothing men" because

they had made no previous contribution to the council's work. He told the Manga that the patrol officers favored the re-election of old councillors who knew how to do things properly. Second, Mai spoke fluent Neo-melanesian, Kinjan could speak very little of the pidgin. The Jimi councillors had agreed that it was helpful to elect pidgin speakers so the Jimi Council could hire fewer interpreters for their meetings. The Council then employed three interpreters, at one time there had been seven.

In 1968 and 1969 Mai also campaigned ("givim tok tok wokabout") for election to the House of Assembly in the first two "Member" elections in the Jimi. In the first Member election the eight candidates functioned as political educators. They each went from village to village explaining what the House of Assembly was and the future role of the Jimi Representative. Mai explained to the Jimi people that the duty of the Jimi Member was to tell the House of Assembly what the people of the Jimi Valley were thinking, "Bai-igo long House of Assembly, na scalim tinktink long ol." He told them if they had a Member then the Jimi had a voice in the government at Moresby. To make progress the Jimi had to have a Member. Mai and six others lost this first election to Mai's wife's adoptive father, Kaula. Kaula died during his first year in office. A by-election was held in 1969 to replace him. Mai again joined the race along with seven other candidates. Mai claimed that the by-election was a very close race and that he was told he had "won" the election until the time when the absentee ballots from coastal laborers were countod. Thomas Kavali was elected at that time. There is no evidence available to confirm or refute his contention that the race was so close.

Mai did not run in the 1972 Member election although he said he was encouraged to run with offers of monetary contributions to his hundred dollar candidacy fee. He failed to mention that the incumbent member, Thomas Kavali, loaned Mai $100 of a $200 fine for illegal use of Mai's shotgun in 1971. Such a loan may have discouraged Mai's interest in this particular election. Mai continued to discuss his potential candidacy for the Member seat in future years. He repeated the local gossip that Kavali was seen less and less frequently in the Jimi. Mai said this caused Jimi people to complain that their worries were not being heard in the House of Assembly. Mai felt that voter dissatisfaction was increasing in the Jimi and he might have been able to capitalize on this in the 1976 election. To this end Mai had made an agreement with the President of the Jimi River Local Government Council who was also a resident of the north wall of the central Jimi. They had agreed that if they both decided to run in 1976, the less viable candidate would withdraw from the race and throw his support to his fellow candidate from the north wall. They anticipated the possibility that such a coalition combined with voter dissatisfaction could beat the incumbent.

Mai's Leadership as Councillor

While Mai manifested many of the criteria necessary to qualify him as a traditional-style Bigman, he would probably not have been a major power under the old Paradigm. Mai had great physical strength, intelligence, and proven attractiveness to women, as demonstrated by his long term success. He was bold, forceful, and occasionally violent, but his violent nature was tempered in his role as "kaunsil" where he

discouraged the beatings which frequently surfaced in intra-clan or marital disputes. He was a persuasive speaker at many ceremonial events but with a style unlike the speaking patterns of the older Bigmen. However, other factors may have precluded his success according to the old standards of Bigmanship prior to pacification. Because of his "mixed" heritage, Mai may have been cut off from acquiring the knowledge of magic and sorcery from his classificatory fathers. He had no particularly close kinship ties to traditional leaders who were able to pass on such knowledge. If the contention is true that the alliances found during periods of warfare were solidified by leaders with a knowledge of sorcery, then Mai would have been excluded from this power. Because of his youthfulness in 1956, Mai had no opportunity to prove his manhood in the last war. His leadership status was largely unrelated to that absolute criteria for "true" Bigman status in traditional terms.

Mai achieved social control through a combination of his own persuasiveness and threats of punishment from higher authorities. Mai had no legally recognized authority to settle disputes at the local level, but he was not discouraged from attempting to resolve intra-tribal issues and some inter-tribal issues such as marital disputes. With the aid of his locally elected "committeemen," (Plate 37) who represent each of the four Manga clan-moieties, Mai regularly conducted these local courts. Issues involved ranged from arguments over pigs or women, to theft, incest, and rights to land or products of that land, (See Chapter 11 for further details.) In each case Mai interpreted the "law" relating to the issue. He did not make decisions in the same sense that a judge decides a case in Western law. He encouraged

Plate 37: Councillor Mai (center) with His Two Assistants, Committee Tom (left) and Committee Tsapinde (right)

the guilty parties involved to make some agreed on gesture of compensation to the wronged parties. In most cases involving small intra-tribal disputes, a fine was paid in cash or other wealth such as bird plumes or pigs. Resolution of cases involving adultery were more difficult to achieve, particularly because so many husbands were at the coast and had left behind wives whose brideprice was unpaid.

In addition to his court duties, Mai's role as the local councillor also required him to translate the activities of the Local Jimi River Government Council at a village meeting usually held on the Sunday following each monthly Council meeting (Plate 38). Mai's synopsis of the Council meetings often reflected his own biases. He was empowered to direct local men and women to participate in a weekly government workday. Mondays were so dedicated to the interests of the local government. From September of 1971 to September of 1972, Mai directed the building or rebuilding of (1) a new government rest house and cook house with adjacent "small house,"[2] (2) a new government "police" rest house and adjacent "small house," (3) a new three room house for himself plus "small house," (4) a new garden house for his wife, (5) a new Anglican church built in the towering cone-shaped Goroka fashion, (6) two miles of road following surveyors' plans and dug with hand tools only, and finally (7) the new fishpond, a large hole dug to government specifications to be filled with rainwater and stocked with fast growing fish to supplement the Manga's low protein diet.

In June of 1971, Mai told the Manga that the Council had decided that being a councillor was a full time job. Consequently, he would require two full time unpaid teenage helpers, one male and one female. The young male was assigned the mundane household tasks of carrying

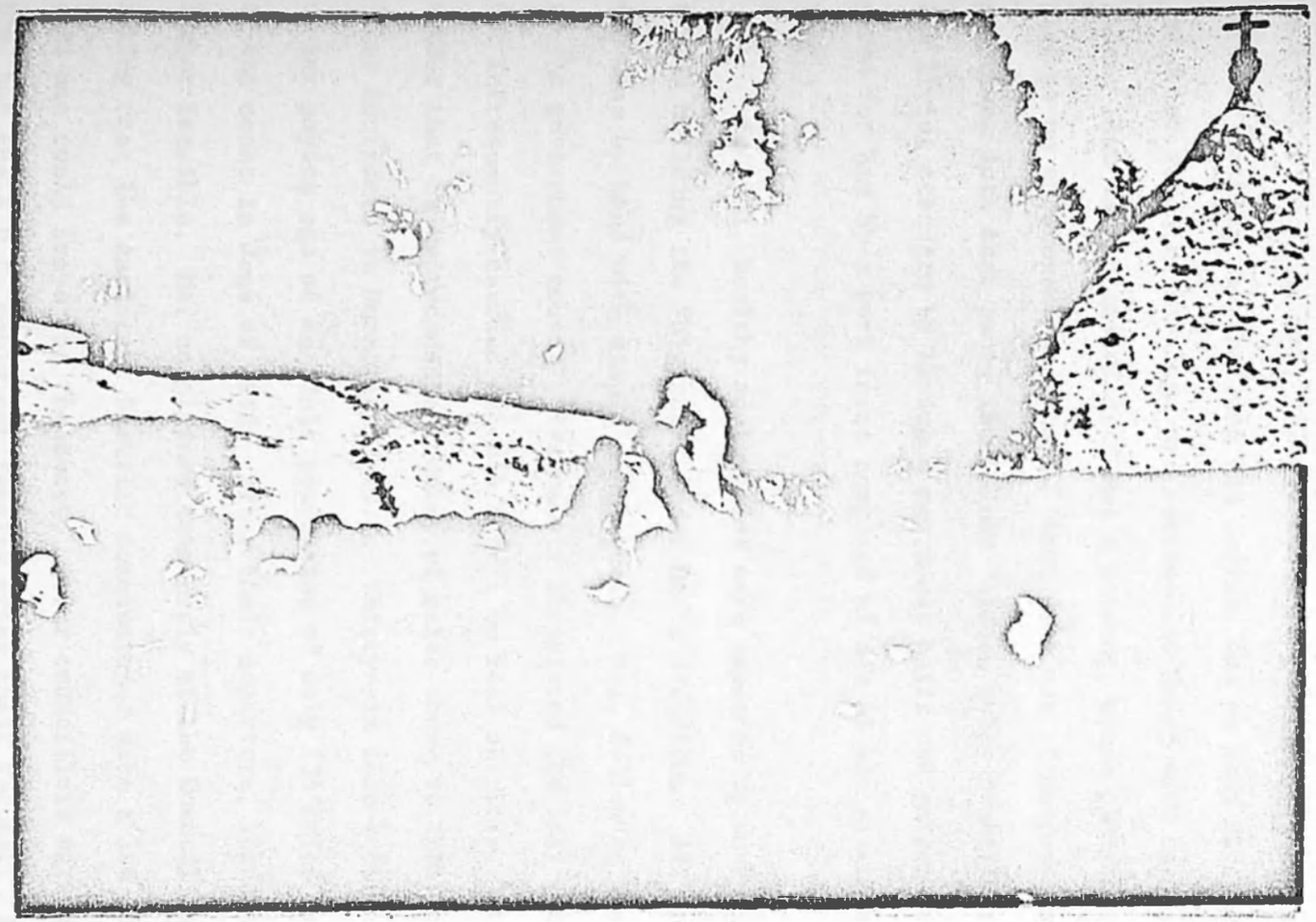


Plate 38: Mai's Monthly Council Meeting Report to the Manga

[Image scanned from original slide, asc2_mss0187_0424, in the Edwin Cook Papers, Melanesian Archive, Mandeville Special Collections Library, University of California, San Diego]

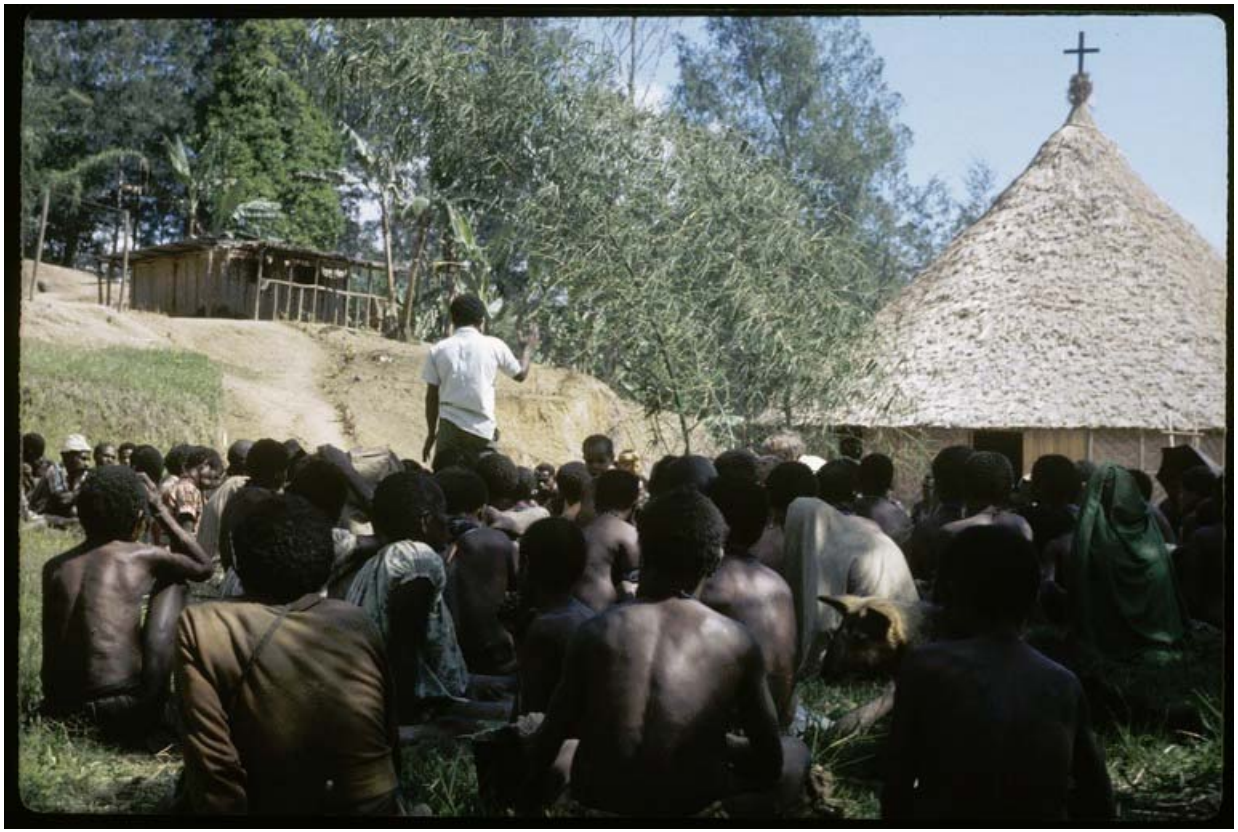


Plate 38: Mai's Monthly Council Meeting Report to the Manga

water, chopping firewood and preparing the garden for planting. The young female was assigned to help Mai's wife with her two children, the gardening, pig care and feeding, and other feminine household duties. As a further help to Mai, village women frequently were assigned the tasks of picking and shelling his coffee, and on some days they carried the dried seeds to Tabibuga and returned to Kwiop with cargo for his store. Men burned and cleared Mai's gardens, women planted these gardens on government work days. Lest such use of manpower seem presumptive, note that among the Chimbu "almost every councillor improved his living standard by having a new house built and garden areas prepared for him by a work force composed of men of his electorate" (Brown: 1967_b).

In 1971, healthy adult males were expected to work five days a week building the "big road" under Mai's direction. All road work was done by hand with simple steel tools. Mai, following the wishes of the government council, frequently threatened the lazy with jail and not infrequently carried out his threat on real shirkers. It is no wonder that an unprecedented number of males chose to enter coastal labor contracts in December of 1971. Thirty-six able-bodied Manga men of tax paying age of an adult population of only 124 males were absent at the coast in June of 1972. After their departure, roadwork was no longer feasible. Mai complained vehemently at the Council meetings asking that the Assistant District Commissioner make a law that no more Jimi men could leave for the coast. Other councillors agreed with him, but the A.D.C. could not legally grant their request. In comparison to other Highland regions the Jimi had a relatively low absentee population on the coast.

Mai's "Bisnis" Development

After the second Council election in 1967, Mai recognized that he was effectively cut off from his potential wage earnings as a truck driver. In order to make some profit from what he regarded as an enforced stay at Kwiop, he set about developing his own local "bisnis." He had saved some of his Kerowagi wages and he asked his friend, Men, to match his $20 investment in establishing a small store at Kwiop. Mai, in his capacity as Councillor, ordered the ground cleared near his house for the store. Local men brought house posts and wove the bamboo strip walls while women gathered long grass for the roof. Mai and Men then went to Tabibuga where they purchased a store license in Mai's name and a small supply of tinned meat and rice, bags of salt and a large sack of white rice with their forty dollars. When some months had passed Mai realized that he needed a larger investment base to realize more profit. He sent out a well respected member of his local "committee," Tsinge, to encourage the men of the KulakaeNgeyka clan to invest in a bigger store. Tsinge successfully solicited $20 shares from ten men in addition to one extra share of $14. At the same time Mai attempted to increase local support for his store from the Maruwaga clan. He asked his Maruwaga "cousin" Parim to help him start another store for that clan. Mai contributed $30 to Parim's store, Parim only $20. Both new stores were built in 1969 under a single roof with an interior adjoining door but two sales windows (Plate 39). The roof was made of six tin pieces or roof "coppers" which Mai bought with the proceeds from killing and selling the meat of a large pig. Both stores were officially licensed under a single fee paid in Mai's name as

Plate 39: Mai's and Parim's Store at Kwiop

store owner. The stores were locally known as Mai's store and Parim's store. From 1969 to 1972, they were the only stores at Kwiop.

According to Mai's storekeeper in 1972, Mai and Parim usually restocked their stores every eight weeks with $100 work of supplies, $60 for Mai's store and $40 for Parim's. Proceeds from each sale were kept in separate money boxes in each half of the store. The percentage of profit on each item sold varied widely but profits on each $100 worth of stock averaged around $35. At least $20 of the profit went directly to Mai. The storekeeper was paid only two or three dollars on an irregular basis with as long as two months between payments. Stock regularly included tinned corned meat-loaf, tinned horse mackeral, white rice bought in thirty pound bags and resacked in smaller units of one pound or less, tobacco, paper, sugar, salt, and matches.

In May of 1971, Mai told his investors that he had approximately $200 in profits (over and above his capital) from the KulakaeNgeyka store. He asked them for permission to put these profits into a single account under his name at the Commonwealth Bank at Tabibuga. He explained that the bank would keep the money safe from fire or theft and being "eaten" by others. No one formally challenged him at that time (according to Mai) but some of the investors met later to complain bitterly about the lack of return on their investment. Their complaints were reported to Mai and he faced them in an angry scene. He chastized the complainers for their shortsightedness. Mai told them that this store money was different from other money, it should not be divided and wasted on food or women. Store money should be saved and used to build a bigger and better store in the future when the road to the outside world was finished.

The investors, however, had evidence that their profits could be lost if left in Mai's hands. First, there were rumors that Mai's frequent gambling was financed from store profits. Second, the storekeeper originally hired to watch Parim's half of the store recently had stolen $180 of Parim's profits of which only a portion was returned. Mai could not dissuade five of the investors from their demand for a return of their twenty dollar investment. He gave them only the original $20 with no additional return on their two year investment. The other $100 profit he left in the bank according to plan.

In the summer of 1972, Mai's monopoly on local stores ended when two of his dissatisfied investors each organized a trade store for his own clan-moiety. According to local practice, a Manga should first try to buy from his own clan-moiety store. In one new store prices were very low because its owners felt that a trade store was for convenience, not profit. Such low prices did not seem to attract many more customers because of the clan-moiety store priority, i.e., the market was fixed. Since all four stores carried cargo from Tabibuga at the same time as Mai's order, each had equal access to free labor for that purpose and no money needed to be spent to hire carriers thereby avoiding a subsequent raise in prices to pay those carriers' wages.

In 1969, Mai attended a council meeting where the council's patrol officer advisor explained the laws regarding the use of the shotgun, which had begun to appear in the Jimi. Mai immediately planned to acquire such a potentially profitable tool for himself so he could begin shooting for valuable feathers and food for sale. He asked his two major store partners, Men and Parim, to join him in a $20

contribution to this new enterprise. Mai sent this $60 to Moresby with the newly elected House of Assembly Member, Thomas Kavali. Kavali purchased a shotgun on the coast and returned it to Mai in the Jimi. Mai then went to Mt. Hagen where the police tested his knowledge of the weapon and its use and licensed the gun for one year.

The shotgun did prove to be another profitable "bisnis" for Mai. He organized shooting expeditions to uninhabited bush country where valuable birds could be found in abundance. Feathers from some species of birds-of-paradise were then sold in the Wahgi Valley for as high as ten dollars per mounted plume. Mai also rented the shotgun at four dollars per successful shot. He estimated that shotgun profits surpassed $160 during the first two years. To insure a high rental demand for the gun, Mai was able to establish a shotgun monopoly because of his position as Councillor. Although many Manga males had sufficient funds to finance a shotgun for themselves, Mai refused to recommend them for licensing by the Local Jimi River Council. Since each Councillor was given the authority to determine who among their constituency was sufficiently responsible to be licensed to carry a shotgun, many took advantage of their power to license only one gun, their own.

In 1971, Mai's shotgun partner, Men, was licensed to carry the jointly owned shotgun at Mai's request. Men went on a lengthy hunting expedition in the unsettled Ramu Valley to the east. The Patrol Officer for the Ramu area received word that a shotgun was being used in his area to kill protected species of birds. He sent out a patrol to apprehend Men, who was fined $200 and jailed for two months. The fine was paid by Mai and Men with $100 from their shotgun profits and by Thomas Kavali, who paid the other $100. The shotgun was impounded for

two months and then relicensed to Mai with a warning not to shoot out of his territory. In 1972, Mai continued to use the gun for profit, killing birds on his own land and shooting an occasional cassowary or wild pig for sale at the Tabibuga weekly market.

Mai regularly supplemented his store and shotgun earnings with additional money from the sale of his coffee and winnings from card games. All Mai's coffee plantings of the mid-1960's were mature. He used the free labor of Manga women to pick his coffee on government workdays. Many of his personal possessions were bought with coffee profits. Mai also "invested" some of his profits in card games. Although card playing was still illegal in New Guinea, it was the favorite pastime of many young men. Stakes varied from a shilling to several hundred dollars per hand. Wins and losses went as high as six hundred dollars in a single night. Mai regularly participated in local games. He was particularly keen to involve visitors in a game at Kwiop where Mai's chances of winning were increased by the "company" structure employed in the game called "Lucky." To date Mai had a firm reputation as a winner. Small winnings were spent on food or gifts. Mai's larger winnings--up to fifty dollars--were banked in his account at the patrol post. His storekeeper reported that at least forty of Mai's last $200 in store profits had been gambled away and not replaced in the bank.

But Mai's participation in traditional spheres of exchange was not always as successful as his modern business ventures. As in the case of his failure to share his store profits, Mai was prone to occasional selfish acts which did not add to his stature according to the traditional Bigmanship Paradigm.

In one case we directly witnessed the Manga confronting Mai in a traditional setting and judging him to be acting immaturely according to the values of traditional bigmanship. The occasion was the brideprice return payment for Wando's deceased daughter Aina, mentioned in the last chapter. She had married into the Bubgile tribe, had one child, and died. Her exchange, a Bubgile woman, married Aina's brother (ToBa Kif), produced two children and was still living. Wando had gathered a substantial brideprice together but had expected since this was a case of direct exchange that it would be returned in full measure. The Bubgile's returned about half of Wando's payment on the grounds that the woman was dead and they no longer had access to her labor or further children by her.

