

The Losing Game - Exchange, Migration, and Inequality  
Among the Gende People of Papua New Guinea

Laura J. Zimmer

May, 1985

Submitted to the Faculty of Bryn Mawr College  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for  
the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, SAN DIEGO



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ZIMMER, LAURA J.

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## ABSTRACT

### The Losing Game - Exchange, Migration, and Inequality Among the Gende People of Papua New Guinea

Laura J. Zimmer, Bryn Mawr College

Studies on rural-urban migration commonly focus on economic factors as a primary force effecting population movements. For almost seventeen months in 1982 and 1983, I carried out an intensive case study on the effects of migration and inequality on one community in the highlands of Papua New Guinea. Through participant observation and quantitative surveys, I found that income differences generated by urban remittances and local underdevelopment have reduced the effectiveness of many Gende's participation in the system of reciprocal and competitive exchange which organizes virtually every aspect of their lives (e.g. access to land, group affiliation, prestige, and personal identity), and resulted in an increasing number of "losers" who migrate in order to find means to increase their income or, having defaulted on their exchange obligations too often, are no longer welcome in the village. By looking at the entire range of successes and failures, and not just at those men and women who have seemingly benefitted from inequality, I am also able to show how inequality has turned a "game" in which there were once more winners than losers into a "losing game" for the Gende. My main conclusion is that it is only by looking at the particular combination of economic, social, cultural, and temporal factors that one can understand migration at the local level. Furthermore, general models of migration must include these variables if they are to be useful to policy-makers and others interested in issues of rural and urban development in Papua New Guinea and in other developing nations.

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## PREFACE - GAMES

The formal analysis of Melanesian exchange systems has unveiled the dynamic nature of Melanesian social life, from which Melanesian societies emerge as the ever new creations of individuals in competition with other individuals (Sillitoe 1979: vii). Through the tactical deployment of wealth, individuals vie to enhance their personal reputations and expand their social networks by establishing relations of kinship and support with as many persons as possible. Successful managers of exchange become focal points of group formation and alliance (Strathern 1971), while individuals who fall behind in the competition are cut off from ongoing social relations or pushed out of the action (Brown 1970: 115).

The stratagems and maneuvering involved in Melanesian life have encouraged many anthropologists to employ a game analogy when describing Melanesian exchange systems (cf. Read 1965:73). In The Rope of Moka, Andrew Strathern likens the Moka system to a game with rules, matches, winners, and competition (1971:1). Likewise, Scarlett Epstein equates the accumulation and exchange of tambu shells among the Tolai to a "card game played for chips" (1968:31), and Jane Goodale finds "bluff, ambiguity, coolness, and control" - essential skills in poker - to be elements in the Kaulong "game of social life" (1977:1,19,23).

For me, the idea of exchange as a game acquired special significance when, in 1982 and 1983, I witnessed the Gende playing card games in conjunction with the older game of 'pork poker'. Having

gone to the central highlands of New Guinea to do a study on migration and urban remittances, I discovered that there were many losers in the old game: men and women who, because of unequal access to cash, were unable to effectively participate in the Gende exchange system, and as a consequence were being forced to migrate or to accept lower statuses and, in some cases, even the loss of land rights in the village. Particularly troublesome for Gende villagers was the problem of managing their exchanges when out-of-work (or poorly paid) migrants defaulted on their exchange obligations to village exchange partners.

In order to prevent the old game from ending (through lack of players) and to ease the effects of inequality upon their relations with others, many Gende have chosen to participate in two games - both traditional exchange and playing cards for money. Using card games to effect a more equitable distribution of cash, winners in the old game give the losers a second chance to participate in the social life of the community. By doing so, they also express values (generosity, cooperation) which give meaning and satisfaction to the lives of Gende men and women.

In reality, Gende card playing, as much as its more traditional counterpart, is serious business and not an idle pastime or amusement. The stakes in both card playing and traditional exchange (individual and group identity, ongoing social interaction, and the perpetuation and well-being of Gende society) are too high for either to be construed as 'games'. Nonetheless, since



a game analogy captures the spirit of challenge and rivalry which pervades the lives of Gende men and women, I make use of a game metaphor throughout the presentation and analysis of my data.

The Losing Game - Exchange, Migration, and Inequality Among the Gende People of Papua New Guinea

The main thesis of this dissertation is that change has posed a problem of identity for the Gende, a problem which they are attempting to resolve in ways which are culturally meaningful and satisfying to them. Internal processes which operated in Gende society in the past are still at work today, and are related to recent population movements among the Gende as well as their attempts to regain control over their lives. Although the context in which their lives are played out has changed considerably, and the Gende have had to make certain modifications and additions to the old game in order to keep it going, the purposes of the game players remain the same. For the Gende, the game is their way of dealing with the problem of managing their resources so that life and society as they know it will continue to exist. It is also the context in which individual behavior is measured, and individual self-worth and identity are validated and given recognition.

For the sake of advancing this argument, I have divided the dissertation into three parts: THE OLD GAME, THE LOSING GAME, and SAVING THE GAME. In PART ONE, I describe the Gende exchange system and way of life of the Gende people. In Chapter One - The Old Game

- Image and Process - I introduce the pig feast cycle (poi nomu) and the system of which it is a part. After a brief look at the competitive processes and structure of the Gende exchange system, I present some of the meanings or images which Gende men and women try to create in the context of exchange. From the point of view of the hosts of a poi nomu, two aspects of their individual and group identity which are on trial are their strength and generosity. By giving away mounds of cooked pork and other valuables, they demonstrate to the visitors that they are a powerful line of 'big men' (wana nambaio), who are able to attract and hold onto 'good women' (ana moqeri) and negotiate rights to land.

In Chapter Two - The Players - People, Pigs, and Place - I expand upon the relationship between social units, settlement patterns, land tenure, and exchange. I show that among the Gende, it is only in the sense that a group of individuals cooperate to defend the land, that land is corporately owned. Focusing on the kinds of constraints individuals must contend with, I set the stage for later discussions of the migration decisions and the resulting circulation of players between village and town. To this end, I also include a brief account of internal population movements among the Gende prior to European contact, and develop the idea that the exchange of wealth is instrumental in the distribution of persons in relation to land.

In Chapter Three - Game Moves - Exchange, Society, and the Individual - I elaborate on the process of becoming and being

'human' (wana tizhi) in a competitive society. At the heart of the Gende exchange system is the life cycle and social development of the individual. The process of becoming human begins long before a child is conceived and ends (if at all) long after the death of the individual. I show that only by investing material goods and services in others, are men and women able to demonstrate that they are 'human'. Since most life cycle transactions are carried out in a context of competition, the 'humanity' of both individuals and groups is shown to be constantly on trial.

In Chapter Four - Scoring - Winners and Losers - my focus is more on the social and psychological effects of winning and losing than on formal processes and management. I begin by contrasting the shame and isolation of losers with the pride and conviviality of winners. I then discuss how the Gende's belief in sorcery actually promotes generosity and social interaction, and how it is that being a 'very powerful big man' (wana nambaio yonua) or being 'very generous' (mogeri yonua) can sometimes be as 'bad' (briki) as being an unimportant and selfish 'rubbish man' (korumbu-wana). This discussion is an essential prelude to later chapters, in particular the chapters on migration (Seven and Eight) and gambling (Nine).

Beginning with PART TWO and Chapter Five - The Losing Game - Inequality and Exchange - I describe what has been happening to the Gende since they were first contacted by Europeans in 1932, and their unequal involvement in the cash economy turned the 'old game'

into a 'losing game'. In Chapter Five, I detail some of the negative effects the Gende's initial contacts with Europeans, their ensuing peripheralization from the mainstream of economic development in the highlands, and their high rate of outmigration have had on the Gende and the operation of their exchange system.

In Chapter Six - The Winner by Default - Inequality and Uncertainty - I focus on the particular men and women who hosted a pig feast (poi nomu) in the village of Yandera (the primary location of my field research) in 1982, in order to show how some arrived at the enviable condition of being winners while others did not. Much of this chapter is devoted to an indepth analysis of the past exchange activities of a number of the main players, including several losers.

I show that out of the minutiae of individual game strategies, it is possible to isolate several patterns of exchange, or investment, which characterize individual players' attempts to cope with income differences and uncertainty. Each of these patterns has different implications for the future of Gende society, but it is not possible to predict yet which will predominate. While some men and women invest heavily in only a few exchange relationships, others invest in a wide range of persons, thereby hedging their bets on who will turn out to be a reliable exchange partner.

To be a winner in 1982, a man had to have a few aces, or successful young migrants, in his hand. In Chapter Seven - The Rural-Urban Shuffle - Migration and Inequality - I refer to these

young migrants as the 'stars of the poi nomu' because, unlike many of their peers who are poorly paid or unemployed, they were able to contribute to their parents' successful performances at the poi nomu, by paying back the debts of childhood and marriage promptly and with interest. Sought after as exchange partners and mates, the 'stars' put pressure on other young men and women to follow in their footsteps. The 'stars' help determine who will or will not migrate, by 1) raising the expectations of their fathers and mothers, 2) setting the standards against which other young men and women are measured, and 3) being deemed worthy of the support and respect of the community.

In the playing of any hand of the game, there are always a few 'losers' and 'discards'. As it becomes evident to the Gende that more players are being eliminated in successive hands of the game, they are beginning to question whether or not the game is worth playing at all. In Chapter Eight -Losers Out! - A Question of Identity -the full impact of the 'losing game' is demonstrated by examining the circumstances of the elderly, who are nearing game's end and have little hope that their children can ensure for them an honorable ancestorhood through the ongoing exchange of wealth in poi nomu and death payment ceremonies.

The Gende, of course, are not content to see themselves as 'losers', and have, in recent years, participated in several innovative efforts to redeem their sense of self-worth and to remedy some of the harmful social effects of inequality and

uncertainty. One of the more interesting is the use of gambling with cards for money to reduce income differences and give losers in the old game a chance to win in a new social context - the card game. Part Three - Saving the Game - begins in Chapter Nine -The New Game - Pig Feasts and Card Games - with a description and analysis of Gende card playing. Of all the gifts brought home by migrants, games of chance were, perhaps, the most useful. Recasting European card games to fit their own particular needs and self-image, the Gende have created a system of reciprocity which not only supports the old game and ongoing social interaction but also provides an arena where new forms of social identity can be tested.

As satisfying and useful as the new game is, most Gende realize that it cannot get at the roots of inequality. This is illustrated by an extended case study of the "The Bundi Strike" in Chapter Ten - Time Out! - The Bundi Strike. On the morning of May 28, 1983, several thousand Gende participated in 'The Bundi Strike', and in doing so revealed the seeds of a newer game in which the Gende are in opposition to those who would deprive them of their right, as 'men', to control their own lives. The strike showed that the Gende can set aside mutual antagonisms in order to defeat a common 'enemy'. They banded together to challenge the government concerning the completion of a long desired but unfinished road which would connect them to the outside world. This road symbolized to the Gende both "development" and a "way back home" for migrants who had left the village.

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My deepest appreciation, however, is reserved for the many Gende who welcomed me into their lives and allowed me to get a

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Above all others, my love and appreciation go to my Gende 'father' (Ruge Gregor Angiva) and 'mother' (Elizabeth) for their inestimable contribution to the research and to my personal well-being while I lived with them. Because Ruge and Elizabeth many times expressed a desire to be named in my dissertation, I have made no attempt to disguise their identities in the following pages. In those places in this dissertation where the case materials I have used may be injurious to the reputations of living persons, however, I have chosen to substitute fictitious names for my informants.

Finally, special thanks are due to my family and friends in America for unselfishly supporting me throughout my venture. In particular, I would like to thank my mother (Evelyn Schuck), who urged me to leave for the field on schedule at a time when she was

coping with a serious illness. I would also like to thank my sister (Judy Willis), cousin (Nancy Jones), and sister-in-law (Diane Heald) for being handy and uncomplaining babysitters during the long years of undergraduate and graduate training. There are no words to adequately express my appreciation and indebtedness to my children (Andy, Heidi, and Conrad) for never once begrudging me the time I spent away from them, or to Rolf for having to be both mother and father for over a year.

## NOTES ON TRANSCRIPTION

### My Transcription

### Phonetic Values

#### Vowels:\*

a	a ~ ʌ	(as in bud)
e	e ~ ɛ	(as in bet)
i	i ~ ɪ	(as in bit)
o	o ~ ɔ	(as in awful)
u	u ~ ʊ	(as in put)

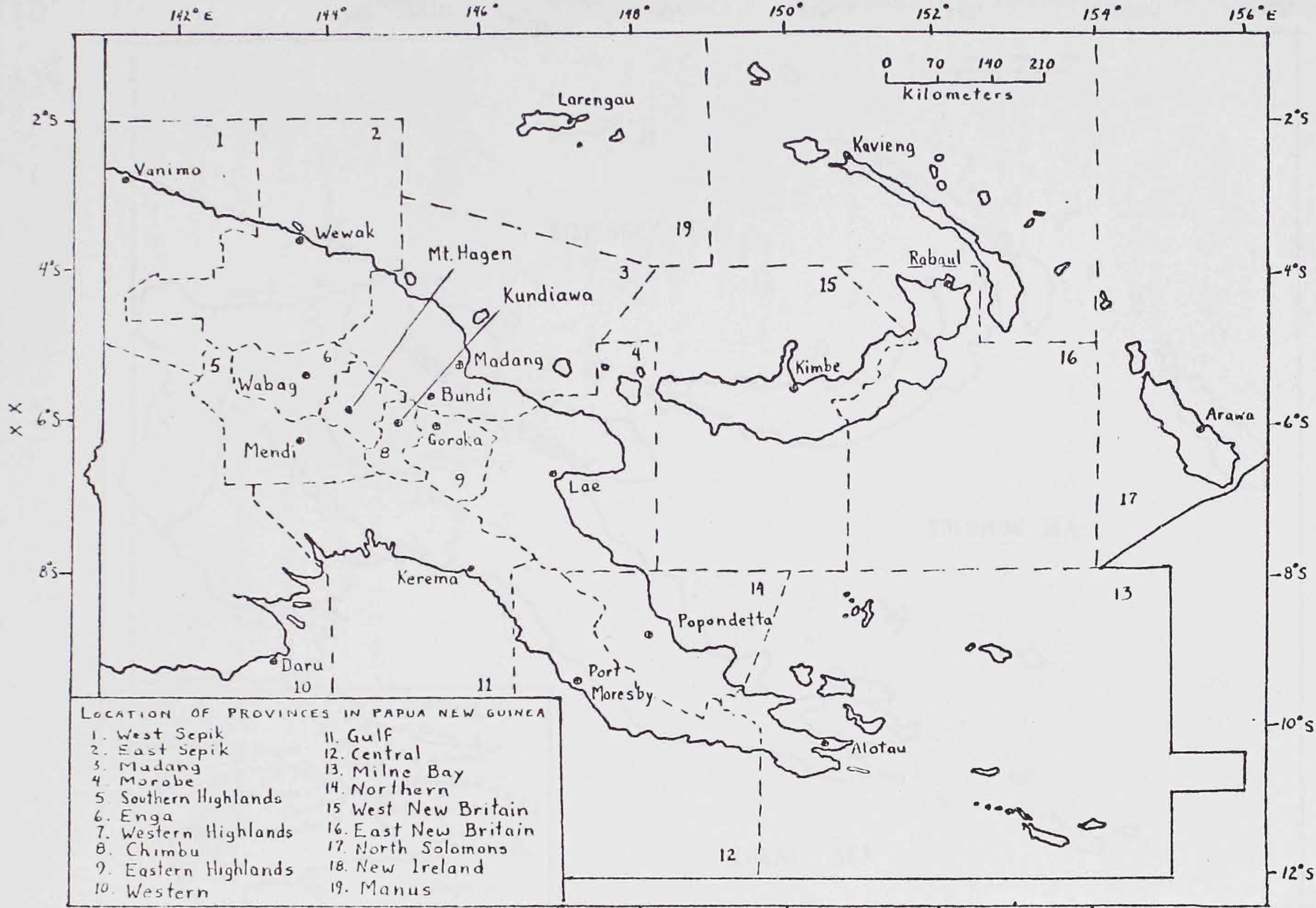
\* The second allophones of the vowels occur before nasals, including the pre-nasalized stops.

#### Consonants:\*\*

mb ~ b	mb
nd ~ d	nd
ng ~ g	ng

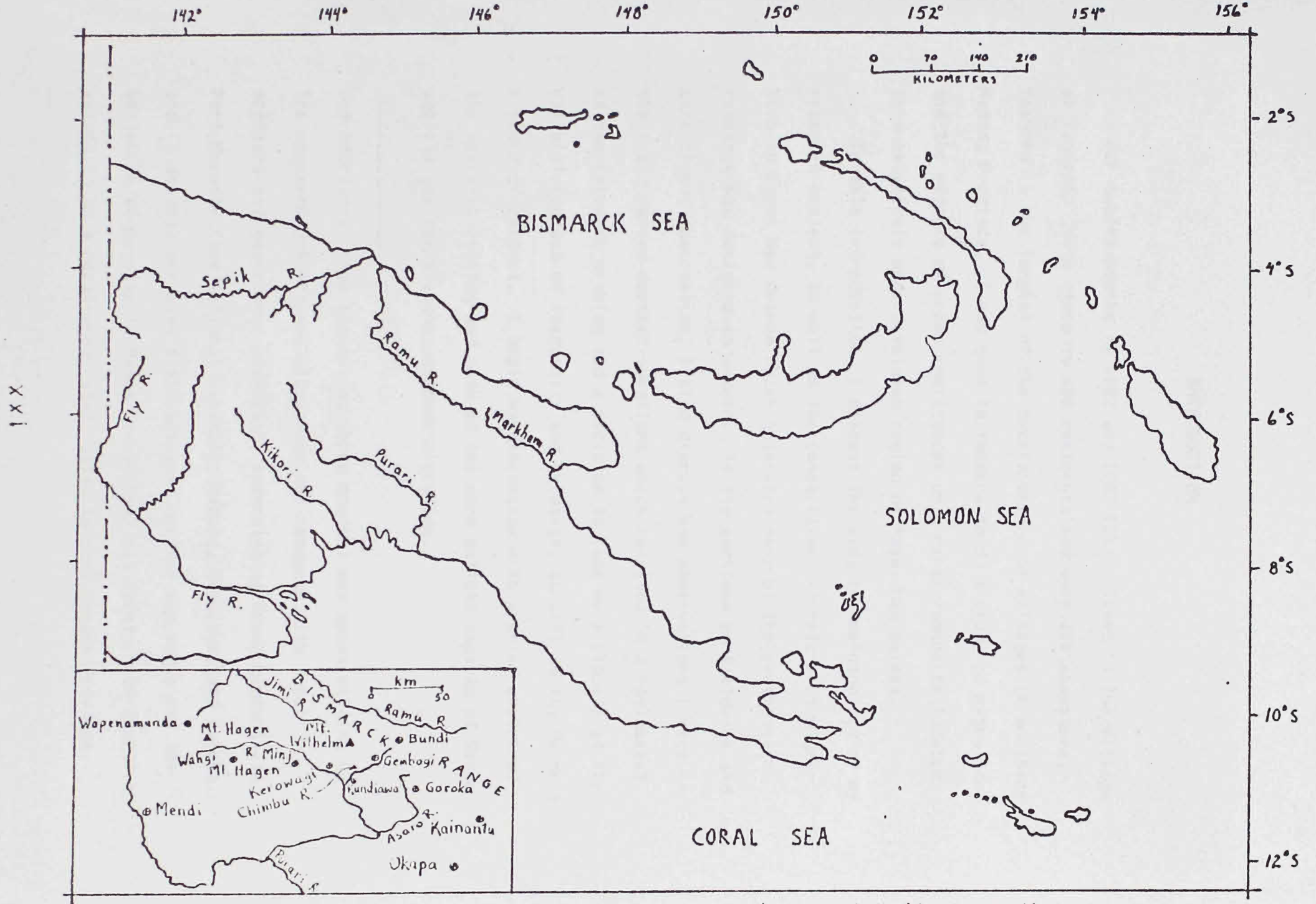
\*\* Aufenanger (1939:185-188) sometimes translates initial pre-nasalized (voiced) stops as b,d,g (e.g. Bundi vs. Mbundi). In this dissertation, such initial stops will be written as b,d,g.

p	p
t	t
k	k
v	β (bilabial fricative)
r	ɺ (lateral flap)
g	ɣ (velar fricative)
w	w
y	y
z	z



- LOCATION OF PROVINCES IN PAPUA NEW GUINEA
- |                       |                      |
|-----------------------|----------------------|
| 1. West Sepik         | 11. Gulf             |
| 2. East Sepik         | 12. Central          |
| 3. Madang             | 13. Milne Bay        |
| 4. Morobe             | 14. Northern         |
| 5. Southern Highlands | 15. West New Britain |
| 6. Enga               | 16. East New Britain |
| 7. Western Highlands  | 17. North Solomons   |
| 8. Chimbu             | 18. New Ireland      |
| 9. Eastern Highlands  | 19. Manus            |
| 10. Western           |                      |

MAP 1. TOWNS AND PROVINCES IN PAPUA NEW GUINEA



MAP 2. Papua New Guinea and the Central Highlands Settlements

## INTRODUCTION

For twelve months in 1982 and 1983 [1], I lived in the village of Yandera. With close to 600 residents and over 200 absentees, Yandera is the largest of the twenty-one Gende villages in southern Madang Province. I had gone to Yandera to do a study of migration and the effects of urban remittances on a rural community located in a relatively underdeveloped region of Papua New Guinea.

In this introduction, I discuss the aims and methodology of my research project, as well as the comparative literature on migration in Papua New Guinea which generated many of the questions my research was designed to answer. In the sections on fieldwork and participant observation, I also discuss how observations I made in the field raised further questions which resulted in a refinement of the research problem and a decision to look more closely at the cultural context of inequality and exchange, as well as the Gende's history of contact. I begin my discussion with a brief sketch of the research setting and some of the more salient aspects of Gende society and the history of Gende migration.

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[1] Additional time (totalling three months) was spent setting up the research project and discussing the research with local scholars and government officials, interviewing Gende migrants in Port Moresby (the national capital), Madang, Kundiawa, and Goroka, and in several one week field breaks. Another six weeks (at the beginning of my stay in Papua New Guinea) was spent in an abortive effort to do a rural-urban study based in Lae, Morobe Province.

## The Setting [2]

The land the Gende occupy lies on the northern slopes of the Bismarck Mountains, between Mt. Wilhelm (14,793 ft.) and Mt. Inguntam (13,602 ft.) in the west, and the lands of the Biyom-speaking people to the east of Bundi Station [3]. To the south, the Gende's territory is bounded by the Chimbu Divide, a long spur of the Bismarcks averaging 10,000 feet in elevation, and to the northeast by the swampy plains of the Ramu River (see Maps 1 and 2).

The topography of the Gende's homeland is rugged. Steep mountains towering over narrow valleys are drained by numerous small brooks and streams flowing into larger rivers, which are impassable in many places because of rapids and waterfalls. During the wet season, heavy rains turn streams into raging torrents, which gouge away sections of the land and make travel between Gende

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[2] See Part One for a fuller discussion of the Gende's way of life and their environment.

[3] Bundi Station is the government headquarters of the Bundi Census Division of the Ramu District in Madang Province. It is manned by an officer-in-charge (O.I.C.), five to ten policemen, numerous station workers, and several health and agricultural officers who, along with the local government council, oversee the affairs of the local populace. Bundi is also the location of a church, primary school, mission store, and mail service operated by catholic missionaries. In recent years, the name 'Bundis' has been used interchangeably with 'Gende' to refer to people of Gende origin.



settlements hazardous. Landslides, triggered by rain-soaked soils and frequent earth tremors, add to the danger, and have in the past resulted in the loss of lives and destruction of settlements and gardens.

In spite of these environmental limitations, the region is home to over 6000 Gende (1980 National Census), who base their subsistence primarily on the cultivation of sweet potatoes and taro, pig herds, and the collection of wild plants and animals from the surrounding tropical rainforest and the from the cloud forests higher up on the mountains. Another 2000 Gende live and work outside the region, the majority residing in the Highlands towns to the south of the Gende's territory (Goroka, Mt. Hagen, and Kundiawa).

Although they are located on the fringe of New Guinea's central highlands, the Gende have many links (linguistic, cultural, socio-economic, and historical) with other groups in the highlands. Linguistically, the Gende belong to the East Central Language Family of the East New Guinea Highlands Stock (Z'graggen 1975; cf. Wurm 1964), a language family which includes peoples (such as the Gahuka, Bena Bena, and Asaro) living to the southeast of the Gende on the other side of the Bismarcks near the town of Goroka.

Throughout the highlands, large social units, political alliances, and trading networks, are maintained on the basis of exchange and a widespread subsistence pattern of intensive or shifting horticulture of one or more root crops, and pig herds. Among the Gende, each individual is part of a system of reciprocal and competitive exchange which involves the Gende and neighboring

Chimbu and Ramu peoples related to the Gende through affinal and cognatic ties. The exchange of pigs, feathers, animal skins, food, and recently cash, permeates Gende social relations from the daily give and take within the local group or patrician to spectacular pig feasts attracting thousands of exchange partners and guests.

As in most Melanesian societies, kinship, marriage, residence, land rights, and many other aspects of an individual's existence and personal identity are mediated by the exchange of wealth. Even an individual's 'humanity' or 'non-humanity' - as these are defined by the Gende - is revealed on the strength of their exchange performances. From the time an individual marries and begins making gardens and tending pigs of their own (or begins earning a cash income), he (or she) is responsible for repaying parents and others for the investments they have made in him (or her), and maintaining a network of exchange relations with persons in his (or her) own and other clans. Men and women who excel in building large personal followings and in promoting the well-being of their clan or local group through the sponsorship of pig feasts and other exchange activities, are known as 'big men' (wana nambaio) and 'good women' (ana moqeri). Those who rely on others to pay their debts, or who contribute little to group exchange events, are known as 'rubbish men and women' (Korumbuwana).

Since the Gende were first contacted in 1932, there has been a steady increase in migration away from the area. Soon after the arrival of Europeans, men were travelling far from home as mission helpers, native police, and contract laborers on coastal plantations and the Morobe goldfields. After World War II, men who had

served as carriers and orderlies for allied forces fighting in the Ramu Valley, headed south to the new towns in the highlands to work as hotel cooks, domestic servants, and carpenters. In the late 50's and '60's, whole families were moving to town while others found work as coffee pickers, drivers, and mechanics on coffee plantations. With the opening of a boarding school at Bundi Mission in 1958, and the availability of higher education for its brighter graduates, some recent migrants from the Gende area include doctors, secretaries, and bank clerks, as well as a history professor at the University of Papua New Guinea, and a director of a national theater group based in Goroka.

In 1982, one-quarter of the Gende population were living scattered throughout the towns and provinces of Papua New Guinea. Almost two-thirds of this number were men and women between the ages of 18 and 45. Although absent, these men and women retain links with their home villages by giving village exchange partners gifts of cash or store-bought goods in place of pigs, and providing hospitality when villagers come to town.

In 1982, less than one-half of all adult, male migrants were gainfully employed, and even fewer were earning enough to adequately support themselves and their families, and still fulfill obligations to relatives back in the villages. Since each individual's personal network of exchange partners overlaps with, or is connected through a series of links to the networks of other Gende men and women, defaulted exchange payments have the potential to cause serious repercussions throughout a large segment of the population.

Compared with many areas in the highlands, the Gende area is underdeveloped and there are few opportunities for villagers to earn cash to make up deficits or offset an uneven flow of cash into the local economy via urban remittances from employed migrants. In 1964, a multinational mining concern discovered copper near Yandera village, and men from Yandera and several nearby villages built a base camp at Noriningi (on the outskirts of Yandera) where they were trained as cooks, housekeepers, and field assistants to foreign geologists. Core samples have been taken from over sixty locations but deposits of copper rich enough to warrant full-scale operation of the mine have yet to be found, and work at the camp has been intermittent at best. About the same time that copper was discovered, coffee was introduced and widely planted as a cash crop. Income from coffee has never amounted to much, however, because the nearest markets are more than a day's walk away over extremely rugged mountains. A road which will eventually link the Gende to markets on the coast and in the highlands towns to the south of them, remains unfinished twenty years after it was begun.

#### The Research Project

Assuming that income differences generated by urban remittances would offer certain advantages to some villagers and not others, the primary goals of my research were to discover 1) the extent to which transfers of cash and goods from migrants to villagers contributed to income differences among rural households and 2) the effects of these income differences upon the rural community, and to explore 3) the likelihood that inequality was an

important factor in the migration of persons from poorer households because they were unable to effectively participate in the local exchange system.

In looking at the effects of income differences upon the rural community, I was particularly interested in discovering whether or not individuals whose income is increased by urban remittances enjoy an increase in prestige, greater access to land and other resources, and a higher standard of living? Or, conversely, do low-income families receiving little or no urban remittances experience a loss of social status, a loss of land rights, and a decrease in their standard of living as they try to keep up with their exchange commitments to wealthier competitors?

By choosing to work in a relatively underdeveloped region of Papua New Guinea, an underlying objective of my research was to test the assumption that a high rate of outmigration among the Gende is related solely to a lack of economic opportunities in the rural area. In recent years, a majority of Gende migrants, regardless of whether or not they are employed, are long-term or permanent (twenty or more years) absentees from their home villages. The fact that so many migrants seemingly 'prefer' urban poverty over a return to the village, demanded an explanation other than a simple economic one.

A more likely explanation was that a combination of social and economic factors had contributed to patterns of migration among the Gende. One factor that I believed would be particularly significant is the importance of exchange in the lives of the Gende. Since relations between individuals, as well as individual

access to land and social status, are built upon and maintained by the reciprocal (and sometimes competitive) exchange of wealth, I assumed that individual decisions to migrate (or not to migrate) would be in part determined by an individual's access to wealth (including cash) and, in keeping with his or her personal ambitions, an individual's ability to participate in the local exchange system. In other words, I expected to find that some individuals would be motivated to migrate in the hope that by doing so they could increase their status and opportunities in the village, whereas others might find it necessary to migrate simply to keep abreast of their exchange obligations.

Furthermore, it seemed likely that there would be a temporal aspect to migration decisions, and that past mobility patterns and patterns of exchange between migrants and non-migrants would have an effect on later patterns of migration. Assuming a failure on the part of some migrants to maintain their links with the village through remittances (an assumption which seemed reasonable considering the high incidence of permanent - as opposed to circular - migration), I expected to find that some migrants had lost their village option and that, as a consequence of their failure to repay debts and lend support to village exchange partners, their former exchange partners would themselves be motivated to migrate in order to make up deficits or because they too were in danger of losing their access to land and other resources necessary to a subsistence way of life.

A more general aim of my research was to explore the cultural context of exchange and inequality. However, because it was only

by going to the field that I could discover just how the Gende perceive their situation and their options, and to discover the values which organize their lives and inform their decisions, I have included my discussion of this aspect of my research in the sections on methodology (see below).

The questions which guided my research grew out of a reading of the literature on migration in Papua New Guinea [4]. This literature was sizeable enough in 1982 to generate a bibliography (Fairchild 1978), a reader (May 1977), and several review articles (Harris 1974; May and Skeldon 1977). In reviewing this literature, it is evident that the primary concerns of the various researchers have been to describe patterns of migration, to find explanations for local mobility patterns, and, in the case of several authors (Harris 1971, 1972; May and Skeldon 1977; Morauta 1981; R.G. Ward 1968, 1971; and Young 1977), to develop models which may account for both temporal and spatial variation more generally (e.g. in the Highlands or throughout Papua New Guinea).

A closely related interest (both theoretical and practical) of many of the writers has been the rapid growth of Papua New Guinea's towns. Between the 1966 and 1971 national censuses, the urban population grew from 6% to almost 10% (see Table I.1 below). By 1980, when the population of Papua New Guinea was over 3,000,000, close to 400,000 persons (or 13% of the total population) were living in urban areas. Most of this growth was due to immigration.

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[4] I am referring to those works written prior to the beginning of my fieldwork in February 1982.

The 1980 national census identified sixty-three areas as urban [5]. Nevertheless, three-quarters of Papua New Guinea's urban population were concentrated in eight urban centers (see Table 1.2 below), with the national capital (Port Moresby) having a population twice the size of the next largest urban center (Lae). The numbers and proportions of migrants living in the eight largest urban centers in Papua New Guinea in 1971 are given in Table 1.3 (adapted from Skeldon 1979:141).

In looking at the characteristics of migrant flows in Papua New Guinea, Skeldon (1979:77-110) and others (Brookfield 1960; Garnaut 1977; Garnaut, Wright, and Curtain 1977; and R.G. Ward 1970, 1971) have found them to be highly selective. From the late 1950's on, migration has been primarily away from the more recently contacted highlands towards towns and plantations on the coast, and along the south coast to the national capital (Port Moresby). Beginning in the sixties and seventies, however, there was significant movement within the highland region itself, as migrants from highland rural areas headed for Mount Hagen and Goroka, or sought work as contract laborers on nearby coffee plantations.

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[5] In the 1966, 1971, and 1980 National Censuses, an urban area was defined as a settlement with a generally urban character and a minimum population of 500 persons. The 1971 census identified forty-six urban areas: eight with populations of about 10,000 or more, fifteen smaller towns with populations ranging between 2,000 and 5,000, and twenty-three very small towns, virtually all of which are headquarters of administrative districts.



Table 1.1 Total national population and urban populations

Area	% Annual Growth Rate				
	1966	1971	1980	1966-71	1971-80
Papua	(2,150,317)*	(2,435,409)	n.a.		
New Guinea	2,184,986	2,489,935	3,006,799	2.3	2.1
Urban Popu- lation (a)	(107,851) 132,637	(221,772) 266,407	n.a. 394,486	15.5 15.0	n.a. 4.5

Source: 1966, 1971, and 1980 National Censuses, National Statistics Office (formerly Bureau of Statistics), Port Moresby.

\* Numbers in parentheses include indigenous population only.

(a) Includes population for other urban centers in addition to eight major centers listed above in Table 1.2 below.

Table 1.2 Population, By Urban Area, 1966, 1971, and 1980 Censuses

Urban area	1966	1971	1980
Port Moresby	(31,983) (a)	(59,563)	
	41,848	76,507	122,761
Lae	(13,341)	(32,076)	
	16,546	38,706	61,682
Rabaul	(6,925)	(22,292)	
	10,561	26,518	14,973
Madang	(7,398)	(14,696)	
	8,837	16,866	21,332
Wewak	(7,967)	(13,837)	
	8,945	15,015	19,554
Goroka	(3,890)	(10,509)	
	4,826	12,066	18,797
Mount Hagen	(2,764)	(9,257)	
	3,315	10,621	13,642
Arawa-Kieta-	(644)	(9,001)	
Panguna	755	14,431	19,555

(a) Figures in parentheses are indigenous populations (1980 census lumps non-indigenous population with indigenous peoples.

Table 1.3 Immigration to the eight largest urban centers, 1971

	Total population (a)	Migrant population (b)	Proportion of migrants
Port Moresby	59,352 (c)	36,615	61.7
Lae	31,995	19,534	61.0
Rabaul	22,210	10,261	46.2
Madang	14,653	8,155	55.7
Wewak	13,794	6,567	47.6
Goroka	10,478	5,287	50.2
Mount Hagen	9,286	4,091	44.1
Arawa-Kieta- Panguna	8,930	7,543	84.5

(a) Does not include non-indigenous population.

(b) Defined as that population born outside the district in which the town is located. Does not include non-indigenous migrants.

(c) Skeldon's population figures differ slightly from the census figures used in Tables I.1 and I.2 above.

Table 1.4 Age-sex characteristics of urban (a) and national populations.

	1		2		3			4		
	% urban		% national		% urban			% national		
	male/female		male/female		0-14/15-44/45+			0-14/15-44/45+		
1966	68.3	31.7	52.2	47.8	32.3	64.6	3.1	42.9	44.5	12.6
1971	59.3	40.7	51.8	48.2	40.5	53.5	6.0	45.7	41.6	12.9
1980	57.1	42.9	52.3	47.7	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.

(a) Percentages of urban populations are based on the combined populations of seven major urban centers in PNG: Port Moresby, Lae, Rabaul, Madang, Wewak, Goroka, and Mount Hagen.

1-2 Proportions of males and females in urban (1) and national (2) populations in 1966, 1971, and 1980.

3-4 Proportions of persons between the ages of 0-14 years of age, 15-44 years of age, and over 45 years of age in urban (3) and national (4) populations in 1966 and 1971.

For the most part, migrants have been young males in their late teens and twenties. In the 1966 census, there were marked age-sex differences among Papua New Guinea's migrant population when compared with the general population (see Table I.4 above). In more recent years, however, there has been a steady increase in the proportion of female migrants. Although as late as 1971 there were still twice as many males moving to major urban centers as females (Skeldon 1979:106), by the 1980 census the ratio of males to females living in urban areas was approaching that of the national population (i.e. 1.1:1).

The dominant type of population movement in Papua New Guinea continues to be short-term, circular migration. Between 1966 and 1971, 63.9% of those Papua New Guineans who were living outside their province of birth in 1966 had either returned home, or in a few instances, died or moved on to some other location (Skeldon 1979:123). In recent years, however, there has been an increase in permanent migration. This increase has been linked with a rise in the proportion of women and children living in urban areas (Garnaut, Wright, and Curtain 1977:20-22; and Skeldon 1979:93-94) as more and more women join their husbands in town or migrate in search of wage labor and/or husbands (see Table I.4 above for age/sex characteristics of urban and national populations). There are, however, differences in the stability of the various migrant populations. Migrants born in Gulf Province are the most stable outmigrant population, with one-quarter having resided outside the province for periods of ten or more years. The highlands provinces (Madang Province is not considered a highlands province) have the

highest attrition rates among outmigrants with only 3-7 percent of the total number of outmigrants having resided away from home longer than ten years (Skeldon 1979:86-87).

In summary, the broad characteristics of migration patterns in Papua New Guinea are: migration is primarily away from the highlands to the coast; migration is dominated by young males; and most migration is temporary. Over time, however, the age-sex ratios of urban populations are becoming more balanced and there is a growing tendency for migration to become more permanent, a tendency which is already marked among certain migrant populations in Papua New Guinea: for example, the Yega (DaKeyne 1967); the Malalauas (Morauta 1979); the Hula (Oram 1968); and the Toaripi (Ryan 1968).

Explanations for both temporal and spatial variations in mobility patterns in Papua New Guinea have tended to focus on an imbalance in rural and urban economic opportunities (Conroy and Curtain 1978; Garnaut, Wright, and Curtain 1977; May and Skeldon 1977; R.G. Ward 1971); differences in history of European contact and levels of education between coastal and highland areas (Garnaut et al. 1977; Skeldon 1979); and distance between area of origin and area of destination (Garnaut 1977; Garnaut et al. 1977). For example, both land shortage in areas of intensive cash-cropping (Brookfield 1968, Lea 1964, Ryan 1968, M.W.Ward 1970, and R.G. Ward 1968) and local underdevelopment (A.M. Strathern 1972) have been cited as factors contributing to migration away from the rural areas.

Many of the Siane migrants interviewed by Richard and Mary Salisbury in Port Moresby, had come to town primarily to earn money

to invest in rural businesses and status-building activities upon their return home. Most of these migrants were young males who either had no land or whose coffee trees (an important cash crop in the highlands) were not ready to harvest, and "older, but not yet important, men ... [who] go to town to earn a cash nest egg for investment at home on their return" (1972:64).

Yet another characteristic shared by the Siane migrants in Port Moresby was that virtually every one of them had come from rural villages that were far enough away from the main highlands road and Kundiawa (where coffee is bought and processed in a factory) that profits from the sale of coffee beans were lower than for villages closer to the road, but not so far away that profits were minimal and villagers could not afford to pay the airfare to Port Moresby. In the latter instance, young men, wishing to improve their lot in the village, had no other option than to migrate to plantations as contract laborers with their employers paying travel costs (Salisbury and Salisbury 1972:63).

Young found a similar process at work among the Agarabi/Gadsup speaking peoples of the Eastern Highlands (1973, 1977), where the highest rates of absenteeism existed in those villages which were neither isolated nor close to Kainantu Town. Young also noted that, although initially there was a decrease in migration from villages where coffee was a fairly lucrative cash crop, by 1973 migration was again on the increase and cash crop investment seemed to be "an added insurance for migrants rather than an alternative income source which will prevent migration" (1977:180).

A temporal dimension to the migration process has also been

noted by Harris (1972, 1977). In the Koroba and Pangia areas of the Southern Highlands, Harris discovered a trend for labor recruitment to move into more remote areas as contract laborers (who were predominantly young males) return home after two years to invest their earnings in cash cropping, or become involved in independent migration to urban centers (1977:230-231). Harris also observed that a significant social consequence of young men's involvement in income-producing activities was a lessening in the authority of older men. Challenged by the young men's new economic power, older men took up cash cropping themselves or, in some cases, joined the migrant labor force in order to earn money to invest in cash cropping (1977:241).

A number of writers (Clunies Ross 1977:21, Garnaut, Wright, and Curtain 1977:184, Skeldon 1979:14-15, and Ward 1977:31) have suggested that there is a need to include other factors along with the standard economic analysis if differences in urban mobility patterns among migrant populations in Papua New Guinea are to be satisfactorily explained. Although a high proportion of urban residents seem to maintain close links with their home villages, thereby keeping open the possibility of returning home, Conroy (1973) and Garnaut (1972) have identified a category of "dispossessed" migrants, comprising persons who no longer have a rural option available to them. Garnaut et al. (1977:8-9) suggest that "the dispossessed may lack access [to the village economy] for several reasons: perhaps they were born in the town, or their home villages have been physically absorbed into the expanding towns, or they have failed to fulfill social obligations to their home



village".

One writer who has looked extensively at the questions of why people do or do not move to town and why migrants do or do not return to the village is Louise Morauta. Morauta suggests three kinds of factors that "taken together" influence mobility patterns in Papua New Guinea. These factors are: 1) variations in socio-economic structures between societies, 2) the effect of the migration process itself on migration decisions, and 3) more generalized economic conditions (Morauta 1981:206).

In the Malalaua District, an area of high outmigration in the Gulf Province of Papua New Guinea, Louise Morauta and Dawn Ryan (1982) have discovered that, although an imbalance in rural and urban economic conditions was an important factor in the decisions of Malalaua males to migrate in the 40's and 50's, it has become increasingly possible to explain Malalaua migration decisions (including the decision to stay in town) by the effects of the migration process on itself. One such effect that Morauta and Ryan find significant is the reduction in ties with rural residents and loss of access to rural resources which has accompanied long-term urban residence among Malalaua migrants.

Morauta has also written on the effects of income differences (mainly generated by urban remittances) in the rural community and on the relationship between these effects and individual villagers' decisions to migrate. Morauta notes (1981b:16, 1982:25) that among poorer village households there is a tendency for individuals to migrate in order to improve their standard of living (by finding work or living with employed migrant children). With little cash

to invest in village exchange partnerships, persons from poorer households, in particular older men and women, often choose to migrate in order to live closer to migrant children.

#### Fieldwork - questions and answers

While still in Port Moresby, I chose Yandera as the primary location for my study of migration and the effects of inequality upon Gende society. For purposes of comparing conditions in Yandera with those in other Gende villages, Yandera had several features which made it an ideal field site: it is centrally situated among the Upper Bundi villages and the location of a primary school [6], church, and bi-weekly market which are regularly attended by members of nearby villages. Also, in spite of its proximity to an international mining concern at Noriningi, Yandera has the same rate and mix of outmigration as do other Gende villages. Roughly one-quarter of the total population was absent, including one-half the adult male population and one-quarter of the female population.

My main reason for choosing to work in Yandera, however, was the knowledge (gained from migrants in Port Moresby and Madang) that men and women in Yandera were planning to host a major pig feast. Wishing to observe the effects of inequality to the fullest

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[6] The only other schools in the area are a primary school at Bundi Station (a distance of some twenty miles from Yandera) and a high school at Brahmin Mission (located just to the north of the Gende's territory, on the south side of the Ramu River).

extent possible, I set my sights on going to Yandera when I learned that the people there were soliciting contributions from Gende migrants in anticipation of the pig feast. I reasoned that during an exchange event of such intensity and scope, changes in status and fortune would be more readily visible, as would be the effects of migrant participation (or lack of it) on villagers' exchange performances [7].

As it happened, my arrival among the Gende coincided with the monthly meetings of the local government council at Bundi Station [8]. The day after I arrived, several local leaders invited me to attend the meetings and address the council on the purposes of my research. Speaking in Pidgin English, I told the assembly that I wanted to learn about their traditional customs (P.E. Kastim bilong ol tumbuna), and about the changes which had been made in their way of life since the coming of the white men (P.E. taim ol waitman i Kamap) and the Gende's subsequent involvement in migration and wage labor (P.E. wok mani). I also told them that I was planning to

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[7] I was fortunate to witness two pig feasts during my fieldwork (one at Yandera and another, three months later, at Kindakevi), which gave me an excellent opportunity for making comparisons between the two and for discovering whether or not processes at work in Yandera were also significant in other Gende villages.

[8] In the section on participant observation (below) I give a more indepth description of my acceptance into Gende society and my relationship with the big man and his wife who adopted me on my arrival at Bundi airstrip.

write a book about the Gende and that I was required to write quarterly reports on my research to provincial authorities in Madang and to the University of Papua New Guinea and the Institute of PNG Studies in Port Moresby.

I made much the same speech many times afterwards, although some of my Gende friends were soon giving the speech for me whenever I was introduced to new acquaintances. Almost invariably, the response of the listeners was the same: they were happy I was to be a "spokeswoman" who would report on their unfortunate plight (P.E. mipela taranqu) to the outside world. Their enthusiasm, however, was somewhat dampened by my disclosure that I had never met the president of the United States (or, for that matter, the Prime Minister of Papua New Guinea).

During my first three months in Yandera, I lived in a vacant, two-room "school teacher's" house, for which I paid the local school committee the going rate of K4 (\$6.00) rent per month. Since the school is located in the center of the village, the location was both convenient and neutral. I was, however, under constant pressure by members of the two clans represented in Yandera (Tundega and Yandima) to live closer to one or the other (see section on participant observation). After some indecision, I finally paid to have a house built next to several belonging to Tundega's chief 'big man' (Ruge Angiva) and his three wives (Elizabeth, Rosa, and Antonia) and mother (Lapun/'old' Amukai) - the family which had offered to look after me the day I landed at Bundi airstrip.

Although it is not uncommon for anthropologists to hire

assistants and household help when they are in the field, I chose to do my own cooking and laundry and to limit cash transactions to buying food from the local tradestores and paying wages to carriers and the men and women who constructed my house. Rather than pay directly for information, I engaged in a variety of generalized exchange relationships which ranged from occasionally sharing cigarettes with informants to regularly sharing meals and investing store-bought foods and money in the marriages and other exchange activities of my closest associates [9]. At the end of my fieldwork, I financed a "going-away" dinner in honor of those men and women who had played an especially more active role in my fieldwork. I also gave away most of my personal belongings to close friends. In return for the friendship and care she had bestowed upon me, I gave ownership of my house to my 'mother' (Elizabeth). She in turn hosted a party for me, at which she killed a pig and cried over my imminent departure from the village.

Like most anthropologists, I was concerned to learn the language of the people I worked with. Nevertheless, time constraints and the welter of activity generated by Yandera's pig kill were such that I made only limited progress in this direction. In spite of the help I received from several young men who are proficient in English as well their own language (Gendeka) and

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[9] It should be noted that, with rare exceptions, my Gende informants never asked to be paid cash for information, and, in most cases, readily volunteered information as long as we had established some kind of personal relationship.

Pidgin English, at the end of a year's time I could carry out only the simplest of conversations in Gendeka. I did, however, acquire enough understanding of the language to have some idea of what most conversations were about and to ask for further elaboration in Pidgin English. Since a majority of Gende men and women are fluent Pidgin speakers, this posed little difficulty for them.

Since returning home from Papua New Guinea, many persons have asked me to describe what a typical day was like in the field. Since there was so much going on the Gende's lives during the time I lived with them, I am always stumped by this question. Like everyone else in Yandera, I spent a part of every day sleeping, eating, doing chores, and gossiping with my neighbors. On Sunday mornings I attended services at the local church, and every Wednesday and Saturday I bought fruits and vegetables from the local market. Whenever anything of special interest or importance happened (pig feast ceremonies, exchange payments, local court cases, fights, national and local elections, the Bundi Strike, roadwork, public meetings, etc.) I was on hand to witness it (and/or participate) along with others in the village. When a group of vandals and thieves terrorized the village for over a month, I locked myself in my house at night and slept uneasily like everyone else, and I was in the crowd of relieved onlookers the day nine police were brought in from the coast (Madang) by helicopter to capture the 'rascals' (P.E. term for criminals of all sorts). When one of the school buildings caught on fire one night, my water pails were part of the bucket brigade.

In addition to observing and being involved in village life, I

devoted (or attempted to devote) a part of each day to carrying out formal surveys. After I had settled into my rented house and made the rounds of the village in the company of the local catechist and my adopted parents, I mapped the village and began a census of Yandera's population. The census included questions about migrants, as well as questions about the past movements and work histories of persons who were currently residing in the village. Later, I was given permission by the O.I.C. at Bundi Station to review the 1977 to 1982 annual census records for Yandera. While the information in these reports was not as comprehensive as the the kinds of data I was collecting, I did uncover the names of persons who had not been included in my initial census and, by cross-checking both sources of information with informants, was eventually able to construct a fairly reliable and complete set of data on Yandera's population.

In order to discover the extent to which transfers of cash (and goods in kind) from migrants to villagers contributed to income differences among rural households, in the first few months of 1983 I surveyed 41 of the 100 households in Yandera on their total income and expenditures for the year 1982. I found that cash incomes ranged between K9 (\$13.50) for a married couple with two children and K2100 (\$3150) for a household including a man, his three wives, nine children, and widowed mother. Adjusting these figures for the number of members in each household, the second household had 66 times the amount of income as the first.

In looking at the effects of income differences upon the rural community, I was particularly interested in discovering whether or

not individuals whose income is increased by urban remittances enjoy an increase in prestige, greater access to land and other resources, and a higher standard of living? Or, conversely, do low-income families receiving little or no urban remittances experience a loss of social status and a decrease in their standard of living as they try to keep up with wealthier competitors?

Representing two extremes, the heads of the two households mentioned above merit further consideration. Beyond being members of the same clan, they bore little resemblance to one another. One was a respected 'big man' and leader of the community, and the other was 'rubbish'. One had five houses in the village and the other had none. One man's wives made gardens on land belonging to the recipients of his generosity (including an older brother of the other man), while the other made do with a small garden three hours' walk from the village. One had several suitcases of clothing given him by migrants and the other wore the same pair of shorts and badly worn jacket day in and day out.

In spite of the differences between them and the fact that they had been born into different sub-clans, their lives were inextricably bound together. The poorer of the two men had been drawn into the exchange network of the 'big man', who served as a buffer between him and angry creditors and helped finance the marriage of his oldest son (a former migrant who, like his father, had failed to make good). In exchange for the 'big man's' support, both the older man and his son regularly gave large quantities of vegetables to him and his wives (which they used in feeding their many visitors), thereby diminishing the number of pigs they could



raise, making them even more dependent on the 'big man's' generosity.

Even before I had carried out my survey on income and expenditures, I had a good idea of the extent of inequality in Yandera and of the effects of inequality on villagers' exchange performances. Since I was present throughout Yandera's pig feast [10], an event which was on the minds of my informants for a long time after, I was able to collect extensive data on the expenditures and exchanges involved in the pig feast from virtually every household in Yandera, including data on the close relationship between migrant participation (or lack of it) and villagers' exchange performances.

Since fewer than one-half of all adult male migrants from Yandera contributed anything to the pig feast, a number of villagers were unable to make a respectable showing, disappointing exchange partners in other villages as well as 'fathers' and 'brothers', who were forced to deplete their own resources in order to sponsor the singsings and death payment ceremonies which are an

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[10] The main events of Yandera's pig feast (e.g. major singsings, pig kill, and distribution of pork) took place during the first week of October, 1982. A number of other exchange events that are essential to any pig feast (death payment parties) or are the means whereby individuals call in debts and increase the number of pigs they can sacrifice at a pig kill (e.g. bridewealth and childwealth payments, etc.) occurred prior to the pig kill, during August and September, 1982.

essential part of any major distribution of pork. Several leaders suffered embarrassing political setbacks when the support they had expected from migrants failed to materialize.

In terms of my third objective - to explore the possibility that income differences among rural households were an important factor in the migration of persons from poorer households because they were unable to effectively participate in the local exchange system - the departure of over twenty persons from the village following the pig feast was significant, especially when it is noted that virtually all of them were villagers (or their children) who had fared poorly during the pig feast.

Even more significant was the fact that few of these new migrants had any reasonable chance of finding gainful employment at their place-of-destination. This fact, along with the fact that many Gende migrants were underemployed or out of work and leading a hand to mouth existence in town, contradicted an assumption I wished to test in my research: that a high rate of outmigration is related solely to an imbalance in economic opportunities between rural and urban areas.

Like Louise Morauta and Dawn Ryan (see previous section), I was finding that a more profitable area of research was to look for explanations for Gende migration in the realm of exchange. As mentioned earlier, Morauta and Ryan (1982) discovered that, although an imbalance in rural and urban economic conditions was an important factor in the decisions of Malalaua males (Gulf Province) to migrate in the 40's and 50's, it has become increasingly possible to explain Malalaua migration decisions (including the

decision to stay in town) by the effects of the migration process on itself. One such effect that Morauta and Ryan find significant is the reduction in ties with rural residents and loss of access to rural resources which has accompanied long-term urban residence among Malalaua migrants.

By collecting migration, employment, and exchange histories from a number of migrants and villagers (many of whom were former migrants themselves), I found a similar, perhaps even more insidious, process at work among the Gende. I found that a persistent failure to pay back debts has resulted in the loss of land rights for some migrants, in addition to causing considerable problems for their village exchange partners and repercussions throughout the entire exchange network which holds the Gende together. Villagers, whose exchange partners default on them, raise their daughters' bride-prices to make up deficits, or give away land rights to wealthy migrants, in some instances dispossessing their own sons, thereby putting added pressure on them to migrate, even when they have no particular desire to do so. During the migrations of the fifties and sixties, young men who could not find profitable employment and returned home sooner rather than later to raise pigs for their parents and the exchange partners other migrants, often made out better than those of their brothers who foolishly prolonged their stay in town, jeopardizing both their access to land and their prospects for marriage.

In a four-week survey of the daily exchanges between a set of 13 closely related households in Yandera (all of the household heads are members of Tundega Cian), I discovered that what was true

for rural-urban relations was also true for intra-village relations. Men and women share their food and invest their wealth more readily in those villagers who are able and willing to make a return. Among the survey population, individuals who had been poor for a number of years (or who had been indifferent to their social obligations) were cut off from the daily round of exchange between households who were better off financially (or who had been generous in the past, but were - at the time of the survey - suffering a temporary period of poverty).

In 1982 and '83, the social costs of inequality and inflation were many. Each village had scores of missing persons for whom there was no place in the system: old maids still hoping to find rich husbands; middle-aged men without wives; women who returned to their own villages when their in-laws blamed them for their husbands' failures to make good in town; children who had never been in the village because their parents were afraid of sorcery attacks by discontented exchange partners; unemployed school leavers ashamed to return home after their parents' sacrifices to pay their school fees; and old persons willing to face urban poverty in order to retire from the inflationary demands of creditors.

While an examination of the economic, social, and temporal contexts of inequality and migration among the Gende proved to be illuminating, it was incomplete. There were a number of loose ends to be cleared up. Why, for example, when there is little objective population pressure on the Gende's land, are men who have no land often loath to work on land belonging to their wealthier peers? Above all, why was it, that in 1982, fifty years after they first

began leaving home to work in other parts of New Guinea, the Gende were asking themselves whether they were 'men' or 'pigs'? And why, considering all the problems it has caused them, did they accept money into their exchange system in the first place?

To find answers to these questions and more, I had to investigate the cultural context of inequality and exchange, as well as the history of contact. As I will show in Part Two of this dissertation, the real crisis of inequality for the Gende is one of identity - of proving that one is 'human' in a world they no longer control. Within the same system of exchange which mediates kinship, marriage, and land tenure for the Gende, individuals reveal themselves to be more or less 'human' on the strength of their exchange performances relative to competitors both within and outside their own clans.

Men who are active in promoting the affairs of their clan through exchange are 'big men'. Big men often have two or more wives to assist them in buying brides for younger men, giving childwealth to children's matrilineal kin, redeeming land which is lost to non-clan members, and ensuring the physical and spiritual well-being of their clan by sponsoring pig feasts at which large amounts of pork are given to other clans. Lesser men do the same things as 'big men', but on a smaller scale. The lowest form of men are known as 'rubbish men'. Lazy or too weak to attract wives, they have little wealth to invest in their clan, and must work like 'women' in the service of other men.

As I discovered, although the Gende believe a person's identity is absolute, unless tampered with by sorcerers, they also

say that it is difficult to be certain a man is what he seems to be. This is not surprising, given the fact that a man's relative status within a clan is dependent upon the outcome of competition between his clan and others. In the course of competition, some men, and even whole clans, may become de-humanized 'pigs' when there is a serious imbalance in the exchanges of two clans, and the clan which is less 'human-full' is forced to relinquish children to their mothers's clans in place of pigs. Ordinarily, however, it is individuals rather than clans who are in danger of making 'pigs' out of their children, and it is 'big men' who save the day by becoming 'fathers' to children whose parents do not fulfill their exchange obligations, as well as the 'guardians' of any land the children might have rights to.

Among the Gende, calling a man a 'pig' is tantamount to calling him a 'woman'. Women are equated with pigs because of their close association with them, and the fact (according to men) that they both move about at the whim of 'men'. Because of this, and the fact that they come from other clans, women are suspect creatures and must work harder than men to prove that they are not 'pigs' or inhuman sorcerers. Nevertheless, a woman who pays back her brideprice, raises many pigs for her husband's clan, and erases all debts to her own clan for the children she bears her husband, is free to exchange pigs like a 'man' and enjoy a measure of prestige as 'mother' of her husband's clan. She too, of course, is subject to relative standards.

Although inequality existed prior to contact, there were, according to some of my older informants (men and women who were in

their sixties and seventies), normally only a few 'rubbish men'. With the arrival of the Europeans in 1932, the collapse of an ancient shell trade in which the Gende were important middlemen, and their exposure to the incredible wealth and power of the Europeans during the early days of migration and during World War II, the Gende suffered an inferiority complex which remains a factor in migration and efforts to achieve equality with the foreign 'big men'. By comparison with the Europeans, the Gende saw themselves as 'rubbish men' and 'pigs'.

Hoping to redeem their humanity by participation in the urban work force, they left their villages in large numbers. Far from being a solution, however, unequal involvement in a cash economy increased disparities in wealth within the Gende community and it became possible to be a 'rubbish man' (by comparison with other Gende) even if one worked hard and raised many pigs. For many individuals, migration was no longer 'voluntary'. Like so many 'pigs', the children of poorer families were controlled by men with money, forced to migrate in order to afford the higher cost of exchange payments or reduced to working on the land of wealthier brothers. Rather than accept such shame, many have chosen to face uncertain futures in town and the probability that they will become permanent outcasts from their society because neither town nor village offers them the means whereby they can keep up in the competition to prove their generosity and humanity.

For the Gende, inequality of such vast proportions constitutes a problem for which they are constantly seeking solutions. Throughout the entire period of my fieldwork I was often frustrated

by the amount of time the Gende spend playing cards. In Chapter Nine, I will discuss how it was that over time I came to realize that the Gende are using games of chance to reduce income differences among themselves and to increase social interaction among individuals who have become estranged from one another in the 'old game'.

The Gende have also sought to get at the roots of inequality by participating in a mass movement - The Bundi Strike - aimed at getting the government to assist them in completing a road which the Gende hope will increase economic opportunities at home and provide a means for those who are now out of the game to get back into it. Coming at the end of my fieldwork, the strike proved to be an excellent opportunity to compare my interpretations of Gende migration and their reactions to inequality with their own interpretations.

#### Wild Card! A Note on Participant Observation and Being Accepted Into the Game

I went to the field laden down with the tricks of the trade: field equipment, research permits, letters of introduction, interview schedules, published accounts of the Gende, and the advice and best wishes of friends and mentors. As prepared as I was, however, there was an unknown value or 'wild card' in the endeavor, namely myself as 'participant observer'.

Often described as a process of immersing oneself in the lives of the people one hopes to learn something about, participant observation is a vague and paradoxical concept. How much or how



little an anthropologist participates in the life of his or her subjects varies according to the individual, the questions being raised, and the people being studied. How the anthropologist will react to the people he or she lives with cannot be determined in advance anymore than it can be known how the people will react to the anthropologist. Yet the outcome of the whole pursuit hangs on the two reactions and the patterns of interaction which follow. No amount of methodological expertise will save the anthropologist's study if at the outset he and his subjects don't take to one another. Even when the anthropologist is 'successful' and is accepted by the people he wishes to observe, the nature of that acceptance directs the kinds of research the anthropologist is able to do and, ultimately, the anthropologist's understanding and interpretation of his subjects and their behavior.

Added onto the paradox of being a participant and observer at the same time, my fieldwork was further complicated by the stringent requirements of my research topic. In order to discover the degree of inequality which existed in Yandera and the relationship of inequality to migration, I had to be free to talk with and question men and women of all ages and circumstances. On the other hand, wanting to know what inequality means to individuals on a more personal level and in terms of their social identities within the community, I had to establish a number of fairly close attachments with people who, whenever they were at odds with one another, expected me to take sides as any normal 'friend' or 'kinswoman' would do.

Maintaining the social distance of the impartial interviewer

at the same time I became intimately involved in the lives of individual Gende was an impossible task. In the following pages I attempt to share with the reader how I managed to get as much 'objective', quantifiable data as I did even though from the start I was drawn into other people's games and often in less than perfect control of my 'program of research'. While in some ways it may be foolish to show my hand, as it were, I trust my readers will appreciate the effort, and that my Gende friends will understand that anything I say is in no way a criticism of them. Playing the game and playing it well is what life is all about. More importantly, there is no place in the game for those who won't play.

### Handicaps

For a year before going to the field, a friend and I met once a week to study Pidgin English, one of several lingua franca spoken throughout Papua New Guinea. Using a dictionary, a tape recording, and a workbook once used to instruct officers in the Australian colonial administration, we drilled one another on vocabulary and sentence construction, while carrying on more general conversations in pidgin.

After an hour or so, our conversations lapsed into English as we pondered what lay in store for us. Our greatest concerns were the personal sacrifices involved in stepping out of one life and into another. In my case, I left behind a family. Although my children were my most steadfast supporters and of an age when they could in many respects get along without me, the strain of separation was overwhelming in the beginning. Several weeks after

I arrived in Papua New Guinea, I had the first of several dreams in which there was both a dead me and a self which was able to view my dead body. In one dream, I was standing in a room with four closed doors. I felt that I must choose one of them to open, but did not know what lay behind them. In the center of the room was an open coffin with a body in it. From where I was standing behind the coffin, I could only see the top of the body's head, but immediately sensed that I knew this person well. Moving around to the side of the coffin, I looked down at myself. A deep sadness came over me, and I awoke crying.

In another dream, I entered a vast, dark and dingy, public restroom. On a shelf above a row of wash basins, was a large parcel wrapped in clear cellophane. Bending over to wash my hands, I was startled to see that there was a body inside the wrappings and that it was mine. In this dream my reaction was a mixture of anxiety and indignation that my remains were so shoddily disposed of. Eventually such dreams were replaced by others, in which the sites and peoples of New Guinea were mixed up with the places and people I had left behind, until finally, my life in New Guinea seemed "more real" to me than my life in America.

Once the initial traumas of leaving home were past, I began to pace myself and by the time I arrived in Yandera I could get by without mail for three weeks at a time. In the meantime, my need for acceptance and my normal gregariousness led me to seek out the companionship of others. While this was compatible with the need to collect data from a wide range of sources, a preference for personal over impersonal relationships, heightened by the psycho-

logical turmoil which my dreams reflected, interfered, at least initially, with the carrying out of quantitative surveys. Shying away from persons who were cold to my gestures of friendship, I missed out on interviews with persons who may have (as a few rare individuals suggested) been more open if I paid cash for each interview, and others who may have cooperated if I had put more effort into cultivating their friendship.

With some people, it simply took a longer time to build relationships of trust. A month before leaving the field, I was still collecting employment and migration histories from persons who at first had been cool to my advances, but had since become friendlier. Often, my very vulnerability and the fact that I was lonely opened doors to people who saw me as a little more human. The day I 'broke' into the school office to retrieve a package of long overdue mail caused much amusement, and outraged sympathy when I was lectured by a school official for being too impatient to wait for the office to re-open on the following morning. Parents whose own children were away at school, or otherwise separated from them, commiserated with me and unburdened themselves of their own loneliness and worries.

### Reciprocity

When I came down with first pleurisy and pneumonia, and then malaria within a two-week period over the Christmas holidays, I learned a lesson in the meaning and value of reciprocity as well as the close relationship between inequality and social distance among the Gende.

On December 23, while flying into Bundi after a brief visit to Madang, I began feeling pains in my rib cage. By the time the plane landed I was having difficulty taking a deep breath and had broken out in a cold sweat. In the excitement and milling crowds which attend the arrival of any aircraft bringing supplies to Bundi Station, the plane was gone before I could decide whether or not to return to the coast for medical care. As it turned out, a combination of heavy rains, a malfunctioning radio telephone, and Christmas itself prevented the arrival of another plane until five days later.

In the meantime, I slept almost continuously, on a bare mattress in an unheated guesthouse. Except for a local health officer, who treated me with pain killers and other pills, and a few brief visits from a missionary and the OIC and his family, I had no visitors and no one to look after me. My Gende 'father' and 'mother' were in Madang for a court case and I knew none of the Gende living near Bundi. For five days, my only food was a few tins of sardines and some candy bought in Madang. On Christmas day I had dinner with the OIC's family, and they brought some cooked food to me the following day.

Three days after Christmas, four very worried friends from Yandera showed up on my doorstep in the same afternoon. Anxious to explain why no one had come sooner, they told me that they had been surprised by my failure to return to Yandera for Christmas, as I had promised, but assumed that I had stayed on in Madang for the holidays. This theory gained credence when the man who was to have met me at the airport to help carry things back to Yandera, showed

up at the Christmas services in Yandera claiming that I had never arrived at Bundi. Two days later, word reached the village that I was 'dying' in Bundi.