Once the Manga realized that the return payment was so sparse, a general mumbling of the crowd began and the scene was tense. When speeches began, Wando cited other instances where he had been shortchanged by his Bubgile relations and other Manga speakers followed suit. Under such circumstances we expected Mai to act to cool tempers and to reassure the crowd that violence would be unacceptable. Instead he rushed up to the brideprice return banner and tore off an amount equal to that contributed by members of his own Aliyaumo sub-clan. This act aggravated the already anxious crowd and caused a number of men to follow suit. Such behavior is antithetical to the customary pattern of post-ceremonial redistribution. During the rush, however, Kinjan Kuk (who had run against Mai in the last election) called out that he would personally be responsible for any losses to the Manga. One of Mai's committeemen, Tsapinde, voluntarily gathered weapons so that no one would be tempted to use them. Eventually the scene was

calmed without Mai's influence. Low key mumblings reflected the Manga's shock at such poor behavior on Mai's part.

Two days later these complaints came to a head when the wives of two of Mai's absent sub-clan brothers were overheard to accuse Mai of absconding with their husbands' shares of the return payment. This gossip was brought to Mai's attention and he beat the two women and publicly denounced their accusations. A general loss of respect was apparent in such an accusation by his kinswomen despite Mai's denials. This is further proof that Mai was still judged by a traditional set of "Bigman" values.

Plans for the Future

In 1972, Mai brought word to his people that the main road linking the Highlands with Madang would cut through the central Jimi River Valley. Mai's personal plans for the future then centered on this road. He told the Manga that their future livelihood depended on how well they worked in building their share of the road. He preached the doctrine of a full day's work. He demanded that men be willing to leave their pigs, gardens, and other "bisnis" to the women while they devoted all their energies to the road. He promised that progress would come with the "big road" and this would mean big money for all the Manga.

Mai was saving his money for a bigger store. When the promised road was finished, he said he would abandon the mountaintop at Kwiop and go to live alongside the road. There he would build his new store. He dreamed out loud of a strong building with a cement floor and many roof "coppers" to catch water for his nearby house. He

planned to use the profits from his new store to help finance his own truck which would carry cargo for his store from Minj or Hagen at lower wholesale prices. He had already given his wife's sister's husband, Wangetu, $200 as an investment in a truck cooperative now running in the Wahgi Valley. Wangetu had promised Mai that this cooperative would then finance a used truck for Mai when the road to Madang was completed. Mai's only fear was that independence may mean a delay in the completion of the road.

Throughout his seven year political career, Councillor Mai had been a highly innovative leader, taking the initiative in introducing major and minor changes in the Manga way of life. Mai was the first to encourage men to abandon their men's houses and to build family residences in the European manner. Many of the younger men have followed Mai's example. Mai introduced new business and new laws as well. His ambitious plans for the future included his own baptism into the Anglican church and a suggestion that he would encourage the abandonment of brideprices. Mai's plan was to be baptized in May of 1973. Such a decision meant that he had accepted the monogamous restrictions of the Anglican church. He was joined in this decision by many of the younger men. There were indications that the two young Siane lay catechists who came to Kwiop in May of 1971 had become very influential with Mai. With these two young men, Mai and a handful of other mission-educated Manga, formed a party in support of new ideas for changing traditional patterns. In 1972, Mai first mentioned the need to abandon brideprices at one of his Council Meeting reports. He suggested at the time that money should be invested now in business, not women. Mai's own rationale for choosing monogamy may follow a similar train

of thought. For Mai, the businessman, polygamy could force the dissipation of a greater portion of his wealth to affines. He might also weaken his existing close affinal ties with his wife's more acculturated and religious kinsmen. Mai's many new ideas and his own example provided a constant developmental stimulus to the younger Manga.

Mai's Transition Matrix

The matrix on the next page (Figure 7) summarizes Mai's changing niche, assets, and liabilities since first contact in 1956. At the time of contact, Mai like the other Manga, had fled to live with affines after the Manga lost the 1956 war. Mai's father, Koliph, had been killed in the last fighting and as a teenage boy with no previous experience as lover, fighter, speaker, or sorceror, he had little claim to importance. With the entry of the pacification patrol, Mai began his reorientation toward the world outside the Jimi Valley. Through 1965, Mai spent less than two of the intervening nine years as a resident Manga. His first informal education as a laborer and as a good Neo-Melanesian speaker set him apart from his less acculturated counterparts. As soon as he got to the coast in 1960 his special talents made him a prime candidate for training as a mechanic and then as a truck driver--talents rarely trained in contract laborers.

But in 1965, Mai's election as councillor brought him back to the center of Manga life. Although his new responsibilities at first seemed to hia disadvantage, since he lost so much by foresaking his wage labor as a bus driver, he rapidly monopolized the business opportunities available in the Jimi to make up some of the deficit. However, by 1972

	T_1 (1956-1961)	T_2 (1962-1966)	T_3 (1967-1972)
Supra-tribal Arena	N: native boy A: 3 years at Kerowagi/joins the HLS R: none S: high risk/innovative	N: boss/mechanic/driver A: fluent Neo-Melanesian/ skilled mechanic/driver R: No jobs in the Jimi Valley S: modern	N: Councillor/middle man A: political/economic profits from store, shotgun, etc. R: commitment to the Manga S: modern
Inter-tribal Arena	N: A: Absent for 4 years at Kerowagi & with the HLS R: S:	N: A: Absent for three years with the HLS & working R: as a bus driver, etc. S:	N: Councillor/middle man A: political expertise as a mediator R: no judicial authority S: modern political & economic
Intra-tribal Arena	N: A: R: Same as above S:	N: A: R: Same as above S:	N: Councillor/middle man A: Trad. kinship links to both Clans R: Commitment to be fair to both clans S: modern with trad. pressures
Intra-clan Arena	N: A: R: Same as above S:	N: A: R: Same as above S:	N: Councillor A: reputation in above niches representative of the clan R: No claims to traditional bigmanship S: mixed/modern
Intra-subclan Arena	N: innovater/gambler/youth A: few R: none S: High risk entry above	N: innovater/absent young man A: knowledge of new arena R: no jobs in the Jimi area S: modern	N: brother/father/husband A: New religion supports his claims R: Traditional claims to re-distribute profits to kin S: mixed

Key: T-Time S-Strategy
N-Niche
A-Assets
R-Restrictions (Liabilities)

Figure 7: Mai's Transitional Matrix

the Manga had begun to learn that Mai was not the only Manga who could manipulate the system and that he was not infallible. When Mai was forced to jail a group of eight men who refused to build the road near Kwiop as corvee labor, he marked a turning point in his relations with the Manga. Substantial numbers of the men turned to the Highland Labour Scheme to escape Mai's rule. Others began to question his control of local business—his trade store and shotgun monopolies. Requests for shotgun licenses and trade stores were frequently made. Mai was now beginning to be judged not by a standard of new leadership but also by the dictates of the old Bigmanship paradigm. When he failed to share his store profits with his clan brothers, he was criticized and they asked for their investment back since his store was not for their benefit.

While Mai started on a strategy which led him farther away from traditional Manga values, his Councillorship returned him to those values and the social pressure inherent in the old system in order to legitimize his authority. Hence, the paradox: his new position had to be legitimized traditionally; the Bigmanship Paradigm still prevailed.

CHAPTER NINE: AMGOI, THE ENTREPRENEURIAL FAILURE[1]

Amgoi was probably born about 1942, the youngest of his mother's five children. When he was small both parents died and his care devolved upon his elder brother, Tsapinde, and to a lesser extent on his elder half-brother, Wando. Despite the examples of his elder brothers, Amgoi has a unique record of entrepreneurial failure in the years from 1956 to 1972. Amgoi was the most innovative of the young Manga in his adaptation to the new opportunities offered by the Europeans. However, as I will describe later in this chapter, he had continually failed to capitalize on his innovations because of his own propensity toward short term gambles or selfish profit.

Amgoi posed third from the right in the photograph on the next page (Plate 40). The occasion was a spontaneous visit from the Manga version of a clown who appears in the center of the photograph dressed in leaves and mud and holding a flower to his nose. Perhaps the setting is an appropriate one for Amgoi since his flowered shirt also sets him apart. He had no time to put on his formal attire of tennis shoes and long Australian socks and the complementing flowered tennis hat. Contrast this image with his elder brother Wando in Plate 32 and the generation gap in Manga life is readily evident.

Amgoi and the Era of Change

At the time of first contact and pacification, one of the party from Minj accompanying this patrol was named Nopnop, said to have been an interpreter. Nopnop told Amgoi that he should accompany him on the

Plate 40: Amgoi (third from right) at the Mud Man's Visit

[Image scanned from original slide, asc2_mss0187_0589, in the Edwin Cook Papers, Melanesian Archive, Mandeville Special Collections Library, University of California, San Diego]

Plate 40: Amgoi (third from right) at the Mud Man’s Visit

return to Minj. Nopnop is alleged to have said that this was at the request of the Patrol Officer. There is reason to believe this, since it is true that the Patrol Officer did take two other Manga adolescents, Mai and TsiNe, with him on the return to Minj. They were supposed to go to school or to work around the patrol post as informal "cargo" boys in order to become familiar with European ways and to learn Neo-Melanesian. At any rate, Amgoi accompanied Nopnop to Minj where he was soon put to work on Nopnop's private coffee holdings. He continued in this occupation for approximately two years and then returned to Kwiop in either late 1958 or early 1959. In the interim, a patrol post had been established at Tabibuga and the airstrip had been completed in 1959. Amgoi had undoubtedly acquired some knowledge of the more sophisticated practices of the Wahgi Valley indigenes.

In early 1961, the Anglican mission, operating from its base at Simbai under the direction of Father Peter Robin, placed two indigenous lay catechists at Kwiop. Amgoi immediately attached himself to their enterprise since at that time he was the only resident Manga with any command at all of Neo-Melanesian (Mai and Tsinge being at the coast), though it must be noted that this "command" was extremely limited. In fact, it would not be an exaggeration to state that his low level of competence made him essentially a functional non-Neo-Melanesian speaker. Toward the end of 1961, E. A. Cook selected Kwiop as the site of his field investigations and ultimately hired Amgoi. Amgoi claimed competence in Neo-Melanesian; he claimed competence in cooking and domestic skills; and he claimed competence in carpentry and other esoteric Western lore. Cook soon learned that all of these claims were spurious. Nevertheless, Amgoi did <u>attempt</u> all of these

various activities at one time or another though, as it developed, he much preferred to tell others what should be done than to do it himself.

At this point in time, late 1961 into early 1962, the Manga were within a few weeks of uprooting the ceremonial plants (/om/ and /ndama/) as a part of the pig festival cycle, after which dancing would be permitted. This was to culminate in December of 1962 with the slaughter of several hundred pigs and the subsequent distribution of large quantities of pork and wealth to previous war allies, kinsmen, and others to whom they were indebted. During this phase of the pig festival cycle, men decorated themselves elaborately and a part of this decoration included the wearing of green beetle headbands lashed together with yellow orchid fibers. Amgoi immediately set about purchasing all of the green beetles that he could acquire and in almost no time at all had hundreds of them; in short, he cornered the green beetle market. It was his plan to manufacture these headbands and sell them to other pig festival celebrants. After the beetles had dried out sufficiently, he collected the yellow fibers and sat down one evening to commence his project. In time it became apparent that he simply lacked the technical skills requisite to the task; he simply did not know how to make green beetle headbands. Within a few days he sub-contracted with an older male kinsman (a co-resident cross-cousin) to manufacture the headbands while he would supervise the project in terms of distribution and sales. Unfortunately, the kinsman only showed up sporadically at Amgoi's headband factory, and over a period of several weeks only made two or three of them, and not too well at that, which Amgoi was unable to sell. In the meantime, the green beetle bodies commenced decaying until even Amgoi could smell the failure of his project.

A few weeks after this, he was offered a young cassowary and he subsequently purchased it. The cassowary figured significantly in certain rituals at the conclusion of the pig festival and a measure of prestige was usually accorded those who slaughtered one. However, this effort also was unsuccessful, since the cassowary was too young to attain full growth prior to the end of the festival. Amgoi was also subjected to some mild ridicule because he had paid approximately twice the going price for cassowary chicks.

A couple of months later, Cook walked to the Simbai Patrol Post, stopping at each census point to collect Swadesh word lists. After arriving at Simbai, he returned to the Jimi via airplane to Tabibuga. Since the size of the plane prohibited taking other than immediate effects, Cook gave Amgoi a quantity of salt, which was used as a form of payment at the request of the Administration (to relieve iodine deficiency), so that Amgoi and the Manga cargo carriers might purchase food on their return walk to Kwiop. He later learned that Amgoi initiated the following modus operandi: Upon entering a native village he would speak only Neo-Melanesian, remain somewhat apart from those carrying cargo boxes and, assuming an air of importance, would require that his requests in Neo-Melanesian for food be translated by one of the other Manga cargo carriers into the local language. When food was brought he would then supervise the distribution of salt.

On another occasion, Amgoi had made the necessary arrangements to purchase his own shovel, the only shovels owned by the Manga at that time being of government issue. He walked to Tabibuga and bought his shovel. Having some money left, he then walked on down to the Nazarene Mission Station at Tsingoropa to shop at the Mission trade

store. After concluding his transactions at the store he began his walk back to Tabibuga (a one or two hour walk), only to realize half-way back that he had forgotten his shovel at the store. He immediately returned to the store to find it gone, but all there denied ever having seen it. Amgoi then walked over to the Reverend William Bromley's house (the Nazarene missionary at Tsingoropa) and told Mr. Bromley that the Patrol Officer at Tabibuga had told Amgoi to tell him that his presence, along with that of all the indigenous population located at Tsingoropa, was immediately requested at the Patrol Post in order to investigate, and subsequently incarcerate, those responsible for the theft of the shovel. Mr. Bromley immediately sent off one of his own employees to the Patrol Officer with a note stating his somewhat amazed disbelief of this request and asking for clarification. This, of course, was the first that the Patrol Officer had heard of the incident. The Patrol Officer sent out a policeman to apprehend Amgoi. Amgoi was returned to the Patrol Post, a court was held, and Amgoi was jailed for two weeks for behavior tending to incite others to riot.

During the second week of Amgoi's detention, a group of men of the Okona phratry, into whom his elder sister (then deceased) had married, arrived at the Patrol Post and informed the Patrol Officer that they had come as the Officer had requested. After a somewhat lengthy and convoluted discussion it developed that while Amgoi was in jail he had told another detained indigene of the Okona phratry that upon the latter's release from jail he was to inform his deceased sister's husband's group that the Patrol Officer had personally told Amgoi to tell them that they must now pay his sister's death payment and that it must be brought to the Patrol Post immediately. Since she

had died prior to Administration contact in the valley, and since traditional transactions of this sort were legally to be honored by the Administration, the Patrol Officer directed that the payment be made to Amgoi and the proper notations were made in the Okona census books. Upon Amgoi's release from jail he attempted to return to Kwiop with the wealth he had thus acquired but unfortunately, both his elder full brother and his elder half-brother forbade him to bring any of the wealth items home. Their grounds for denying him the opportunity to manipulate this wealth were that an unresolved state of enmity existed between the Okona and the Manga and therefore the wealth objects were contaminated and would probably cause sickness and death if brought into the home territory. As a result, Amgoi was compelled to deposit them with distantly related affinal kinsmen in another village where they were, in effect, impounded.

During the several months in which these events occurred, Amgoi also successfully courted and entered into a marital relationship with a girl, Kum. As was traditional, she was at first housed with his elder brother's wife, Mitsi, in her woman's house. This precipitated some additional trouble primarily for two reasons: first, Kum and Mitsi both originated in the same named minimal segment of Manga segmentary organization and there existed a mild prohibition against "brothers" marrying "sisters" when those brothers and sisters belong respectively to minimal named segments of inter-marrying clans and, second, Mitsi saw the presence of Kum as a threat to the payment of her own brideprice. This eventually resulted in certain behaviors by Mitsi which culminated in her husband having prematurely to pay her brideprice. Now since the Administration had entered the Jimi they had been promoting the

policy that bride-prices should be paid at the commencement of co-habitation by the couple. This was quite counter to local custom in which it is usually the case that a bride-price is not paid until there are two living children both past the age of weaning. Nevertheless, Mitsi, with only one living child of her own, was paid for and shortly after this Amgoi made a substantial and unceremonious (other than it being publicly consummated) presentation of wealth to Kum's parents. The amount, acquired principally through his employment by the anthropologist, was approximately one-third of what was then considered an adequate bride-price; nevertheless, after having made this payment, Amgoi maintained that he had now paid his bride-price and that Kum no longer had the option of returning to her natal home. At the payment, none of the preliminary ceremonies were attended to, there was no singing and dancing, and, other than Amgoi's, there were no presentation speeches. Amgoi made the payment dressed in shorts and a shirt, something that no one else had ever done. It is also the case that during the various dances held as part of the pig festival cycle, Amgoi was the only person who consistently incorporated items of European wearing apparel in his self-decoration.

A few months prior to the end of the festival at Kwiop, the eight men who were the first men from Kwiop to go to the coast as plantation laborers in the Highland Labour Scheme returned. Their impact was significant in a number of senses, but principally in demonstrating to other young men the wealth and goods that could be obtained through this form of employment. As a result, when the festival was finished a number of Manga decided to walk out of the Jimi to Mt. Hagen and sign on as laborers. Amgoi was in this group, stating prior to his departure

that he would become a truck driver as had Mai, who had just returned. However, during the night that the group spent on top of the Wahgi-Sepik Divide, just before entering the Wahgi Valley, Amgoi became fearful that evil ghosts and spirits would attack him on the coast and as a result he alone returned to Kwiop. A few months later Cook left the Jimi, in late 1963, and at that time hoped to return in about five years. Amgoi knew this.

Before Cook left Kwiop in 1962, Amgoi brought a handful of coffee beans to him one day. He explained that this was the second time he had had such beans but that rats had eaten the earlier batch. He told Cook that some men at Warames had planted coffee and when the Patrol Officer came through and noticed it he beat the responsible parties. At this time Amgoi did not understand the necessity for planting the beans along with shade trees. Cook explained also that the beans were inedible and that it would take several years for the trees to bear. Upon hearing of the amount of time and effort necessary to the project, he declared that it would not be good for him to plant the beans and, as a result, get beaten and end up in jail (in Neo-Melanesian, "No gut mi planim nau kiap kam kalabusim mi.")

Later, sometime in 1964 or 1965, the Administration did make coffee seeds available for planting in the middle Jimi, the area in which the Manga are located. Luluai Wabi, Tultuls Ngarin and Kis, informed the Administration officials that the Manga did not wish to plant coffee as they were uncertain of the impact this would have, and desired instead to wait and see what happened to other groups who planted coffee. Three of the younger men, Amgoi, Mai, and one of the sons of the Luluai, KipuNga, were disturbed by this decision of the

appointed local officials. While Mai and KipuNga actually did nothing to overthrow this decision, Amgoi went to Tabibuga, had an audience with the Patrol Officer, and said that the decision of the Luluai and Tultuls was not representative of the thinking of most of the Manga, who actually wanted to plant coffee. The Patrol Officer gave Amgoi a bag of beans to plant and Amgoi returned to Kwiop with them. Amgoi, Mai, and KipuNga prepared the beds, planted the beans, and when the seedlings were large enough to transplant, Mai distributed them to those individuals who wanted them. It is recognized by all the Manga that it was Amgoi who "brought the coffee to Kwiop."

Meanwhile, Amgoi waited for Cook's return until sometime in 1966. Cook was told by some missionaries and others that Amgoi would periodically turn up at the Patrol Post inquiring as to whether Cook had returned. In late 1966, he departed for a rubber plantation outside of Port Moresby but not in company with other Manga; rather, he went with a number of men from a place further upriver in the Jimi with whom he had some tenuous affinal relations. Amgoi claimed that he actually worked on the labor line but a short time and that instead he became the head cook and houseboy of the plantation manager. Extensive questioning of Amgoi and others, however, revealed that this was not exactly the truth. Amgoi began his first month on the rubber plantation as a "boss boy" supervising the cutting of grass around the rubber trees by his fellow Jimi River laborers. At this time he was heard bragging of his extensive experience as a cook and "manki masta." This information was ultimately communicated to the plantation manager who hired Amgoi as a laundry boy and dishwasher to assist his houseboy who did the actual cooking and serving. Amgoi worked in this capacity for only

five months. Whether he was fired or whether he resigned is open to question. He was then given the job of picking up full rubber buckets and riding with them on a truck to the scales for weighing. He maintains that the truck driver was a good friend of his and that he taught Amgoi how to drive the vehicle. Amgoi claimed that he then asked to be hired as a driver but was told that men on Highland Labour contracts were not allowed to be drivers.

Amgoi returned to the Jimi sometime in 1968. Shortly after that, Kennecott Copper Corporation exercised their copper exploration lease in the lower Jimi. Kennecott had several exploration teams in the area which were supplied from a series of helicopter pads they had cleared in the bush. Amgoi attached himself to this organization as an occasional laborer and cook. When Kennecott had completed their survey and testing they departed, having found no commercially valuable sources of copper. After their departure, Amgoi traveled around in the lower Jimi telling other groups that Kennecott had said that they would return shortly and that they had placed him in charge of constructing additional helicopter landing sites. Over a period of several months Amgoi claimed that he actually succeeded in building three additional landing pads utilizing the labor of those whom he talked into this scheme. As of mid-1972, Kennecott had not returned to the area.

After this, Amgoi then worked for an indigenous carpenter who had been retained by the Administration to erect a pre-fabricated house at the Patrol Post. He had this job for three weeks. He was subsequently hired for four months as houseboy for a European storekeeper who had been employed by a Tabibuga store licensee. After the European storekeeper left, he was hired as an assistant storeboy in the same

store for a period of one month. Amgoi said that he was fired after being accused of giving away storegoods to young girls. He righteously points out that his accuser was the same fellow who subsequently embezzled several hundred dollars from this store.

Shortly after these events, his marriage dissolved. In fact, he had maltreated his wife so severely that the Local Government Councillor Mai had him jailed and Amgoi was unable to gather any support from his consanguineal kinsmen to aid his cause in retaining his wife. His ex-wife married another man and Amgoi received no return on any part of the wealth that he had paid to her parents.

In May of 1971, Amgoi was again jailed by Mai. A few years earlier, the first trade store had been built at Kwiop by Councillor Mai and a classificatory brother of his, Men. Subsequently, this store was torn down, the capitalization base was extended by subscription and a larger store was built. A controversy arose over the non-repayment of the invested shares in the second store. Amgoi, though not a contributor, joined in this. All of the potential plaintiffs were summarily caused to be jailed by Councillor Mai. It should be noted that this occurred immediately prior to the 1971 Councillor elections; that of the four clan-moieties at Kwiop, three were represented among those jailed; and, that no one from Mai's clan-moiety, which was also the clan-moiety of his opponent in that election, was jailed. While in jail, one of Amgoi's occasional duties was to fill up the water tanks of the Assistant District Commissioner's house and to cut firewood for his stove. (On June 19, 1970, the Jimi River Patrol Post was elevated to Subdistrict status and an Assistant District Commissioner was posted to Tabibuga.) Amgoi subsequently claimed that he had not actually been

in jail but had instead been employed as domestic help by the Assistant District Commissioner.

Amgoi and the Anthropologists

On the very day that Cook arrived back in the Jimi in June of 1971, Amgoi was released from jail. Less than two hours after his arrival, Amgoi sought him out and greeted him in a highly emotional manner. Cook once again employed Amgoi as his principal domestic help, paying him the sum of $7.00 per week, regarded as a fair wage in the Jimi for that type of work.

After leaving the Patrol Post at Tabibuga and arriving back at Kwiop, Amgoi besought Cook to hire an employee for him. Cook agreed to this but made it Amgoi's responsibility to select this employee. His first and second selections were inefficient at the tasks Amgoi assigned them and were released from employment. His third choice turned out to be a hard working and, for Amgoi, appropriately subservient employee and was retained. All three were men younger than Amgoi and affiliated with Amgoi's minimal named segment of the social organization. Amgoi then initiated a rotating credit union among three of Cook's employees; one person to receive the wages of all three at the end of one week, another person at the end of the second week, and the third at the end of the third week and then the cycle would start over again. Amgoi, of course, was the first to be paid in this system, and he appointed Cook as record keeper since Amgoi could neither read nor write. In subsequent weeks, when other members of the rotating system received the total amount, Amgoi would borrow money from them, promising to repay them when his turn came around again. The system suffered internal

collapse when, on the second go-around, Amgoi did not repay those from whom he had borrowed in previous weeks. As a result, the union was disbanded.

Where was the money going? It soon became apparent that Amgoi was a chronic Lucky card game gambler and that he very rarely won. Over the next few weeks, it having become known that Cook had returned to the area and that Amgoi was employed and earning money, it was not unusual that at least once a week a creditor would turn up requesting payment of Amgoi's debts. In only one case was a creditor successful in causing Amgoi to part with any money. Usually, Amgoi had no money no matter what day of the week it was except for a period of a few hours after being paid on payday, Friday afternoon.

Within a few days of our arrival, Amgoi commenced talking of building his own trade store. Capitalization of this store was originally to have come from his ex-father-in-law who, according to Amgoi, owed him approximately $50.00 for a cassowary. Amgoi had also hoped to enlist the aid of others by soliciting capitalization subscriptions. This activity was encouraged and Amgoi was provided time off from his household duties so that he might cut the posts and make the walls, doors and window for the store. He was unable to enlist the monetary support of any kinsmen and he realized that he would need money in order to purchase the three sheets of corrugated iron (coppers) he would need for a roof and for his initial inventory. Since he was losing his wages at gambling, Cook took it upon himself to place a "taboo" (in Narak, /kats mablA/, 'kats' being Neo-Melanesian for English "cards,") upon his playing any cards. Cook also withheld a portion of his wages so that by the time he was ready to purchase the roof pieces he would

have funds to do so plus funds to purchase his initial inventory. The roof pieces would cost him $3.50 to $4.50 depending on where they were purchased, the higher price being charged at Tabibuga and the lower at Minj. By September of 1971 he had finished construction of the store except for the roof. Cook accompanied Amgoi to Tabibuga where for $6.00 he purchased a license as a trade store operator for Amgoi from the Local Government Council. Since no roof pieces were then available at Tabibuga, Amgoi elected to walk to Minj to buy them plus his initial store inventory. He intended to return on one of the itinerant coffee buyer trucks coming into the Jimi. He had $50.00 with him. The amount was more than sufficient for his aims. When he got to Minj, however, he first purchased a new set of clothes for himself including a hat, tennis shoes, and long white stockings of the style worn by Europeans in the Highlands. He then engaged in several card games and lost the remainder of his money. As he was returning to the Jimi, walking, an old woman spotted him and, deciding that he was a man of some obvious substance, gave him one of her marriageable age daughters. The girl's parents were promised $400.00 (the maximum amount of cash to be included in a bride-price as established by the Jimi River Government Council) and ten pigs by Amgoi and they had shaken hands over this arrangement. He returned to Kwiop with the girl, who was initially placed in his elder brother's woman's house, but Amgoi failed to take proper care of her. He rarely brought her extra food, store bought delicacies, or other goods expected by her under the circumstances. She complained, in writing, several times to the Councillor at Kwiop and he eventually held a minor court at which Amgoi confessed that he really did not want to marry. Amgoi said that he had tried marriage

before and it was too much work. He then agreed to her assignment to one of his kinsmen. That arrangement did not work out and she subsequently cohabited with a third man. When this man then "married" the widow of a recently deceased "brother," the girl protested, stating that she had been baptized and therefore could not be part of a polygynous union. The Local Government Councillor held another trial, a small amount of money was paid to her by the third "husband" and she was returned to Minj. The Councillor told her to tell the girls in the Wahgi that Amgoi was recognized throughout the Jimi as a terrible marriage risk and that she should spread this word so that other girls would not become entrapped by him.

An additional interesting facet of Amgoi's non-existent store was that during the entire time of his building of it, his primary concern appeared to be who he was going to get to manage it for him. It was never his intention to run the store himself. At any rate, after this series of events, Amgoi departed from Kwiop and was not seen there for several weeks. The store structure, built on Anglican mission land with the consent of the two resident lay catechists, was torn down by them and used as firewood. This occurred sometime in October of 1971.

During the period of June to September, 1971, Amgoi attempted other strategies to acquire funds. On the occasion of a bride-price being paid into his group, he solicited a loan of $10.00 so that he might contribute to the repayment. He promised that the loan would be repaid immediately after the bride-price itself had been distributed. He eventually located a person who loaned him the money and he did in fact repay the loan within a period of days. Amgoi had been known to pay pressing debts but only on those occasions when he was known to be

in possession of money. In the case of receipt of money at the public distribution of a bride-price there was little opportunity to deny the possession of cash.

At another time he subcontracted with a male affinal kinsman of another clan who owned an unlicensed shotgun to come to Kwiop and shoot some of the Lesser Birds of Paradise that he owned, i.e., that were resident on land that Amgoi owned. Plumes from this bird were valued $10.00 in the Jimi and considerably more in the Wahgi. The Kwiop Local Government Councillor, Mai, owned the only shotgun among the Manga. Mai had, furthermore, stated that it was a Council "law" (which was not true) that non-residents may not shoot birds of paradise on the land of others when there was a resident there who owned a shotgun. Mai's fee for use of the shotgun was $4.00 per bird shot. Amgoi sought to circumvent this by bringing in a relative and promising him a portion of the sale price of any birds he successfully shot. Unfortunately, the hunt was unsuccessful and no birds were shot.

Cook and I left the Jimi in September of 1971 and returned in June of 1972. This third time we refused to employ Amgoi on the grounds that no matter what he did, he messed it up. In front of an audience, Cook recited many of the events noted herein (which were, in fact, common knowledge), adding that as Amgoi's "father" (Amgoi had for the last twelve years addressed Cook as "father"), he had supported him in numerous endeavors, aided him in a number of enterprises, paid him a lot of money, provided him food and shelter, etc., etc., and that his patience and concern with Amgoi's well-being were now exhausted. During the period of June to September, 1972, we did, however, continue to observe Amgoi's activities and collect additional data from him and

about him. It became extremely evident that he was even more involved in card gambling than he had been previously. He constantly appealed to us to provide him with forms of magic that would assure his winning. On one occasion Amgoi asked for a special green or blue colored perfume in a gaudy bottle which he assured me was powerful magic. Such perfume was placed in the arm pits or under the fingernails prior to playing cards and assured a winning evening. Amgoi was able to obtain some of this kind of perfume and the second time he used it he won $50.00. His faith was, of course, reaffirmed. He also explained to us how important it was to play with his own deck of cards. He maintained that he always won when he played with his own cards. On another occasion, he requested that I obtain for him a little bottle that had water in it. He claimed that a man from Wabag had one and had shown it to him; that it had been obtained from a person living on a secret small island somewhere off the coast from Port Moresby. One looked into this little bottle and if the water was high up in the bottle and of a particular color then you knew that you would win a lot of money, but if the water was low down in the bottle and a different color then you would not win very much. We thought that this must be a barometer but could think of no way to explain its true functions to Amgoi in a manner that would cause him to believe us.

Amgoi's Continuing Failures

Since Amgoi inevitably lost his money, sooner or later, a question arose concerning his source of income. His current holdings in coffee and pigs were not significantly more or less than those of other single men dependent upon male kinsmen's wives for labor. His

coffee trees had not yet commenced bearing so he had no income from that source. In 1971, he only had three immature pigs. In early 1972, he did, however, sell one of these pigs which had proved to be very troublesome due to a fondness for other people's gardens. He told his elder half-brother's wife, who had cared for this pig, that he was taking it downriver to trade for a cassowary which he would then sell in the Wahgi for a large cash profit. He promised to share this with her. He did successfully trade the pig for a cassowary and then headed for the Wahgi. On the road he met a coffee truck driver who offered him $100.00 for the bird, $50.00 down and $50.00 to be paid later. Amgoi took the $50.00 and rapidly lost it all at cards. He waited for the truck driver to return but when he failed to show up again, Amgoi traveled to the Wahgi to visit the truck driver's kinsmen there. Arriving at Banz, he inquired about his cassowary and its new owner. He was told that the driver had married a woman from the Southern Highlands District and had taken his pigs and the cassowary with him to live there and was not expected back for some years. Amgoi later faced some harsh words from his half-brother's wife, who had received no compensation for her pig raising efforts.

Also, just prior to our arrival in 1972, Amgoi's lineage brothers pooled their money to capitalize a trade store for themselves at Kwiop. (Trading at these small stores was most often conducted on the basis of kinship affiliation with the store owner or owners.) About this time Amgoi managed to win approximately $20.00 at cards and he attempted to invest this as his share in the new store. His lineage mates refused to let him participate. They returned his money to him explaining that he had had his chance at his own store the previous

year and that he had failed at it. They did not wish to take the risk of his participation causing their store to fail from similar causes.

Later on, in August of 1972, Amgoi was publicly admonished by his elder brother, Wando, for not contributing to the bride-price of Wando's son's wife. Amgoi was accused of always "holding out." His brother threatened that there would be no help in the future when Amgoi needed to pay his own bride-price if he did not start making contributions to those of his brothers. Later in the month, an old man from a neighboring clan arrived at Kwiop and inquired about the European breeding sow that he had recently purchased from Amgoi, sight unseen, for $14.00. Their dealings had occurred on one of Amgoi's gambling expeditions when his need for cash outweighed his veracity. The unfortunate fellow was told that Amgoi had never owned a European pig and that his money was lost. The old man left immediately to report the incident to the Assistant District Commissioner at the Subdistrict office at Tabibuga.

Another technique employed by Amgoi to obtain funds rested on the following: In Manga social relations, if two people became involved in an argument and one of them verbally abused the other, then he was liable to a fine. If one person engaged another in normal conversation and the other became enraged and verbally abused the first person, then a fine had to be paid. Amgoi would approach friends, particularly close male kinsmen, and unctiously ask for a monetary loan, just a few coins or at the most a dollar or two. He would promise and promise to repay them as soon as he won and he was certain that he would win this time. In a number of instances, we learned that he was already heavily indebted to the person to whom he was making this

request and frequently that person would become quite irritated at Amgoi's constant solicitation for funds and would consequently end up verbally abusing him. As a result, later in the day, or perhaps the next day, that person would simply give Amgoi $.50 or $1.00, apologizing for his behavior and saying that he felt sorry about the way he had treated Amgoi. In short, Amgoi was exploiting his kinsmen by manipulating the conventions to his advantage.

We also noted during this period that Amgoi had taken to jocularly referring to himself as "Masta Amgoi," "masta" being the Neo-Melanesian term for any European boss. No other Manga man did this and everyone thought that it was quite amusing.

In sum, Amgoi's reputation as a debtor, gambler, and poor marital risk, was becoming increasingly widespread in the Jimi. His chance of gaining another wife would appear to be much reduced by his incessant gambling. He rarely found the time to enter courtship events in other villages because his interests centered more on the accompanying card games than on the girls. As it became more and more difficult to deny his image as a "rubbish man," he was finding it difficult to borrow the sums necessary to finance his ventures. It seemed probable that eventually he would return to the coast as a laborer in order to find new gambling territory and new funds, that is, if he was not already in jail for some other reason.

Amgoi's Transition Matrix

Amgoi's adaptation to selfish interests may well have been instilled in him long before European contact. Suffice to say that when Amgoi met the modern world, the two seemed meant for each other. But

Amgoi had not taken as much advantage of his opportunities outside the Jimi Valley as might be expected. His greatest success was with relatives in less acculturated clans, who seemed impressed with his stories about his role in the outside world. But Amgoi was used here as the case for negative leadership—to show that the Manga could never respect the kind of individualistic and selfish demeanor which exemplifies that non-existent "economic man" of legend. Amgoi, like Mai, was being pressured to take responsible actions in terms of the old system of values. While Mai often met those obligations on the traditional front of bride-price payments and ceremonial redistributions, Amgoi was always broke at the crucial moment. While Amgoi chose a modern strategy in many of his innovations, he kept to the irresponsible patterns of the gambler/innovator stage of the traditional paradigm. His failure to keep a wife and his failure to keep to any long term business plans were marks of his declining status in both modern and traditional value systems. He was destined to be a loser by his own actions.

The matrix on the following page summarizes Amgoi's adaptation to change and his failures in both internal and external spheres (Figure 8).

	T_1 (1956-1961)	T_2 (1962-1966)	T_3 (1967-1972)
Supra-tribal Arena	N: native boy A: 3 years at Kerowagi, learning to immitate new arena R: none S: high risk/innovative	N: Cook's house boy, Church A: Some Neo- interpreter Melanesian and hh skills R: Laziness, bossiness, exploitation of others S: gambling/innovative	N: HLS worker/Cook's houseboy A: Coffee, ambitious & imaginative store plans R: Loses money at cards, no investment in ceremonials S: modern/gambling
Inter-tribal Arena	N: young unmarried man A: Experience at Kerowagi R: Absent 3 of the 5 years S: innovator/traditional	N: married man (for 2 years) A: paid brideprice in full, Experience with Cook R: Disregards traditional alliance network, loses S: modern/anomalous /wife	N: "Masta Amgoi" A: Roving gambler, persuasive with women and cards R: Debts, no alliances for further credit, poor risk S: modern/anomalous
Intra-tribal Arena	N: A: R: Same as above S:	N: Cook's helper/Church exp. A: Assess to Western goods for redistribution R: Independent and selfish in his exchanges S: modern/anomalous	N: Gambler/bad risk A: Coastal wages, coffee, gambling magic R: reputation as a poor risk, younger brother status S: modern/anomalous
Intra-clan Arena	N: A: R: Same as above S:	N: A: R: Same as above S:	N: gambler/rubbish man A: temporary card winnings, HLS wages, coffee profits R: Negative examples because he accepts no trad. roles S: innovative/irresponsible
Intra-subclan Arena	N: Wando & Tsapinde's brother A: Two influential brothers R: Youngest brother status S: innovator/risk taker	N: husband (temporarily) A: Western experience in Kerowagi & with Cook R: Short tempered, beats wife, lazy S: modern/innovative/anomaly	N: gambler/rubbish man A: second wife, card winnings, profits, store plans R: Negative example, fails to keep wife due to laziness S: modern/irresponsible

Key: T-Time S-Strategy
N-Niche
A-Assets
R-Restrictions (Liabilities)

Figure 8: Amgoi's Transitional Matrix

CHAPTER TEN: TSAPINDE, THE COMMITTEEMAN IN THE MIDDLE

Tsapinde was the elder brother of Amgoi and the younger half-brother of Wando. As earlier chapters have detailed, Wando and Amgoi represented entrepreneurial extremes: Wando continued a traditional pattern of Bigmanship while Amgoi abandoned that pattern and readily adapted to the opportunities of change. Tsapinde, like Mai, was caught in the middle. He faced a new set of opportunities and continually manipulated the conflicts between old and new values to his own advantage.

Tsapinde and the Events of Change

Tsapinde was in his early twenties at the time of his first contact with Europeans in 1956. He was married and had established a reputation as a budding warrior at that time, which suggests that he was entering the promoter/broker phase of the traditional Bigmanship paradigm. As a promoter/broker of that era, Tsapinde was not intent on extending his marital alliances as a way of gaining personal prestige. Even after contact Tsapinde continued to follow this pattern of looking for a second wife while keeping his first wife's kinsmen at bay with promises of a large bride-price to come.

Caught between the new and the old, Tsapinde had sufficient familial responsibilities to prevent his going to the coast in 1960 at the time of the first invitation to join the Highland Labour Scheme. Cook reported that he was already being harassed by his wife to pay her

bride-price in 1962 (1967: 211-213). Although they had only one living daughter at the time, his wife had had two sons who died as infants. She finally had a hysterical episode of "soul loss" which was the final impetus to make Tsapinde pay her final bride-price.

In the intervening ten years between 1962 and 1972, Tsapinde was one of the few men under forty who never went to the coast. This may have been at the direct persuasion of his elder brother, Wando, who had helped to raise Tsapinde and who frowned on the neglect of wife and children with those coast ventures of long duration. Tsapinde contented himself with hunting for additional wives. His wife, Mitsi, produced another son and three more daughters before 1972 (Plate 41). Again the male child died. Since the preferred birth pattern had always been to have male children to complement their younger sisters for future sister exchanges, Tsapinde was frustrated in his attempts to have his own son. He continually tried to acquire adoptive rights to other male children.

Tsapinde's wife, unfortunately, fought his second wife acquisition with great voracity. On one embarrassing occasion they both went to nearby Bubgili for a death payment ceremony and in the evening Tsapinde went off to court young women. Mitsi discovered him in this activity and they had a brawl. Mitsi was seriously beaten and could not walk back to Kwiop. Tsapinde hired four men from Bubgili to carry her back. During the walk she urinated on these men (the general feeling was that this was "aimed" at Tsapinde) and they demanded payment for the insult. Tsapinde managed to delay the payment almost a year and was usually conveniently out hunting for days at a time when the men would come to collect their payment.