Commenting on how thin I looked (I had lost about ten pounds) and disturbed that I had nothing to eat that day (the mission store was closed for the holidays), they immediately went out to search for food in a couple of local trade stores. Refusing to take any of my money, they spent what money they had with them to purchase rice, canned fish, and hot chocolate to cook for us. That night, the daughter of one of the three men slept with me so that I would not be alone.

The following day, I went back to Yandera with my friends, who wanted to take advantage of that day's sunny weather to travel. I, too, was anxious to be on my way so that I could attend my second pig kill two days hence in Kindakebi Village. Knowing that the radio telephone at the mining camp at Noriningi was in working order, I reassured myself that if I had a relapse I could be airlifted out of Yandera by helicopter. Not yet recovered from my illness (I would come down with malaria a week later), the twenty-mile hike through the mountains was sheer hell, and it was only through the patience and constant encouragement of my companions that I finally made it to my house in Yandera where tea was made for me and I slept from three o'clock in the afternoon until the following morning.

While my behavior was reckless, the outcome was a marked change in my relationship with my four 'saviors' and their families. From that time on, their visits were more frequent, relaxed,

and informal than before. I was told that, now that they had done something for me they felt free to sit in my house and enjoy my hospitality. Always before, according to them, they had been ashamed because they had little to offer me in return for the sacrifice I was making by coming to their village to learn about them and write a book which might in some way help them. Ignoring my demurrals, they insisted that by 'saving my life' they had given me back to my family in America, who had 'lost' me, and, at the same time, making it possible for me to continue my work.

The lesson - that reciprocity is an essential ingredient of Gende social relations, and that where it no longer exists, relations become strained or broken - was repeated many times during my stay in Yandera. When one young friend's daily visits abruptly stopped, I acquired first-hand experience in how people avoid 'creditors', either through a sense of shame or a fear of public exposure of their inability to reciprocate the 'generosity' of others. Thinking I had said something to offend him, I tried to renew our friendship by inviting him to have tea with me. He avoided me for several months, however, until late one night when he showed up on my doorstep with a gift of vegetables taken from his mother's garden. Telling me that he had not stayed away because of any dislike for me, my young friend explained his embarrassment that, although I had many times shared food with him, he was rarely able to do the same for me. He dismissed any suggestion that telling me stories and explaining certain customs to me had been adequate compensation, and disclosed the fact that other people had been criticizing him for 'eating my food and giving

little in return'.

In this regard, not having a large grant in the first place turned out to be a blessing in disguise. Forced to economize, I was unable to be as generous as I might have wished, and even had to borrow money and rely on others for food and cigarettes on occasion. During negotiations over the construction of my house, I learned that even the anthropologist has a right to expect and get reciprocity. One of the builders - after weeks of dodging my attempts to pin him down on how much money he wanted - demanded a higher wage than I had intended paying. Frustrated, I threw my wallet in his lap and told him to take whatever he wanted but to leave me enough for airfare from Bundi to Madang. I also told him that if I ran out of food he would have to feed me since I didn't have a garden and had to rely on money for everything. I had already paid twice the standard rate (set by the mining camp) for some of the materials for my house (grass thatching, beams, etc.) and was beginning to feel that having a house of my own was not worth the aggravation. Emptying my wallet, except for K30, the former carpenter promised that he and his wife would 'look after me' and make sure I did not go hungry.

The following morning, the village was in a turmoil of agitation and shame over the news that 'Missus Lara had been tricked into paying more for her house than it was worth'. Several trade-store owners volunteered to extend as much credit as I wanted until I could get to a bank during my next field break, and a number of villagers invited me to share meals with them. By late evening, when the full story had been told many times, the general consensus



held that I had 'outdone' my 'opponent' (the carpenter) by impoverishing, or 'rubbishing', myself, thereby guaranteeing that he would do a good job on my house. From that time on, I was treated with new respect by many persons, and there was a feeling of greater ease in our relationships, based on the tangible assistance they were able to give me.

For his part, my builder was fastidious in gaining my approval at every stage in the construction of my house. Our relationship suffered, of course. The fiction of being one of my 'fathers' was dispensed with, and our interaction became more formal and distant. Using the money he had taken from me to finance a trip to town in expectation of Yandera's upcoming pig feast, he made it clear (to me and everyone else) that he would give me some of the K1000 his creditors owed him. The money never materialized, however, and his visits were less frequent, although he did participate in my going away party.

#### Wild Card! - In the Palm of my Father's Hand

The morning I flew to Bundi Station dawned bright and clear. Peter Colton, who was then Provincial Planner for Madang Province, snapped a picture of me standing beside the Talair plane I had chartered to transport my field equipment to Bundi. For me, the picture still has the power to evoke the sensations I was experiencing at the moment it was taken: excitement that I was on my way at last, and anxiety that years of preparation and schooling could, in a very short time, be meaningless should I be rejected by the people I was hoping to study.

An hour later, the Talair plane landed on an empty airstrip. Although both mission and government officers had been informed of my imminent arrival by radio telephone, there was no official welcoming party. Some men arrived to help the pilot unload government supplies which had been put in with mine, but when the plane took off again they disappeared and I was left standing alone, wondering what to do with all my things while I went off to locate the missionary and D.I.C.

Several minutes passed before a group of about twenty men, women, and children appeared over the crest of the hill and came forward to greet me. Speaking in Pidgin English, they told me that they were from Yandera Village and had heard of my intention to work in Yandera from a news report broadcast on Radio Madang (a radio station listened to by villagers who own battery-operated radios). Explaining why they hadn't been on hand when my plane touched down, they told me that the news report had indicated I was to arrive two days hence.

The man who did most of the talking introduced himself as Ruge Gregor Angiva, the leader of Yandera Village. He said that, since I was far from home and had no family to take care of me, he and his oldest wife, Elizabeth, would be my 'father' and 'mother' while I lived in Yandera. He pointed out that, as an important big man, he could help me with my project and, by being in the 'palm of his hands', I would be protected from men who might try to take advantage of me as an 'unsuspecting and naive American woman alone'.

Having been told by a migrant in Port Moresby that Gregor (his

Christian name) was one of several men I should contact in Yandera, I was gratified by his readiness to accept me into his life. Of the many attachments I made among the Gende, my relationships with Ruge and Elizabeth were the closest and, in terms of my field work, the most rewarding. In addition to helping me adjust to village life, Ruge and Elizabeth were a constant source of companionship and knowledge. I was free to warm myself by their fire in the evenings and to share meals with them whenever I wished. Whenever anything of significance was going on, either Ruge or Elizabeth would make certain that I was included. At such times, Ruge frequently insisted that I sit beside him, even when men were discussing important business and there were no other women present. Only twice did he exclude me: the day he and the retired leader of Yandera met alone to decide on the date of the pig kill, and the day he was overcome with grief when it was believed that his ailing mother, brought home on a stretcher from a distant village, would die.

While being the 'daughter' of a 'big man' and his wife had certain advantages, particularly for observing their relations with a large number and range of persons, it sometimes limited my own interaction with others. Since both objectively and from their own point of view my 'mother' and 'father' did more for me than anyone else did, they felt they should be the primary (if not the sole) recipients of my largesse. In order to preempt the possibility that someone might 'trick' me and deprive them of their due, at times they even went so far as to restrict who could and who could not visit me in my house. Although I chafed against these

restrictions whenever I found out about them, some persons were afraid to visit me or invite me to their homes, and would only do so when my 'mother' and 'father' were away from the village.

Even so, several persons were 'caught' and driven out of my house by my irate 'mother', including the young man who was helping me learn the Gende language. Since he was a highly capable instructor and one of only several villagers who spoke English (in addition to being a friend), I resisted this maneuver, but to no avail.

Involved in an unrelated conflict with my 'mother' and 'father' over compensation for a housefire, the young man had become a persona non grata in their lives and, along with other members of his family, was eventually driven out of the village. In a heated argument with my 'mother' over the injustness (sic) of the entire affair, I was told, quite bluntly, that as a 'daughter', I was obligated to support her and Ruge's position even though it conflicted with my own interests. Realizing that to persist might jeopardize my relationship with my 'parents' and harden them even further against the young man, I stopped the lessons. Although I was unhappy about this for a long time, he accepted it as part of the game, telling me, "Your mother and father are good to you so you mustn't make them angry".

Not everyone was afraid of my 'parents', of course, and there were many opportunities for carrying out my field work without undue interference or direction. Since polygyny is frowned upon by the Catholic church, my parents rarely attended Sunday services with me, and I was free to mingle with the crowd which gathered

outside the church both before and after services to gossip and pass the time. Every Wednesday and Saturday, people came to Yandera from five or six nearby villages to buy and sell garden produce, do work for the school, attend public meetings, and socialize. Since market days were a chance for gamblers from different villages to play together, I did most of my quantitative research on Wednesday and Saturday afternoons when my 'parents' - both avid card players - were too preoccupied to worry about what I was doing. Access to children and young adults was never impeded and during the dry season there were frequent occasions for interacting with them when I washed my clothes and went swimming in the river, joined in the afternoon basketball games, or lent my lantern and tapes for the all-night disco dances which were popular with the young people in Yandera.

Being in the 'palm of my father's hand', meant more than enjoying his protection and counsel, or being obliged to reciprocate his assistance with small gifts of money or 'daughterly' support. From his point of view, the primary basis of his association with me was that I might be used, like a 'wild card', to increase the value of his own hand in the games he was playing with other men and women. I learned this in many small (and not so small) ways during the course of my fieldwork and after.

During Yandera's pig kill, I made a point of talking with as many migrants as possible. Often enough, particularly in the case of wealthy migrants with whom Ruge either had or wished to have a relationship, he would intrude in the conversation and hospitably

invite the visitors to have tea with him in his 'daughter's' house. At other times, my 'father' attempted to use my relationships with various big men, church and government officials, and mining personnel, to acquire certain advantages for himself or others. Being astute game players themselves, they often didn't give him what he wanted.

Proof that he expected greater things from me can be illustrated by the ferocity with which he made certain that I became a member of his network. As I mentioned earlier, my first house in Yandera was a vacant school teacher's house which I rented from the school committee for K4 (\$6) a month. Located at one end of the basketball court, it was centrally situated between the Tundega (my father's clan) and Yandima halves of the village. Although many people offered to rent their houses to me, I was content to stay in this neutral location for a time.

Leery of attaching myself to one village faction or the other before I had a chance to learn more about the balance of power in the village, I resisted making any decision until I was forced to by 'father'. Afraid that I might accept the invitation of the local manager of the mining camp to live at the camp, or be tempted by some other member of Yandima clan, my 'father' tricked me into making a decision by having one of the school committee members (from Tundega clan) tell me I had to leave the school teacher's house within a month since a new teacher was coming (which wasn't true). He also sent a delegation of men from Tundega Clan to tell me how "wrong I was to insult an important man like Ruge by refusing his generous offer to build a house for me". Finally,

he sent my 'mother' to beg me to let 'papa' have his way so that he wouldn't hit her anymore. Since I was fond of Elizabeth as well as bewildered by the commotion I was causing, I gave in [11].

### The Queen of Hearts

When I left the field, my 'mother' went with me. At the airport in Madang, where we were waiting for an airplane to take us to Port Moresby, my 'father' told me that Elizabeth and I were rascals (P.E. 'thieves'). Disappointed because I hadn't given him as generous a parting gift as he had hoped for, and angry with Elizabeth because she was "running away" to live with her oldest daughter in Port Moresby, my 'father' turned his back on us and walked away [12].

Elizabeth was my closest companion while I lived in Yandera, and I hers. She taught me how to cook on my kerosene stove, how to serve food to guests, and how to play the local card games - Tri-lip and Seven. I taught her how to play solitaire, how to make

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[11] My new house, located next to my 'father's', cost me nearly K400 (\$600). Most of the cost went for building materials and labor. My 'father' refused to be paid (at least directly) for the work he did on the house.

[12] Since leaving the field, I have sent my 'father' a wristwatch and various other gifts, and from the tone of his letters, he is somewhat mollified. When I sent the watch, which he had requested before I left, he wrote back and told me I was a 'good daughter'. For my 'father', the watch is a symbol, which he can show to other men in the village, that he did not waste his time on me.

fish cakes, and how to say in English "Hello" or "Good Evening" rather than in Pidgin English "Gut nait" when she came to my door after dark. She was free to live in my house after hers burnt down, to have her own set of keys, and to look through my wallet for money if either of us needed cigarettes or food from the store. I was equally free to use anything of hers.

Over time, we grew to know much about each other. She would sometimes surprise me by buying several bottles of pepsicola or packages of chocolate cookies for me at the tradestore at Pandambai, and chase away the noisy and rambunctious children who liked to play marbles under my house during the rainy season so that I could get my work done. When she came home from her garden, tired and wet, I would prepare her tea the way she liked it - with plenty of sugar - and listen patiently to her complaints about the evil lot of village women.

Being so close, we shared many happy, sad, and sometimes even troublesome times together. We laughed together the day we both yearned for a cigarette so badly that we searched the cracks of the floor for stray pieces of tobacco to roll one tiny 'smoke'. We cried on each other's shoulder the day we passed Elizabeth's youngest daughter on the road to Kundiawa. Separated from her daughter for several years, Elizabeth cried because she didn't have the money to retrieve her daughter from the man who had helped raise the child from the time she was a baby. I cried because I hadn't seen my children for months [13]. We fought when,

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[13] My family was able to visit me for a one-month period.



unbeknownst to me, Elizabeth tied three large pigs to my house posts and I woke up thinking we were having a terrible earthquake when the pigs, who were hungry, tried to break loose from their tethers. We fought the day Elizabeth told me that she was my 'boss' and I couldn't give a case of beer I had bought for my going-away party to one of the school teachers who was celebrating his first child's christening.

It was through Elizabeth, more than anyone else, that I learned the personal tragedy of inequality in the lives of Gende men and women, and how it is that today the game separates people from one another. A crucial element in my father's status as a big man was the contribution Elizabeth made to his finances. In addition to raising pigs for him, she ran a lucrative trade store business and received generous gifts of money from a daughter in Port Moresby. Elizabeth willingly invested most of her wealth in her husband's affairs, and generously spent money of her own to help feed the younger children of her two co-wives. She should have been happy, but she rarely was.

Although my father recognized Elizabeth's importance to him, he rarely showed her how much he appreciated her. The more she gave to 'papa', the more he was able to give to others, and the more her co-wives and the indirect recipients of her generosity were jealous of her. In the end, Elizabeth's love for her husband drove her away from him. She would have liked him to come with her to Port Moresby, to escape from the pressures of being 'too big' in a game where most of the players were 'losers'. Her husband, however, desirous of being a caring 'father' to his people, and

frustrated over his inability to resolve the problems of inequality, guiltily demanded more and more of her until she could stand it no longer.

## PART ONE - THE OLD GAME

"In order to follow a baseball game one must understand what a bat, a hit, an inning, a left fielder, a squeeze play, a hanging curve, or a tightened infield are, and what the game in which these 'things' are elements is all about." (Geertz 1976:235)

## CHAPTER ONE: THE OLD GAME - IMAGE AND PROCESS

The old game is many things to the Gende. The main event, however, is the killing of pigs by the hosts of a pig festival, or poi nomu, and the distribution of cooked pork to exchange partners in other clans. A response to earlier events of its kind and the culmination of many intervening transactions, this exchange event has the power to alter the context of all future actions and poi nomu.

In this chapter I introduce the Gende pig feast system and discuss its relationship to the wider system of meaning and exchange which encompasses every aspect of a Gende individual's life. I begin with a discussion of poi nomu exchanges because in them one can discern the fundamental structure of the game, as well as the forces for both competition and cooperation in Gende exchange relationships.

### Poi nomu - the final round

The basic structure of poi nomu is the exchange of pork between two individuals:

A gives X amount of pork to B

B gives X amount of pork to A

In practice, this structure is multiplied by the number of participating pairs of exchange partners and elaborated into a number of moves and countermoves which take place over a series of poi nomu.

Two principles, or rules, which motivate poi nomu exchanges are 1) the "superiority of the giver" and 2) reciprocity. If one of the partners in a poi nomu exchange gives more than he receives, he gains a measure of superiority over the recipient of his 'generosity', which can only be matched (or surpassed) in successive rounds of exchange. Since recipients are obligated to reciprocate their partners' "gifts" (or risk suffering a permanent loss of prestige), most poi nomu exchange relationships endure at least as long as the time it takes for the two partners (and their clans) to stage their separate poi nomu.

A poi nomu exchange is initiated when one individual (A) makes an opening gift to another (B) whose group is planning a pig feast. During B's poi nomu, B is expected to return a much greater amount of pork to A than he received in A's opening gift:

Round One: A gives  $x$  amount of pork to B

B gives  $x + y$  amount of pork to A

Five or more years may elapse before A and his group hold their own poi nomu. During this time, because of his 'generosity', B enjoys a degree of superiority and prestige over A. When A holds his poi nomu, B will come with an opening gift to begin the second round of exchange. How A responds will determine if 1) the game ends with B as the undisputed winner (e.g. if A simply erases his debt to B and does not add an increment of pork to his gift), or if 2) the game is a draw with A gaining a degree of prestige equal to that enjoyed by B (e.g. if A not only erases his debt but also

adds an increment of pork to his gift to B). Yet another possibility is that the increment of pork which A adds to his gift is large enough that it diminishes B's act of 'generosity' in Round One and 3) the game escalates into a competition:

Round One:       A gives  $x$  amount of pork to B  
                  B gives  $x + y$  amount of pork to A  
                  ROUND ONE ENDS WITH "B" SUPERIOR TO "A"

Round Two: (1) B gives  $x$  amount of pork to A  
                  A gives  $x + y$  amount of pork to B  
                  GAME ENDS WITH "B" STILL SUPERIOR TO "A"

or,

(2) B gives  $x$  amount of pork to A  
                  A gives  $x + y + z$  amount of pork to B  
                  GAME IS A DRAW AS "A" MATCHES "B'S" ORIGINAL  
                  GENEROSITY

or,

(3) B gives  $x$  amount of pork to A  
                  A gives  $x + y + z + a$  amount of pork to B  
                  GAME ESCALATES AS "A" PULLS AHEAD OF "B"  
                  IN THE COMPETITION

Should round two end in a draw, it is a matter for the two exchange partners to decide whether or not to begin another round of exchange during a subsequent poi nomu. If both partners are in agreement, they may simply repeat Rounds One and Two (in which both

players were shown to be equally generous) as a means of demonstrating their ongoing relationship and their equality. If, however, B wishes to assert (or regain) his superiority over A, the game may escalate into an all-out competition (assuming that A is not content to allow B to enjoy a permanent superiority over him) in which, sooner or later, one of the partners will be unable to make the proper return and will lose.

In reality, most of the competition which one sees in poi nomu is far less direct than the above model suggests. Much of the competition which occurs is in the comparisons which are made between the exchange performances of rival big men (who may or may not be exchange partners) and between big men and lesser men. For example, among the hosts of a poi nomu there may be two or more men in competition for leadership of the host group. During their poi nomu, the rival big men will be judged by their supporters (and others) on the basis of the relative size of their exchange networks and the quantity of pork which each gives away to his exchange partners in other clans.

How many times poi nomu exchanges have been carried out in the past is not known. But that they continue is important to the Gende. When players die or are in danger of losing an exchange match, others take their place. Failure to keep a game alive means more than the loss of prestige for a particular individual or group; for the Gende it would mean the breakdown of society and the end of 'life' as they know it.

## The Setting

The immediate setting for a poi nomu is the clearing in the middle of a settlement. Surrounding the clearing are dwellings. In the tamane nom (communal houses) the families of several men may gather for meals or sleeping, men on one side and women on the other. During the day, they are used as men's meeting places. Smaller dwellings house individual women, their children, and pigs. The largest structures are the poi nom or 'pig houses', built for the guests at a poi nomu. As long as 50 meters, they are divided into sections to house guests from several settlements.

The settlement is the home of men whose ancestors first cut down the forest and made gardens on land in the vicinity of the settlement. Down through the years, the children of the ancestors defended the land and their separate identity from other men in battle and in poi nomu.

What security there is exists only in the settlement. Yet it is here that a home team is challenged by visitors. Emboldened by the memory of 'success' at their own previous poi nomu, and with the knowledge that they have made the proper gifts to their guardian spirits, and that the opening gifts they bring with them are appropriate, the visitors march with confidence into the clearing. Both visitors and hosts are armed. Members of the host group race around the visitors, brandishing spears and axes, shouting their assessment of the guests and their gifts.

Hundreds (or sometimes thousands) of people gather on the last day of the poi nomu to watch the performances of a few key players. These men are 'big men' (wana nambaio), leaders of their respective



groups, who have organized the affair.

Hosts stand beside mounds of pork and stacks of fat held between posts driven into the ground. In front of everything stands a leader - the man who has killed more pigs than anyone else. To him is given the honor and responsibility for handling the distribution. Each member of the host group who has killed pigs and contributed to this display of abundance, intends that his portion be used to fulfill obligations he has to particular exchange partners from other groups. The leader is aware of this. But, as a proven and successful past manager of exchange, authority has been given to him to make the final decisions as to how the pork will be distributed.

When the host group is large and politically divided into several independent segments, or when there is internal rivalry, several big men may preside over the distribution, each standing in front of their own mound of pork and that of their own set of supporters. Whenever possible, this situation is avoided, since it demonstrates weakness and a lack of solidarity, especially if the visiting group is headed by a single man.

Facing the hosts are the visitors. The leader(s) of the visitors will make their opening gifts to the hosts, receive the hosts' gifts, and later redistribute the gifts to the intended recipients.

The first set of visitors to present their opening gift to the hosts is usually that group which historically has the most competitive exchange relationship with the hosts. In the case of traditional enemies, who once waged war against the hosts but have

since exchanged wives with them, memories of unavenged or uncompensated deaths (which occurred as a result of warfare) stand in the way of true friendship and fuel ongoing competition. During the presentation of opening gift and return gift, there are many veiled and unveiled insults and insinuations, challenges and comparisons made by individuals on both sides as to the quality and quantity of the gifts given and received now and in the past. Should the opening gift be larger than expected or the hosts made to feel shame (arawo) over their gift, the leader of the hosts will take pork intended for other recipients and add it on to the gift given to the competitor's group.

Such decisions are a test of the leader's authority in his own group and the friendliness of his allies in other groups. His ability to handle such a situation depends on having built up relationships of trust over the years. If there is grumbling, the leader will remind others of how generous he has been to them in the past. By helping him face this challenge and refraining from contention over unfulfilled obligations to themselves, allies make known to the competitors that this is a man who can be depended upon to make good his debts, that they are not worried, that they will be repaid generously for their support at some later time. For his part, the host will make sure that when the competitors hold their poi nomu he can maneuver them into a position where they are forced to give back more than they received today so that he may then reward the present assistance of his allies and supporters.

When the exchange is over and the visitors have carried away their bundles of pork, men and women gather in the tamane nom to

eat the remains of the pork and talk. Leaders concentrate on the success of the poi nomu, the poorly-concealed surprise of the visitors at the large amount of pork they received, and their own role in the affair. Already, however, tensions and arguments may surface. Now there is time to think. Those who killed pigs marked for other exchanges worry about replacements. "Who will loan me a pig for my son's brideprice?" Men look at diminished pig herds and think about the intervening debts they will have to pay before they can hold another poi nomu.

Strictly speaking, the pigs killed at a poi nomu are 'extra' pigs, pigs left over after obligations are fulfilled in the larger system of exchange in which every Gende participates. Each Gende was involved in this larger system even before they were conceived, obligated in it by the actions of others to play in a game which brings them into being, transforms them into adults, and eventually carries them beyond death.

### The Gende Exchange System

Among the Gende, the main unit of production is the household, normally a man, his wife(s), their unmarried children, and his elderly or widowed parents. In general, each household is self-sufficient, raising enough food to feed themselves and their pigs. Nevertheless, at least some of the vegetable foods and almost all of the pork a family consumes, originates from other households. Each individual Gende is engaged in a web of interpersonal relationships which determine their clan affiliation, residence, access to garden land, personal identity and prestige. These

relationships are kept alive only by ongoing, reciprocal exchange.

Within the clan (indeed, what gives it substance), most exchange is organized on the basis of three widely extended kinship bonds: parent-child, brothers, and brother-sister. Until they marry or make gardens of their own, children rely on parents for food and shelter. Parents finance initiation and puberty rites essential to physical and social maturity, sacrifice pigs when children are threatened by sickness and malevolent forces, invest pigs in brideprices for their sons' wives, and grant their descendents access to land.

The parent-child relationship is not restricted to the nuclear family. Anyone who makes a significant contribution to a child's needs, whether it be a child's natural parents or father's brothers and their wives or some more distant relative, may be called nomowo (my father) or niyowo (my mother) [1]. If the caregiver is older than a child's parents or is someone whom the parents call 'father' or 'mother', the child may call the caregiver waune (my grandfather/forebear) or bowane (my grandmother/forebear) [2]. In

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[1] The corresponding terms of address are weno (father) and yoro (mother). Children are referred to as movone (my son) or orune (my daughter), or may be addressed by name. (See Appendix 1 for a more complete listing of Gende kin terms and their referents).

[2] The corresponding terms of address are wau and bowa. 'Grandchildren' may be addressed by name or called nanuwawo (my grandson) or nonovoro (my granddaughter).

Chapter Three I discuss the extension and use of Gende kin terms more completely.

When grown, children are expected to repay 'parents' (or 'grandparents') for the care they have received. Those who killed pigs at a girl's puberty ceremony, receive a share of her brideprice. Sons' wives raise pigs to repay those who paid brideprice for them. Until this debt - tupoi (the returning of the brideprice) - is paid, a couple is limited in the number of new exchange relationships they can respectably activate. Some never pay off this debt and it passes to their own children or others wishing to acquire rights to land once used by the couple.

At its core, the clan is conceptualized as a 'line' (narawa) of brothers (aiyane/older brother//nuqunawo/younger brother) and their offspring, descended from a common male ancestor or 'father'. Male initiation ceremonies - Kanqiowo -strengthen ties of brotherhood and male interdependence by grouping initiates into pairs of Kanqi (named after the Kanqi spirits; see Chapter Three for a discussion of male initiation and female puberty rites) and owo ('helpers'). Brothers depend on one another to help finance major exchange payments and to defend their land and families against encroachment by others.

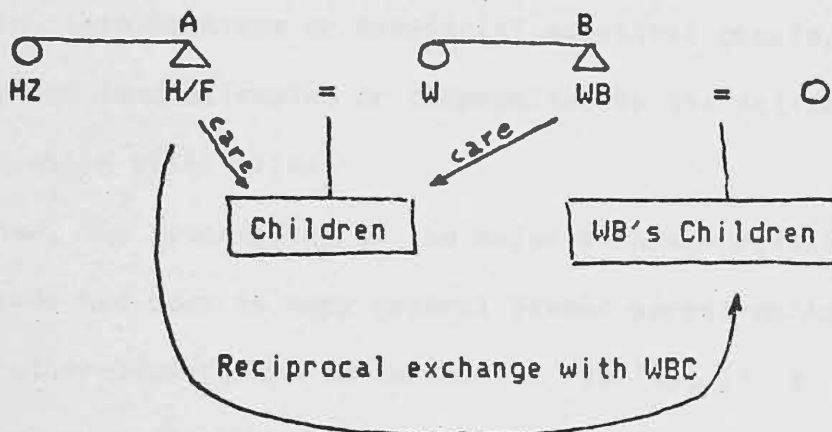
Nonetheless, men's relationships with women are vital to clan survival and well-being, for it is through women that men acquire wealth and become 'fathers' of their clan. When a sister marries, her clan receives bridewealth for her. The value of the bridewealth should be at least equal to the amount

or number of pigs her parents (and others) sacrificed during the girl's puberty rites, a period of isolation, instruction, and ritual to ensure her growth and fertility so that she may be a strong, healthy woman who will raise many pigs and children.

For every child a woman bears, childwealth must be given to her brothers. Until this (and the full brideprice) is paid, a sister's children are considered members of her natal patriclan. Over time, these payments act as mechanisms which balance the size of clans. A group with many sisters but few men can convert incoming wealth into wives to replenish their numbers. Or, more directly, the same clan may also claim sister's children in lieu of a large brideprice.

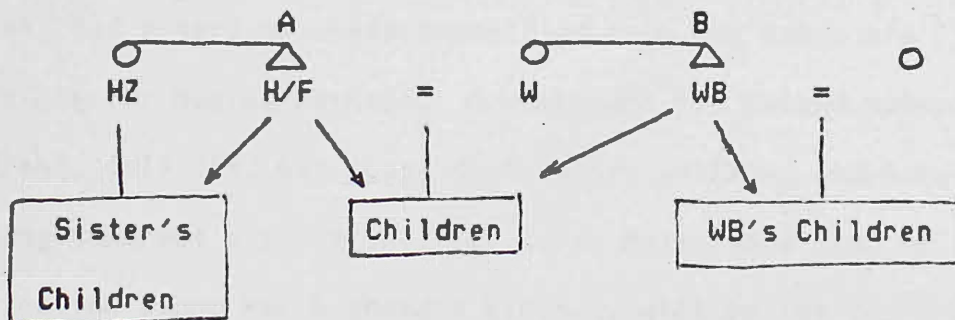
Exchange relationships initiated at sister's marriage, embody varying degrees of friendliness (or mutual assistance) and competition between two clans. Even after childwealth is paid, mother's brothers continue to take an active interest in their sister's children, an interest which may turn into an unfriendly competition with their sister's husband for the children's loyalty. Mother's brothers care for their sister's children and their own children by feeding them, bringing them pork when they are sick, killing pigs at their initiations, and donating pigs for their son's or nephew's brideprices. A husband can counteract this latent or actual challenge by his wife's brother(s) to his paternity by reciprocating through exchange with his wife's brother's children:

Diagram 1.1 Competitive claims for sister's children.



In general, however, an imbalance arises in the MB's favor, a debt which is often paid by grown children themselves in one final payment - nus pe ('nose' payment). Having already invested heavily in his wife and children, a husband/father (or 'A') is more likely to spread his own investments in the younger generation to include his sisters' children rather than his wife's brother's (or 'B') children:

Diagram 1.2 Avoiding competition with wife's brother.



While these exchanges perpetuate the clan as a living entity through the propitiation of spirits, marriage, and the birth,

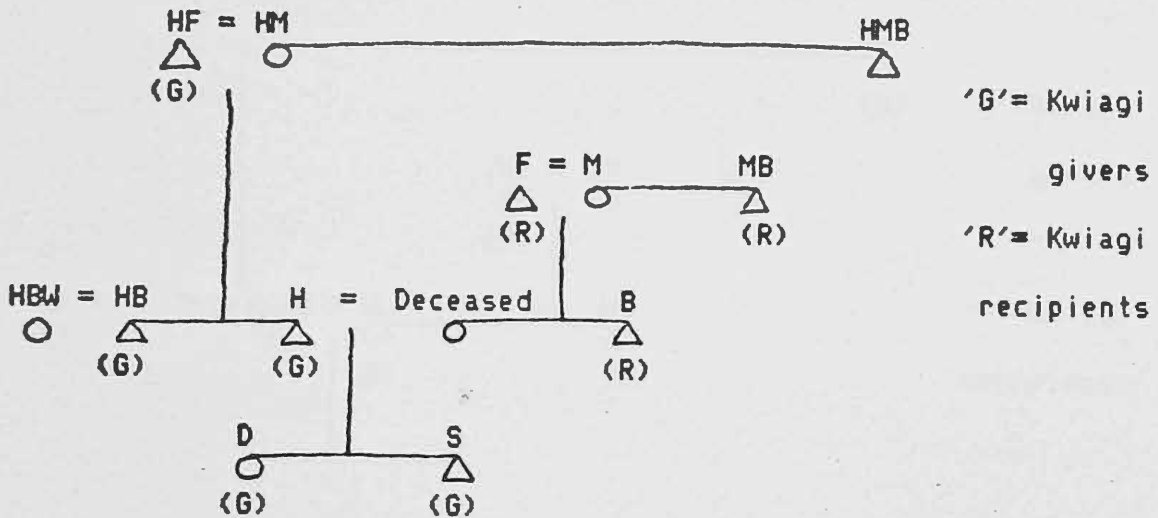
nurturance, and affiliation of children into the clan, other exchanges are concerned with the death of clan members, their transformation into harmless or beneficial ancestral ghosts, and the retrieval of land alienated or compromised by the actions of the deceased while still alive.

Up to now, the description of the major exchange relations among the Gende has been in very general terms: parent-child, brothers, brother-sister, and so forth. In reality, it is individuals who, in the course of a lifetime, initiate, maintain, or break off exchange relations with other individuals. Categories of relationship involve specific behaviors and expectations, but who an individual relates to as 'father', 'mother's brother', or 'sister' is in part a matter of choice. How many relationships an individual maintains is dictated by their particular situation, aspirations, and abilities. At death, the individual's relations with the living must be 'straightened' and their influence on future relations among the living made benign.

After a death, unpaid debts and claims associated with the deceased must be settled. When a married woman dies, her husband, children, and others who have benefitted from her labor are responsible for making payment. A woman who has raised many 'children', fulfilled her tupoi debt to her in-laws, and has, by investing numerous pigs in their affairs, built up a fund of credit or obligation among her husband's kinsmen, will be the focus of a large kwiagi (final death payment party). At her kwiagi - staged within two or three years after her death - live pigs and cooked pork will be distributed to her brothers and mother's brothers:



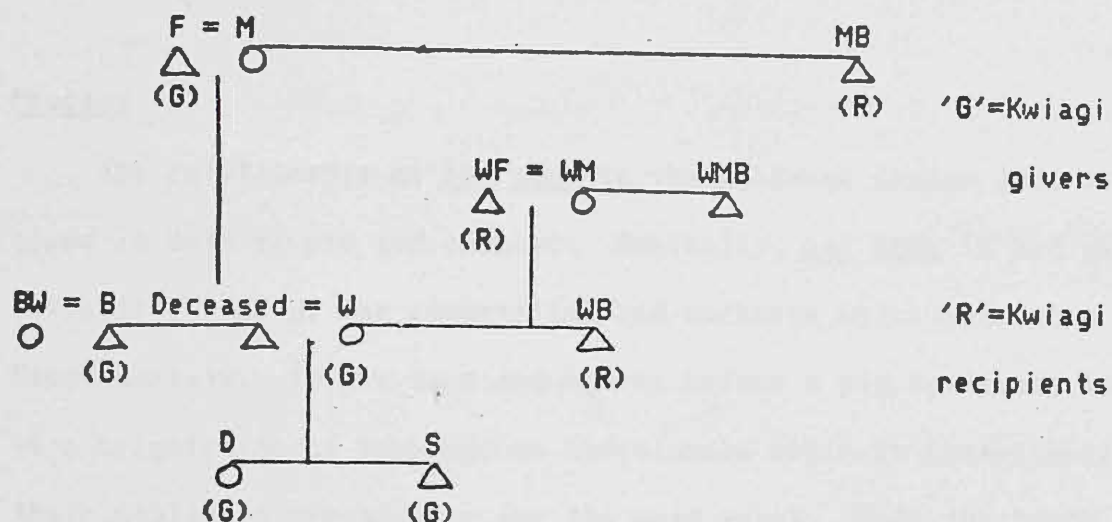
Diagram 1.3 Death payments for a woman.



Payment will also be given to those persons (usually other members of the husband's clan) who actually buried the woman and killed pigs on her behalf during her final illness or at her funeral (gou). Failure to stage a distribution commensurate with the woman's value, arouses the ill-will of both the woman's clan and her ghost, and brings shame and misfortune to her husband's clan.

At a man's death (see Diagram 1.4 below), it is his wife, children and brothers who carry the main burden of financing his Kwiagi (death payment ceremony). The size and complexity of a man's Kwiagi reflects his ambition and involvement in exchange relationships during his lifetime. The death of a man, who has been 'generous' and given more than he has received over the years, and who has invested extensively in persons outside his own clan, may precipitate a complex flow and counterflow of wealth from those indebted to him to those who have residual claims against him.

Diagram 1.4 Death payments for a man.



The normal recipients at a man's kwiagi - his mother's brothers and members of his wife's clan - in addition to sisters' husbands and children, may be obligated to contribute pigs to his mortuary rites. The deceased's clan may turn out to be the primary recipient of his death payments. This is often the case when a man has enlarged his network of exchange relationships by extending land rights to individuals outside his clan. In order to validate their claims to the land, the new land-'owners' donate pigs to the original 'owner's' funeral. The extension of land rights often involves an extension of kin ties: the donor-recipient relation becoming a parent-child or sibling bond. Small clans increase their number this way, attracting persons from larger clans. When the deceased's clan is already large and his children and brothers wish to reclaim alienated land, they will invalidate claims against the land at the deceased's kwiagi (death payment ceremony), by

returning the funeral payment to the putative landowner with an increment added on. The relationship between exchange and land tenure will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Two.

### Process

The relationship of poi nomu to the exchange system just outlined is both simple and complex. Basically, poi nomu is but an intensification of the competition and exchange which permeates Gende society. In the days and months before a pig festival, there is a heightening of exchange as individuals begin to consolidate their wealth in preparation for the main event. Both the hosts and their competitors in other groups attempt to improve their respective positions by calling for the immediate satisfaction of overdue brideprice and childwealth payments. Parents collect tupoi (brideprice repayment) from their sons and daughters-in-law and mother's brothers choose this time to ask for nus pe ('nose' pay) from their sisters' children. Kwiagi (death payment parties) are held to safeguard against the ill-will of recently deceased persons and their kinsmen. Male initiation ceremonies are often delayed until this time to benefit from the extra protection both kwiagi and poi nomu afford the young initiates.

When the pre-game transferral of wealth is complete and accounts balanced, only some individuals emerge with pigs which they are free to exchange. For the most part, these persons are middle-aged or older. Having paid off the debts of childhood, marriage, and the death of parents, they now draw upon investments they have made in others to add to pigs their own wives have been

raising for a poi nomu.

For younger participants, this may be their first direct involvement in a poi nomu. As such, it is an arena where they may distinguish themselves from others, by displaying wealth, careful management of exchange, and personal industry, all of which underlies any emergent authority and influence they may exercise over persons in their own group and other clans.

The majority of poi nomu partnerships are extensions of existing exchange relationships in which men participate, traced through their relationships to certain women: most of the pork distributed at a poi nomu is designated for sisters' husbands and wives' brothers. A smaller amount is given to mothers' brothers and daughters' husbands.

That two relationships (sister's husbands, wife's brothers) are singled out above others is significant, and is another indication of the political nature of poi nomu. As pointed out earlier, a man may be in competition with his sisters' husbands and wife's brothers for 'control' over his own children, their future production and their group affiliation. Since sustaining a competition with both affines during a poi nomu is onerous and reduces the effectiveness of a man's display, some men, in particular big men, will effect mutually beneficial partnerships with one side to aid them in their competition with the other. Instead of receiving pork, a sister's husband may contribute pigs, increasing the size of a man's distribution to his wife's brothers. When a man's wife's brothers hold their poi nomu, he will give a share of what he receives to his sisters' husbands. Later, he will

also help his sisters' husbands at their poi nomu.

Such alliances are celebrated in the most colorful of the festivities preceding a poi nomu: the Kaima singsings. Large Kaima are all-night performances which use a combination of dancing, singing, and drumming to tell a story. All Kaima have owners (either single individuals or several individuals), and are considered to have intrinsic magical properties and power. Paying allies to perform their Kaima at his poi nomu, a big man both cements the friendship and ensures the success of his poi nomu through the magical properties of the Kaima. In addition, he can expect to receive pigs and other forms of wealth from these allies to be distributed on the final day of the poi nomu.

It is when one looks at these effects that it becomes apparent that poi nomu is more than a simple replication of the life-long system of exchange in which every Gende participates. With all the power of a 'final round', poi nomu leaves the players in strategically different positions relative to one another. Poi nomu is a final accounting and an answer to a challenge. The clan who gives more than expected makes a public statement of its strength, integrity, and right to exist, and poses its own challenge to competitors who will have to answer with their poi nomu.

In the intervening years, misfortunes may weaken a competitor's ability to reciprocate. These may include sickness, injuries, and deaths which shrink clan size, lessen productivity, and place a drain on clan resources through expensive funeral payments to persons in other clans; the loss of pigs through theft and injury; and the destruction of gardens in landslides.

Misfortune strikes first at the individual, who, unable to satisfy the claims of his poi nomu partners, must rely on brothers or other close kin to do so, thereby bringing about shifts in the balance of power and authority within the clan. The men who make the distribution at a poi nomu may not be those who were on the receiving end at other poi nomu, a matter of public shame for those who were once in the 'center of things'.

More serious consequences occur when a clan suffers widespread misfortune. An inability to stage a proper poi nomu would threaten ongoing relations with other clans, and possibly result in hostilities and encroachment of territory. Before this would happen, however, there might be an exodus of some clan members as men follow their wives and children to their wives' clan and young men seek their 'fortune' elsewhere as the 'brothers' and 'sons' of other men who can afford to buy brides for them.

Poi nomu then is a 'final round' which places a high value on mutual assistance among brothers at the same time as it engenders comparisons as to who is doing the most to maintain clan status relative to other clans. It is a 'final round' in a game which has no name, a game which places men and women in opposition to their 'brothers', impoverishes the 'winners', and places clans in jeopardy, in order that brothers may live, women be happy, and the clan survive and prosper throughout time.

To understand what this game is and how it regenerates society through the opposition of brothers and brothers and sisters one must turn to Gende mythology and connected principles or ethics to discern the meanings and ideals individuals attempt to replicate in

their own actions and personhood.

### Images

In the beginning was Moga-omoi (his name means 'without genitals'). Moga-omoi created birds, tree kangeroos, bananas, snakes, and fire. Moga-omoi, or Mongomolyogi as he is sometimes called, was the father of the Gende. The children of Moga-omoi were Timbai and Dobome (Aufenanger 1940:179). Like his father, Timbai had no genitals. One day, Timbai's sister, Dobume, who did have genitals, hit Timbai with a stick and he grew a penis. The two then had intercourse and became the grandparents of the Gende.

This story has several anomalous elements and oppositions which find their analogs in the way the Gende structure their relations with one another. The first anomaly is Moga-omoi. Moga-omoi, the 'father' of the Gende, is represented as an asexual, singular being with extraordinary powers. Sexless and without assistance (or constraint), Moga-omoi creates many 'good' things, including children.

The story of Moga-omoi has parallels in the origin myths and genealogies of the larger subdivisions (clans) of the Gende. Like Moga-omoi, the first fathers of the Gende clans are often portrayed

as single heads of families. Sometimes, they are the genitors of a succession of 'men' whose sexuality is hidden or vague. The first fathers were men of strength, or wana nambaio yonua (lit. 'person-big-very', or super big men), who possessed unusual skills. Some had ears large enough to cover themselves with during cold nights or to use as 'flying carpets' to transport their owners from place to place. Some could transform themselves into animals such as birds or snakes, and while in this state, escape or slay their enemies.

Throughout their lives, but particularly at poi nomu, contemporary men, like their ancestors, are at pains to prove to other men and women that they are wana nambaio (big men): asexual, singular, and powerful beings who control the forces of creation and are able to make things happen. Big men are recognizable by their actions, large size and physical attractiveness, shiny skin, health and vigor, and oratorical skills. These are men who 'make good their words' and are able to give more than they receive.

During the pig festival, wana nambaio set themselves apart from women: abstaining from sexual intercourse, purging themselves of any contamination of femaleness by rubbing the insides of their nostrils with wads of sticks and grass to cause bleeding. Failure to do these things weakens a man's power and angers his guardian spirits (see below and Chapter Three). His skin becomes slack and dry, and he becomes thin and diminished in stature.

At the pig kill, wana nambaio are the center of attraction. Standing alone in the middle of the clearing or pacing back and forth along the length of the slain pigs while others stand quietly



by, listening to his speeches, a big man is a living representative of the creator spirit. All those persons he has 'fathered' - his own and others' children, younger brothers and sisters, even older persons who have benefitted from his largess - stand witness to his bigness and generosity. Many of the young men and boys may bear his name as it is customary among the Gende to name male children after the man who made a major contribution to their mothers' brideprices or their own childwealth payments. One big man in the village of Yandera has 14 children named after him.

Among the Gende, a good person (wana mokeri) is one who shares his food with others and is always ready to help with exchange payments. A bad person (wana briki) hides his food rather than share it with others and thinks only of himself. Good persons are strong and have equally strong children who grow big rapidly. A person who eats his own wealth and has bad manners (tuma briki), suffers hunger and sickness, grows old quickly, and his children do not prosper. Big men or very good men (wana mokeri yonua), are the opposite of 'rubbish men' (Korumbuwana, lit. 'poor men'). As their names imply, Korumbuwana have nothing: no pigs, no wives, no children, no power. They are men who eke out an existence at the edge of society. Because they cannot (or won't) give, they can only receive little or nothing in return.

The ceremonies preceding a pig festival, such as death payment parties, bridewealth payments, and singsings, and the stacks of cooked pork on display prior to the distribution, all signal the extent of involvement of a man in the life of his community. The hosts of poi nomu stage these events as close together as possible

in order to enhance the demonstration of differences between themselves and other men.

Rhetoric adds to the visual impact as big men strive to make their actions appear even more singular than they are. Some compare themselves to small boys or orphans - stock characters in Gende stories - who have the ability to make wealth come about without the help of parents and kin. Exaggerating their solitary status deepens the impression that what they have accomplished is remarkable and the mark of a 'first man'. Self-deprecation is also used. What is obviously an impressive number of slain pigs may be referred to as 'something very little, nothing much, almost an embarrassment, rubbish'. The effect of such talk is to give the impression that if they wanted to they could have done more, they could have killed more pigs.

While poi nomu are showcases for the achievements of big men, bringing them prestige and renown, they are also important to others, and it is only the power of a truly big man that can ensure that a pig feast accomplishes all that is intended. Only truly big men (wana nambaio yonua) can generate enough support among brothers and allies to present a united front to competitors, to kill enough pigs to satisfy the ancestors, and to bring about a renewal of strength and well-being necessary to a clan's survival.

Among the Gende, bigness invokes fear and respect because it bespeaks special powers or knowledge which ordinary mortals do not possess. Bigness is recognized in the large size or number of pigs, children, and wives a man has, the size and quantity of sweet potatoes a woman raises in her gardens, bravery in battle, physical

stamina, and in a host of other ways. While most men and women can do no more than break even in their exchange obligations to others, a big man and his wives always seem to have pigs to spare. That this is in part the result of their fearless readiness to risk involvement with a large network of exchange partners including partners in distant places enhances the impression that they possess special powers. To be successful, one must risk failure.

When confronted with 'bigness', the Gende say they are afraid. This is because the appearance of bigness in itself is neither good nor bad. It is only by his actions that a man is judged to be a true big man or a sorcerer. A sorcerer's bigness comes from using his knowledge to steal from and injure others. A truly big man uses his knowledge to help others. Like Moga-omoi, his bigness gives 'life' to others. At poi nomu, others are willing to set aside their own plans and ambitions and donate pigs to help him because "he is good". Just as his 'goodness' compels brothers and allies to support a big man, it is believed that his generosity to competitors will attract many more pigs from them in the future, pigs which the big man will then distribute to his supporters.

One of the most frequently cited reasons for giving a pig feast is that it makes women happy. Both men and women say this, pointing out the obvious: that raising pigs is hard work and women are happy when it is over [3]. Less obvious, is why a woman should

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[3] Roy Rappaport (1968:157-160) has noted a relationship between women's agitation over the hard work of caring for large pig herds and the timing of pig festivals among the Tsembaga Maring.

work so hard to make her husband's poi nomu a success, an event in which her husband and his clan assert their superiority over her clan and over women in general. For an answer to this question, we must take a closer look at the brother-sister relationship in the story of Timbai and Dobume.

Several fundamental divisions in Gende society were created when the asexual brother, Timbai, was confronted by his sexual sister, Dobume: male and female, brother and sister, and clan divisions.

In the myth, Timbai's asexuality, unlike his father's, is sterile. It is his sister Dobume's aggressive sexuality which holds the key to further reproduction: Dobume hits Timbai with a stick, he grows a penis, the two have intercourse and become the ancestors of the Gende. Timbai's initial dependence on his sister is mirrored in everyday life where it is often a sister's marriage which enables a brother - using her brideprice - to marry and eventually become a father. While Dobume awakens Timbai's sexuality by striking him with a stick, real sisters do so through their productive capacity and sexual union with another man. Metaphorically, a 'stick' (puburangqi) represents either a digging stick used by women in preparing gardens, or a penis.

Unlike Moga-omoi, ordinary men need women to become fathers. Women make an obvious and recognized contribution to biological reproduction and are, in addition, the main producers of wealth whereby men validate their social 'fatherhood'. Although it is wives who fulfill the necessary biological function, it is 'sisters' who gave wives to their 'brothers' in the first place.

The brother-sister relationship - coded in kinship terminology as nizawo/nizawo - contains both elements of opposition as well as complementarity. While a sister's sexuality is linked with her brother's and allows him to marry and 'father' children to replenish their mutual clan, it is also potentially dangerous. The more children a sister bears her husband and the more pigs she raises for him, the greater the danger. Her productivity increases the size and strength of her husband's clan and represents a direct challenge to her own brothers (and their wives).

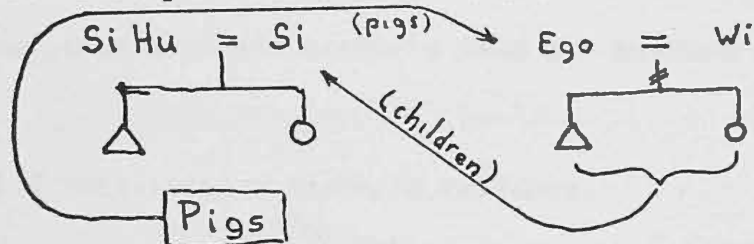
Dobume's aggression with the 'stick' has another, more sinister meaning: 'sticks' are also a metaphor for clubs used to kill pigs. When big men kill pigs at a poi nomu and give pork to men in other clans, they are making a statement about their independence and control over women's production (pigs and children) and by extension their superiority over men in other clans. This superiority is sometimes expressed by hosts saying that men in other clans are pigs, that they are children of "our" women (referring to the hosts' sisters and daughters), and as such can be slaughtered in battle or, symbolically, in exchange competition and their children subsequently returned to their mother's (hosts') clan.

Raised by women, pigs are the 'children' of women and one may be substituted for the other. Human babies are considered as children of their mothers (as well as de facto members of their mother's clan) until they are made into the children of their father (their mother's husband or some other man who 'pays' for them). A father does this by killing, and/or giving away, his

wife's pigs, as substitutes for children to his wife's clan.

Whereas in the myth Dobume hits her brother with a stick and then commits incest with him (ordinarily a heinous crime in Gende society), the same thing is said to happen when a brother is defeated in competitive exchange for his own children. The shame for a man (and his wife) to lose their children to his sister is tantamount to the shame associated with incest. The implication is that his sister is the real mother of his children [4]:

Diagram 1.5 Losing children to a sister.

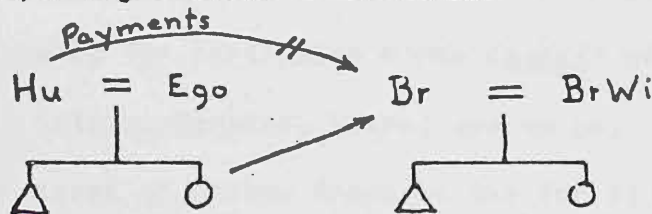


[4] Interestingly, the kinship term used to refer to father's elder sister is the same term used to refer to grandmothers (bowane). My informants explained the correspondence by saying that since a sister's brideprice pigs are (or may be) used to help buy a bride for her brother, she is like 'his mother' ('real' mothers raise pigs for their sons' marriages), and, therefore, his children must call their father's sisters bowane. In the case of father's sisters who play a more direct role in the care of their brother's children, the children may refer to their father's sisters as 'mother' (niyowo) [they may also refer to their father's sisters' husbands as 'father' (nomowo) rather than use the formal kin term for father's sister's husband (niyamo, which means 'taboo relationship' (P.E. tambu)].

Furthermore, the sister's husband, who has assisted his wife in raising pigs which went to her brother, can boast that he is the legitimate (but not biological) father of her brother's children.

The reverse situation is also shameful. When a sister and her husband are unable to keep up with payments to her brother (child-wealth, remaining bridewealth payments, or countergifts to her brother's contributions to the welfare of her children), their children become her brother's 'children'. Once again the shame involves an appearance of incest (at least metaphorically), but now the woman's brother and his wife can boast that they are the legitimate parents of his sister's (and her husband's) children:

Diagram 1.6 Acquiring a sister's children.



'Real men', however, do not lose their children in this way. Real men are the fathers (both biological and sociological) of many children, in addition to being the living representatives of a succession of fathers and sons going back to an original father. This 'line' (P.E. lain) is conceptualized as a 'long rope' or narawa nambaio, the name given to Gende clans. To ensure that the 'stick' (club, penis, digging stick) which women hold over men's heads does not break the 'rope', men have the secret of male initiation. The process of initiation turns boys into 'real men',

gives them power over women, and engenders cooperation among brothers in the competition with other narawa nambaio [5].

When boys are about eight or ten years old, they are ready to begin the process of being admitted to the male society of their father's clan. First, they become braidwearers (arambraqi). Strips of bark cloth are woven into the hair at the back of their heads. When new, the braids (arambe) reach down to the back of a youth's knees. These braids are worn for several years until the end of the initiation period. At the same time, boys have a wooden stick or stone rod pierced through their nasal septums and holes pierced on either side of their nostrils with bamboo sticks.

About a year later, the braidwearers are 'shown the bird flutes' (nakai inungware) and told "this is your bird". The flutes (fumengi) are named for particular birds (nakai) of the forest: Witaro, Bamdi, Geturu, Barakoe, Unare, and so on. The flutes are kept hidden in caves or hollow trees in the forest when they are not in use, for it is forbidden for young, uninitiated boys or females to see them. Each segment of a clan has its own bamboo flutes.

When men play the fumengi (flutes), they recreate the cries of birds and men: cries of warning, sadness, or fear. Each tune has a story, usually brief:

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[5] Since I did not witness an initiation ceremony and such ceremonies are not now carried out in their entirety, my account of male initiation is drawn from informants' statements, particularly those of older men, and from Aufenanger (1940).



"Two boys were hunting a pig in the bush. While they waited to trap the pig, they heard a bird cry. Now we play this bird's cry on the flute".

"Some men wanted revenge. They captured an enemy. The man was frightened when they killed him. He cried and shouted. Afterwards, everyone wanted to play the flute".

"A man named Tei went to Baui where some members of our clan still live. He died there. His mother went to see his body and she cried. Now everyone wants to play the flute".

At singsings and poi nomu, men adorn themselves as birds with a crown of feathers waving from their heads. Birds are associated with the spirits of the dead and other powerful beings. Some men have the power to change themselves into birds to escape danger or to sneak up on their enemies to kill them.

For a month or more before they are shown the flutes, the boys are not allowed to eat foods such as bananas, cuscus, and taro. After the braidwearers (arambraqi) are shown the flutes, they are taken into a house (formerly a men's clubhouse or bandia) where their fathers and other men tell them stories and lecture them on the proper behavior of men. During this time (which may last as long as 24 hours) they are not allowed to drink water.

Afterwards, large wooden bowls of cooked pig meat and vegetables are brought in by men and placed beside each arambraqi. The boys are allowed to eat as much as they wish, sharing the remains of the food with their fathers and other men present. The

following day the boys are taken down to the river where they learn the secret of purifying themselves of women's contamination and mothers' blood (see Chapter Three) by causing their noses to bleed. Men take bundles of sticks and push them up their nostrils, rubbing vigorously until blood falls. The boys are instructed to do likewise so that they will grow to be big and strong. Again a special feast of pork and vegetables is prepared by the men and given to the boys so that they may grow fat and big quickly.

The purpose of all stages of a boy's initiation is to promote growth and physical well-being, and to protect him from evil spirits or living persons who wish to harm him. In the crucial last stage of initiation, the youth separates himself entirely from females and the uninitiated, living in the forest for a year or more with other initiates. During this time he is regarded as being in an ambivalent and dangerous condition: living/non-living, human/bird. For months the youth may be seen by no one but his peers and older, initiated men.

In the final stage, the braidwearers are divided into pairs: kangi and owo. The decision as to which boys will be kangi or owo is made by their fathers when the boys are several years old and from then on the boys chosen as kangi (but not owo) are forbidden to eat pork until their initiation. For every kangi there must be an owo. Usually two brothers are selected for each pair of kangi-owo. Age is not a significant factor, but usually a younger brother will serve as owo, or helper, to an older brother. Although being a kangi involves certain special responsibilities (see below and Chapter Three), it does not confer any special

privileges on a youth. According to my informants, there is no prejudice against owo in terms of marriage or access to land rights. Indeed, several big men in Yandera passed through their initiations as owo.

During their seclusion in the forest, all the initiates live in a house specially constructed for the purpose. During the day they hunt for wild animals, some of which they eat and some of which they smoke over fires. It is said that they are living as the ancestors did in the time before men had pigs and relied on the hunt for meat. During this time of seclusion, both kanqi and owo are forbidden to eat pork. Many more restrictions are placed on kanqi: only owo are allowed to carry things, make traps, and cook food for their kanqi.

After the boys have been in the forest for a long time, their fathers and other initiated men (and more recently their mothers) visit them. At this time, all the boys have the upper part of their heads shaved and new braids are wound into the hair at the back of their heads. They are dressed in new clothing, and their faces are painted. Both kanqi and owo are given new spears and bows and arrows to hold and then they are lined up, each owo standing beside his kanqi. One by one, each kanqi has the tip of his nose pierced with a thin bone from a flying fox, and thus become official kanqi men. When this is done, both kanqi and owo are considered men. Later, the men eat some of the smoked meat the boys have given them and lecture the boys that they are now men and must work hard and not steal, and that they may now marry.

After a few weeks time, fathers and other men return to take

the initiates back to the settlement where members of their clan and their mothers' clans have been preparing a feast in their honor. The boys are hidden in the men's house for several days while outside the work of preparing the feast goes on amidst much singing and dancing. When everything is ready, the boys are brought outside, dressed in their finery, carrying the baskets of smoked meat, and shown to their mothers and others. There is much excitement and people say they are afraid to look at the new kanqi, for they are like the spirits of the dead (poroi).

Aufenanger reported (1940:96) that he was told that the custom of kanqi (piercing the tip of the nose) "originated with the kanqi ghosts. 'These used to kill our ancestors because they did not have any men with pierced noses. Since that time we have had kanqi men, and the kanqi spirits do not kill us anymore'."

I was told that each person has a 'double'. This spirit can make itself identical in physical form to its living counterpart. By adhering to restrictions imposed on him since childhood, the new kanqi ensures that his double, or kanqi spirit will not bring sickness or death to himself or other members of his family. The amount of smoked meat that he and his owo have brought back from the forest is one piece of evidence that his kanqi spirit will aid him, and that his kanqi spirit will bring health, prosperity, and protection from evil spirits to him and his clan.

Just as owo help kanqi to gain special powers, so too should brothers help brothers to achieve success during a pig feast by donating pigs and sublimating their own ambitions in order that their clan increase in power and present a united front to other

clans. Just how far brotherly self-sacrifice can go is portrayed in the popular story of 'The brother who turned into a pig', which was told to me by Moru, an old man in Yandera:

"Once, at a place on a mountain near Goroka, some men who had many pigs were making a guest house (poi nom) for a pig feast. Two brothers, who were orphans and had no wives, built a section of the poi nom to house themselves and their pigs. The other men, who knew that the brothers had no pigs, asked each other 'Why are they doing this?' and made jokes about the two brothers. When it was time for the singsing poi koia (pig's head), the two brothers dressed themselves fancier than the other men and joined the dancing. Afterwards, they collected sweet potatoes and vegetables, and made a table to hold the food. They placed a stick (for tying pigs to) in front of the table and collected stones for the earth oven to cook pigs in. Everyone was very puzzled.

"The day before the pig kill, the two brothers went to a place called Nugiako. The older brother turned himself into a pig, but not a very good pig, so he turned himself back into a man. Then the younger brother turned himself into a very big male pig with tusks that curved round and round. His older brother took the pig back to the village killed him at the pig kill. There was so much meat and fat, he was able to give some to everyone who came to the pig feast. His pig brother had more meat than all the other pigs.

"The story of this pig was heard by our ancestors who

were still living near Goroka at that time. Now when we eat pork, we think of it as our brother. When we kill pigs, other men ask 'Are we going to eat our brother or not?' If we don't kill pigs and give them pork to eat, they will not be happy".

The end of initiation is preferably timed to coincide with a pig feast hosted by the initiates' fathers, so that the numbers of 'men' representing the boys' rope (narawa) is increased and the newly initiated males can attract wives from among the visitors. When the hosts of a poi nomu kill many pigs, and they and the newly initiated males of the clan stand proudly in the clearing, it is said that women cannot resist their beauty and strength. For their part, women feel such men will make good husbands, who will cut down the forest and clear many gardens for them to plant. Above all, young men (and big men seeking to gain more wives) hope to attract the attention of good women, or ana mogeru. According to both men and women, ana mogeru are everything that Dobume was not. They are submissive, chaste, strong, hard-working, good gardeners, and able to raise many pigs and children. A good woman works hard to make her children the children of her husband. Raising pig 'children' for her husband to give away, she helps him become the 'father' of their human children, and saves her husband and his brothers from having to make the ultimate 'sacrifice' at a poi nomu (as in the above story). By raising many pigs, a good woman contributes to the ongoing survival of her husband's clan and, in the process, rids herself of the 'shame' of Dobume and becomes known as a mother of 'men'.

## Chapter Two: THE PLAYERS - PEOPLE, PLACE, AND PIGS

In the preceding chapter, I introduced the old game by presenting an overview of the Gende pig feast system and the larger exchange system of which poi nomu are a vital part. Beginning with this chapter, I will be looking in greater depth at how and why the 'game' is played. In this particular chapter, I will examine the relationship between land, exchange, and personal and group identity among the Gende. Both land use and Gende residence patterns will be viewed from the perspective of the Gende notion of 'place' (onguru), a belief that pieces of the land (mikai, 'ground') are invested with the actions of men and women and that it is only by investing one's personal knowledge, labor, and wealth in the owners, or 'mothers and fathers of the land' (mikai dingua) that one may live in a 'place' and make gardens on the surrounding land.

The Gende depend on their land to provide the major part of the necessities of life and social interaction. Sweet potatoes from the gardens are food for people and their pigs. It has been so for generations. Old women, their large hands thickened by years of pulling weeds, cannot imagine what life would be like without gardens and pigs to care for. Others who do know such a life, who live in town and may never have risen before dawn to work in the gardens, also maintain an interest in the land. Returning home for a visit their eyes take in the location and condition of new gardens. What they see tells them whether it has been a good or bad year for family members, and they can judge on that basis

what kind of reception they will receive when they enter the village.

The Gende often comment that the land is "our strength, our bones". This sentiment has a double meaning: not only is the land a source of life, vitality, and wealth, it is also a 'living' force in human affairs. Part of this force comes from the actions of men and women, actions which live on in 'places' where they have made gardens, built settlements, fought battles, buried their dead, and held poi nomu.

When the outsider first visits the area, there is a solid appearance to it. They see the village of Yandera, and the houses of Ruge, the leader of Tundega Clan, and there on the surrounding slopes are the gardens of his wives. When the Gende look at the land, however, they see a history of movement and change. Over there is where, long ago, Tundega warriors were defeated in battle and driven into exile to the home of their distant kin and ancestors, the Wakerai Clan. And over there, at the very edge of Gegeru's territory, is where Ruge's mother, a daughter of Gegeru clan, first made gardens while the men of her clan and the men of her husband's clan (Tundega) joined together to drive away Tundega's enemies from off their land.

In order to understand the actions and interrelationships among the living, it is necessary to consider the land the Gende live on, their use of it, and their relationships to the owners or 'fathers' and 'mothers' of the land (both living and dead). Gende social structure and settlement patterns are a matter of long custom and adaptation to their environment and mode of subsistence.



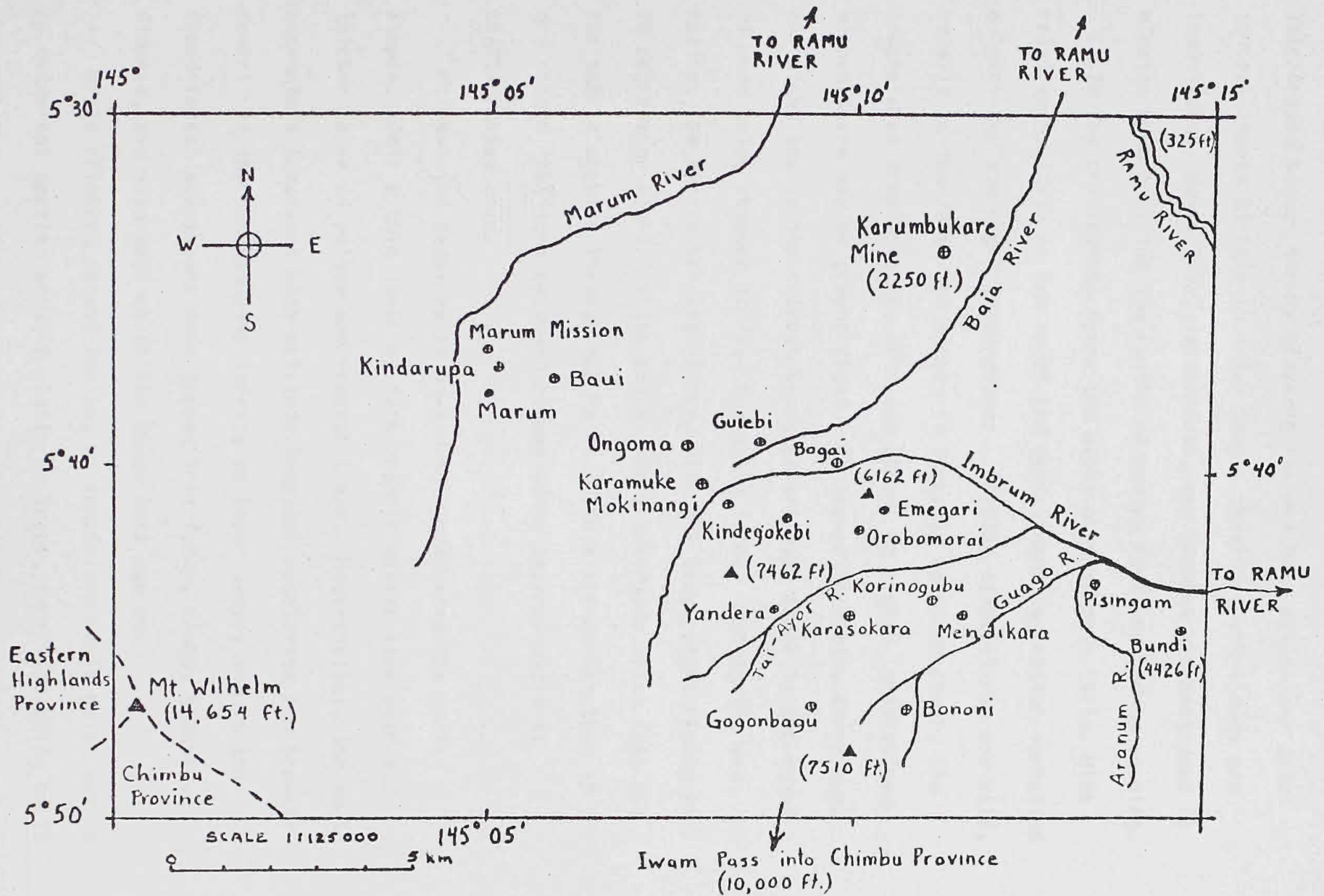
But where an individual resides and with what social group he (or she) becomes identified, as well as the location, size, composition, and continuity or dispersal of particular groups, are epiphenomena of successive rounds in an old game.