In his pursuit of a second wife, Tsapinde had been caught out in at least two adultery cases. In the first, he was heavily fined--three

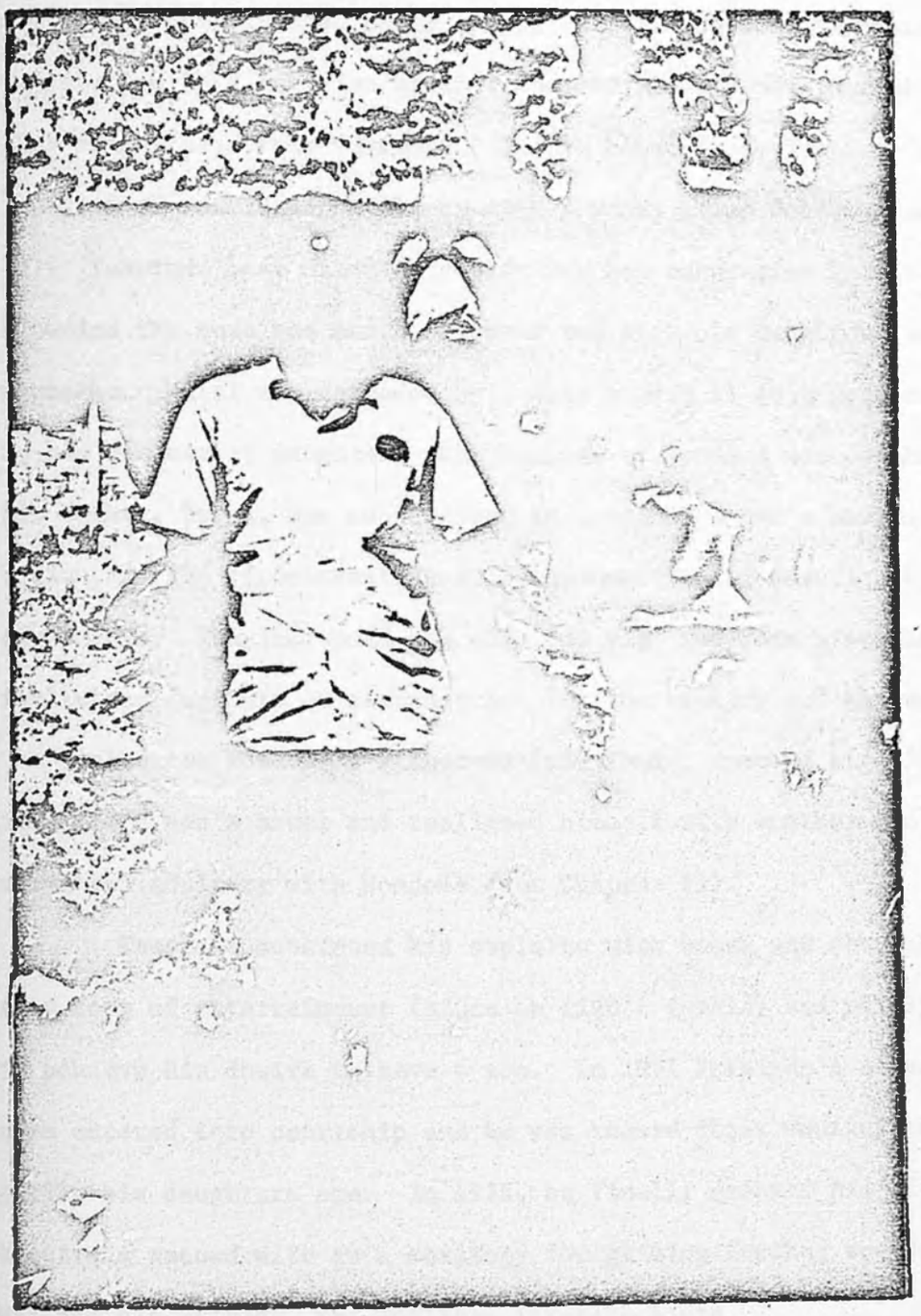


Plate 41: Tsapinde, His Wife Mitsi, and Two of Their Four Daughters

[Image scanned from original slide, asc2_mss0187_0569a, in the Edwin Cook Papers, Melanesian Archive, Mandeville Special Collections Library, University of California, San Diego]

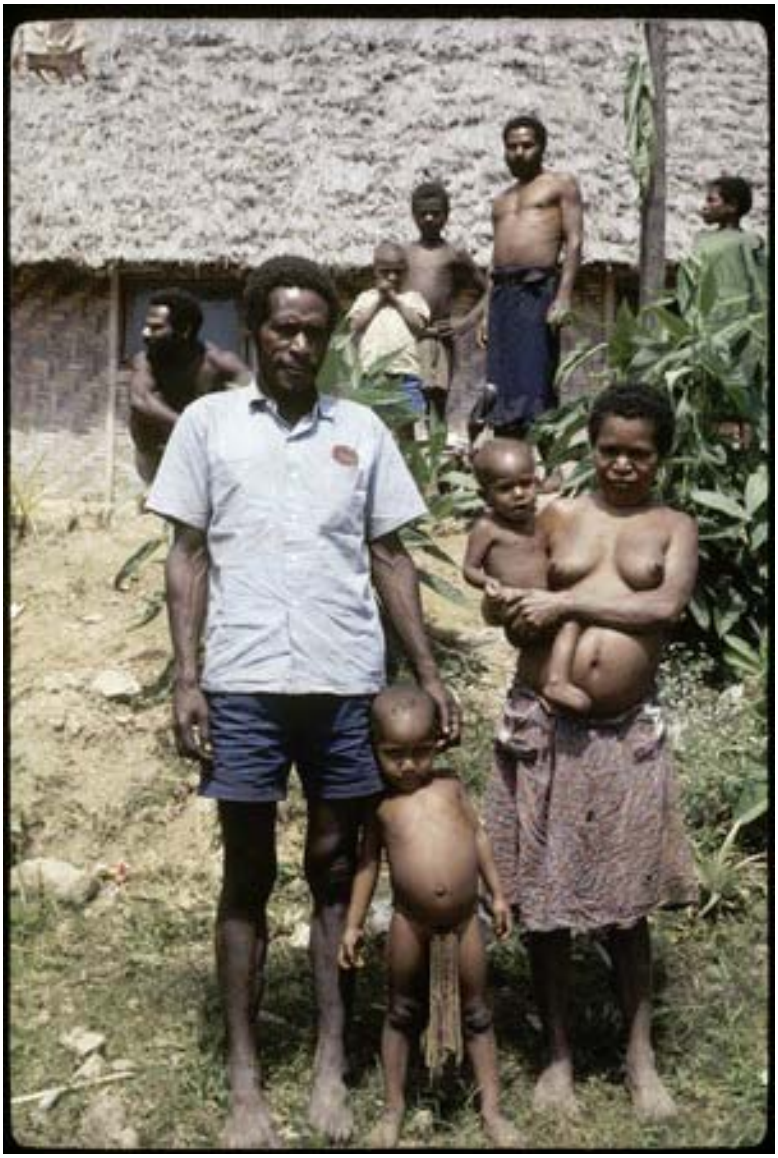


Plate 41: Tsapinde, His Wife Mitsi, and Two of Their Four Daughters

pigs and $38. The fine was high for two reasons. First, Tsapinde as a committeeman should have been setting an example for the other Manga (and Mai had the power to enforce the fine since he could have taken Tsapinde's committeeman badge away). Second, because the woman, Konga, was married to a sub-clan brother who had already paid her bride-price, this constituted true adultery. In the other case, Tsapinde was accused by Mitsi of committing adultery with a woman named Wondoma (see Chapter 11). Tsapinde beat Mitsi in public for her accusation and in the process bloodied the nose and mouth of their two week old daughter Tsutsi--my namesake. Mitsi was defended by Kombla's wife Ai (see Chapter 11) and by his own eldest daughter. The husband of Wondoma was on the coast but his father, Tsena, was co-resident in Tsapinde's men's house. The accusation and the circumstantial evidence were finally verified by the adulteress. Tsapinde paid his wife one pig and some miscellaneous shells and feathers as compensation for the beating and the adultery. The adulteress Wondoma's father-in-law, Tsena, removed himself from Tsapinde's men's house and realigned himself with another man who also committed adultery with Wondoma (see Chapter 11).

Tsapinde continued his exploits with women and courtship partly as a form of entertainment (since he didn't gamble) and partly as a means to achieve his desire to have a son. In 1971 Tsapinde's eldest daughter also entered into courtship and he was teased about wanting to marry girl's his daughters age. In 1972, he finally dropped his efforts to acquire a second wife as a strategy for gaining further acceptance with Mai and his friends, the Anglican lay-catechists.

New Business and Politics

Tsapinde was "elected" as a committeeman shortly after Mai was elected as the first councillor in 1966, since all Mai's nominees for committeeman were "elected." Tsapinde's job was to assist Mai in carrying out the directives of the government for the ENgeyka clan moiety. Since Tsapinde did not speak Neo-Melanesian, Mai always recommended that a younger man who could speak fluent Neo-Melanesian be elected from the opposite clan moiety, the Kulaka, to represent the Manga with the authorities when Mai could not attend meetings or court hearings. Tsapinde, therefore, was able to avoid direct confrontation with the authorities since he had never had the opportunity to gain direct contact experience through the Highland Labour Scheme. Thus his strategizing continued to be traditionally oriented despite his committeeman status. He did not have sufficient knowledge of the new economics to take an innovative leadership position in administering modern resources in the early post-contact years.

Tsapinde demonstrated his naive but avid interest in new business in 1972 when he directed the opening of a new ENgeyka clan moiety store at Kwiop (Plate 42). This store was born of two disparate events described in preceding chapters: First, Mai's failure to redistribute the profits from his store to those men who had invested in it. The angry contributors demanded their money back and it was returned without interest after two years. Second, the 1971 example of Amgoi's defunct store effort showed the Manga that they could compete with Mai's authority --that there was no law against having more than one trade store for each clan as Mai had implied.

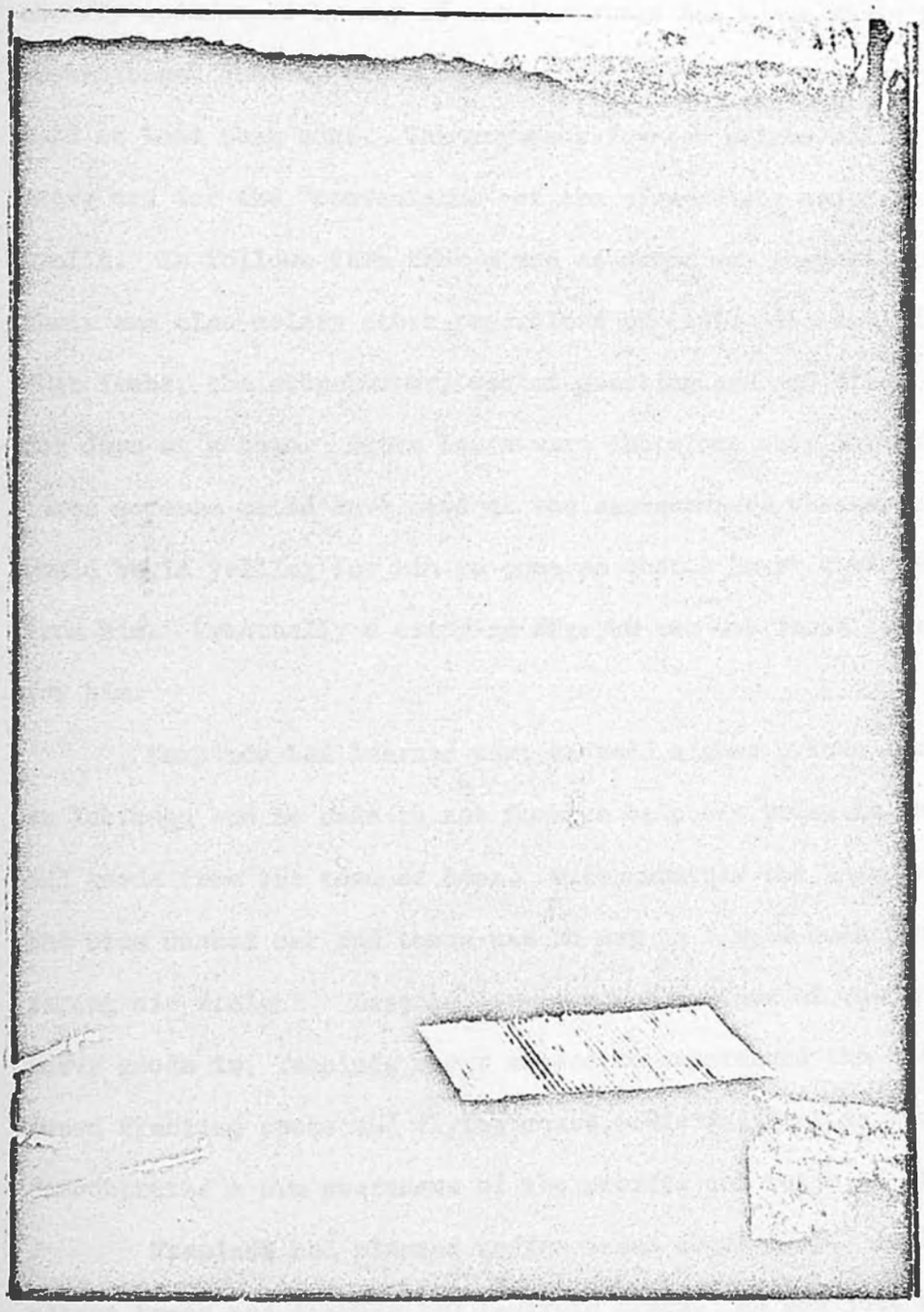


Plate 42: Yamba's Store – Tsapinde's New Store Investment

[Image scanned from original slide, asc2_mss0187_0448, in the Edwin Cook Papers, Melanesian Archive, Mandeville Special Collections Library, University of California, San Diego]

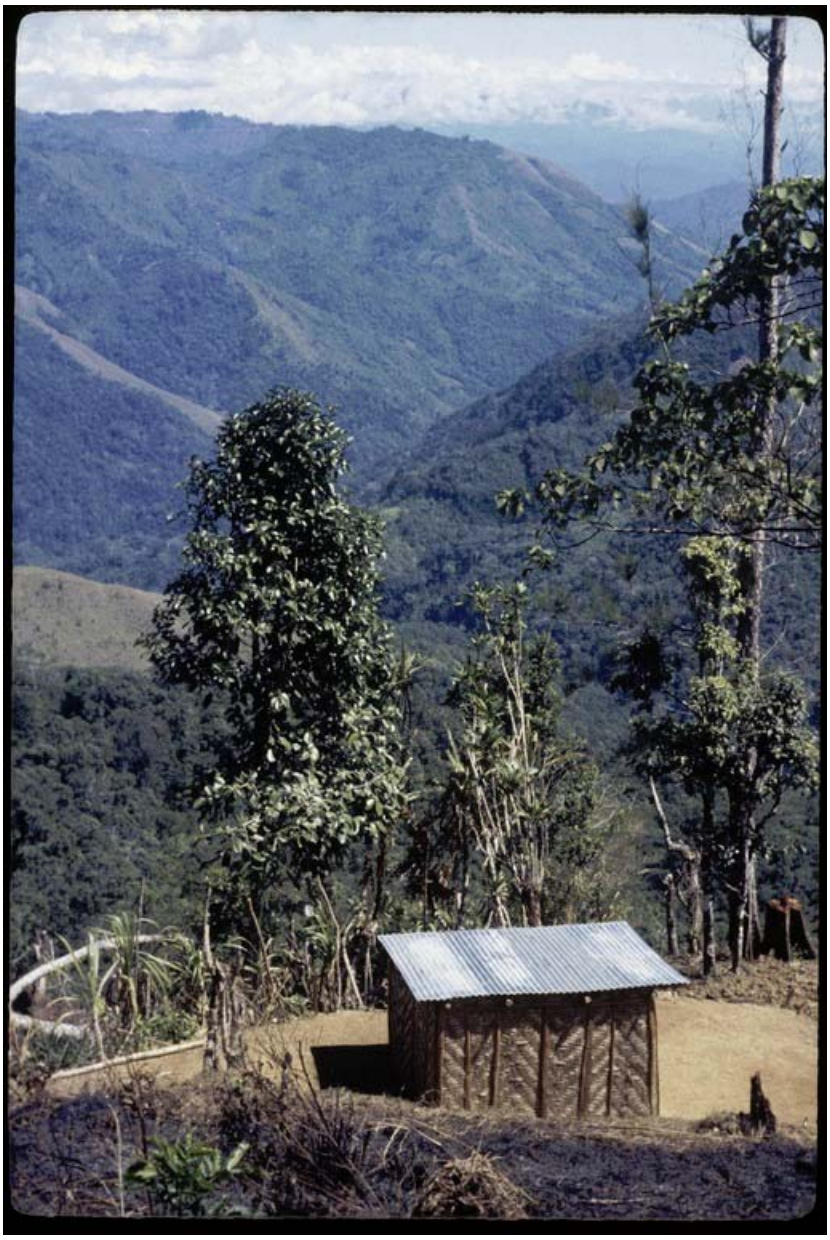


Plate 42: Yamba's Store – Tsapinde's New Store Investment

Almost $110 in cash was collected by Tsapinde who hired Yamba--a young man with a 4th grade education--to act as storekeeper. Two problems arose in the endeavor. First, the concept of profit was not clearly understood by any of the investors and since their general mathematical ability was limited, sometimes trade goods were accidentally sold at less than cost. The argument for low prices maintained that the store was for the "convenience" of the clan-moiety members, not for profit. It follows then that a man or woman was supposed to buy from their own clan-moiety store regardless of cost. The second problem was that Yamba, the storekeeper, was of courting age and often disappeared for days at a time. Store hours were therefore very irregular. Most times someone would have news of the storekeepers whereabouts and people would begin yelling for him to come so that a buyer could make a purchase from him. Eventually a crippled ENgeyka man was found to substitute for him.

Tsapinde had learned that he paid higher prices for his cargo at Tabibuga and he came to ask Cook to help him bring in cheaper food and goods from the town of Banz. Unfortunately the Banz-Tabibuga road had been washed out and there was no way to fly in bulk goods without paying air freight. Despite our long explanation of the cost of flying heavy goods in, Tsapinde never seemed to comprehend the difference between trucking costs and flying costs. His interest in reducing costs demonstrated a new awareness of the profits and costs of storekeeping.

Tsapinde had planted coffee trees about 1966. In 1971 he had 200 mature trees and another 100 immature trees. He was just starting to take the beans to Tabibuga for sale on a regular basis. This coffee marketing potential gave Tsapinde his first direct access to the world

market, but he was not reliant on that money as his only source of income. He had also sold small items at the Saturday market at the patrol post including the meat from a wild pig, a few vegetables, and some possum furs. Tsapinde was among the very few Manga who were willing to travel to this market to make cash sales and this demonstrated his ambition to enter into direct marketing.

Despite Tsapinde's efforts to start a store and produce coffee for cash sales, he continued to use his profits along traditional lines. For example, his first $16.50 in coffee sales went to buying food for all the people who helped him build two new houses at Kwiop. His second $10 in coffee sales he gave to Wando to "pay" for his son's children as part of a bride-price. His third sale of $13 was spent on tinned fish, sugar, and cookies for his guests at his sister Membe's bride-price return payment. In a 1971 interview he named 30 different people who were in debt to him for specific amounts of cash ($117), pigs or shells which he had given them at various times. He could only cite a commensurate $10 in personal debts which he owed. If his memory was even partially accurate, this was substantial evidence of Tsapinde's use of generosity as a means of allying a network of persons to his personal coterie in the future, a major trait of the promoter/broker phase of Bigmanship.

Tsapinde's role as an assistant to Mai gave him further opportunities to manipulate both old and new kinds of political authority to his own advantage. Although Tsapinde had no authority to hold "courts," he frequently intervened to settle disputes within his own clan moiety if Mai was absent or maintained that the case was outside his legal jurisdiction. Taspinde's role in such courts gave us an insight into

his manipulation of the new system of local courts for his own advantage. In the two longest and most intricate legal cases I recorded on tape in 1972, Tsapinde played two roles--that of pseudo-mediator in imitation of Mai's role in local courts and that of major protagonist using the aggressive side of his personality and influence to force a resolution which was in Tsapinde's own interest. This aggressiveness contrasted with the cool head of his elder brother Wando. Paula Brown contrasted a similar distinction among the Chimbu between an aggressive style of leadership like Tsapinde's and a more mature style of leadership like Wando's (1967: 46-47). She said the aggressive leader is typically "a bold man quick to anger and attack," who has only a short range appeal to followers"(1967: 46). She says the more popular leader is "a man of wealth, oratory and judgment," who manages to appeal to a large following on the basis of the respect of his followers, rather than on the temporary appeal of his volatile temper (1967: 47). The next chapter will illustrate Tsapinde's attempts to use both styles of leadership to gain his own advantage in local courts. His efforts suggest that a volatile reputation may be an advantage in the promoter/broker stage of Bigmanship and a disadvantage in the patron/manager stage.

Tsapinde in His Continuing Traditional Role

In his traditional role, Tsapinde was an active participant in the bride-price payment for a lineage sister in 1971. The woman, Membe, was a leper who had been taken to a leper colony in the Wahgi Valley by one of the early medical patrols. She was the full sister of Kombla who figured significantly in one of the court cases described in the next chapter. Kombla waa Tsapinde's father's father's brother's son's son--a direct patrilineal link which made the two"brothers" in local kinship

reckoning. Membe married a man she met at the leper colony and had two children. Since her leprosy was non-contagious she was able to return for the bride-price ceremony with her husband and children. There is an interesting difference in the two photographs of the bride-price payment from the husband's line at Minj (Plate 43) and the Manga return payment (Plate 44). The more highly acculturated Minj contingent made most of their payment as $400 cash (as shown) and store bought items, such as two axes, 3 blankets, and 1 saucepan. They also brought 6 pigs (5 at an earlier ceremony) and 6 coconuts purchased on the coast, and promised a second pig of European ancestry (for breeding) in exchange for a cassowary given as part of the return payment. The Manga returned only $40 in cash but included a substantial number of valuable feathers which were not available at Minj. In a speech given before the return payment one of the Minj representatives asked for payment only in feathers since "you're out here in the bush with no business" i.e., "you're bush kanakas." Tsapinde denied that the Manga were "bush" people and insisted on a partial return of money as well as the coveted feathers. Kombla gave the most cash to his "brother" Tsapinde in redistributing the bride-price, but he gave the largest section of pig to Wando, recognizing their different sets of values.

Tsapinde still valued the feather trade highly in 1971 and stated many of the debts owed to him in terms of feathers he had given or loaned to others. He also requested that E. A. Cook write a letter to the Assistant District Commissioner asking that he be given a license for a shotgun. Since Councillor Mai had the authority to deny such a license, it was not possible to interfere. But such a "business" would have fitted Tsapinde's desire to use modern technology to pursue traditional wealth.