The players are people. Some of them have established the land and made 'places'. As others seek to gain access to land, to maintain it, and to become a part of it, they must pay off debts to and enlist the aid of those who have first 'put themselves' into the land. In the process, there has been a continual flow or movement of pigs, women, and men across the land.

### The Land

The land the Gende occupy is as uncompromising as the game itself. In a mountainous region with few naturally flat areas, settlements are perched on top of ridges or on terraces cut into the sides of mountains (see Map 3), and gardens are planted on slopes of 45, even 60, or 75 degree angle. To live on the land requires intelligence, physical stamina, and an emotional makeup quick to respond to unforeseen challenge.

Five degrees south of the equator, the Gende's homeland is in the Humid Tropics. The effects of this climate zone are modified by altitude and the way the mountains form a barrier to the south-easterly trades which sweep across the Western Pacific (Brookfield and Hart 1971:5). The heaviest rains fall from December to March with very little rain between May and August. Annual rainfall is 200 inches. During the rainy season, 20 or more inches may fall in a single month. Paths between settlements and gardens become



MAP 3. GENDE VILLAGES

waterlogged bogs. Storms crossing the wet Ramu plains may drop several inches of rain in a few hours, causing flash floods and landslides. Human life, settlements, and gardens are destroyed in minutes with only the low rumble of moving rock and mud as warning.

In the dry season, there are weeks when no rain falls. With relative humidity as low as 50 per cent, there is greater variation between day and night temperatures. Daytime temperatures are mild, usually in the 70's. At night, if there is no cloud cover, the temperatures drop into the 40's and 50's. On higher, uninhabited slopes there may be ground frost. In the settlements, fires burn all night and in the coldest hours before dawn there is the sound of wood being chopped to feed the dying fires. During the wet months, the air is hot and sticky, with the temperature rising to 80 degrees or higher in the hours before the daily rains fall and the sun is shining through the haze. Nights are warmer than in the dry season, but turn cold and clammy after several weeks of uninterrupted rain.

Millenia of heavy rains have deeply weathered the rocky slopes. Only a thin layer of dark organic matter lies over a thicker layer of yellow and reddish clays. Nevertheless, the soil supports a luxuriant high-altitude tropical vegetation and ground-cover. In the oak and pine forests on lower slopes and in the cloud forest above, are many trees, tree ferns, vines, grasses, flowers, and wild game which the Gende make use of.

While climbing forest trails, my companions would point out to me different species of wild plants or trees, sometimes going on to name all known varieties of a particular plant. Often a pretext

for allowing me to rest, it was also a means of storing information about available resources to be exploited at some later time, while ferns, water cress, or other edible greens were picked and put in string bags to be cooked with the evening meal.

Edible leaves, nuts, and fruits are picked from pandanus, palm, and fig trees. As the rainy season approached, the pandanus tree was given close attention on walks through the forest. Lower altitude species, such as Pandanus conoideus, produce a long red or yellow fruit. When cooked, pandanus fruit (G. okomba; P.E. marita) produces a thick, oily liquid which is used as a sauce for greens or sucked directly off the thin seeds. Once every three years, high altitude pandanus ripen during the rainy season. Individuals or entire families go off for a week at a time to collect pandanus nuts (G. diari; P.E. karuka), from wild stands in the cloud forest. The small, oily white kernels of pandanus nuts are eaten raw or cooked. Their taste is reminiscent of coconut.

Pandanus trees and other trees provide wood for fires, houses, fence posts, and bowls. Leaves are used for roofing houses, lining earth ovens, and wrapping food. Bows and arrow shafts are made from palm wood. Bark is used for weaving belts and armbands or made into string for skirts and string bags. Pandanus leaves are woven into floor mats and wall coverings. Vines are used for pig tethers and lashing fences together. Orchids and other wild flowers are collected for decorating the body, and stinging nettle is used for medicinal purposes.

The forests are inhabited by a number of wild animals. The solitary cuscus, a marsupial with a prehensile tail which spends

its life in the upper branches of the trees, is hunted for its meat and pelt. The plain, reddish-brown fur of the female or the spotted one of the male are worn wrapped around the top of the head or draped over the chest during ceremonial occasions. The fur is also woven into bags, skirts, and knitted caps.

Lower in the trees and at ground level are insects, rodents, and reptiles. Irridescent butterflies, grasshoppers, spiders, and black Rhinoscerous beetles are caught and eaten by children. The metallic green carapace of one beetle is woven into decorative headbands. Snakes, large pythons, and iguanas are caught and their skins used as drumheads. Eels are trapped and taken from some of the larger streams and eaten, as well as frogs caught in the vicinity of streams.

The forest also supports a rich bird life, including several species of bird of paradise, the white cockatoo, and hornbills, which are trapped and hunted with bows and three-pronged arrows. The feathers of the spectacularly plumed birds of paradise are valuable items of ceremonial exchange and adornment. The elusive cassowary, a flightless bird sometimes as tall as a man, are more often captured or exchanged as chicks rather than hunted as adults. Several 'tame' cassowaries were in Yandera during my visit. They would follow their owners around or go bobbing off in search of edible rubbish, driving away the village dogs from any choice tidbit they found. A nearly adult cassowary, dangerous and able to kick a man to death, was kept in a small, fenced enclosure and fed through the bars until its owner killed it for the meat and the long, thin brownish-black feathers which make an attractive and

valued headdress.

### People, settlements, gardens and pigs

The harsh beauty of their land arouses pride in the Gende. Through their efforts they have transformed patches of the forest into gardens and places of human habitation. Story and song glorify founders of places. Every brook, waterfall, hillock, and piece of ground where man has walked is given a name.

Holding back the wildness was and still is an unending struggle, however. Rain-leached soils support only a single crop of sweet potatoes in a year before it is necessary to abandon a plot of land to the forest to be regenerated. As new gardens become farther and farther away from a settlement, men build new settlements so that they might be closer to their gardens. This was particularly so fifty years ago, when armed conflict and warfare was common and it was dangerous for women to be working alone in gardens two or three hours distance from their settlement. Sometimes, as men moved their settlements in the past, they came into conflict with other men who wished to make use of the same land. To help them defend the land, men called upon their brothers and allies, and the spirits of dead ancestors and renowned warriors, securing their aid with gifts and sacrifices of pigs.

### People

The origins of the Gende are not well-known. No historical or archaeological evidence exists to tell us how long they have occupied their present homeland. Culturally and linguistically,

they are related to other groups in the Central Highlands of New Guinea. Like their Chimbu neighbors to the south, the Gende are characterized by a dense population and large social and political units which are supported by sweet potato gardens and pig herds.

Linguistically, the Gende belong to the East Central Language Family of the East New Guinea Highlands Stock (Z'graggen 1975; cf. Wurm 1964). This points to a past relationship with people such as the Gahuka, Bena Bena and Asaro on the south-east side of the Bismarck cordillera near the present day town of Goroka. It is possible that a north-westerly movement of Gende from the Asaro Valley into the land between the Chimbu and Ramu peoples may have occurred as late as the 1600's after the introduction of the sweet potato into the highlands of New Guinea and the subsequent (hypothesized) population expansion and movement this introduction caused (Brookfield and Hart 1971:124; Watson 1965).

Oral traditions place the people's origin in several locations. In some stories, the Gende have always lived in their present territory (Aufenanger 1940; August Kituai, personal communication). A few people claim that the ancestors came in over the mountains near Chimbu. Many others, however, tell of migrations from the Ramu area and the east. One woman told me that the ancestors came from the eastern highlands near Goroka, coming first to Kobwum - a mountain near Bundi Station - and from there spread out in two directions: to the lower mountain slopes and hills near the Ramu plains in the north, and into the mountains west of Bundi.

By whichever routes they came, the Gende share a belief in and

stress their common ancestry, a common language, and a common set of customary behaviors. Internally, the Gende are divided into a number of exogamous, named social groups of varying size and inclusiveness. While they may be classified as clans, sub-clans, and lineages, the Gende simply refer to them all as narawa ('ropes') or lines.

The largest of these groups are narawa nambaio or 'big lines'. Membership in a narawa nambaio is by patrilineal descent (real or assumed) or adoption. Although Gende clans are not corporate groups, the male members of a 'big line' (and their families) occupy a commonly defended territory and trace their origins back to a male ancestor or ancestors who first cut down the forest and made gardens in the area.

The two clans in Yandera (see Table 2.1) - Yandima and Tundega Clans - both trace their original occupation of the lands surrounding the present day Yandera village to migrants from other Gende clans living to the north in the foothills near the Ramu plains. The founding father of Yandima Clan (a member of Tigina Clan) and his wife left his homeland near Guiebi (see Map) and built a house where Yandera is now located. The couple had four sons. The sons travelled to Chimbu territory to get wives, brought them back, and raised large families. Little is known about the founding father of Tundega Clan except his name - Kabizhi, that he came from the area near Baui where he was a member of the Wakerai Clan, and that he is buried in the middle of the Tundega settlement in Yandera.

Gende clans are commonly divided into two or more 'small



lines'. Each small line is descended from a known ancestor or set of brothers who settled in particular sections of their big line's territory. Two of the Yandima 'small lines' (see Table 1), Dengerunarawa and Iwungunarawa, were founded by two sets of three brothers to whom five or six generations of men are known to be directly descended. Three of Yandima's small lines - Iwungunarawa, Dengerunarawa, and Megunarawa - are named after the streams their founders followed as they spread out from the center of Yandima's territory to make new settlements and gardens.

### Settlements

At the time of first contact, in 1932, the Gende lived in many small, fenced settlements or hamlets. Their physical layout reflected the greater separation of men and women which existed at the time, as well as women's need to have easy access to their gardens.

In the center of the enclosed settlements were the men's sleeping (tauya) and day houses (bandia). The sleeping house was a circular structure with a conical roof. Here the men and boys of the settlement slept on mats on the earthen floor or on sleeping platforms. At night, the men's weapons were hung by the entrance. The men's day house, an oblong building with two entrances, was a place for eating, resting, and talking. Women were not permitted to enter the men's houses except to bring sweet potatoes or other foods for the men to cook in the men's house (Aufenanger 1940:83).

Women's houses (anggainggo) were either at the edge of the fenced enclosure or outside the settlement entirely, in the

gardens (men, too, might have their own individual houses in the gardens). Those at the edge of the settlement had both front and back entrances and were partitioned into several rooms: a room for pigs, a room where the woman and her small children slept, and a back room where her husband and younger sons might sleep. The front entrances opened into the settlement.

Within the settlements were also found communal houses (nom tamane). These were divided into men and women's sections (moizera and oporu) with separate entrances for men and women. During times of special celebration, when many visitors were expected, poi nom (lit. but not actually 'pig houses') were constructed inside the fence. These were long, low rectangular buildings, sometimes 50 meters in length. As with the communal houses (nom tamane), the guest houses (poi nom) had both men and women's sections.

Settlements varied in size, and both the number of occupants and the location of settlements were unstable over time. Several reasons existed for this instability: the subsistence mode, population imbalances and the growth and subsequent dispersal of kin groups, conflict and warfare, and personal preference.

The Gende practice a system of shifting horticulture. New gardens are made every year on new plots of ground. Old gardens are left in fallow for ten or more years. When new gardens became farther and farther away from the hamlet (and more difficult to defend) it was easier to build a new settlement. Houses made of bush materials deteriorate in a few years' time and must be regularly refurbished or rebuilt.

Distance from gardens was a factor in the composition of

settlements. Settlements were usually composed of a core group of males (directly descended from men who settled and first cleared land in the general locality of the hamlet) and their wives, sons, and unmarried daughters.

In the 1930's, a missionary, Father Aufenanger, estimated the population to be about 4000 people (Aufenanger 1940:25). He mapped 55 main settlement areas, but makes clear that there were many more smaller settlements. The largest settlements then were probably composed of no more than 70 men, women, and children, the same size as most small lines today.

Although the different segments of a clan were often located within easy walking distance of one another, larger clans such as Gegeru Clan were spread out over more territory. Gegeru settlements, among the largest at that time, were often composed of sub-lineages rather than whole lineages.

Over time, the growth of kin groups and the wide dispersal of related settlements led to the formation of new social units when jointly sponsored exchange events and cooperation among them became less frequent and rules of exogamy no longer applied. When a big line became very large by comparison with other such groups, it lost many of its functions. Its subunits were able to defend their own territories against minor encroachments by other clans, and rarely had to call upon their 'brothers' in other sections of the big line for help. There was also decreasing involvement in one another's exchange affairs. There was little need for distant 'brothers' to help buy wives for the sons of large lineages, and contributions came from only a few big men who wanted to keep the

ties between subunits operative. Small lines held their own pig feasts, inviting their particular set of mother's brothers and affines. Although the original links between units were not forgotten, over the years the intervening ones were, as distant 'brothers and sisters' became strangers and there was no longer a sense of incest to prevent marriages between them.

In Table 2.1, a group of villages and settlements located to the north of Yandera - Kindakebi, Mokinangi, Mondigi, Karamuke, Mangie, Onggomo, and Kindarupa - are populated by members of the former big line 'Gegeru'. The name Gegeru is still applied to persons from these villages and to their general territory. As late as the 1930's, the various segments of Gegeru - Kumaria, Koinarawa, Mikemo, and Moimonga - together formed an exogamous unit. Even then they were a numerically large clan. With the further expansion of population in recent years (over 1000 in population by 1982), and the lessening importance of past kinship links, marriages within Gegeru have negated its true 'big line' status.

The 'big line' Kanarawa, formerly named Boura, is also in the process of breaking up. From an original location closer to the Ramu plains, sections of Kanarawa have settled in the vicinity of affines in Bundi, Mendikara, Karasokara, and Emegari. The Kanarawa (Red Line) living in Yandera are now completely absorbed into Tundega clan. Members of Tunde-kanarawa have married Kanarawa in other villages. Although it is remembered that they have a brother-brother relationship to other Kanarawa lines, a cognatic link with Bamdinarawa (the other small line of Tundega) is used to validate their Tundega membership.

**Table 2.1** Gende villages and local kin groups.

<u>Village</u>	<u>Former Big Line</u>	<u>Big Line</u>	<u>Small Line</u>
		Mendi	Yamiyakarali
Mendikara		▪	Bindogunarawa
	Boura	Kanarawa	Mendikanarawa
		Karasoko	Karasokende
		▪	Niyandalo
Karasokara		▪	Karasokamikemo
	Boura	Kanarawa	Karasokanarawa
	Tigina	Yandima	Dengerunarawa
	▪	▪	Iwungunarawa
	▪	▪	Megunarawa
	▪	▪	Kunumakeme
Yandera	▪	▪	Kumbrumbanginarawa
	Wakerai	Tundega	Bamdinarawa
	Boura	▪	Kanarawa
		Kumar ia	
Kindakebi	Gegeru	Koinarawa	
		Mikemo	
Mokinanqi	Gegeru	Moimonga	
Mondiqi	Gegeru	Kumar ia	
Karamuke	Gegeru	Kumar ia	
Mangie	Gegeru	Kumar ia	
Onqqomo	Gegeru	Moimonga	
Kindarupa	Gegeru	Koinarawa	
		Tiri	
Marum		Koroma	

Table 2.1 Gende villages and local kin groups (cont.)

<u>Village</u>	<u>Former Big Line</u>	<u>Big Line</u>	<u>Small Line</u>
<u>Bau i</u>		<u>Wakerai</u>	
	<u>Wakerai</u>	<u>Tundega*</u>	<u>Bamdinarawa*</u>
<u>Erikabi</u>		<u>Tigina</u>	
	<u>Tigina</u>	<u>Yandima*</u>	<u>Dengerunarawa</u>
			<u>Iwungunarawa</u>
<u>Boqai</u>		<u>Duakainarawa</u>	
<u>Emegari</u>		<u>Emegari</u>	<u>Koinarawa</u>
		▪	<u>Kurunakauwa</u>
		<u>Duakainarawa</u>	
		<u>Karasoko</u>	<u>Izomo</u>
		▪	<u>Karasokende</u>
		▪	<u>Niyandalo</u>
	<u>Boura</u>	<u>Kanarawa</u>	<u>Karasokanarawa</u>
<u>Orobomorai</u>		<u>Emegari</u>	<u>Koinarawa</u>
<u>Pisingam</u>	<u>Boura</u>	<u>Kanarawa</u>	<u>Karasokanarawa</u>

\*Members of Yandima and Tundega clans who have since migrated back to original homelands.

When Bamdinarawa broke away from the Wakerai (also living closer to the Ramu) and moved to their present location, they were known as Gemnanganarawa or 'Black Line'. Kanarawa ('Red Line') and Gemnanganarawa exchanged many wives. That section of Kanarawa which is now a part of Tundega clan alleges their descent from Poroi Kabizhi (the founder of Tundega clan) through a marriage with a Gemnanganarawa woman. Although the principle of descent is patrilineal, cognatic ties are sometimes utilized to gain access to land in the wife's clan (see my discussion of MB/F competition over children in Chapter One). Tundega, even now, is not a particularly large clan relative to Gegeru and Kanarawa. By admitting some Kanarawa and their descendents as members of Tundega, the clan increased its size.

A preoccupation of men was the defense of their land. Gardens were fenced and special bushes and trees were planted along boundaries as warning to others to keep away. These were reinforced by magic spells meant to bring serious illness or death to trespassers. Land holds a special significance: it is the source of life, vitality, and power in both a physical and social sense. Although the Gende's territory is large (about 360 square miles), arable land on easily cultivated slopes is in limited supply.

On arable land (ground which has 'gris' - a substance necessary to growth and good health) a woman can grow many sweet potatoes. Without good ground, a man cannot attract a wife and he will have no pigs and children. Such a man is a rubbish man or korumbuana. No one listens when he talks. He stands at the edge

of the crowd in large gatherings.

When young men went off in the night to court young girls in other settlements, the 'love' songs they sang to the girls told of the beauty and goodness of the suitor's homeland. One verse after another promised that if the girls followed the boys they would see a land where wild and domesticated plants were plentiful, a land of beautiful wildflowers and birds. Each verse named a river, mountain, or other feature of the landscape, and was like a guided tour or map of the walk from the girl's settlement to the boy's.

Men were also concerned to defend their wives and children. Wives were not always acquired by legitimate means. Stealing married and unmarried women and girls was not an uncommon offence. Although women were normally accompanied by their husbands when they were working in gardens far removed from the settlement, they were not always guarded. It also happened that a man and his sons would be murdered and his wife and daughters kidnapped in a raid on their isolated garden houses. Such acts called for immediate reprisal, the injured party receiving assistance from other men in the settlement who would make up a raiding party of their own to recapture the women and wreak havoc on the offenders, perhaps stealing some of their women in return, burning houses, destroying gardens, and, if a man has been killed in the first attack, murdering the culprit (or a substitute from his group) to restore the balance.

Prolonged hostilities between settlements sometimes led to major population displacements. One of the last major conflicts in the Gende area began some time before the first missionaries came



to the area in 1932. The conflict started between two main settlement areas whose territories bounded on one another - Karasokara and Yandera. Undoubtedly there was a history of tension between the two, but the conflict began prosaically enough.

Several young men of Karasokara were courting three young women in Yandera. It came to the young women's attention that their suitors had been laughing about them, telling others that the girls had had sexual relations with them, and that the girls couldn't wait to marry them and come live in a more prosperous place. At the same time, the parents and relatives of the boys were seething about the small amount of pork they had received from Yandikari (people living in Yandera) at a pig kill. The conflict erupted the next time the boys came to see the girls. The girls turned their backs to the boys, lifted their skirts, and shouted they would never marry the boys under any circumstances, that they would never get what they saw. Such an outrage shocked and insulted the already angry Karasokaras, who vowed to drive all Yandikari from their land forever. The Karasokara warriors did succeed in driving away most of the people from Yandera and moving onto their territory. Members of Tundega fled to their old homeland beyond Gegeru's territory. Most of Yandima fled to a wife's relatives in Chimbu or to their own homeland at Guiebi on the Ramu side of Gegeru's territory.

Later, Gegeru joined the conflict on the side of the Yandera clans. There had been many marriages between the two before and during the time the Yandera clans were in exile. It was to the advantage of both that the Yandikari regain their territory. Faced with the numerical superiority of Gegeru alone, the Karasokaras

enlisted the aid of the Emegaris to the east of Gegeru. Though still outnumbered, Emegari and Karasokara warriors fought fiercely. Although Yandikari began returning to their land around the time the missionaries started coming, sporadic fighting continued for many years. Very few wives in the older generation of Yandera today come from either Karasokara or Emegari. It was only after W.W.II and the influence of the mission and government in the region that the fighting ended. Even today, however, repercussions from the time of warfare are still to be observed, particularly since older men and women keep alive the memory of the unavenged deaths of brothers and fathers who were killed in the last stages of warfare.

For members of Tundega, a major problem of the conflict was land. Persons whose land was closest to Karasokara were never able to regain all of it when they came back from exile. Thus, there was less land to pass on to sons. As a result, at least some of the marriages which took place between Yandima and Tundega near the end of the hostilities were made with an eye toward gaining access (through wives) to some of the Yandimas' more plentiful land.

### Gardens

Although the smaller settlements of yesterday have moved together into larger and more permanent villages of 300 or more people, gardening goes on in much the same way as it always has. Since gardening is still the basis of subsistence and families must be close to their gardens, most families have two residences - one

his mother. For awhile he bragged about how hard he had been working, then he averted his eyes and said, "Now, I need a woman to help plant it." The girl was embarrassed yet pleased. It seemed the young man had made an overture. Later, the girl confirmed my suspicion, but denied any interest in the young man.

Other work units result as parents age and sons assist them in clearing gardens or when spouses die and a man or woman relies on a sister or a brother-in-law to help them. Occasionally, a communal effort will be undertaken. At one I attended, eight women spent a day planting a large sweet potato garden prepared by an older woman and two of her sons. The rainy season had begun and it was urgent to finish the work. While the women were out planting, the old woman, her daughter-in-law, and several other women, peeled and scraped food that was then cooked in an earth oven constructed by the women's husbands. When the women returned they sat in a circle and ate their food, drank tea, and smoked hand-rolled cigarettes. Their husbands and children were fed later with the remains of the feast.

New gardens must be made every year. A garden is never made on the same spot two years in a row. Ideally, a piece of ground is left fallow at least ten years, and preferably longer. By that time the plot is overgrown with plants and trees and is once again fertile, or full of 'gris'. Since a man may clear the same plot of ground at most two or three times in his lifetime, he needs access to a considerable amount of ground to ensure that he and his wife will have gardens large and productive enough to feed their family and pigs.

In the village and one in the center of their garden lands which may be two or three hours walk from the village. Most of these bush houses are as large as village houses. Individual families spend long periods of time away from the village, particularly when new gardens are being cleared and planted.

Some families don't own houses in the village and come in only on special occasions when they stay in a communal house (nom tamane) belonging to close kin. Likewise, a few families don't have individual bush houses but share a larger structure built like a nom tamane. Over time one or more smaller houses may be built near the larger bush house creating a mini-bush settlement, most often composed of a father and his sons, or a group of brothers. A woman who has several widely-spaced garden plots may have a small hut (large enough for her, her young children, and her pigs) in each location, since she may wish to spend several days at a time working in a particular garden, or need shelter from heavy rains.

Making gardens is normally the work of a married couple. As children mature, however, they are expected to assist their parents in the gardens. Sons of marriageable age clear gardens so their mothers can raise more pigs for brideprice payments. Young women who don't help their mothers in the gardens risk attracting a lower brideprice.

Gardens are so associated with the male-female union that talking about gardening activities often has sexual connotations. A girl and I were washing clothes in the river one day when we were joined by a young man who wished to bathe. He had been out in the bush for a week cutting down the forest to make a new garden for

Garden land belongs to individuals. Although people identify certain areas of land as belonging to a particular clan, it is only in the sense that it has been commonly defended against rivals in the past, and that individuals within a clan, because of their interdependence, are more likely to have the use of the land through direct inheritance, sharing, or transferral of rights and obligations.

In the normal course of events, a man shows ground to his sons when they are about ten or eleven years old, telling them "This is yours when you marry". When a woman is newly married, her father-in-law has the honor of showing her ground on which she will make her first gardens as a wife. Ground tends to remain in the same line for generations. When there are many sons, they may be shown ground by their father's brothers or other men in the clan.

When a boy is shown land by someone other than his natural father he is expected to become more like a 'son' to the other person. Even when sufficient ground is available, men other than one's own father may offer choice pieces of land as a way of creating a closer relationship with a particular boy or young man.

Land may be taken from a family against its will. If, for example, at the death of the owner, another clan member kills a pig and gives it to the widow and her children, the donor can use the deceased's ground. Should the children of the original owner wish to retrieve the land, they must reciprocate the donor's payment. It is felt that the new owner has an obligation to allow the original owner's children chance to regain their father's land when they reach maturity. Years can go by, however, and disputes arise

over such transfers.

The work of fencing and clearing new gardens begins in April or May at the end of the rainy season. To make a fence a man first sets up forked posts at intervals and then places long cross poles between the forks. Other sticks are jammed into the ground along the line of the fence. These sticks are then fastened to the posts and cross poles with vines. Sometimes, today, tinned cans are used by wedging them upside down on top of bunches of these sticks to further secure them.

The main purpose of fencing is to protect gardens from marauding pigs. Although pigs are led about with a rope tethered to one of their front legs, which is then fastened to a tree trunk when they are put out in the bush or an old garden to root for worms, they sometimes break lose and can create havoc in a garden. Many gardens, however, are unfenced or carelessly enclosed, and there are always disputes over trespassing pigs. On steep slopes, fences also serve to protect gardens from small mudslides.

When the new garden areas are fenced and the heavier rains are over, men begin chopping down most of the trees. After this is completed, men and women clear away the logs and undergrowth, stacking them in heaps to be dried by the sun. When the rubbish is dry, or nearly so, it is burned. The fire spreads across the garden burning away the remaining weeds and undergrowth. The light of these fires at night or smoke plumes during the day inform people of the location and activities of other villagers.

After the burning is over and the unburnt tree stumps and refuse cleared away, the planting can begin. First, however, both

men and women use special garden magic to prepare the ground and protect and increase its supply of 'gris'. Men's magic is also directed towards keeping pigs and thieves away from the garden. Women use magic words as they plant each tuber in order that the sweet potatoes grow quickly and plentifully.

Magical formulae and practices are the property of the individual. Some are old, having been passed on or sold from one person to another. Most, however, are used by only one person during their lifetime. In the group planting effort already described, the old woman had spoken growing magic into the sweet potatoes to be planted in her garden before the other women began the planting.

Because of the greater size and quality of their sweet potatoes, some women are asked to speak over other's gardens. Such women may do so as a favor or may receive a gift or money for doing so. Magical formulae are not often disclosed to others because it is felt their power works best for their owners.

Using one's magic on other's gardens can result in trouble, however. If a woman is known to be a powerful magician - evidenced by the condition of her gardens - other women may feel fear and envy towards her. They may even feel that she is using her magic against them, causing their plants to shrivel and die. One woman in Yandera, who is often asked to use her magic on other's gardens, has on occasion been accused of being an ana kumo (female sorcerer) by several women whom she has not helped.

One moonlit night, she was seen walking from the direction of another woman's garden. When the garden's mistress was informed, a

screaming match erupted as accusations and insults were shouted from one house to the other (a considerable distance apart). This went on late into the night. Voices of other persons - some distant, some nearby - could be heard adding their opinion or telling the women to be quiet and to argue about it in the morning.

Planting in the gardens is the work of women, who use digging sticks and store-bought spades to loosen and scrape the soil in small areas into mounds. The mounds are spaced about one meter apart. As each mound is ready, a woman takes several sweet potatoes kept from the previous year's garden and shoves the digging stick deep into the center of the mound to make a hole in which to plant them.

While sweet potatoes (*Ipomea patatas*) and several varieties of taro make up the bulk of cultivated foods, other plants are grown nearby or in scattered mixed gardens. Such gardens may include yams, leaf mustard and other greens, beans, and more recently introduced vegetables such as onions, pumpkins, cucumbers, corn, lima beans, and tomatoes. Bananas, bamboo, pitpit, and sugar cane are planted separately by the men.

The work of clearing, burning, and planting may go on throughout the dry season and into the beginning of the rainy season in November and December for families with many dependents. If it is necessary, additional new gardens will be cleared in virgin forest or very old 'bush'. The weeding of gardens is done by both men and women several times during the rainy season.

Harvesting the garden is generally the work of women. At the first harvest of the year's sweet potato crop, a woman fills big



bags of sweet potatoes to bring back to the village to be cooked for all her husband's close relatives. Sometimes these 'first fruits' feasts are held out in the garden settlements. If so, those who should be invited (i.e. husband's parents, friends, and others who maintain close relations of exchange and support with the woman and her husband) are sent word that the woman is harvesting her crop, and that they should come quickly to help in the cooking. Other vegetables which come to maturity earlier in the rainy season are shared this way also. After the harvest feasts, each family harvests their sweet potatoes as necessary for their own consumption and to feed their pigs.

### Pigs

The only domesticated animals raised by the Gende are pigs, dogs, cassowaries, and a few chickens. Little effort goes into raising chickens, a recent introduction, or cassowaries, however, and dogs are kept mainly for hunting and watchdogs. Dogs also serve a useful function in keeping the village area clean of scraps of food and refuse. In the past, dog's teeth headbands were a valuable item of exchange and ceremonial adornment.

Each day begins with the squeals and grunts of hungry pigs. Pigs often sleep in the same house as their owners. Along with cooking breakfast for their families, women must rise early to feed the pigs and lead them outside to grub for worms. Pigs are fed raw sweet potatoes, cut into small pieces so they won't choke. In the evening, they are fed more sweet potatoes as well as scraps of taro, greens, or pumpkins.

Pigs are the major valuable of exchange among the Gende. As

such, their owners are concerned that they grow quickly. They are also concerned that pigs grow fat, since pigs which have a lot of fat or 'gris' are more valuable than pigs that are lean and tough (and mostly meat). Various pig medicines, magic practices, and dietary regimens are used to make pigs grow fat in a hurry.

One of the most interesting is mondono, a local white powdery substance used as a dietary supplement for pigs. Mondono is mixed with sweet potatoes that are fed to pigs. The only source of Mondono is a hole in a garden belonging to Tundega clan in Yandera, where the ground long ago opened up during an earthquake (mondono). A vein of white clay was revealed in the hole, and pigs which ate the powder were seen to grow big quickly. People began giving Mondono to their own pigs, and began trading it to their exchange partners in other settlements and among the Chimbu (cf. Hughes 1977: 112-114).

Women worry about their pigs, taking great care that they do not become sick or come to grief in any way. They are careful to get pigs inside out of the rain as quickly as possible so that the pigs don't catch a chill. On rainy afternoons, I would stand in my open doorway and watch women hurrying home, hunched over against the rain with their pigs trotting along behind.

One cold and wet afternoon, a friend could not find one of her pigs. It had gotten loose from its tether and wandered off. As darkness fell and the rain continued, she and her husband came to my house and borrowed my umbrella and flashlight. They spent most of the night searching for the pig, worried that it would die from cold or drown in the river which was running high. Later it was

learned that the pig had roamed far afield, going as far as another woman's garden site. The other woman, forced by the rain to spend the night in her garden house, found the pig rooting in her gardens and brought him inside with her own pigs. Once inside a shelter, women will build a fire to heat both themselves, their children, and the chilled pigs. Some women even cover their pigs with old blankets at night to ensure that they not catch cold.

The ownership of a pig is identified by markings on the pig such as notches on the ear or a distinctive coloration or physical anomaly of the pig itself. Most pigs are further individualized by being given a name of their own. Some names are inspired by a personal trait of the pig such as 'loner', 'runaround', 'rascal', or 'greedy for food', while others are named after persons or places.

Although men talk about 'my pigs', they also refer to specific pigs as 'Rosa's pig' or 'Antonia's pig'. Since a woman bears the brunt of feeding and caring for pigs, they are closely identified with her and she always stands beside them when they are about to be given away or killed. Particular pigs, however, may have many 'owners'. A husband has rights based on the labor he bestows in the preparation of gardens to feed the pigs. Members of his clan who gave land to him and his wife, and contributed to his wife's brideprice also have claims on the wife's production (e.g. pigs). Women, however, eventually become 'sole' owners of their pigs, after they have repaid their brideprice (tupoi) and other debts.

In one divorce case, a childless wife who had been married for almost twenty years, left her husband for another man, taking her pigs with her. Although the husband accused her of stealing his

property, a village 'court' determined that since the wife's debts and obligations to her husband and his clan had long since been fulfilled, it would be sufficient if the wife returned only one of the pigs to her husband for his help in making gardens.

On the average, women look after two or three pigs. Some of the more industrious women or women who have no children to raise, may look after as many as four or five pigs. Women who want to raise even more pigs, will put them under the care of custodians - people who have large sweet potato gardens, old women whose children are grown, and sometimes relatives in the other villages. Custodians receive some of the pork when the pigs are killed, or some other compensation for their labor. Prior to the pig feast (poi nomu) at Yandera, at which close to 300 pigs were killed over a month's time, the village pig population swelled dramatically as pigs under the care of custodians were brought in to be killed.

A woman wishing to increase her pig herd can do so by purchasing a piglet from another woman or breeding her own sow. Although most boars are castrated when young, a few are left uncastrated long enough to impregnate female pigs (pigs are not left to run wild since gardens are no longer fenced as carefully as they once were). If a woman has no uncastrated boars in her pig herd, she may purchase the services of another woman's boar by paying cash or giving the boar's owner the pick of the sow's litter. Should a boar escape his tether and go roaming in search of female pigs, any litters which result are the good fortune of the owner of the sow and no compensation is given to the boar's owner.

### People, place, and pigs

The social aspect of the land is summed up in the pidgin phrases papa bilong graun (father of the ground) or papamama bilong graun (parents of the ground). The fathers and mothers of the land are those who have founded, cleared, defended, and maintained the land. They are the ones who have put their labor and personal magic into the ground, imbuing it with personal 'gris' (fertility), protecting it and making it 'good' for their descendents.

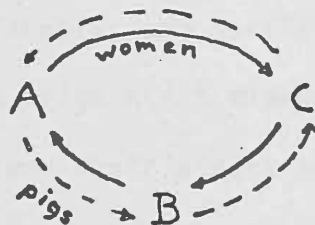
Succeeding generations who wish to take over the custodianship of the land must pay tribute to those who preceded them. Using the land, parents have given life to their children and turned them into men and women. In turn, children must give support to their parents, the current owners of the land, who will use the wealth children give them to remove claims against the land and satisfy the spirits of past fathers and mothers of the land that they and their children have a right to remain on the land.

Ideally, by the time a child is born, a 'place' is already being prepared to receive him (or her). The child's father and members of his lineage or clan will have paid brideprice for the child's mother and are looking after pigs for the childwealth payment. When a boy is about ten years old, he will be shown land and initiated into the responsibilities of manhood and his obligations to his place and the people who live there. When he marries, he and his wife will complete the process of affiliation, laboring many years to pay back the brideprice which the husband's clan paid for her (tupoi), to sponsor or contribute to death payment cere-

monies (kwiagi) in honor of the husband's parents (both biological and extended), and to perpetuate the husband's clan through the birth and upbringing of more children. Daughters, on the other hand, leave home and marry men in other places. They must not, however, forget their own place or the sustenance and nurture they have received from it, but must work hard and raise many pigs, some of which will be sent back to strengthen her place and enable others (her brothers) to maintain it and keep it alive.

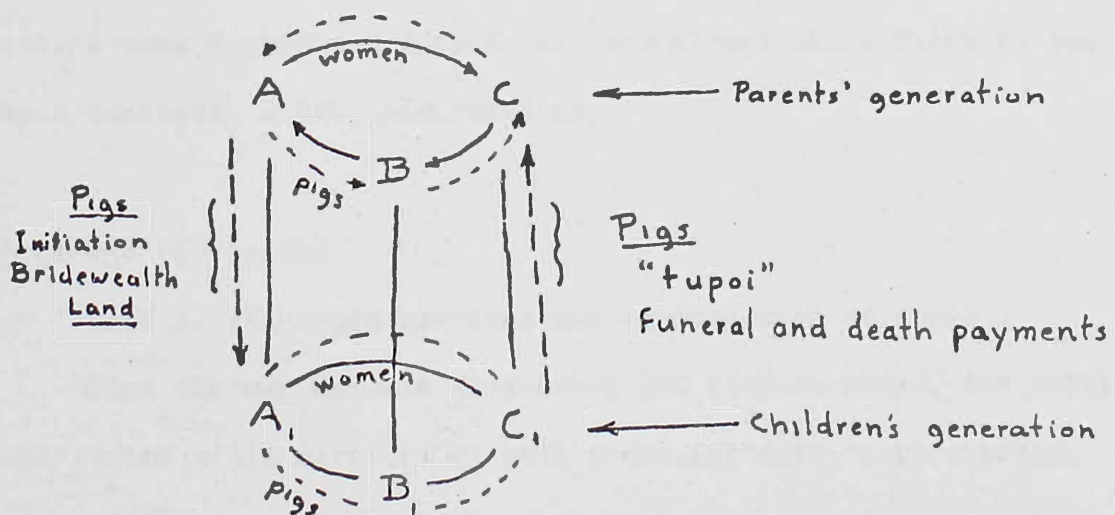
If one constructs an ideal model of Gende society, at its core would be the exchange of women (and their children) with pigs flowing in the opposite direction to that of women.

Diagram 2.1 Synchronic flow of women and pigs.



Incorporating the element of time and the parent-child relationship, the model would look like this:

Diagram 2.2 Diachronic flow of women and pigs.



When a balanced flow of women and pigs is maintained between clans, sons remain on the land of their fathers. Referring to the model, a man (A1) might use pigs coming from his sister's marriage to a man in clan C (C1) along with other pigs donated by his parents (A) to pay brideprice for his wife (B1). He and his wife then raise pigs to make tupoi to his parents (A) and fulfill childwealth obligations to the wife's brother and father in clan B. The man's sister and her husband (C1) would be similarly involved in production and exchange.

However, for such a balance to be maintained, there can be no population imbalances between clans, no differences in personal ambition and industry, no untimely accidents or sickness, and every clan must have arable land sufficient for its needs. In real life, many situations arise which disrupt the flow of women and pigs and cause men to leave their places and for married women to remain on the land of their fathers.

When such disruptions occur, men refer to the place they are forced to leave as a 'bad' place (P.E. ples noqut). Bad places are places where there is no longer enough land or the land has lost its 'gris', places where the relationships individuals have with others have soured and turned bad, and places where there is too much sickness, death, and conflict.

#### Good and bad places

Case 1. Unavenged warriors and gardens with no 'gris'.

When the war between Karasokara and Yandera ended, the unhappy spirits of slain warriors on both sides remained to be avenged.

Having died in defense of the land, the spirit of a dead warrior brought sickness and misfortune to members of his own group until his murderer was killed and/or pigs sacrificed and given to his mother's brothers and others who would be effected by his death.

Since by that time (post contact) it was a crime to exact revenge by payback killing, compensation (in the form of pigs and other valuables), given by the murderer or his group to close male relatives of a dead warrior, became a common means of satisfying angry spirits. When compensation was not forthcoming, killing sorcery and sorcery directed at ruining the gardens of the killer and his clan were resorted to.

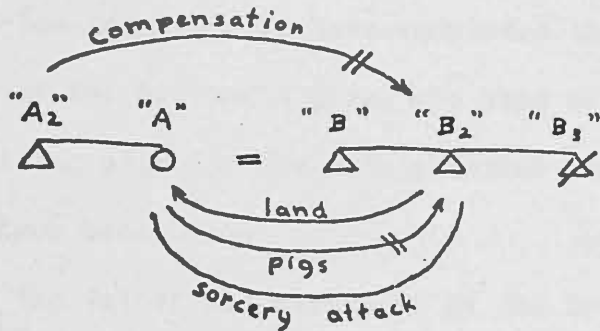
As was often the case, compensation can be exacted from someone other than the killer. After the war between Karasokara and Yandera, some of the men from Yandera married women from Karasokara. One woman (A), whose husband (B) has insufficient ground to distribute among his several wives, was shown land belonging to one of her husband's brothers (B2). During the war, a younger brother of this man (B3) was killed by one of the woman's brothers (A2). In giving "A" land to make gardens on, her husband's brother (B2) expected that at least one of the pigs she raised would be given him in compensation for his brother's (B3's) death.

In recent years this woman (A) has had a succession of poor harvests from her gardens in Yandera. This fact has been attributed to the anger of the unavenged brother and to sorcery directed at the woman's gardens by her husband's brother. Until she makes compensation, Yandera is a pies noqut for the woman. Her



gardens dry up and her personal magic is ineffective. Already, most of her pigs are being fed from her mother's gardens in Karasokara. The woman's husband, who has many exchange commitments, so far refuses to allocate one of her pigs towards the resolution of the trouble. The woman has threatened to leave Yandera and return to Karasokara where the land will be 'better' to her.

Diagram 2.3 Conflict over unavenged death.



Case 2. A good place.

While Yandera is a bad place for the woman in Case 1, it is a good place for one of her 'sisters' from Karasokara. This sister was able to 'avenge' the death of a brother, sending some of the many pigs she has raised in Yandera back to her clan as compensation for her brother's death.

When members of her clan showed their 'appreciation' by giving her money and gifts during a pig kill (poi nomu) in Yandera, she was moved to say that "When I came to Yandera as a new bride, I thought I was coming to a bad place, a place of grass where I would have a difficult time making big gardens and raising many fine pigs. Many times I thought of running away from my husband. But I was wrong. Yandera is a good place and its ground is 'full of gris'."

### Case 3. A place with no people.

Some places are in danger of becoming bad because they have no sons to look after the land. In this case, a man with five daughters and no sons has shown his land to his daughters to make gardens on. Several of his daughters' husbands do not have access to sufficient ground in their own places so they and their wives now make gardens almost entirely on the women's father's land. One son-in-law and his wife have completed their tupoi obligation to members of the husband's group who paid brideprice for her, and are now raising pigs for the wife's father as the 'owner' of the land they have been using.

While the father has used some of the brideprices received for his daughters to create closer relationships with several of his brothers' sons (e.g. buying brides for them and contributing to their childwealth payments), as a leader of a clan which is decreasing in number, he is highly motivated to bring in more 'sons' from outside his group in order to maintain the balance of exchange payments between his group and others.

### Summary

Fathers need sons (and their wives) to hold funeral (gou) and mortuary rituals kwiagi for them, to pay off debts to mother's brothers and wife's brothers for all the labor and wealth they and their sisters have invested in them, their children, and their land. Furthermore, there are the ongoing reciprocal demands of poi nomu (pork) partners, obligations contracted at some earlier time. Without daughters-in-law to raise pigs and repay the investment (tupoi) they have made in their sons' marriages, fathers-in-law

have few pigs to kill at poi nomu.

When the men and women of a place stand in the middle of their settlement at a poi nomu, they are surrounded by the living memory and presence of past mothers and fathers of the place. Their turn has come to validate their right to be associated with a place. If they fail to pay their debts and keep up with reciprocal obligations, bringing shame to their place, the ancestors will be angry and withdraw their support from the living. Other men and women will reject them from the land, as was the case when angry exchange partners from Karasokara drove the Yandikari away from their place, and take their place as the fathers and mothers of the land.

## CHAPTER THREE: GAME MOVES - EXCHANGE, SOCIETY, AND THE INDIVIDUAL

"The definition of society in Melanesia is not easy."

(Sillitoe 1979:24)

### Introduction

Gende society is organized on the basis of exchange and not kinship or some other social mechanism for establishing cooperation and order among individuals. Although the Gende are divided among a number of named 'patrilineal' groups which occupy specific territories, individuals are under no set obligation to a particular group, and it is only through the process of exchange that they become affiliated with a group, gain rights to land, and achieve status and authority. Insofar as kinship operates as an organizing principle among the Gende, it is more an idiom for creating and expressing exchange relationships of various sorts than a genealogical charter of rights and obligations among a set of biologically related individuals.

What structure there is to Gende society is the result of an elaborate system of exchange. At its core are all those exchanges pertinent to successive stages in the life cycle and social development of the individual. Each stage is marked by the exchange of wealth (most notably pigs) and other material goods or services. As conceived by the Gende, this process of exchange carries the individual from a state of potential being through states of becoming human (wana tizhi), being human (wana minanua), becoming an ancestor (poroi tizhi), and being an ancestral spirit (poroi

minanua).

Throughout life, but particularly in the earlier and later stages, an individual needs others to invest wealth in him (or her). When an individual reaches maturity, he begins to reciprocate the assistance of parents and others who have helped him through the earlier stages of childhood and marriage, by in turn helping them make the transition from living persons to benevolent ancestors. This interdependence is an important force for creating order in Gende society, obliging individuals to cooperate with one another.

The various forms cooperation takes are expressed in certain kin categories: grandparents, fathers, mothers, sons, daughters, brothers, sisters, husbands, wives, mother's brothers, and so on. Table 3.1 is a list of kin terms used by the Gende to refer to members of their own clan (including women married into the clan):

Table 3.1 Kin terms used within the clan.

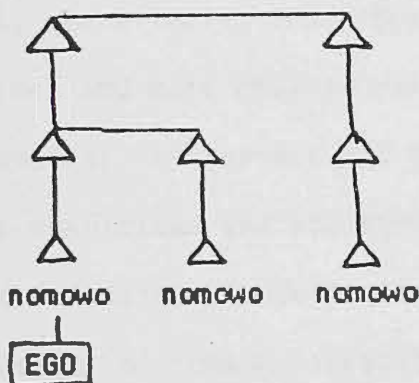
<u>Kin term</u>	<u>Kin types</u>	<u>Kin term</u>	<u>Kin types</u>
Nomowo	Fa, FaYoBr	Movone	So, E1BrSo (m)
Niyowo	Mo, FaYoBrWi	Orune	Da, E1BrDa (m)
Nizawo	Br, FaBrSo (f)	Nizawo	Si, FaBrDa (m)
Aiyane	E1Br	Nugunawo	YoBr, E1BrSo (f)
Apone	E1Si, FaYoSi	Orunugunawo	YoSi, E1BrDa (f)
Waune	FaFa, FaE1Br	Nanuwawo	SoSo, YoBrSo
Bowane	FaMo, FaE1Si, FaE1BrWi	Nonovoro	SoDa, YoBrDa, SoWi, YoBrWi

(m)=male speaker

(f)=female speaker

The above terms are generally extended to all members of a clan. For example, any men whom one's father calls nugunawo ('younger brother') may be referred to as nomowo ('father'). In Diagram 3.1, Ego uses the term for 'father' (nomowo) to refer to his own father, his father's father's brother's son, and his father's father's father's brother's son's son:

Diagram 3.1 Extension of kin terms.



The important point about the Gende's use of kin terms, however, is that whichever term is chosen to refer to a particular individual depends more on the nature of the exchange relationship which exists between the speaker and the referent (or between the speaker's parents and the referent) than on genealogical relatedness or a strict adherence to the classification given in Table 3.1 above [1]. Who actually enacts these culturally defined social roles vis a vis another individual, whether or not that individual is a member of one's clan, is a matter of contingency and preference.

[1] See Appendix 1. for a more complete list of Gende kin terms.

Reflecting the use the Gende make of biological relatedness as a metaphor for close relationships, more inclusive categories of relatedness such as narawa nambaio ('big lines') are modelled on a belief that members share a common substance or 'one blood' which is perpetuated in a line of descent. Real narawa nambaio, however, include persons who have no direct biological link, but who are acting appropriately or as if they do.

By giving the individual primacy over the system of kinship ties and roles, and allowing individuals the freedom to govern their own actions and make choices which will best suit their needs, Gende society is flexible and highly adaptive to variations in demographic conditions and ecological pressures. 'Kin' groups are formed and maintained by collections of individuals who cooperate by reason of common necessity and mutual benefits. Groups are essential units in feast-giving, ritual and the defense of territory. Within them, land is transferred from one individual to another, and members support each other in numerous ways. Only so long, however, as he receives satisfaction from his participation in group affairs and sees some return on his investments in other members of the group, will an individual continue to associate with a group and interact with its members.

What keeps this individualism within bounds, and prevents it from tearing apart the fabric of social life, is the positive value the Gende place on 'giving'. The act of giving brings a measure of good will and prestige to the giver. This, in addition to mutual interdependence generated by the exchange system and beliefs about sorcery and the power of the ancestors to harm them should they not

make suitable 'sacrifices', is an incentive for the individual to direct his energies into supporting the interests of others, thereby enhancing his own reputation and building a fund of obligation to himself. Competition and individual self-interest are channelled into 'giving more than one receives'.

A focus on 'giving' is adaptive in a society built upon exchange, a society in which disruptions to the flow of wealth are injurious to the individual, to relations between individuals, and ultimately, to the group and relations between groups. Compelled to give, individuals are motivated to maintain high levels of production and to manage their relations with others in such a way that there is a continual flow of wealth passing through their hands and that the balance is more on the side of giving than receiving.

While each individual is free to manage their exchange relationships as they see fit, some are better 'managers' than others. Such managers are always ready to contribute pigs at important junctures in the lives of others, and are the first to see that inter-group relations remain amicable (or at least neutral) through the ongoing exchange of wealth. They are also the focal points around which new groups form and old ones are given new life. Through the process of obligating others to himself and inspiring respect for his managerial talents, a manager attracts others (wives, 'brothers', 'children', etc.) who become his 'partners' in group competitions and the management of group affairs.

Opposition comes from managers of equal stature in other



groups and from within the ranks of 'partners'. To the extent that each individual wishes to give more than they receive, all partners are opponents to the 'generosity' of managers. However, as managers age and their productivity decreases or they begin to take too much from their partners in order to meet the demands of opponents, there are always up and coming managers ready to take over and care for disaffected partners. This places limitations upon the power and scope of managers, forced as they are to balance their exchanges against the challenges from within and without.

Thus, through the mechanism of exchange, the Gende balance opposition and competition with cooperation and mutual investment. Through the process of giving and receiving, individuals continually recreate the society which gives birth to them. This process begins and ends with the birth of children: the ancestor's children, the ancestors of generations to come.

#### Poroi tizhi 'Becoming an ancestor'

As mentioned earlier, the structure of Gende society is modelled on an idiom of patrilineal descent, and social groupings of varying size and inclusiveness are all known as narawa ('rope' or 'line'). The smallest narawa are composed of individual men, their sons and daughters, and their sons' children. Other narawa kenqua ('small lines') include the families of two or more men who may be brothers or the sons of a set of brothers (some of whom may still be living). The largest narawa kenqua, numbering as many as one hundred or more living members, may include families whose genealogical relationship to one another can be traced back five or

six generations or is based on an acknowledged link with a more remote but common male ancestor or ancestors. Most male members of a narawa Kenqua reside in the same general location and together form the first and most common unit of defense and mutual support in ceremonial exchange and relations with outsiders. Since relations between members are often close, marriage within the narawa Kenqua is strictly forbidden.

The largest grouping of any political significance is the narawa nambaio ('big line'). These larger social units are composed of two or more narawa Kenqua whose relationship to each other is one of 'brothers', although in a few cases the original link between two narawa Kenqua was through a sister of one of them, whose children and their descendents combined with her and her brother's narawa to form a narawa nambaio. For all narawa nambaio there are origin myths which refer to even more distant agnatic ancestors, common to the constituent units of a 'big line'.

As with narawa Kenqua, members of a narawa nambaio may join together to defend their land, hold male initiation ceremonies, and contribute to bridewealth payments. Major exchange events such as poi nomu are almost always staged by narawa nambaio, and are arenas where alliances between 'big lines' are forged or conflicts between them exacerbated or resolved. In general, narawa nambaio are exogamous units. However, as I have already described in Chapter Two, when the segments of a 'big line' grow large and they rarely function as a unit of exchange and cooperation, marriages between narawa Kenqua mark the breakup of old narawa nambaio and the formation of new ones. When the breakup is friendly, the

former members of a narawa nambaio may continue to be known by their old name in certain contexts, particularly if they are allies in major warfare. Indeed, marriages between the narawa kenqua of an overgrown narawa nambaio are one way of reestablishing a degree of closeness and involvement between the various members.

At the highest level of inclusion, all Gende are considered to be members of one line - Gendenarawa - by virtue of their descent from a common ancestor - Mogaomoi. However, aside from their belief in a common origin, and the fact that the Gende share a common language (Gendeka), territory, and set of customs, they have not acted as a group nor been organized beyond the level of shifting alliances of narawa nambaio until very recently with the introduction of a local government council and elected representatives in the national government.

Gende society can be portrayed best as a number of egalitarian and semi-autonomous narawa whose spheres of interaction or social universes overlap. Every narawa "has its own social universe which consists of all those settlements in which its members have social relations" (Sillitoe 1979:28), including relationships with non-Gende persons. While the majority of individuals do not have extensive relations in more than two or three narawa, some men's personal networks include members of every narawa nambaio and many smaller narawa. Overlapping networks and a greater density of exchange within Gende society than without are what holds it together and preserves its character as a separate entity.

In spite of an idiom of patrilineal descent, biological reproduction is only one part of the process of recruitment among Gende

narawa. While it may be taken for granted in some societies that children born into a group are members, among the Gende the process of recruiting individual members goes on well into their maturity, and even then is never entirely certain. This process overlaps and at times is identical with the socialization and nurture of children and young adults.

That the process of recruitment is lengthy and the outcome uncertain has to do with competition among Gende narawa for members, beliefs about human development, the interdependency and mutual vulnerability of ancestors and children, and the rights of the individual to seek beneficial associations with others.

Throughout a child's development, persons in the mother's narawa, in addition to the father's, take an active interest in the child, an interest which is formalized in an elaborate system of exchange between the two [2]. The child becomes a member of his father's narawa only after the claims of the mother's narawa for their contribution to the child's development are satisfied, and the father's narawa has proven its ability to care for new members.

From the point of view of the Gende, narawa need both children and ancestors in order to reproduce themselves. Ancestors look out for the interests of descendents so long as they ensure the happiness of the ancestors by making the appropriate sacrifices (e.g. exchanges of pork). When ancestors are unhappy they are

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[2] The picture can become more complex since a father's sister and her husband may take an interest in a child, as may other narawa.

dangerous to living children, stealing them away from their parents and eating their souls in place of pig's souls. On the other hand, being the 'mother' or 'father' of many 'children' is an essential part of becoming an honored ancestor and making a big name for oneself and one's narawa. Without children, the old have no one to care for them, to see that they receive a proper burial, and to sacrifice many pigs for them to 'eat'.

The Gende recognize a number of stages in the life cycle of the individual. From the point of view of the group and its reproduction over time, however, these stages can be (and often are) grouped into two main stages - becoming human and becoming an ancestor - which roughly correspond with the first part of an individual's existence - when he receives more than he gives - and the more productive half of his life - when he gives more than he receives.

#### 'Wana tizhi' - becoming human

1. Poroma - 'the baby': When a baby begins to respond to those around him, it is said that he is 'becoming human'. A baby's first smile, laughter, and attempts to mimic the sounds and expressions of others are noted with pleasure and relief by all those who have an interest in the child: his mother and father, his grandparents, his mother's brother, his father's sister, and any others who have contributed to or will in some way benefit from the birth and well-being of the child.

Long before the child was conceived, his grandparents and

others prepared the way for the child to be born. His mother's relatives looked after her welfare during her childhood and invested wealth in her puberty rites, a period of isolation, training, and ceremony designed to protect the girl from jealous spirits, to ensure her health and fertility, and to instruct her in the duties and restrictions of a proper wife and mother. His father's relatives have given a large brideprice to his mother's relatives in recognition of the care they have given the mother and to ensure that the mother's relatives and narawa ancestors do not bring harm to any children born of the union.

The fruitfulness of the marriage and the growing awareness of the child are taken as signs that the marriage will last and that the child will grow into a responsible adult who will look after his elders and repay his debts to them. Barrenness or an inability to raise healthy children is a cause for divorce, especially among first wives. If a man sends his wife back to her father, her narawa will have to return the brideprice. This is felt to be particularly injurious to her brother(s) who may have used some or all of his sister's brideprice to obtain a wife of his own. To avoid such a situation, some women will adopt children or encourage their husband to marry a second wife by raising pigs for her brideprice.

When an infant is apathetic or sickly, every effort is made to discover a cause and, if possible, correct it. If the full brideprice hasn't been paid or one of the mother's relatives has not received as large a share of her brideprice as expected, it

may be that their anger is directed against the child. Causes are also sought in the behavior of the child's mother and father during the woman's pregnancy and after when the child is nursing.

In order to conceive a child, it is believed that a husband and wife must engage in frequent acts of sexual intercourse. Once the woman discovers that she is pregnant, however, all sexual activity between the parents must cease until after the child is weaned. The link between sexual intercourse and pregnancy is known, and having children too close together is considered unfair to the older child who is weaned too soon and does not grow as quickly as other children his age. The mauwari (taboo) against sexual intercourse is reinforced by beliefs about its weakening effects on men (see below).

During pregnancy, there are also a number of food taboos which must be observed by both the husband and wife. The main object of these taboos is to prevent the child from being born with a deformity or disability. The inability of a three year old girl to articulate words was blamed on her father who inadvertently ate eel meat at a feast in a distant village while her mother was pregnant. Only a special ritual performed by an old man with knowledge about such things and paid for by the father restored the child's ability to make proper speech sounds.

When the time is close for a woman to deliver her child, she may move out of the village to her garden house to await the baby's arrival. In part this is done to conserve the woman's energy. The woman can continue to work in the garden without making arduous

trips from village to garden every day. It is also done to protect the mother and unborn child from any jealousy or ill-will harbored against the child's parents. In one instance, a young mother stayed away from the village for five months after the birth of her child so that the anger of several villagers against her husband (in a conflict over unpaid compensation) would not be directed against her young son.

While today, some women go to the hospital at Bundi, normally, when a woman's contractions begin, she will move into a nom Kengua ('little house') or moveri nom ('child house'). These are usually little more than a flimsy hut or wind break and are constructed by the husband or the wife, with the help of several other women. After use, they are allowed to fall apart, a new one being built for each birth.

During the delivery, the woman is assisted by her mother or some other older woman and perhaps a sister or close friend. If labor is difficult or prolonged, a woman who is known to have special knowledge about such things is be called in to help speed the birth. One technique is to sprinkle cold water on the mother's stomach while chanting magical phrases. This is thought to make the child want to be born in a hurry.

In general it is forbidden for men to be inside the birth hut. This is more for their own sake than the woman or child's since contact with the woman's blood and the fluids of childbirth are considered to be a drain on a man's power and energy. While his wife is delivering the child, the husband may remain in the village



but is kept informed of progress. If there is no woman nearby when a woman goes into labor, concerned husbands and fathers-to-be will assist their wives to give birth.

After the baby is born, the mother informs the father of the child's sex. If it is a boy she says that she has found a bird (nakai), if it is a girl, that she has found a frog (tumua). It is believed that for several days after the birth that the baby is in a vulnerable condition and that it is unwise to draw the attention of evil spirits to the child by referring to it as a human child. It is also in an ambiguous state, because it is not readily apparent if one has given birth to a normal child or spirit child. As soon as it becomes apparent that the child is behaving normally and there are no signs to the contrary, the child may be referred to as mekevi Kenqua ('little boy') or erekevi Kenqua ('little girl'). For the first several months, however, both boys and girls may be referred to as kumburambo (a kind of bird).

Soon after the birth, the mother and father of the child give a small feast or kwie to celebrate the safe delivery of the child and to show their appreciation to the birth attendants and those men and women who have helped to bring this event to pass - i.e. those who contributed to the mother's brideprice and other close relatives who has helped the couple.

The meal always includes bananas (kwie ambara and kwie kendua) and a green vegetable, abica (P.E.), which is a rich source of iron. These foods have been taboo foods for the mother and father throughout the pregnancy. After the child's birth it is believed

that if the mother eats bananas it will make her milk and the child strong. If a woman fails to produce milk, her husband will also give her sugar cane to drink. Both bananas and sugar cane are tended and harvested solely by men and believed to possess 'stong' qualities.

The parents may also kill a pig and serve cooked pork to the guests at the kwie, particularly after the birth of a first child. This is taken as a sign that the couple is willing to begin paying back their debts to others and is a means of pleasing the ancestors (who eat the souls of the pigs) and preventing them from harming the young child.

Eating pork is believed to be efficacious in getting rid of or warding off illness or the anger and jealousy of others. Giving it to others to eat at critical times in their lives is a way of expressing cooperation and a lack of animosity. A brother may kill a pig at his sister's child's kwie, to show that he is happy about the child's birth and has no evil intentions towards the child or his parents. Such behavior is motivated by several considerations: concern for his sister's welfare, and a desire to maintain an amiable and ongoing exchange relationship between his own and his sister's husband's narawa. Giving pork to his sister to eat will help strengthen her and her child, making her milk 'strong' and causing the baby to grow quickly. And should the child die, there will be less chance that the mother's narawa will be blamed, a crucial consideration when there is any conflict between the two narawa.

Within the first year after its birth, the baby is given a name. Often, the naming ceremony coincides with the kwie. Chil-

dren are almost always named after persons in their father's narawa who have contributed to the mother's brideprice. Boys are named for their father's father, father's brother, father's father's brother, father's father's brother's son, or even more distant relatives who have contributed pigs to the mother's brideprice. Daughters are named after the wives or widows of these men.

Naming a child after a brideprice contributor reaffirms the relationship which already exists between the child's parents and the contributor, in addition to creating a closer relationship between the name giver and the narambao (namesake). The person whose name is being given to the child is expected to give a pig to the child's parents. This pig may be cooked and distributed at the kwie in place of or in addition to pigs cooked by the parents.

When presenting the pig, the name giver tells the child, "Namesake, may I eat your genitals". What is meant by this expression is that the name giver, by investing pigs in the child now and possibly at other times in the child's development, wishes to have a close relationship with the child and expects to be repaid, either by the child himself or the child's future offspring. In general, repayment includes killing pigs at the name giver's funeral (unless, of course, the child has paid off the debt before this happens). The expression, "May I eat your genitals", is also a common greeting between persons who have invested in each other's children, and means much the same thing. It is not used between husbands and wives, however, and is rarely said by a younger, dependent child to an elder relative or sibling.

Within the first year or two after a child's birth, when it is more certain that it will survive, the father gives one or more pigs to the child's mother's brother and other members of her narawa. This childwealth payment - wana yamindikai inime (lit. persons bones give to) - is given in recognition of the mother's and her narawa's contribution to the child's physical existence (fig. the child's bones).

Just as a failure to pay the mother's full brideprice brings into question the narawa affiliation of a child, so too does a failure to redeem a child by giving 'bone pay' (P.E. bun pe) to his mother's narawa. Unless relations are strained between the two groups, however, the childwealth payments of any children after the first child may be delayed for several years or more.

For several years after its birth, a child is breastfed by its mother. A child is fed whenever it is hungry or upset, angry or cranky. Mothers rarely deny their breast to young children since it is believed that denial might anger a child, causing it to become sick. For the same reason, parents rarely punish children for temper tantrums, preferring to let them run their course or to divert the child's anger.

It is felt that most anger has a cause and must be satisfied or resolved by removing the cause or substituting some form of compensatory action. Anger which is frustrated is believed to stay inside the individual's intestines and cause them to become sick or to vent their anger in mischievous acts and sorcery. Small children whose mothers are inattentive or shove them away when they are reaching for their mother's breast, will slap their mother or

Kick her with impunity until she complies.

Although a child is largely in the care of its mother during the first three years of its life, its father also has a role in a child's physical development. While no special effort is made to feed solid food to a child while it is nursing, children being allowed to follow their own initiatives with regard to when they will join in the family meal, fathers will prepare special dishes of foods magically prepared to make their wife's milk strong, and their children grow quickly, and frequently gives sugarcane to the mother to see that her milk remains abundant.

By the time a new baby is on the way, a child is normally weaned. However, if children are spaced too closely or an older child has an unusual need for the breast, it will be given to another woman, often the mother's mother, to nurse. In the case of a young mother, her own mother may still be nursing a young child of her own and will simply take turns nursing both children. Several children in Yandera were nursed by grandmothers who had not nursed a child for many years prior. There are a few instances where an older sister has breastfed her younger sister when the mother has died. A woman who nurses another woman's child must be compensated by the child's parents or the child itself when it is older. Children call such wetnurses 'mother' the same as their own mothers because they have been like a mother to them.

2. Moveri 'The child'. From the time they are weaned until the onset of puberty, all children are called moveri. When one wants to distinguish between girls and boys, one uses erekevi

(girl) or mekevi (boy). Further distinctions can be made on the basis of size or age: erekevi kenqua (little girl) or mekevi nambaio (big boy).

Childhood is a time when boys and girls learn many of the tasks and behaviors appropriate to their sex. Gender differentiation begins soon after birth with different names for girls and boys and girls being dressed in string skirts (traditional women's clothing) when they are still very small. However, between the ages of three and five, differences in the behavior and treatment of boys and girls become marked.