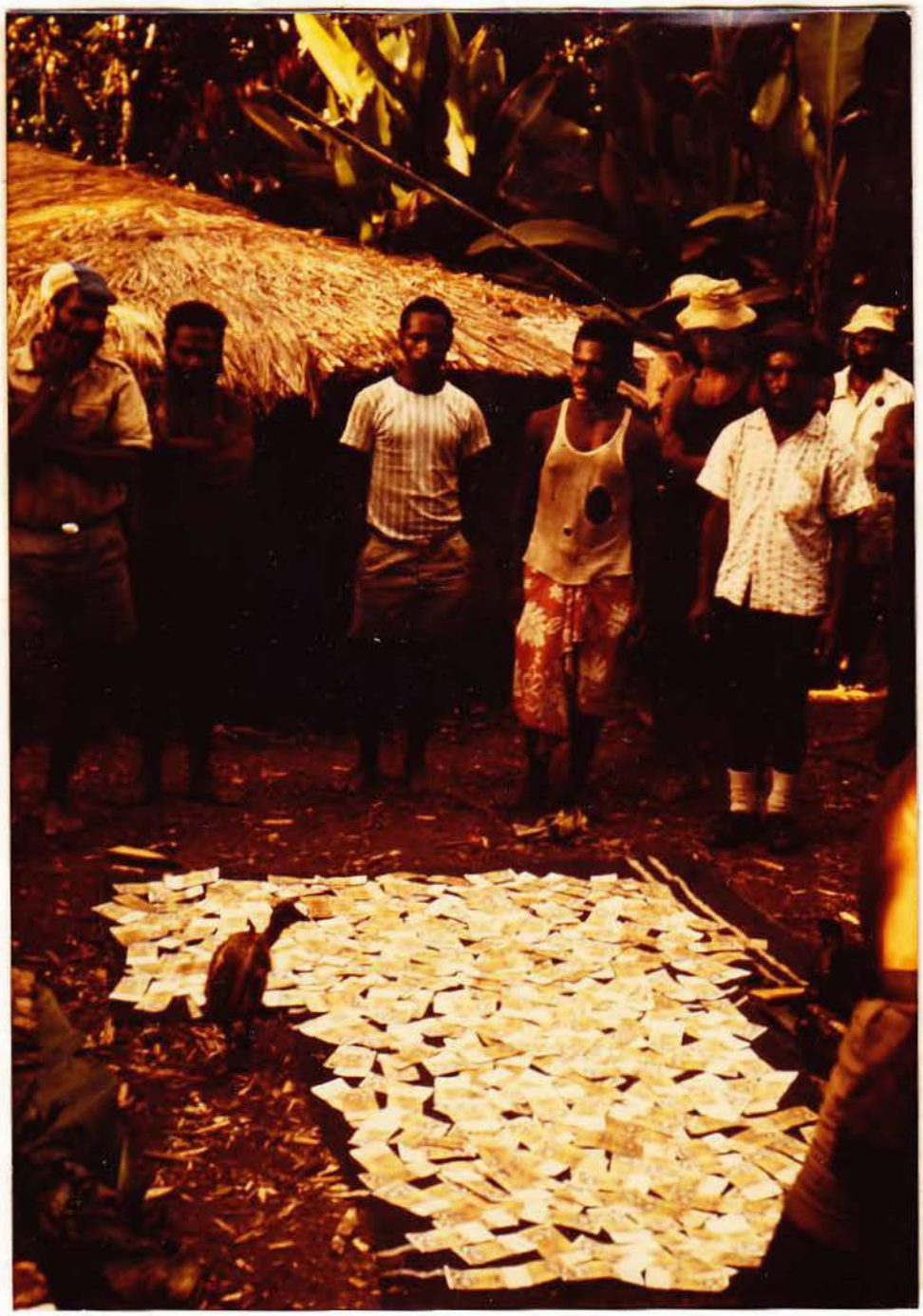


Plate 43: The Cash Brideprice from Minj

Plate 44: The Manga Return Payment at the Minj Payment

Tsapinde had in no way abandoned his goal of achieving traditional big man status despite his active acceptance of some "modern" political, economic, and religious values. While Tsapinde was the first to ask that all weapons be removed from a court scene, he was not above participating in the standard beating which occurred at most courts "to get to the heart of the matter." Tsapinde had steadfastedly held to the traditional food taboos advocated by sorcerer's like Wando and was a shoe-in candidate to be a wigwearer in the concluding ceremonies of the 1973 pig festival, a recognition of his potential to become a full-fledged big man in the coming years.

In the 1962 pig festival, Taspinde made a generous distribution for a man of his age and status of seven pigs. Only 20% of the men of his clan had more pigs to distribute than this. In 1971, just before the onset of the new pig festival cycle, Tsapinde named 16 pigs which he owned (as compared to 20 for Mai), and claimed that another 10 pigs of his had been lost as bush runaways or had died at various ages during the preceding two years. This run of bad luck may be one of the reasons that he pushed so hard for high fines in the court case which I will describe in the next chapter.

Tsapinde has made a most cautious and gradual move toward modern values. His acceptance of the Councillor's appointment as one of his committeemen gave Tsapinde the opportunity to play dual roles in Manga life. He can opt to be either a modern mediator or a traditional broker, depending upon where his advantage lies. His Transition Matrix on the following page summarizes his gradual acceptance of this dual status (Figure 9).

	T_1 (1956-1961)	T_2 (1962-1966)	T_3 (1967-1972)
Supra-tribal Arena	N: uncertain A: none R: none S: Bayesian or Avoidance	N: uncertain A: none R: none S: Bayesian/"wait and see"	N: coffee producer/committee A: money/trade store license R: no Neo-melanesian or HLS S: Bayesian or mixed
Inter-tribal Arena	N: promoter/broker/wife seek- A: attractive man, promi- /er sing reputation R: wife against co-wife, demands b-p payment S: pursuing trad. resources	N: promoter/wife seeker A: attractive, wigwearer in pig festival, pays b-p R: No sons S: traditional redistibution	N: promoter/committeeman A: cash from coffee, alliance with wife's kin R: No middle man authority or skills/keeps food taboos S: mixed/traditional
Intra-tribal Arena	N: promoter/broker A: wife, child R: aggressive wife S: traditional alliances	N: A: As Above R: S:	N: Committeeman/store owner A: new political status & economic interests R: no middle man talents such as HLS provides S: mixed
Intra-clan Arena	N: young married man A: wife child, traditional wealth R: Must redistribute wealth in brideprice payment S: traditional	N: wigwearer/married man A: wife, child, major pig distributor in festival R: Redistribution reduced by previous b-p payment S: traditional	N: committeeman A: new political status & old bigmanship skills, 4 girls R: Responsibility for a wider range of followers S: mixed/traditional
Intra-subclan Arena	N: father/brother/husband A: hardworking wife, pigs, feathers, trad. wealth R: sorcery taboos, one wife only, must pay b-p. S: traditional	N: father/brother/husband A: major pig festival contributions R: sorcery taboos, only one permanent wife S: traditional	N: father/husband/brother/ A: coffee,cash, committee R: political influence over subclan brothers, S: Traditional responsibility mixed/traditional

Key: T-Time S-Strategy
N-Niche
A-Assets
R-Restrictions (Liabilities)

Figure 9: Tsapinde's Transition Matrix

CHAPTER ELEVEN: THE RESOLUTION OF CONFLICT

One of the major structural changes in Manga political life since contact has been the institutionalization of local courts to resolve intra-tribal and inter-tribal disputes. Klaus Koch has hypothesized that the major cause of the consistent pattern of Highland New Guinea warfare was the lack of such institutionalized third party mediation (1974: 28). This lack of triadic means for resolving local conflicts encouraged the unilateral imposition of authority through what Koch calls "violent self help"--that is, any individual could win a conflict through force and such force resulted in the injuries and deaths which escalated into full scale revenge warfare. The alternatives to this coercion were avoidance and negotiation. Avoidance was promoted by certain sorcery taboos on exchanges between enemies which assisted in keeping the peace at some times. Negotiation was common to the Manga only in cases of conflicts between the members of closely related sub-clans. If an argument broke out between men of two related sub-clans, they could ask their leading big men to act as their representatives in finding a solution to the problem. The two opponents would be taken to guarded houses some distance from the site of the negotiations. The two big men would listen to the different stories as told by relatives of the protagonists, and they would begin to negotiate an acceptable fine. The wronged party would be consulted and encouraged either to accept or reject the fine until a compromise had been reached. This pattern of negotiating was called "cooking in

the sun" and it was the model for Manga courts in recent years.

There are differences in these "cooking in the sun" negotiations and in the courts held by Councillor Mai or one of his committeemen in 1971 and 1972. First, Mai was chosen by the Manga for his "middle man" characteristics, which gave him rights to mediate but not to judge. These new courts were not organized in terms of dyadic negotiation between big men of equal status, but mediated, tridaic negotiations with Mai as the middle man. Second, the two parties to a conflict meet face to face in these local courts. If a man or woman is guilty, their posture usually reflects that guilt. Their eyes are often downcast and they mumble their responses. The "wronged party", on the other hand, looks everyone in the eye and often harangues the court repeating evidence of the extent of the injustice. Third, the new courts have been encouraged by the misunderstanding and confusions of the Australian legal system as it has been applied to the Manga. The 1972 administration encouraged the hearing of cases by Councillors because they would have a better understanding of local justice than a patrol officer hearing the same issues. Also the Australian solution of resolving an issue by a jail sentence had little impact on settling an issue of internal social conflict. In fact this placed the burden of support for a man's or woman's family on their innocent relatives. Local courts tried to accord fines to the extent that the guilty party could afford them and provided a forum for public admonishment and even violence which relieved some of the social tension.

Court cases, like public meetings, were forums for the new "law" as communicated by Mai Kopi. Such "law" was highly responsive to local interpretation and applications, and other men were not above manipulating traditional "law" to take advantage of new situations as the

Men-Wondoma adultery case will illustrate later in this chapter.

During my field stay in 1971 and 1972, a great variety of cases were heard in local court. Two of the more serious cases will be described in some detail—one case of adultery and one case of incestuous molestation of a prepubescent girl. Adultery was the most frequent source of conflict and the issue was magnified by the two year absence of numerous husbands during their HLS contracts. It was the unwritten government law that a woman had not committed adultery unless her brideprice had been paid. This "law" did not prevent both social and physical pressure being applied to the woman to make her stay married to the man with whom she had admitted her adultery. It was also the unwritten "law" that the victim of an attack should scream for help or immediately report an attack to Councillor Mai or one of his committeemen. If a victim (either male or female) did not report the attack, then they were considered willing parties to it.

The second most frequent source of conflict centered on pigs. By 1972, the size of local pig herds were being increased in preparation for the coming pig festival. But with the absence of 38 men to the coast and the demands for roadwork in 1971, little had been done to keep fences from rotting. Conflicts were beginning to emerge between the two clans over the issue of pig damage to the new festival gardens. In the most serious such confrontation, a man, Mbango, of the Timbamaruwaga clan came running to Mai's brother, Kubl-Tolingen, screaming that he had just shot Kubl's pig for ruining his new garden. The two immediately began to fight and the blows continued for 10 minutes. Perhaps Kubl's reaction might not have been so violent except that on the same day he had beaten his wife for letting a pig die (her

third pig loss in a year), and he had just finished participating in a court because one of his clan brother's male pigs had eaten two of Kubl's piglets and his cassowary chick. All this combined with a bout of dysentery to make Kubl feel that he had been sorcerized.

At the court heard after tempers cooled, Mai sided with his brother in stating that the "law" said that if a fence was good, the pig owner (Kubl) must pay the damages. Since the fence in question was in very poor shape, Kubl was not responsible. In a secondary issue, Mai fined his own wife and two others $12 because they reported the pig destruction to the garden owner, Mbango, thus inciting him to violence against Kubl's pig. The correct procedure would have been to report the problem to Mai who could have notified the pig owner to remove the pig and assessed the damages without injury to the pig. "No one likes to eat a pig before they are ready to eat it." A pig killed and eaten for no reason adds nothing to a man's prestige. A pig killed and redistributed at the proper time can save a person's life, provide support from the ancestor spirits, and make a man important in the eyes of his allies and friends.

Lesser courts were heard in 1971 and 1972 regarding minor thefts (of money, body oil and pandanus), gossip (a person had to have at least one other witness to prove their version of a story, otherwise they could be fined for gossip), and marital disputes (although Mai tried to stay out of these conflicts between husbands and wives).

Twenty-five Manga spent time in jail between June 1971 and August 1972. Eight were jailed for 2 months at Mai's behest for failure to do roadwork. (This was part of the reason for the HLS exodus in 1972). Sixteen Manga had varying jail terms for attacking

a government patrol. The Manga version insisted that one of the patrol officers kicked a Manga in the rear end and called him a "lazy bush kanaka." The other Manga carrying cargo for the patrol attacked this policeman and a melee ensued in which no one was seriously injured, but since it was a direct confrontation with police authority, every one of the Manga fighters was jailed. One Manga woman was also jailed for taking a knife to her husband. The maximum jail sentence given at Tabibuga was six months. In cases of murder or other serious crimes, the defendent was sent to Mt. Hagen for trial held under official judicial auspices.

The two court cases that will be described now are illustrative of the general pattern of local mediation. They were chosen because they involved the four key entrepreneurs--Mai, Wando, Tspainde and Amgoi. Each acted in ways which illustrated how their entrepreneurial strategies were used to resolve local conflicts to their own advantage.

The Men-Wondoma Court

The participants:

Tsapinde: Tsapinde acted here as both a committman conducting a preliminary court in Mai's absence and as an interested party who was trying to persuade or even force the women involved to accept the men's point of view on the case. Tsapinde was also personally interested in getting custody of the adulteress's son, about four years of age, in order to have a male child to complement the four daughters he already had. While having so

many girls offered his unmarried lineage brothers money in the bank, if Tsapinde had no son to benefit from their bride-prices, he would make no great social profit personally.

Men: Men (Plate 45), the adulterer, an experienced interpreter, had been employed by many of the anthropologists who worked in the area including Roy A. Rappaport, Pete Vayda, Georgida Bick, and William Clark. His experiences in other areas had given him prestige as well as power. It was rumored that his near fatal attractiveness to the local Manga married women was caused by the love magic which he got in the Simbai during his work for Rappaport. Men had had seven "wives." Two had remained with him up to the time of this court in July 1972.

Kubn: Kubn (Plate 46) was Men's first wife. She had given birth to a girl two weeks before these hearings. It was her challenges of Men's maeculinity and her threat to go to marry another man which made her the ultimate victim in these proceedings. Kubn was a sister-exchange bride from Ndega. She had been married to Men for about ten years and had two other children by him.

Kungi: Kungi (Plate 47) was Men's second wife who caught the adulterous parties copulating on the night before the first hearing. Such an event was

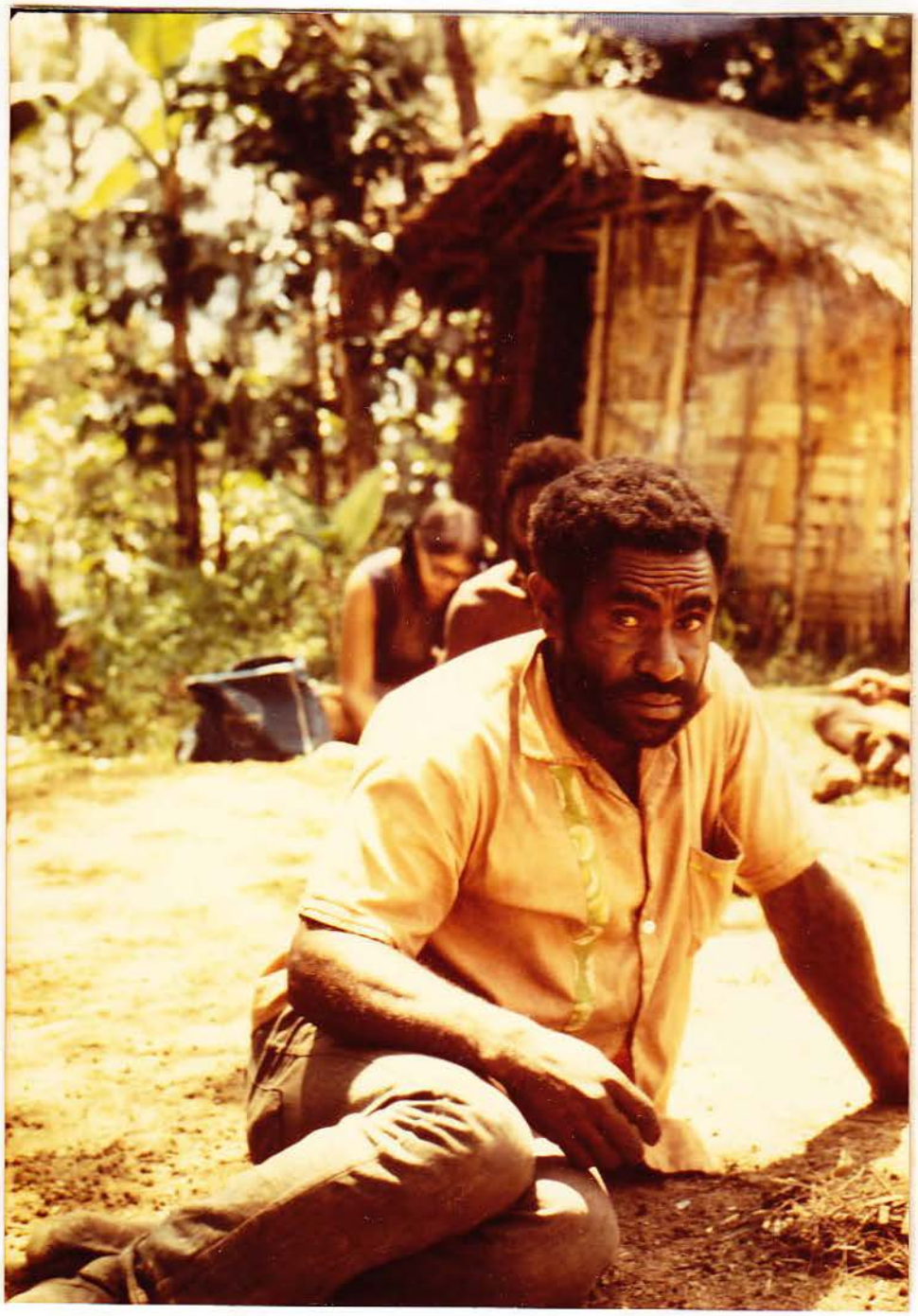


Plate 45: Men, the Accused Adulterer

Plate 46: Kuvn, Men's Unhappy Wife, with Her Two Week Old Baby Girl

Plate 47: Men's Second Wife, Kungi

embarrassing to the guilty parties and Kungi took great glee in relating the details of the incident to willing amused listeners. When she first saw the two in the act behind the pig fence, she returned to her nearby house and got a stick of substantial size with which she crept back to the scene. Silently approaching the two coupled bodies, she brought the stick down as hard as she could on Men's back at least three times before he was able to extricate himself and run away. Kungi had one daughter by Men and had not been paid for. She was originally a war reparation bride given to another group by the Tsembaga. When her first husband died, her brothers in the Simbai would not allow her to eat at their fire since she had been living with their former enemies. Men found her sitting under a tree crying over her fate on his way back to Kwiop after working for Rappaport in 1963. She had lived at Kwiop for almost nine years.

Wondoma: Wondoma (Plate 48), the adulteress in the case, was the younger sister of Kubn. Wondoma was "married" to a young man of the Kulaka clan-moiety, Wabia, who was at the coast on a two year contract which would be ending shortly (in relation to the time of the trial). Wondoma had been busy during these years separated from her husband. This was her second adultery case in the

Plate 48: Wondoma, the Adulteress

last year (the first was with Tsapinde), although it was suspected that she had had relations with a number of men both before and after her husband left for the coast. She originally was married to Tsinge, who was a participant in the case. She had had two instances of hysterical psychosis during her years at Kwiop. She had a four year old son who was named after Men. At one stage of the case, Men confessed that he thought the boy was his son since he and Wondoma had been having relations for a number of years.

The first day's court was really an opportunity for the men involved to try to settle the case before Mai returned. It was Tsapinde who acted as the major mediating authority, sitting on the kerosene drum. Tsinge and Tom were helping him to browbeat the adulteress, Wondoma, into agreeing to marry the adulterer Men. The biggest stumbling block to this simple solution to the case was Manga tradition, which had (heretofore) decreed that a man should not marry two sisters. Tsapinde and Tsinge (a former committeeman and the first husband, albeit a temporary one, of Wondoma), and Committee Tom all agreed that Men had a wife "in the middle" so there was no problem: Since Men had Kungi as a second wife, he would not have two sisters "side by side" and thereby would avoid the conflicts inherent when two sisters married the same man.

Shortly after the case began, however, another stumbling block approached the scene physically in the shape of Kubn, who was brandishing a very large pole which she hoped to use on her wandering husband.

Her anger at this point was so strong that she made some foolhardy and vicious cuts to her husband's reputation as a lover and husband. She said that she found no earthly reason that he was so attractive to women and pointed out that he would probably drown himself in the Jimi River trying to get to her sister's vagina on the other side. Such comments went largely unheeded except for a few admonitions to stop from the men, but when Kubn suggested that she had already picked out a new husband from "Tsapinde's line," her threats were taken more seriously. Amgoi immediately rushed out to provide comic relief by denying that he encouraged Kubn to choose him. Kubn said she'd be crazy to choose Amgoi as a husband. At this time Kungi joined Kubn in her slander of their mutual husband and again recounted the circumstances of finding the pair in action on the previous evening.

Once Kubn's tirade ebbed, the attention of the court returned to Wondoma. Since both Men's wives had threatened to leave him if he married Wondoma, she was in a bad state. Men, however, admitted that he and Wondoma kept silent about their relationship but he maintained that he had told Wondoma that he had always been "strong" on her, that he was eager to have her and wanted to marry her. He "greased" her, that is, made her promises to the effect that he had always intended to marry her and that his sister given in exchenge for Kubn was always intended as an exchange for Wondoma. He told Wondoma that on the two occasions he gave gifts of a pig to Kubn's line (once when her brother was ill and once when her father died), he intended these gifts for Wondoma, not Kubn. Men insisted steadfastly that he wanted to marry Wondoma.

Wondoma's husband Wabia was still at the coast. His brother, Kilingem, represented his interests at the first day's court. Since

Wondoma refused to speak up and confess her part in the adultery, she also failed to say whether she chose to marry Men or wished to stay married to Wabia, or wished to return to her former home at Ndega. Kilingem became angry with her. Eventually her silence was met with a beating from Kilingem and Committee Tom, who both slapped her face in order to make her talk. She simply whimpered at the slaps and commenced to cry at intervals for the rest of the night. The committeemen, Tsapinde and Tom, repeated time and again that they just wanted her to say she would marry Men and the case would be settled. She said on one occasion that she wanted to stay married to Wabia and on another occasion that she just wanted to go home to Ndega.

Wando came by briefly and gave his opinion of the proceedings. Because of his stature in the group, his opinion was met with a respectful silence. He pointed out that a man should not treat his brother's wife like his own. A wife was supposed to feed her husband and when she offered him food she looked him in the eye, straightforwardly, and if he chose to reward this wifely attention, the husband should take her to a private place where they copulate and then he should return for his food. If a brother's wife offered a man food, she should never look him in the eye, but should hang her head in order that her look not be misinterpreted. Wando said it was a shame so many of the women no longer followed this custom. Wando said he had a special interest in this case because he raised Men from the time he was a little boy after his own father had died, and fed him for many years. He asked why Men was always ready to give food to such women as Wondoma but never shared it with the man who raised him or with his "true" wives and children.

Wando went on to point out that Wondoma was not only the wife of Men's brother, but also the mother of his /ambango/--his namesake. Wando said a man should never fornicate with a woman who so honors him as to name her son after him. Wando said this was the fourth time such a case had been heard over Men, and he thought that Men should be fined a pig in order to discourage him from doing this in the future. Wando warned that if Men was not given a significant penalty, he would do it again. Wando also pointed out that the Manga were getting a bad reputation for fornicating with their brothers' wives. He said the Manga would have a hard time attracting good women whose brothers wanted them to marry at Kwiop if this trend continued.

The case was complicated when Tsapinde brought up another point. He said that Kilingem and Wabia's elderly, crippled father, Tsena, was responsible for condoning the relationship between Men and Wondoma because Tsena was angry with his sons for leaving him to fend for himself while they went to earn money at the coast. Tsapinde was himself angry at Tsena because during the preceding year Tsapinde had been involved in a similar adultery case with Wondoma. Tsena was angry at Tsapinde's taking advantage of his daughter-in-law and Tsena changed his men's house affiliation from that of Tsapinde to that of Men. At that time he gave Men rights to some of his property so that Men could prepare a new garden for Wondoma to plant. He also gave Men some rights to his pandanus trees, and he allowed him to shoot lesser birds-of-paradise in one of his own mating trees for that species. Tsapinde was extremely jealous of the loss of these privileges, and said they would only go to a man to whom Tsena had chosen to give Wondoma. Taena, on hia appearance at the next hearing of this case, denied Tsapinde's

accusations. He said he merely intended to punish his sons and Tsapinde for the way they had treated him. He said he never got along with Wondoma and that he was not responsible for her loose habits.

In all such adultery cases, the councillor or committeemen cited the proper behavior to follow under such circumstances: If a man or woman was accosted unwillingly they should scream immediately and run to tell the closest appropriate authority. The accoster, whether a man or woman, would be fined for the transgression and berated for his or her behavior publicly. If, however, a man or woman was willingly approached, then both parties were silent and proceeded with their illicit behavior until they were caught and reported to the authorities. If a woman was married, and if she was paid for, her husband's line would receive compensation from the adulterer for his behavior. The woman might have been sent home and her husband could have demanded that her father and brothers return whatever pay he had given for her. The husband usually chose to keep the children, although very small ones might remain with the mother until they were weaned and could be cared for by a foster mother of the husband's group. At that time the mother's group would be paid for the child and the father's group would assume all responsibility for the child.

In the case of Wondoma, who had not been paid for, Men's Manga allies were most willing to ignore the fact that the original sister exchange was made for Kubn and were willing to accept Wondoma as her substitute. They just wanted the case resolved and for Wondoma to settle down with a man and cease her roaming habits.

On the second day of the hearinga, the issues remained the same, but Councillor Mai was present. He only heard the facts of the

case briefly and declared that the President of the Jimi River Local Government Council, Yingwai was on his way through Kwiop on the following day. Since Yingwai was from Ndega, the home village of Kubn and Wondoma, Mai thought that Yingwai should mediate the case. Mai called for everyone to come to court the next day. This was a judicious show of diplomacy on Mai's part.

On the third day, the Men-Wondoma court was heard for approximately five hours with President Yingwai seated on the kerosene drum (Plate 49). Several new dimensions developed. First, Wondoma declared that she either wanted to go home or she wanted to stay alone at Kwiop. She said she did not want to marry Men or Wabia. At this juncture, Tsapinde made clear his threat that her child must stay and that as soon as Wabia returned from the coast, Tsapinde would ensure that he pay for the boy. Tsapinde said he was willing to pay for the boy himself. Wondoma and her brother, who was then present, did not want to give the boy up.

Kubn's threats and slander of the first day's trial came back to haunt her. Men said that he would have only Kungi as his wife. (She had mildly threatened to leave also, although she really had nowhere to go since she could not return to her home.) Men said that he wanted to be married to no woman who called him a rubbish husband and threatened to marry another man. He told her to go marry the man of her choice. Kubn very quietly said that if Wondoma was not going to stay, she (Kubn) wanted to stay as Men's wife, that she had been a good wife and borne him three children. Earlier the man Kubn had named to marry next had said she was an old married woman and he was just a young man and that he would run away to the coast if she insisted on marrying him. She said, "I do not want to marry another

man who does not want me." Men still refused to keep her.

President Yingwai encouraged Wondoma to come back to Ndega for good and to bring her son with her since he had not been paid for. He wanted Men to keep Kubn. Yingwai threatened Wondoma that she must go home or the JRLGC would have to issue her a license as a "passenger meri," i.e. a whore who takes money for giving men "rides." (The Council had never licensed a woman for this according to the Patrol Officer but there were licensed whores on the coast.)

The court went on for hours, seesawing between Wondoma's stubborn decision to return home and Tsapinde's insistence that the boy remain at Kwiop. Men was adament in his refusal to forgive Kubn's unwifely behavior. Toward the end of the day, the major male participants went off to negotiate a quiet settlement. The case was apparently being resolved to everyone's satisfaction. At that point, a man who had not been present came up and inquired about each of the issues at stake according to his information of the previous day. All arguments broke out afresh and no progress was made despite the many hours of discussion. Tsapinde became enraged and ran to Wondoma and tore her son from her arms. Her brother jerked the boy back and soon both men had a portion of the child and began pulling the boy between them (Plate 50). This was known as "child pulling" and was a common, violent, manifestation of a fight over a child's place between two groups. The child appeared almost catatonic in his fear and did not even whimper as he was roughly torn between the two men. Eventually, Tsapinde was held back by his brother, Amgoi, and Wondoma's brother took the boy into his arms. Shortly thereafter Wondoma took the boy away as if to go to the outhouse. Tsapinde went tearing after her when

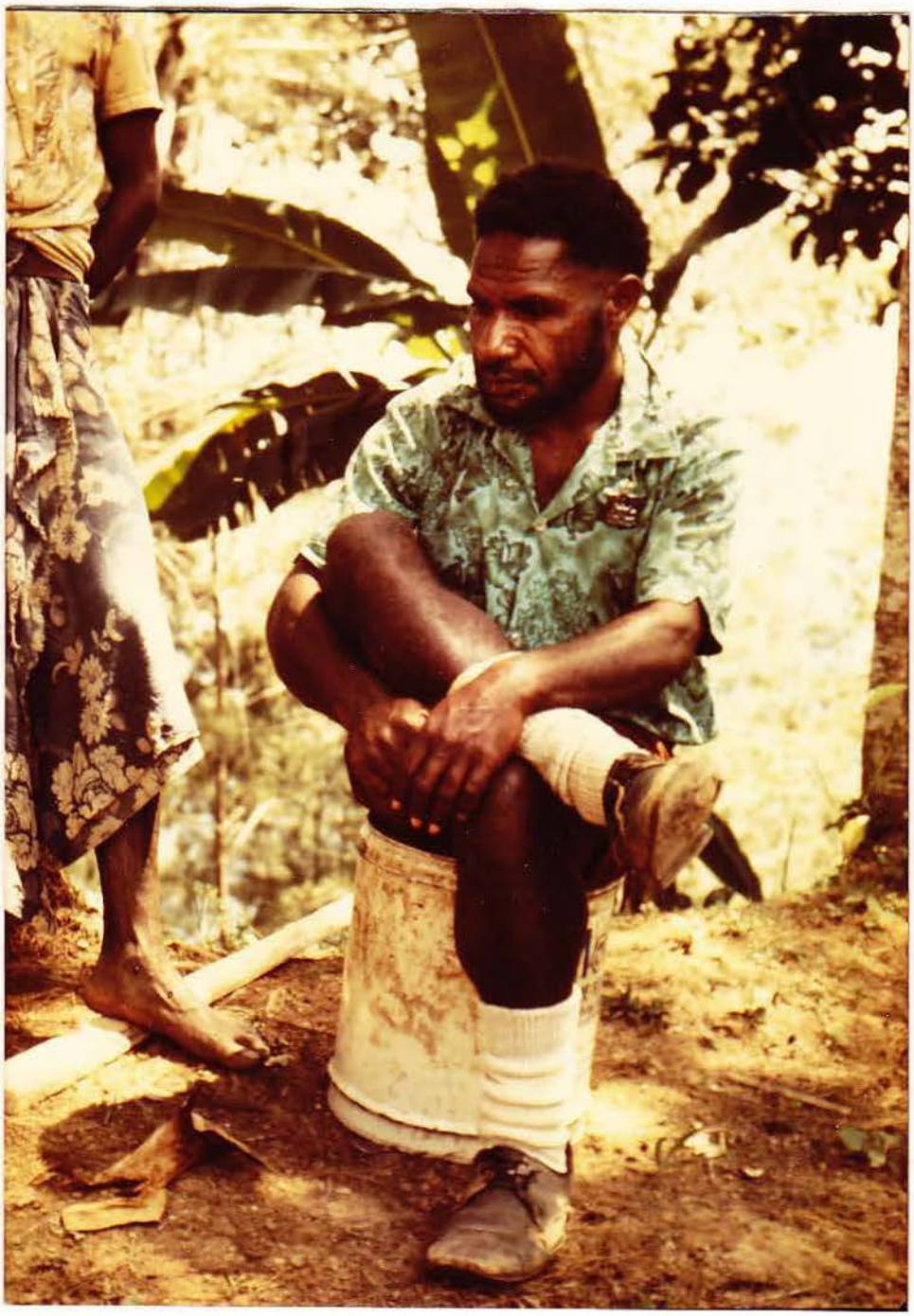


Plate 49: President Yingwai Presiding at the Men-Wondoma Court

Plate 50: "Child Pulling" at the Men-Wondoma Court

he realized that she was heading for Ndega. More pulling occurred a few hundred yards from the scene of the first, but Tsapinde was finally persuaded to stop his efforts and let them leave. Such disputes were so common that neither President Yingwai nor Mai tried to stop the action at any point. Eventually the situation stabilized, with Kubn and Kungi remaining with Men, with Wondoma returning to Ndega, and with Tsapinde left without a son. Men had demanded that Kubn pay him for her slander but she had no pig for the fine. It was suggested by Yingwai that Men give her one of his pigs to ceremoniously absolve the quarrel, but he refused. Their child was still ill at the time the period of fieldwork ended and their relationship was still strained.

After this third and final court session, a large informal gathering of men met to discuss the issue of sorcery in the Men-Wondoma case. Led by Wando, with Mai present, the group discusssd the issue of Men's power over Manga women. Seven different women were believed to have committed adultery with him. Four of those cases were verified in court and three others were cases of suspected adultery. The latter three women had sickly children and this was cited as evidence of their mother's adultery. Since there was no obvious reason for Men's popularity with women (i.e., he was not the most handsome man, nor the best husband), these Manga men suspected that he had obtained love magic during his sojourn with the Tsembaga which made him irrisistible. They decided to hold off until after one more adultery accusation against Men. At that time they all agreed to search his house for positive proof of his illicit magic, which could then be used against him in either a court of law or in a traditional form of punishment. In the past a man could have been killed or having such magic, but the

Manga group made no firm commitment to retribution beyond their mutterings.

The Men-Wondoma case gave Committee Tsapinde an opportunity to play a dual role as committeeman-mediator and as promoter-broker of the traditional school of Bigmanship. Tsapinde called for the case to be heard before Mai returned on the grounds that such adulteries shouldn't take up Mai's valuable time. While he had no official jurisdiction in such cases, he used the opportunity to his own advantage. He himself had been accused of committing adultery with Wondoma, which gave him a personal interest in the case. Since Tsapinde had paid a fine for his adultery, he was interested in proving that Men was an innocent victim like himself. Tsapinde was willing to assist Men in his efforts to marry Wondoma because then her labor would not be lost to Tsapinde's sub-clan. He would also have created credit with Men if he could have persuaded all three women to stay with him. Then should further disruption have occurred in the marriages, Tsapinde could have claimed that Men owed him a debt and the boy child of Wondoma might still have been given to Tsapinde as payment.

Although Tsapinde did not win this case, he successfully used both his modern role and his traditional role in his attempt to manipulate the court proceedings. Tsapinde lost no personal stature from playing such a dual role. As an unofficial mediator he changed the traditional "rule" which claimed a man could not marry two sisters. When Wondoma didn't cooperate with his position, he allowed her to be beaten and then cajolled. To obtain his own interest, he then offered to pay for her son--first professing to buy him for her absent husband and then confessing his own desire to adopt the boy through his rights

as an uncle. When all else failed he tried to physically steal the child--another manifestation of Tsapinde's volatile style of Bigmanship. He was the star performer in this action, adding to his own reputation as a man who was dedicated to the interests of his clan-moiety.

Mai took a more subtle position. His personal friendship with Men made him a less than effective mediator in this case. He was also concerned with smoothing his political connections with President Yingwai. By allowing Yingwai to mediate the case, Mai was able to discourage any volatile confrontations between the Manga and their Ndega affines which might reflect on his political relationship with Yingwai.

Wando entered the case only long enough to make his points about the proper way to behave as a Manga and to suggest appropriate measures for a man who could not follow those appropriate rules. Amgoi entered the case as a point of comic relief when he denied trying to attract the wife Kubn away from her husband. He also stepped in briefly to keep his brother from carrying his "child pulling" too far. The latter effort may have been spurred by Amgoi's interest in keeping warm economic ties with his Ndega relatives, including President Yingwai.

Such court cases offer multiple illustrations of the complex manipulation of old and new laws. In another case in 1972, Tsapinde again took center stage as the wronged party in a case of child molestation and incest. This case again contrasts the responsibilities and the performances of Wando, Mai, Tsapinde and Amgoi in a single conflict setting.

The Kombla-Tsapinde Court

The participants:

Mai: The local councillor acted as mediator but pushed hard for a speedy resolution of a shameful "crime."

Kombla: The "defendant" who was accused of raping his classificatory daughter, Kinyila.

Kinyila: The "victim" who had confessed to intercourse with her classificatory father Kombla twelve times during the preceding year. She was just past menarche at the time of this trial so she was defined as a "child" by local law.

Ai: The old widow who was given to Kombla as a wife by Wando. She was hard working, loud in her opinions, and Kombla's chief defender against Kinyila's reputed innocence.

Wando: Wando's sister Membe was Kinyila's mother who married a Yuomban. Wando was not pleased with her marriage and told her she would die if she stayed with that husband against Wando's wishes. Since Membe died, Wando had taken the responsibility for successfully punishing her through his death sorcery powers. Wando had taken no direct responsibility for her daughter because he had no wish to cause her death accidentally through an unconscious contamination. He allowed his half

brother Tsapinde full sway over her interests.

Tsapinde: Kinyila's mother was Tsapinde's half sister. He personally went to Yuomban territory and brought Kinyila back. Since he already had four daughters, he gave her to his classifactory brother, Kombla, who had no daughters. They were to share her bride-price after she grew up and was married.

Parim, Tom: These two committeemen assisted Mai with gathering testimony and evidence for the case.

Kombla had always had poor luck with women. In his youth, he had lost an eye to an irate husband's arrow. His first wife had died, leaving him with a grown son. Both his son and his sister had been sent to a leper colony after contact. Little more than a "rubbish man" for many years, his big man--Wando--had found him a hardworking elderly widow to marry. The woman, Ai, did much to better Kombla's business but provided little benefits for the more intimate side of marriage. There is a Manga expression to the effect that: "A woman is like sugar cane stalk, if you let it grow too old it becomes dry and not so sweet."

Kombla had a reputation as a voyeur. Women had reported his nocturnal wanderings near women's houses, using his lamplight to see if skirts were askew or reaching out to touch sleeping women--even his own female relatives on occasion. Kombla had been warned by Mai against such behavior. He had sisters to exchange for a younger wife if old Ai did not satisfy his needs, but his courting efforts met with no succeas.

About 1970, Tsapinde went to the hospital at nearby Togban when he heard that his half-sister, Membe, had died there leaving a

daughter, Kinyila, and her baby brother, about eleven months old. Kinyila was trying to keep her brother alive on the powdered milk available at the clinic after her mother had died. Tsapinde claimed the two children and, after the boy died, returned to Kwiop with Kinyila who was about 10 years old. Since Tsapinde's wife already had her hands full with three daughters (and gave birth in 1971 to a fourth), Tsapinde was pleased when his lineage brother, Kombla, and his elderly wife Ai, who had no young children, agreed to take the girl into their household to raise.

By late 1971 and into early 1972, ugly rumors about Kombla and Kinyila had started. On one occasion, Ai asked Kombla why he was spending so much time with Kinyila--"she's not your wife." Kombla became violently angry at the remark, and hit Ai hard across the face, breaking her tooth. Ai had never been reluctant to report her suspicions so she told the story to Councillor Mai. Mai refused to give it any credence at the time, particularly after Kombla told him that he'd hit her because she was afraid he was going to take a younger wife and refused to stop nagging him about it. At that time, Tsapinde suggested to Kombla that perhaps Kinyila should come to live with him. But Kombla declared that Kinyila didn't want to leave and that Ai was always making trouble.

Sometime later, a party of young girls came upon Kinyila in a bush garden. Kinyila was shaking violently and there was blood on her legs but she said she had fallen down. The girls had seen Kombla running away but they thought that Kinyila was the one to report if anything had happened. Rumors of the relationship were whispered until one night two teenage girls leaving catechism went to check on Kinyila's

absence. Arriving quietly at Kombla's house the girls saw the pair obviously having intercourse and hurried to report to the Councillor. Kombla was gone the next day, and Mai asked Kinyila to his house. There, with Mai's wife and two committeemen present, Kinyila confessed to the illicit relationship. She said that the first moves were made by Kombla who frightened her into submission by threatening her with a knife. He told her if she told anyone that he would slit her throat. She said he was always after her, always keeping her in his sight. She told of twelve different occasions when they had had intercourse during the preceding year and a half. She said he was the first man she had ever been with and that she had not had her first menstrual period.

As soon as Kombla returned he was confronted by his lineage brother, Tsapinde, with the news of Kinyila's confession. At that meeting, Tsapinde repeatedly slapped the seated Kombla who made no effort to protect himself. This pattern of behavior indicated Kombla's guilt since in Manga culture an innocent party would usually defend himself either verbally or physically.

The trail was a serious one in terms of Manga law. As Mai explained, to commit incest with a brother's wife was not a profoundly serious issue. Such a woman would certainly be experienced in sexual relations and could fight for her honor if she desired. In addition, she would not be a daughter of one's own line. Kinyila, however, had not been a girl of courting age, she had been a pre-menstrual age virgin. According to her story, she had been accosted and threatened into submission over a long period. In addition, Kinyila was a daughter of Kombla's line and living in his own house as a daughter. Time and again the point was made that any sensible man would wait for such a

girl to grow up to be married so he could reap the benefits of her bride-price. Wando likened this crime of child molestation to murder, like taking a knife to an innocent.

The Kombla-Tsapinde hearing had three parameters. Tsapinde, on one hand, demanded that Kombla pay a full bride-price payment for his fine. Tsapinde said he expected at least ten pigs for Kinyila's bride-price prior to the ruination of her value by Kombla. Kombla, on the other hand, wished to pay as little as possible. Since it was assumed that Kombla would attempt to hide or liquidate a portion of his wealth prior to the case, Mai had sent two of his committmen, Parim and Tom, to Kombla's house to inventory his feathers, money, and pigs. Kombla was thus somewhat limited in his attempts to plead extreme poverty. But beyond Tsapinde and Kombla's desired solutions was a third option--Kombla could have chosen to have the case heard by Australian authorities. It was this alternate which Mai vehemently opposed, arguing that all the Manga would be shamed by a public hearing of this crime before the Assistant District Commissioner. He further maintained that the crime was of such magnitude that the Assistant District Commissioner at Tabibuga would probably refuse to hear it and instead Kombla would be sent to Hagen or Moresby where it would be tried by a larger court. For all of New Guinea to hear that one of the Manga was a molester of a small girl and that girl his sister's daughter, would shame all the Manga.

The court lasted approximately four hours. Councillor Mai presided throughout, always urging Kombla to provide sufficient payment so that Tsapinde would be satisfied and the case resolved at the local level. Plate 51 shows Mai on his kerosene drum "bench" with Kombla

Plate 51: Negotiating the Fine at the Kombla Court

seated at the left. Both were watching Kombla's representative lay out a portion of his fine. The bamboo tubes contained valuable feathers. In the photograph, Amgoi can be seen at the right, falling asleep during the hearing.

Throughout the trial, Kombla made little effort to defend himself. He stated repeatedly that whatever Kinyila said was true except when he maintained that she made the first advances--that she had placed his hand under her skirt on an occasion when they were alone.