While gangs of little boys are free to roam the village, playing games of war or marbles, swimming in the river, or hunting in the surrounding bush, girls are expected to begin helping their mother by babysitting for younger brothers and sisters while their mothers go off to work in the gardens. Little girls of only six or seven years old may be seen carrying toddlers on their backs, washing them in the river, or roasting sweet potatoes on a fire to feed them when the mother's return is delayed.

Often, several little girls of the same narawa will carry out these chores together, keeping a wary eye on younger siblings while the girls play tag or a game of pick-up-stones. These little 'mothers' take their charge seriously since if any harm comes to the babies the girls will be scolded or beaten. The kinship term for older sister is apone, but older sisters are often called 'mother' (nixowo) by their younger siblings.

When girls are older, they are expected to take a more active role in gardening. When they are erekevi nambaio they may tend

their own gardens which their fathers or brothers have prepared for them. When a man is widowed, his daughters(s) may bear the main burden of feeding the family and raising pigs for their own dowry and the brideprices of their brothers.

While girls are not forced to do more than they are able, and some girls are more industrious and physically stronger than other girls, all except the most lazy or rebellious are motivated to do the best they can by a fear of being shamed should they attract a low brideprice because they are inadequate gardeners.

Since gardening is considered onerous (by both men and women), young girls, often the same ones who were little mothers together, will lighten their burden, working together in one another's gardens, spending the nights in their mothers' garden houses, sharing meals, confidences, and bits of clothing and adornment. Such youthful friendships may last for life if girls choose to marry boys from the same clan or become co-wives of one man.

When a boy is around the age of eight or ten, he is encouraged to spend more time with his father and father's brothers, learning the necessary skills of manhood: cutting down trees and clearing the bush for gardens, fence-making and house construction, hunting, and defense. As the boy and his father or father's brothers walk around their land, the boy is shown pieces of ground which will be set aside for his use when he marries, providing a boy shows himself to be industrious and helpful to his elders.

This is also the time when boys are initiated into the secrets of the flutes (nakai, lit. 'bird'), and instructed in the traditions and lore of their father's narawa. Nakai inunqware, or

'showing the bird-flutes' is part of the first stage of a boy's initiation into his father's narawa. Each segment of a clan, or narawa Kenoua, has its own bamboo flutes (fumengi) which are named for different birds of the forest.

When men play their flutes they invoke the spirits of dead ancestors - poroi. For this reason the flutes are not to be handled irresponsibly and are kept hidden from women and young children. Flutes can only be played when their owners are preparing to kill pigs for a poi nomu or during the various ceremonies associated with stages in the initiation of boys and young men into the narawa and the puberty ceremonies of young women. To play the nakai flutes at times when there are no pork offerings being made to the ancestors is to anger the poroi and risk bringing misfortune and death to the narawa.

When boys are shown the bird flutes, they are told, "This is your bird". Each boy may be given a flute made especially for him or will be allowed to share his father's flute. At first they may be afraid to touch the flutes because for years, whenever they heard the unseen flutes being played, they associated the sound with the presence of poroi. It is believed that poroi can transform themselves into birds or other fantastic creatures and show themselves or cause harm to the living in these forms. When boys first see the flutes and hear them played, the flutes appear to them as the embodiments and voices of poroi.

Traditionally, during the long initiation period, boys were made to look like birds themselves. A year or more before they were shown the flutes, boys became braidwearers, or arambragi.



Their hair was allowed to grow long and then strips of bark cloth (arambe) were woven into the hair at the back of their heads. When new, these braids reached down to the back of the boys' knees. The braids were worn for many years, new ones being added on during the final stages of male initiation. The young men would then wear the braids until they were married or for some time after.

At the same time as they received their braids, boys also had holes pierced on either side of their noses with small bamboo sticks. A wooden stick or stone rod was then pierced through their nasal septum. The purpose of the braids and nose piercings was largely decorative, giving the young men the appearance of birds when dressed in all their finery. This stage in initiation, called nakai yqura inungware (lit. bird hair shown), has been omitted in recent years, and it is only among those men who are over 30 or 40 years of age that one sees men (and some women) wearing the tail feathers of the kiriwa or some other bird stuck in their nasal septum.

After they are shown the flutes, the boys are taken into a house where they are told stories and lectured about the proper behavior of men. During this time they must sit close to a fire which is kept very hot and are not allowed to drink water. Afterwards, large wooden bowls of cooked pork and vegetables are brought in by men and placed beside each boy, with the exception of those who will become kanqi. The boys are allowed to eat as much as they wish, sharing the remains of the food with their fathers and other men present. For a month or more before they are shown the flutes, boys practice certain food restrictions. Foods such as bananas,

cuscus, and taro are forbidden to them.

The following day, the boys are taken to a secluded spot near a river where they learn the secret of purifying themselves of women's contamination and mother's blood by causing their noses to bleed. Men take bundles of sticks and push them up their nostrils, rubbing vigorously until blood falls. The boys are instructed to do likewise so that they may grow to be big and strong.

In this cleansing ritual - nakai yowo inunqware (lit. bird wife shown) - the physical process of making a 'man' and 'son' out of boy is begun. Having compensated his wife's narawa for his son's mother (brideprice) and her contribution to the child's birth and early growth (childwealth), the father teaches the boy to 'rid' himself of his mother's (and later the boy's wife's) blood so that ancestral poroi will not mistake him for a 'pig', or child of another narawa and cause the boy's death.

Since one of the purposes of the nakai ceremonies is to promote the continuing growth and well-being of young boys, from this time on, boys spend less time in the company of their mothers, to prevent as much as possible, further contamination. When a boy is weakly or smaller than boys his own age, his father may hold the nakai ceremonies earlier than usual, enlisting the aid of narawa ancestors to strengthen and protect the boy from whatever influences are causing him to remain small.

After the boys have bled their noses they are beaten with sticks by all the men present and old things such as "In the past you have not listened to me and you have been slow at helping your mother fetch water or helping me mend fences". Boys who have been

lazier than others will be beaten harder. This unusual display of corporal punishment offends the boys who become angry and try to escape.

Later, their feelings are mollified, when they are given a special feast, nakai kiraie, which, like the nakai kiraie given after they received their braids, is meant to strengthen the boys. As each boy receives his share of the feast, all those men who have contributed pork to his portion (F, FBs, older brothers, MBs, and, if he is alive, FF) say to the boy, "I want to receive your bone". Figuratively speaking, 'bone' means strength. It also refers to the bone (called kanqi) which some boys will have pierced through the tip of their noses in the last, or kanqi stage of male initiation. Men tell the boys, "I am helping you to become a strong man; later, you must help me and repay me for what I have done for you".

3. Movo 'Adolescent boy'. During the movo stage, a boy is expected to spend more time away from the village, sharpening his hunting and trapping skills, helping his father clear the forest for gardens, and generally keeping himself apart from the company of women and girls. During this time, men teach kane (magic words) to their sons to prevent them from being seduced by young women's magic and desires to have sexual relations with them before the young men are prepared for this step. Later, when he is considered an adult and ready for marriage, the young man will learn magic to attract women.

When a boy is around 17 or 18 years old, he is ready to begin the final stages of his initiation. Traditionally, this stage would commence after the braidwearer's braids had reached his shoulders. At this time a group of initiates are gathered together - along with their fathers, fathers' brothers, older brothers, father's fathers if they are still living, and non-agnates such as their mother's brother who have taken part in the boys' development - and served a large meal before being sent off to spend a year or more alone in the forest.

During the period of seclusion in the forest, the boys live in a house specially constructed for the purpose. Days are spent hunting and trapping wild animals and birds. What meat they don't eat is smoked over fires and preserved. The tail feathers and pelts of birds of paradise are stored in hollow bamboo poles. In the evenings, the boys regale one another with tales of the day's hunt and make comparisons about how much meat, animal skins, and feathers each one will be able to take back to the village as proof that they are capable hunters and ready to be men.

The initiates are divided into two categories: kangi and owo (helper). For every kangi there must be an owo. Usually, two brothers are selected for each pair of kangi-owo. Most often, a younger brother (actual or classificatory) will serve as owo to his older brother, but the reverse also occurs.

The decision as to which boys will be kangi and which owo are made by their fathers when the boys are still quite young. From that time on the boys chosen as kangi are forbidden to eat pork until the end of their initiation, when they will be about twenty

years old. Owo may eat pork, except during their seclusion in the forest. The only other material differences in the initiation process of Kanqi and owo are that only Kanqi have the tips of their noses pierced during the final initiation ceremony, and only owo are allowed to carry heavy loads, make traps, and cook food for the pair while they are in seclusion in the forest. It was told to me, by both men and women, that being an owo has no detrimental effects on one's chances of finding a wife.

The avowed purpose of the Kanqi-owo initiation is to please the Kanqi ghosts, or Kanqi poroi. According to Father Aufenanger (1940:96), the custom of Kanqi "originated with the Kanqi ghosts called poroi. These used to kill our ancestors because they did not have any men with pierced noses. Since that time we have had Kanqi men, and the Kanqi spirits do not kill us anymore".

It is believed that each Kanqi has one of these Kanqi poroi as a 'double'. This spirit can make itself identical in physical form to its living counterpart and cause much mischief. By adhering to the restrictions imposed on him since childhood, the Kanqi initiate ensures that his Kanqi spirit will not bring sickness or death to himself or other members of his family. The amount of smoked meat that a Kanqi and his owo bring back with them, after their time in the forest, is taken as evidence that his Kanqi spirit will aid the Kanqi man, and bring health, prosperity, and protection from evil spirits to him and his clan.

During their time of seclusion, the boys rarely have visitors and then only men. Women and uninitiated males are forbidden to go near the initiates since it is feared the Kanqi spirits might harm

them. From time to time, however, their mothers and aunts will send supplies of sweet potatoes (all other garden foods are forbidden) to them through an intermediary who will keep them informed of how their sons are making out. A table is built for this purpose beside a path some distance from where the initiates' house is. A man, usually an old man, will wait here during the day for women to come and leave bags of sweet potatoes.

In recent years, there have been some changes in the Kangi-owo ritual: boys rarely spend more than a few months in the bush, some young men do not go through the ritual, and those who do most often become Kangi and not owo, having their noses pierced with a darning needle and not the wing bone of a flying fox. These and other changes will be discussed in the sections on contact and the impact of migration and wage labor on Gende society in Part Two.

Since there are wide variations among more recent Kangi ceremonies, the following is a composite description of the final stages of initiation of men who are now in their late thirties or older. The details are similar to accounts in Aufenanger (1940) and Fitzpatrick (1983), except for the somewhat greater participation of older women in male initiation which I noted.

When the young men decided that they had caught enough meat to repay those who had brought food to them while they were in seclusion, they would tell their fathers who would pass the message on to their mothers. The young men themselves would hold a meeting and talk, "Our fathers and mothers have worked hard, bringing us food to the forest. Do we have enough meat for all those who will come when we call our parents?" If they have enough, they will

send word for their mothers and fathers to come.

After the message has been sent, their parents gather together the best of their green vegetables, bananas, sugar cane, taro, and yams - all foods which have been forbidden to the initiates during their period of seclusion - and carry them to where the boys are staying. While the vegetables are being cooked in an earth oven, each of the boys gives a share of the meat he has preserved to each man and woman who has sent him food during this time - men and women he calls 'mother' and 'father'. If there are ten men and women, a boy must have ten cuscus ready. If there are eleven, he must have eleven cuscus. Now all the men and women cry and shout that they thought their children had not "killed any cuscus, but you did and you hid them, and now you have cooked them and given them to us and made us happy. Now we will all go back home".

Everything is wrapped up and carried back to the village. As they walk back, some of the men play their nakai flutes, as a warning that they are coming. Some men who have remained in the village tell the young boys and girls to go to a place where they cannot see the initiates approaching. The initiates are hidden in a house and then their parents share the preserved meat with others in the settlement.

When everyone has finished eating the smoked meat, the men have a meeting and ask "When will we put the young men on the bench? How many of you will make the young men's bench?" This bench, called aralkeme, is made from the wood of the aro tree and is the bench the boys sit on when they have their noses pierced. After the bench is made, the boys have their noses pierced with the

bone of a flying fox (or more recently a sewing needle). Then the boys are taken into a house where they stay two or three days. When the day to kill pigs has arrived the young men will come out.

The men tell the boys' 'mothers' to fetch string bags and pig's teeth ornaments and bring them to the house. The men make headbands (Kawu) with the pig's teeth. Then they make gege - a black paint made from cooked tree sap - which is rubbed on the boys' faces after their beards and the hair on the sides of their faces and foreheads are painfully shaved off with a sharp stone 'razor'. As the men are shaving the boys, they tell them "You have been a stubborn boy and now I am pulling your hair out with a stone. You have not helped your mothers and fathers, so now we are hurting you". The boys are then taken back to the house where they are lectured on various matters pertaining to the behavior of grown men. They are told that they may begin to court girls, that they must make a house and clear the bush for gardens in preparation for marriage, and that they must plant sugar cane and bananas so that when a trading partner comes to visit during the day, when the young men's wives are out working in their gardens, they will have food to give their friends. Otherwise, their friends will go to another man's house and become someone else's partners. They are told, "You must build a nice house for your wife when we buy a wife for you. A good house so your wife can sleep inside with your pigs. If your pigs sleep outside, their hair will be rough and they will now grow well. If you give pork to other men, they will help you. But if you don't, and you are a lazy fellow who doesn't make things ready for your friends, men



will not look at you and will give their shells, stone axes, and feathers to another man".

A big fire is made in the house, and the boys are made to sit close to it. After a time, the house becomes very hot and some of the initiates cry for water. Their parents trick them by handing them bamboo containers which have no water in them. All the time the boys are being lectured on working hard and being considerate to their elders. When this is over, the initiates are decorated with flowers and tanager leaves, and the boys who haven't complained throughout the ordeal are given water to drink. Then the men tell the boys to stand up one at a time while they throw bundles of sugar cane into the boys' hands. As many as twelve men, one after the other, does this. If the boy drops the growing pile of sugar cane, the men tell him "You are weak and lazy. I don't think you will do much work".

In the morning, the boys are brought outside for all to see. Net bags are hung around their necks, and they are given bows and arrows and spears to carry. When the assembled villagers (and guests, if there is a pig kill going on) see the initiates, they cry out, "We think you are our children (or brothers) but you look different. We are very happy to see that you are men". Marriageable girls look at the initiates with new interest and call out, "You, kanqi!" or "You, owo!", "You and I will kango (courtship)". After the crowd has finished admiring the young men, pork is given to them by their fathers and mothers. The kanqi and owo give half of the pork they have received to their mothers' brothers and the remainder to their friends.

4. Erekevi Adolescent girl. At the onset of her first menstrual period, a girl moves into a small house away from the village and stays in relative seclusion for a month or more. During this time, she is not allowed to drink water or to touch anything directly with her hands, and she may eat nothing but roasted sweet potatoes taken from the fire and eaten off a stick. When she has an itch she must scratch it with a stick. When she sleeps her legs are tied with a rope so she will not roam in the night.

These restrictions are part of a girl's preparation for marriage into another clan and are done to educate her in the significance and proper control of her sexuality. Her mother and other women who look after her needs, teach her many behavioral restrictions which she must follow the rest of her life: she must never step over food or fires; she may not carry a girl child on her shoulders if she is also carrying a bag of sweet potatoes or other food on her back; in future, when she is menstruating she must not cook or touch food intended for her husband or sons. She is warned that if she touches anything with her hands now, her skin will be dry and pig grease will not stick to it and everyone will know that she has not learned her lessons well and will make fun of her and refuse to marry her. She is also taught courting songs (Kongo Kaima) and magic words (kane) to help her attract a husband.

This time in her life is called erekevi ni nomquara gwai (lit. young woman house inside stays) or erekevi kiandi yandi kwai (lit. young woman her legs hands sees). The meaning of the latter expression is that the young girl becomes aware of herself physically as a 'woman' with all the power to harm men with her

menstrual blood and her ability to bear children.

Women say that this time is comparable to a boy's nakai ceremonies. Just as boys are shown the flutes and learn of the power the flutes and their association with powerful spirits may bring them, girls too are 'shown' their own special power. In both cases, young people must learn to control the power given them and use it in socially approved ways.

Many of the same people mobilized by her brother's initiation also participate in the rituals and feast during and after the final days of her stay in the menstrual hut. Just as the potential wife-buyers of a young man pay close attention to how much meat he brings back from his seclusion in the forest, so too will the number of participants depend on her performance (to date) in working in the gardens, helping her mother, and developing skills necessary to mature women. The number of pigs killed at the end of her puberty ceremony are a mark of her relative's estimation of her value as a woman and will help her attract a good husband.

At the end of her seclusion, the bed the girl has slept on and her soiled clothing are thrown away and the menstrual hut is cleaned and made ready to receive those men and women who will carry out the final rituals and kill pigs for her. The girls are washed and dressed in new clothing.

While she stayed in the menstrual hut, a girl's father and other male relatives went to the forest to hunt and trap eels, cuscus, wild pigs, cassowaries, and other animals of the forest to be given to her and the women who look after her. On the day before she comes out of the menstrual hut, most of the men will

remain outside, preparing these foods and the pigs that have been killed for her while her 'mothers' and her father go into the hut to carry out the final stages of her puberty rites. The girl is made to sit close to a large fire while her elders lecture her on her future conduct as a wife and mother, the necessity of hard work, and her obligation to think of her brothers and to raise many pigs which will be given in childwealth payments and other exchanges between her husband's clan and her father's. Later, there is singing and the girl is oiled with pig grease and the red oil of the pandanus fruit (marita).

When it is close to daybreak, the women and the girl's father bring in armloads of pitpit and sugarcane which have been laid at the door of the hut by those who have killed pigs for the girl. The girl is told to hold out her arms. One by one the women throw pitpit into the girl's outstretched arms. Each bundle the girl catches is first clasped to her chest and then thrown into the fire to be cooked and eaten by the girl, her mother, and the other women present. Then the girl's father throws her armloads of sugarcane. The girl is told that she must help her father and brothers in the gardens and not forget them after she is married.

Last of all, the girl is given a bamboo container, supposedly full of water. The thirsty girl is told to drink. After her mother's trick is discovered, the girl is told this is punishment for all the times she did not listen to her mother or ran away from her work. The girl is then given a container holding water as well as sugar cane to slake her thirst. Aufenanger (1940:117) was told that girls were shown their father's flute at this this time. The

women who described their puberty ceremonies to me made no mention of this having occurred, however.

Dressed in a new string skirt (P.E. 'pulpul') with a new net bag hanging from her head and carrying a digging stick, the girl is led out of the hut for all to see. In front of the hut are large wooden bowls (tagi) filled with roast pork. The girl eats some of the tongue, ribs, and fat and then distributes the pork to the assembled guests which now may include most of her clan and many of her mother's clan. She saves the choicest parts for those women who assisted her in her time of seclusion. Unmarried brothers and other young men, are not allowed to come near the area and may not eat any of the food prepared at this time.

This distribution is an important part of the girl's preparation for marriage into another clan. The spirits of her clan have to be appeased so that she will continue to grow and become strong, and be able to bear healthy children for her future husband's clan. The number of pigs killed at this time determine the amount of brideprice which will be asked for her. When the brideprice is received, all those who kill pigs for her - her mother father, father's brothers, grandfather, mother's brothers and others - will receive a part of her brideprice, ideally exactly or more than what they gave.

#### Poroi tizhi 'Becoming an ancestor'

This phase of life and social existence begins with marriage, continues throughout the individual's productive years, old age, and death. Up to this time, the individual has been nurtured and

made human, and socialized to increase or maintain narawa strength by becoming parents, to cooperate with their brothers and sisters to uphold narawa prestige, and to repay debts to their parents so they may become benevolent ancestors who will look after the welfare of the narawa and their descendents.

Upon marriage, there is a shift from being a recipient to being a donor. When young men and women enter their productive years, investment in them becomes minimal and is directed more towards maintaining than creating relationships with them and lending support when needed. Children become parents themselves and help their own parents achieve renown and honorable ancestorhood. In turn, middle-aged parents and ancestors assist in the care of grandchildren, contributing wealth to their rites of passage and guarding them against the evil actions of jealous spirits or persons.

Through the process of exchange, men and women reproduce narawa. Validating their elders' 'parenthood' in the repayment of debts to them, children affirm their own identity as 'human beings' and respectable members of their father's (and in the case of women, also their husband's) narawa, with claims on narawa land, protection and support. If, on the other hand, parents make 'pigs' of their children and, by extension themselves, by failing to fulfill debts to MB's and others who have residual claims over a child, children may desert a narawa, preferring affiliation with one from which they can expect or have received more support and to which they will give their allegiance and support.

Burdened with debts, young parents often require the

assistance of their elders so that their own children do not become 'pigs'. Since this divides their children's allegiance among a number of 'parents', when they have worked their way through many of their debts, couples will begin actively investing in the children of other persons (either or both their own grandchildren or children of brothers, etc.). This overlap and interdependence among narawa members is a primary basis of cooperation as well as a pressure on the politically ambitious to work hard.

1. Kango - Courtship. After their initiation and puberty rites, young men and women are encouraged by their parents to seek and attract suitable marriage partners. Every opportunity is given for them to meet and form close attachments to persons of the opposite sex. When fathers perform singsings at poi nomu in other settlements, their unmarried daughters and sons are part of the dance group. Young men wear feathers and animal pelts which they have collected themselves. Their sisters are likewise bedecked with their father's and brother's wealth in the hopes that they will attract the interest of young men who will vie for her hand in marriage.

Several large singsings, such as orinom bie and koanandi, are staged with the sole object of courtship in mind. At a koanandi, as many as 40 or more girls from different Gende settlements will gather in a koanandi nom, a long house build especially for that purpose by the girls' fathers. Young men from neighboring settlements and as far away as Chimbu Province, who have been invited to attend, will arrive singing in a long line - tom bringi - as they make their way into the host village one-by-one, and enter the door

of the koanandi nom to sit down between the girls and sing courting songs (kango) throughout the night. At frequent or between each song, the men will change places so that they may sit beside many different girls. Often, there are married as well as unmarried men present, since men may marry more than one wife. In 1982, more than forty men and boys from Yandera attended a koanandi hosted by the Chimbu.

The most common form of courtship is called kango or kango yonua. Nightly, young men travel to the settlements of girls who have attracted their attention or indicated an interest in them. One woman told me that when she was a girl, she and a girlfriend would make a signal fire to let boys from a distant village know that the girls wished to kango with them. Today, girls can flash mirrors in the sun to achieve the same end. Several girls (or even one girl) who wish to kango will be waiting in a house borrowed for the occasion, chaperoned by an older woman or younger brothers and sisters. For much of the night the young couples, sitting arm-in-arm with the girl's legs lying over the boy's legs, sing kango songs, joke and tell stories.

In order to make themselves more attractive to members of the opposite sex, both boys and girls fortify themselves with beauty and love magic before and during kango. In general, boys are more concerned and timid about courtship than girls are, and many report having run away from their first kango encounters after only a few minutes time, waiting for several months before trying again. Reasons vary, but many say that at first they are shy around girls since they have been taught how dangerous they can be and because



they are afraid the girls might ridicule their first attempts at courtship.

For most girls, Kango is a pleasurable experience. Sought after by attentive suitors who offer them little gifts of food and money, and excused from much of the hard labor of working in their mothers' gardens so they may rest during the day and Kango at night, girls are well-aware of their importance in Gende society as the future bearers of children, mainstay of the economy, and primary source of wealth. During this time of courtship, some girls, particularly those who have the most or the wealthiest suitors, walk around the village with an air of complacency and self-assurance unlikely to be matched at any other time in their life.

When girls discuss the traits of the ideal husband or a particular candidate they are most impressed by a young man's generosity, personal appearance, and romantic ardor. Skill in singing and story telling are also noted, as are his physical strength and industry. Whether or not a young man comes from a wealthy family or narawa who will support him and collect a large brideprice for his future wife is also an important consideration, since a girl would be ashamed if her brideprice was low.

When deciding upon a future wife, boys take into consideration a girl's good looks, pleasing disposition, and physical stamina and well-being. Because a wife will have to work very hard, he is also concerned to find a girl who is not lazy and will become a faithful helpmate to him in his efforts to achieve a name for himself and to become an important man in his clan.

## 2. Engagement

Generally speaking, once a young man and woman have fallen in love and wish to marry, they will tell their parents of their intentions so that negotiations over the girl's brideprice can begin. If they are interested in the marriage, the parents of a girl's suitor will give a gift to her parents, to open negotiations. Sometimes, however, the first indication that a relationship is serious is when a girl 'runs away' (kango otonai) with her boyfriend after a late-night kango session. Usually, a girl will tell someone of her plans so that her family will not be unduly alarmed when they discover her absence in the morning. If, however, she feels that efforts will be made to stop her, she may run away without telling anyone. To allay suspicions, she may choose to leave home on a night when her boyfriend does not come to see her. In this regard, it is interesting to note that some of the old courting songs are like road maps: successive verses describing features of the 'escape' route between a girl's settlement and her lover's. Today, of course, with visits between villages more frequent, there is less need for this particular kind of love song.

When a girl runs away, she goes to live with her boyfriend's mother. One purpose of kango otonai is to convince potential in-laws that a girl will make a good wife for their son. While living with her suitor's parents, a girl makes every effort to be as helpful as possible: looking after her prospective mother-in-law's pigs and younger children, fetching water and firewood, and helping in the gardens. Even girls who do not go kango otonai are encouraged by their parents to visit their future in-laws frequently

so that they may see how industrious the girls are and be more willing pay high brideprices for them.

### 3. Tu kunu - brideprice

After living with her suitor's parents for several months or longer, a girl will be sent home (unless she has already left on her own accord). Normally, she is sent home with gifts (pork, food, money), even when her boyfriend's relatives have decided they do not want her as a daughter-in-law. During or after the time a girl have been living (or visiting) with her prospective in-laws, representatives from both the young man and young woman's families will meet to discuss the brideprice.

From the perspective of a young woman's parents, the primary considerations for determining the amount of brideprice they will ask for are: the number of pigs and other forms of wealth which were invested in a girl's puberty ceremony, and how wealthy the suitor and his supporters are. Unless they have already done so, a girl's parents are obligated to use part or all of her brideprice to pay back (ideally with interest) men and women who invested in her puberty ceremony. Failure to do so will harm her brother's chances of relying on the same persons to help pay for a bride of his own.

If a girl has attracted the interest of a wealthy suitor, and it seems likely that his family is keen on having her as a daughter-in-law, a girl's parents will raise the brideprice accordingly. Today, when there are greater differences in wealth among Gende individuals, it is not uncommon to find situations arising

where the brideprice being asked for a girl from one suitor is doubled when she later finds a wealthier suitor, usually a wealthy migrant.

At some point during negotiations, the family of the prospective groom will visit the girl's village to make their 'final' offer. This done by either bringing along the pigs they expect to give (and any additional wealth), or lining up a row of pig stakes, one for each pig they intend to give. Usually, they will offer far less than was asked for, making excuses for themselves by claiming that they are not as wealthy as most people suppose, or that a pig they had hoped to give had to be used for some other, unexpected purpose. Often, they insinuate that the girl is not worth the price asked for because she is 'lazy', 'too small', or 'not ready to settle down' and attend to her future husband's affairs.

The girl's family responds by being offended that they and their daughter are treated like so much 'rubbish', and may threaten to cut off negotiations altogether if the full asking price is not met. The boy's family, after some consideration, will make a counter offer which is a little higher than the first. Eventually, the two parties will come to an agreement. Occasionally, however, one or more of the negotiators becomes so overcome with indignation and anger that the negotiations break down and have to be postponed until another day.

#### 4. Marriage

Unlike Western society, there is no one day on which it can be said that a Gende couple 'gets married'. Rather, there is a series

of stages or steps which must be taken before a couple is considered to be truly married. The first step is the payment of brideprice (tu kunu 'marriage axes' or ana munu 'woman payment'). Although occasionally a brideprice is paid in full on the day a bride's new in-laws come to her village to take her away, more often a partial payment is made with promises to pay the remainder after it is more certain that the marriage will work out.

On the day that the brideprice is turned over, the girl's family and her new in-laws will lecture her on the proper behavior of a new wife, in particular her duties to her new in-laws, the primary expectation being that the new bride and groom will work hard to pay back the brideprice (tupoi) to the groom's supporters as quickly as possible. Later, the mother of the girl, along with other women married into the girl's clan and her father's sisters, will instruct the girl in sexual matters, emphasizing the wisdom of fulfilling her tupoi obligation to the brideprice contributors before she begins to bear children.

The groom receives similar advice from his family since a couple who bears children before their tupoi obligation is paid puts a strain on the resources of the husband's parents, who will either have to pay childwealth to the bride's family themselves, or see pigs intended for tupoi payments go to the bride's family while angry contributors to the brideprice claim 'custody' of the couple's children.

Before the bride sets off for her new home, her parents and others will give her a 'dowry' (erekebi wami kiai 'oiling the girl') gift. Usually, this gift includes one or more pigs, money,

and various household items (cooking pots, dishes, etc.), articles of clothing and adornment (blouses, net bags, bird-of-paradise feathers, etc.), and sometimes even portable radios. If the full brideprice has not been paid, however, the girl's family may wait to give this gift until some or all of the outstanding brideprice is paid.

The purposes of the gift are many: to demonstrate the generosity of the girl's clan, to show their continuing interest in their 'daughter', to show that they are pleased with the marriage and have no evil intentions towards the husband and his clan, and to help the new bride get off to a good start in her new home. Although it is understood that a bride has a right to keep the gift for herself, most young brides will give away many of the dowry items to her mother-in-law and other women in her husband's village as a way of making friends with them. Since it is women who have done the hard work of raising the brideprice pigs, it is considered a politic thing to do. Normally, however, the dowry pigs will form part of a new bride's pig herd (the remainder are contributed by her in-laws).

After a bride has been living in her new home for several months or longer and has demonstrated her willingness and ability to raise sweet potatoes and pigs, she and her husband will participate in a ritual ceremony which tests whether or not their marriage will work - poroi kiana yana turuke ('spirits' legs and hands are bound together'). A pig is killed by the couple and given to an older man in the husband's clan who knows the words to the simple ceremony. The master of ceremonies then prepares a small

bamboo basket which he fills with flowers and herbs. He then gives some of the cooked pork and some sweet potato to the young couple to eat as a sign that they are now united. While the couple are eating, the man climbs up into a tall tree near a river and ties the basket around a branch as a symbol that the poroi's hands and feet are tied together and they will do nothing to interfere with the success of the marriage. If any of the flowers fall out of the basket during the ceremony, it is taken as a sign that the poroi has escaped and that the couple will not live happily together.

After the basket ritual, the young couple are made to stand back to back with their feet and hands bound together while they are sprinkled with water by the master of ceremonies and other men in the husband's clan. The sprinkling is done by dipping flowers (Kwigai flowers) into the stream and shaking them at the young couple. The purpose is to purify the couple and to show the spirits that the couple are bound together as one. One young man told me that the number of flowers which break off during the sprinkling ritual indicates the number of wives a man will have. (cf. Aufenanger 1940: 131-137 and Fitz-Patrick 1983:86 for variants of the marriage ceremony).

##### 5. Wene ana - Husband and Wife

From the beginning until the end of their life together, a husband and wife's primary obligation to one another is to assist each other in raising pigs to repay or invest in other persons. If a husband is lax about clearing and fencing garden land for his wife, or he beats her frequently and without justification, making

it difficult for her to carry out her work in the gardens, a wife may leave her husband without her clan having to return any of the brideprice which was paid for her. If a husband so injures his wife that she is permanently or even temporarily disabled, her clan may demand compensation in lieu of all the pigs which would have eventually come to them (via childwealth payments, etc.) through her hard work.

Likewise, a wife who is lazy and does not look after her pigs properly may be sent home to her parents and the husband may request that the brideprice (or at least that part of it that his wife has not already paid back to her in-laws in tupoi payments) be returned - poi nunqa. Poi nunqa can also be demanded by a husband whose wife runs away to her parents' home without sufficient cause (i.e. laziness or disrespect on his part) or leaves him for another man. If a wife marries another man before her tupoi obligation is paid off to her first husband's clan, her second husband is liable for poi nunqa.

Although a man may divorce his wife on the grounds that she is childless, he is not likely to do so since her clan is not obligated to return any of the brideprice in such cases and a childless wife can be a very real asset in a man's efforts to gain status through investing pigs in other persons. Without children to drain her energy and resources (through childwealth payments), a woman can pay off her tupoi obligation to her in-laws while she is still relatively young and able-bodied. Any pigs which she then raises belong to her and, to a lesser extent, her husband (who has helped her by clearing gardens), and the two are free to invest



their pigs as they see fit. A woman may choose, for example, to invest pigs in the children of other men and women, thereby becoming the children's 'mother'. Such children will have the same obligations to kill pigs at her funeral as would any natural children of her own.

In the past, young couples were encouraged to delay having children until after tupoi had been paid. In some cases, a young daughter-in-law's tupoi pigs would be used by her in-laws to acquire a second wife for her husband. In this manner, some men acquired as many as four or five (or even more) wives. Now that the men's houses are gone and missionaries have encouraged husbands and wives to live together in the same house, most couples have children before their tupoi debt is paid and must rely on parents and others to help them make childwealth payments to the mother's clan, thereby reducing the likelihood that a man will acquire more than one wife [3].

While some women experience sexual jealousy when their husbands marry a second wife (particularly if she is much younger than the first wife), most conflicts in polygamous marriages arise when one wife feels she is being slighted by her husband or when he uses her pigs to pay off debts to the second wife's family without her consent. A man with more than one wife must be careful to

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[3] There are other reasons, of course, why most men have only one wife at a time today: the Catholic church censures polygamous marriages among its members, and the high cost of brideprices precludes polygamous marriages amongst any but the richest men.

divide his time and energy among them, taking care to devote as much attention to the gardens and children of his first wife as he does for any subsequent wives. A man who insults his wife (particularly one who has raised many pigs for him) by giving her or her children a smaller share of pork received from an exchange partner, risks losing his wife and having to compensate her and her brothers for all that she has done to assist him. In essence, this kind of payment is equivalent to the death payment a man and his sons are expected to make to his wife's clan at her death, if she has invested pigs in her husband's and children's affairs over and above those paid in tupoi to her in-laws and childwealth, etc. to her own clan.

#### 6. Parenthood

Once their tupoi obligation is fulfilled, a married couple is treated with more respect and their opinions and assistance are sought on matters concerning the local group. Far from being a time to rest on their laurels, a husband and wife are now expected to take on the responsibilities of mature adults and to actively participate in and sponsor exchanges which will advance or safeguard the group's interests. One of the most important interests of the group is the birth of children and their affiliation (or identification) with the narawa.

Without children, a group not only faces physical extinction, but also the shame of being known as a 'rubbish' group, whose members have no children to attend to their proper burial and to the satisfaction of other narawa's claims against the group. Added

on to these worries, is the fear that unhappy ancestors (their own as well as others') will bring down sickness and death upon the group if it does not ensure the ancestors' benevolence through ongoing exchanges of pork and the perpetuation of such care in succeeding generations. Yet another fear is the threat of conflict with former allies who have become dissatisfied with the non-productivity of their relationships with the offending group, and of being absorbed into other groups as wives return to their own narawa and men either follow their wives or seek affiliation with their mother's or sister's husband's group.

From the point of view of the individual, having children is desirable for a number of reasons. Not only do children bury their parents, pay off any outstanding debts they may have incurred in their lifetimes, and make sacrifices of pork in their honor, they also provide security for their parents when they are too old or infirm to fend for themselves. Furthermore, by having (or adopting) children of their own, parents are drawn into the social life of the community where they experience the joys and benefits of being a part of a group.

For men and women who are ambitious, having and caring for many children of their own and generously contributing to exchanges involving the children of other men and women, is one of the surest avenues to achieving prestige and renown both within and beyond their local group. Placing children in their debt by investing pigs and other forms of wealth in their rites of passage - birth, puberty, and marriage - men and women accumulate a fund of stored wealth which the children are obligated to repay when they are

grown.

Among the Gende, the highest honors and influence accrue to those individuals who are able - through years of hard work and careful investment - to contribute the most pigs to group sponsored pig feasts and major singsings, in addition to sponsoring many smaller feasts (e.g. childwealth and death payment parties) and singsings.

The fact that an individual's status is based on relative standards automatically prevents most men and women from achieving high status. However, since becoming a big man or woman requires that an individual become the 'father' or 'mother' of many 'children' in order to build up a fund of power, the consequences of status competition are potentially much more devastating than the unequal enjoyment of prestige. Although status competition within a clan has the obvious benefit of seeing that the children of 'rubbish men' are cared for and that debts to their mothers' narawa are paid off, it also raises the possibility that ordinary men and women, who are neither lazy nor unambitious, may see their claims to being 'parents' crumble as their children's primary allegiance and wealth shifts to other men and women who, for one reason or another, have been able to invest more in them than their natural parents have.

The same thing can happen when a mother's brother has given more to his sister's children (gifts of pork or live pigs for their initiation ceremonies and bridewealth payments, and more general care over the years) than his sister and her husband have invested in his children. This situation is common enough that the Gende

have a name - Komane munu ('nose pay') - for the payment a sister's child makes to his or her mother's brother to erase the debt. This payment, made when a child is grown, is similar in some respects to tupoi (reimbursing parents for their contribution to a woman's brideprice). Just as tupoi serves to validate a man and his wife's right to make gardens on land which has been shown to them by members of the husband's clan, so too does Komane munu strengthen a sister's child's claims to lands belonging to her brothers or to their ongoing interest and support of their sister's children. Giving a larger than necessary 'nose pay' to a mother's brother is one way of activating land rights in one's mother's clan territory [4]. Both payments (tupoi and Komane munu) are attended with much ceremony and respect for the person who is repaying the debt.

## 7. Old age and death

Parents, whose children have received much of their care and support from other men and women, often face a lonely and insecure old age. At children's tupoi parties they may receive the smallest share of the distribution of pigs and cooked pork, and be mute with shame when the other guests, who are the main recipients and

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[4] As might be the case when a man is contemplating a move from his own clan's territory because there is insufficient garden land available or he is embroiled in some conflict with a fellow clan member, or because the land in his mother's place is more desirable or he has a close personal attachment to one or more of his matrilineal kinsmen.

speech-makers, praise the tupoi-givers for their promptness and generosity and congratulate themselves on having invested pigs in the marriages of 'good children'. Having invested little in their own children, they are also not likely to have invested much if anything in other's children, and so will not be invited to share in the festivities when other men and women's sons and daughters-in-law hold their tupoi parties [5].

Equally disturbing, is the prospect of having 'no one to bury them' when they die and being the object of small, inconsequential funerals (gou) and death payment ceremonies (kwiaqi) which reflect their humble achievements in life, or being unable to stage proper funerals and mortuary feasts for their own aged parents because their children's resources are committed elsewhere and they cannot be relied upon to help to any great extent.

When a man or woman dies, his or her body is placed on a specially prepared stretcher (tereqie). If the deceased was a very important person in life, the body may be decorated with shell valuables and other marks of high status (feathers, pig's teeth, animal furs, etc.). Close family members and friends of the deceased, their faces covered with clay and ashes as a sign of bereavement, then sit beside the corpse as other men and women arrive to view the body and to mourn the deceased's death.

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[5] Since it is believed that eating pork given to you by someone else has a restorative effect on your health, as well as some power of rejuvenation, it is of no small consequence to be unable to participate frequently in pork feasts.

During the time the body lies in state, members of the deceased's clan (her husband's clan in the death of a woman), other than his or her spouse and immediate relatives, carry out preparations for the burial and the funeral feast. If the dead person had done little for others during his or her lifetime, his or her own children (or brothers in the case of a man) may be forced to dig the grave (poroi pene) themselves, and to cook pork and other foods in earth ovens for the funeral feast (qau oqai 'funeral food').

While these preparations are going on, those relatives who are tending the body, watch carefully for any signs the deceased's spirit (poroi) might make to indicate who it was who caused his or her death. All deaths, except the deaths of very old or very young persons, are believed to occur as a result of sorcery (see Chapter Four for more details on sorcery). Persons with special powers (other sorcerers) may be brought in to help interrogate the corpse on the identity of his or her murderer. If the corpse is seen to move or a sudden gust of wind shakes the house after an interrogator has named a suspect, it is taken as a sign of the suspect's guilt. Often, however, such interrogations are inconclusive and it may be many weeks or months before the deceased person's family are satisfied that they have discovered the true culprit.

On the day of the burial, which takes place one or two days after the death of the deceased, relatives and friends of the dead person gather for the funeral procession. Persons who were unable to arrive sooner, surround the corpse, expressing their grief with loud wailing interspersed with questions and praise for the

deceased: "Why have you left me?", "You were a good man (or woman)." and so on. Such interruptions may delay the procession for several hours, with each new arrival inspiring fresh paroxysms of grief on the part of the deceased's closest relatives.

After the body has been buried and the funeral procession has returned to the deceased's settlement, the funeral feast is removed from the earth oven(s) and distributed to the grave diggers and the assembled mourners. At this time a mock battle (dakawa) may break out between members of the deceased's clan and his or her spouse's relatives and mother's brothers. In the death of a woman, her parents and brothers may accuse her husband and his clan of mistreating her and of not appreciating how hard she had worked in raising many pigs and children for them. In the death of a man, members of his mother's clan may accuse his father and brothers of preventing the deceased from paying off debts to them by encouraging him to invest his pigs in their own concerns (e.g. the marriages of the deceased's brothers' children).

One of the functions of the dakawa is that it allows men and women who attend the funeral to forcefully (and publicly) remind close relatives of the deceased of any outstanding debts the deceased and his or her relatives (or in-laws) may have to them. Sometimes, the dakawa turns into a real battle when the participants are overcome with the harsh mixture of grief and outrage.

After a person dies and becomes an ancestor, it is believed that the new ancestor's spirit (poroi) lingers on in the vicinity of the settlement until after a kwiaqi (death payment ceremony) is held in his or her honor and all debts associated with the life and



deceased: "Why have you left me?", "You were a good man (or woman)." and so on. Such interruptions may delay the procession for several hours, with each new arrival inspiring fresh paroxysms of grief on the part of the deceased's closest relatives.

After the body has been buried and the funeral procession has returned to the deceased's settlement, the funeral feast is removed from the earth oven(s) and distributed to the grave diggers and the assembled mourners. At this time a mock battle (dakawa) may break out between members of the deceased's clan and his or her spouse's relatives and mother's brothers. In the death of a woman, her parents and brothers may accuse her husband and his clan of mistreating her and of not appreciating how hard she had worked in raising many pigs and children for them. In the death of a man, members of his mother's clan may accuse his father and brothers of preventing the deceased from paying off debts to them by encouraging him to invest his pigs in their own concerns (e.g. the marriages of the deceased's brothers' children).

One of the functions of the dakawa is that it allows men and women who attend the funeral to forcefully (and publicly) remind close relatives of the deceased of any outstanding debts the deceased and his or her relatives (or in-laws) may have to them. Sometimes, the dakawa turns into a real battle when the participants are overcome with the harsh mixture of grief and outrage.

After a person dies and becomes an ancestor, it is believed that the new ancestor's spirit (poroi) lingers on in the vicinity of the settlement until after a kwiagi (death payment ceremony) is held in his or her honor and all debts associated with the life and

men and women who are in debt to the deceased. In the case of the latter individuals, their contributions to the Kwiaqi may go directly to the widow and her children, who may in turn keep the death payment or pass it on to others who may have claims against the deceased or his widow and children.

After the final death payment is made, most ancestors fade from the memories of all but their closest relatives. Some ancestors, however, are not forgotten and are kept 'alive' through ongoing pig feast competitions (poi nomu) and singsings given in their honor (kaima). Ancestors (both men and women) who are remembered for having done many good things for their clans (or their husband's clans) while they were alive, are venerated by the living in the hopes that the ancestors will continue to lend their assistance to their relatives by protecting their health, increasing the fertility of their gardens and pigs, and guarding them against enemies and evil spirits. Thus, death is not the end of the life cycle so much as it is the beginning of a new relationship between living persons and the ancestors which helps to perpetuate life.

death of the ancestor are paid off. Only then will the ancestor depart for the land of the dead [6]. Until the kwiagi is staged, which may take two or more years for the sponsors of the kwiagi to prepare for, the deceased's spirit may cause sickness and trouble for the living, and many smaller feasts and sacrifices of pork may have to be made to placate the angry ancestor.

In the death of a woman, it is her husband and sons (and their wives) who have the main responsibility for her kwiagi. They, along with other members of the husband's clan who have benefitted from the generosity of the dead woman while she was alive, must donate pigs and other items of wealth to the guests at her kwiagi (her brothers and any other persons who came to mourn her death at her gou). This final payment (koia munu 'head pay'), which must be proportionate with the deceased's generosity, absolves the living of all claims the deceased and her relatives may have against her husband and his clan, and they are bothered no more by her spirit.

In the case of a man, the final death payment is made to his mother's brothers. If his mother is still alive, the payment may be very large. If she is dead, the payment is likely to be small, since her son will presumably have given koia munu to her brothers at the time of her own kwiagi. Those who are responsible for making the death payment are a man's wife and children, and other

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[6] Many people have no clear conception of where the 'land of the dead' is, but others believe it lies on top of Mt. Wilhelm, an uninhabited mountain at the south-west corner of the Gende's territory.

## CHAPTER FOUR Scoring - The Emotions of Winning and Losing

In order to portray the full significance of winning and losing for the Gende, my focus in this chapter is more on the subjective emotional experience of playing the game than on strategy and management. Although individuals can (and do) feign or exaggerate emotions in order to invoke desired or "useful" emotional responses in others, my concern here is less with the manipulation of emotions than it is with how men and women's interpretations of other individuals' emotional displays contribute to the game's continuity by promoting the exchange of wealth. Fred Myers made a similar distinction in "Emotions and the Self" (1979:345), in which he viewed Pintupi [1] concepts of the emotions as "models of and models for how one should feel and behave". Myers argued that Pintupi concepts of emotions such as 'compassion' and 'shame', ensure the maintenance of Pintupi society by being the "impersonal idiom" through which the Pintupi channel their individual pursuits and experience their society as a group of "egalitarian closely cooperating kin" (1979:368-369).

I begin the chapter by examining the rewards and responsibilities of winning, and the standards by which Gende men and women judge one another's behavior and know winners from losers. Throughout, the shame and the resulting isolation of losers is contrasted with the pride and conviviality of winners. I also look at how emotions of shame together with a belief in sorcery compel men and

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[1] The Pintupi are a group of Australian Aborigines.

women to participate in the game and to assist others to do so as well. For example, when wealth becomes concentrated in the hands of the few, with the result that there is widespread shame (and anger) among the general populace, a fear of sorcery attacks and accusations of sorcery against the wealthier members of the community acts to restore the balance of power and revive social interaction, by moving wealth from those who have it to those who don't. Wealth moves in the form of compensation payments (from the accused sorcerer(s) to the victim or his family), or, more commonly, wealthy men and women will invest their wealth in as many persons as possible, thereby ensuring for themselves a large network of supporters and allies at the same time as they rid themselves of excess wealth which may be (or so they believe) arousing feelings of jealousy and hostility in others.

And the winner is...!

As mentioned earlier, men who are adept in the game of social life are called wana nambaio, or 'big men'. An exceptionally successful or influential 'big man' is called wana nambaio yonua or wana mogeri yonua ('very big/good man'). Other, less exclusive terms of reference and address are tomowo ('our father') and wana mogeri ('good man'). Although a few widows and middle-aged women are said to be 'like men' when they exercise direct control over the distribution of wealth, they are almost never called ana nambaio. The female equivalent of Gende 'big man' are ana mogeri yonua ('very good woman') and tiyowo ('our mother').

When asked to describe a 'big man', both men and women agree

that such a person is physically strong, industrious, and knowledgeable. He also speaks well, has a pleasing voice, and is physically attractive. More importantly, both 'big men' and 'good women' are constantly thinking about and doing good things for others. When these individuals speak, people listen because their words are 'good' and they can be relied upon to 'make straight their talk' by fulfilling their promises and being the first to contribute pigs to the affairs of other men and women.

In contrast, wana briki (or ana briki) are lazy and selfish individuals who are lacking in foresight. Instead of giving their pigs to other men and women, they eat them themselves. Because of this, there is no one to bury them when they die, or to help them in times of need. True 'rubbish men', or Korumbuwana (lit. 'poor men'), are often too 'soft' to attract and keep wives and must, like wana briki (whose wives leave them), work like 'women' and raise pigs for other men. Similarly, 'rubbish women' will at best attract only a small brideprice and will, along with her husband, work in the gardens of other men and women.

"I see, hear, taste, smell, feel something good" -

#### The emotion of happiness

In a society in which people are bound together by reciprocity, it is not surprising that many of the alleged attributes and characteristic behaviors of 'big men' and 'good women' are associated with giving, or that the Gende equate being good with being generous, and being selfish with being bad. I rarely heard anyone praise another person unless the speaker had been (or hoped to be)

a recipient of the other person's generosity. In determining whether or not someone is 'good', the Gende have many sensory clues to assist them.

Seeing men and women leading a long line of pigs into your village to give to you in exchange for your daughter, or hearing that one of your exchange partners has received a large pig and is planning to share the best part of the pig with you makes one happy (erene tukwane moqeri; 'my insides feel good'). The smell of the singed hair of pigs and of greasy pork which hangs in the air during a pig feast, and the feeling of fullness after eating your daughter's brideprice also gives happiness, as does seeing the admiration in women's eyes and hearing their cries of approval as the velvety-smooth black bird-of-paradise feathers given you by your mother's brothers sway provocatively atop your head when you enter the village square as a newly initiated male. Happiness is also given by the taste of sweet potatoes grown by your new bride on land given to you by your father and his brothers. Being happy is many things, but above all being happy is knowing that you are a member of society, and that there are others who care for and respect you, and who will mourn your death.

#### 'Thinking about others (kaka-maranua)

When someone gives them something, the Gende say "moqeri", or "I see something good", or "You are good" (Ka moqeri), or "You are very good" (Ka moqeri yonua). They will also say, "You have thought about me, later I will think about you". The rewards of giving, or 'thinking about others' are not the same as the happy

feelings of recipients. Thinking about others means being hungry and having only the praise of the recipients to eat while you look at your depleted gardens and decimated pig herds. Thinking about others means feeding your children small, half-grown sweet potatoes and the promises of bloated exchange partners to reciprocate your generosity, hearing your children cry themselves to sleep while your own belly growls with hunger pains, and yearning for the taste of pork fat which will make your skin shiny and moist again.

Thinking about others has its special pleasures of course. It is the contentment of being surrounded by your children and knowing that your wife will not leave you for another man and that her brothers will kill many pigs at your funeral ceremony. It is the peaceful feeling of making new gardens on land plentiful enough that you needn't worry about not having land to show your sons's wives when it comes time for your sons to marry. It is the security of knowing that you have pleased the ancestors and that your gardens will bring forth fruit abundantly and that your pig herd will increase rapidly in size and number. Thinking about others is pride and the freedom to be in the center of things, to eat food in the house of another man without shame, and to visit your sister's husband's village without fear. It is an easy manner, an erect posture, and a clear expression on one's face.

#### The responsibilities of winning

Both thinking about others and being thought of carry responsibilities, as well as rewards. For in order to enjoy the pleasures of giving, you must at some time be a recipient yourself,



and, in order to receive, you must give. Above all else, the key to being a big man is to have relationships of ongoing reciprocity with many persons. In other words, in order to be a winner, you must associate with players who will enable you to enjoy the rewards of high status by returning your generosity [1].

When giving, a man or woman must be careful not to give more than a recipient can realistically be expected to return. While it makes good sense not to waste wealth on someone with poor prospects, the greater danger is in causing a recipient to leave the game because he feels 'shame' (arawo) when he cannot reciprocate. For this reason, it is not unusual for exchange partners to meet and discuss beforehand the exact terms of an exchange, or for one partner to agree to leave a debt outstanding until the other can see his way clear to untangle his exchange commitments.

Creating debts which cannot be repaid is to risk ending the game and turning recipients into losers and personal enemies, as well as becoming a loser yourself should others turn against you and withdraw their support because they are suspicious of your intentions. There are, of course, occasions when a man or woman purposely gives too much to another individual with the object of

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[2] In this context I am using 'winners' to mean those men and women who attain the highest degrees of respect as big investors. However, persons who are the 'supporters' of big men (and women) are also 'winners' (albeit on a smaller scale) in the sense that they too do their part in keeping the game going and they too enjoy the rewards of social life.

shaming them. An example of this occurred some months after Yandera's pig kill. During the pig kill, the wife of one of the hosts gave a generous gift of pork to a migrant 'brother' of her husband. Expecting that her act of generosity would be reciprocated, the woman was later outraged when she heard that her brother-in-law's wife had given a small feast at her garden house without inviting her [3]. The food served at the feast consisted mainly of store-bought rice, canned fish, bisquits, and tea, which were paid for with money given to the hostess when her husband left Yandera to return to his job in town.

Several weeks later, the first woman prepared a small feast of her own. With a great show of kindness, she invited the wife of her husband's 'brother' to attend the feast. The younger woman declined, claiming that she was not feeling well. The general consensus was that the younger woman felt ashamed and that her shame would stay with her until she (or her husband) made a generous return on the original debt in addition to compensating the older woman for the young wife's failure to invite her to the feast at the garden house.

Generally speaking, people refrain from shaming other persons in such an open and aggressive way. Most hostility and competition is kept within bounds by fears that the embarrassed individuals

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[3] The insult of not being invited to the feast was felt even more keenly by the woman since it occurred during the rainy season - a time of the year when there is less garden food available and people regularly complain of 'being hungry'.

will become angry and seek revenge through sorcery (see discussion below), and a desire to surround oneself with allies rather than enemies. Indeed, the older woman had second thoughts about the wisdom of her act, and spent a number of sleepless nights worrying about whether or not the younger woman would try to sorcerize her.

In planning exchanges, consideration must also be given to one's ability to maintain an exchange relationship over many years. Since most exchanges, either directly or indirectly, involve the physical and social growth of children or the well-being of one's clan through the ongoing propitiation of ancestors in successive rounds of poi nomu, a prospective donor must plan his investments carefully. For a man to initiate several new exchange relationships during a poi nomu only to default years later when he discovers that he has overextended his resources, is not only a matter for personal embarrassment for him, but also a burden for other members of his clan who must make up his deficits in order to preserve the clan's reputation and good name, and to avoid angering clan ancestors and exchange partners in other clans. To invest heavily in a brother's son's childwealth and initiation ceremony and then be unable to follow through when it comes time to contribute wealth at his marriage, not only disappoints the future in-laws of the boy but also brings shame to a man (or woman's) brother and his son (as well as to other contributors to the brideprice), who have entered bridewealth negotiations with the expectation that previous acts of generosity are an indication of long-term support.

Only by giving thoughtfully and giving others a chance to be

winners also, can an individual have any assurance that he or she will continue to be a player. Ongoing involvement with allies, brothers, children, and other exchange partners, requires that in successive rounds of the game a balance is maintained between giving and receiving and that wealth flows continually, and at the appropriate times, from one person to another.

### Shame (arawo)

In a society which depends upon ongoing exchange and reciprocity for its survival, the Gende have other incentives for perpetuating exchange relationships in addition to 'feeling good' and enjoying the company and respect of others. One of the most powerful is the sense of shame (arawo) experienced by an individual when he or she is in the presence of creditors or persons who have legitimate, but unsatisfied claims to an individual's support [4].

Feelings of shame, or arawo, range from a mild sense of shame or inferiority felt by lesser men in the presence of big men or young men in the company of men and women who have killed pigs for their initiation rites and have promised to buy brides for them, to

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[4] Feelings of shame are not restricted to situations where there is an imbalance in exchange. Intense shame, for example, can result when a man or woman discusses sexual matters within the hearing of a person of the opposite sex. Likewise, a husband who forces his wife to have sexual relations with him during her menstrual period, may prompt her to commit suicide out of a deep sense of shame.

more acute feelings of shame felt by a man or woman when he or she is publicly berated by angry creditors for failing to repay a long overdue debt or by a young man who is chastened for unseemly behavior toward his elders and is reminded of his dependent status.

Reactions to shame vary from diffident behavior to exile or suicide. Diffident behavior is shown by young brides towards their new mothers-in-law, and by young husbands who choose to reach their wives' gardens by long and circuitous routes rather than risk confrontations with relatives, who are unhappy that the young men and their wives are taking too long to raise the tupoi owed to them. Self-imposed exile may be the reaction of a woman who prefers spending all her days and nights alone in her garden house to facing the shame of not having enough food to feed her husband's relatives when they visit, or of a woman who has been criticized by her in-laws for having too many children too close together.

When shame is severe or prolonged, an individual may become physically sick, or so mentally depressed that he or she may contemplate suicide as a way out of their misery. While I was living in Yandera, a young woman attempted to commit suicide by hanging herself from a tree after she learned that her prospective in-laws refused to pay a high brideprice for her because she was pregnant. Already humiliated because the brideprice negotiations had dragged on interminably, and suffering from the insinuations of others that she was not worth the brideprice being asked for by her parents, the girl devised a noose out of a pig tether and raced to the edge of the village with several girlfriends trailing after her and screaming for assistance.

Taller and more sturdily built than her companions, the young woman repelled their attempts to stop her and succeeded in climbing a small tree, tying the noose to a branch, and flinging herself to the ground below. Fortunately, in the confusion of the moment the girl had not made a proper knot and all that she suffered was rope burns on her neck. Meanwhile, the other girls' shouts attracted a large crowd of men and women who prevented the young woman from making a second attempt. During the following week, the girl made several more attempts at killing herself, but as she was watched closely by members of her family, she was unsuccessful. Her behavior, however, prompted her future in-laws to raise the value of the brideprice they were offering, and eventually the young woman was married to the father of her unborn child.

Some suicides end more tragically. I was told of a young woman who hung herself from the rafters of her mother's garden house after her brother accused her of spoiling her chances of attracting a large brideprice by wanton behavior. Eager for her sister to marry a man from a wealthy family so that he could acquire a bride of his own with his sister's brideprice, the young woman's brother berated her for 'carrying leg' (Kango, courtship) with boys of no account.

One morning the young woman's mother left her in charge of a younger sister while she went off to work in the gardens of another woman. The young woman left her sister behind in the village, telling her not to follow after her, and she went alone to her mother's garden house and hung herself. By the time her mother returned home and the young woman's body had been found, she had

been dead for hours. Feeling shame on being told of his sister's death, her brother tried to kill himself and was only dissuaded from doing so by his mother's pleas that he was her 'only son' and that killing himself would only make matters worse for her. Those men and women who had contributed pigs to the young woman's puberty ceremony now had to be repaid with the pigs her mother was raising for her brother's brideprice, thereby delaying even further the time when the young man himself could get married. Shortly after his sister's death, he went away to work for two years as a laborer on a plantation on the coast.

### Anger

In "Why is Shame on the Skin" (1975:350-351), Andrew Strathern points out that, among the groups he has studied in the Mt. Hagen and Pangia areas in Papua New Guinea, shame is only "skin-deep" (e.g. shame if felt on the skin as blushing or some other external physical reaction) whereas anger, which sometimes follows closely on the feeling of shame, is felt inside of a person. He goes on to say that the Melpa and Wiru peoples believe that it is anger over being or feeling shamed (and not shame itself) that causes individuals to become sick or to seek revenge.

The Gende make a fairly similar distinction between shame and anger. The expression na arawo tu ('I am ashamed') literally refers to a person's genitals, which are (by implication) exposed for all to see. For the Gende, as for the people studied by Strathern, shame is a "public" emotion, experienced when one is "exposed" or "found out" or "shown to be less than one tries to

make him or herself out to be". On the other hand, anger is a private emotion, at least until it surfaces in an emotional outburst or in the angered person becoming sick. When a person is angry, he may say that 'my insides are set on fire' (tukwa-ne-kura tuwa tai) or 'my insides know/hear [something] bad' (tukwa-ne-kura briki kru).

Individuals who are made to feel shame for their failures to pay their debts may suffer intense anger. In the section on sorcery (see below), I will be discussing how that anger may be directed into harming those persons who have caused their embarrassment. In this section and the next, however, I will be looking at the anger of persons whose exchange partners default on them (or otherwise treat them unjustly) and at how children are socialized to expect and demand (through the appropriate use of anger) reciprocity.

Ordinarily, a sense of obligation or shame suffices to encourage most individuals to keep their exchange activities in some semblance of order (or at least to make it appear as if they are). Individuals vary, however, in the degree to which they are sensitive to or able to respond to the needs and rights of others. Some individuals display a seeming indifference or outright pugnacity to situations which would cause others to hang their heads in shame or remove themselves from the company of those they have offended.

An example of this occurred during a death payment party (kwiagi) I witnessed about a month before Yandera's pig feast. The kwiagi was sponsored by two brothers in honor of their deceased



parents. Although the brothers were the main sponsors of the affair, their father's brothers and their father's brothers' children were expected to make contributions of food, drink, cash, and in some cases, pigs to the feast and to the death payments which would be given to their father's and mother's matrilineal kin and their mother's brothers.

Two relatives who should have contributed to the kwiagi but didn't, were men in their mid- to late fifties who had been the beneficiaries of numerous acts of generosity and support on the part of the deceased man and woman when they were alive. One of the men, a distant 'FBS' or cousin of the sponsors, had promised to contribute a large sum of money to the kwiagi but was unable to do so when several of his migrant exchange partners defaulted at the last minute. Wisely, the man chose to stay away from the kwiagi, prolonging his visit to town for several months. While his 'brothers' were angry with him for letting them down, they also felt sorry for him when it was reported (by migrants returning home for the pig feast) that he was in the hospital and 'close to death' as a result of the shame he felt [5].

The other man, contributing only a bottle of whiskey (far less than was expected of him), not only attended the kwiagi, but succeeded in compounding his offense and making a spectacle of himself by acting as if he was one of the hosts of the kwiagi. Insisting that he be served as much beer and whiskey as the other men

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[5] These reports turned out to be exaggerated, since according to the man himself, he spent only two days in the hospital.

present at the death payment party, he proceeded to become very drunk and contentious.

The following morning, while most of those men and women who attended the kwiagi were trying to sleep, he was reeling around the village plaza, shouting at the top of his lungs that he was a 'big man' and ought to be treated with respect. Claiming that his duties as a local 'doctor' prevented him from making a lot of money and helping his wife raise many pigs, he berated his 'nephews' for trying to exclude him from the kwiagi and treating him as if he were a 'rubbish man' instead of a 'good man who used his medical knowledge to help others'.

While the Gende excuse very young children and the mentally unbalanced or retarded for breaches of good conduct, or shameless behavior, they ridicule or shun, and, in more extreme cases, even ostracize or kill (sorcerize) other offenders. In the example given above, the 'doctor' was openly ridiculed for his aggressive behavior and told to hold his tongue so that other, more decent men and women might sleep. By late afternoon, when he had become sober enough to feel the dislike and anger of others, he departed for his wife's village, remaining there for a month before returning for the pig feast.

#### Socialization for emotional control

Since a failure on the part of even a few individuals to repay their debts on time or to offer support when the need arises has the potential of causing serious repercussions throughout the exchange community by interfering with other individuals' abilities

to properly manage their exchanges or jeopardizing their personal reputations and well-being, it is not enough to rely on ambition and feelings of shame to compel others to reciprocate and act generously. Reciprocity is so fundamentally crucial to Gende society, that from the time a child is born it is taught to both expect and demand it from others.

Early lessons focus on raising a child's expectations that his or her every need will be met. Up until the time they are two or three years old and have been eating solid food for some time, babies are breastfed whenever they are hungry or cranky. As mentioned earlier, if a mother is preoccupied and ignores a child who is grabbing for her breast, the child may hit or kick her with impunity until she satisfies its demands. Mothers encourage this kind of response by slapping themselves or telling the child to hit them on such occasions.

Likewise, if a young child is snapped at or frightened by a dog, any older person who is present will hit the dog and shout that they will "kill him" for upsetting the child. When two babies playing together get into a struggle over a mutually desired plaything, their mothers or babysitters will separate them, each loudly blaming the other's child for causing the fracas, in some cases even threatening to strike the other child.

As children grow older, they are taught the difference between reasonable and inappropriate demands on their part. A child who has been used to having its mother's undivided attention suddenly finds himself replaced by a younger sibling. In addition, he (or she) become the next to last household member to be fed during the

evening meal when the father and older siblings are fed first and given the choicest and largest helpings. When the young child rebels against this kind of treatment, he is scolded by his parents and told that "When you help us as much as your older brothers and sisters do, then you will be fed first".

Older children can become quite sensitive and jealous of the prerogatives they have gained, as the following example illustrates. One evening, the oldest son of a man with thirteen children - a boy of about twelve years of age - became enraged when he noticed that his portion of the meal was the same as was given to several of his younger brothers. Dumping his food on the ground, he flew into a rage and berated his mother for treating him like rubbish, accusing her of harboring evil intentions against him. While his father tried to placate the boy by offering to share his own food with him, the mother grumbled that the boy had wasted good food and ought to be beaten. Kicking his mother, the boy raced outside and began pelting the house with rocks and threatening to kill everyone inside the house. After several hours of venting his anger, the boy finally went to the home of a relative to be fed some cold taro. Such outbursts are trying but parents tolerate them since it is believed that repressed anger will make an individual sick or cause them to seek revenge through sorcery or more direct acts of violence.

A propensity to react quickly to real or imagined slights and acts of omission on the part of one's exchange partners, has the effect of putting pressure on even the most recalcitrant to make an effort to satisfy claims against themselves. The effects of such

pressure can be extraordinary and unpredictable, setting into motion a chain reaction of anger and shame which ripples for some distance before it reaches a dead end, or an individual who has no resources or exchange partners that he or she can rely on to loan him or her the wealth necessary to make good on a debt. In this manner, someone other than the original culprit may end up being a scapegoat by having all the blame fall on his or her shoulders.

Attempts to shift the blame to someone else may backfire, however, leaving the original offender in a far more embarrassing or dangerous predicament than formerly. An example of this occurred around the time of Yandera's pig feast. Publicly castigated for repeatedly failing to pay his debts on time, a clan brother of a woman married to a man in Yandera turned in his humiliation to his sister, demanding that she come to his assistance by compensating him for care he had given her when she was left fatherless as an infant. Reminding her of the many small gifts of food he had made to her and her widowed mother, he asked that she give him 'head pay' or Koia munu.

Coming at a time when the woman had committed all of her resources to Yandera's upcoming pig feast, she was in a quandary as to how she would satisfy her brother's claim. Giving him a small amount of money to hold him off for a while, she set about asking exchange partners in her husband's clan to help her pay the whole debt. When her first efforts were rebuffed by men and women who had more pressing exchange commitments to worry about, the woman became quite upset, alternately threatening to kill herself or do harm to the "selfish and jealous persons who had plenty of times

eaten food in her house and were now trying to shame her by refusing to come to her aid" [7].

Her behavior had little effect beyond causing others to avoid her or to remind her that she was wealthier than they, and that "if she wasn't such a bikhet (P.E. conceited or stubborn person) who wanted to make a name for herself at the pig feast, she would repay her brother and not cause trouble for everyone". When her brother arrived on the appointed day to collect the remainder of the 'head pay', the woman ran away and hid in her garden house. Her brother stayed with her husband for several days, but finally left when it became apparent that he wasn't going to get what he came for. Hearing from others how much trouble his request had caused, he became worried that his 'sister' would try to sorcerize him. Rather than return to his home village, where he would have to face his own exchange partners, he returned to his parttime job in town, vowing never to come back to a "place where men and women take all you have to offer but give nothing in return".

### Sorcery

Although many of my Gende informants claimed that they had no knowledge of sorcery techniques or had given up the practice of

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[7] Normally, 'head pay' is given as part of the death payments made on behalf of a deceased person at a kwiagi sponsored by their children and members of their children's clan, but may be asked for at any time, particularly if a man is trying to amass a large store of wealth to be given away at a pig feast.

sorcery when they became Christians, a fear of sorcery continues to be a powerful force in the lives of most Gende, shaping their behavior in ways which, contrary to the example given above, tend to promote rather than hinder ongoing exchange and social interaction.

In the remaining sections of this chapter, my focus is more on the social consequences of a belief in sorcery, the motivations which the Gende ascribe to sorcerers, and the relationship between sorcery and inequality than on particular methods of sorcery or the actual existence of sorcerers. As most of my case material on sorcery is included in later chapters on the effects of cash-income differences upon Gende society, my remarks here will be of a more general nature.

The Gende term for both 'sorcery' and 'sorcerer' is kumo. Within the general category of kumo, certain kinds of sorcery and sorcery practitioners may be distinguished by modifiers (e.g. wei kumo, 'men's sorcery'/'male sorcerer'; ana kumo, 'women's sorcery'/'female sorcerer'; and kumo agi, 'killing sorcery') or by separate terms (e.g. kwitambono - a type of men's killing sorcery used against enemies from another clan).

Not included within the category of kumo are certain practices or techniques which the Gende refer to as kane and which I gloss as 'magic'. In contrast to kumo, kane is not used to harm other persons. For example, kane are used to increase the size of one's sweet potatoes, to make oneself appear more attractive to members of the opposite sex, or to prevent sickness caused by evil spirits or sorcerers.

While it is believed that every adult possesses at least some Kane spells or techniques, very few adults are believed to possess a knowledge of sorcery (this varies of course). Among those who do, some sorcerers, in addition to be able to use their knowledge for malevolent purposes, use their Kumo to counter or cure the effects of another sorcerer's attack against helpless victims.

The most feared type of sorcery is killing sorcery, or Kumo aqi. Practiced by both male (wei Kumo) and female sorcerers (ana Kumo), killing sorcery may be directed against persons outside of the sorcerer's clan or against unsuspecting men, women, and children within the sorcerer's clan. Except in the case of very old persons and infants, most deaths, particularly untimely ones, are blamed on the work of sorcerers. Even when the immediate cause of death is drowning or injuries sustained in a fall, the relatives of a deceased person almost always suspect sorcery as a contributing factor.

Judging from informants' statements, most Kumo aqi practiced by male sorcerers in the past was used against enemies in other clans which were at war with the sorcerer's clan. Similarly, wives who had come from hostile clans were often suspected of being ana Kumo and blamed for many of the deaths and misfortunes which befell members of their husbands' clans.

More recently, at least according to informants, there has been an upsurge in the use of killing sorcery and other types of sorcery against members of the sorcerer's own clan. During the time I was living with the Gende, I found that sorcery accusations against fellow clan members occurred as frequently as those made



against suspected sorcerers in other clans (including women from other clans). Informants attribute this shift to widening disparities in cash income among members of the same clan or village [8].

Other types of sorcery (kumo) include sorcery aimed at spoiling other people's gardens or causing their pigs to be barren and sickly, sorcery which causes heavy rains to fall during a pig feast so that the pork will not cook properly in the earth ovens and important pre-pig kill singsings such as the Kaima Koizi and Kaima miri will have to be delayed, sorcery which results in mysterious accidents or fires, and sorcery which causes its victims to suffer from assorted physical and mental ailments.

The motivations attributed to sorcerers vary almost as much as the means used by sorcerers to injure their victims. Just as sorcerers may choose to hurt someone by causing their children to become sick or by making them slip on a rain-swept slope, their

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[8] This phenomenon has been noted for other tribal groups in Papua New Guinea and Melanesia (cf. Sorcery and Social Change in Melanesia, edited by Zelenietz and Lindenbaum 1981, in particular the articles by Lederman, Westermark, and Zelenietz, which document the use of sorcery as a means by which the envious and jealous may strike at the success of others, and relate an increase in sorcery within local descent groups to economic and political changes occurring within Melanesia since pacification and the partial integration of Melanesian societies into a different (Western) economic order.

reasons for working sorcery may be to seek revenge against a person who has beaten them in a round of poi nomu or wrongfully accused them of stealing food from their gardens, to assuage feelings of rejection when a lover marries someone else or shame when an exchange partner gives his biggest pigs to another man, or to avenge a father's death at the hands of other sorcerers or slanderous remarks directed at the sorcerer, his family, or his clan.

Most sorcerous acts, however, are believed to be committed out of envy and jealousy rather than revenge or spite. For this reason, when some misfortune befalls an individual, after carefully reviewing his or her commitments to discover if someone might have occasion to be angry with them and finding no sufficient cause, an individual is moved to look for signs in the behavior of lesser men and women that they have found pleasure in the former individual's affliction. Faces are scanned for hints of malice or hatred, and expressions of sympathy are judged for their sincerity.

Remembered are times when the suspected sorcerer(s) was caught lurking about the victim's gardens or seen walking near the victim's house in the middle of the night. Suddenly, it becomes important to know why certain individuals have been keeping to their garden houses and have not been seen in the village for days or even weeks. Are they too ashamed to show themselves? Is it they who have committed the act, harboring ill-will in their solitude and plotting the destruction and harm of others? These questions and more besiege the victim or his family.

### The trouble with being a winner

Knowing that envy can turn even an ally or a close associate into an enemy, most men and women are careful to take preventive measures against the ever present threat of sorcery. Foremost is the use of magic spells (kane) to repel sorcery attacks or to ward off danger. Along with magic words spoken over sweet potato plantings to ensure their rapid growth, other spells are spoken which will counteract the effects of garden sorcery. Men who plan to kill pigs or to dance in another village, arm themselves beforehand with special magical preparations so that their pig-butchering knife will not slip and cut them or their steps become awkward and slow due to the jealousy of on-lookers who assault them with sorcery.

In addition to supernatural means, men and women often modify their behavior so that differences in wealth are not so readily apparent, at least on an everyday basis. Showy displays of status symbols (ceremonial headgear and wearing apparel, expensive western clothing, etc.) are reserved for special occasions when the wearer proves his or her right to wear them by displaying his or her generosity in the context of formal exchange events. Men and women also take care not to eat in front of other persons unless they are willing to share their food with them, or to gloat excessively over their own good fortune in the company of less fortunate individuals.

In this regard, children are taught at an early age not to bring playmates home with them when it is time for the evening meal. Not only do parents fear that the young guests will tell

their own parents of the abundance of food (or scarcity) they have seen, but anyone who shows up at mealtime must be fed - for to fail to feed an unexpected guest is to risk making him or her jealous and angry. Accordingly, mothers will give their disobedient children's portion to the new arrivals and her own children will be sent to bed hungry.

While most men and women, even when they have little to eat, would not dream of visiting a more fortunate neighbor at mealtime unless invited, a shameless few make a habit of scrounging free meals at the expense of timid 'hosts'. For this reason, children are often sent outside to play when their mothers are cooking. Should an unwanted freeloader appear in the distance, children race inside to warn their mothers, who quickly hide the food until the visitor has gone away. Not a few meals are eaten well after most people are asleep, particularly if a woman has cooked something special which she intends sharing with a few selected guests.

Thus, along with the joys of being a winner and being in the middle of things go the cares which a belief in sorcery engenders. Both winners and losers alike must make a show of equality: winners downplaying or hiding their wealth in order to protect themselves against the evils of sorcery, and losers feigning a comfortable existence or holding back signs of jealousy in order to avoid being branded as sorcerers and cut off from society entirely.

#### Keeping the game alive

Unless they are themselves powerful sorcerers, those individuals who fear sorcery the most, are often the wealthiest

individuals in the community. Set apart from other men and women by their greater industry, intelligence, skill, strength, ambition, and wealth, they make ideal targets for outpourings of jealousy and hatred. Nonetheless, if used wisely, those things which make them different are also their most powerful defense against the threat of sorcery.

The most effective means of sorcery prevention is to surround oneself with as many winners and satisfied exchange partners as possible. Investing wealth among a large circle of men and women (and their families) and taking care to avoid giving them cause for shame or anger (e.g. being 'too' generous or failing to give support at the appropriate times), a man (or woman) reduces the number of potential 'enemies' he has to fear by becoming a reliable and perhaps essential component of their own personal networks and strategies for success, and creates a network of supporters who will come to his aid when he (or some other members of his household) is the victim of a sorcerer by constituting a 'court' of public opinion which is favorable to him in the matter of detection and punishment of an accused sorcerer.

In the past, depending on the nature of their crimes and the degree of anger their crimes have aroused in the victim or members of the victim's family, sorcerers who were 'caught' were either killed, ostracized from the society of other men and women, banished to another settlement, forced to pay compensation, or victimized by counter-sorcery. Except for direct murder, these forms of punishment continue to be used today.

Methods of detecting sorcerers vary from observing certain

peculiarities in the behavior of a suspected sorcerer to detecting a sorcerer through the use of a 'divining rod' (bamboo pole). In the latter method, a length of bamboo is held lightly at both ends by two men who are respected for their own considerable knowledge of sorcery and their willingness to help protect other members of the community from evil spirits and evil sorcerers. Moving slowly around the settlement where a suspected sorcerer lives, the bamboo carriers wait patiently for the pole to make a sign that they are nearing the suspected sorcerer or his dwelling (at which point the pole will begin to vibrate). When the two men have found the sorcerer, the pole will begin to vibrate more convulsively, and finally point at the sorcerer.

More often, sorcerers incriminate themselves by acting suspiciously (walking about outside late at night, loitering in the vicinity of the victim's house or gardens, openly displaying anger towards the intended victim, eating in the dark, etc.). Since it is believed that sorcerers do most of their evil deeds under cover of darkness, persons who are caught wandering around the village late at night may find themselves prime suspects should someone die inexplicably. If villagers remember seeing the suspect loitering in the vicinity of the victim's house or gardens, their suspicions become certainties. One method of sorcerizing another individual is to get hold of and bespell something that was once (and, according to Gende belief, still is) in close personal contact with the intended victim (e.g. a piece of clothing, feces, hair, etc.).

Yet another method of detecting sorcerers is to catch them eating alone in the dark, for it is believed that some sorcerers

kill their victims by eating their internal organs. Persons who suffer lingering deaths are believed to be the victims of sorcerers whose spirits attack their victims when they are asleep, coming nightly to steal different parts of the victim's insides.

Since most men and women have occasion to be walking from one house to another at night, or from time to time find themselves overtaken by darkness before they have made it home from their gardens, it is not easy to determine with any certainty the true identity of a sorcerer. Even the bamboo trial may fail with the rod pointing in quick succession at two or three 'suspected' sorcerers.

Thus, when a man (or woman) accuses another individual of sorcery, he must have some sort of public opinion on his side in order to effectually rid himself of the sorcerer or to exact compensation without at the same time risking both the enmity of the accused sorcerer and other members of the community. With a large number of faithful supporters, a man or woman can exact whatever punishment he or she desires, so long, of course, as the 'convicted' sorcerer does not also have a large network of supporters.

Having a large support network is particularly useful in yet another situation in which wealthy individuals sometimes find themselves: when the table is turned and they are themselves accused of sorcery. Although many of those persons who are actually punished for sorcery are poor and unimportant, persons who are wealthy are also the victims of sorcery accusations. Surrounded by men who are 'smaller' and less important, wealthy men are sometimes accused of acquiring their wealth through sorcery (possessing unusual powers which cause their crops and pigs to grow

unusually big or fast) or causing other men to look small by comparison by directing sorcery at their gardens and pigs or bringing misfortune to their other exchange partners so that they (the accusers) are unable to fulfill their obligations on time.

Wealthy individuals may also be accused of bringing sickness or death to other, less wealthy men and women, whose close relatives then demand compensation in the form of pigs or other forms of wealth. Today, when there are greater differences in wealth among individuals, compensation claims against wealthier individuals are common, and are one of the means by which poorer individuals bring about a balance of power, by exacting compensation from wealthy individuals and then using it to fulfill their own exchange obligations.

Only by having a large network of faithful supporters can a wealthy individual protect himself against the accusations of other men and women. Just as the wealthy individual can turn public opinion against a suspected sorcerer, so too can he (or she) enlist favorable public opinion to rebut a sorcery accusation, perhaps even turning it around so that the accuser becomes the accused. In both instances, a belief in sorcery works to encourage individuals to invest in one another and to avoid behavior which may be deemed selfish or greedy.

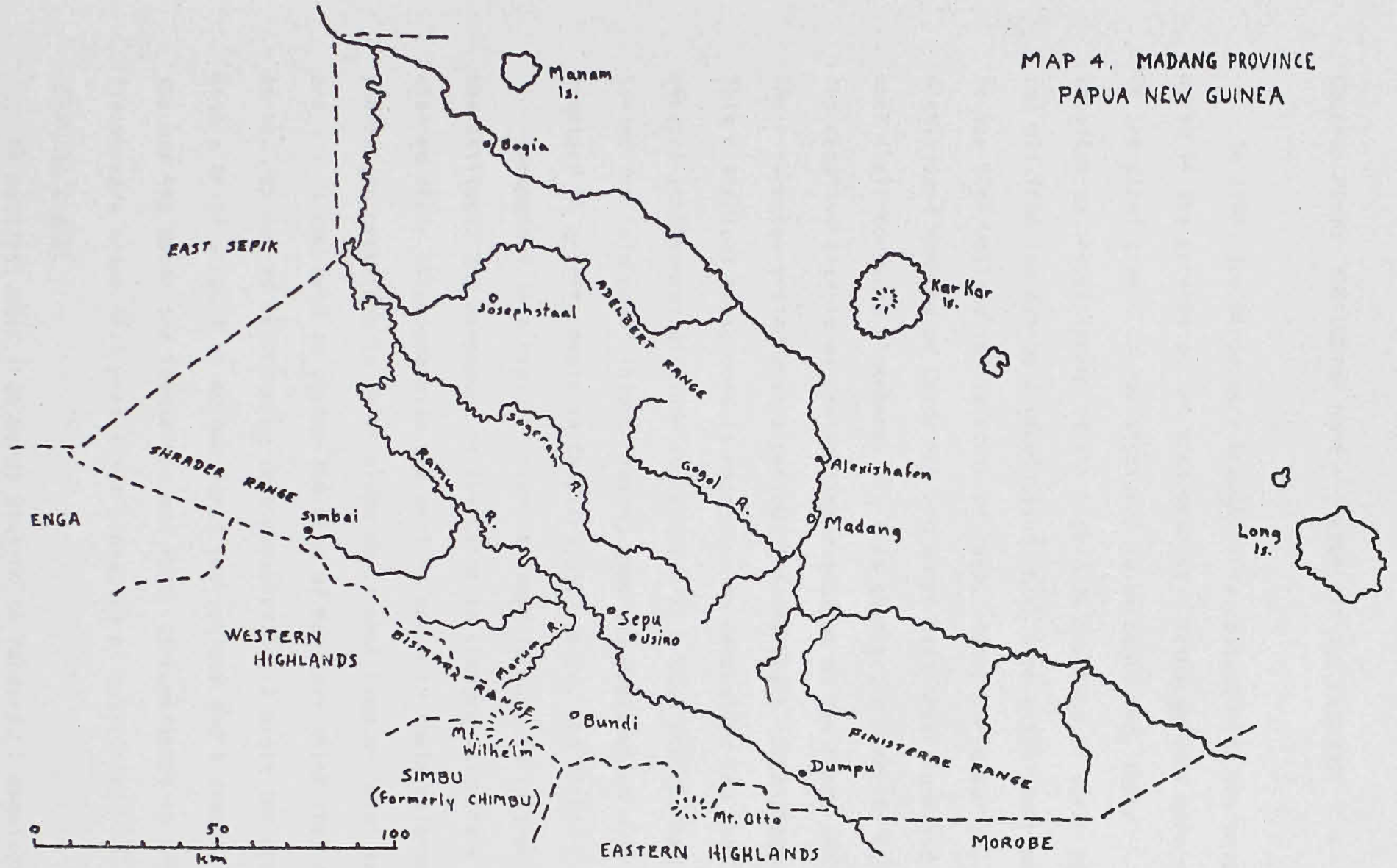


## PART TWO - THE LOSING GAME

"Missus! Yu lusim gutpela ples na kam long ples nogut. Bundi em rabis ples. Nogat rot. Sapos yu stap long Chimbu bai yu inap raun long ka. Em isi. Tasol hia nogat. Mipela rabis tasol. Mipela nogat mani na gutpela klos. Na mipela kaikai olsem pik. Mipela Bundi sindaun na wokabaut olsem pik." (Bare, one of thirteen men and boys who accompanied me on my first walk from Bundi Station to Yandera).

"Missus, you have left a good place and come to a bad place. Bundi is a rubbish place. There is no road. If you were in Chimbu you would be able to travel by car. That's easy. But not here. We are only rubbish. We don't have money and good clothes. And we eat the same food as pigs. We Bundis live and walk about the same as pigs do".

MAP 4. MADANG PROVINCE  
PAPUA NEW GUINEA



## Chapter Five: THE LOSING GAME - INEQUALITY AND EXCHANGE

In 1932, the Gende were brought into contact with the outside world in the persons of two missionaries. Although they were one of the first groups in the highlands to be contacted, their location on the periphery of the highlands resulted in their being cut off from the economic development which soon after flourished in the high valleys to the south of them. After World War II, significant numbers of Gende men and women left their homeland to seek their fortunes elsewhere. In this chapter, I describe some of the negative effects of contact and migration on the Gende and their exchange system over a period of fifty years (1932-1982). This historical background is necessary to understand how the unequal involvement of Gende individuals in a cash economy has turned the 'old game' into a 'losing game', a topic which will be examined in greater depth in Chapters Six, Seven, and Eight.

Throughout this history, every attempt is made to incorporate the attitudes and responses of the Gende to changes which have altered their relations with one another and with their neighbors, and raised questions in their minds about what kind of 'men' they are and of how best to become the kind of men they think they ought to be. By way of introducing this perspective, I begin the chapter with a brief account of my own first impressions and a synopsis of the way the Gende see themselves and their circumstances in 1982, fifty years after they were first contacted by outsiders.

### 'Rubbish place'

On my first walk from Bundi Station to Yandera, I developed an

appreciation for both the beauty of the land and its forbidding topography. Standing on top of an 8000 foot high ridge midway between Bundi and Yandera, I had a panoramic view of green mountains and blue skies. Looking northeast through a gap in the outer mountains, I could see the white glare of the Ramu River. Beyond the misty swamps were more mountains - the Adelberts and Finisterres - and beyond that, only fifty miles from where I stood, the coastal town of Madang, the Bismarck Sea, and the volcanic islands, Manam and Karkar. From another vantage point on the ridge I could see the jagged peaks of Mt. Wilhelm (14,793 ft.) in the west, beyond a range of tall, uninhabited mountains which form a natural barrier to the towns and high valleys to the south of Gende territory.

Earlier that morning, the thirteen men and boys I had hired to help carry my supplies and guide me, left Bundi and began walking along a dirt road on the way to Yandera. Intended eventually to connect with both the Madang-Brahmin Road and Chimbu-Highlands Highway network of roads, this 'road' was unfinished in parts and little more than a glorified walking path. In many places, my companions and I had to wade through boulder-strewn rivers or walk across fallen logs or narrow suspension bridges over steep waterfalls. In other places, the road was overgrown with tall grass or gouged away by recent landslides, some 100 feet wide. After gingerly inching across more than a dozen unstable landslides, my companions considered it safer to leave the road and go straight up and over the mountains and through the forest on old trails.

On first impression, the region seems stuck somewhere between

the past and the present. Except at Bundi, the site of a Catholic mission, primary school, health center, and sub-district government headquarters, and at the mission-run trade store at Pandambai and the mining camp at Noriningi, there is no electricity or plumbing, and everywhere the people live in bush material houses, plant gardens, and raise pigs much as they always have. Passing through villages along the way, I observed little in the way of western gadgetry and material possessions. Most families own a few tin pots, cups, and plates, and have steel axes and bush knives, and almost everyone owns a few pieces of western-style clothing, but few possess kerosene lanterns or radios, and even fewer own such exotica as sewing machines.

Although each village has at least one small trade store where one can buy rice, canned fish, tobacco, tea, sugar, salt, and cooking grease, there was little in the way of cash-producing activity to be seen except for groves of coffee trees, and a minerals exploration camp which had not been in operation for several years. When I asked where people got the money to buy things in the stores, my companions replied, "Some people sell a little coffee up at Pandambai or get money from relatives or friends in town. Many play cards and a few work at the mining camp. If the mining company comes and starts work again there will be a lot of money around. But now there is very little. You have come to a rubbish place."

As further evidence that the Gende area was a 'rubbish place', my companions pointed out that there were "no young people" in the villages. "There is no work for them here so they leave their

parents to find work in town". Indeed, in most villages we passed through I saw only a few very old people tending mobs of small children while their parents were off working in their gardens or playing cards. In Table 5.1 (below), in which I list population and migration statistics for a sampling of Gende villages, the man's claim is shown to be exaggerated. However, there is a disproportionate number of absentees in the 18-45 year old category, particularly among males. As this is a time in their life when marriages are contracted and men and women are expected to enter a period of intense productivity, begin paying off debts, and build networks of exchange relationships, their absence from the village is noticeable and full of significance to their relatives.

Throughout my stay, many Gende described themselves to me as 'rubbish people' who live like 'pigs' in contrast to other Papua New Guineans or Westerners, who live in 'good places', drive cars, eat and dress well, and whose sons need not leave home in order to earn money. The Gende's sense of being 'rubbish', however emerges from a more fundamental dilemma than the secondary effects of low income and underdevelopment. With a large number of adults missing from the village, some of whom are unemployed and unable (or unwilling) to fulfill exchange obligations to their brothers and exchange partners, many villagers today experience difficulties managing their own exchange relations.

In their relations with neighboring Chimbus, with whom the Gende have had a long tradition of marriage and exchange, many Gende find they are now at a disadvantage and unable to maintain a

Table 5.1 Resident and migrant populations in select Gende villages

Age Groups	<u>Resident</u>		<u>Absentee(a)</u>		<u>Total</u>	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
<b>Yandera</b>						
0 - 5	65	50	17 (21%)	8 (14%)	82	58
6 -17	90	70	20 (18%)	18 (20%)	110	88
18 -45	100	120	87 (47%)	40 (25%)	187	160
46 plus	37	31	10 (21%)	8 (21%)	47	39
<b>Total</b>	<b>292</b>	<b>271</b>	<b>134 (31%)</b>	<b>74 (21%)</b>	<b>426</b>	<b>345</b>
	<b>563</b>		<b>208 (27%)</b>		<b>771</b>	
<b>Karasokara</b>						
0 - 5	32	37	10 (24%)	11 (23%)	42	48
6 -17	50	50	20 (29%)	20 (29%)	70	70
18 -45	60	65	70 (54%)	30 (32%)	130	95
46 plus	13	20	6 (32%)	-	19	20
<b>Total</b>	<b>155</b>	<b>172</b>	<b>106 (41%)</b>	<b>61 (26%)</b>	<b>261</b>	<b>233</b>
	<b>327</b>		<b>167 (34%)</b>		<b>494</b>	
<b>Bundikara</b>						
0 - 5	46	40	6 (12%)	5 (11%)	52	45
6 -17	43	36	20 (32%)	20 (36%)	63	56
18 -45	100	100	70 (41%)	25 (20%)	170	125
46 plus	19	15	5 (21%)	-	24	15
<b>Total</b>	<b>208</b>	<b>191</b>	<b>101 (33%)</b>	<b>50 (21%)</b>	<b>309</b>	<b>241</b>
	<b>399</b>		<b>151 (27%)</b>		<b>550</b>	

(a) % of total male or female population in a particular age group

Table 5.1 Resident and migrant populations in select Gende villages  
(continued)

Age Groups	<u>Resident</u>		<u>Absentee</u>		<u>Total</u>	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
<b>Kurinogubu</b>						
0 - 5	28	26	4 (13%)	4 (13%)	32	30
6 -17	40	31	7 (15%)	7 (18%)	47	38
18 -45	50	50	40 (44%)	20 (29%)	90	70
46 plus	15	15	-	-	15	15
<b>Total</b>	<b>133</b>	<b>122</b>	<b>51 (28%)</b>	<b>31 (20%)</b>	<b>184</b>	<b>153</b>
	<b>255</b>		<b>82 (24%)</b>		<b>337</b>	
<b>Emegari</b>						
0 - 5	30	30	10 (25%)	6 (17%)	40	36
6 -17	57	47	15 (21%)	7 (13%)	72	54
18 -45	80	85	73 (48%)	24 (22%)	153	109
46 plus	26	15	10 (28%)	5 (25%)	36	20
<b>Total</b>	<b>193</b>	<b>177</b>	<b>108 (36%)</b>	<b>42 (19%)</b>	<b>301</b>	<b>219</b>
	<b>370</b>		<b>150 (29%)</b>		<b>520</b>	
<b>Karamuke</b>						
0 - 5	42	40	10 (19%)	10 (20%)	52	50
6 -17	76	66	30 (28%)	17 (20%)	106	83
18 -45	120	125	80 (40%)	37 (23%)	200	162
46 plus	23	13	7 (23%)	5 (28%)	30	18
<b>Total</b>	<b>261</b>	<b>244</b>	<b>127 (33%)</b>	<b>69 (22%)</b>	<b>388</b>	<b>313</b>
	<b>505</b>		<b>196 (28%)</b>		<b>701</b>	



balance of payments with their mothers' and wives' relatives, who have the advantage of living in a more developed region of the highlands. Some Gende men try to offset this imbalance by giving their daughters in marriage to wealthy Chimbu husbands.

Among the Gende themselves, the problem of keeping exchange relations in order is acute, given wide variations in household income from urban remittances and the few limited (and often unreliable) local sources of cash income. The effects of income differences pervade every aspect of the Gende exchange system and their relations with one another. Having a large pig herd is no longer a guarantee of status and respectability, and many persons who have little or no access to cash must rely on persons who have both pigs and money to help them in fulfilling the cash component of exchange payments.

Men and women sum up the situation they find themselves in today, by saying that in their father's and grandfather's generations, most men were big men - big in both a physical sense and in the sense that they were able to pay off their debts and achieve a measure of respect among their peers - but that now there are many more rubbish men and far fewer big men. From these and other statements which the Gende make, it is clear that they associate their displacement from the center of things with the incorporation of money into their exchange system, differential participation in the urban wage economy, and the relative underdevelopment of their own area. However, in assessing the causes of their poverty, the Gende sometimes blame themselves as being inadequate 'men', or losers, who can expect no better out of life,

while at other times they place the blame squarely on the shoulders of their children and others (including the white agents of change) who have 'cheated' them by receiving more than they have given in return.

First contact - the men with all the shells

In 1896, twelve years after the Germans laid claim to the northeastern part of New Guinea [2], the island's interior mountain ranges were sighted by Dr. Carl Lauterbach, a German botanist exploring the Sepik River (Mennis 1982:38). More than 30 years elapsed, however, before New Guinea's central highlands were penetrated by Europeans and the existence of formerly unknown tribes made known to the outside world. In the intervening years, the river valleys between the coastal and interior mountains were visited only sporadically by explorers, hunters, labor recruiters, and gold prospectors. Visits by missionaries were even more rare, since they chose to concentrate their missionizing efforts on the more populous coastal groups than among the supposedly smaller populations in the interior.

In 1929, two officers in the Papuan administration - C.H. Karius and Ivan Champion - crossed the central mountains from the south while mapping the sources of the Fly and Sepik Rivers. Their

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[2] In 1884, the island of New Guinea was partitioned among Great Britain, Germany, and the Netherlands. In 1914, Australia occupied the German territory of New Guinea, and from then on administered it along with the former British territory of Papua.

route did not take them through the most heavily populated central valleys (White 1972:107). However, hints of large populations in the highland valleys were accumulating. In 1930, Father Kirschbaum, S.V.D. sighted what he thought was a great inland plateau [3] while exploring the Sepik River (Mennis 1982:38). He also found evidence that goldlip pearlshells, originating on the south coast, were being traded across the island of New Guinea into the Sepik area (Schaefer transcript: 1). He urged the Bishop at the Divine Word Mission in Alexishafen [4] that an expedition be undertaken into the Bismarck Range to discover any people living there. However, a permit for the expedition from the administration could not be gotten, on the grounds that its safety could not be guaranteed. Thus, the missionaries lost the opportunity of being first into the Wahgi Valley.

Already, penetration from the east was taking place, as miners from the Morobe goldfields were seeking new prospects. Mick Leahy and M.I. Dwyer's 1930 expeditions took them into the valleys of the Asaro and Bena Bena Rivers, and as far west as the Lower Wahgi (Hughes 1977:49-50). There, at night, they saw many camp fires in the distance, and on their return route along the Purari River in Papua, they saw many corpses floating downstream, indicating to them a large inland population (Mennis 1982:40). Returning in 1932 with the intention of prospecting even further west, the Leahy brothers built an airstrip at Bena Bena Valley. Along with Jim

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[3] Wahgi Valley

[4] Located on the North Coast, west of the town of Madang.

Taylor, an assistant district officer (A.D.O.) from the recently established Kainantu Patrol Post, they first flew over the string of inland valleys, south of the Gende area, in March 1933, exploring them later by foot.

While these events were happening to the south, the Gende had the distinction of being hosts to the first missionaries to open mission stations in the highlands, and the first white men to enter their territory. Inspired by a report of Father Novak, who had been told by the natives of Utu [5] that "Behind the high mountains were as many people as the leaves on trees" (Schaefer transcript: 1), Father Alfons Schaefer and Brother Anthony Baas of the Divine Word Mission in Alexishafen left the coast and headed south towards the Bismarck Mountains on June 29, 1932. On July 2, they arrived at the foot of the Bismarck Mountains and travelled from there to the Gende settlement of Guiebi on the slopes of the Baia River [6]. According to Schaefer, the Sepu man who showed them the path to the Gende people was afraid of the Gende and only by giving him a pair of his own pants could Schaefer persuade their guide to go on

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[5] A settlement north of the Ramu River.

[6] Kituai (n.d.) suggests that the Gende were visited as early as 1902 by a German botanist, Dr. Rudolf Schlecter, searching for gutta percha plants near the Bismarck Fall, but the only support for this is a written account (in the possession of Dr. D. G. Fordin, Biology Dept., UPNG) which makes vague references to 'large gardens' and the Ibrum River. Although there is an Imbrum river in Gende territory, my informants have no recollection of this visit.

(Aufenanger transcript: 1). Schaefer and Baas stayed only two days in Guiebi before returning to the coast with news of their discovery.

Arriving back to stay, on October 1 1932, the missionaries built a mission in Guiebi, from where they made frequent visits to other Gende villages. Today, old men and women remember the arrival of the missionaries as a time of great fear and excitement: fear because the white men were at first believed to be spirits of the dead, and excitement because, among other things, the newcomers carried cowry shells for barter.

An important item of exchange and trade in a north-south trade route, along which valuables moved between the north coast and central highlands, cowry shells were avidly sought after by the Gende, who were willing to work for the missionaries (and so experience their first taste of 'wage labor') in order to acquire them. At the time of the missionaries' arrival, only small quantities of shells were being traded inland. Receiving shells from exchange and trade partners living near the Ramu River (during pig feast competitions, exchange payments associated with marriages between Ramu men and Gende women, and trading expeditions), Gende big men passed the shells on to their Chimbu partners in return for pigs and stone axes (see Table 5.2 below). In 1930, according to Hughes (1977:189), "....a pig given to the Gende...by the people of the upper Chimbu Valley fetched a length of shell-covered rope as long as the pig itself...."

Paid several cowry shells a day for their labor (Ross 1971: 321), it was not long before some 'rubbish men' and even young boys

Table 5.2 Valuables and Other Goods Exchanged Along the North-South Trade Route

NORTH COAST	RAMU		(BISMARCK RANGE)		CENTRAL HIGH- LAND VALLEYS
	HILLS	PLAINS	GENDE	CHIMBU	
SHELLS	X	X	X	X	
money cowry (Cypraea moneta)					
ring cowry (C. annulus), dog whelk (Nassa)					
POTTERY	X				
PLUMES			X		
Lesser Bird of Paradise					
GENDE RESOURCES					
oil pandanus					
sodium salt					
pigments					
forest products					
cassowaries					
marsupial furs					
pig tonic					
potassium salt					
STONE AXES	X	X	X	X	
SODIUM SALT				X	
PLUMES				X	
Red Bird of Paradise					
STONE AXES					X
PIGS				X	

[X imported for use and further trade]

[-----> route of trade and exchange - - - - -> minimal trade]

had more shells than were in the possession of most big men, or that big men found themselves in the embarrassing situation of having to work alongside rubbish men and children, in the vain hopes of preserving the status and influence they had enjoyed as 'middlemen' in the shell trade.

Not wishing to see all the shells the white 'big men' had brought with them go to their exchange partners in Guiebi, the people living near present-day Bundi Station invited Father Schaefer and Brother Baas to come live with them. Leaving Guiebi in February 1933, Schaefer and Baas travelled to Bundi. At Easter, they were joined by two more missionaries, Father Cranssen and Brother Frank Eugene. Cranssen relieved Schaefer of his duties at Guiebi while Schaefer stayed on in Bundi. With the help of the local people, as well as some Yandikari living in nearby Bium, Brother Eugene and Father Schaefer began building the main mission station at Bundi. They were joined in January 1934 by Father Heinrich Aufenanger. The first buildings consisted of a church, a house for the missionaries, a house for their coastal helpers, a school, and a kitchen (Aufenanger transcript:2).

The news of the Leahy brothers' April (1933) expeditions and their discoveries of vast inland populations inspired a great deal of interest among the missionaries at Bundi and at Alexishafen. Earlier in 1933, Father Schaefer had been invited to travel to the inland valleys with a powerful Chimbu leader, Kavagl. Kavagl was the headman of the Korugu people who lived between the Chimbu and Wahgi Valleys. Kavagl, his Bundi wife, and hundreds of his people had come to Bundi on a trading trip to buy wives, and to attend a

big singsing festival given by their Bundi in-laws (Schaefer transcript:1; Mennis 1982:38). Busy starting the mission at Bundi, Schaefer at first declined Kavagl's invitation to "come on over with us and see the big valley" (Ross 1971:319). After hearing of the Leahy brothers' exploits, however, Schaefer was determined to see the area and scout for possible mission sites.

On the 6th of November, 1933, Father Schaefer, Father Cranssen, and Brother Anthony set off with 25 of their coastal helpers as carriers and about '350 natives', mostly Kavagl's people who were returning home from Bundi (Schaefer transcript:1). On the 9th of November they reached the top of the pass between Gende and Chimbu territories. From there, at 10,000 feet, they had a spectacular view of Mt. Wilhelm and the narrow Upper Chimbu River valley. In Schaefer's own words:

"Before us lay the narrow river valley of the Chimbu and in the distance again were high mountains. It was overwhelming. For two hours followed many mountain streams and then we came upon our first inhabitants. They were big decorated men carrying stone axes and came towards us ready to greet and embrace us. They yodelled and bellowed and answering cries came from all over the mountains. We were the first white men to come to the area and were received with awe as if we were spirits. When I washed and swam in the river they were amazed as they never did this". (Mennis 1982:43, excerpted from Schaefer's Pioneer Auf Neuguinea 1960).

From Dengglagu at the head of the Chimbu gorge, they travelled



on to Kavagl's home in Korugu where he invited them to stay and begin a mission. After resting in Korugu, they went on as far as Dombugl (near present day Kerowagi) and the lower Wahgi Valley. From a hill at Dombugl they could see as far west as Mt. Hagen, where seven months earlier the Leahys and others had camped on their groundbreaking expedition from the east.

Schaefer's expedition was significant for several reasons: it paved the way for other Catholic missionaries to enter the highlands and build a string of missions as far west as Mt. Hagen in 1934 and 1935, in advance of the Lutheran missionaries, and it was also the first penetration of the great highland valleys from the north. For the Gende, however, the immediate significance was socio-economic. Everywhere they went, the missionaries and explorers paid for labor and food with steel axes, beads, powderpaint, and bits of clothing. Following the clearing of airstrips, they also began airlifting tons of shells into the highlands.

The building of airstrips in the highlands not only provided links between all the new mission and government stations and the coast, it also made it easier for shells and other supplies to be brought in, since it was no longer necessary for long lines of carriers to make arduous overland treks. Father Aufenanger directed the work at Bundi, after Schaefer moved to a new mission station in Mingende (in Kavagl's territory) in August 1934. The airstrip was completed in late 1934, with men from different Gende settlements taking turns clearing away trees and levelling the ground.

For the brief time the Gende had the missionaries to themselves, it must have seemed as if all their dreams were about to be realized. As shells became more and more prevalent in other areas of the highlands, however, their value rapidly decreased and the Gende had to work harder and harder for the missionaries in order to keep ahead of inflation [7].

Although as late as 1941, Europeans could purchase a large net bag of sweet potatoes for a few tambu shells in some of the more remote parts of the highlands (Mennis 1982:96), by that time inflation had destroyed the value of shells for the Gende. The Gende had seen the bottom drop out of their traditional monopoly over shells coming from the north, and any advantages they may have had in marriage exchanges with the Chimbus vanish, when Father Schaefer moved to Mingende in 1934. In this regard, it is not surprising that the Chimbu leader Kavagl and his people were anxious to bring the missionaries to their area [8].

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[7] In one of several such cases that I know of, a Chimbu woman deserted her Gende husband when he could no longer pay off debts to the woman's brother with increasingly worthless shells and the woman was forced to work harder raising more pigs to cover the debts.

[8] One is led to wonder, since history is mute on the subject, whether or not Schaefer's Sepu guide's reluctance to lead him to the Gende in the first place was based on a realization that his own trade links with the Gende would soon be usurped by the missionaries.

Soon after the airstrip was completed at Bundi, events occurred in nearby Chimbu territory which eventually resulted in restrictions being placed on mission activity in the highlands.

Few in number, the missionaries had swept through the highlands in a matter of months with a zeal that must have been incomprehensible to the people they met along the way, very few of whom were likely to have ventured beyond the territories of known allies and trading partners. The people were not so dumbfounded, however, that they could not react violently to some of the missionaries' excesses, or 'help themselves' to mission property.

Early in December 1934, Father van Baar and Father Morschheuser, two priests who had recently established a mission at Minj, were on their way to join several other missionaries at Denglagu for Christmas. Along the way they discovered that a small house they had previously built had been burned to the ground. Informants in Yandera say that this was done because the people believed the missionaries were evil spirits. Father van Baar warned the people that he would shoot some of their animals if they did not rebuild the rest house. On December 16, discovering that the rest house had not been rebuilt, Father van Baar shot a pig and a cassowary. Evil spirit or not, the people became very angry and the two missionaries and their carriers fled. Chasing after them, the Womkanas killed Father Morschheuser when he ran out of shotgun shells. After burying Father Morschheuser, Father van Baar hurried on to Denglagu to tell the other missionaries (Mennis 1982: 65).

In Hagen, Father Ross and Brother Eugene celebrated Christmas unaware of the situation in neighboring Chimbu. Brother Eugene,

who had helped build the mission station at Bundi, planned to go there for a retreat after Christmas. He left Hagen with fifteen carriers on January 2, 1935, still unaware of Father Morschheuser's death. Arriving at Mingende on January 17, he found Father Schaefer gone. Although warned by local people not to go through the Chimbu River area since the clans there were at war, Brother Eugene continued on. Some Chimbu from the Goglme area offered to help carry his cargo, with which they then disappeared. Further on he and his carriers were surrounded by armed men. He shot over their heads, hoping to frighten them, but was hit many times with arrows and stabbed in the back with a spear. Some of the carriers escaped and returned with some Barengigl warriors who carried Eugene and the other injured to a hut where they doctored their wounds but then left them for fear they would be blamed for the attack. Some of the carriers who escaped reported Brother Eugene already dead so efforts to reach him were delayed. When Dan and Mick Leahy found him eleven days later, Brother Eugene's wounds had already turned gangrenous. He was flown to the coast with Mr. Melrose, the officer sent to investigate Father Morschheuser's death. He died on January 23, 1935 (Mennis 1982:66-68).

In the aftermath, the Administration set up strict regulations. No more missionaries would be given permits to enter the highlands, which were uncontrolled at that time. The Lutherans, the only other mission in the highlands, and the Catholics to a much lesser degree, sidestepped the regulation by putting native catechists from the coast in the villages under their domain.

In the Bundi area, Father Cranssen and Father Aufenanger had

placed catechists in every Gende settlement, to train local catechists and helpers to take over the job of preparing the people for baptism. The Lutherans, who hadn't extended their mission operations as far west as the Catholics when the ban had been set, sent unsupervised helpers into areas where no Lutheran missions had yet been established. In December 1935, Father Cranssen (at Guiebi) ordered his workers to burn the houses of some Lutheran helpers who were attempting to move into the Gende area. Since their arrival five months earlier, Father Cranssen had been reluctant to expel them. Eventually, however, quarrels erupted between Lutheran and Catholic helpers. In a letter to patrol officer Nurton, Cranssen defended his actions as an attempt to maintain peace in the area:

"If you know the great envy between the Catholic and Lutheran natives you will understand that my boys did not like the Lutherans following us and building houses in the neighborhood. Constantly my boys wished to expel the Lutherans, but I would not allow that. Our Lord Bishop does not like his missionaries to quarrel with the Lutherans. They remained at Iwam [Gende] five months without a quarrel.

"Afterwards I heard that the two Lutheran boys who were at Gegeru, together with some of the natives would rise up and fight against me. I sent my boys to expel the Lutheran boys of Gegeru and to burn their houses lest the boys come back and make more trouble against me. I thought I was forced to do so in order to prevent

trouble. To investigate the truth of what the natives told me was impossible." (Mennis 1982:72-75).

In Rabaul, Father Cranssen was sentenced to five years imprisonment with hard labour, but because many thought the sentence was harsh, the sentence was reduced to six months. Cranssen's imprisonment did have the effect of calming the zeal of competing missions however, and the Gende area remains to this day under the care of the Divine Word Catholic Mission.

From then until the end of 1942 when he left, Father Aufenanger devoted his time to learning the Gende language and customs, and to spiritual work. In the villages he posted mission helpers from the Ramu River area and the coast whose work it was to train local catechists and others in Pidgin English and Christian principles. A few of the local students became the first Gende migrants when they were sent as far away as Alexishafen for further instruction as teachers.

New foods were introduced: beans, corn, potatoes, tomatoes, etc. At first these foods were rejected by the people who were afraid of the unfamiliar food raised by strangers who might want to 'poison them'. Gradually, however, their fears were overcome as the first to try the new foods did not die of the experience. The mission at Bundi had cattle and goats brought in from the coast as well as a European boar which Aufenanger bred with some of the local sows to improve the stock (Aufenanger transcript:3). Raising animals other than pigs and a few chickens never caught on, however, and during World War II, the mission's cattle and goats were promptly killed and eaten by soldiers and villagers.

By the late 1930's there were local catechists assisted by local mission helpers in each village. It was their responsibility to direct the building of churches and pisin skuls (schools for learning Pidgin English). Each person over six years of age was to learn Pidgin English and their catechism before they could be baptised. They were also taught hymns, their ABC's, and simple arithmetic. Some parents were reluctant to send their children to school (particularly older children who were expected to assist their parents in the gardens), and many men and women complained about having to feed the catechists. Often, mission helpers (frequently local leaders or former warriors) had to use threats and physical violence to enforce the people's compliance (Kituai n.d. and my own interviews).

The Catechists and their helpers were also responsible for seeing that their fellow villagers abandon practices such as polygamy, sorcery, and warfare. This was a much harder task and one that was largely unsuccessful. A few second and third wives were sent back to their home villages but polygamy was still much in evidence in 1982. However, the practice of having separate living quarters for men and women has died out and most husbands and wives now live together in one house.

The young were told that many of the food restrictions placed upon them were against the word of God who "created all foods for all men to eat". A few youths were so bold as to accuse their parents of trying to keep all the 'good food' for themselves, and protested when their fathers forced them to participate in male initiation ceremonies, which the missionaries deemed a heathen

rite. Usually, however, the young men gave in to the arguments of their elders who continued to fear sickness and death if the old customs were not carried out. At present, male initiations (as they were described to me) are often condensed versions of what they once were and the emphasis appears to be more on keeping exchanges balanced than on being a time when young men have a closer association with their Kangi spirits. With young men away in school or off in town, they no longer spend one or two years in the bush hunting but substitute store bought meats and money as gifts to their parents and mother's brothers.

In response to queries about Aufenanger, or 'father', as he is remembered most by those who worked for him, a few older men say he was 'big' and 'strong', and often displeased with them when they could not get villagers to comply with his directives. They speak of Aufenanger with a certain awe, but feel they were abandoned by him because he was disappointed in the Gende since they did not relinquish "bad customs".

One activity Aufenanger worked hard to end was warfare. "There was a lot of fighting and killing going on during the first years of our stay there. There was perpetual war between a middle block, which consisted of Emegari and the Karizoko people and all the other Gende people who lived towards the East and West of them" (Aufenanger transcript:1).

By the time the mission arrived, some members of the Yandera clans who had been driven out of their settlements in the first years of warfare had already begun returning to Yandera. With the help of allies in Gegeru clans they reclaimed their land, building



settlements close to Gegeru territory and escape routes, and continued fighting. One of the village leaders in Yandera today told me of a battle he observed when he was a boy of about ten years old in the late 1930's:

"We were near the piece of ground called Gaganogoi when suddenly spears and arrows started coming towards us. Our mothers and we children ran. I wanted to stay and watch the fighting but my father said to go with my mother. I stayed. He said to stay close to my grandfather who went to sit on a mountain so that he could see where the enemy was coming from and report their movements to my father and uncles down below. He was our 'radio' man, shouting "they're over by Begeri's garden" or "they're coming near the big rock". Another boy and I would run forward to retrieve arrows where they had fallen on the ground. A warrior from our side was struck with an arrow and we helped him get away from the fighting. Our men chased the enemy across the river".

Aufenanger admitted that he was not successful in bringing peace to the Gende. His demonstrations of rifle power and shooting bullets through several heavy wooden war shields stacked against one another, were impressive but not a sufficient deterrent to a man's relatives seeking revenge on his killers when the missionaries were far away at their stations in Bundi. It is significant that the years up until World War II are most often remembered as the taim bilong pait (the fighting time). Memories

of past battles and of those who died are more relevant today than are recollections of early mission activity.

### Men with Guns and Carqo

Ironically, it was another war which brought a halt to Gende 'warfare'. On January 21, 1942 the town of Madang was bombed by the Japanese. Many evacuees escaped by foot to the highland missions and were taken south to Port Moresby by airplane. In Bundi, Father Aufenanger had the airstrip dug up with cross-ditches and planted with upright posts so that the Japanese could not use it as a landing base.

In December, 1942, Alexishafen was bombed and the missionaries interned by the Japanese. There were about 400 people at the mission headquarters, including some Gende. Many of those interned died from starvation and exhaustion as they were moved from first one location to another [9]. In February 1944, others were killed or wounded when the Japanese ship on which they were travelling - the Dorish Maru - was attacked by eight Allied planes. Only when a pilot saw a mission sister's veil fluttering in the wind was the attack called off. Those who survived were later rescued from a beach in Hollandia by American ships in April 1944 (Mennis 1982:113-114).

Meanwhile, all missionaries in the highlands were ordered to

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[9] According to one informant, some of the Gende men were taken to Japan where they married Japanese women. Supposedly some returned to tell the tale.

leave as the Australian and American armed forces flowed into the highlands to prepare an offensive against the Japanese invasion in the north. Father Aufenanger had already left Bundi under the care of Father Joseph Much [10] in late 1942 when he moved to his new posting in Mingende. In January 1943, all missionaries in the highlands left for Port Moresby and Australia. To people in Yandera, it seemed as if the missionaries had 'run away' from the fighting, leaving them to face the Japanese alone. When the Japanese moved into the Ramu valley, some of the Gende, fearing an imminent invasion, destroyed the buildings and church at Bundi Mission. The church register, in which baptism had been recorded, was destroyed when people used the paper to write notes and send messages (Mennis 1982:120).

The Japanese never did come as far as Bundi, but the Gende were directly involved in the war effort. The mountain behind Yandera village - Mt. Nimamai - is sometimes called Mt. Wireless because a detachment of allied soldiers once used the mountain as the location for a communications outpost. Today people laugh about how some Yandikaris ran away in fear from the radio when they believed a "little man was living inside of it". Their own battles were set aside as scores of Gende men and boys became carriers and medical assistants for advancing American and Australian troops who were heading north to the fighting in the Ramu Valley. Many of the older Gende remember the experience as one of great hardship:

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[10] Father Much had taken over at the Guiebi mission after it was vacated by Father Cranssen.

"Often we travelled all night with fifty pound loads on our backs. During the day we tried to hide from the bombs and get some sleep. We never slept."

"At night, we carried supplies and in the day we buried the dead. A bomb blew up near me and another Bundi man. He lost his leg. I was scared and wanted to run away, but I helped him. He is still alive today. I helped many soldiers as well."

Others were not so fortunate, dying from the shelling, disease and exhaustion, and the oppressive heat and malaria of the lowland swamps. Those who tried to run away or who were suspected of collaborating with the Japanese were shot, as was a Ramu man living at Bundikara with his sister's in-laws.

For many carriers it was their first trip out of the Gende region and a few even accompanied the soldiers as far north as Madang. Believing in soldiers' statements that "after the war you will be compensated for the good work you have done", many carriers were to be disappointed, when after the war little reward was forthcoming. Forty years later, they still tell their stories in hopes that listeners will be able to help them. The fact that some war damages were paid in coastal areas encourages them to persist.

From the perspective of the Gende, the presence of the soldiers in their territory was a time when some of their ideas about white men were abandoned and new ones formed. They saw too many dead and injured soldiers to believe anything other than that Europeans (and Japanese) were men not unlike themselves. More importantly, many of the allied soldiers treated them as comrades,

sharing rations and cigarettes (a new item for the Gende), joking with them, and suffering the same hardships and dangers.

The sheer number of allied soldiers, and the vast display of power, weaponry, and material wealth were overwhelming. When it came time for the soldiers to leave, some of them told the local people that they should stop fighting among themselves and abandon their old customs so they could be baptized and go to school. When the soldiers told the Gende that if they did these things, they too would someday have the same things the soldiers possessed, their Gende friends listened.

#### Men with Suitcases

The effects of World War II were profound, as were the Gende's earlier experiences with the missionaries, who seemingly had endless supplies of shells and other material objects for which even big men had been willing to grovel. Exposure to the incredible wealth and power of the Europeans had produced an ethnic inferiority complex which remains a factor in out-migration and the Gende's efforts to achieve equality with the foreign 'big men'. The trappings of western civilization became symbols of progress in this direction, and migrants who distributed bits of clothing and mirrors to grateful villagers were looked upon as the forerunners of a new breed of 'men' who would replace a generation of 'pigs'.

The end of World War II saw the first real wave of migration from the Gende area. After the war, those Gende men who had served as carriers and orderlies for allied forces in the Ramu Valley, headed south to the new towns of Goroka, Kundiawa, and Mt. Hagen,

where they worked as cooks and domestic servants or joined construction gangs. One of the earliest migrants to Goroka (then a small administrative center) went there in 1945 as a cook for the army (Koroma 1977:209). Others soon followed and when the highlands were opened up to labor recruitment in the late 40's, some Gende men went to work on coastal plantations as far away as Kavieng and Port Moresby, while others worked on contract in the Wau-Bulolo goldfields in Morobe (Koroma 1977:203). Still other men were picked as carriers and native police to accompany Australian officers on patrols into uncontrolled areas.

After absences of several years, many migrants returned home with suitcases full of clothing, mirrors, and other trinkets as gifts for their excited and proud families. While many came home to stay, some, like a carpenter from Yandera, came home only long enough to take some of his 'brothers' back to town to work with him. Having seen the things others brought home in their suitcases, many were eager to follow in his footsteps.

When the missionaries returned in 1947, the people were ready to renew relations with them. Government appointed luluais [11] and church leaders organized the people into compact settlements. Local warfare diminished to occasional raids and personal vendettas. And the overgrown mission trails and airstrip were once again cleared. The local luluai in Yandera encouraged the remaining emigrants (those who had fled during the war with Karasokara) to return to Yandera and be counted in the government

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[11] "Tribal chiefs" appointed by the Australian administration.

census. Throughout the 1940's and 1950's, there was an air of expectation and widening horizons. The people were told that cooperation with mission and government, going to church and being baptized, sending their children to school, and living peaceably would result in greater security, well-being, and wealth than they had ever experienced.

In the villages, pisin skuls were reopened and attendance was more regular. Eager to learn, school was not, however, a pleasant experience for most students. When they failed to recite their lessons properly they were beaten with sticks or humiliated. One woman recalled her school days for me. I have underlined some phrases and sentences to show my informant's perception of the teacher's sarcasm, which was evident in her speech as she enacted the event:

"A [Gende] catechist from Bundi came to my village to teach us. When he taught Pidgin, he held up different objects - a box, a pair of socks, or a banana - and asked us to call out the name in Pidgin. If we made a mistake he would beat us. After a week he asked us again. One at a time he would ask us to call out the names. We had been in school only one week and we couldn't remember the names very well. He was very angry, and said, "Oh, you big boy, you visit houses where young girls are and you carry leg with them (P.E. karim leK). Okay, you go sit down next to that little girl!". He sent big boys to sit down next to little girls, and little boys to sit

beside big girls who were old enough for marriage. We were ashamed and afraid. I was just a little girl. He sent a boy to sit next to me whose sister was married to my brother. The boy was my 'brother-in-law' and I was not allowed to carry leg (P.E. kanim lek) with him [sister exchange is permitted but there is no preference for it]. The teacher told us to hold hands with the boys. We were afraid. I refused and cried. The teacher beat us, lifting our skirts in front of everyone. He did this day after day but I would not cooperate. Some girls and boys did. The teacher told us we were like pigs, and that we would never learn and become like the white man. After a long time I learned to read and write and then I was sent to another school. I was beaten there too. Finally, when it was close to Christmas holiday, I was tired of the whole thing and thought to myself "Why should I put up with it, I am only a girl - there is no work for me in town. I am ready for marriage". So I ran away and never returned to school".

Certain elements in her story, in particular the teacher's sarcasm and mockery of Gende customs, are revealing of the kinds of comparisons the Gende were making between themselves and the white men who were becoming a greater influence in their lives. The use of physical abuse, while there may have been less than is remembered, is certainly an indication of how much importance the



teacher attached to his task, which was, according to my informant and others, "to make us more like the white men so we could be friends with them and not simply their cargo boys".

In other words, what the Gende wanted was to have more meaningful and satisfying relationships with white men, relationships which would be based on equality and mutual respect. Since being respected involves the ability to be 'generous' and to reciprocate the 'generosity' of others, once it became apparent that white men held all the cards, so to speak, many men and women decided to cooperate with them to the extent necessary to acquire sufficient wealth to be on a par with the whites. Recalling those earlier, less sophisticated days, several informants remarked wryly that the "suitcases full of presents were taken as a sign that the road to wealth and happiness led away from home to the stations and towns of the white men".

From the mid-fifties on, the pace of migration quickened as the big valleys to the south were opened up for the development of coffee plantations and small patrol stations grew almost overnight into towns with movie theaters, shops, hospitals, businesses and the homes of Europeans. Some of the jobs held by men from Yandera in the forties and fifties were as: carpenters and house builders; carriers on government and mission patrols; contract laborers on coffee and coconut plantations (foremen, shellers, loaders, etc.); domestic servants and cooks; hotel dishwashers, cooks, and janitors; lay teachers and catechists in non-Gende areas; medical assistants, orderlies, and paramedics; drillers, cooks, laundry boys, etc. in mining operations; and native police.

Living in town was exciting and sometimes dangerous. For many years it was illegal for 'natives' to drink or play cards [12]. There were ways around such prohibitions, however, as cards were made of heavy brown paper or workers, usually those who worked in the homes of Europeans, were able to convince their employers to purchase decks of cards for them. Superior to the homemade varieties, these decks earned their owners extra income when they were rented out to others who wanted to use them.

Alcohol was more difficult to come by. One man told of how whenever he served whiskey to his employer, he would set aside a small amount in an old bottle. When there was enough saved, he would drink it. In this way, he became accustomed to drinking. One night, his employer was very drunk and invited him to join him for a drink. The employer was very surprised to discover that his employee was able to drink several glasses of whiskey without becoming noticeably intoxicated.

Getting caught, however, meant trouble with the police, jail sentences, and the loss of jobs. When this happened, or was imminent, men simply returned to their village to settle down and take on the work of raising families and becoming respected members of the home community. It was still possible to be met with open arms by parents and other relatives who were pleased to have the migrants back and to receive the gifts of money and clothing they brought home with them. There were few opportunities for earning

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[12] For about ten years, from 1964 until 1974, it was illegal for Papua New Guineans to play cards.

money in the village and villagers were rarely able to buy things at the store which served government workers stationed at Bundi. Money had just begun to enter the village economy and there was little need for it except to pay head taxes, and later, school fees. In the 1950's it was still considered unusual for money to be part of a brideprice payment [13].

For many years, workers on plantations or in town were paid the major part of their earnings in material goods: housing was provided for workers and they were issued rations of food, soap, clothing, etc. (Langmore 1972). Cash wages were minimal and raised only after an individual worker had stayed at the same job for certain specified periods of time. This practice was instituted to discourage workers from changing jobs quickly. Men would take on work, earn a little money, and then 'retire' for awhile. Others experimented with a series of jobs, seeking work that would bring them more satisfaction and respect from both employers and wantoks ('one talk', person who speaks the same language).

The concepts of masta (white employer) and boi (native black male employee) began to take on a bitter edge to migrants, who felt they were being demoted to a permanent status of 'boys', or 'rubbish men' who work for other men. Those men who were foremen in charge of a line of workers on a plantation or building project, did have the satisfaction of closer partnerships with their

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[13] One such brideprice included five pigs contributed by the groom's kin and 56 Australian pounds the groom had laboriously saved over a period of seven years working in town.

employers as well as a certain amount of respect from those worked under them. As foremen, they were often able to provide jobs for new migrants from the village, giving preference to wantoks over men from other language groups.

The position had its drawbacks, however. If they pushed their authority too far their employers replaced them. Or, trying to please their employer, they sometimes overworked the men on the line, who might suddenly quit, accusing the native foreman of trying to make 'cargo boys' (P.E. Kago boi) out of them. The expression Kago boi, literally 'someone who carries cargo', already had a negative connotation of referring to someone who works hard for little or no return. When men returned to the village they rarely shared such sophisticated analyses with those who had remained at home, preferring to aggrandize their experiences in town and to downplay any insults to their personal status. As they settled back into the routine of village life, further migration was left to the 'uninitiated'.

While their fathers and older brothers, and even a few of their sisters, were trying their luck in town, a small group of young children were about to take part in another kind of experiment: boarding school. In February 1958, the newly arrived Father Mike Morrison, opened the first English school in Bundi - the St. Francis of Assisi Boarding Primary School. The first class was made up of 36 boys between the ages of six and eight. Several months later, in July, twenty girls were also admitted.

From the beginning, the children were taught English, instead of Pidgin, to prepare them for higher education in business, cleri-

cal, managerial, and other skills needed in an expanding urban white and blue collar job market. The children's teacher was a young Emegari, John Onga, who was one of the first graduates (1957) of the Teacher's Training College in Alexishafen (Kituai n.d.). As the school grew, more teachers were brought in from Australia, including Mr. and Mrs. Green in 1960, and five Sisters of Charity in 1963. By 1962, the school had 338 pupils and 14 teachers (Wiltgen 1962 and 1963).

In 1965, a first graduating class of about thirty students was flown to Madang to continue their education in high schools on the coast. Of these, very few were girls since many parents were reluctant to send 'big' girls so far away from home at a time when they were close to achieving menarche and would need to go through their puberty ceremonies which prepared them for adulthood and marriage. The timing of boys' initiation ceremonies was more flexible and not as worrisome.

In general, those boys and girls who made it past primary school, did well in high school and were able to obtain good jobs. A few were awarded scholarships and sent away to colleges in Australia and other European countries. When these young people sent back photographs which showed them sitting or playing sports with their fellow students (all white), their relatives back in the village were overjoyed, and, as one woman put it, "All the mothers and fathers threw away (P.E. tromoiwe) their younger children into school".

The use of the Pidgin term tromoiwe ('throw away') rather than salim ('send') is significant because it is a retrospective judg-

ment (by no means shared by everyone) on the supposed benefits of educating children for Gende society at large. When the school first opened, parents had little understanding of the western educational system or of the socio-economic system it served. Nonetheless, hoping that an education might equip their children to be on a par with the white men, and that through their children they too might acquire some of the white men's wealth, parents suffered many physical and emotional hardships so that their children might go to school.

As part of the school's policy, the construction of classrooms and dormitories, and the planting of large vegetable gardens to feed the children was the responsibility of the parents of the students. Parents, especially mothers, remember the hardships involved in alternating their time between Bundi and their home villages, some of which were more than a day's walk from the school. Children often added to their mother's difficulties by complaining to them that they were poorly fed at the school. Some women remember going to Bundi every weekend, carrying heavy loads of sweet potatoes on their heads so that their children might not go hungry.

There were even more subtle worries to contend with, however. It soon became apparent that the 'cost' of educating children included the possibility that they might become alienated from their parents. At the school, children's village apparel was replaced with western-style pants and dresses. On weekends and holidays - times when parents were allowed to visit their children or take them home - the new clothing was taken away from the

students and they were given their old clothing to wear. Some children balked at this, wishing to show off their new clothing to their parents. They also lectured their parents on some of the new ideas they were learning and scorned their parents for continuing to practice magic, sorcery, food prohibitions, polygyny, and other 'heathen' practices.

The following dream sequence, told to me by a woman who had attended the school for several years, illustrates the fact that children were being indoctrinated to see the ways of their parents as inferior to the ways of the white men, and that the problem of creating compatible relations with the whites was presented to the children as one involving apparently polar opposites (Christian vs. Heathen):

"Many years ago, I was very sick. Everyone wanted to send me to the hospital at Bundi, but I said, "I want to stay here in the village, it is okay if I die". I fell asleep and I had a dream. I dreamt that I was standing outside, looking at a big mountain. Something very big and black was on the mountain, and something very small, like a light, was close to the black thing. I walked to the mountain along a very long road. When I came close, I saw that this black thing was a very big, old woman. The light at her feet was a pool of her urine.

"The old woman talked to me: 'You come and drink this'. I didn't want to because if I drank it I would die, so I said, 'I am not thirsty'. She then asked me

if I were a catholic or heathen and I said, 'I am a catholic'. She then asked, 'Do you speak pidgin?' and I said yes. 'Did you go to school?' 'Yes, I went to school'. 'Do you know how to read?' 'Yes, I know how to read'. Then the woman told me to follow a road that went off in another direction.

"I left the woman and walked for a long time. After awhile I came to a red house with a metal roof. There were many other houses around too. I came close to the red house and saw a white man standing in the doorway. He told me to come inside the house. We went inside and sat down on chairs. He asked me many questions: 'Are you a catholic? Why do you come here? Do you know Pidgin?' I said yes. He asked, 'Do you know English?' 'No'. 'Do you know how to read and write?' 'Yes'. Now I told him I was catholic but not a very good one. I was married to a man with more than one wife and we were not able to take communion and give confession.

"The man gave me a little piece of paper and said, 'Do you have brothers?' I said, 'Yes, I have many brothers. My oldest brother is a village councillor'. 'Do you have a cemetery?' 'Yes'. Then he said, 'You should always sweep the cemetery and keep it clean'. I went outside then and I lost the little paper [end of dream]. When I woke up I wanted to find the paper. I was feeling around the bed and one of my children woke up crying when I bumped her with my hand.



"When it was light, we went to the cemetery. Weeds had come up everywhere. I cleaned it up. After I cleaned it, I found ten cents. I told my brother and his wife. They wanted to find money too. We went back to the cemetery and I found another ten cents near the grave of a former church leader. I wanted to pick it up but there was some ginger planted there [a plant used by the Gende to ward off evil]. I was surprised by this because he (the former church leader) was a catholic but yet he had ginger planted by his grave, something only heathens did. For a long time I would go to the cemetery and keep it clean.

"I felt as if by being catholic, knowing pidgin, and knowing how to read, I had been saved from death and rewarded with the money. If I had drunk the urine of the old woman I would have died".

The litany of questions and answers in this dream is similar to a classroom drill. The many oppositions and contrasts between 'heathens' and 'catholics', symbolized in the old black woman on the mountain and the white man in town, and their association with death, seem to reflect a perception of how fundamental the differences between the two are. That the woman made what she felt to be the 'right choice' [not to drink the urine], and linked her choice with being educated and 'catholic' shows how 'well' she learned her lessons.