Tsapinde, repeatedly, angrily, asked Kombla for proof that he, Tsapinde, was a sorcerer. If Kombla could show this proof--a scrap of hair taken from Tsapinde's victim after a ghoulish excursion--then Kombla would be justified in committing such a gross violation against Tsapinde. Such a scrap of hair would prove that Tsapinde was an evil man and deserved such treatment as the misuse of his innocent "daughter." Only such evidence would give Kombla an excuse for such an offense against his brother. Since Kombla slept in the same men's house he could have witnessed such sorcery activities had Tsapinde carried them out. Tsapinde said that if Kombla could show such proof, he would resign from his position as committeeman and let Kombla look out for the welfare of the Manga. This argument gave Tsapinde a traditional red herring since Tsapinde knew no such justification was possible. Plate 52 shows Tsapinde's performance at the trial as he defends the girl Kinyila in the foreground. In the background Kombla's wife Ai and her daughter were bringing up pigs for the fine.

There was little to argue for Kombla's innocence. It was left to his ancient wife, Ai, to gain the sympathy of the court for herself. She had little good to say about the girl, Kinyila. She

Plate 52: Tsapinde and Kinyila at the Kombla Court

accused Kinyila of having a wandering eye for the young men, maintaining that any good girl would have told on her attacker at the very first. She rightfully pointed out that it was her own hard work which underlay the fine that Kombla would have to pay. She had worked hard raising Kinyila, sharing her meat, fish and rice with the girl, even making her a new string skirt woven over many long hours. Ai said she had looked forward to the honor given to a foster mother when her foster daughter's bride-price was paid. She could taste the pig and share it out as her own. This honor was lost to her because of her husband's actions.

As the court neared its peak, Ai turned on Kinyila and began to strike her with a stick. Ai screamed that if Kinyila was old enough to stare at men and fornicate with them, she was old enough to bear the consequences. At this time, Kombla finally came through with a second adult pig to satisfy Tsapinde's demands. The final fine was two adult pigs, 5 Kameko (bird of paradise plumes), 1 ax and 1 bush knife, and $48.

Tsapinde was satisfied with the relatively low fine of two pigs (as compared with the ten he said should be paid) because Kinyila would probably bring a normal bride-price in five years time when this crime was forgotten. Since she was nearing courting age anyway, lack of virtue would soon be common to all girls of her age group. No Manga woman married without several years of sexual experiences.

Kombla's punishment included not only a beating and the fine but also a forfeit of any bride wealth to come for Kinyila. Subsequent slips on Kombla's part could have resulted in further violence against his person and severe ostracism.

As a promoter/broker, Mai was most concerned in this case with keeping the issue at the local level. He had sufficient experience with serious court cases to know that such issues as child molestation and murder were not resolved at the patrol post. Patrol officers were limited to punishments of six months incarceration. Crimes necessitating longer jail sentences were judged at larger District court. While a murder sentence would not be a cause for loss of face, a child molestation charge was a shameful one. Mai, probably concerned for his own political reputation, might have had to accompany Kombla through an embarrassing series of courts as translator.

Separated from entrepreneurial pursuits, the legal case study shows Mai in his home context acting as the new big man--the man in the middle of this hearing. In the Kombla trial, Mai made no attempt to be neutral. He appeared most concerned with resolving the conflict at home, discouraging the embarrassing alternative solution of a trial outside the Jimi Valley before civil authorities. Secondarily, if the case were not settled at home, the angry feelings among kinsmen would carry over through the years. With the satisfactory payment of a fine, however, further overt conflict was avoided. As long as Kombla continued to be on good behavior with regard to women, no further problems were expected. Such a successful conclusion was the hope of the Councillor in all cases although many were not so easily resolved. The particularly close kinship status of Tsapinde and Kombla worked toward the local reaolution of the issue.

Wando, on the other hand, was concerned about the Manga'a reputation in the Jimi Valley. If men heard that the Manga were child molesters and had no qualms about fornicating with their brother's

wives, then they would not send their sisters to marry such poor specimens of honor. Wando again addressed his remarks toward what was proper behavior for a Manga man. His great disappointment was that such a payment would have to be made between brothers who should share in their "daughters" bride-prices.

Interestingly, Amgoi, who was as closely related to the victim as his brother Tsapinde, slept through most of the court. On the one occasion where he interjected his views, it was predictably a reflection of his personal interests and his tendency to exaggerate: "Whenever I found half of a pig at market or some money, I gave it to Kombla for looking out for this girl Kinyila." (No explanation of why this "generosity" was not extended to his brother Tsapinde who had one daughter already of courtship age. Since Tsapinde made no protest, chances are this was an exaggeration.) "I thought that when this girl Kinyila was grown she would be the exchange for me. Now he has done this terrible thing and she can never be my exchange." (This was probably another lie.) "If he doesn't pay a big enough fine I will fight him." (This was probably true since Amgoi would fight over money.)

Tsapinde was using his volatile reputation and his gift for exaggeration to obtain as large a fine as possible from Kombla. He was under pressure from Mai and Wando to resolve the issue locally, and a visiting Councillor who had rights to the girl, Kinyila, was also pressuring for a resolution or he said he would remove the girl from Manga jurisdiction. Tsapinde had the advantage of knowing most of Kombla's wealth and could judge accordingly when the economic squeeze began to hurt. Since the girl's bride-price would be the same in a

few years time, this was free wealth for Tsapinde--but not the kind that comes from a prestigious redistribution. He was justified in his anger against such a close relative.

It was interesting to note that both the incest accusation and the child molestation accusation might have been unprovable in an Australian court. For this reason the Australians had encouraged the resolution of such complicated cases in the local context in order to avoid direct confrontations between different systems of reckoning kinship and maturity. In a few years, Kinyila would join the ranks of married women, hopefully without any social taint from her experience.

PART THREE: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

CHAPTER TWELVE: THE INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF THE HIGHLAND LABOUR SCHEME

The most important single new option introduced to Manga men in the post-contact era was the opening of the Highland Labour Scheme. From 1960 to 1972 Highland laborers wages were the only major source of cash in the Manga economy. The HLS also served as an acculturation program for all of the men who joined it, allowing them to learn Neo-Melanesian and introducing them to the wider social, political, and economic options of the supratribal arena. In this chapter I will describe the institutionalization of the HLS in Manga life to demonstrate how entrepreneurial strategies of the early contact era spurred a wider range of social involvement in later years.

In 1960 the first group of ten men who joined the HLS made their decision under conditions of uncertainty. Nine of those ten men fell into the category of young, unmarried men aged 19-24 and nine were members of the Kulaka clan-moiety. As my account of the pre-contact paradigm indicates, young, unmarried men had the fewest social responsibilities and were praised for successful innovative behavior, which would account for the predominance of such young, unmarried men in this first group. Secondarily, in 1960, the Australian appointed leaders, a Lulual and two Tultuls, were responsible for meeting the quota of HLS workers from the Manga tribe. One Tultul, Ngarin, was from the smallest Manga clan-moiety, the Timbaga. He had little influence over men from the opposing Maruwaga clan-moiety and there were no young unmarried men

in his own group whom he could perusade to go. The Luluai and Tultul of KulakaeNgeyka clan were both from Kulaka clan-moiety. Together they had influence over men in this clan-moiety and could promise future aid in acquiring wives to young men who met the HLS quota for them.

The young men of this first group included Mai and Tsinge who had already experienced the European world in their three year "acculturation" period in the Wahgi Valley from 1956-1959. Another candidate was Kipunga-Nimphembele, the Luluai's son, who was persuaded to go as an example to other young men that there was nothing to fear in the HLS. Kipunga-Nimphembele in turn encouraged his age mate Tamo to come with him. Mai and Tsinge made sure that their other two Kulaka age mates, Men and his brother, Njegumba, came along. They all argued the attractions of the outside world to two unattached relatives, Taiya and Kipunga-Mbankane, of yet another Kulaka sub-clan. Taiya described how he overcame his initial fear of flying because he believed that he was travelling to the "ancestors" on the coast who would provide him with great wealth. Kinjan was the only married man (with one child) to go to the coast in 1961. Several factors contributed to his decision. First, his father, a powerful big man-sorceror, had been killed in the 1956 war and could not discourage him from going. Second, his wife was a war reparation bride given to him in exchange for the loss of his father. He had no particular sentimental attachment to her. Third, he was persuaded to go while he was on his first trip to Mount Hagen for the Hagen Show of 1960. He said that he had already heard of the opportunities to buy feathers and shells on the coast from other men who had returned and this made him want to go.

The interesting case is that of Amgoi, who ultimately chose not to go to the coast in 1960. He said that he began the walk to Mount Hagen with the others but "felt the spirits of the ancestors" pushing him back to Kwiop. Looking back at the situation, Amgoi may have seen the advantage of the departure of his more acculturated peers, Mai and Tsinge. Their absence gave Amgoi a chance to dominate in the "middle man" category between the Manga and the European arena. Certainly Amgoi immediately thrust himself into a position as church interpretor in 1961 and as E. A. Cook's first employee—"interpreter" later in the same year. Such potential opportunities may have been at the back of Amgoi's mind in his decision to stay at Kwiop rather than be "little brother" to eight clan brothers on the coast. This pattern was also evident in Amgoi's later decision to go to the coast in 1967 with no other representative of the Manga. Instead he went with 29 men from Bubgile—a line allied to Amgoi through his brother's son's wife. Because he spoke some Neo-Melanesian, Amgoi was made the "boss" of these men. He had more opportunity to manipulate this situation because of his greater familiarity with the outside world.

Tsapinde and Wando were both too far along in their big man careers to be interested in the HLS option. Tsapinde was caught in the demand cycle of the promoter/broker phase which included his wife's efforts to make him pay her bride-price and his own desire to have a large pig redistribution in the coming pig festival. Had he abandoned these responsibilities, he would have faced severe social censure, probably led by his elder brother Wando. As a promoter/broker Tsapinde would not be immune to innovation, but he would have adopted a Bayeaian strategy demanding proof that the advantages outweighed the risks.

Wando was intent on personally avoiding the new arena. His powers as big man and sorcerer were built on a system totally independent of this outside world and he measured costs of contact in terms of the potential loss of his sorcery powers which could make him vulnerable outside his own ancestral territory. In 1960, Wando and the other Manga big men were preparing for the onset of their pig festival cycle. Wives with large pig herds demanded the assistance of their ambitious husbands in the preparation of gardens to support the herds and to keep up the fences which controlled the herds. Any threat of change might have disrupted this balance, so men like Wando adopted a strategy of minimum regret which encouraged the avoidance of the supratribal arena. His focus was on his ancestral responsibilities and the reaffirmation of his reputation with allied clans which had suffered in the Manga defeats of the 1956 war.

An interesting conflict in authority arose when these young men returned from the coast in 1962. The big men/sorcerers had delayed the completion of the pig festival cycle until these men returned. Two of them, Kinjan and Taiya had been "marked" to be wig wearers, an honorary recognition of their budding Bigmanship within their sub-clan. But these "returnees" were not reincorporated into the group without ceremonial innovation. They were segregated from the rest of the Manga until the Luluai and the chief sorcerer, Kent, made sacrifices of small pigs and chickens to both "hot" and "cold" spirits to erase any contamination by spirits from outside Manga territory. The young men were then allowed to eat food prepared by their female relatives.

But after this reincorporation ceremony eight of these returnees decided to establish themselves as a unique social group. In a totally

innovative move, they built themselves a "modern" style house on the site where the return ceremony was held. Then they all moved into that house. This removed them from any obligation to accept the living arrangements in the men's house of senior members of their own sub-clans and affirmed their status as "new" men.

Such ceremonies continued as a regular part of returns from HLS contracts from 1962 through 1972. At the culmination of each ceremony the men redistributed the valuables which they had earned or otherwise acquired on their way back to Kwiop. At the first ceremony in 1962, blankets were spread on the ground and each man opened his suitcase and spread his European possessions for display. Then each in turn called out the names of relatives to be the recipient of some new "valuable." Such new valuables included trade store items like pots and pans, eating utensils, plates, cups, umbrellas, lamps, shorts, laplaps, shirts, hats, women's clothing purchased at the coast as special gifts for female kinsmen or potential brides, suitcases, blankets, and finally cash. It is important to note that cash was almost unknown at Kwiop before these first men returned from the coast. In 1961 and 1962, Cook was asked by the Australian authorities to pay for food with iodized salt and to pay native assistants in "scale." "Scale" referred to the process of doling out such standard items as blankets, clothing, pots, lamps, and eating utensils and then regularly supplying workers with food, tobacco, soap, and other consumables. Many of the trade store items distributed in the return ceremony were acquired as "scale" since the government allowed the commensurate costs of "scale" items to be deducted from a minimum wage. In 1962, the first Manga HLS workers returned with only $51.70 in cash wages for two years work. Since money was not important in

the local economy at that time, the Manga were more interested in re-distributing their substantial "scale" bounty.

But once the first HLS wages began to circulate in the Jimi Valley in 1962, traditional spheres of exchange began to break down to incorporate this new medium of exchange. Soon food, pigs, shells, feathers, and women were interexchangeable at rapidly inflating prices. By 1970, bride-prices had risen to as much as $800 and shells had taken a commensurate decline in value as a medium of exchange.

The Jimi River Local Government Council passed an ordinance in 1971 to keep the bride-price inflation down. Under this law a woman's bride-price payment for her first marriage was limited to $400, 5 pigs, and two cassowaries. Payment for her second marriage was limited to $200, 2 pigs, and 1 cassowary. In the third marriage, the council noted that "the woman is of no commercial value whatsoever"--as far as her bride-price was concerned.

Inflation also hit the prices of cassowaries and bird-of-paradise feathers which were not readily available in more densely populated areas of the Highlands. Manga traders took advantage of their better supplies of feathers and cassowaries to reap ready profit in cash.

Figure 10 on the next page sums up some of the overall statistics of the Highland Labour Scheme. There are certain trends evident here. First, in total, twice as many Manga men have gone to the coast from the KulakaeNgeyka clan as from the Timbamaruwaga clan. Of the total adult males in each clan, 68% have joined the HLS from the KulakaeNgeyka as compared to 57% of the Timbamaruwaga. However, by 1971 the percentage of absent men on the coast was almost identical for both clans. Second, through the years the range of ages of men joining the HLS has

Years of the HLS Contract	1960-1962	1963-1965	1966-1969*	1968-1970	1969-1971	1971-1973
Total HLS workers on each contract	10	12	16	8	15	38
Total number of Kulaka-eNgeyka clan/contract	9	6	9	8	12	21
Total number of Timba-maruwaga clan/contract	1	6	7	0	3	17
Range of ages for both clans/contract	19-31	19-34	18-36	20-38	18-37	17-45
Average age/contract	21.7	23.4	24.3	26.0	26.7	26.4
Married men/contract	1	1	7	3	6	14
% married/contract	10%	8%	44%	38%	40%	37%
Cash wages returned at Mt. Hagen/laborer	$51.70	$51.70	$70.65	$70.65	$80.00	?
Minimum wages returned for distribution/contract	$517	$629	$1055	$522	$1200	?

*A scattering of four men went separately to the coast in 1966 so they are combined with the 1967 group.

Figure 10: Statistics on the Institutionalization of the Highland Labour Scheme by the Manga

expanded from 19-31 in 1960 to 17-45 in 1971. At the same time the average age of HLS men has increased at a steady rate from 21.7 to 26.4. This increasing age is parallelled by the increase in married men going to the coast. Only three men left their wives for the HLS during the period from 1960 to 1966. Between 1967 and 1972, 29 married men left a total of 31 wives and 33 children to be cared for in their absence. The latter trend is good evidence of the increasing importance of cash in the local bride-price economy. With no local cash crop available until 1971 when their coffee trees began to mature, older men with wives were forced to join the wage labour scheme as a means of paying for their wives. These latterday HLS workers were also more careful to save their earnings for investment in new businesses at Kwiop, to pay newly imposed taxes, and to purchase pigs or cassowaries for ceremonial redistribution in the on-coming pig festival. By 1966 the social costs of the two year absence of a married man were absorbed by a reciprocal "brother-brother" exchange pact. Brother A looked out for his HLS brother B's wife and children, pigs, and gardens for two years. Then brother B reciprocated at a time when brother A wished to go to the coast. This system assuaged the growing anger of some brothers who were harrassed by the demands of their absentee brother's wife or wives. It also provided a built-in system which assured that any healthy man could be absent for a two year contract.

In 1972, 38 Manga men were away working on the HLS. The major motivation in this exodus (nearly twice the size of any other group to leave for 2 years at the same time) was Mai's insistence in 1971 that the Manga work on the "road" every day. There was great impatience in 1971 about "working for nothing" and many men decided to run away from

this corvee labor duty at the first opportunity. Mai tried to block this mass exodus by asking the Assistant District Commissioner to outlaw the Manga from joining the HLS, but the ADC had no jurisdiction to do so since the labor demands of the coastal plantation were still legal. After their departures, Mai could not make the other Manga do the work of the absentees, so the road work was abandoned. This road work had made the lure of wage labor even greater.

Also the return of Anglican lay catechists to Kwiop in 1971 reinforced the churches dictates against polygyny. Men who chose to follow the churches dictates no longer had the enjoyment of pursuing a second wife through courtship. Pacification had eliminated the entertainment and interest stimulated by warfare. Out of sheer boredom men entertained themselves by gambling large sums of money in local all night card games. In my 1972 census interviews 43 men out of 124 had never been to the coast. Of those 43, 20 were too old or infirm to qualify for the HLS. Another 17 said they fully intended to go as soon as possible. The other six who did not intend to join included the two young men with sixth grade educations waiting for church assignments and four middle aged "rubbish men" who wished to avoid any ambitious venture.

In twelve short years the Highland Labour Scheme had progressed from a high risk option open to only the most innovative young gamblers to a low risk necessity of the new Manga life style.

Other Entrepreneurial Careers

This process of institutionalizing the HLS began with the experiences of the first nine laborers and the integration of their

cash wages into the Manga traditional economy. But Mai was not the only entrepreneur in this group to have had an on-going impact on Manga life. Taiya, Kinjan, Tsinge and Men also built ambitious strategies based in part on their experiences on the coast from 1960-1962.

Taiya, like Mai, is another example of a man who used his early coast experience to expand his business investments at the local level while he continued in the promoter/broker tradition of reinvesting his wealth in major ceremonies and by looking after the interests of younger men while they were at the coast. Taiya refused to take a job as a committeeman under Mai because he had so many responsibilities in 1972. He had two wives and two children, eleven pigs, a cassowary and over 1000 coffee trees. Taiya's was by far the largest coffee operation at Kwiop and he had already invested $80 in a coffee cleaning machine. The machine was used to clean his own coffee and that of his two brothers who shared in its purchase. It was also rented at $.40 a bucket to others who didn't control labor enough to pit their beans. Taiya also had his own saw and worked at sawing planks. He had built a truck garden for producing marketable vegetables for sale at the Saturday Tabibuga market but it was later ruined by a road building project.

Despite his early entry into the HLS experience, Kinjan was well into the promoter/broker phase in 1960 and had numerous responsibilities toward the traditional leaders of his clan which prevented him from making truly innovative plans in modern business. Kinjan did invest in a plank saw about 1968 with his friend Taiya and they were paid $2 a plank for cutting wood for the patrol post building projects. They made some $40 at this work. Kinjan also ran against Mai in the 1971 election for

councillor. Mai campaigned against him on the grounds that Kinjan could not speak fluent Neo-Melanesian. Kinjan did invest $20 in Mai's store but pulled out his investment when no profits were shared. This is evidence of a subtle competition between Kinjan and Mai. Kinjan is the older of the two and manifests a more controlled demeanor in some ceremonials. Such was the case at the bride-price mentioned in the Mai chapter when Mai acted in a juvenile manner, while Kinjan acted to reassure the Manga that he would be responsible for any losses from the niggardly bride-price return payment. While Kinjan did not have Mai's political expertise in the European arena, he appeared to be one-up on Mai according to the traditional Bigmanship paradigm.

Tsinge, a third laborer from the first coast experience, had a checkered political and economic career since he returned in 1962. Tsinge was the middle son of one of the leading divining-sorcerers of the pre-contact era. Since his father died in a flu epidemic in the late 1960's, Tsinge had been torn between his ambitions to become a knowledgeable big man and sorcerer and his modern political ambitions. His ambitions on a traditional scale had been limited because he had only one wife, Agri. She had never had children although they were married in 1962. Tsinge spent the years from 1962-1972 attempting to attract a second wife. He brought two other women (including the adulteress Wondoma) home to Kwiop, but Agri physically attacked them at every opportunity until they abandoned Tsinge for other men of his clan. Finally, in 1972, Tsinge declared his intent to be baptized which signalled his acceptance of monogamy. He might yet adopt a son or daughter if he had the opportunity but his potential wealth in the labor of sons and the bride-prices of daughters is limited by this infertility.

Tsinge's political ambitions had also been squelched in both traditional and modern spheres. By 1972 most of the powerful sorcerers of the Manga were dead. The flu epidemic which took his father kept Tsinge from gaining first hand knowledge of many sorcery details. Secondly, such sorcery was outlawed in the new legal system. Without children or substantial wealth, this information and skill might have given Tsinge the reputation and influence which he otherwise had failed to promote.

In 1966, Mai appointed Tsinge as a committeeman and he often represented Mai at the patrol post because he was an excellent Neo-Melanesian speaker. He was fairly conscientious about his local duties until Wando caught him gambling with the $10 in fine money Wando had sent to keep a female relative out of jail. Wando demanded that Tsinge be removed from office and his political future in both spheres looked dim in 1972.

Tsinge had never had the wealth to invest in business ventures, but he had plans to use his coffee profits and combine with his clan-moiety brother Kinjan to buy a truck. They were awaiting the return of four of their absentee brothers to help them with the purchase price.

Men was the fourth ambitious man from the 1962 HLS. As described in the adultery case in the previous chapter, Men went on to gain experience as an interpreter. He invested his wages in many of Mai's enterprises but never took a position of business or political leadership. His failure to meet his responsibility toward his wives and children, his adulteries, and his reputed love magic, all added up to a reputation as a potential social outcast according to a traditional code of honor. Men had gone beyond the age where the selfishness of

the gambler was acceptable. Mai's support of Men's behavior could not extend much beyond this adultery case without damaging Mai's own reputation as a fair mediator.

Kinjan, Tsinge, Taiya and Men all made their own adaptation to change in the period from 1956 through 1972. In each case their strategies were determined by their experiences at the coast, their overall access to traditional wealth and modern money, and their sense of responsibility toward the society at large. Like Mai, Tsapinde, Amgoi, and Wando, they were torn in their choices by a conflict between new potential for personal profit and traditional social responsibility.

Building on the case histories of each of these men, Figure 11 summarizes the Manga entrepreneurs progressions from their pre-contact niches through the events of 1972. Their strategies reflect their experiences with and knowledge of both old and new paradigms. In column one, I have summarized the niche, assets, liabilities, and strategies of the pre-contact Bigmanship paradigm. In column two, I have summarized the way a man's pre-contact paradigm status affected his decision-making during the period of uncertainty. In column three and four I have summarized the growing knowledge of both old and new paradigms as they are reflected in on going entrepreneurial strategies. This, then, is a model of the complexities of one case of "Revolution in an Entrepreneurial Career Paradigm."

Traditional Paradigm Stages	Traditional Paradigm Pre-1956	Paradigm "Crisis" 1956-1961	Pre-paradigm State 1962-1966	Second Pre-Paradigm State 1967-1972
Gambler/ Innovater	N: young, unmarried man, courting age A: attractiveness to women, persuasive, daring R: few responsibilities S: high risks/d.m.u.	N: new Arena, niche uncertain A: unknown R: no experience S: high risk/innov.	N: HLS returnee or other direct exp. A: Neo-Melanesian, experience with money, jobs R: No jobs in the Jimi No investments in the new arena yet S: mixed /innov.	N: married/elected official/business A: coffee, stores, cash wages, trad. wealth from exch. R: Social obligations New Christian beliefs, debts S: mixed/Bayesian
Promoter/ Broker	N: family man concerned with reputatio A: trad. wealth and alliances, seeking further wives R: owes bride price, obligations to allies S: Bayesian/promoting	N: family man concerned with repute. A: traditional wealth and alliances with other clans R: No experience with the new Arena S: Bayesian/Avoidance	N: family man with wider kin debts A: secondary cash fro younger men, trad. wealth & allies R: No exp. with new Arena, pressures t join the HLS S: mixed/involved	N: traditional bigman or mod. business? A: coffee money, possible HLS exp., new political opp. R: traditional social obligations increasing with age S: mixed/modern & trad
Manager/ Patron	N: family man/sorcere multiple wives A: trad. wealth, alliances, leadership skills, sorcery R: must keep allied t the ancestors by following taboos S: trad/ responsible	N: family man/ sorcerer, wives A: trad. wealth & status R: No experience with the new Arena S: minimum regret	N: family man/sorcerer, wives A: inflation of trad. wealth, secondary cash from HLS R: No direct access to new Arena and cash S: avoid direct risks	N: family man/sorcere senior trad. leade A: coffee profits, cash to investment in trad. spheres R: Recognizes new arena for the young old arenas for sel S: mixed/traditional

Key: N-Niche
A-Assets
R-Restrictions (liabilities)
S-Strategy

Figure 11: Revolution in the Manga Bigmanship Paradigm

CHAPTER THIRTEEN: MANGA ENTREPRENEURIAL STRATEGIES

In the preceding twelve chapters, I established a methodological framework for a processual account of social change following Barth's recommendations and applied that framework to a dramatic case of change in the New Guinea Highlands. Barth first called for concepts to facilitate "the empirical study of the events of change" (1967: 661). Barth himself suggested that a focus on the role of the entrepreneur in change facilitates such an empirical study.

Beginning with Chapter One, I addressed the issue of the role of the entrepreneur in Melanesian society. Using previous definitions by Barth, I have argued that the traditional form of Melanesian leadership, Bigmanship, was actually a form of entrepreneurship. This accounts, in part, for the pattern of innovative business adaptations of many Melanesian colonial societies as compared to the more static adaptations of colonial peasants in other parts of the world.

In Chapter Six I described the major events of change as they affected the Manga tribe from 1956 to 1972; from pacification to the end of my fieldwork. Then in Chapters Seven, Eight, Nine and Ten, I related these events to the case histories of four Manga entrepreneurs who represent four diverse responses to the opportunities of the change era.

Barth next called for "specification of the nature of continuity in a sequence of change"(1967: 661). In Chapters Two, Three, and Four, I outlined a set of theoretical concepts to explain the continuity of

change. First, in Chapter Two, I transposed Kuhn's (1963) notion of "revolution in a scientific paradigm" into "revolution in an entrepreneurial paradigm." To establish the nature of continuity in this change sequence, I defined pre-contact Bigmanship as a "career paradigm." Such a career encompassed three stages of social assets and responsibilities: a gambler/innovater stage, a promoter/broker stage, and a patron/manager stage. Then, following Kuhn, I suggested that the events of pacification caused a "crisis" in the Bigmanship Career Paradigm, followed by a period of paradigm flux—a "pre-paradigm state." During this period, a transition period, the Bigmanship Career Paradigm underwent a series of changes. At the same time, this paradigm continued to influence the pattern of Manga leadership.

In Chapter Three I suggested a format for summarizing the continuity of change—an entrepreneurial matrix based on Barth's (1963) situational model of entrepreneurship. To Barth's notions of an entrepreneur's "niche," "assets," and "restrictions," I added dimensions of "time," "social arena," and "strategy" to create a "Transition Matrix." Such a matrix was then used in Chapters Seven through Ten to summarize the changing dimensions of four Manga entrepreneurial careers from the point of European contact in 1956 until 1972.

I went on in Chapter Four to elaborate on the "strategies" of this "Transition Matrix." First, I critiqued previous anthropological perspectives on optimization theory that emphasized group behavior limited by mathematical parameters. Then I went on to show how Prattis' (1973) model of diverse "optimum" strategies could be expanded and applied to the cases of Manga entrepreneurs in the Matrices at the end of each of their case histories. In Chapter Eleven, I used accounts of two Manga court scenes to demonstrate the actual process of arguing

change as it involved the four entrepreneurs described in the preceding chapters.

Finally, Barth called attention to "the importance of the study of institutionalization as an on-going process" (1967: 661). In Chapter Twelve, I addressed the issue of the institutionalization of one crucial Manga opportunity--the option to join the Highland Labour Scheme. The adoption of this option by the majority of Manga men marked the acceptance of the most significant acculturation opportunity open to them. I then went on to show how the advantages of early experience in the Highland Labour Scheme provided a few ambitious Manga men with a distinct advantage in determining their future strategies in the transition era.

Thus I have followed all three of Barth's recommendations for resolving the inadequacies of anthropological studies of social change. I will go on here to briefly anticipate the future strategies of the two leaders of the "opposing" Paradigms--Mai, the leader of the new entrepreneurial sphere and Wando, the leader of the traditional Bigmanship sphere.

Bigmanship versus Entrepreneurship: Future Strategies

Mai Kopi's election as Councillor of the Manga was fortuitous on many grounds. He was an articulate spokesman, a middle man between clans and between the Manga and the wider world, and an ambitious man in his own right. His personal history shows that he has been able to dominate Manga opinion in many instances; but in 1972, Mai had begun to come up against the die-hard remnants of the old Bigmanship Paradigm.

In his twenties at the time of his election and with a period of political "honeymooning" for his new level of authority and leadership,

Mai was forgiven much of his selfishness by the Manga. But in 1972, the Manga had begun to perceive an underlying exploitation: some demanded a return of their store investment from him, others fled to the coast to avoid his roadwork commands. Such setbacks reflected a change in Mai's monopoly of intra-tribal authority and supra-tribal information.

If Mai's monopoly of new leadership is to continue, he will have to face the challenge of traditional responsibilities. As yet he acts as a mediator with practiced assurance but he does not carry the weight of Wando in terms of his wider social responsibility. He has been more concerned with his own business interests than with the well-being of the Manga. Mai also was faced with the ceremonial pressures of the coming pig festival in 1972. Such an event sparked need for traditional leadership which could only be provided by men who had established their sorcery powers before European contact. Mai attempted several times to support the Anglican lay catechists' position against certain traditional aspects of the festival. His position was ignored by Wando, who emphasized the difference between men such as Mai who "ate women's food" or "who ate men's food with women" and refused to share food distributed by such men. As the last of the leading KulakaeNgeyke sorcerers, Wando should have the major leadership role in the management of the 1973 festival. Mai had plans to be a wig wearer in that festival so he would have subdued his modern role accordingly. He has always had very limited access to direct sorcery knowledge and his position as an in-between man makes him even more of an unlikely candidate for such training. This means that much of the authority of the pig festival cycle always will be beyond his power. He can discourage such ceremonies

as "heathen" but it will take at least his life time for this knowledge to die out. Men who do not hold positions of new authority may continue to opt for their access to power through magic and sorcery, which may well survive alongside the new Christianity. Mai has two options: to adhere to the dictates of the Siane lay catechists to deny traditional sorcery and ceremony, or to adopt a dual role as believer and non-believer. Mai attempted to persuade the Manga to "lose" their sorcery knowledge when he first took c fice in 1966. Several men made sorcery confessions at that time, but the underlying belief in sorcery power has not been lost to the Manga as a group or to Mai in particular. Mai told frequent stories of his experiences with sorcerers in 1971 and 1972 and seemed to be torn between a denying of such tales in front of the lay catechists and delighting in his own experiences with such powers. Such duality demonstrates the continuing pressures of the old paradigm on Mai's new strategies.

Wando, however, was reaching the end of his career. The 1973 pig festival would have been the last major ceremonial event of that career. Wando recognized the changing nature of leadership in his decision to keep his sorcery knowledge to himself. On three occasions his son, ToBa-kif had experienced a form of hysteria which Wando diagnosed as attempts by ancestor spirits to mark ToBa-kif as a potential candidate for sorcerer. Wando cured his son each time but refused to give him sorcery training on the grounds that there was no longer a place for such knowledge in the new Manga lifestyle. The knowledge of sorcery power will die with Wando's generation.

In 1976, world coffee prices sky-rocketed. We can only presume that this inflation had a further profound effect on Manga life. Such inflation would give further economic influence to those ambitious men

like Mai who had the experience to capitalize on their profits. With the ebbing of Wando's leadership, the Manga would move toward a more selfish "economic" existence under Mai's direction. His plans for a larger store and a truck are, no doubt, a reality in 1977. His political relationship with the Manga may be undergoing further erosion unless he has shared the profits of these new enterprises with his followers. As Mai grows older and continues to remain in Manga territory, he will face social pressures to continue in the traditional Bigmanship pattern. If he does not meet the needs of his Manga clientele, he will lose the support of that following. As Salisbury found among the Tolai contact leaders, there was distinction between the truly successful leader and his less influential counterparts. In his words ". . . a leader who is fully successful may have incidents of self-motivation remembered in private, but in public he is remembered as altruistic and a support of the traditions" (1970: 332). While such leaders were often highly innovative, they argued the merits of innovation in terms of the public benefits of such innovations. This is the key to predicting Mai's future as a Manga leader. If he responded to these altruistic social pressures, he could emerge as a true big man leading the Manga toward change.

NOTES

Introduction

[1]This is the common New Guinea usage of the word "European." It refers to all Caucasians including Australians, the British, and Americans.

[2]British spelling for "labour" will be followed only in labelling the "Highland Labour Scheme." Elsewhere I will use the American spelling "labor."

Chapter 5

[1]E. A. Cook's (1969) use of segementary terminology will be followed throughout this dissertation.

Chapter 6

[1]All dollar designations in the dissertation refer to Australian dollars, the regular currency used in 1972 in Papua New Guinea. The exchange rate in 1972 was approximately $1.32 U. S. for $1.00 Australian. For speedy calculations add one-third the stated Australian dollar value to equal the commensurate U. S. dollar value. Since independence in 1975, Papua New Guinea has established its own system of currency.

[2]The rapid inflation of world wide coffee prices in 1976 would have had a major impact in the Jimi Valley, but that impact can only be assessed speculatively since my fieldwork ended in 1972.

Chapter 8

[1]Parts of this chapter are based on an unpublished paper which I co-authored with E. A. Cook in 1973 entitled "Mai of the Manga: Man Bilong Namel." See the Bibliography for further details.

[2]"Small house" is Neo-Melanesian euphemism for "outhouse." JRLGC law required that each house have an adjacent latrine facility.

Chapter 9

[1]Parts of this chapter are based on an unpublished paper entitled "Amgoi, Entrepreneurial Loser" which I co-authored with E. A. Cook in 1972. See Bibliography for further details.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Attenborough, David
1960 Quest in Paradise. Lutterworth Press, London.

Barth, Fredrik, ed.
1963 The Role of the Entrepreneur in Social Change in Northern Norway. Norwegian Universities Press, Bergen, Oslo.

Barth, Fredrik
1967 "On the Study of Social Change." American Anthropologist 69: 661-669.

Belshaw, Cyril S.
1955 "The Cultural Milieu of the Entrepreneur: A Critical Essay." Explorations in Entrepreneurial History, Vol. 7, No. 3: 146-163.

Boissevain, Jeremy
1974 Friends of Friends: Networks, Manipulators and Coalitions. St. Martin's, New York.

Brown, Paula
1960 "Chimbu Tribes: Political Organization in the Eastern Highlands of New Guinea." Southwestern Journal of Anthropology 16: 22-35.

1967a "The Chimbu Political System." Anthropological Forum, Vol. 2, No. 1: 36-52.

1967b "From Anarchy to Satraphy." American Anthropologist 65: 1-15.

1967c "Kondom." Journal of the Papua New Guinea Society, Vol. 1, No. 2: 3-11.

1970 "Mingge-Money: Economic Change in the New Guinea Highlands." Southwestern Journal of Anthropology 26: 242-260.

Burridge, K. O. L.
1975 The Melanesian Manager. In Studies of Social Anthropology, J. H. M. Beattie and R. G. Lienhardt, eds. Oxford University Press, London. Pp. 86-104.

Clark, William C.
1971 Place and People: An Ecology of a New Guinea Community. University of California Press, Berkeley.

Cook, Edwin A.
1966 "Narak: Language or Dialect?" Journal of the Polynesian Society 75(4): 437-444.

1967 Manga Social Organization. Unpublished Ph. D. Dissertation. Yale University, New Haven.

1969 "Marriage among the Manga." In Pigs, Pearlshells, and Women: Marriage in the New Guinea Highlands, R. M. Glasse, and M. J. Meggitt, eds. Prentice-Hall, Englewood Cliffs, N. J. Pp. 96-116.

1970 "On the Conversion of Non-Agnates into Agnates Among the Manga, Jimi River, Western Highlands, District, New Guinea." Southwestern Journal of Anthropology 26(2): 190-196.

1973 "Zeus, Pigs and Initiation." Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Central States Anthropolotical Association, March 1973.

Cook, Edwin A. and Susan M. Pflanz-Cook
1972 "Amgoi: Entrepreneurial Loser." Paper presented at the 71st Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association, November 1972.

Davenport, William
1960 "Jamaican Fishing: A Game Theory Analysis." Yale University Publications in Anthropology, Vol. 59: 3-11.

Epstein, A. L.
1967 "The Case Method in the Field of Law." In The Craft of Social Anthropology, A. L. Epstein, ed. Tavistock, London. Pp. 205-230.

Epstein, T. S.
1970 "Indigenous Entrepreneurs and Their Narrow Horizon." In The Indigenous Role in Business Enterprise: Three Papers from the Third Waigani Seminar, 1969. New Guinea Research Bulletin 35: 16-26.

Finney, Ben R.
1968 "Bigfellow Man Belong Bisiness in New Guinea." Ethnology 7: 394-410.

1969 New Guinea Entrepreneurs. New Guinea Research Bulletin 27. Australian National University, Canberra.

Foster, George
1965 "Peasant Society and the Image of the Limited Good." American Anthropologist 67: 293-315.

Fraser, L. M.
1937 Economic Thought and Language. Black, London

Gitlow, Abraham
1947 Economics of the Mount Hagen Tribes, New Guinea. American Ethnological Society Monograph 12, New York.

Heath, Dwight B.
1973 "New Patrons for Old: Changing Patron-Client Relationship in the Bolivian Yungas." Ethnology 12: 75-98.

Koch, Klaus-Friedrich
1974 War and Peace in Jalemo: The Management of Conflict in Highland New Guinea. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA.

Kozelka, Robert
1969 "A Bayesian Approach to Jamaican Fishing." In Game Theory in the Behavioral Sciences, Ira R. Buchler and Hugo G. Nutini, eds. University of Pittsburgh Press, Pittsburgh. Pp. 117-125.

Kuhn, T. F.
1962 The Structure of Scientific Revolutions. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

Langness, L. L.
1968 "Bena Bena Political Organization." Anthropological Forum, Vol. 2, No. 2: 180-197.

Leahy, M. J. and Maurice Crain
1937 The Land That Time Forgot. Funk and Wagnalls, New York.

Leeds, Anthony
1964 "Brazilian Careers and Social Structure: An Evolutionary Model and Case History." American Anthropologist 66: 1321-1347.

Lowman-Vayda, Cherry
1968 "Maring Big Men." Anthropological Forum, Vol. 2, No. 2: 199-243.

Lukes, Steven
1968 "Methodological Individualism Reconsidered." British Journal of Sociology 19: 119-129.

Mayer, Adrian
1966 "The Significance of Quasi-Groups in the Study of Complex Societies." In The Social Anthropology of Complex Societies. Michael Banton, ed. Tavistock, London.

Meggitt, M. J.
1967 "The Pattern of Leadership Among the Mae-Enga of New Guinea." Anthropological Forum, Vol. 2, No. 1: 20-35.

1971 "From Tribesmen to Peasants: The Case of the Mae-Enga of New Guinea." In Anthropology in Oceania, L. R. Hiatt and C. Jayawardena, eds. Angus & Robertson, Sydney.

Ortiz, Sutti R.
1973 Uncertainties in Peasant Farming: A Columbian Case. London School of Economics Monographs on Social Anthropology, No. 46. Humanities Press, New York.

Paine, Robert, ed.
1971 Patrons and Brokers in the East Arctic. Newfoundland Social and Economic Papers, No. 2. Institute of Social and Economic Research, Memorial University of Newfoundland, St. Johns, Newfoundland.

Pelto, Pertti J.
1970 Anthropological Research: The Structure of Inquiry. Harper and Row, New York.

Pflanz-Cook, S. M. and Edwin A. Cook
1973 "Mai of the Manga: Man Bilong Namel." Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Central States Anthropological Association, March 1973.

1975 "The One-Eyed Child Molester: A Legal Case from Highland New Guinea." Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Association for Social Anthropology in Oceania, February 1975.

Pflanz-Cook, S. M. and Edwin A. Cook
1977 "Manga Pacification." Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Association for Social Anthropology in Oceania at Monterey, California, March 1977.

Prattis, J. I.
1973 "Strategising Man." Man 8(1): 46-58.

Rappaport, Roy A.
1968 Pigs for the Ancestors: Ritual in the Ecology of a New Guinea People. Yale University Press, New Haven.

Read, D. W. and C. E. Read
1970 "Critique of Davenport's Game Theory Analysis." American Anthropologist 72: 351-355.

Reay, Marie
1959 The Kuma: Freedom and Conformity in the New Guinea Highlands. Melbourne University Press, Melbourne.

Rowley, Charles D.
1966 The New Guinea Villager. Frederick A. Praeger, New York.

Sahlins, Marshall D.
1956 "Poor Man, Rich Man, Big Man, Chief: Political Types in Melanesia and Polynesia." Originally published in 1956. Reprinted in 1968 in Peoples and Cultures of the Pacific: An Anthropological Reader, Andrew P. Vayda, ed. Natural History Press, Garden City, N. Y. Pp. 157-176.

Salisbury, R. F.
1962 From Stone to Steel. Melbourne University Press, Melbourne.

1970 Vunamami: Economic Transformation in a Traditional Society. University of California Press, Berkeley.

Savage, L. J.
1951 The Theory of Statistical Decision. Journal of the American Statistical Association 46: 55-67.

Strathern, Andrew J.
1972a "The Entrepreneurial Model of Social Change: From Norway to New Guinea." Ethnology 11: 368-379.

1972b "Social Pressures on the Rural Entrepreneur." In Change and Development in Rural Melanesia, M. Ward, ed. The University of Papua and New Guinea and the Australian National University, Canberra. Pp. 489-503.

Stricken, Arnold and Sidney M. Greenfield, eds.
1972 Structure and Process in Latin America: Patronage, Clientage and Power Systems. University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque, NM.

van Velsen, J.
1967 "The Extended-case Method and Situational Analysis." In The Craft of Social Anthropology, A. L. Epstein, ed. Tavistock, London. Pp. 129-149.

Watson, J. B.
1960 "A New Guinea 'Opening Man'." In In the Company of Man: Twenty Portraits by Anthropologists, Joseph B. Casagrande, ed. Harper & Brothers, New York. Pp. 127-173.

White, Douglas
1973 "Mathematical Anthropology." In Handbook of Social and Cultural Anthropology, John J. Honigmann, ed. Rand McNally Press, New York. Pp. 369-446.

Wurm, S. A.
1961 The Languages of the Eastern, Western, and Southern Highlands, Territory of Papua and New Guinea. In Linguistic Survey of the South-West Pacific, A. Capell, ed. South Pacific Commission, Noumea.