While few children have outright rejected their parents, some parents continue to feel that they 'threw away' (P.E. tromoiwe)

their children when they packed them off to school, or conversely, that their children have 'thrown their parents away' and forgotten them. Evidence for this viewpoint began to show up in the sixties and seventies as more high school graduates and school leavers joined the ranks of the urban workforce. Encouraged to do so by their own heightened expectations and their parents' hopes that the years of sacrifice would prove profitable, some had their hopes dashed when they were unable to find gainful employment, and not a few were shocked to discover how expensive town living was. Wages disappeared quickly when one had to pay for everything one ate, for the clothing one wore, and the innumerable expenses of an urban lifestyle. For many there was not much left over for the re-payment of debts to parents and even less available for investment.

In the words of one young man, "Town is no good. Everything costs money. When I finished the sixth grade I tried [unsuccessfully] to find work. I lived with my 'brothers', but their wives got tired of feeding me when I had nothing to give them. For awhile I stole things from stores, mostly food, because I was hungry and I was too proud to accept things from my 'brothers'. I wanted to come home but I was afraid of disappointing my father and mother who hoped I would make enough money in town so that I could help them buy brides for myself and my three younger brothers. But I was even more afraid of getting in trouble with the police so I finally came home. At least at home, I can get anything I need for 'free' (e.g. without money) from the forest. I have built a house for myself. I can hunt for food. And I help my father and mother cut down the forest and plant gardens so that my mother can raise many pigs for

my brideprice. Living in the village is good".

While this young man and others like him came home, others did not, ekeing out a living in town with intermittent or low-paying work, hoping for and sometimes finding opportunity, while a few turned to crime. Anxious parents, afraid that their sons would be unable to attract a wife if they stayed away too long or thinking ahead to the time when they themselves would be old and have to rely on children to help them become ancestors, sometimes went ahead and made arrangements for their sons' marriages. Hoping to lure them back to the village, a few parents had rude awakenings when their daughters-in-law joined their husbands in town instead of staying home and raising pigs. Worse yet, some parents were having difficulties buying brides for their sons because the parents of the more desirable and eligible girls were asking for higher brideprices which only the more successful migrants and their village supporters could afford to pay.

With the above in mind, the Gende welcomed schemes directed at improving cash earning opportunities in the village area. Parents looked upon such schemes as a means for drawing young people back to the villages where they could live inexpensively and direct their resources (both pigs and cash) into exchange payments.

#### Men with money

The 1960's and 1970's were a period of high hopes and feverish activity for villagers. There were roads, churches, new schools, and tradestores to be built, coffee to be planted as a cash crop, local government councils to be elected, and national politics to

be understood. Money flowed into the exchange system in increasing amounts as men planted coffee trees as a cash crop, mining companies explored for copper near Yandera village, and some of the first graduates of the school at Bundi went on to become doctors, teachers, secretaries, bank clerks, and government workers. For a time it seemed as if villagers would become 'men with money'. However, there were signs even then that the Gende region was going to fall behind other regions in the highlands in terms of economic development, despite the presence of a mining company in Yandera. The first indications came from the difficulties the Gende experienced in constructing a road through their territory, which they hoped would make it easier for them to transport coffee to outside markets.

As early as 1953, there was an interconnected network of un-surfaced roads, suitable in the dry season for four-wheel drive vehicles, which linked the western and southern highlands with the Markham Valley road and the overseas port of Lae on the Huon Gulf. In the 1960's this road system was surfaced and bridges were built over river crossings (Brookfield and Hart 1971:351,360). The building of these roads coincided with the development of coffee as an important cash crop in the highlands. By the end of the 1950's, there were over 200 European-operated coffee plantations in the highlands. From the mid-1950's on, highlanders themselves began growing coffee for sale to plantation owners, who processed the coffee beans, or to independent markets along the highway. For the year 1968-69, 71% of Papua New Guinea's coffee production came from indigenous holdings (Densley 1972:322).

The Gende, however, were left out of these developments. Although thousands of coffee trees were planted, little coffee could be marketed except by expensive air transport from Bundi, or by the few individuals willing to carry heavy bags of coffee beans two or three days' walk to markets outside the Gende region. Located on the northern slopes of the Bismarcks, the Gende were unconnected by road either to the coastal town of Madang or to the highlands highway. Several attempts to build roads within the area were abandoned as first one route and then another was judged unsuitable due to natural obstacles along the path of the road, and also because of frequent landslides. The labor was entirely by hand, using picks and shovels. Men who today are in their 40's and 50's have all spent the past twenty years working on sections of the road during the dry season.

In 1968-9 a transport survey was commissioned by the United Nations Development Programme which suggested that Madang be linked with the highlands highway system by two roads: one from Madang to Kundiawa [surveyed in 1971] which would pass through the populous Gende and Chimbu territories, and a lowland link between Madang and Lae through the Markham-Ramu Valleys (Brookfield and Hart 1971: 361). In the late 1970's, the lowlands road was completed but is of little value to the Gende. A road through the Chimbu area has been completed and the Gende are linked to it by an unsurfaced road extending only partially into their territory. The road from Madang has come as far as the foothills. Work is continuing on linking the two roads, but is hampered by insufficient funds, difficulties of terrain, and the lack of sufficient equipment to

Keep clear those sections of the road which have been completed.

The Gende people themselves have bought two bulldozers thinking to help speed up the work. Contributions were collected from every village and from migrants. Unfortunately, repairs for the two machines are costly and most of the money the local council has for roadwork goes into buying spare parts for the machines, which are more often than not out of commission. Meanwhile, it may be a week's work for a gang to remove one tree stump by hand.

In 1964, geologists working for Kennecott, a giant multi-national corporation based in New York, discovered deposits of copper in the mountains near Yandera. Kennecott set up offices in Goroka and had a camp constructed at Noriningi, on top of a hill at the edge of the village. From the late 1960's until 1979, over 60 holes were drilled in attempts to prove the extent and potential value of the deposit. During these years of exploration, several companies have been involved: Kennecott, BHP (Broken Hill Proprietary Co. Ltd.), Triako, and Buka. At present, Triako and Buka have 74% equity in the operation while Kennecott's has diminished to 26%.

The presence of a mining operation in their midst has had an impact on Yandera and nearby villages. The company has provided opportunities for both men and women to earn money. Men were trained as cooks, drillers, surveyors, managers, and domestics. Women sold vegetables and kunai grass (for roofing camp buildings) to company personnel. During the intermittent periods when the company was carrying out exploratory drilling, the rate of outward migration was curbed and some migrants returned to take advantage

of work closer to home. However, there was another counter effect in that those who worked for the company gained skills which made them valuable to both Kennecott and other mining companies elsewhere in Papua New Guinea, and thus encouraged outmigration of these skilled laborers.

In 1968, three men from Yandera accompanied a team of geologists and others to the Star Mountains near the Irian Jaya border. The area was extremely isolated and had only been officially contacted in 1963 by a government patrol (Jackson n.d. :43). The team and their supplies were flown in by helicopters, which, because of the rugged terrain, was their only means of transport and contact with the outside world. One of the three Gende men is now the local manager of the mining camp at Noriningi. He remembers the difficulties involved in making contact with the uncontacted people in the Star Mountains, the Min, and in gaining their assistance in constructing base camps and helipads:

"We [the Gende men] were taken by helicopter to a clearing. Here we set up an awning under which we stored the supplies the helicopter brought to us. It made several trips. The local men watched us from a distance -they were armed with bows and arrows. Their women and children were hidden. After the helicopter left us for the night, we made a fire and opened some of the boxes. We motioned to the men - they didn't speak pidgin -to come closer. We cooked food and meat and offered some to them. At first they were afraid to take it and only watched us eat. We were

afraid. They were 'new men' [new to the Gende and to white men's ways]. We put out piles of red cloth and other things which we motioned for them to take. They did. We did this for several days. Finally, the women came forward to get things too. Then we let them know they couldn't have any more until they helped us make a camp at the clearing. The helicopter came often to see how we were doing and to leave more supplies. We had to teach the people how to wear clothes right. Men would put on dresses and women would put on men's shorts. We had to teach them pidgin and how to work".

This man's brother, Mangu, while cutting another helipad near the Gilor river in the upper OK Tedi basin with the assistance of some local helpers, discovered the first significant outcropping of solid masses of copper sulphides and copper bearing magnetite iron ores. Mangu's discovery made the OK Tedi deposit world news (Jackson:45-6). Gold has since been discovered at OK Tedi, and it is now one of the largest and "most complicated mining projects undertaken in the Southwest Pacific; a project which is (considered by the national government) to form a cornerstone of the Papua New Guinea economy" (Jackson:3). In the years since Mangu's discovery, other Gende men have worked at OK Tedi, as well as at Yandera and Porgera (a gold mining site in Enga Province).

The mining operation in Yandera has been a mixed blessing. With periods of exploration interspersed with periods of a year or more of inactivity, it has had a boom or bust effect on the local economy. B.H.P.'s (an Australian company) short interest in the



project during the mid 1970's had probably the most impact. During their brief stay, they drilled most of the 60 holes, in almost a hit or miss fashion. Their public relations included generous handouts of boxes of store-bought clothing and freezer meats. As always, helicopters were an important element in their work and it was a time when people remember getting around more by helicopter than by foot. Helicopters were permanently based at Noriningi and were frequently requisitioned to transport pregnant women to the hospital at Bundi or persons going to Bundi or Goroka to collect exchange payments.

The people gained experience of many kinds: movies were shown regularly at Noriningi, a few girls were brought in from outer villages to sleep with some of the European personnel, there were drinking and gambling parties, and some young men got their first look at Playboy Magazine and other, more pornographic, literature. This period set up many expectations among the people who remember it as a good time, a time of material plenty and plenty of money.

Company policy has been to spread the benefits of employment as widely as possible among the local people: the salaries of skilled laborers has never been much higher than that of unskilled labor, the personnel of work teams was frequently changed so that more men would have a chance to work, and men were hired from other Gende villages in addition to Yandera. Not surprisingly, however, some have benefitted more than others. For example, the local managers, of which there have been only three over the years, had the advantage of a steady, annual income as well as the prestige and influence of their position; only one of the two clans in

Yandera - Yandima clan - has received compensation payments for the use of their land as it is on their territory that exploration has been concentrated, and finally, most of the workers come from Yandera, rather than other Gende villages.

The fact that Yandera, and in particular, Yandima Clan, has benefitted most has been resented by others. Those who earned money were able to make generous exchange payments to partners in and outside the village. Payments which the recipients had to worry about being able to reciprocate at some later date. With the use of company helicopters and contributions from their salaries and their own labor the Yandera people were able to build a large, tinned-roof church with glass windows in the late 70's. This work was directed by the local catechist, a member of Yandima clan. While other villagers helped in the construction and attend special services at Yandera's church, it's presence has brought prestige to Yandera alone and outsiders resentfully say that Yandera wants to be a 'big-name place'.

The intermittancy of work at the camp has caused problems for some Yandekaris, particularly in their exchange relationships. In the mid-1970's Karasokara village staged a pig kill and distribution. Many of the Yandekari's exchange partners in Karasokara gave generously to them, with the expectation that when it was Yandera's turn to reciprocate they would be able to do so. Yandera's turn came in 1982 after a period of several years when there was virtually no mining work and no exploration carried out by the company. Many Karasokaras were disappointed when their partners in Yandera were unable to fulfill their obligations in pigs and money.

The Yandera partners were publicly denounced as rubbish men who talk big but can't come through. Relationships were strained as Karasokaras were put in the unenviable position of not receiving what they expected and, in turn, being unable to fulfill other commitments (made in expectation of Yandera's continuing to have access to income from the mining company).

One recent project in Yandera has been the building of a community school, staffed by teachers working for the Divine Word Mission. The school, consisting of several classrooms, an office, a basketball court, and houses for a headmaster and eight teachers, was constructed of bush materials by men and women belonging to the Upper Bundi villages. In 1982, over 300 students attended classes in Grades One to Four. Although English is part of their instruction, the school differs from the now defunct boarding school at Bundi in that most students are between the ages of eight and ten before they enter Grade One, and a few are as old as twelve or more. Not all children are enrolled and parents must pay school fees (K6 per child). Families with many children often send only some of their children to school while holding others back. A few parents, unimpressed with the benefits of education, and disappointed in the small returns made by some former students, refuse to send any of their children to school.

#### The losing game

Fifty years after Father Schaefer and Brother Bass arrived at Guiebi, many Gende consider their home in 1982 to be a 'rubbish place'. As evidence they point to scraggly, often unharvested

groves of coffee trees; poorly stocked tradestores; and the ragged clothing of some individuals. Eager to talk about sons and daughters who teach, run their own business, or work for the government, parents are just as quick to complain about unemployed children who have forgotten them and who are rarely if ever seen in the village. While the fact that there is a mining camp in the area is proudly pointed out, attention is also directed to the miles of trails connecting abandoned drill sites and camps where people scavenge for old nails.

Underlying these statements of self-denigration is a concern with money, not so much money to buy material things with, but money and the things it buys as a symbol of social relationships. When people say they "don't have any money" or that "money wants to boss them" they are making statements about broken relationships or the tyranny of inequality over their lives. In spite of efforts to develop the region and to lessen the impact of urban remittances and unequal access to money, in 1982 the Gende sense that they have fallen behind other highlanders and express a feeling of inadequacy and real envy when they compare themselves with successful migrants and 'white men' or 'Europeans'. Columns 7 and 8 in the table below (Table 5.4), show just how little of the total annual income for 41 households is derived from coffee, the only cash crop the Gende have, and, with notable exceptions, from occasional labor at Noriningi.

By far the greater amount of cash income comes from urban remittances (Columns 9 and 10), or from village tradestores and local exchange payments (included together with all other sources

of local income under Column 11). It should be pointed out that the majority of urban remittances received by the 41 households in 1982 were given to fulfill exchange obligations to villagers, who staged a poi nomu in October, 1982. In years when there is no such major exchange event, informants claim that urban remittances make up a much smaller proportion of their total cash income [14].

The fact, however, that urban remittances are incorporated into the exchange system and that there is a significant degree of inequality among households in both the amount received and the amount hoped for, or due, effects every Gende from richest to poorest and from oldest to youngest, and is at the root of the Gende's perception that they are 'rubbish' and that they live in a 'bad place'. Since not every household, or individual in it, is at the same stage in the exchange cycle or has the same number of dependents and obligations, relative income differences or deficits are more extreme than Table 5.4 indicates.

In order to show the effects of inequality more clearly and to remain faithful to the cultural context, the following three chapters (Six, Seven, and Eight) are partly organized on the basis

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[9] Although I did not carry out formal income surveys in other Gende villages, statements from Yandikaris and non-Yandikaris, as well as my own observations, lead me to conclude that most Gende do not earn significant amounts of cash from the sale of coffee beans, and, if anything, because most Gende do not have occasion to work at the mining camp, they rely even more heavily than do the Yandikari on urban remittances as a source of cash.

Table 5.3 1982 Household Income

1	2	3	NET INCOME		INCOME SOURCE					
			4	5	6	7	8	9 (Urban rem)		
	#Members		C/K	Cash	Min	Cof	Gam	Kind	Cash	Other
1.	14	HJ3C7/7P1	2300	2100	40	20		200	1240	800
2.	13	HJ3C4/5	1010	1010	399	181			380	50
3.	10	HWC3/3P2	2094	1741	1208	23		353	410	100
4.	10	HJ3C3/3	1173	1173	1133		20			20
5.	9	HWC5/2	1247	210	61		34	1037	100	15
6.	9	HWC3/4	109	109	49	12	6			42
7.	8	HWC3/3	430	430					100	330
8.	8	HWC1/4P	190	190		40			10	140
9.	8	HWC3/1P2	36	36		24				12
10.	8	HWC5/1	147	147	21	46	20		50	10
11.	7	HWC1/3P	2000	2000	(Salary from work in town in 1982)					
12.	7	HWC4/1	312	212				100		212
13.	7	HWC3/2	275							275
14.	7	HJ3C2/1	903	360	3	66		543	135	156
15.	7	HWC3/2	111	111	91		8			12
16.	6	HWC1/3	160	160						160
17.	6	HWC1/3	1173	953	94			220		859
18.	6	HXC2/3	20	20	13		6			1
19.	6	HWC2/2	302	102		6		200	95	1
20.	6	AWC2/2	252	252					240	12
21.	5	HWC2/1	227	227		37			70	120
22.	5	HWC0/3	330	280	46	10		50	100	124
23.	5	HWC1/2	164	164	38		100			26
24.	5	HWC1/2	542	282	148	83		260	50	1
25.	4	HWC2/0	89	77		6	20	12		51
26.	4	HWC1/1	139	139	4	30	12		60	33
27.	4	HWC2/0	743	243	53	160		500	24	6
28.	4	HWC2/0	9	9	3					6
29.	4	HWC2/0	165	110	58	6		55	20	26
30.	4	HWC1/1	310	290	18	52		20	50	170
31.	4	AWC0/2	150	150					100	50
32.	3	HWC1/0	165	153	21	6	100	12		26
33.	3	HWC1/0	126	126	76		50			
34.	3	HWC0/1	85	85	43					42
35.	3	XWG2	120	120			20			100
36.	2	HJ	200	100			96	100		4
37.	2	HJ	95	95			20			75
38.	2	HJ	154	154			12		38	104
39.	2	HJ	97	97	25					72
40.	2	HXC1/0	1250	1000				250	1000	
41.	1	H	7	7		6				1

Column Code:

1 Household Number                    4 Net Total Cash+Kind    9 Urban Remittances  
 2 Number of Members                5 Net Total Cash            in Kind(est.value)  
 3 Household Composition            6 Mining                    10 Urban Remittances  
   H-Husband    W-Wife            7 Coffee                    in Cash  
   C-Child    X-Deceased        8 Gambling                11 Other Sources of  
   A-Abentee    P-Parent                    Income  
   G-Grandchild    \*numbers after C (child) indicate # of male/female

of generational differences, and the historical and social parameters peculiar to them. Set in the context of Yandera's poi nomu (1982), each chapter focuses on a different age group (middle-aged men and women, young adults, and the elderly), and examines how well or how poorly individuals within each category were able to realize their special interests and concerns (prestige, marriage, the fulfillment of debts and preparation for death and ancestorhood) both during the poi nomu and the years preceding it. Taken together the chapters constitute an analysis of the effects of inequality on people's relationships with one another, patterns of consumption and exchange, personal identity, and individual decisions to migrate. These chapters set the stage for a discussion in Part III of two major contemporary strategies and events by which the Gende have attempted to even the score - by gambling and by joining together in a strike against the government.

## Chapter Six: THE WINNER BY DEFAULT - INEQUALITY AND UNCERTAINTY

My decision to work in Yandera rather than in some other Gende village was influenced by the likelihood that Yandera would host a poi nomu during my stay. An exchange event of such scope and intensity fit in well with my plans to study the effects of urban remittances upon members of the rural community and their relations with one another, and to explore the possibility that the adverse effects of income differences upon participation in a system of reciprocal exchange might generate migration among members of poorer households. Given the number of absentees between the ages of 18 and 45, I reasoned that migrant participation in the poi nomu would be both critical and highly visible. Indeed, it was from migrants in Port Moresby and Madang, that I first heard of Yandera's plans to stage a large pig kill. They pointed out that, except for money spent entertaining and feeding visitors from the village, the bulk of their urban remittances were directed towards the fulfillment of their formal exchange commitments such as brideprices and poi nomu.

An event as meaningful and socially significant as a poi nomu is an appropriate lens for viewing the impact of cash income differences upon the Gende. Its planning and execution involve every individual within the host community and are matters of grave importance to the hosts and to all those individuals in other settlements who have exchange relations with them. Success depends upon the hosts' ability to give as much or more than they have received at competitors' poi nomu. Failure to meet the



expectations of exchange partners may jeopardize relations with them, result in a loss of respect and support for the offenders, and contribute to changes in narawa composition and affiliation.

The dynamic nature of poi nomu and the fact that they are linked with other exchange events and involve years of preparation for individual participants provides a temporal framework for my analysis. In this chapter, my focus is on the organizers of the poi nomu: those men and women who, in the process of fulfilling debts to the ancestors, sisters and women's relatives in other narawa, show themselves to be 'true mothers and fathers' worthy of the highest respect - ana mogeri and wana nambaio yonua. Born around the time of first contact, many of these men and a few of the women were among the first generation of migrants to leave the village and find gainful employment in town. Since their return they have witnessed the acceptance of cash into the exchange system and today they find themselves in a situation where no man can become 'big' without access to cash and a 'good' woman may have to stay behind to raise pigs when her husband migrates.

For the sake of clarity and depth, I have chosen to demonstrate the effects of change on the lives and identities of individuals by selecting for special attention the two men (and their wives) who were the most prominent players in Yandera's poi nomu. The paths these particular men have taken to success are, I believe, representative of the kinds of strategies necessary (but not necessarily foolproof) to succeed today. Where appropriate, the strategies of other men are brought in for comparison.

### Finesse! Turning Losses Into Gains

Early on the morning of September 4, 1982, I was lying in bed asleep when I was jolted awake by three things simultaneously: the excited cries of many people, someone pounding on my door and the voice of my friend John shouting for me to get out of my house, and a roaring noise that could only be one thing. Fire!

Opening the door for John, I ran to my back porch to see what the commotion was about. What I saw sent me scurrying back to grab field notes, cameras, and the bag which held my passport, check-book, and ticket home. Several buildings were completely ablaze. Sparks shooting fifty feet into the air fell back onto the tinder-dry grass roofs of nearby houses, my own included.

When it was over, part of a poi nom (the guest house for a pig feast) and three houses belonging to my adopted father's three wives were burnt to the ground, the remains of their personal possessions were heaped underneath a tree in the middle of the compound, the roof of my father's haus tamane had been torn off and was lying in a black, smoking mess away from the house, and everything belonging to me was piled in front of one of the classrooms.

The crowd which had gathered waited uneasily for the reactions of my father, who, in the midst of the charred timbers and ashes that had been my mother's tradestore and living quarters, was kicking at a piece of twisted metal which had been a coleman lantern. My father looked up and saw me, and said, "As you can see I am ruined now. I have nothing. I have a big family to care for and I have looked after my brothers and their children since I was

a young man myself. And this is my reward. Who will help me now when it is I who look after others? Get your book! You must write down everything which has been lost and send a letter to the government. They must help me look after my family."

As my father directed the clean-up, his despair deepened. In addition to losing trade goods worth K45, three Bird of Paradise pelts, clothing, household utensils, two radios, a lantern, metal tools and garden implements, and a drum of kerosene, also destroyed in the fire were some cases of beer, a bottle of whiskey, several cartons of cigarettes, and a large quantity of rice, sugar, tea, and canned goods to be used to feed the guests at a party that very evening.

As part of his preparations for the poi nomu, my father had arranged for members of his mother's and sisters' husbands' narawa - Gegerunarawa - to perform a large kaima (singsing) several days before the pigs were to be killed a month later, in October. Payment for this 'service' included periodic gifts of food, cigarettes, and money while Gegeru men were practicing the kaima and making their costumes [see Table 6.2 for a complete list of my father's expenditures during all the poi nomu events]. The day of the house-fire, the Gegeru men and their families were expected in Yandera for a feast in their honor.

While the debris was being cleared away, a few men and women gave their opinions on the cause of the fire. Less than an hour before the fire had broken out my father and mother were heard arguing outside her tradestore. Those who came out of their houses to watch remember seeing my mother go inside her store with a lit

cigarette. A moment later she came out without the cigarette, locked the door, and left the village. Most were of the opinion she hadn't extinguished the cigarette properly, that it had set her bedding on fire and then spread to the drum of kerosene. When my father accepted this explanation there were visible expressions of relief on the faces of those present. With the poi nomu so close it would be a bad thing if the fire had been set on purpose. Men and women offered to help my father by donating food and drink for that night's party.

At this point my mother returned to the village, having seen the smoke from Karasokara. While she cried over the devastation of her store, my father berated her for her carelessness. Unfortunately for my mother, she had hidden K100 in the wall of her house. She had been saving the money to give as nus pe to a 'brother' who had cared for her after the death of her father. The 'brother' was expecting the money during the poi nomu and she had no means of replacing it in time.

As matters stood, my mother had more to lose than my father. While their generosity would have to be repaid, the help offered by members of my father's narawa was an affirmation of the respect he enjoyed and the importance others attached to his affairs, which he was quick to point out benefitted them as much as him. My mother, on the other hand, had lost her livelihood, was out K100 in cash and K45 worth of trade goods, as well as several hundred kina worth of material possessions and supplies for the pig feast festivities. If the blame fell on her, the burden of repaying my father's narawa for their help would also fall on her.

Hotly denying any culpability, my mother offered an alternative explanation: Wasn't it true that Albert (an emotionally disturbed Tundega boy) had set fire to one of the classrooms, stolen medicine from the aid post, and more than once threatened to set fire to her store? The boy's older brother defended him, saying it was impossible for his younger brother to have set fire to the store since Albert was staying with their mother in her garden house some distance away. Others agreed that they had not seen Albert around the village for days.

In a deep voice, my mother hinted darkly that while it was probable Albert set the fire, others could just as easily come under suspicion. She accused those assembled of being jealous of her and her husband's prosperity and of wanting to spoil their performance during the poi nomu. She threatened that if compensation were not forthcoming from the boy's father and older brother, others would also suffer. This statement carried with it an allusion to the alleged magical powers my mother possessed.

Later that day, my mother told me in private that everyone would support her accusations against Albert because they were afraid of her. That she would threaten members of her husband's narawa in so open, albeit ambiguous, manner seemed an indication of the stress she felt over the sudden loss of her store and the knowledge that her resources were already overcommitted and she could not afford such a setback.

As the afternoon progressed, men and women, including some from Yandima and a few from nearby villages, brought their contributions for the evening's party [see Table 6.2.b.], the roof

was replaced on the haus tamane, and the undamaged section of the poi nom was used as a cookhouse where preparations for the feast were underway.

Citing his past generosity and calling him 'everyone's father', those who donated cartons of beer or food, used the opportunity to demonstrate their loyalty to my father. For his part, my father abetted and enhanced this display of gratitude and support by playing up his losses, making an appeal to other's sympathies at the same time attempting to make them feel shame in the presence of his 'undeserved poverty'. Suitcases of clothing saved from the fire had been earlier locked away and hidden from sight inside my house. My father stuck a post in the ground where his houses once stood and hung a cotton jacket on it. Wearing only a pair of ragged shorts and a badly torn and very dirty tee-shirt, and standing beside the post, he reminded others of all he had done for them and bemoaned the fact that now he was 'rubbish', pointing to the cotton jacket as the "only clothes he had to his name". Then he smiled and said that: "even though he was rubbish, his brothers, affines, and friends had not forgotten him".

It is unlikely that very many people were fooled by this performance, but they went along with it, saying how sorry they felt for him. When I asked people why they were giving things to my father, many replied that by helping him now, they could rely on him to help them whenever they needed help. An appreciation, however, of the benefits of cooperation in a highly competitive and individualistic society was not the only factor motivating people to divert their own limited resources to my father's exchange

activities: it was apparent from some of their comments that another reason for helping was to ward off the possibility that blame for the fire might shift to them. As one man put it, "If I don't help him now he will begin to think of all the times he helped me and he will think poorly of me. His wife [my mother] is a woman who talks a lot. She will talk and talk until your father believes I have some grievance against him".

This man's prediction was soon realized. Enlisting the aid of her two co-wives, my mother continued to harass my father. Arguing that she would have to pay nus pe ('nose pay') to her 'brother' from money she hoped to receive from a migrant daughter, she warned that she would be unable to help him make the final payments for the Kaima (singsing). Already persons were beginning to concur with my mother's explanation of the fire and warned me to stay away from Albert and his brother because they were insane and might burn my house down as well.

The incident just described, and its aftermath, demonstrated to me, not only the character and resourcefulness of wana nambaio, (big men) who are able to manipulate personal setbacks to advantage, but also the chilling effects of the pressure of exchange commitments and interdependence in combination with fear and inequality. The accused were among those persons least able to fight back. Albert's father and mother had no cash income, and had recently committed all their pigs to their oldest son's brideprice payment. Likewise, the oldest son had no way of raising the K700 in compensation which was demanded of him. Those who helped buy his bride (including my mother and father) were unwilling to

contribute more than K37 for the compensation claim against him, reasoning that he and his wife would have difficulty enough making tupoi (repaying his family for her brideprice) much less paying back an additional K700. My parents, on the other hand, were among the wealthiest persons in the village.

In the days and weeks that followed, the family of Albert were subjected to unrelenting harrassment and humiliation by my mother and a growing number of her supporters until they were finally forced to leave the village and spend all their time in their garden house. Attempts on both sides to settle the conflict in district and provincial courts were unsuccessful. A divining ceremony using a bamboo pole was inconclusive, pointing to Albert, my mother, and even my father as the perpetrators of the 'crime' (see Chapter Four for description of this means of detecting sorcerers).

No one was happy with the situation, least of all my mother and father. Although they had managed to generate a surface consensus that they had a right to press for compensation, people were criticizing them behind their backs for being greedy and ruthless. At one point my father was ready to accept a large pig and K37 in order to end the conflict. Albert's older brother had been a protege and admiring 'son' of my father, and his parents were inoffensive and kindly. My father recognized that the conflict did not fit well with the image he was trying to maintain of being 'father to all'. Both my parents, however, were caught in an impasse: my father was forced to give into my mother's demands because she was one of the mainstays of his strategy for 'success';



my mother because of pressing obligations to her 'brother' and a fear that blame would shift to her.

### 'Papa bilong ol'

Although the events leading up to the final days of the poi nomu were punctuated by tension and brawls sparked by the house fire, efforts by critics (and competitors) to besmirch his name never succeeded in destroying my father's claim to leadership. His life embodies cherished values and exemplifies the kinds of strategies pursued by individual Gende in their quest to be 'men' and not 'pigs' in a world no longer under their control. His attempts to combine the old and new in ways which would benefit himself and his supporters have been guided by an unshakeable belief in the power of generosity and reciprocity to heal all ruptures in his society. That he got caught in the middle of the house fire controversy and was unable to resolve it without injury to one of his 'children' left him an embittered man who claimed that this pig kill would be his last.

### Youth

My father was born near Yandera shortly after the first missionaries came to Bundi. His father was among the men who helped to build the first airstrip at Bundi Mission. His mother was from Gegerunarawa and she and her husband were living on land which borders on Gegeru territory; the land on which the village of Yandera now stands still a battleground for skirmishes between Karasokaras and Yandikaris.

After World War II and the end of fighting among the Gende clans, my father's father was appointed tultul [1] by the government, and continued his involvement with the Catholic Mission. When Ramu catechists were sent to teach Pidgin English to the Gende so that they might be taught their catechism and receive baptism in the Christian faith, his son and two daughters were among the first students to attend pisin skul (Pidgin school).

During the phase of male initiation when future Kangi men are forbidden to eat meat, my father, hearing from his Ramu teacher that such practices were heathenish, balked at the prohibition against meat and ran away from home. He found work as a house boy in Kundiawa, working in succession for two kiaps (administrators at outpost stations) and a doctor.

When he returned home, his father and uncles complained that if he did not finish his initiation and have his nose pierced, his Kangi spirit would bring sickness and death to them. After his initiation, in which a darning needle was used to pierce his nose, my father courted two women at the same time: my mother and a woman from Yandimananawa. His parents were negotiating the brideprice payment for the Yandima woman when my mother ran away with him to Goroka, where he found work as a cook and she as a housegirl in the home of an Australian. Using \$A70 saved from his wages, my father helped pay for my mother himself, making him one of the first Gende to purchase a wife with cash in addition to the traditional pigs and stone axes.

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[1] A local official appointed by the Australian government.

My mother and father stayed in Goroka for seven years, and the first of their four daughters was born there. For a time they were joined by my mother's co-wife, who posed as her 'sister' since polygamy was frowned upon by their employer. When she became pregnant she returned to Yandera to give birth to the first of her seven children and to take up the work of planting gardens and raising pigs. Many of my father's younger 'brothers' also lived for varying lengths of time with my mother and father, staying until they found work of their own or until they returned to the village to settle down and marry.

### Responsibilities

In the late 1950's, my father and mother returned to Yandera. With a growing family to support and the expense of feeding the steady stream of visitors from the village, staying in town was no longer feasible for a man who had ambitions to become a wana nambaio. With two wives raising pigs (and soon a third), my father reasoned he would be able to pay off debts - childwealth, tupoi, and nus pe to his mother's brothers - and begin investing in earnest in the affairs of others in his narawa.

The late 1950's and 1960's was also a time of promise and opportunity back in the village. There was coffee to plant as a cash crop and work to be had at the new mining camp at Noriningi. Seeing himself as a progressive, my father quickly involved himself in activities he believed would improve the lives of his people and bring prosperity and prestige to Yandera. As he put it, he wanted to upim nem bilong ples (lit. trans. 'raise up the name of a

place'). When his father died suddenly not long after his return, my father took over his government appointed position as village luluai (local leader) and directed the work of building roads and a bridge over the Tai-ayor River. These and other village projects - the building of a school, aid post, and church - and the work of building a large trade store at Pandambai kept him busy throughout his seven years as luluai and seventeen years as village councillor and member of the Local Government Council at Bundi.

### The Women in His Life

While my father was building roads, my mother and his sisters were opening 'roads' of another (and ultimately more profitable) kind by sending their children to the newly opened boarding school at Bundi. Several of these children, including my mother's oldest daughter and two of my father's sisters' sons secured steady and well-paying employment after their graduation from high school. In the late seventies and eighties, generous gifts of cash from these young migrants and the payment of formal debts to my parents formed a significant proportion of my father's cash income [see Table 6.2.b.].

My father is the first to point out that women have played significant roles in his ascendancy to power. Being an only son (two younger brothers died in infancy) with two sisters, his parents had little difficulty acquiring his first two wives for him with his sisters' brideprices. His own father's premature death left his mother free to take a more active role in her son's affairs. And, since the oldest of his fourteen children are

daughters and his oldest son was only twelve in 1982, he has been able to use wealth from his daughters' marriages to invest widely in the marriages of younger men in both his own and other narawa.

In keeping with one of the themes of the poi nomu, namely that is is done to make women happy, my father attributed his success to his three wives. According to him, their cooperation and untiring labor has raised him to a position of respect both in the village and beyond [2]. Although each wife has an interest (sometimes jealously defended) in seeing that the pigs she raises are used to pay off debts to her own clan, each of the three wives has, at one time or another, set aside her own interests (at least temporarily) and contributed pigs (and cash) to the successful outcome of her co-wives' exchange affairs.

#### Broad Investment Policy

Over the years, my father has practiced what I call a BROAD INVESTMENT POLICY (BIP) in contrast to a NARROW INVESTMENT POLICY (NIP). This policy is similar in many respects to that followed by past wana nambaio, which was to invest as widely as possible outside one's own immediate household. Reasons for doing so included a desire to help others and increase one's own social 'security' and prestige, and the need to acquire access to or to guard against the loss of valuable 'resources' such as land, women, and children. These reasons remain valid today and persons who

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[2] Gende men frequently give praise to their wives for the hard work that they do. It is also not unusual to hear men praise women while they (the men) are talking among themselves.

follow such a strategy of investment are said to be practicing tuma mogeri (lit.trans. 'custom good').

Concrete evidence of my father's tuma mogeri was manifold during my fieldwork. He was always ready to give, even if it meant taking food from his children's mouths or money from his wives' bilums. Often to the despair of his wives, who tried to keep abreast of his generosity and to keep the family finances in some kind of order, he rarely turned down a request to help with some child's school fees, a compensation claim, or a brideprice, if there was money available. Whenever one of his wives cooked something special for the evening meal, he was sure to invite one or more relatives or friends.

The poi nomu, of course, was a showcase for his generosity. Table 6.2 (see below), which shows the flow of wealth through his hands, from his three wives and mother to women and their male relatives and in-laws during the pig kill, and the exchanges involved in producing the kaima, reflects the scope of his exchange activities as well as how he went farther than most to 'make women happy' during the poi nomu (compare his performance with other wana nambaio in Table 6.3).

That he also makes 'men happy', in particular men within his own narawa, is evident in the number of children named for him. A quick survey of names given to men and boys in both Tundega and Yandima clans reveals that some names appear far more often than others. This reflects the custom of naming a child after a person who has made a substantial contribution to its childwealth payment or to its mother's brideprice. Table 6.1 below compares the 'big

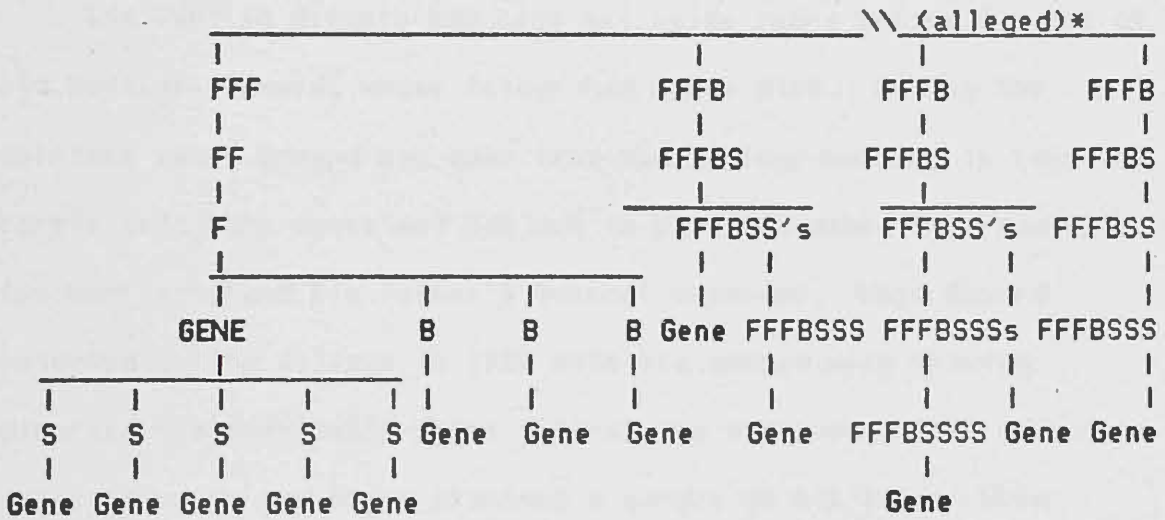
name' of a wana nambaio who retired from leadership in 1982 with that of my father's. Although my father will probably surpass the retired leader in the number of children named after him when his own sons reach maturity and become fathers, there are five men in his narawa who expect to name their first or second sons after my father for pigs he contributed to their wives' brideprices.

Yet another piece of evidence that my father is 'wealthy in relations' as a result of his BIP came to light in a land dispute between him and the 'owner' of garden land being used by one of my father's wives. Over the years, my father and his wives have made their gardens on land belonging to his father's brothers. Busy with government and church work in Bundi, his own father was not as active in cutting down the bush and laying claims to land in the vicinity of Yandera as were his three younger brothers. What land my father 'inherited' after his father's early death was compromised by debts to his father's brothers for the many pigs they killed at their brother's funeral.

Rather than pay back these debts directly and secure the land against conflicting claims, my father invested pigs in the marriages of his father's brothers' sons (who are younger than him) and in paying off tupoi debts to his father's brothers. With many sons and few daughters, his father's brothers were content to allow him and his three wives the use of land so they might raise many pigs. As his younger cousins married and had large families of their own to support, however, there was growing pressure on the available land. Several things have so far allowed my father to continue to use land which, strictly speaking, is not his: his

Table 6.1 Namesakes (only partial information is given)

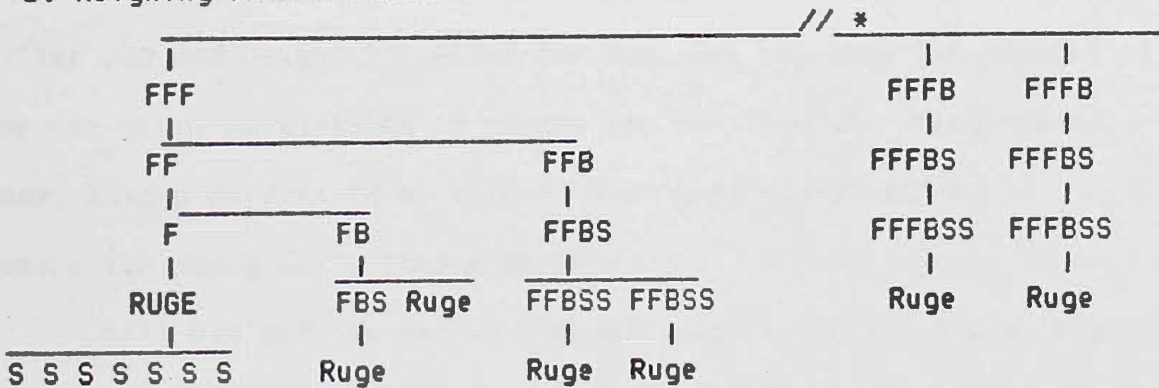
a. retired WANA NAMBAIO



\* related sub-clans

Table 6.1 Namesakes (continued)

b. Reigning WANA NAMBAIO



\* related sub-clans



generosity and reliability as a ready contributor to narawa 'business', and the failure on the part of some of his younger cousins to pay off their debts to parents and others.

The land in dispute had been set aside years before for one of his cousins, Edward, whose father has since died. During the thirteen years Edward was away from the village working in town, he rarely sent home money and has yet to pay back debts incurred by two marriages and his father's funeral expenses. When Edward returned to the village in 1982 with his second wife (having divorced his first wife years before), he discovered that one of my father's wives had begun planting a garden on his land. When Edward objected, his uncles said he would have to share the land with his cousin. Not satisfied, he began pulling out the newly planted sweet potatoes in my father's wife's garden. This resulted in several altercations with my father who angrily reminded Edward in public that "We [my father and his uncles] have always looked after you and bought two wives for you. But you have not thought of us nor given us anything in return for our labors". Needless to say, Edward gave in to my father, who 'generously' agreed to share the young man's land with him.

While his BIP has served him well, achieving for him a 'big name' and a large network of supporters, my father's adherence to it has been motivated by more than a special reverence for customary behavior. Investing widely has new value or justification given the economic situation the Gende find themselves in today. In a moment of reflection, two months before the pig kill, my father outlined the basis of his success as a wana nambaio:

women, helping others, and the generosity of a daughter and two sisters' sons who live and work in town. He pointed out that helping others included, not only investing in the school fees and care of many children in the hopes that some of them would succeed, but also helping young men who failed in school as well as those who didn't because, when migrants lose their jobs or forget about those at home, the wives of the young men he helped to get set up in village life will still be raising pigs. This last statement is in reference to a problem faced by villagers, namely that many migrants (almost half of the adult male migrants in 1982) are unemployed or do not earn sufficient money to keep up with their obligations to villagers.

During the poi nomu, the effects of unequal access to cash, particularly as it effected men and women's ambitions to demonstrate their generosity to competitors, to fulfill obligations to partners and narawa ancestors, and to secure certain advantages for themselves and members of their own narawa, were readily apparent. Not as obvious, was why some men who are wealthy by village standards (see Table 6.3) chose not to invest more of their wealth in the poi nomu, and chose instead to allow others to take more active roles in the proceedings while they themselves followed what I call a NARROW INVESTMENT POLICY (NIP), a policy dangerously close to tuma briki (English trans. 'custom bad').

In the following section, Wana nambaio, which is primarily a comparison of the circumstances and performances of several other big men (including some on the way up or on the way down), I plan to elaborate on the relationship between today's broad investment

Table 6.2 Poi Nomu Expenses

a. Pigs killed and distributed October 4-6, 1982

'Owner' and (#) of pigs	Given to: 'Ples'	Amount and Recipient
Wife I (2)	Karasokara	(1) Mother
	Mendi	(1) Married Daughter *
Wife II (6)***	Koui	(1) Husband's Sister's Husband
		(1/2) Husband's Sister's Brother-in-law
		(1/2) Husband's Brother's Wife's Father
	Yandima	(1) Brother **
		(1) Brother
	Chimbu	(1) Husband's 'Friend'
Tundega	(1) Husband's Brothers and their Wives	
Wife III (6)***	Koui	(1/2) Husband's Sister's Husband
		(1/2) Husband's Sister
		(1/2) Husband's Sister's Brother-in-law
	Chimbu	(1) Husband's Sister's Son
	Karamuke	(1/2) Brother
		(1/2) Brother
		(1/2) Brother
		(1) Husband's Father's Mother's Brother's Son
	Karasokara	(1/2) Husband's 'Friend'
	Bundi	(1/2) Husband's Sister's Brother-in-law
Mother (1)	Karasokara	(1/2) Married Sister
	Bundi	(1/2) Brother's Son

\*Also received two live pigs from her mother as part of her welim meri dowry, timed to coincide with the pig kill.

\*\*Childwealth payment which, like the dowry pigs above, was delayed until pig kill to enhance the display of wealth.

\*\*\*Includes tupoi pig received for contribution to brideprice of husband's brothers' wives

b. Kaima Koizi

1. Source of 'income' to pay for Kaima:

Relationship to 'buyer'	Donor of:		Reason
	Cash:	Kind: *	
Sister's Son	K550		<u>Nus pe</u>
Sister's Son		K1000 (pig)	<u>Nus pe</u>
Wife I	K50	K75.50 (3 cartons of beer and 2 bottles of whiskey)	
Wife II	K20	K1000 (pig)	
Wife III	K20		
Mother		K1000 (pig)	
Wife I's Brother	K100		Summoning <u>het pe</u> from Sister
Narawa 'Brother'		K12.50 (1 carton beer)	Sorry about the house fire
Narawa 'Brother'		K12.50 (1 carton beer)	Sorry about the house fire
Narawa 'Brother'		K12.50 (1 carton beer)	Sorry about the house fire
Father's 'Sister's' Husband		K12.50 (1 carton beer)	Sorry about the house fire
Narawa 'son'		K19 (Whiskey)	Brother of X, Sorry about the house fire
Father's Brother's Daughter		K19 (Whiskey)	Sorry about the house fire
Narawa 'Sister's' Husband		K19 (Whiskey)	Sorry about the house fire
Others in Narawa		K40 (food, tobacco)	Sorry about the house fire

\*estimated value in Kina

Table 6.2 (cont.)

b. Kaima Koizi (cont.)

2. Cost of Kaima

Available 'Income':

pigs - three [3]

cash - K740

Kind - K222.50

Total Cash & Kind: K962.50

Costs of Kaima

pigs - three [3]

transport of one pig and beer from town - K102

tobacco and betel - 70

food - 136

alcohol 352.50

cash gifts 24

Total: K684.50\*

\*Difference between available income and cost of kaima partly the result of losses sustained in the housefire of kaima supplies (beer, food, tobacco, etc.).

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Table 6.3 1982 Household Income and Expenditures

1	2	Net Income		Formal			Other Expenditures				
		3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	
1	14	2300	2100	20(2)		28	6				
2	13	1010	1010	1	240	540			50	342	
3	10	2094	1741	12	873	1260		3	200	110	
4	10	1173	1173	3	163	500			200	78	
5	9	1247	210	2	38	1012			153	44	
6	9	109	109	2	10				85	14	
7	8	430	430	7	273		97	13	15	32	
8	8	190	190	1				19	200	158	
9	8	36	36	2(1)					20	16	
10	8	147	147	2	50				47	50	
11	7	2000	2000	3	106		50		104	216	
12	7	312	212	2					188	124	
13	7	275	275	2					50	183	
14	7	903	360	11(2)	169	801	2		50	82	
15	7	111	111	5	52			13	29	17	
16	6	160	160	1					50	130	
17	6	1173	953	8	586	266	40	50	200	36	
18	6	20	20	-					16	4	
19	6	302	102	6	213				7	82	
20	6	252	252	(1)	38	100			100	14	
21	5	227	227	1	22				157	58	
22	5	330	280	2	280				28	42	
23	5	164	164	2	119				29	16	
24	5	542	282	2	25	100		40	175	142	
25	4	89	77	1(1)				7	58	12	
26	4	139	139	2	32	30			65	12	
27	4	743	243	-		1520	10		50	10	
28	4	9	9	-						9	
29	4	165	110	2	13	20		20	100	12	
30	4	310	290	5	125			19	100	66	
31	4	150	150	2	20	100			14	16	
32	3	165	153	1				32	117	16	
33	3	126	126	-		50			66	10	
34	3	85	85	1	19	10	2		46	8	
35	3	120	120	-				6	106	8	
36	2	200	100	(5)				8	165	27	
37	2	95	95	-					83	12	
38	2	154	154	(3)	37	50		13	13	41	
39	2	97	97	1	29		2	10	50	12	
40	2	1250	1000	-			20		100	8	
41	1	7	7	-					7		

Column code:

- 1-Household number
- 2-# of household members
- 3-Cash and kind
- 4-Cash only
- 5-# if pigs killed at poi nomu, kwiaqi, or Kaima; (#) pigs given for tupoi or other formal debts not strictly related to poi nomu
- 6-Other poi nomu expenses
- 7-Brideprice, childwealth, tupoi, etc.
- 8-Gambling 'losses'
- 9-Non-traditional 'gifts' or support
- 10-Food
- 11-Other: travel, taxes, schooling, etc.

policy and a contemporary economic situation characterized by inequality and uncertainty. I demonstrate that the narrow investment policy of some wealthy men is, in many cases, but a delaying tactic, or calculated gamble. Narrow investors hope that by investing heavily in a few children now, they will receive big dividends later. After the children find well-paying jobs and return their generosity, narrow investors expect to then involve themselves in the activities of big men by practicing a broad investment policy.

#### Wana Nambaio

When I arrived in Yandera in May, I was told that the poi nomu would take place in June or July. Men were busily constructing new poi nom or refurbishing old ones; nights were filled with the sound of kunda drums and singing; and there were frequent interruptions in the daily round of affairs as cries and excitement heralded the arrival of men carrying money poles at the head of a line of women leading pigs and carrying bags of vegetables and betel nut as part of a brideprice or a 'gift' to a mother's brother.

In the evenings, groups of men gathered in poi nom or in private houses. Composed of one or more big men and their closest supporters, these groups met to discuss plans for the upcoming poi nomu. The most important meetings were between three major big men: my father Ruge; Peter, the manager of the mining camp; and a "retiring" big man, Lapun Gene. Only these three men had the backing and connections to organize an event of such magnitude, and the success or failure of the poi nomu would depend to a great

extent upon their performances.

For Lapun Gene, this poi nomu would be his last. For him, the poi nomu was less a time to enhance his already ample prestige and authority than it was a time to end obligations to the brothers of his deceased mother and four wives (one deceased) [1]. Using pigs and cash received from sisters and sister's sons along with pigs raised by his wives and daughters-in-law and gifts of money collected at his "retirement party" (to which everyone in Yandera, including myself and the school teachers, was invited), Lapun Gene was able to pay off most of his debts to maternal and affinal kin with enough added on to place them in a position of indebtedness to him and his heirs and supporters - his children and their mothers.

His motives for paying off debts and "retiring" rather than expanding further his range of exchange partners and, thereby, leaving it to his children to pay off his accumulated debts after his death, included more than a desire to ensure an honorable and contented ancestorhood for himself. There were other, more timely considerations, which are likely to have a great impact on his children's futures.

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[1] Because he was only in the village a short time and I never achieved the same rapport with him that I had with other big men, my data on Gene's exchange activities is incomplete and he will not be included in Table 6.4 below. Conversations with him and some of his sons, however, gave me enough information to include a sketch of his activities here.



In 1978, one of Lapun Gene's wives moved back to her home village to make gardens on land near the sight of a proposed mining operation at Kurumbukare. Early in 1982, Gene, along with another wife and their unmarried children, joined the first wife in her father's village, returning to Yandera only long enough to participate in the poi nomu before hurrying back to make gardens in their new home. In view of the fact that his final years will be spent on land within the domain of what is expected to be one of the world's largest producers of cobalt and chromite, Gene's use of the term "retirement" is a misnomer.

Thus, by activating claims to his wife's brother's land on the basis of this past generosity and present generosity at the poi nomu, Gene and his sons will be in a position to eventually receive land compensation payments from the mining consortium. Being childless, his first wife had no childwealth payments to contend with and was able to build up a fund of credit in her own narawa.

For Peter [a younger man in Gene's narawa nambaio ('big line', clan) but not his narawa kenqua ('small line', sub-clan)], this poi nomu would be his formal coming out party as a wana nambaio. He already had authority because of his position as the local manager of the mining camp. In the poi nomu, however, he would demonstrate his generosity and bigness and, he hoped, generate the kind of respect enjoyed by Gene who, up until the time of his retirement, was considered Yandera's biggest big man and the head or spokesman for both Yandima (his clan) and Tundeganarawa.

In former times and circumstances, with six young children and only one wife, Peter would not yet have reached the stage at which

he could afford to finance a major singsing and invest as much as he did in poi nomu exchanges. Rather, he and his wife would have been burdened with tupoi (marriage refund payment) and childwealth payments, and most of their pigs would have gone towards supporting the ambitions of others. As it was, he had the advantage over other men his age (as well as many older men) of having had a relatively large and reliable income over the past four years.

Peter's only challenger to supreme wana nambaioship was my father, who had already established himself as a wana nambaio in earlier poi nomu. Table 6.4 below shows the number of pigs and the amount of cash (including the value of beer, food, etc.) expended by twelve individuals during the poi nomu. A comparison of their expenditures reveals my father (Ruge) to be the winner, having killed 20 pigs (each of which is locally valued at K1000) and spent K873 in contrast to the twelve pigs and K1019 expended by Peter.

In the event, however, Peter came close to topping my father. Using cash from a brideprice he received for a 'sister', just prior to the pig kill, Peter paid off debts for the births of four of his children. While public opinion held that my father was the biggest of them all, privately many people expressed the opinion that Peter, even with his resources drained by the childwealth payments, had come far in a short time and would, undoubtedly, surpass my father in the not too distant future. That the two contenders were aware of how close they were in the evaluations of others and that there was a certain amount of jealousy between them, was evident in the fact that neither Peter nor my father attended the other's Kaima.

Table 6.4 Poi Nomu Expenditures of Wana Nambaio [3]

1	2		3			4		5	
Ruge	15	K150	Kaima	3	K685	Kwiagi	2	K38	47%*
Kewa	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Witaro	1	22	-	-	-	-	-	-	0%
Karl	6	6	Kwiagi	1	273	Kaima	-	13	0%
Rio	11	169	-	-	-	Kwiagi	-	170	53%
Kiriwa	5	100	-	-	-	Kwiagi	1	113	100%
Francis	3	12	Kwiagi	5	586	Kaima	-	13	38%
Peter	8	120	Kaima	4	873	Kwiagi	-	26	0% <sup>a</sup>
Vincent	1	15	Kwiagi	-	240	Kaima	-	13	0% <sup>a</sup>
Imuri	5	125	-	-	-	-	-	-	56%
Mura	2	25	-	-	-	-	-	-	0%
Kwembe	2	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	0%

[3] Includes several individuals who, prior to the poi nomu, were recognized as wana nambaio or potential big men, but whose status suffered a setback as a result of their performances during the poi nomu.

Column Code:

- 1 - Names of big men (Except for Peter and Ruge, all are pseudonyms).
- 2 - Pigs killed at pig kill and value of food, tobacco, alcohol, and/or cash given to exchange partners.
- 3 - Name of other event sponsored by individual; pigs killed by sponsor; and value of food, tobacco, alcohol, and/or cash given by sponsor to recipients of event.
- 4 - Name of event not sponsored but contributed to by individual; number of pigs contributed; and value of food, tobacco, alcohol, and/or cash contributed to sponsor of event.
- 5 - Percent of total cash value, spent by individual on pig kill, Kaima, and kwiagi, which came directly from urban remittances.

\* For this individual the percent would be higher [closer to 88%] if not for the loss sustained in the house fire of party supplies bought with urban remittances which had to be replaced with contributions from villagers.

<sup>a</sup> Cash came from their earnings at mining camp.

## Delays

Except for minor disappointments [2] in the way of a few exchange partners being unable to give as generously as hoped for, my father, Peter, and Gene were ready to begin the poi nomu in early July. However, in a village the size of Yandera (resident population 600) there are many wana nambaio, or 'fathers' of their respective narawa Kenqua and narawa nambaio, a fact which contributed to some confusion about when the poi nomu would actually occur.

Much of the confusion and delay was related to difficulties experienced by some wana nambaio in marshalling the support of migrants. That many other villagers were also relying on absentee exchange partners to help them pay back debts to wana nambaio, compounded the problem of setting a date.

July slipped by. The pig houses sat ready, but empty. Men and women went off to town to make last minute efforts to get migrant relatives to invest in the pig kill. Many returned home empty-handed, or very nearly so. Other men and women were caught between a desire to go ahead with the pig kill and advance their own interests to the detriment of their less fortunate 'competitors', and a realization that by delaying the pig kill for a little while longer and allowing others more time to get ready, their respective narawa and Yandera would make a better showing and stage a poi nomu that would not soon be forgotten.

In July, the wives of those who were ready began complaining of the burden of caring for extra pigs (those received in pre-poi

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[2] The house fire did not occur until September 4.

nomu transactions or retrieved from caretakers in anticipation of the pig kill), and warned their husbands that there would be little left in the gardens to feed the guests if the pigs were not killed as soon as possible.

Some of the men began worrying about how old and lacking in fat, or gris, some of their pigs were. Some of the pigs were 13 and 14 years old. While pigs with gris are more desirable exchange gifts than lean pigs, the fact that many pigs were lacking in gris also signified overdue debts and creditors who were putting pressure on individual exchange partners to hasten the pig kill so that they could carry out their own exchange activities.

While it seemed that these very persuasive arguments would push the poi nomu to completion, a new hitch developed in August. Almost every summer for the past twenty years or so, the Gende have worked on sections of the road. This year, the officer in charge of the district planned for the road work to begin in August. His announcement, coming in late July, caused immediate concern and debate in Yandera. Village sentiment was polarized, with some villagers against working on the road that year and others, including some who were unprepared for the poi nomu and some who had little interest in it, for delaying the poi nomu indefinitely.

The latter individuals were quick to define the conflict of interest as one between those in favor of 'progress' and those against it, who, 'like pigs', followed unquestioningly the customs of the ancestors. Recognized by many as a gross misrepresentation, this summation of the conflict had the effect of swaying the opinions of men like my father, who decided that a couple of weeks

further delay would be less harmful than being seen as standing in the way of 'development'. Yandera and Karasokara villages arranged to do their two-week stint of roadwork first. Immediately afterwards, in the middle of August, the first of the kwiagis were held, and the poi nomu was finally underway.

### Winners and losers

When it was over, it was possible to separate some of the rhetoric from the performances of wana nambaio and assess the winners and losers. Some of the winners were men like Francis (see Table 6.4) who sponsored a major kwiagi for his deceased mother and father, which, in keeping with their aspirations as wana nambaio and 'fathers' of their sub-clan, Kanarawa, some of his older cousins (FBSs, FFBSs, and FFBSs) should have sponsored. Two likely sponsors would have been his FBS, Kiriwa, and Rio, a leader of Kanarawa. However, with considerable poi nomu transactions of their own to effect and less than adequate support from migrant exchange partners, Kiriwa and Rio could only contribute to the kwiagi for Francis' mother and father. Francis, on the other hand, had the help of a migrant brother, wages from the mining camp, and a large income from his wife's tradestore to draw upon.

For Rio, the inability to sponsor a kwiagi for clan ancestors who were not particularly close was not a serious setback for his overall prestige. Although unable to compete with the likes of my father, he did place 'second' in the number of pigs killed in Tundeganarawa and, with the help of Francis and his brother, avoided a situation in which my father or some other non-Kanarawa

might have diverted their resources into the kwiagi, thereby establishing some control over the land and membership of Rio's sub-clan.

For Kiriwa, the kwiagi was a source of shame. Francis' deceased father and mother had invested heavily in the funerals and death payment parties of Kiriwa's own parents, in addition to giving support to Kiriwa at various times in his life. Named for his father's younger brother (Francis' deceased father) and the past recipient of his support, Kiriwa was obligated to help Francis sponsor the kwiagi. On the basis of extensive investments made by Kiriwa in the marriages of younger clan brothers and the birth payments of their children, he never should have found himself in such dire straits as to be unable to contribute more than one pig and K113 worth of alcoholic beverages and food to his FB and FBW's kwiagi.

Unfortunately, for Kiriwa, several of his debtors living in town were unable to help him. A son, whom Kiriwa hoped would bail him out, gave less than he might have because he was using much of his salary to pay for a new wife.

A disappointed 'father', Kiriwa saw his authority pass to his younger cousin, who ignored him as much as possible during the kwiagi. Later, when I was collecting data on poi nomu transactions, Francis failed to mention his cousin's contribution to the kwiagi. This slight to Kiriwa's generosity seemed unfair to him since he had spent almost all the cash available to him in 1982 on his poi nomu debts and the kwiagi, spending only K7 on store-bought food for his family of six. Aside from the humiliation of the

Kwiasi, Kiriwa had bigger worries. Although he had done his best, he had to face the embarrassing possibility that someday his younger sons would have to look to Francis to show them land. For when Kiriwa failed to invest as much as he should have in the Kwiasi, land shown to him by his FB (Francis' deceased father), which Kiriwa hoped to eventually pass on to his own sons, came under the control of Francis and his brother.

Kiriwa is a good example of what the Gende mean when they say that today even rubbish men have pigs. An almost mirror-image of this situation occurred in Bamdinarawa, the other Tundega sub-clan. Once again the situation involved the sponsorship of a kwiasi. There was, however, a twist: the necessary funds were available, but were withheld by one of the intended sponsors.

The kwiasi in question was the death payment party of the deceased wife and mother of my father's uncle (FB), Kewa, and Kewa's son, Karl. For most of 1982, Kewa had been living in town with another son who had a steady, well-paying job. It was expected that Kewa, along with a substantial cash contribution from his migrant son, would return to Yandera in time to stage the kwiasi for his wife, with the help of Karl. As it was, Kewa did not return until after the poi nomu. Upon his return, he announced that he was going to invest the K1000 he brought with him in a Beer Tavern.

Karl, who had gone ahead and held what some of the recipients considered to be an inadequate kwiasi, was outraged with his father. Many others in the village, expressing their sympathy for Karl, considered Kewa's plans selfish and insane. The road into



Simbu Province and the nearest beer distributors did not come as far as Yandera and was often impassable due to landslides. Even if it was open, the beer would have to be hand-carried down a treacherous mountain track. When Kewa asked for his son's help in building a tavern, promising Karl that he would share in the profits, Karl flatly refused. Hoping his father would come to his senses and use some of the K1000 to sooth the feelings of the unhappy kwiagi recipients, Karl stood by as his elderly father set about the task of levelling the top of a hill where he planned eventually to build the tavern.

Karl was not the only one angered by Kewa's behavior. Feeling sori for Karl, my father had contributed two pigs, in addition to a carton of beer, to Karl's kwiagi. Believing, at the time, that Kewa's prolonged absence indicated a lack of success (on Kewa's part) in getting money from his migrant son, my father considered his investment a wise one. By helping Karl and Kewa, my father hoped to establish a claim on land under Kewa's control, land which both my father and Karl needed as the fathers of many sons.

When, instead of coming back empty-handed, Kewa returned home with K1000 and plans to start a profitable business, my father felt as if he had been sorely tricked. Having "done Kewa's work for him" by attending to the kwiagi, my father glumly predicted that Kewa would pay him back for his generosity with the profits of his (Kewa's) business and still have the capital, as well as the coveted land. Needless to say, my father did not lift a finger to help Kewa level the ground for his tavern, nor did anyone else, for to do so would risk incurring the wrath of my father.

While in a certain sense, Kewa's maneuver may be seen as clever, he made a serious miscalculation in terms of public opinion. Kewa's behavior was considered by many to be the epitome of selfishness and greed. Not only had he allowed his son to suffer humiliation, and angered a big man, but by failing to pay off his Kwiagi debts, he had left several of the intended recipient's exchange activities in a state of disarray. One disgruntled recipient of the Kwiagi, expecting much more than he received (from Karl), had to use a pig he intended saving as part of a future childwealth payment to pay off a poi nomu debt to a sister's husband.

#### Today's losers, tomorrow's winners?

While Kewa's intention to invest money, originally earmarked for a specific exchange event, in an uncertain venture was generally agreed to be unsavory, there were a number of men in Yandera, whose investment strategies bore a certain resemblance to Gambu's. For the most part, these men (unlike Kewa) have only low to moderate amounts of cash available to them which they invest almost entirely in the care and schooling of their own children. The hope of these NARROW INVESTORS is that by giving their children the best of everything now (frequent meals of store-bought rice and tinned fish; good clothing, and a high school or college education), their children will be successful in finding well-paying jobs someday, and will make generous returns on their parents' investment, helping their parents to make a 'name' for themselves by giving their parents generous allotments of money, which the parents will then distribute in the manner of big men:

sponsoring major singsings before poi nomu, investing in the marriages of other men's children, in other words, doing everything that they are not doing now.

In keeping with their narrow investment policy, the poi nomu performances of these men were extremely modest, with most killing no more than one or two pigs and giving the cooked pork to only a very few exchange partners in their wives' and sisters' husbands clans. Since, for the most part, these men and their wives have long ago paid off their tupoi and childwealth debts as well as other obligations associated with the death of parents, they are able to use the other pigs they raise to acquire more money: killing the pigs and selling the cooked pork to other villagers.

While most villagers do not approve of the 'ungenerous' behavior of narrow investors and often express the opinion that they must be a bit crazy to invest all their wealth in only a few children (who may, after all, not succeed in finding a good job), they rarely withdraw their total support or friendship from narrow investors (of this type), since no one can be certain what the outcome of a narrow investor's strategy will be. If the children succeed, others will want to be in a position to receive from them too (on the basis of having invested small amounts of wealth in the children). One is never certain. For this reason, most men and women, in contrast to narrow investors, practice a broad investment policy not unlike that of big men, the only difference being in the smaller size of individual payments.

### Ana moger i = Good women

One of several reasons given for why men stage poi nomu is that it 'makes women happy', by giving them public recognition for all the hard work they do in looking after their families and raising pigs. Men point out (and women are quick to agree with them) that without the help of women they would be rubbish men. They also say that women work harder than men and that it is 'good' to give them a rest by killing pigs and thereby lightening their work load.

In fact, women play a much more prominent (and active) role in all stages of preparation for a poi nomu than the above statements suggest. Before men can begin planning a poi nomu, they must consult with their wives about the status of their pig herds (number, size, age), and whether or not there is enough food in their gardens to feed the expected guests. Men must also ask their wives if they are willing to take on the extra work involved in collecting firewood and cooking stones, and cooking meals for guests (some of whom may arrive weeks in advance of the poi nomu).

Although it is men who make speeches and do the actual distributing of pork on the final day of the poi nomu, it is women who stand beside their pigs on the morning of the pig kill and who are praised by men for their industry (visible in the number, size, and quality of the pigs), and it is women who sit beside the mounds of pork on the day of the distribution and make certain that the appropriate amounts are given to the appropriate recipients.

### Making women unhappy

During the first of the major events attending Yandera's poi

nomu - a Kwiagi (death payment party) given in honor of their deceased parents by two brothers, their wives, and a sister - it was apparent that the respect women enjoy for being the primary sources of wealth (pigs) in Gende society is being diminished by the fact, that in general, men have greater access to cash than do women.

After the main distribution of pigs and cooked pork to members of their deceased mother's clan and their father's mother's clan, the hosts and hostesses of the Kwiagi held a party for their guests. Although traditionally a feast is given and the guests fed copious amounts of pork and cooked vegetables, at this particular party the main bill of fare was twenty cases of beer and numerous bottles of whiskey and vodka. At the start of the party, speeches were made by the two brothers thanking their wives and their sisters for the pigs they had raised for the occasion (which were distributed earlier in the day). The two brothers then gave five of the cases of beer to their wives and sister for them to distribute to the women attending the party. When some of the women complained that they should be given an equal share of the beer and alcohol, the brothers told them that they (the two brothers) and not their wives and sister, had paid for most of the beer themselves (one of the brothers was an employed migrant who had returned home for the Kwiagi). The brothers were supported in this by the other men present, who agreed that the women should be grateful that they received any beer at all. Several men justified their opinions further by saying that, "Everyone knows women cannot drink as much beer as men".

Although the women did not argue any further with their husbands and brothers, the women were aggrieved over the distinction which was being made between men's money and women's money (or lack of it). Later, when the hostesses and their female guests had removed themselves to a house where they were to spend the night singing and drinking, the women gave vent to their anger, complaining that men wanted to disgrace them, and asking one another rhetorically, "Haven't we women always shared our pigs with men and helped to make them big men?" Disgruntled, the guests chided their hostesses, telling them that the party would have been more of a success if they had served food along with the beer (e.g. it would have been better if the women had made their own special contribution to the party).

#### The partners of men?

Women have limited opportunities for earning cash in the village. The money they earn from selling food from their gardens in the twice-weekly village market or from selling kunai grass for rethatching roofs at the mining camp is minimal. Although a few women run fairly lucrative village tradestores or earn a regular income from gambling, most women's money comes to them through exchange payments and urban remittances. Normally, money which is received as part of an exchange payment, is shared by a husband and wife. Since husbands (or other men) help their wives make gardens from which their pigs are fed, it is expected that any exchange payment given with the intention of repaying an earlier 'gift' of pigs, will be shared with a woman's husband.

More and more, however, it is men who are the sole recipients

of the cash portion of exchange payments, particularly in cases where a man's wife lived in town with him during a long period of time when he was employed. Having invested their 'hard-earned' cash in the school fees and marriages of their sons and younger brothers, men who were migrants in the 1960's and 70's, are now on the receiving end of generous 'gifts' of cash. While their wives may receive gifts of money, also, their gifts are often much smaller.

#### A good woman

The 'happiest' and most respected woman throughout Yandera's poi nomu, was Rita, the wife of the local manager of the mining camp and the new head of Yandima clan - Peter Tuma. Although all of the money which her husband had invested in his poi nomu activities had come from his salary, Peter had much to be thankful to his wife for. His successful debut as a major big man in 1982, was, to a large degree, a result of her hard work throughout the fifteen years of their marriage and the birth of their six children.

Soon after their first child was born, Peter had gone off with an older brother to work for the Kennecott mining company at Ok Tedi (it was Peter's brother, Mangu, who made the original discovery of the gold deposit at Ok Tedi). With her husband away from home for many months at a time, Rita was urged by her parents to leave him and find a new husband who would be of more help to her by staying home and helping her make gardens. Rita, however, resisted such suggestions, because, according to her, "Peter is a good man, and whenever he did come home, he cleared large gardens

for me, and gave me whatever money he had saved".

When Peter was not able to be home during the beginning of the dry season (the time to clear new gardens), Rita sought the help of her unmarried 'brothers' and 'brothers-in-law', promising to raise pigs for them in return for their assistance in clearing gardens for her. Hard-working and faithful, Rita paid back her tupoi debt to her in-laws, raised pigs for her husband's brothers, and paid childwealth payments for her children, virtually on her own. By the time her husband had become the manager of the mining camp in 1979, and was earning a regular salary, all of Rita's hard work in paying off debts, allowed her husband to invest his money in building up his (as well as her) reputation.

While Rita and her husband have been successful combining gardening and pig raising with Peter's work in the mining industry, many young Gende couples have failed in similar attempts to benefit from "mixed" economic strategies (e.g. husbands engaged in wage labor while wives attend to more traditional production in the village). As I will show in the following chapter on the effects of migration and inequality among the younger generation of Gende men and women, it has become increasingly difficult for young women to have a clear sense of what being a 'good woman' means in today's context. Part of this loss of direction and the tendency for young wives to join their migrant husbands in town after separations of less than a year or two (see Table 7.2 in the following chapter) is, I believe, related to men's growing independence of women and women's contribution to exchange. Women who are separated from their husbands for long periods of time have many worries to contend



with, not the least of which is a fear (sometimes justified) that their husbands will waste their earnings on beer drinking parties with fellow migrants or become involved with other women. Women married to men who earn high salaries are particularly vulnerable to these sorts of pressures, especially since their husbands are earning enough money to effectively participate in the Gende exchange system on their own.

## Chapter Seven: THE RURAL-URBAN SHUFFLE - MIGRATION AND INEQUALITY

While their fathers were thinking of kaimas and killing pigs, the young men in Yandera organized all-night discos, or 'six-to-six socials'. With only a kerosene lamp for illumination, the dances drew crowds of children and young people, who danced until dawn to the taped music of the Wahgi Hellcats and the Beatles. Young women, with their eyes on eligible migrants, borrowed bits of clothing from girls just back from town, who gave them advice and enlightened their 'less sophisticated' sisters and friends on the amenities of town over the dirt and hardships of village life. Urban Lotharios, beguiling in long pants, shoes, white shirts, and sport jackets, slipped away from the dances early to spend the nights 'carrying leg' with the village belles. Plying the girls with small gifts of food or money, and promising them the good life in town, the migrants had a distinct advantage over most of the stay-at-home boys who, in general, were spurned by the town girls. Before Yandera's poi nomu was over, a number of fights broke out between rejected boyfriends and young migrants, as well as a fight between three young girls who were in competition for one young man, who fueled the rivalry by promising each girl his unending love. After the pigs were killed and the visitors left, several girls ran away with their new lovers and several more went off to town as babysitters for their brothers' children so that both their brothers and their wives could work. As many young men left too.

In this chapter, I examine the impact of inequality upon young men and women. Beginning with a brief discussion of their

position in Gende society and the kinds of constraints young adults must operate within (including unequal access to income and employment among themselves), I then describe the different patterns of marriage, residence, and mobility that exist among Yandera's population (both resident and absentee). Among other things, this data supports informants' statements that in recent years there has been a trend toward later first marriages among young men, as well as an increase in both permanent and recurrent migration among the younger segment of the population. The chapter ends with a selection of examples which illustrate more effectively than statistics, the meaning and everyday reality of inequality for the children of those men and women described in the last chapter.

#### The problem of being 'human' in 1982

To assess the impact of migration, urban remittances, and inequality upon young adults in the village, one must consider the 'mating game'. Traditionally, young men faced the prospect of marriage by proving themselves, in kanqi (male initiation) rituals, to be worthy of the interest and support of older men and women who would buy brides for the young men, grant them access to land, and constitute a support network for them and their brides during the early years of their married life. For their part, young women sought to attract husbands who would be capable helpmates in paying back the debts of marriage and childbirth.

Attracting supporters and spouses is less simple for today's youth than it was for their parents and grandparents [1]. In 1982, In 1982, 'being human' requires money and the things money can buy:

western-style clothing, imported foods, and formal education for one's children. Although money has not completely replaced the pig as an important status symbol and wealth object, it has become an obligatory element in many kinds of exchange. Brideprices for village girls are now set at K1000 and 10 pigs. For girls who have a high school education and are employed as teachers or secretaries, the cash cost is much higher. Today, no self-respecting big man (or woman) would consider inviting guests to a payment party or singsing if he couldn't afford to serve the guests store-bought foods and alcoholic beverages in addition to pork and garden vegetables. Even a simple invitation to share a meal raises the expectation that one will be served tea and sugar with the meal, or rice mixed with canned fish.

During the poi nomu, beer was often equated with pigs and judged a suitable and equivalent contribution for migrants to make to the festivities. By no means, however, is beer a simple substitute for pigs. Like other new status markers, beer is associated with a sophisticated, urban lifestyle and all the power that

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[1] Because 'kinship' is conceived primarily as something which must be achieved and maintained (see Chapter Three), there is no automatic relationship between the socio-economic status of a child's birth parents and that child's own wealth. Thus, all young people are faced with the problem (or the opportunity) of attracting a group of supporters (which may or may not include their birth parents) who are best able to advance their interests and ambitions.

that Australians and now some Papua New Guineans exercise in town. Serving beer to one's friends is now part of an expanded version of what it is to be a modern 'man', a man who is as comfortable cashing a check in a bank in Goroka as he is hunting for birds of paradise in the forest.

If having money, or access to money through exchange partners, is an ongoing concern of their fathers and mothers' generation, it is even more of a worry for today's young people. In many cases, reversing the traditional flow of wealth from parents to children, it is children to whom parents look to for money, and it is children who are the heirs of their parents' and others' mismanagement and greed. Making up for losses sustained in unprofitable relations with unemployed migrants, villagers often refuse to give their daughters in marriage to any but the highest bidders, raising the cost of bride-prices beyond the means of many suitors. This undoubtedly, has contributed to a rise in elopements and pregnant brides. The pressure of exchange commitments and unpaid debts, as well as a desire for money has also fostered a situation in which some young men find it increasingly difficult to gain access to land. Too often, older men satisfy their need for money by 'disinheriting' their less successful sons in favor of those better able to give generously and reliably to their elders.

If today's young men are to become big men and the "fathers of narawa", they must participate in a different kind of initiation than the male initiation rituals of their ancestors. The Kangi ritual and period of seclusion in the bush are being set aside for the more timely pursuit of an education and urban employment.

Spurning the received wisdom of their fathers - which says that, failing all else, a man may still gain respect by raising pigs in order to repay his debts - as self-interested deception on the part of men who base their own status on both pigs and money, many young men (and women) realize that, if they are to become more than the 'children' or followers of other men, they too must have access to cash. While their fathers may still base their success on a son and daughter-in-law raising pigs in the village while another son (or daughter) earns (and remits) a substantial income in town, today's young couples face stiffer competition among their peers. Given limited sources of cash income in the village and the difficulty of getting a wife or access to land without cash, young men must engage in the rural-urban shuffle, and young women must find the winners to marry.

#### The rural-urban shuffle

As part of a survey on migration and employment, carried out in the first weeks of my research, I discovered that most young men and many young women then living in Yandera, had spent varying lengths of time in urban settings, either on brief visits or for extended periods of schooling, work, job-hunting, and housekeeping or babysitting for older brothers and sisters. By the end of my stay, some of these young people had again left the village while some who were absent in the beginning had returned home.

If the experience of their older brothers and sisters is any indication, and their own expectations materialize, these young people may make several more moves between village and town before

settling down in one place or the other, or, in some cases, becoming marriage partners in long-term dual residence households with the husband dividing his time between work in town and helping his wife make gardens in his or her village. Like a deck of cards, young men are shuffled by the players (their parents and other older men and women), dealt out to town, and, depending on whether they come up winners or losers, gathered up and reshuffled. In any one 'hand', some men will remain in the deck, awaiting their turn to try out their luck in town. With time, some cards become lost, or having no value to those playing the game, land in a permanent discard pile in town. Others, not yet winners, but still useful, are continually retrieved and reshuffled until, tattered and bent, they too may end up in the discard pile.

In Table 7.1 below - "Residence patterns among males 18 years and older" - I have enumerated married and unmarried males over the age of 17 according to whether they were living in Yandera in the first half of 1982 or were absent from the village and living in or near an urban area [2]. The numbers in Table 7.1 reflect several recent trends in marriage and residence patterns among the Gende which differ from those associated with earlier migration flows in the late forties and fifties: namely, 1) that there has been an increase in the number of unmarried males between the ages of 18 and 34 (see Columns 6 and 7); 2) that there are many families who

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[2] Includes men employed on coffee plantations, mining camps other than the one at Noriningi, and men working as teachers, policemen, etc. in other rural areas of Papua New Guinea.

Table 7.1 Residence patterns among males 18 years and older  
(Population drawn from Yandera census 1982)

	<u>Resident</u>			<u>Absent</u>		<u>Totals</u>	
	1 Single	2 Married	3 Mixed	4 Married	5 Single	6 Single	7 All
All males over 18:							
Yandima:	29	60	9	26	24	53	148
Tundega:	16	43	7	24	17	33	107
Totals:	<u>45</u>	<u>103</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>50</u>	<u>41</u>	<u>86</u>	<u>255</u>

Different age categories (Yandima and Tundega clans combined):

18-24	29	1	0	0	22	51	52
25-34	12	14	5	18	18	30	67
35-44	2	22	7	17	1	3	49
45-54	0	24	3	12	0	0	39
55 plus	2	41	1	3	0	2	47

Column Code:

1-Single residents: may be living in own house but generally are part of parents' or brother's household. Includes three men who are widowed (2) or divorced (1) and have no children.

2-Married residents: includes five men (ages: 41, 56, 59, 63, and 64) who are widowed but who do have children. Also included are ten widows, all over the age of 52, who have remained in Yandera with their young children, married sons, or other close relatives of their husbands' narawa.

3-Mixed households among absentees: includes married men whose wives are living in Yandera or their own village.

4-Married absentees: both husband and wife, and any younger children they may have, are living together.

5-Single absentees.

6-Total number of single males.

7-Total number of males.



are living in town "permanently"; and 3) that the average age of heads of household living in the village (see Columns 2 and 4) is greater than that of household heads living with their families in town, a fact which is associated with a significant increase in the number of absentee households headed by men between the ages of 35 and 54 years of age.

Looking at Table 7.1, it can be seen that almost one-third, or 30%, of all married couples [3] are living together outside the Gende area. One-half of these are mature couples where the husband is between the ages of 35 and 54. At an age when couples should be paying off the debts of marriage and childbirth, and laying a foundation for their future as honored ancestors, the absence of these couples from the village (particularly the wife) indicates one of two things: either the husband (and sometimes the wife) is employed and earning sufficient income to support a family in town and still pay off debts to exchange partners, or for various reasons the couple have lost their rural option through neglect or adverse circumstances. In the latter instance, the couple's household budget may have been barely adequate to cover living expenses.

The fact that so many married migrants have their wives in town with them (compare columns 3 and 4) is in marked contrast to the migration experiences of men now 55 or older. In the 1940's and 1950's, there were few facilities for men to bring their

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[3] The proportion rises to almost 40% if couples where the head is over 55 are excluded.

families along with them when they worked on plantations or lived in dormitories in town. Very few men now 55 or older spent more than several years away from the village and, with their wives continuing to take care of gardens at home (however difficult this was without the help of their husbands), they were able to fit back into the village economy with little difficulty. Why so many younger women have taken to joining their husbands in town will be explained in greater detail in a later section of this chapter. For now it is enough to say that in the cases I am most familiar with, the original motive was often an attempt to save an unstable marriage or encourage a wayward husband to spend his earnings more responsibly (i.e. on his obligations to wife, children, and other exchange partners). If their husbands were unemployed or poorly paid, wives tried to bring them back to the village before it was 'too late'.

That many young men are not yet married is related, in part, to the above situation. Parents of marriageable girls, and the brides-to-be themselves, must be convinced of a suitor's prospects. That this is difficult is attested to by the figures in Table 7.1. In the category comprising 18-24 year old males, only 1 out of 52 was married in 1982, and little more than half of those between the ages of 25 and 34 were married. These facts validate young men's claims that finding a wife is harder these days than it was for their fathers.

What the numbers in Table 7.1 do not reveal is the high degree of 'permanence' associated with migration among married couples today, and the 'variability' of residence among certain age cate-

gories of married and unmarried men listed as village residents in 1982. Of the fifty absentee couples in Table 7.1, almost half (22) have been living in town together for six or more years (see Table 7.2 below):

Table 7.2 Length of time (in years) spent living in town by 50 absentee couples (husband/wife) for six years prior and including 1982.

6/6	6/6	6/6	6/6	6/6	6/4	6/2	5/5	5/4	3/3
6/6	6/6	6/6	6/6	6/6	6/4	6/2	5/5	5/1	3/3
6/6	6/6	6/6	6/6	6/5	6/3	6/2	5/5	4/4	3/1
6/6	6/6	6/6	6/6	6/5	6/3	6/2	5/5	4/3	2/2
6/6	6/6	6/6	6/6	6/4	6/2	6/1	5/4	4/3	2/1

Since a hard-working woman could have raised four or five pigs in six years' time, this represents a loss of 90-110 pigs for the village exchange system. Since less than half of all absentee couples participated in the Yandera's poi nomu, and many of those who did contributed only small amounts of money, food, and alcohol, migrants, as a class, did not come close to holding up their end of the exchange balance. By disappointing their exchange partners, non-productive migrants increase the probability that their absence from the village will become truly 'permanent' as villagers lose interest and break off relations with them.

During the same six year period, 23 out of 41 unmarried men between the ages of 18 and 32 and listed as resident in 1982, spent

one or more years living in town (See Table 7.3). Seven had left the village to attend urban high schools and, like the others, find work. Except for odd jobs only three found temporary full-time employment. In contrast to married brothers who were ekeing out an existence in town and failing to keep up with exchange payments, these young men had a clearer option to return to the village where they could help their parents make gardens and wait for a more opportune time to find work. They do, however, face a prolonged 'childhood' unless they can find a wife and begin 'working for themselves', and many expect to (and did) return to the rural-urban shuffle.

Among forty single males between the ages of 18 and 34 and listed as absent in 1982, 23 were employed at the time. Of the seventeen who were unemployed, five were living with migrant parents, three had recently finished or left high school and were still looking for work, and five were 18 or 19 years old and had been in town three years or less. Of the remaining four, two were the older sons of a non-Gende man who was currently living with his second wife in Yandera and as yet had few claims on narawa support. The other two young men had virtually forfeited their village option: one had been in serious and constant trouble with the law for stealing, and the other had spent four years sponging off relatives and acquaintances in town rather than return home and make some contribution to the village economy.

While married men living in town with their wives constitute a sedentary component of the urban population, many of their counterparts in the village, particularly among young and middle-aged

Table 7.3 Number of years spent living in town among single males, aged 18-34 during a six year period ending in 1982.

	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>Multiple Absences</u>
<b>Residents:</b>								
30-34	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
25-29	5	3	1	1	0	0	0	0
20-24	6	6	3	1	2	0	0	0
18-19	6	1	3	0	1	0	0	0
<b>Absentees:</b>								
30-34	0	0	1	0	0	1	2	0
25-29	0	0	0	1	1	1	8	3
20-24	0	0	0	2	4	1	3	4
18-19	0	0	3	3	1	0	1	0
<b>Combined Totals:</b>								
30-34	1	1	1	0	0	1	2	0
25-29	5	3	1	2	1	1	8	3
20-24	6	6	3	3	6	1	3	4
18-19	6	1	6	3	2	0	1	0
All	18	11	11	8	9	3	14	7

Column code:

Lefthand column:

- residents (those single males who were resident in the village during 1982)
- absentees (those single males who were absent from the village during 1982)
- combined totals (single male residents and absentees combined)

Numbers across the top are the number of years absent from the village. Multiple absences indicates a number of separate absences from the village during the six year time period.

Figures under columns across the top:

- number of single males absent for a particular age category (i.e. 30-34 years) for a particular number of years (i.e. 6 years)

husbands, are still part of the rural-urban shuffle. Lacking the education and skills necessary to secure well-paying and steady employment in town yet finding that pigs are not enough to satisfy their social obligations and ambitions, they manage to hold on to their place in the village by putting in occasional periods of work outside the village context while leaving their wives behind to raise pigs.

During a six-year period (1977-1982), 24 of those married men twenty-five years or older and listed as resident in 1982 had found temporary work which took them away from the village for one or more years. Because of skills they had acquired during the times the mining camp at Noriningi was in operation, ten of the 24 found work at other mine sites in Papua New Guinea (e.g. Ok Tedi, Pogera) while the other fourteen worked at a variety of unskilled and semi-skilled jobs. These twenty-four men in addition to five others [4] have been added to the category of migrants defined as living in a mixed household (husband in town, wife in village) in Table 7.4 to indicate the true extent of the Gende's involvement in wage labor. As can be seen by comparing residence figures for 1982 with those over a six-year period, long-term residence in the village is for

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[4] Two had been living with employed brothers while they looked (unsuccessfully) for work. Three were over 55 and had been on extended visits with married children. They have been included in the list because, being fed for a year or more and sent back with gifts of money and clothing which were not part of formal exchange payments, they were, in a sense, 'working'.

the few and they are mostly older. No longer do men 'stay' in the place of their fathers and women 'go'. Today, both 'go', perhaps never to return.

Table 7.4 Adjusted residence patterns among married males.

<u>Age group</u>	During 1982			1977-1982		
	<u>Resident</u>	<u>Mixed</u>	<u>Absent</u>	<u>Resident</u>	<u>Mixed</u>	<u>Absent</u>
25-34	14	5	18	4	15	18
35-44	22	7	17	12	17	17
45-54	24	3	12	19	8	12
<u>55 plus</u>	<u>41</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>37</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>3</u>
Total	101	16	50	72	45	50

Beginning with the next section, I take a closer look at some of the young men and women whose lives are only partially reflected in the foregoing tables. Whether married or unmarried, migrant, or non-migrant, each has a story, each has played the game a little differently, and each, through the accidents of birth and the prior actions of others, has found him or herself in a personally unique situation with few or many opportunities and handicaps to overcome. Their stories are instructive as they reveal the processes of evaluation and decision-making individuals undertake as they set about attracting, maintaining, and adding supporters, marriage partners, and followers to their personal networks, and creating their own identities in a world which is far more complex and less

amenable to control than the world of the ancestors.

Nonetheless, some broad patterns or trends do emerge out of the particulars, so I have grouped the following cases according to several parameters with which the most active players in the game - the men and women described in the previous chapter - make judgments on whether or not to support and cooperate with members of the younger generation. These parameters are 1) the degree of actual or potential involvement in the exchange system demonstrated by particular individuals, and the willingness (or unwillingness) of younger persons to temporarily 'rubbish' themselves, or work for other men and women, in order to eventually achieve social parenthood, status, and security. A young person who has no visible potential and few options, but who is willing to work for others for an indefinite length of time may secure a place in village society until new opportunities (work at the mining camp, a job in town, a wife) arise.

In terms of migration and the rural-urban shuffle, the patterns associated with these parameters are an urban population composed of successful migrants and village discards; a rural population of old winners and losers, and children (in both a natural and achieved sense); and a population of young hopefuls and not so young compromisers who move back and forth between town and country. The most striking phenomenon is the forced, permanent migration of the richest as well as the poorest migrants. In terms of education, employment, and exchange performance they are at opposite ends of a pole. Their situations provide their younger brothers and sisters with much to consider when they plan their own



moves, so accordingly I begin with their stories.

### The stars

The stars of the poi nomu were young men in their twenties and early thirties who had been successful in town. From their salaries as self-employed businessmen or employees in private business and government, they made significant contributions to the poi nomu in tupoi (bridewealth refund) and other exchange payments to their fathers and mothers' brothers, were co-sponsors of several Kwiaqi (death payment parties), and gave many smaller gifts of food and money to a wide range of relatives and friends. In return, the stars were fussed over and deferred to, given places of honor in social gatherings, the first to be fed, and the recipients of large amounts of pork. They were named managers of parcels of land, and, if unmarried, offered support by men and women more than willing to invest in brides for them.

On the surface, they had little to worry about and every reason to enjoy themselves during the festivities. Many of the stars were embarrassed, however, and made uncomfortable by the envy of some of their age-mates and the jealous vying for their attention among possessive parents and persons trying to incorporate them into their own networks. Relief came on occasions when they could retreat from the limelight and enjoy the company of others like themselves. During these times, the stars gossiped about events in town or discussed among themselves shared concerns and worries. Uppermost among the things which the stars were worried about, was how best to repay those who had nurtured and

supported them through the years of childhood, schooling, and early marriage. Few begrudged their parents having a good time, but at the same time many of the stars professed dissatisfaction with the conversion of their wealth into "drinking parties" at which their fathers and mothers reaped the dubious respect of "drunken" clansmen, and speculated on ways to bring "progress" to the village in the form of cash-producing enterprises, improved medical and educational facilities, and more universal access to better food and clothing.

Plans for developing the region included a concern that without it the stars themselves would have little alternative but to spend the better part of their lives working in town if they were to retain the prestige they had achieved and transform others' indebtedness to them into concrete good for themselves and their dependents. Feeling incapable of returning if there were no little means of earning a decent income in the village and keeping abreast of their past successes, the stars chafed at the inflated expectations and demands of their mothers and fathers, and at the restrictions these imposed on their mobility and their emerging sense of leadership and of being 'men' who must somehow bridge the gap between the old and the new.

The circumstances and words of one young star are a case in point. In his early thirties, married, and the father of two young children, he had been able to be generous to members of his own and his wife's narawa because of his work as a government administrator. Contributing to the school fees and marriage payments of less fortunate siblings, paying childwealth to his in-laws, and

supporting the exchange activities of his father and father's brothers, he had been granted control over land in both his own clan's territory and that of his wife. At the time I met him he had returned to Yandera for the poi nomu in order to give a party to mark the fulfillment of his and his wife's tupoi (brideprice refund) obligation to those who had helped buy his bride for him.

As we sat together, watching the guests and listening to his uncles and other big men at the party, he shared some of his worries and ambitions with me. Having quit his job because a hoped-for promotion did not materialize, he planned to begin looking for a new job as soon as the poi nomu was over. When I asked what he would do if he couldn't find work, he replied, "I will build a house for my family in Yandera and cut down the bush so my wife can plant gardens and raise pigs, and then I will go back to town and find some kind of work - any kind - until I can find a job I am happy with". He went on to say that he could never stay in the village without money. Only if a road came through would he stay, because then he could plant cardamon or some other cash crop.

Although, on the basis of his generosity he was well on his way to becoming a 'big man', he pointed out that without continuing access to cash he could never hope to attain such a status. While he had helped many young men in his narawa, he did not know if they would be able to make good on their debts. If they did, so much the better, but he could not rely on it. Even if his wife raised many pigs and he received others from men using his land, he could never hope to meet the challenges of men like his uncles and my

father who had reliable sources of cash (e.g. other stars like himself) and, moreover, he believed they had hidden stores of wealth with which they could shame him should he be so foolish or ungrateful as to let them down by turning his back on the kind of work he had been prepared for by their sacrifices.

Locked in town by 'success' and a keen sense of obligation to those who had helped him become what he was, the star mourned the loss of his rural option. Aware of the pressures that caused his fathers to expect more out of him in order to make up for losses in other exchange relations, he was inclined to take a tolerant view of the poi nomu because it made his mothers and fathers "happy", but was frustrated that these same pressures kept him away from the village and any possibility of directing change "for the betterment of everyone in the village". Very much a 'big man' in his ambitions and concerns for others, he nonetheless believed that the poi nomu of 1982 would be one of the last since such "old men's things" and the drive for prestige hurt the people they were supposed to help.

#### The discards - out of the game and not wanted

A survey taken after the poi nomu revealed a substantial level of non-participation among migrants. From Tundega clan only eight out of a possible 31 married migrants showed up. My own observations and the remarks of their relatives during and after the poi nomu suggested that the same held true for Yandima clan. Some of those who didn't come were unable to get away from work at the time but sent offerings by way of village exchange partners who had

visited them earlier in the year. A few sent their contributions with wives or older children acting as their representatives. Others, however, stayed away for less reputable reasons: an inability to contribute because they were unemployed, overburdened with the expenses of caring for too many dependents in town, or had, according to their angry exchange partners, selfishly wasted their income on too many all-night drinking parties, movies, and other temptations available to townsmen.

While the stars' presence tended to distract attention from their absence, the high number of missing persons did not go unnoticed, particularly by those who had been relying on their help. Reduced in circumstances, most disappointed relatives participated as best they could during the kwiaqi (death payment parties), singsings, and pig kill, even though it often meant standing on the sidelines while more fortunate competitors took center stage. A few, however, hid their shame in their garden houses where they brooded on the injustices they had suffered and allegedly plotted the humiliation or untimely demise through sorcery of those migrant exchange partners who had deserted them.

As I was able to learn from the examples of those few non-participants who did return (as well as from residents who were faring poorly in the village), a failure to participate in village exchange activities on a fairly regular basis and to repay major debts to exchange partners usually results in personally serious consequences ranging from mild harassment to ostracism. Like their village counterparts, non-participants may suffer threats and accusations of sorcery, and expulsion from the village through lack

of access to land rights and the means to support themselves in the village.

One such unfortunate, a man in his early to mid-forties, looked on the poi nomu as a chance to come back to the village and re-establish links with his clan brothers so he might escape an intolerable situation in town. With hundreds of migrants and recipients from other villages (including Ramu, Gende, and Chimbu villages) arriving in Yandera, he slipped in relatively unnoticed to press his shaky claims on his brothers' sympathy.

Forced to leave his job by fellow workers (non-Gende) who threatened to cut his throat or kill him by means of sorcery for unpaid debts, he sought refuge in the village. Furthermore, he hoped that his brothers would help him retrieve his wife who had left him earlier in the year, returning to her own village with their children. Hoping that his brothers would provide land for his wife to make gardens on, he believed he could make a fresh start in another town and, with his wife's assistance, begin paying back old debts to his wife's relatives and his own.

His brothers accepted his rather meager contribution to the poi nomu - two bottles of whiskey - but offered no encouragement in return. When not reminding him that they had yet to eat any tupoi pigs from him and chiding him for expecting them to take food from their children's bellies so that he might fill his, they generally ignored him and looked the other way when he tried to approach them. Only a younger brother took him into his home and fed him.

The man left Yandera within the week, disheartened and empty-handed. Before he left, he stopped at my house to say goodbye. I

asked what he would do now, and he replied, "I don't know". Later, I watched him make his way up the mountain on the other side of the river against a steady stream of visitors coming in for the final three days of the poi nomu.

A younger man, still in his early thirties, had come perilously close to landing in the discard pile, but had been retrieved as part of my father's game plan. Described in part in Chapter Six, Kewa had been regularly employed in town for over thirteen years. During that time, he had not, however, kept up with his exchange commitments, and his 'patrimony' - land shown to him by a 'father' - had come under the control of his father's brothers. Fired from his most recent employment and newly married, Andrew wanted to return to the village and help his second wife set up housekeeping and gardening before beginning to look for another job. His uncles, however, were not anxious for him to return. Indebted to my father for various acts of 'generosity', they had granted permission to one of my father's wives to use some of Kewa's land.

My father, on the other hand, thinking to put Kewa in his debt, encouraged Kewa to return on the false assumption that there would be plenty of ground for him and his wife to make gardens on. As far as my father was concerned, Kewa retained potential value as an exchange partner, largely because he had skills and was still young enough to have a good chance of finding employment again, he had a generous and hard-working wife, and he was apparently ready to turn a new leaf.

Returning early in 1982, Kewa was soon angry when he dis-

covered my father's 'trickery' and the fact that he had been virtually 'dispossessed' by his uncles. Forced to share land he believed was 'rightfully' his with my father's wife, Kewa complained that from his small garden there would not be enough sweet potatoes to feed him and his wife, let alone raise pigs. In the ensuing conflict, my father instructed Kewa that there would be more than enough food for pigs if Kewa found another job in town instead of hanging around and eating up his wife's labor. While Kewa seemed to take this advice seriously to write letters to a few potential employers, he was still in Yandera when I left in the middle of 1983.

Except for his wife's popularity with the other women and her faithfulness to him, Kewa might have suffered the same fate as the man described above. A quiet and unassuming woman, his wife made friends quickly by helping other women in their gardens, sharing what little food she had with them, and contributing money to their exchange activities by selling fried bread in the market. Not having to rely on his brothers' wives to feed him, Kewa was able to remain in the village and, by restraining his anger and swallowing his shame when he was criticized publicly by his uncles and my father for contributing nothing to the poi nomu, managed to 'stick it out' by causing others to worry and wonder about what he had 'up his sleeve'.

#### Good losers

A 'good loser' is someone who is not likely to become a wana nambaio himself, but is, to the best of his abilities, a steadfast



supporter of men who are (or hope to be). Sometimes accused of being rubbishmen or taunted for being the 'cargo boys' of particular men and women, good losers work hard to pay off debts accumulated in the course of childhood and marriage, but are unable to build up large personal followings by investing in younger men and women outside of their own children. Choosing instead to concentrate their meager resources in the affairs of big men, good losers may forever be in second place, but by so doing they achieve a degree of security in the village. Relying on big men, as well as some of the 'stars', to use their connections, influence, and sometimes their wealth to protect their interests if necessary, good losers give up a measure of respect in return for a rural option.

Matthew is one such good loser. A primary school dropout who has been unsuccessful in finding work other than at Noriningi, Matthew might have become an urban drifter were it not for three of his older brothers who have been regularly employed in town for over ten years. These brothers made substantial cash contributions to the brideprice given for Matthew's wife, and granted Matthew the use of land that they control but have been unable to use themselves. In return, Matthew and his wife work long hours in their gardens to feed the tupoi (brideprice refund) pigs they are raising for his brothers. During the poi nomu, Matthew and his wife shared their home with the two brothers who attended the festivities along with their families, and fed the guests rice and tinned fish from money earned selling vegetables in the bi-weekly

market in Yandera [5].

Matthew's willingness to do good things did not stop with his brothers. During the poi nomu, Matthew helped kill and butcher other men's pigs, and he and his wife collected firewood, cooking stones, water, banana leaves, and vegetables from their gardens for the feasts given by clan brothers. After the poi nomu was over, Matthew and his wife gave their house in the village to my mother (made homeless in the fire described in Chapter Six) and moved into their garden house where they stayed through the end of the dry season and for the duration of the rainy season. For such acts of generosity, Matthew was praised as being a good young man.

Being a good loser is not easy. There is a fine line between being considered a good loser and a poor loser. Even the beneficiaries of a good loser's support may have ambivalent feelings towards him. Persons who won't or can't keep up with the competition are often suspected of jealousy or evil intent towards those who can. Others wonder, "Are such persons what they seem to be - good losers - or are they merely fooling us?" Good acts bring approbation but they are ultimately judged in the context of other men's good acts. Paradoxically, good losers must work as hard as

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[5] The money used for this was laboriously saved over a period of six months. Matthew and his wife rarely eat rice and tinned fish unless it is at the home of some more fortunate villagers. With their savings, they were also able to buy a bottle of gin which they contributed to a kwiagi (death payment party) hosted by their father's brother's son.

winners, if not harder, if they are to stay in one place and remain in the game.

In the search for someone to blame the housefire on, my mother named Matthew as one of a number of possible candidates. Suggesting that he was jealous of her and her husband's success because by comparison it made him look small - a man of no account who had to rely on his brothers to help him - my mother reminded him that their success, even though they too had little land of their own, was the result of many years' hard work and countless acts of generosity on my mother and father's part. My mother's accusations prompted Matthew to give her the house, as did my father's attempts to curry favor with two of Matthew's brothers in the hopes of gaining rights to use some of their land.

Less fortunate was Arthur, the brother of the boy who was eventually blamed for the housefire. Unable to pay compensation for the property lost in the fire, Arthur and his family were harried out of the village, largely because Arthur, unlike Matthew, did not have an active support group of employed migrants or village big men who would defend him against the aggression of my parents. Arthur had been in the process of consolidating his network of supporters when the fire occurred, but saw them slip away from him when one of his main supporters, my father, turned against him.

Twenty-seven years old, Arthur had some secondary school education and was proficient in English. After leaving high school he had worked copra in New Britain and then worked intermittently at a series of low-income jobs in Madang. Disillusioned with town

life - which he considered to be both was expensive and dangerous - he returned to the village in 1978. His meager savings were distributed among members of his father's narawa, and he set about playing the role of the 'good' loser. His intentions, however, were to acquire at least one wife as quickly as possible and to begin the long process of becoming a wana nambaio in the tradition of 'big men' then living in the village.

Ever attentive and helpful to his elders, Arthur had little trouble in acquiring his first wife. Strong, attractive to women, and seemingly humble, Arthur impressed his supporters (who had reasons of their own for wanting such a young man as part of their networks) with his potential. Although it would take years before he and his wife could pay off their tupoi debts, he was in the meantime generous with his labor and with whatever earnings he made playing cards or working at Noriningi. Some of his supporters retained a hope that he would again find work in town after getting his wife set up in the village.

Having sent his first wife away because she was lazy, Arthur had acquired a new wife only months before the housefire and its aftermath dealt a severe blow to his ambitions. Having already invested in his new wife's brideprice and worried about their own participation in the upcoming pig kill, those of his supporters who might have been willing to help him pay compensation to my parents turned their back on Arthur. In an effort to gain new supporters, Arthur killed one of his wife's dowry pigs on the day of the pig kill and distributed the meat to a number of women and men who had expressed sympathy for his plight and contempt for a "line which

turns against its own sons". This incensed members of his own narawa Kenqua (small line, sub-clan) who bitterly complained that he was crazy to feed people who had never done anything for him and that he had no right to give away pigs that he owed them for all the help they, his 'mothers' and 'fathers', had given him.

### Second chance

A number of young school-leavers who had tried unsuccessfully to find work in town, were living in Yandera during the time I stayed there. In spite of difficulties experienced by older brothers, many young men believed that returning to the village as quickly as they did afforded them a viable second chance to get on with the business of becoming a married man and father of their narawa. Most considered village life superior to town. The most frequently cited reasons being the low cost of living in the village, where "everything is free [doesn't cost money] if you are willing to work"; "you need never go hungry"; "there is nothing to waste money on"; and, "by coming home sooner rather than later, you can help parents and other close relatives raise pigs for your future wife's brideprice".

Parents encourage these ideas in their children and in a practical sense they are right. A young man helping women raise pigs is far more useful than one who lingers in town without finding a job which pays well enough so that he can send money home. A young man who works hard and long may obligate a sufficient number of investors into buying a bride for him. He may even help his family retrieve alienated land rights by investing

pigs - raised with the help of his 'mothers' and 'sisters' (married and unmarried) - in the kwiagi (death payment parties) of deceased members of his narawa.

One young man who came back to try out his rural 'option' is Gerry. The oldest of a family of five sons and one daughter, Gerry's chances of becoming a big man are seemingly poor: his sister is only ten years old, and with four other brothers he cannot depend on her brideprice being converted into a bride for him; burdened with school fees and other debts associated with so large a family, his own parents have little to offer him; and Gerry himself is indebted to his parents and others, who invested in his schooling.

He does have, however, one important advantage over many young men who come home empty-handed: Gerry does not have to worry about land when the time comes for him to be married. So far, the older members of his narawa kenqua ('small line'), many of whom are gainfully employed in town, have not had to alienate land in order to pay their debts. Anxious to have some of the younger members of the narawa working on the land, they are willing to help Gerry's parents buy him a bride. Furthermore, with no 'stars' among his narawa brothers to compromise his chances of taking custodianship of narawa land, Gerry has an opportunity of becoming 'first' among his peers.

In order to take full advantage of this opportunity, Gerry is delaying marriage in favor of helping his mother and several other women raise pigs for him. During the poi nomu, Gerry was able to kill one of these pigs and distribute the meat among close rela-

tives in his mother's and father's narawa, thereby paying off some of his debts (of childhood) and creating obligations to himself. With the other pigs he hopes to be able to pay most of the brideprice for a wife himself.

If his plans work out, Gerry may use some of his uncles' land, but he won't have to pay tupoi to them. Any pigs he and his wife raise can be invested directly in his younger brothers and his own children, as well as in the affairs of his uncles and cousins. Personally aware of the uncertainty and fickleness of urban employment, Gerry, whose ambitions go farther than sharing joint custody of the land with wealthy migrants and being a 'good' loser, intends to be ready to 'help' those who cannot help themselves.

#### A pair of 'jacks'

Jack and David had never been farther from home than Gembogl [6]. Uneducated and lacking in special skills, the two were as unlikely to win n their first time out to town as a 'pair of jacks'. Yet, prompted by the scorn of girls who preferred 'school boys' and young stars over village "bumpkins", and under pressure to help their hard-working mothers buy brides for them, the pair left Yandera immediately after the poi nomu.

Jack found work at a sugar factory but in less than six months was home again - disillusioned with town life and weakened by recurring bouts of malaria. Disappointed, his family nonetheless

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[6] An administrative post located on the other side of the Chimbu Divide.

expressed relief to have him back home and sympathy over his stories of contentious co-workers and poor living conditions. Pale and subdued, Jack rested in his family's garden house for a month after his return. There he received occasional visitors who felt 'sorry' for him and brought him small gifts of food.

When Jack regained his health, he became more serious and industrious in helping others than he had been before he left the village. Jack helped his aged father and older brother clear larger garden plots for his mother and sister-in-law, in addition to helping a sister and her husband, who was a member of the other clan in Yandera. When he was in the village, Jack babysat for women who were working in their gardens, sometimes cooking meals for the children and putting them to bed when their parents were unable to return to the village because of sudden rainstorms. A skillful card-player, Jack earned enough money to buy food in the market and from the trade stores to regularly feed a group of four or five younger boys who lived with him in a house he had built for himself. In return for his generosity, Jack's 'children' ran errands for him and assisted him whenever he worked in other people's gardens.

Thus, behaving like a 'good son', and in some ways like a 'big man', Jack was able to cover his losses and was a step closer to winning in the game of attracting a mate. By the time I left, negotiations were underway to buy a bride for Jack. His choice was a girl from Karasokara, whom he had been courting since his return. Her parents were asking a high brideprice for her, but already a number of women, in addition to his mother and sister-in-law, had



promised pigs to Jack. Jack was even willing to go back to town to earn some of the cash portion of the brideprice. He was hoping, however, that this wouldn't be necessary and that he could find work at Noriningi when a new period of work began in the summer of 1983.

Jack's age-mate, David, did not return. His family needed money or another woman more than they needed an extra pair of male hands. His mother had more than enough to keep her busy planting gardens for both her and her husband's family and that of her husband's widowed brother. The combined households included nine children under the age of nineteen, and the elderly parents of William's father and uncle. Only one of the four girls was old enough to be of any help to David's mother.

David had left the village with one of the stars, a school teacher whose wife also worked. In return for babysitting and doing some of the cooking and cleaning, the star, a distant narawa 'brother' of David's, offered him room and board and a chance to find gainful employment in town. By the time I left, David had not found a job, was reportedly 'unhappy', but too ashamed to come home empty-handed. Only when he received word that there might be work for him at the mining camp did he come back.

#### Ana moqeri

One of the purposes of poi nomu is to 'make women happy' for all the hard work they do. Taking pigs their wives have laboriously raised, husbands give them away to sisters and brothers-in-law, and in so doing become wana nambaio. Even before

that, women's labor is converted into tupoi and childwealth, payments which establish their husbands' 'manhood' and right to be known as 'fathers of their narawa'.

Some of the significant impacts of migration and inequality are their negative effects on the lives and aspirations of young women. The most serious effects are the loss of a clear direction for becoming ana mogeru ('good women') and 'mothers of their husband's narawa, and the loss of a sense of purpose and value among women married to men who are economically independent of them.

What many parents desire for their daughters is that they marry rich husbands who will pay large brideprices for them. Their brothers also have this wish - in order that their sisters' brideprices can be used to purchase brides for them. What parents of sons want is either a daughter-in-law who works in town or one who will raise many tupoi pigs back in the village. Theoretically, a girl should both be able to have a rich migrant husband and be productive herself, thereby pleasing her parents, her brothers, and her in-laws, thereby achieving for herself the respect of the community.

This formula, however, does not take into consideration the feelings of the young men and women who are or will be partners in such marriages, much less the fact that two very different economic systems are involved and that rich husbands are a scarce commodity. In practice, given a limited number of job opportunities for uneducated women, many young wives end up in town with little to do and even less self-respect. Should they leave their husbands in

order to raise pigs in the village, they risk losing them to other women. Before discussing the predicament of rich man's wives, however, it is best to go back where it all begins among the young village girls.

### Going for broke

One afternoon, a tall and handsome stranger (a government surveyor) moved into the vacant house at the end of the village basketball court. In the evenings, he sat in front of the house watching the girls play basketball against the boys. Each night the young government surveyor was in the village, girls who had developed a sudden interest in observing the game, edged closer to where he sat, until finally the restraint between them was broken and he began to 'carry leg' with one of them.

Although family pressure is compelling, girls also have their own motivations for wanting to marry rich, migrant husbands. Nogoi and Ko had many times discussed the virtues of town over village life with an older girlfriend, Teresa. Left behind to live with an uncle when her parents returned to town after the poi nomu, Teresa had only one desire and that was to get away from the village as quickly as possible. She loathed working in her aunt's garden and longed to be back in a place where women shopped in supermarkets, wore pretty clothes, and cooked on kerosene and electric stoves.

Although she was courted by a dozen or so village youths, one night Teresa ran away with a young migrant she had been seeing before in town. Her parents disapproved of this young man because he refused to pay a higher brideprice for her, arguing that her

parents were 'greedy' for his money. While most of the village was outraged by the news of Teresa's flight, Nogoi and Ko were clearly enamoured by the boldness and romance of Teresa's lover, whose only reason for returning home was to take Teresa back to town as his wife.

As the days dragged by, Nogoi and Ko became bored and irritable. The village seemed drab and unexciting with Teresa gone. Then one day, when the three of us had gone up to the 'Chimbu' market at Pandambai (mission store), Nogoi, too, was gone. Enticed by an out-of-work 'brother' who promised he would take her to visit Teresa, Nogoi left without saying goodbye, taking only the clothes she wore on her back. Only Ko knew what had happened and a week passed before she tearfully confessed, afraid that Nogoi had come to some unfortunate end.

Soon, word arrived that Nogoi was married to an older man and that her brothers were 'eating' her brideprice. Exaggerated though the story was (Nogoi's parents and others eventually received some of the brideprice), it caused considerable consternation for Ko's mother when Ko herself went off to be a housekeeper and babysitter for an older brother. Worried that Ko would get in trouble and she would never 'eat' Ko's brideprice, she pleaded with Ko to remain in the village until her father could take time off to go with her. Ko was deaf to her mother's arguments. She was lonely for Nogoi and anxious to be where the action was.

#### Unlucky cards

Nogoi and Ko had only to look around them to know that the

lives of young women married to men who couldn't succeed in town were often less than ideal. Their 'sister', Helen, married her husband while he was still employed as a dishwasher in a hotel. When she was pregnant with their first child, he lost his job for drunkenness and she returned to live in her husband's village while he stayed on to look for another job.

From the start, her in-laws nagged Helen to work hard at making very big gardens so that she could raise her tupoi pigs as fast as possible. With his son out of work and creditors grumbling for the return of the brideprice, Helen's father-in-law was particularly hard on her, going so far as to accuse her of sorcerizing his son and causing him to lose his job. After Helen gave birth to her baby, her husband came home to live with her. Soon Helen's husband and father-in-law were both fighting with her and Helen frequently ran home to her parents with bruises her husband had given her.

Helen's parents wanted her to leave her husband and marry another man. Calling her husband a rubbish man who had paid a rubbish brideprice for her, they had no intention of paying back the brideprice, considering it sufficient only to cover the cost of childweath and the labor Helen had done for her in-laws up to that point. With both sets of parents in conflict with one another and a husband who did little to help her and sometimes beat her, Helen's life was not a happy one.

Even Waura, the wife of a good loser who helped her in the large gardens they had made, faced a future full of hardship. Waura's second child died shortly after it was born. Working hard

to finish planting her gardens before the height of the rainy season, Waura delayed going to the Aid Post at Bundi until it was too late. Caught offguard by the early onset of labor, Waura delivered her baby in her garden house. The delivery was without complications but the infant became sick and died within the week. What little money she and her husband earned from selling food in the market or playing cards was set aside for special occasions like the poi nomu. Waura and her husband spent most of their time in their garden house because they didn't have the money to buy tinned fish and rice to feed guests who might wander into their village house. Neither of them smoked and both wore hand-me-downs of migrant relatives.

#### Old maids

Being married to a man without prospects is something to avoid, but becoming an old maid is an even greater cause for alarm. Girls who refuse to marry 'beneath' themselves and whose fathers set high brideprices for them, risk becoming 'too old' to be considered attractive, and worse, being accused of having loose morals when they continue to carry leg into their mid- and late twenties.

Encouraged by her parents to find a more 'reliable' husband, Tege jilted her first husband when he failed to complete his teacher's training. Staying with relatives in town, she attracted several new beaux, one of whom was anxious to marry her. She was sent home when she was caught sleeping with yet another new suitor, in order to avoid hurting her chances of attracting a large brideprice if she became pregnant. At home, her parents warned her

that her careless behavior would be discovered by her beau's family. Tege continued on with her 'promiscuous' affairs until the criticism of other women and girls in the village sunk in. Telling her she was too old to be running about and that her behavior was the talk of the region, her friends advised her that her father's greediness and her conceit would end with no man wanting to marry her.

While Tege had more suitors than most young women, other village girls hoped to find one good 'catch' who would care for them. To increase the likelihood that they will, many parents send their teenage daughters off to live with relatives among the neighboring Chimbus. With access to roads which link up with the Highlands Highway, Chimbu men have more opportunity to own profitable businesses such as bulk stores and passenger trucks. According to some of my unmarried male informants, Chimbu men are eager to marry Gende women because their brideprices are lower than those asked of Chimbu women. With local brideprice inflation, Chimbu brides can attract brideprices anywhere from K2000 and 15 pigs to K5000 and more if the women are educated and employed.

#### A mismatch

While marrying a rich man may be a young girl's dream, it can sometimes be her older sister's nightmare. Such was the case with Drikua. The first time I met Drikua, she was at the center of a storm of protest over her recent divorce from a wealthy Chimbu man and her subsequent engagement to a respectable, but far less wealthy Gende man. Heading the group of men and women who were

angry with Drikua was her twenty-four year old brother, Daniel. Upset with his sister because most of the large brideprice her ex-husband had paid for her had been returned (poi nunga, divorce settlement), Daniel accused his sister of being selfish and of not caring about him. Intending to use his sister's brideprice to buy a bride for himself, Daniel was sadly disappointed when his sister ran away from her husband, and her brideprice had to be returned.

On the day I first met her, the family of Drikua's new fiancée had come to Yandera with the first installment of the brideprice they were offering for her. Outraged that it was nowhere near as large as he had hoped for, Drikua's brother told his sister's future in-laws to take back their pigs since he would never allow his sister to marry into a "rubbish" family. During the ensuing argument which broke out between members of Drikua's family and members of her fiancée's family, Drikua, tall, strongly built, and attractive, stood calmly by. Even when her brother shouted at her, she said little in return.

Later, when her fiancée's family had taken their pigs and returned to their own village, Drikua told me about her first marriage and of her reasons for wanting to marry a man who was less wealthy than her first husband. According to Drikua, she became disenchanted with her first husband almost immediately after they began to live together. Arrogant, demanding, and often critical of her, he constantly reminded her of how much he had paid for her with his own earnings and of how little she did for him in return. Scornful of her first attempts to cook on an electric stove in their house in town, he often ridiculed her, calling her a "stupid



bush woman" in front of his friends when she burnt dinner or failed to cook the rice long enough.

Thinking to improve her situation, Drikua left town and went to live in her in-law's village, where she hoped to raise enough pigs to eventually pay off her tupoi debts to her husband and his family. It was not long, however, before her husband insisted she return to him so that she could help entertain his many guests. Hearing rumors that her husband had another woman living with him in her absence, Drikua was anxious to comply.

Their reunion, however, was brief. When some of Drikua's relatives came to town on a visit, she invited them to stay with her and her husband. After her relatives were there for several days, Drikua's husband refused to give her any more money to buy groceries to feed them with. The final straw came the following day, when Drikua's husband sent her relatives away, telling them that it was not his responsibility to feed her 'greedy' relatives. Within a few days, Drikua left her husband for good, returning home to Yandera.

It wasn't long before Drikua attracted a new suitor, for, as Drikua put it, she was very strong and capable of working long hours in the garden and raising many pigs. Her new fiancee intended that she do just that while he alternated his time between clearing gardens for Drikua and working for a mining outfit in another part of the highlands.

Drikua's plight is not all that uncommon. Married to men who are able to pay most of their wives' brideprices themselves, young women find themselves working for their husbands rather than with

them. While Drikua opted for divorce and remarriage to a husband who would be less independent of her, not every disappointed wife has this option or Drikua's self-confidence. Some young women's families have already spent their daughters' brideprices by the time their daughters begin to have second thoughts about the wisdom of giving up their valuable role in the village economy for the life of urban housewives. Unable to make poi nunga (divorce settlement), the young women are pressured by their parents to stay with their husbands or with their in-laws. With poi nunga debts hanging over their heads, it is not often easy to find another husband.

#### Like a man

Some women, of course, have made out better than their sisters. Generally speaking, women who have received an education and who are able to earn money of their own, are more contented with their existence and enjoy a higher degree of respect and security than their poorer sisters. Having money of their own, they do not have to run after rich husbands, nor do they have to stay with husbands who treat them disrespectfully or cheat on them. Attracting large brideprices for their potential earning power, they are the 'darlings' of their families and, if they are make good on their potential, their in-laws.

One such young woman is Betty. The divorced mother of one child, Betty earns a good income as an airline hostess. Ever generous with her money, she gave her mother the money to start a tradestore in Yandera, she has invested in the marriages of many

clan brothers and the childwealth payments of their children, her house in Port Moresby has been a home away from home for many younger 'brothers' and 'sisters' who have come to town for schooling or to look for work, and any visitors from home always return to the village with gifts of money and clothing Betty has given them.

Betty's generosity has been so extensive that the ordinary terms of respect for a good and generous woman (ana moqeri, ana moqeri yonua) are considered inadequate by those men and women who have been recipients of her generosity. Groping for words to describe her extraordinary behavior, men and women sometimes describe her as being "just like a man". And indeed, if inequality of the kind which existed in 1982 made rubbish men and 'pigs' of many ordinary men, it also gave some women the chance to go beyond being a 'good woman' (ana moqeri) to becoming a free woman, a woman who did not work for men, but like a man, worked for herself.

## Chapter Eight: LOSERS OUT! - A QUESTION OF IDENTITY

In this chapter I examine the impact of inequality upon the elderly [1]. After introducing the main points of my discussion, I begin the chapter with a case study of an older Gende man, whose life exemplifies some of the pressures and contradictions experienced by other Gende in the years since first contact in 1932. This is followed by several sections in which I look at the economic circumstances, exchange behavior, production, living conditions, and migration decisions of the elderly. As I have already shown to some extent in Chapters Six and Seven (and will discuss in greater detail in this chapter), the circumstances of the elderly are interdependent with those of younger men and women. I conclude the chapter (and Part Two) with a discussion of how both old and young Gende perceive this interdependence, of how their perceptions are related to recent population movements among the Gende, and of how, for the Gende, the real problem of inequality is one of identity.

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[1] I use the term 'elderly' to mean persons who were 55 years of age or older in 1982. This usage is somewhat arbitrary since the Gende sometimes use the terms, old man (wei kindari) and old woman (ana kindari), to refer to persons who are still in their early forties, and, in general, their use of the terms depends as much on sociological considerations as physiological ones. For example, husband and wives who have grown children (who are, perhaps parents themselves) often use the terms as a reciprocal form of address.

## Introduction

Since the first Gende labor migrants returned to their villages and Western trade goods and cash were accepted into the local exchange system, inequality of a kind unknown to past generations of Gende has reduced the effectiveness of some men and women's participation in the Gende exchange system and upset the normal progression of individuals through the different stages of the life cycle.

A comparison of the recent economic circumstances of the elderly with those of younger men and women, reveals that there is as much variation in the amount of cash incomes available to elderly villagers as there is among younger men and women, even though there is a tendency for older men and women to have less cash than younger persons. This variation is associated with a high degree of overlap and role confusion between the generations in terms of their exchange activities and relations of respect and authority, as well as the failure of some children to attend to the needs of aging parents. While some elderly individuals experience a prolongation of their authority because of their greater access to cash, others - who are either unable or unwilling to continue to actively contribute to the exchange activities of their children - often find themselves excluded from the daily round of visiting and exchange which takes place among closely related households in the village (e.g. sharing meals, helping with chores, making small loans of money, and sharing the bounty of abundant harvests of garden foods and hunting trips). The above social consequences of inequality are associated with the decisions of many older persons

to spend more time in their garden houses than in the village or to join migrant children in town in order to escape the demands of village life and/or to put pressure on children (migrant and non-migrant) to fulfill their obligations to them.

Unable to enjoy the fruits of their past labors, many older men and women find it necessary to compensate for the cumulative effects of inequality, uncertainty, and inflation upon their own (and others') exchange activities, by continuing to work as hard as younger individuals. For example, some older men and women, their circumstances reduced by the failure of exchange partners to make good on their debts and unassisted by their grown children, must singlehandedly provide for the needs of their younger children (and in some cases, their grandchildren) [2] at the same time they are burdened with their own parents' funerals and death payments. Others, having spent their youth in poorly-paid wage or contract labor, have yet to fulfill their tupoi obligations to brideprice contributors.

One of the more striking effects of inequality has been the emergence of a class of elderly big men or "johnny-come-latelies", whose acquisition of power and authority late in life is related as much to chance as it is to any special effort or planning on their part. Having a son or daughter who finds lucrative employment and

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[2] It is expected that older brothers and sisters will invest in the marriages and care of their younger siblings, sisters through the conversion of their own brideprices into brideprices for their younger brothers' wives.

who is generous with his or her income, has enabled average men (and in a few cases, even rubbish men) to move into the ranks of influential players in the village as they use their newly acquired wealth to pay off old debts and to expand their networks of exchange partners (a fact which is relevant to my discussion of broad and narrow investment policies in Chapter Six). For men who have long since achieved the status of big men by more traditional means, the added bonus of having a large income when they are old allows them to extend, or prolong, their influence well beyond their prime.

Nevertheless, although wealthier senior citizens enjoy a certain amount of prestige and public recognition for having paid off their debts and for being reliable contributors to clan-sponsored exchange activities, they too suffer the effects of inequality upon the local exchange community. Envied by men and women whose migrant children fail to send or bring home generous remittances of cash, many wealthy elders are haunted by a fear of sorcery attack. While some older persons go to great lengths to make it appear that they have less money than they really do (e.g. by wearing tattered clothing and never eating store-bought foods except in the secrecy of their garden houses), others invest their excess cash [3] in card games (see Chapter Nine) or in an expanded network of exchange partners.

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[3] I am using 'excess cash' to mean money which is not already committed to a particular exchange payment or expense such as taxes.

On many occasions while I was living in Yandera, younger men and women expressed their fear that by "making rubbish men or 'pigs' out of their parents" (e.g. by failing to support their parents and to pay off their own and, in some cases, their parents' debts) they were in danger of becoming rubbish men and 'pigs' themselves. From their parents' perspective, their own very similar concerns were more often expressed in the question "Who will bury me?"

#### "Who will bury me?"

By the time men and women reach the age of fifty-five, they will be showing signs of age and physical decline. They should also (according to the Gende's scheme of things) have reached a stage in their life when they are less concerned with proving themselves to be respectable 'fathers' and 'mothers' of their community than they are with strengthening whatever gains they have achieved for themselves and others in their local group (e.g. land rights, prestige, alliances with other groups, the affiliation of children into the group). Older men and women invest in their own honorable and 'happy' ancestorhood, and in the future well-being of their clan, by fulfilling outstanding exchange obligations and lending their support to younger men and women who have taken over the burdens of active leadership. Having invested in others, they have obligated these others to invest in them through the ongoing exchange of wealth in poi nomu and death payment parties.

In other words, by the time men and women are in their fifties they should have long since paid off the debts of their own child-



hood and marriage, and they will have already used some or all of the returns from their investments in their own and other's children to sponsor pig feasts and death payment parties in honor of deceased clan members. As they enter the period in their life when they are concerned with their own deaths and 'becoming an ancestor' (poroi tizhi), their waning energies and resources are directed into maintaining (versus building) their reputations as 'good' and 'generous' persons, and leaving behind a legacy of good will toward themselves and between members of their narawa and other groups. This legacy of good will and ongoing cooperation between persons who were once a part of their personal networks or, at the very least, their (the deceased's) involvement in the community while they were alive, is reflected in the number of persons who mourn their death and participate in their kwiaqi (death payment parties) [4].

In the following case history, I show how inequality has worked to reduce the effectiveness of one man's efforts to build a base of security for himself and for his children, and how his own and his children's indebtedness to other men threatens the sense of accomplishment that he ought to feel after a lifetime of hard work and unselfish concern for his children.

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[4] But not necessarily the size of payments, since this may reflect unpaid debts of the deceased or, in some cases, competition among the mourners to acquire rights to land which the deceased owned.

Case 1. The plight of a hard-working 'loser': no one to bury him.

I rarely saw Utu and his second wife, Bea, during the time I lived in Yandera. Almost totally blind, Bea was no longer able to make gardens and tend pigs, and was living with a brother and his wife in another village. Except on market days and on special occasions, Utu spent most of his time in the garden house of his oldest son Kera or in helping Kera's wife in the couple's gardens. During Yandera's pig feast, Utu and Kera killed six pigs. Four of the pigs were given to the death payment parties (kwiagi) of two women and one man, all of whom had contributed pigs to the kwiagi of Utu's first wife (and Kera's mother), Anna. Although Utu and Kera's contributions to the kwiagi were appreciated, Utu was upset over the fact that circumstances had prevented him from erasing the the old debts sooner (Anna died around 1950). He expressed the opinion that when he himself died there would be trouble, because his sons (one of whom was recently widowed) would be saddled with similar old debts (his and their own) and would have to rely heavily on other men to help them satisfy the debts. Some of these men, according to Utu, would "help" because they were "greedy" for his oldest son's land.

To understand Utu's worries, it is necessary to review some of his past exchanges as well as the chain of circumstances and misfortunes which have reduced Utu's ability to manage his exchanges in a way that he feel secure that when he dies he will be remembered in future pig feasts and his own death payment party as a 'good man'.

When the first missionaries arrived in 1932, Utu was courting

his first wife (Anna), and plans were already underway to use some of the bridewealth received for Utu's two half-sisters for Anna's brideprice. Two years later, when Utu and Anna were married and began making gardens together, Utu was forced to use shells he had earned working on the airstrip at Bundi Mission as part of the final brideprice payment for his wife.

In 1936, the first of Utu's three children was born. Utu named Kera after his own father, in recognition of the brideprice his father and mother (a Chimbu woman) had given to Utu's in-laws as well as the pig they contributed to his son's childwealth payment. In 1938, although Utu and his wife had not yet fulfilled their tupoi obligation to his parents and other men and women who had contributed to Anna's brideprice [5], Utu and Anna had their second child - Kegeri - who was named after Utu's mother. In 1941, the couple had the last of their three children, a son, whom they named Boma in honor of one of the brideprice contributors, a 'FBS' of Utu's father.

During World War Two, Utu became a carrier for Allied troops fighting in the Ramu Valley. While Utu was away, Anna tended their gardens and looked after their children on her own, receiving some assistance in clearing gardens from her father-in-law and a younger

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[5] A fact which irritated the brideprice contributors, some of whom wanted to use the tupoi pigs as part of a gift to their allies in Gegerunarawa, who had assisted them in their battles with Emegari and Karasokara. (See Part One for a discussion of the fighting between the Yandera clans and their enemies, fighting

which went on for several years after the arrival of the first missionaries.)

brother who wanted his sister to help raise pigs for his future wife's brideprice. Like many other Gende men who helped in the war effort against Japan, Utu received no compensation (other than his daily food ration) for his time away from productive activities in the village. Unlike some veterans who sought work in town, Utu returned home after the war to help his wife raise pigs to pay off their tupoi debts.

After his tupoi debts were finally paid, Utu was invited by a younger clan brother to join him and several other men from Yandera on a construction project in Goroka (a town to the S.E. of the Gende's territory). Thinking that this might be a chance to get ahead in the game, Utu agreed to go. Although he was close to forty years old, Utu did not yet have a fund of credit that would allow him to consider the possibility of becoming a big man. And, although Utu and his wife had invested pigs in the marriages of several of Utu's clan brothers, they still had a number of outstanding debts hanging over their heads, that prevented them from expanding further their network of exchange partners. At the time, Anna's brothers were pressuring the couple to fulfill the childwealth obligations for their two younger children. At the same time, Utu's mother's brothers, in expectation of a pig feast they were planning, had asked Utu to repay them for the contribution they had made to Utu's initiation ceremony. In both cases, the claimants were demanding that tradestore goods as well as cash be included in the exchange payments. Believing that he might earn

enough money to pay off his debts (along with pigs raised by Anna) and still have enough left over to enjoy some of the prestige that younger men were experiencing when they came home with suitcases stuffed with gifts for their friends and relatives, Utu left for Goroka.

After Utu had been away from home for over a year, he returned home when he received word (from a new arrival in town) that his wife had died. By the time he arrived back in Yandera, his wife had been dead for over a month. His parents and other close kin were more than happy to see him since a storm of sorcery accusations had erupted after Anna's funeral: Anna's brothers accused Utu's relatives of causing Anna's death at the same time Utu's relatives accused Anna's relatives of the same thing. After Utu came home, a bamboo divining ceremony (see Chapter Four on sorcery) was used by both sides to determine the identity of the sorcerer (or sorcerers) who had caused Anna's death. The results, however, were inconclusive. In order to "make Anna's brothers feel better" as well as to divert suspicion away from himself, Utu gave a pig to Anna's brothers in addition the money he had saved during his stay in Goroka.

Although he thought about returning to his job in Goroka and leaving his children in the care of his mother, Utu decided to remain at home and look after the children and his wife's pig herd himself. His main reason for doing so was that his wife's brothers were asking that the two youngest children (whose childwealth payments had not yet been paid) be sent home to their mother's clan. Not wanting to lose his children, Utu stayed home and raised

his wife's pig herd to maturity. Several years after his wife's death, Utu sponsored a kwiagi (death payment party) for his wife. At the kwiagi, Utu killed three pigs to give to his in-laws. He also gave two pigs to his in-laws as childwealth for his younger children.

Although Utu was the main contributor at his wife's kwiagi, other men and women also made contributions, in part because of obligations they had to Anna's kin for the support Anna had given them (the contributors) during her life-time, but also to help Utu make a good showing in front of his in-laws. In the years following his wife's kwiagi, Utu incurred further debts. When first his mother and then his father died, one of Utu's clan brothers (a recently returned migrant who had brought a new bride home with him) invested a large sum of cash in Utu's parents' joint kwiagi so that he and his wife might use some of their land to make gardens on. Thinking ahead to the time when his own sons would need land, Utu later borrowed money and pigs from his half-sisters and their husbands so that he could redeem the land at the kwiagi of his clan brother's mother. At his son's initiation ceremonies, Utu's brothers-in-law killed four pigs, pigs which Utu or his sons would eventually have to reciprocate with interest.

In 1958, Utu's daughter married a man from Yandima clan (in Yandera Village). Utu used his share of his daughter's brideprice to pay off some of his debts and to acquire a wife for himself. At the time, his oldest son was 22 years old and Utu was anxious to have a wife to help him raise the brideprice pigs for the marriages of his two sons. Since his second wife (Bea) was a childless widow

in his late thirties, Utu paid a very small brideprice (2 pigs) for her.

In the next few years following their marriage in 1958, Utu and Bea worked day and night to raise the brideprice pigs. Since money was by now an important part of most brideprices, and brideprices in general were becoming more expensive because of inflation, both of Utu's son's were forced to find work on coffee plantations near Goroka in order to help pay for their wives. Finally, when he was 26 years old, Kera was married in 1962, and his younger brother, Boma was married a year later.

With his daughters-in-law raising tupoi pigs, his sons earning wages, and he and Bea continuing to raise pigs, Utu hoped that now he would be able to straighten out his finances and take a more active role in pig feasts, in addition to expanding his network of supporters by investing in other men's children as well as in his own. Unfortunately for Utu, a combination of things was going to spoil his plans during the next twenty years: the large size of his sons' families, unemployment woes, the death of his son's wife, his own wife's blindness, inflation, and wealthy competitors.

In 1964, the year copper was discovered near Yandera, both of Utu's daughters-in-law gave birth to their first children. Kera's son was named after Utu and Boma's daughter was named after Bea. At the small feast at which Utu and Bea gave childwealth pigs to the children's matrilineal kin, Kera announced that he was going to stay home and look after his family now that he was a new father, and that he would find work with the mining company that was searching for copper in the mountains around Yandera. Boma,

who had recently found work as a domestic servant in a home in Goroka, announced his intention of taking his wife and new daughter back to town with him. Although his father resisted the idea and warned Boma about the dangers of exposing his new grandchild to strangers and sickness in town (e.g. sorcery attack) and berated him for obstructing his daughter-in-law from raising the tupoi pigs she and Boma owned him, Boma was adamant, claiming that he wanted his children to grow up with all the benefits of a "new way of life". Leaving their small pig herd behind for Bea and Kera's wife to look after, Boma and his wife and infant daughter set off on the long journey to Goroka.

Within the next fourteen years, Boma and his wife had four more children. Although Boma hosted a small party for those of his wife's relatives who were in town at the time of each child's birth, he and his wife were not able to make adequate childwealth payments for their four younger children. Pressured by both her husband's relatives and her own to return home to raise pigs, Boma's wife left him for a time to return to Yandera. Leaving the two oldest children with Boma so that they could attend school in Goroka, Boma's wife returned home and moved in with Bea and Utu.

Having grown accustomed to a softer existence in town, Boma's wife soon tired of working long hours in the gardens that her father-in-law cleared for her, and of living with her in-laws, who were often critical of her efforts and angry that she and Boma had sent very little of Boma's earnings home to help out his parents. After less than a year, Boma's wife returned to Goroka.

When she arrived in Goroka, Boma's wife discovered that Boma



had been fired from his job because he had been pilfering his employer's food to feed visiting wantoks. For the next three years, Boma went through a succession of poorly-paid jobs. During frequent periods of unemployment, Boma and his family relied on the hospitality of other Gende men and women to keep them going. In 1978, Boma's wife gave birth to her fifth child. During the year after the child's birth, Boma was unemployed. At the suggestion of one of his clan brothers, Boma moved his family to Madang where he tried to find work.

In Madang, Boma's wife contracted malaria. Although she was hospitalized, she did not recover and soon died. Leaving his oldest son (who was attending school in Madang) in the care of relatives, Boma and his other four children returned to Yandera. In Yandera, Boma, with the help of his oldest daughter and his brother's wife, set about making gardens on a small piece of land allotted to him by his brother. The problem of who was going to raise the pigs for Boma's wife's kwiagi was set aside for the time being, since during the years that Boma was away from home his father had been forced to give away land which had been intended for Boma's use.

During the years that Boma was away, his father and brother struggled to protect the family's interests against encroachment by wealthier men in the village who were receiving more support from their migrant children than Boma had been able to give his relatives. Although Kera occasionally found work at the mining camp during those times when it was in operation, his meager earnings were eaten up by the increasing cost of exchange payments. For

example, when Kera's mother's brothers asked to be repaid for the contribution they made to his initiation ceremony, they asked for a large sum of money in addition to pigs. One of the consequences of having a mine at Yandera was that exchange partners who lived in distant villages and who had little opportunity of earning money at the camp expected their exchange partners in Yandera to adjust the size of their exchange payments to match their new incomes. While this caused little problem for the men who were asking for 'nose pay' (payment for investments made in a young man's initiation ceremonies) - a type of payment which is 'final' and does not require further reciprocity - such inflationary tactics worked to raise the cost of all exchange payments, regardless of an exchange partner's ability to pay.

Burdened by old and new debts (such as the birth of Kera's four children), and receiving little help from Boma, Utu gave Boma's land to several wealthy clansmen in return for assistance in paying some of his more pressing debts. Although Utu hoped that Boma, or Boma's son who was being educated in Madang, would somehow redeem the land someday, Utu has since found little justification for this hope in the circumstances he and his family find themselves in. When Utu's wife became blind in the late 70's and could no longer work in the gardens, the loss of her production reduced the family's finances even further. With his own death staring him in the face, Utu foresees that his children's future labor will be directed towards fulfilling debts to other men rather than making sacrifices in his honor at future poi nomu and killing many pigs at his kwiagi.

## Inequality

Although there are a number of factors involved in Utu's plight, the relative poverty of his two sons has, at least in recent years, been a contributing factor in Utu's inability to see his way clear to pay his debts and enjoy a more secure old age. Table 8.1 (see below) lists cash incomes for the year 1982 for a sample of 41 households in Yandera Village. The range of income differences among the various households is striking. Among the 28 households listed under the heading "YOUNGER HOUSEHOLDS" (those headed by persons under 55 years of age), cash incomes ranged between K0 and K2100. Utu's sons, Kera and Boma, head two of the poorest households in the sample: households 9 and 18 respectively [6]. With incomes of only K36 and K20, Kera and Boma were not in a position to give much assistance to their father, and were, if anything, more dependent on him than he was on them. By continuing to work in the gardens, Utu was at least earning his "room and board", whereas his sons, by relying on their 70 year old father to help them pay their debts as well as his own were becoming more and more indebted to their father. His sons' indebtedness to him did not provide much solace to Utu since he believed it was not likely that they will ever be able to repay him themselves.

That the fortunes of the elderly are effected by the economic circumstances of their children can be demonstrated by comparing

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[6] Utu was included in the sample as a member of Kera's household, number 9, since he lives in the same house with Kera and his family and shares meals with them.

Utu's lifestyle with that of his age-mate (the 66 year old head of household 32). Although H-32 and his wife do not maintain their own house in the village (they do, however, have their own garden house), whenever they are in the village (which is often) they are welcome guests in the homes of several kinsmen, including one of Yandera's leading big men. While H-32 sometimes helps his wife in their gardens, he no longer does the arduous work of cutting down the bush and clearing new gardens for his wife, preferring instead to pay other men to do this work for him. With two migrant sons who are regularly employed, a daughter who is married to a school teacher, and only one son left to raise brideprice pigs for, H-32 and his wife lead a fairly peaceful existence. Although they had a cash income of only K153 in 1982, H-32 and his wife had no outstanding debts to worry about and were content in the knowledge that should they need cash, one or the other of their children would, in all likelihood, provide it (as they have done so many times in the past).

To understand why there is such a range of income differences among older households in the village, however, it is necessary to do more than simply state that one man's children were successful in finding jobs while another man's were not. Setting aside individual differences in ambition, fortitude, and happenstance (e.g. the untimely death of Utu's first wife), it is possible to isolate a number of historical, social and cultural factors, which taken together go far in explaining why one household had K1000 in 1982 while another had only K36. In order to facilitate my discussion, I have constructed a "time line" in Diagram 8.1 below.

Table 8.1 Cash incomes among older (a) and younger (b) households.  
(Sample collected in Yandera Village, in 1983.)

Income Bracket	OLDER HOUSEHOLDS		YOUNGER HOUSEHOLDS	
	Number (c)	Income (d)	Number (c)	Income (d)
K1000 + (e)			1	K2100
			11	K2000
			3	K1741
	4	K1173		
	2	K1010		
	40	K1000		
K250-K999			17	K 953
			7	K 430
			14	K 360
			30	K 290
	24	K 282	22	K 280
			20	K 252
K100-K249			27	K 243
	21	K 227	12	K 212
			5	K 210
			8	K 190
	16	K 160	23	K 164
	32	K 153	38	K 154
	10	K 147	31	K 150
			26	K 139
	35	K 120	33	K 126
	29	K 110	15	K 111
			6	K 109
19	K 102	36	K 100	
K0-K99			39	K 97
			37	K 95
			34	K 85
			25	K 77
			9	K 36
	28	K 9	18	K 20
	41	K 7	13	K 0

(a) Households headed by persons over 54 years of age.

(b) Households headed by persons under 55 years of age.

(c) Numbers assigned to households match those used in Tables 5.3 and 6.3.

(d) Total cash income for 1982.

(e) The rate of exchange for kina (K) in 1982 was approximately K1 for \$1.50 (American dollars).

Diagram 8.1 Time Line

<u>Year</u>	<u>Important Events:</u>
<u>1932</u>	FIRST CONTACT - Bundi Mission established
1934	Bundi airstrip completed
late 1930's	Pidgin Schools established in the villages Skirmishes between Yandera and Yandera's enemies continue
<u>1942</u>	WORLD WAR II - Madang Coast bombed by Japanese
1943	Missionaries leave the highlands
1945	War ends - some Gende war veterans migrate to town
1947	Missionaries return - Pidgin Schools reopened
1949	Labor recruitment begins in the Central Highlands
<u>1952</u>	FIRST MAJOR WAVE OF OUTMIGRATION
1958	St. Francis of Assisi Boarding School opens at Bundi
<u>1962</u>	RURAL DEVELOPMENT - coffee planted as cash crop - plans to build a road connecting Gende to North Coast and Highlands Highway
1964	Copper discovered near Yandera
<u>1972</u>	'WHITE COLLAR' MIGRANTS - former graduates of boarding school begin earning high salaries
1978	Beginning of slack period at mining camp as exploration for copper ends
<u>1982</u>	ECONOMIC SLUMP - Yandera's Pig Kill - little work at mining camp for past three years - road unfinished after twenty years
1983	Bundi Strike (See Chapter Ten) Mining company resumes exploration for brief period

One of the more significant dates in the development of inequality among the Gende is 1958. In 1958, the Saint Francis of Assisi Boarding School was opened at Bundi Mission. The purpose of the school was to teach English to the students (as well as a number of other subjects) and to prepare them to go on to highschools and colleges in other parts of the country and overseas. Since only very young children (approx. six or seven years old) were admitted into the first classes, children who were "too old" in 1958 missed out on the opportunity of acquiring an education which would prepare them to fill "white collar" positions in the expanding skilled and semi-skilled job market which was at its height in the years immediately preceding Papua New Guinea's independence in 1975 and for a brief time afterwards.

By the time the school opened, Utu's oldest son was 22 and Boma was 17. By contrast, H-32's oldest son was only seven years old in 1958 and was among the first class of students to be accepted by the school. A second son of H-32's was admitted to the school in 1961. Both of H-32's sons later went on to finish high school. Why H-32, who is only four years younger than Utu, did not have his first child until he was 35 years old can be explained very simply. H-32 married his wife in 1941, only a very short time before World War II erupted in the Pacific. During the war, H-32 (like Utu) worked for the Allies. After the war, H-32 returned home for a brief visit before going south to work as a cook in Goroka. It was not until 1949 that H-32 returned home to stay. In his absence, H-32's wife had fulfilled their tupoi obligations, unburdened with the care and feeding of young children.

Although there are advantages to be gained in being the father or mother of children who have achieved a high school or college education and who have subsequently found high-level employment, a glance at Table 8.2 shows that not all income differences can be explained by the educational level of one's children. Table 8.2 lists the number of children, in each of the thirteen households listed under "OLDER HOUSEHOLDS" in Table 8.1, who attended the St. Francis of Assisi Boarding School as well as how many of those children went on to attain a high school or college education.

Table 8.2 The educational level of children from older households.

<u>Household #</u>	<u>1982 Income</u>	<u>Primary School</u>	<u>Higher Education</u>
4	K1173	0 (a)	0
2	K1010	2	2
40	K1000	1	1
24	K 282	1	1
21	K 227	0	0
16	K 160	1	1
32	K 153	2	2
10	K 147	1	0
35	K 120	0	0
29	K 110	0	0
19	K 102	1	1
28	K 9	1	0
41	K 7	0	0

(a) None of H-4's children attended the primary school at Bundi.



Other factors effecting a household's level of cash income are: 1) access to local sources of income, 2) the number of dependent children in a household, and 3) the investment decisions of both migrant children and their parents.

In 1982, the head of household 4 had an income of K1173. Most of this income came from H-4's job as night watchman at the mining camp near Yandera. Unlike most villagers, H-4 does not have to rely on migrant exchange partners for cash. With his job at the mine and with his three wives raising pigs, H-4 is in many respects immune to some of the more negative effects of migration and inequality. His rather uncommon situation illustrates what might be a more general phenomenon in the village if there were more income-generating activities available locally to older men and women.

In the case of household 2, which had an income of K1010 in 1982, almost 2/3 of that income was earned by the head of the household (for work done at the mining camp) and his three wives (from the sale of coffee beans). The remaining income came from urban remittances given to H-2 and his wives by two migrant sons and several other exchange partners. Although H-2 had more than six times as much income in 1982 as H-32 did, H-2 was not a significantly more influential personage in the village than H-32 was. One reason for this was that H-2 had nine dependent children to care for whereas H-32 had only one son remaining at home. Almost all of household 2's income in 1982 was used to pay off debts associated with the household's nine dependent children (e.g. childwealth payments, school fees).

While H-2's investments in his younger children may result in

enormous payoffs in the future, the costs (in pigs and cash) involved in supporting so many dependents and H-2's decision to pay those costs (as opposed to not paying them and instead relying on others to invest in his children) has meant that H-2 and his wives have given less support (at least in recent years) to their elder sons than they might otherwise have done if there were fewer children in the household. Although H-2 contributed pigs to the marriage of his oldest son and the subsequent birth of his first grandchild, H-2's son paid a sizeable portion of his wife's bride-  
rice and his first child's childwealth himself. Accordingly, H-2's son has invested less money in his parents and in his younger siblings than he might otherwise have done if his parents had given him more support and there was more necessity for him to invest in his younger siblings.

While the above investment strategies and alternative investment strategies may seem to be a case of "six of one and half a dozen of the other", there are some important differences between them, differences which had an effect on the amount of income H-2 had in 1982, on H-2's authority within the community, and on the quality of H-2's relationships with his migrant sons. By failing to invest more of his wealth in his older sons, H-2 is in effect depriving them of the opportunity to create more meaningful and closer relationships with their younger siblings. As I have discussed earlier, there is a cultural expectation that older siblings will invest wealth in their younger siblings. This expectation is encoded in the Gende Kinship system in distinctions made between elder and younger siblings and in the practice of

calling one's older brother or sister by the respective terms for 'father' and 'mother' when older siblings are directly involved in the care and upbringing of younger brothers and sisters. Furthermore, by tying up wealth in his younger children in the hope of future gains, H-2 is depriving himself of the prestige and influence which he might achieve if he were to invest more of his wealth in other members of the exchange community and in locally important exchange events such as poi nomu.

As it stands, at least one of H-2's older son has expressed the opinion that he feels "neglected" and "misused" by his parents. Since investing in other persons carries with it an emotional overtone of caring and concern, H-2's failure to adequately reciprocate the generosity of his sons has left them feeling uncared for (whether or not this is actually the case) and less inclined or obligated to repeat past acts of generosity. This fact, or rather, the type of situation which exists between H-2 and his sons, has some bearing on my discussion (in Chapter Seven) on the growing independence of some wealthy migrants from certain structural constraints. In Chapter Seven, I described several cases in which migrant husbands, who were earning high salaries, took advantage of their independence from their wife's potential productivity to assert greater control over their wife's activities and to treat them (and their wife's families) with a lack of respect. While some individuals may welcome such independence, the example of H-2 and his sons seems to indicate that other wealthy migrants may have such independent attitudes forced upon them by what they feel is parental neglect.

A somewhat similar situation occurred in household 19 (listed as having K102 in 1982). Although H-19's oldest son paid the school fees of his younger siblings in 1982, he did not support his father's exchange activities during Yandera's poi nomu (a fact which resulted in a great deal of embarrassment for H-19, who was relying on his son to help him). Although I did not have an opportunity to question H-19 on his motives, I was told by several migrants that H-19's son was angry with his father for not supporting his plans to get married. A number of villagers expressed the opinion that H-19 wanted to delay his son's marriage so that he (H-19) could use his son's money to advance his own interests. H-19 was of a different opinion entirely, however, and asserted that he needed his son's assistance to protect both their interests, namely the protection of family lands against the claims of other men (men whose claims were made more valid when they were the main contributors to a kwiagi held for H-19's FB and FBW). As both the case of household 2 and the case of household 19 suggest, rural inequality is not a simple phenomenon, but rather a complex one which cannot be fully understood without taking into consideration the feelings or cultural expectations of the actors.

#### An old man's game

In my discussion on the organizers of Yandera's poi nomu (in Chapter Six), I referred to an older big man named Gene, who along with my father, Ruge, made the decision as to when Yandera's pig kill would be held. Gene is an example of what I call a super big man, a big man whose influence within (and beyond) the Gende

community has persisted over a long period of time and seems likely to continue for a long time to come, despite his announcement in 1982 that he was stepping down from active leadership so that he might go into "retirement" in the natal village of one of his wives. His life a blend of the traditional and non-traditional, Gene has created a power base which rivals that of younger big men.

#### Case 2. A Super Big Man.

Living in Guiebi [7] when the first missionaries arrived there in 1932, Gene (about 18 or 20 years old at the time) became a cook for the missionaries and was one of the first Gende to learn Pidgin English. Because he knew Pidgin English and was eager to associate with the newcomers, when the first government patrols entered the area, a patrol officer appointed Gene to be a bosboi (P.E.), or kind of "overseer" of the Gende people for the colonial administration. Later, he was given the more formal title of tultul (P.E.), and finally, luluai (P.E.).

During his reign as intermediary and local leader for the government, Gene was responsible for organizing work parties to construct roads and footpaths connecting the different Gende settlements with the government station at Bundi as well as building rest houses in each village for government officers to use when they were on patrol. He was also given authority to arrest villagers for a variety of offenses (including participation in tribal fighting). After World War II, Gene was instrumental in

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[7] Guiebi is the Gende settlement where many members of Yandima Clan fled to during their battles with Karasokara and Emegari.

getting fellow clansmen to return to Yandera (from Guiebi and other locations) to be counted in a census and to once again build homes and plant gardens there.

At the same time as he was involved in promoting mission and government interests in the region, Gene was fast becoming a man of importance along more traditional lines. The oldest son of a man with five wives and many daughters (in addition to being one of only two of his father's sons to reach maturity), Gene had numerous wives of his own before he was thirty years of age (around the time of World War II). While some men his age experimented with wage labor or contract work on coastal plantations, Gene stayed home and tended to his duties as a local government official and helped his wives in the gardens. Using pigs raised by his wives, Gene invested in the marriages and children of most of his clan brothers (as well as in men and women in other clans) so that by the time he was forty years old (around 1952) he was already a major big man. In the years since then, Gene has been the recipient of a constant flow of wealth (both cash and pigs) from his many 'sons' and 'daughters' (including his own children), which has enabled him to extend his influence well beyond the range of most big men.

Today, with increasing income differences among villagers, the necessity of including cash (or store-bought items) in most exchange payments, inflation, and an unpredictable job market, it has become possible for otherwise average men and women to achieve prestige and influence relatively late in life, when their fortunes are suddenly reversed by a raise in their children's salaries or a child's promotion to a higher ranking and higher-paid position in

their work in town. Men and women who were once known as minor players in the game, are accorded new respect as younger men and women look to them for the kinds of support which may not be forthcoming in their relationships with their own parents and other exchange partners.

Case 3. A sudden rise in influence.

In 1982, an older couple in a village not far from Yandera were supporting in one way or another almost half the village's population, or close to 100 people. The old couple's support ranged from paying the school fees (K6 per child in 1982) of about twenty children who were attending the primary school at Yandera and loaning small amounts of cash to men who wanted to visit their migrant children in town, to investing fairly large sums of cash (K20-K100) in the marriages of their kinsmen's children and serving meals of rice and cooked fish about once a week to gatherings of ten or more of their relatives and neighbors. While the scale of this couple's transactions does not match that of Gene's, it has given them a kind of retroactive respectability even though their recent display of 'bigness' is founded almost entirely on their son's generosity to them.

Whether by design or not, by indirectly investing in other people through his parents, the old couple's son is creating parents who more closely reflect his own high status and renown for being a generous person who is always ready to give a helping hand to relatives and other wantok in town. In this particular instance it wasn't clear whether or not the young man was aware of what he was doing, since on several occasions in the past he invited his

parents to live with him in town (which they did for about a year) so that they might not, in his words, "be pestered by constant requests for money". In other cases that I know of, however, wealthy children have consciously set about 'raising their parents' names' (P.E. uoin nem bilong ol papamama) and reputations as a means of validating their own status and/or legitimating claims to village lands and future support from fellow clansmen, in addition to satisfying a desire to 'be good to their parents' (P.E. mekim gut long papamama) for the care they have received from them.

Regardless of what the old couple's son may think, his parents enjoyed their newly acquired pre-eminence and their ability to play the roles of 'mother' and 'father' to so many 'children'. Although both were rather quiet persons who often said very little, they enjoyed being surrounded by a group of boisterous and well-fed children and having a group of younger men and women gather in their haus tamane (communal house) to spend long hours discussing their plans and concerns. Rather than retreat to their garden house as some wealthy persons do (to limit demands on their generosity), the old couple sought out involvement with others.

Case 4. A greedy father? Or an impatient son.

If belated wealth can sometimes be a solution to the problem of "who will bury me?", it also can be a source of contention between the generations when an old man's game conflicts with his son's plans of someday becoming a big man. In Chapter Six, I described a situation in which an older man (H-40 in Tables 8.1 and 8.2) defaulted on his obligation to be one of the main contributors to his deceased wife's death payment party, even though he had been



a recent recipient of a large sum of money (allegedly K1000) given him by a migrant son. Held just weeks before Yandera's poi nomu in 1982, the kwiagi was an important stage in his oldest son's (an older brother of the migrant who gave K1000 to H-40) political career. Having fulfilled their tupoi debts, H-40's son and his son's wife were making their debut as poi nomu participants. In addition to being joint sponsors (along with H-40) of the kwiagi, H-40's son and his wife were planning to kill six pigs to give to their new poi nomu exchange partners. Although H-40's son's first poi nomu would not establish him as a big man, his performance was intended to show others that he was a man worth noticing. With his mother's kwiagi out of the way, H-40's son would be free (at least until his father died) to invest his wealth in a large network of future supporters.

H-40, however, had other plans for the K1000, and was content to allow other men to invest in his wife's kwiagi. As already mentioned in Chapter Six, this infuriated H-40's son, who from then on refused to have anything to do with his father and demanded that his wife and younger siblings do likewise. By withholding the K1000, H-40 created new debts which, if he did not repay them before he died, would have to be paid by his sons. In his son's eyes, H-40's plans to build a beer tavern in Yandera seemed risky and unlikely to succeed since the beer would have to be carried in from Gembogl or Bundi (each about eight hours walk from Yandera).

For H-40, having K1000 gave him a renewed sense of authority since it gave him the capital to once again become an active player in the game. Planning to invest the money in a business so that he

might use the profits to invest in his children's and grandchildren's futures, H-40 believed that he was more far-sighted than his son. In H-40's opinion, his son was too impatient for glory to see that by allowing others to invest in the Kwiagi he and his son could outfox the Kwiagi contributors when they paid the debt back with generous interest. Such conflicts of interest and tension between the generations were fairly common in 1982 and 1983. Although Gende fathers and sons have undoubtedly always had their differences, H-40's case suggests that inequality can aggravate the differences by giving either parents or children an unfair advantage over the other.

#### The value of a woman's work

In Chapter Seven, I discussed the devaluation of women's production in the cases of several young women who are (or were) married to wealthy migrants. With large salaries of their own, the husbands of these young women were economically independent of their wives. This is hardly the case for most men, however, and women's production, in spite of the inroads wage labor and urban remittances have made into the local economy, continues to be a mainstay of Gende society. Some older women have benefitted from a situation in which inequality, inflation, and uncertain incomes have made it necessary for other men and women to rely on them for assistance so that they may achieve high status or at least break even in the game of social life.

Case 5. A woman who knows who will bury her.

One older woman who long ago ceased to worry about who would

bury her is Mary. Twice widowed before she was thirty years old, Mary returned home to her father's village (which is not Yandera) where she raised her three children with the help of her brothers. To repay her brothers for their assistance in clearing gardens for her, Mary has given them one or two pigs from each herd of pigs she has raised over the years. Having fulfilled her tupoi obligations before the deaths of her husbands and there being no necessity for her to pay childwealth to her brothers, Mary is in many respects her own woman.

Even before her children were grown, Mary had begun investing pigs in an extensive network of exchange partners. When some of her investments began to pay off in the late sixties and seventies, Mary was able to help her brothers and her son stage a poi nomu. During Yandera's 1982 poi nomu, Mary was both a recipient and a contributor, receiving pork on the basis of exchange relations she initiated during her own village's poi nomu, and, in turn, contributing to Yandera poi nomu by raising pigs for her daughter (who is married to a man in Yandera) and loaning money to her son-in-law so that he could buy food to feed his guests at the pig feast.

Mary has achieved so much credit in both her own and other clans that many of her debtors worry about the question of who ought to receive the funeral and kwiagi pigs/pork when Mary dies? Mary is fond of saying that no one has to kill any pigs when she dies since she has already paid for her own funeral. Her debtors response is to take exceptionally good care of Mary while she is still alive, always bringing her gifts of pork and other good things to eat and closely attending to her needs whenever she is

not feeling well.

Other women, while they may not make out as well as Mary, have also turned their willingness to work into profits for themselves and their families. A number of women whose husbands are either dead or too feeble to be of much help to them, have entered into mutually beneficial relationships with younger men, who are ambitious (and in some cases wealthy) but who, because of their adherence to Christian values, have only one wife to help them achieve their desires to become big men. Several older women in Yandera, by raising pigs for the local manager of the mining camp in return for cash remuneration, have been able to help their sons (who were in their late twenties or early thirties at the time) to finally get married by contributing both cash and pigs to their future daughters-in-law's brideprice payments.

### Separate Tables

One of the effects of inequality among village households has been the exclusion of persons from poorer households (and some wealthier households) from the daily round of visiting and exchange which characterizes everyday social interaction among Gende villagers (e.g. sharing meals, helping others with their chores, making small loans of cash, sharing the bounty of abundant harvests or successful hunting trips, babysitting for a neighbor's children, and so on). Since Gende society is organized on a principle of reciprocity and not redistribution, persons who are most likely to be excluded are persons who are too poor (or too selfish) to make

regular contributions to the general round of give and take. Those persons who are hardest hit are the elderly, many of whom suffer a reduction in their standard of living because of their inability (or unwillingness) to reciprocate the generosity of others.

In her paper "Redistribution Within the Village - Can We Rely On It?" (1981), Louise Morauta raised the question of whether or not redistribution modified or lessened income differences among Kukipi households in the Malalaua District of Gulf Province (located in southern Papua New Guinea). Discovering that income differences among Kukipi villagers were not relieved by redistribution, Morauta went on to link unrelieved income differences to the decisions of persons from poorer households to migrate away from the village.

In Yandera, I have looked at a society which has a much broader range of exchange relationships and a greater interdependence among individuals than is the case among the Kukipi (whose predominant form of exchange relationship is that between parents and children). Nevertheless, although Gende individuals must rely on one another to help them through the various stages of the life cycle and to fulfill major exchange obligations, and although the unreliability and irregularity of urban remittances (and other sources of income) has encouraged a certain amount of redistribution (most notably though gambling, which will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter Nine), long-term poverty and/or a frequent failure on the part of an individual to reciprocate the exchanges of others almost always results in his or her social isolation and the withdrawal of other individuals' support.

To test the observation that people in the village were more ready to give to persons who are able (or likely to be able) to make a return on their investments, I carried out a short four-week survey on daily exchanges among a set of thirteen households in Yandera, all of whom were members of the same clan. The survey was carried out during the taim bilong hangri ('the hungry time'). This is a period of time which occurs every year during the rainy season - a time when new gardens are not yet producing and families have to rely for food on whatever is left in their old gardens. In 1983, the annual taim bilong hangri was aggravated by the recent pig kill. Many gardens had been thoroughly depleted in order to feed the guests at the poi nomu. Because there was a greater than usual need for redistribution, or sharing (some households had been harder hit than others), I expected to find that the 13 households would exhibit a fair amount of sharing among themselves in order to survive this period of stress. What I discovered, however, was that although there was a great deal of visiting and sharing that went on among seven of the thirteen households, the others were set adrift so to speak, and had to make out as best they could on their own.

Among the seven households (1-7 in Table 8.3 below) which formed a mini exchange community during most of the 1983 rainy season, only three (numbers 1, 5, and 7) had any income to speak of during the four weeks of the survey. Two of the seven households' earnings (numbers 2 and 3) came entirely from gambling winnings obtained from other households in the mini exchange set. During the four weeks, households 1, 5, and 7 entertained frequently,

serving their guests (members of households 2, 3, 4, and 6 but not members of the other households in the survey) meals of rice, tinned fish, and tea. Two of the four households who had little or no money during the rainy season, were able to contribute food from their gardens (which were not as depleted as the gardens of older men and women who had played a bigger role in Yandera's poi nomu) to the communal meals. The other two households were invited to the meals on the basis of acts of generosity on their part during times in the past when they had greater access to cash.

Although the above households were all members of one sub-clan (the head of household 6 was actually born into another clan, but had since joined forces with his wife's brothers), kinship per se was not one of the determining factors in who was or was not included in the mini exchange set. Two households which were not included in the exchange set were households number 8 and 9. Household number 8 consisted of an old man (the same old man who was given K1000 by a migrant son but did not spend any of it on his wife's kwiagi) and his youngest son (about 20 years old). Although the head of household 8 is the father of one of the seven household heads and a father's brother to the others, he had been isolated from the mini exchange set ever since he had angered his oldest son and others by not contributing to his wife's kwiagi. During the rainy season, the old man used some of his savings and money from a migrant daughter to buy food for himself and his youngest son. Angry over his son's stubborn refusal to have anything to do with him, the old man left Yandera during the fourth week of the survey, vowing never to return to the village. His youngest son, who cuts

Table 8.3 Income and expenditures among 13 households during a four-week period in 1983.

<u>Family</u>	<u>Income</u>	<u>Source</u>	<u>Outlay</u>	<u>Expenditures</u>
1	K123.40	gambling (33.90) remittances (26.50) savings (63.00)	K 82.90	gambling (23.40) exchange (26.00) food (24.30) other (9.20) [a]
2	K 6.00	gambling	K 5.60	gambling (2.20) food (2.20) other (1.20)
3	K 4.00	gambling	K 1.20	food (1.00) other (0.20)
4	None			
5	K102.00	Savings (100.00) gambling (2.00)	K 15.80	gambling (4.00) food (9.90) other (1.90)
6	None			
7	K116.50	Gambling (34.00) market (2.50) gold (80.00)	K116.50	exchange (10.00) food (7.10) business (87.70) other (1.70)
8	K926.00	Savings (900.00) remittances (26.00)	K 28.10	food (5.00) other (0.60)
9	K 8.20	gambling (2.00) market (6.20)	K 8.20	exchange (4.00) food (4.20)
10	K 14.90	credit	K 14.90	food (7.90) other (1.00)
11	None			
12	None			
13	None			

[a] "other" includes tobacco, betel nut, and kerosene



firewood and babysits for his brother's wife was not included in the vendetta against his father. When his father left the village, he ate meals at his older brother's house.

The head of household 9 is a father's brother's son of the heads of the mini exchange set. Returning home to the village after working in town for 14 years, the ex-migrant and his new wife became embroiled in a conflict over land which had been set aside for him when he was a young man. The ex-migrant's claims to the land had long been compromised by his failure to send home adequate remittances to older relatives, who made up for their losses by allowing another man to use the land in return for his support. Since their new gardens were not yet producing, H-9 and his wife sold fried bread in the local market to buy food for themselves during the rainy season. With nothing left over to share with others, H-9 and his wife spent most of this period in their garden house away from the village. For H-9, a sense of shame and fear of criticism kept him away. Knowing that his relatives might feel forced [8] to share food with him (or worse, ignore him) if he tried to visit them in their homes, H-9 came into the village only on market days.

The four remaining households in the survey (10-13) were composed of two sets of brothers. The first set (10 and 11) consisted of a widower with six children (10), his brother and

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[8] It is considered bad manners as well as dangerous to eat food in front of someone without offering to share it with them (see Chapter Four on sorcery).

sister-in-law and their four children, and the father of the two brothers (included in household 11). Although his daughter and sister-in-law help him in his gardens, H-10's gardens were at no time large enough to feed him and his children. During most of the survey period, H-10 and his children were fed from the gardens of household 11. H-10's brother and father, burdened with the care and feeding of so many dependents and having no income during this time, were not able to be generous to other village families.

Nevertheless, because H-11 and his father had been generous in the past, other villagers felt sorry for them and expressed a desire to share their resources with them. H-11 and his father, however, were ashamed by their poverty and chose to stay in their garden house during most of the rainy season, rather than put others in a position where they might have to feed them. During the final week of the survey, H-11 and his father were given "surreptitious" help when the manager of the mining camp hired H-10 to do some work at the camp and allowed him to buy food on credit from the camp's store. While H-10 shared this food with his father and his brother's family, he did not share it with any other families (thereby hardening public opinion against himself).

The remaining set of brothers (12 and 13) suffered real hunger during the rainy season since they had no money to buy food to supplement the meager pickings in their gardens. One of the brothers (12) had a reputation for being a generous man in the past (both brothers were in their late 50's), but his finances had been in arrears for so long that other men and women were of the opinion that he would never get out of debt. A number of men and women

said that they felt sorry for him, but even so, no one offered a helping hand to him during the taim bilong hangri.

H-12's troubles included more than hunger, however. Several months before the survey, his wife had left the village after she was accused of committing sorcery against another woman's gardens. From Yandera, H-12's wife went to the town where her oldest son is working, hoping that he would give her money to help feed her family during the taim bilong hangri as well as money that she and her husband could use to pay back a debt to the husband of the woman who had accused of her sorcery. Her visit dragged on, however, and three months later she had not yet returned to Yandera. In the meantime, her husband had even further troubles to contend with. Although he was rarely seen in the village, he did occasionally come in on market days although he never bought anything. One market day, he was the center of an argument which erupted when the wife of one of his clan brothers discovered that food had been stolen from her garden. She accused H-12 of stealing the food, and berated him in front of the market crowd for being tardy in paying back money he had borrowed from her husband during the poi nomu and causing her family to be hungry during this time. Village sympathy was on the side of the woman and H-12 left the market in shame. A month before I left Yandera, H-12 and his brother left the village with the intention of going to live with H-12's son. H-12's children, who were enrolled in Yandera's primary school, were left in the care of an older woman until such time as H-12 could send for them.

While H-8 and H-12 had migrant children to turn to when things

became too much for them in the village, and other elderly parents have an open invitation to join their children in town, not every older person in the village has an urban option. In many cases, migrant children do not earn enough money to take on the extra burden of feeding and caring for their aging parents. Often it seems more economical to leave parents in the village (where, it is believed, they can fend for themselves) at least until they become so feeble that they can no longer shove a digging stick into the ground and plant sweet potatoes.

In some poor families, there are no migrant children. For the aging parents of such families, the end of the road is the garden house (their own or their children's), where they live out their final years in loneliness and poverty, cut off from the society of former friends and relatives. Such was the case for Lapun Timbe and his wife, the elderly parents of the boy who was accused of setting fire to my mother's tradestore. Hounded out of the village because neither they nor their oldest son were able to pay compensation for the fire, and with no income, Timbe and his family spent the rainy season in virtually total isolation from the rest of the community. I have no idea how badly the old couple suffered from this humiliation because I never saw them again. I did, however, see Timbe's oldest son on the day I left Yandera. Thinner and more somber than he had been six months before, he told me that he was planning to look for work in town so that he might help his family.

#### Leaving the village

Older men and women leave the village for many reasons. In

some cases they are forced out of the village because they have reneged on their obligations once too often, or because they are the victims of sorcery accusations and/or neglect. In other cases, they leave voluntarily, eager to see their children (or other relatives) and to experience the amenities of town life, or anxious to leave the pressures of village life behind them and to retire to a more leisurely way of life in town.

In many cases, older men and women eventually return home, in spite of earlier claims that they were leaving the village and never coming back. In some cases they return home because town life has not lived up to their expectations, or because they are bored or frightened or even confused by what is a very different way of life than that found in the village. In other cases, they return home when their children give them the stakes to make a fresh start in the village (e.g. money to start a tradestore business or to pay old debts) or when it turns out that their migrant children (or other exchange partners) cannot afford to look after them properly.

In 1982, the proportion of long-term or permanent migrants among older Gende men and women was still quite small. Nevertheless, older men and women make frequent and sometimes lengthy visits to town, and for many elderly Gende, 'leaving home' (whether or not they actually do so) has become an important playing card in their efforts to cope with or overcome the effects of inequality upon their lives.

When an older person threatens to "leave home" (P.E. lusim ples), the threat is often made with the intention of causing stay-

at-home children (or other men and women in the village) to pay closer attention to their parents' needs and interests. Repeated references to "leaving home" carry with them an implicit (and sometimes spoken) threat that when the speaker leaves, the benefits which others have enjoyed by having him or her around will cease. One old man who successfully used this tactic to get his oldest son to help him pay back an old debt (at a time when his oldest son had pressing debts of his own to attend to), threatened his son with the loss of income from a migrant brother. In the past, whenever the old man's migrant son sent home remittances, he sent along a smaller amount of cash for his older brother. During 1982 and 1983, the size of the remittances dropped off (although the migrant was making more money than ever) and the old man's younger son wrote several letters requesting that his father and mother come to live with him and his wife in town. Knowing that his younger brother was not particularly fond of him, and that he would undoubtedly stop sending remittances to him when their parents were living in town, the older son (who had no other source of cash) was vulnerable to his father's maneuvers.

Just as the threat of leaving children behind in the village can have beneficial results for an older game player, the threat of moving in on a migrant son or daughter can also advance an older person's interests. Many (if not most) of the visits which the elderly make to town are made with the object of getting a migrant exchange partner to fulfill their obligations, or for the purpose of borrowing money or obtaining support for an exchange event back in the village. When the desired object of the visit is not forth-

coming, older persons often dig their heels in and prepare to stay until it does. In the meantime, their hosts are forced to feed them (or to pretend that they have no food) and to face their grim stares or cutting remarks.

When a migrant is unable to satisfy the claims of a visitor from the village, and it seems likely that the visitor does not intend to return home until he (or she) has gotten what he came for, the migrant may stage a going away party for the visitor as a means of getting rid of him (or her). At such parties, friends and relatives in the urban Gende community give small gifts of cash to the visitor. If enough people attend, the gifts of K2, K5, K10, or K20, may add up to a sizeable sum of cash, in some cases as much as K500 or more. For their part, the hosts of the party are expected to serve food and drink to the assembled guests. According to my informants, the best parties of this type are ones at which pork is served.

Not all such parties are a success, however, and visitors may be forced to go home empty-handed, or very nearly so. When this happens, a migrant knows that one more strand in the rope of exchange which links him or her with the village has been severed.

#### A question of identity

Because so much of their lives depend upon maintaining reciprocal relations of exchange with other persons, recent disparities in wealth have put enormous pressure upon Gende relationships, making them brittle and susceptible of long-lasting damage when individuals discover that they can no longer rely on others to

return their support.

When relationships break down, the parties to the relationship experience a sense of loss and a diminishing of self. For the Gende, a good deal of knowing who one is, is knowing who one's exchange partners are. For it is through exchange partners that one becomes attached to a particular place and to the people who made that place what it is. The name that one is given at birth reflects this interdependency as much as the size of one's kwiaqi reflects one's own importance to or interconnectedness with others.

When others fail to hold up their end of the bargain, one's very identity is threatened. When a migrant son fails to support his father and he, in turn, cannot fulfill his own obligations, both men are in danger of losing important elements in their claims to being "good men" and not "rubbish men". Likewise, a son whose father fails to support him, may feel himself to be an "orphan" who has no place to go to, or like a "pig" who has no control over his own life.

When individual Gende talk about their predicament, they sometimes use the pronoun "we", in order to express the fact that their failures are related to others's failures. Expressions such as mipela Gende stap olsem pik ("we live like pigs") or mipela rabis ("we are rubbish") encode a sense of interdependence and common responsibility for failure. This sense (as well as the reality) of interdependence generates conflict at the same time as it compels individuals to seek solutions to their mutual problems. In the preceding chapters, there has been much discussion of the factors involved in individual migration decisions. In many cases, I have



shown that it is not the individual alone who makes the decision to leave the village or to remain at home, but rather it is the state of his or her relations with other men and women which determines whether or not an individual will migrate.

Although it is not always apparent from my description of certain conflicts of interest and individual schemes to get ahead that the Gende are, in general, a good and caring people, it does become more evident when one looks (as I have) at long-term strategies. In Part III I will be looking at two forms of behavior - gambling and the Bundi Strike - which suggest that the Gende are concerned about their mutual futures.

### PART THREE - THE NEW GAME

The Gende, of course, are not content to see themselves as rubbish men or 'pigs', and have, in recent years, participated in several innovative efforts to redeem their humanity and to remedy some of the harmful social effects of inequality and uncertainty. One of the more interesting is the use of gambling to reduce income differences and give losers in the old game a chance to win in a new social context - the card game. Of all the 'gifts' brought home by migrants, games of chance were, perhaps, the most precious. Recasting European card games to fit their own particular needs and self-image, the Gende created a system of reciprocity which not only supports the old game and ongoing social interaction but also provides an arena where new forms of social identity can be tested.

"Mipela nogat wok, pilai kas tasol". - A card player

"Our only [local] source of income comes from playing cards".

"Kas em i gutpela wok bilong mipela". - Another card player

"Card playing is our good deed".

## Chapter Nine: THE NEW GAME - PIG FEASTS AND CARD GAMES

On the Monday morning after the poi nomu, almost the entire village congregated in front of my father's house, drawn there by the angry shouts of an old man. Upset by the news that one of his exchange partners was in the infirmary at Bundi Station after a fight over a woman with a young man from Yandera, he shouted that the people of Bundi would come and kill them all if their 'brother' died. His information had come from two women, who had accompanied their sister-in-law part of the way to Bundi earlier that morning. Warned by some Karasokara men that the Bundis were angry over the small share of pork they had received from the 'wife-stealing' Yandekaris, the two women abandoned their sister-in-law and rushed back to the village to warn others to stay away from Bundi.

After the initial commotion had died down and the crowd had dissipated, those who remained broke up into smaller groups to discuss the situation. A few men and women from Tundega Clan began clearing away the debris left over from the pig kill and distribution of pork, while others began tearing down one of the empty guesthouses for firewood. Loaded down with their worldly possessions, an older couple and their two unmarried sons set off for their garden house amidst a rush of tearful goodbyes and embraces. Like several other families who had left at dawn, they were in a hurry to finish planting their sweet potato gardens before the rains began.

As the sun rose higher in the sky, those who were working stopped what they were doing to join in the conversations, which

were becoming agitated once again. Several individuals were despondent over their performances during the poi nomu or ranting bitterly over the failure of migrant relatives to come to their aid. Others gloomily predicted that it 'would not matter if the Bundis killed them', for they would not live to see the end of the rainy season since they had depleted their gardens to feed guests who seemed to have bottomless stomachs. The old man pointed out the futility of having pig feasts, which brought glory to the names of only a few men and trouble to the rest. A number of men grumbled their agreement, and a distraught woman cried that her daughter, who had left the village the day before to work for a migrant 'brother, would find a husband in town and they [herself and the other villagers] would not receive a brideprice for her.

At that point, my father stood up and announced a 'two-week holiday' during which everyone would play cards. When some men and women protested that there was too much work to be done in the gardens, he ignored them and offered to play tri-lip ('three-leaf', a card game) with whomever wished to challenge him. By late afternoon, my father had lost over K50 (\$75) to three men, who then went on to form the nuclei of three new games. By early evening, the gloom of the morning had evaporated, and there was an air of conviviality and excitement among the growing number of card players and those who watched them play.

Although by that time I was quite familiar with the Gende's seemingly endless fascination with card playing and gambling, and could see that my father was making people 'feel good' by giving them a chance to win some of his money, there were at the time many

things about Gende card playing, and the incident described above, which I did not understand. Why, for example, did the card playing 'vacation' go on for a month (instead of the original two weeks), when after a few days, the money my father had lost in the initial card game was distributed in small amounts among countless individuals in the village and beyond? And why, when people were complaining that they had no food to eat and must hurry to plant their gardens before the rainy season began, did so many men and women set aside their work in the gardens to play cards for so little 'profit'? Furthermore, what, if anything, was the relationship of card playing to the exchange event so recently completed?

The answers to my questions had to wait for the time being since I was busy collecting data on the transactions I had come to observe - namely, exchanges of pigs and money, and so on. Eventually, however, I realized that there were infinitely more transactions going on in the context of card games than those I expected to study (e.g. traditional exchange, urban remittances). This raised many questions: Does card playing contribute to income differences? Or, does it result in a more equitable distribution of cash? If the latter, how does card playing achieve redistribution? What motivates individuals in different economic situations to play? And what, if any, positive social values accrue from so much card playing? More specifically, what role might card playing have in perpetuating social interaction and the general and continual flow of wealth necessary for Gende society to 'work'? My first question, however, was simply "Why do the Gende

play cards so much?"

Mipela pilai kas tasol

"All we do is play cards."

The day after I arrived in Yandera, I was taken by a 'sister' to watch my 'mother' play cards. Several men and women were sitting around an old towel, placed on the damp ground as a 'card table'. Others sat nearby, intent on the game, voicing opinions about players' moves. Thirty feet away, another game was in progress, made up of women. This game had its own observers, including the women's husbands. When it began to rain, the games moved inside. Children were sent to buy kerosene for my mother's lamp. The other game moved into the house of a man who rents his lantern to card players.

From then until I left, not a day passed without a card game being played somewhere in the village, at times as many as seven. Some games were over in an afternoon, others continued for weeks. When not playing, card players would spend hours recounting the day's games, walking from one end of the village to the other to discover who had played and how much money had changed hands.

As I became familiar with the inhabitants of Yandera and nearby villages, I saw that most adults, including some village leaders, councillors, church and school officials, play cards and that many play regularly. Play goes on in spite of the fact that card playing is generally held in low esteem by mission, govern-

ment, and even some card players as a source of poverty and conflict. Whenever missionaries or government officials were around, or an angry villager berated card players for their 'evil' ways, the only concession made was to move games to houses at the edge of the village or to clearings on paths outside the village. I once came upon such a game in front of my outhouse!

My own first impressions were mixed. The harsher criticisms of card playing seemed groundless. I witnessed little physical violence over cards, although occasional shouting and hitting matches erupted between a husband and wife when one or the other played with money intended for an exchange payment. There was less evidence that card playing kept people from their work. When necessary, regulars went off to work in their gardens for a week at a time. In the village, husbands would babysit and sometimes even cook the evening meal while their wives played cards.

Sitting in the bright sun for hours, waiting for someone to stop playing or watching cards long enough for me to carry out an interview, my most negative feeling was that card playing is an annoying waste of time. In most games players set themselves a limit and leave a particular game after losing K2 (\$1.35). It didn't seem likely that anyone would become poor (or rich) from card playing: money was always circulating and there were dizzying turnovers of winners and losers.

I might have ignored the problem of why the Gende play cards so much were it not for persons closest to me who persisted in taking me to see card games and telling me, in their own way, that card playing was important and had something to do with what I had

come to study. On that first day, a young woman told me, "People who play cards always have money to buy things to give to others".

It became evident that card playing was significant and ultimately related to income differences generated by wage labor and urban remittances. I rarely saw people play cards without betting money and some individuals' only income was from card playing. Moreover, whenever migrants came home for a visit and on the few occasions when back wages were paid at the mining camp, there was a dramatic increase in card playing. Pay day at the camp saw scores of players show up along with those receiving wages. Games would spring up around the camp and slowly spread down into the village as winners carried their earnings into new games.

Far from seeing it as a waste of time, I now believed that card playing contributed to a more equitable distribution of cash throughout the community. Furthermore, I began to suspect that individuals were as concerned to decrease relative income differences between themselves and others as they were to increase their gross income. Support for this interpretation came from the evaluations players make when deciding which game to play and the formation of partnerships against wealthier players.

### Kambre!

Almost the first expression I learned in the Gende language was Kambre!, or 'Deal!'. When money is down and the cards are dealt, the game is most often tri-lip ('three-leaf') or seven. Both games are played with poker decks from which jokers have been removed. At the beginning of a hand, cards are shuffled by the dealer and



cut by the player to dealer's right. Cards are dealt face down, one at a time, from left to right. After each hand the deal passes to the player at dealer's left. There is no limit on the number of players, however three or four is the preferred number.

### Tri-lip [1]

To begin a hand of tri-lip, players place their bets and are dealt three cards. The object of the game is to have 'high score'. Each player counts the value of his cards. Players with low scores throw down their cards right away or bury them in the deck. Players who suspect they have the highest score pause, thereby heightening the drama, before throwing their cards down with a flourish. If two players have 'high score', the game is a draw, bets are left in the center, and a new hand is dealt for all players.

Scoring: 1) "10" - numbered cards are added. If they total more than 10, increments of 10 are subtracted until the score is 10 or below.

Example: 4,2,1 = 7 (winning hand)

7,3,2 = 2

10,10,3 = 3

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[1] Tri-lip, as it is played by the Gende, is virtually identical to the game of 'lucky' described by Brandewie (1967) for the Mt. Hagen area. (cf. Laycock 1966 and 1967 for variations of Lucky in the Sepik and Rabaul areas. Laycock also describes Seven in his 1967 article).

Several combinations can beat a high score of 10:

2) "Brown" - a player has brown when holding an ace and two spades, two kings, two queens, two jacks, or two tens. When two players have brown at the same time, an ace and two spades beats an ace and two kings, and so on in descending order.

3) "Face cards" - holding any combination of three face cards beats brown or "10". An ace is not a face card.

Example: King, queen, jack

queen, queen, jack

King, jack, jack (winning hand)

4) "Full" - the highest hand is full: holding three of the same cards, such as three jacks or three fours. Ace full beats king full, and so on in descending order.

### Seven

In a game of seven, bets are made and each player is dealt seven cards. The remaining cards are placed face down in the center except for the top card which is turned face up to form the discard pile. The object is to be the first to dispose of all seven cards. To do this players must make combinations of cards which can be laid down:

1) three or four of a kind (e.g. 3 threes, 4 aces)

2) three or more consecutive cards (e.g. 4,5,6 of Hearts)

3) cards which can be joined to a combination already laid down by another player, and

4) a final reject card which cannot be joined to a combination already laid down by another player, but which may be joined

to the player's own combinations.

Play proceeds as each player pulls a card from the face-up discard pile or the pile of unused cards. After pulling a card a player must discard a card. If a player has pulled a card from the discard pile he must lay down a complete combination on the table (e.g. three of a kind or three consecutive). Once a combination is laid down others may begin to hold cards in their hands which can be added to this combination. Seven requires strategy in assessing the discards of others and deciding whether or not to pursue certain combinations. If a hand is not over when the unused pile is finished, the discard pile is reshuffled, turned face down except for the top card, and play resumes.

After observing games of tri-lip and seven for months, I felt confident that one factor - the relative income of the players - had an important part in determining, in any particular game, which of the two card games would be chosen, the combination of players, and the stakes. In general, tri-lip was played when the stakes were high or one of the players had significantly more 'loose' cash than the other players (as may be the case when a winner from a high stakes game becomes the nucleus of a low stakes game). Seven was associated with low stakes games in which the players were more evenly matched.

A game of pure chance involving rapid play and no skill other than reading the cards, tri-lip is recognized as giving a player who begins with only the initial stake, the same chance as any other player of ending the game holding most of the winnings. On

the other hand, seven is a slower and more complex game than tri-lip. When income differences among potential players are small, skilled seven players say there is less to be gained by playing a chancy game such as tri-lip. This decision forces less skillful challengers to choose whether to play or not on the basis of how 'lucky' they feel that day or how badly they need money and want to win.

Players may solve this dilemma by convincing another player to kampani ('company') with them and pilai birua ('play enemy') against a more skilled or wealthier player. In a game of seven, kampani partners will arrange privately to sit beside one another so that one player can discard cards he believes to be useful to his partner's hand. After the game is over, kampani partners will share their combined winnings.

The strategy of kampani is even more effective in tri-lip, in which there is always the chance that a wealthier player will have a run of luck and poorer players will be forced to leave the game early. In tri-lip, if a kampani partner runs out of money, the other partner will give him money to keep him in the game, thereby increasing their chances as a set of winning. Players who kampani play their hands separately but agree to share their wins and losses. If one player ends the game with K50 and the other K20, they will each leave the game with K35. If one wins K50 but the other has lost K20 in the game, the winning partner will have a net gain of only K25 and the other K5 (K20 being used during play to pay off his losses). Players who kampani help one another to stay in the game long enough to turn the odds against the player with

more money.

The process of choosing partners - like that of selecting which game to play, who will play, and the stakes - is also influenced by relative income. Players and non-players alike keep close tabs on others' finances, including a daily check on the flow of money throughout the game network. Players who kampani in one game may pilai birua against one another in a new game. A change of fortune can turn a partner into a challenger overnight. Even husbands and wives will pilai birua against one another. In one instance, a woman received K250 from her daughter so she might start a tradestore in the village. Unbeknownst to the woman, her husband had other ideas for the money, and he and another man partnered against her in a game of tri-lip. The woman quickly lost her money. The husband gave her K20 to cool her anger.

#### No one loses in cards [2]

Curiously enough, while it was evident that money was changing

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[2] Brandewie (1967) notes the similarity between card playing and exchange: both result in social interaction and "by extending the range of one's social contacts one gets prestige" (p.50). He suggests that social factors may account for the rapid spread of Lucky throughout New Guinea, but does not link this with economic factors other than "a desire to make fast, easy money" (p. 49). His anecdotes about people "squandering" money in games, however, is reminiscent of the Gende's seeming indifference to 'losing' money in card games.

hands and that relative income judgments effected players' game strategies, my interpretation of card playing as moving cash from the wealthy to the poor and redistributing income equitably was not exactly shared by card players themselves.

I was often puzzled by players who did not seem to associate losing at cards with losing money. On one occasion, a man was complaining to anyone who would listen that he had no money to pay his children's school fees, yet I knew that he had recently received money from a brother in town. When I reminded him of this, he looked perplexed and then said, "Oh! That money! I played cards and K... has it now".

An important contradiction to my hypothesis was that players maintained that, at least within the local area, winners always had to be ready to give losers opportunities to win their money back. When an unhappy loser threatened to break up a card game or become violent, other players would placate him or her, arguing "Sometimes you win and sometimes you lose. That's the way cards are", or "You don't have to worry. Your money isn't gone, it isn't stolen. You know who has it."

I was especially intrigued by card players' comments that playing cards was 'good' and that losers were 'good persons'. To solve the paradox of how card playing and losers are 'good' when no one is losing money - or to put it another way, how redistribution and reciprocity are combined in a useful or effective way - it became necessary to follow through some games from beginning to end, to take a closer look at their dynamics, and to discover what people do with winnings while they have them. This did not promise

to be easy since most games last no more than a day or two and when over players disperse in different directions to join other games. All the while, of course, I was seeking answers to what 'good' and 'bad' mean to the Gende.

### Games and the game network

Opportunities for lengthier observation of both high and low stakes games presented themselves during the middle of my stay in Yandera. At the start of the rainy season, some of my friends, on their own initiative, moved their low stakes games underneath my house to benefit from daylight and protection from afternoon rains. They played there every afternoon for a month until driven away by irate non-card players who were concerned about Yandera's 'image'. In the meantime, whether I was 'upstairs' or squatting behind a card player, taking notes, I was able to keep track of the interaction between 5-10 players and others who came to watch the games.

The second opportunity came after Christmas when a high stakes game took place in the home of a close friend. This game went on for several weeks, from late in the evening until the early hours of the morning. My friend was very excited and urged me to attend. Still suffering from a bout of pleurisy and pneumonia, I was too weak to do much else, so I lay on a bed next to my friend's sleeping children and watched. That I fell asleep sometimes or went back to my own house didn't matter because this was a game, like all high stakes games, that was widely talked about.

Before describing this game and one of the low stakes games further, it is useful to present a few of the generalizations and

my revised interpretation of card playing after observing these and other games. The two examples of games which follow illustrate the evaluation process players go through, in addition to offering evidence that redistribution (if only temporary) does occur.

The game network - a system for all

One of the first things I found out was that card players are expected to 'invest' their winnings. Several women bought baby pigs, other people invested in trade goods which they resold for profit, a few used money from card games to finance trips to town where they received money from working relatives or to fulfill exchange obligations, and some people reinvested winnings in other card games with the hope of making it 'grow'. Even using winnings to buy food and tobacco to share with others was an investment if it was shared with persons outside the immediate household.

I also discovered that the relative income evaluations players made involved not only a prospective opponent's (or partner's) current income but also their past income and exchange performance and their potential for earning or acquiring income in the future.

The young woman I quoted at the beginning as saying "People who play cards always have money to buy things to give to others", had no income other than gambling winnings. Several years before, however, her husband had been regularly employed in town, and the two had been very generous to her family and his. For this reason, she was welcome in games which included people she had helped in the past. These people did not mind losing to her, partly because they owed her and partly because of future benefits they might



receive from her when her husband became re-employed (which he did). Whenever she won (which was often since she was a skilled player) she would buy food and share it with others.

These findings made sense of how 'no one loses in cards' at the same time money is being redistributed. By investing winnings, players can increase their income and still 'pay back' losers in a later rematch. They also accounted for why wealthier individuals would choose to play with poorer individuals: the promise of reciprocity, the possibility of profit (from those they have lost to), and claims against them from others' past generosity. There are other motivations having to do with 'good' and 'bad' behavior, and the problem of what to do with 'excess' cash, but these will be taken up later in the paper when I discuss in more detail the socioeconomic context in which card playing occurs.

From seeing card playing as a simple, non-productive mechanism for redistributing cash from wealthy to poor players, I now saw it as a 'live' system. Animated by reciprocity, its structure arising from the uniting together and opposition of individuals, irrespective of age, sex, marriage, and clan affiliation, into game sets which form, break apart, and re-group as the individual and relative needs of players change, it is a system in which both wealthy and poor believe they have something to gain.

#### A low stakes game

Five people began a game of seven on a Monday afternoon: a Tundega man and a woman married into Tundega Clan (Yandera), two men from Yandima Clan (Yandera), and a man from another village.

Players bet 40 toea (K0.40) a hand. On Monday, the game lasted 44 hands, one player dropping out after 24 hands, the bet changing to 50t per hand. On Tuesday afternoon, the game resumed but the bets changed to 20t. On Wednesday and Thursday, the bets returned to 40t.

Table 9.1 Net Wins and Losses in a Low Stakes Game

	Monday <u>44 hands</u>	Tuesday <u>40 hands</u>	Wednesday <u>43 hands</u>	Thursday <u>28 hands</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
<u>Tundega man</u>	<u>K2.20</u>	<u>K3.00</u>	<u>K4.80</u>	<u>-K1.20</u>	<u>K8.80</u>
<u>Tundega woman</u>	<u>-1.80</u>	<u>-2.00</u>	<u>-5.20</u>	<u>6.80</u>	<u>-2.20</u>
<u>Mendi man</u>	<u>0.20</u>	<u>-1.00</u>	<u>-1.20</u>	<u>-1.20</u>	<u>-3.20</u>
<u>Yandima man</u>	<u>2.20</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>2.80</u>	<u>-3.20</u>	<u>1.80</u>
<u>Yandima man</u>	* <u>-2.80</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>-1.20</u>	<u>-1.20</u>	<u>-5.20</u>

\* dropped out of game until Tuesday

This game typifies low stakes games except for the amount of conflict generated by the Tundega woman when she openly tried to use her exchange relationships with the other players to force the game to her own advantage, claiming her need was greater. While part of the pre-game evaluation process, it is considered 'wrong' to intrude such claims into the game which is supposed to remain an arena where competing needs are resolved in a neutral fashion, where one takes their chances.

All five were skilled seven players, so luck and the way the cards fell effected the game's outcome. The four men, at least, had agreed beforehand that no one would kampani. Each had plans to use

winnings to buy food to share with their families and close kin. The woman, however, hoping to raise K20 for her clan brother's brideprice payment, tried to persuade the Tundega man to kampani with her, claiming her plans for the money were more pressing and would be more profitable in the end than his plans to just 'eat the money'. The Tundega man refused, later accusing the woman of being 'greedy' and of wanting to make a 'big name' for herself.

Of the five, she was the richest, with income from a tradestore and a daughter working in Port Moresby. The four men, on the other hand, had large families and many obligations, and the current income of all four consisted of gambling earnings and only occasional income from maintenance work at the mining camp. While the four would have liked to kampani against her, they did not, since, at one time or another - as she pointed out many times during the game -she had helped all of them with exchange payments, shared food with them (the Tundega man loudly contested this), and lost money to them in card games. Her anger upset some of the men, who wanted to quit after the first day. She, however, refused to let them, invoking her rematch rights until the Tundega man finally walked off to another game, with the woman trailing behind shouting he stole her money. She had little sympathy from others, however, who felt she had been taking more out of the gambling system than she 'deserved'. By letting herself go, she was risking ostracism from the game network.

#### A high stakes game

The tri-lip game at Christmas was originally envisioned as a

single match between three school teachers. The motive was purely profit-oriented since there would be no rematch. Teacher 1-T was visiting Yandera with his wife, a member of Tundega Clan. The other two teachers work in the Yandera Community School and are also married to Yandera women. Teacher 2-T, married to a Tundega woman, was transferring to a school on the coast. Teacher 3-Y is married to a woman from Yandima Clan was the only teacher who would be staying on in the village after the holidays.

Pressure was put on Teacher 2-T, however, to include his wife's brother (A-T) and father (B-T) in the game. They persuaded him it would be 'good' if he lost to them rather than the other two teachers. Reasoning that he could eventually get his money back from his in-laws, Teacher 2-T pulled them into the game. The other teachers were agreeable since it was rumored Player B-T had K1000 given him by a son working in Port Moresby.

The five played tri-lip from December 28 to January 7 when teachers 1-T and 2-T left the village with their wives. The game was played in the night to discourage others from breaking into the game and to avoid condemnation from local church and school officials. For each hand the bets were K5 per player. At the end of this series the teachers had lost a total of K300 to the villagers [see table below].

Teacher 3-Y, who had never played cards with villagers before, wanted to get out of the game, but not before he had won back his money. A week passed before a rematch could be arranged with Players A-T and B-T. During that week, the two villagers were drawn into another high-stakes game with two Karasokara villagers (D-K

and E-K). In the game with the Karasokaras, Player A-T convinced a brother (C-T) to kampani with him to protect his substantial winnings. Their father (B-T) was not included in the Tundega kampani because his sons were angry with him for not giving them some of the K1000 he reputedly had. In this series, the brothers each won K60. Player C-T spent K20 on rice and tinned fish and lost the remaining K40 in a low stakes tri-lip game with other Tundega players.

On January 14, Teacher 3-Y, along with his wife's brother (F-Y), challenged Player A-T to a rematch. The Tundega man's wife (Player G-T), worried that her husband would lose his substantial winnings (which they planned to invest in a tradestore after the heavy rains ended), joined the game to even the odds. At the end of the night the Tundega man and his wife had won K30 from the Yandima players.

The next evening, the teacher refused to play with the woman, saying, "I don't play cards with women". In reality, he was concerned that she was a kampani opponent who had no money of her own to contribute to the game. Also, his kampani partner (F-Y) had dropped out of the game, feeling bad that he had caused the teacher to end the previous evening losing K30. With only two players, the bet was lowered to K1 to pull in two new players and keep the game going: Player H-T (a brother of A-T) and Player I-Y (a brother-in-law of the teacher). Everyone played birua. The results of this game were:

Player A-T lost K22

Player H-T lost K15

Teacher 3-Y won K36

Player I-Y won K1

On the evening of the 16th, Player A-T's wife rejoined the game along with another Tundega woman (J-T). Players H-T and I-Y left the game. The three Tundega players did not kampani. The Tundega player's wife was afraid her husband would 'lose his head and the money' and wanted to win it from him so it would be under her control. The other Tundega woman felt both the man and woman would lose the money, and decided it would be better if it were in her control. Both women felt that A-T was being unduly influenced by the teacher's persistent and 'bad' efforts to win his money back too soon, i.e. he was not giving A-T a chance to make use of the money. The teacher, aware of the contention among the Tundega players, remained in the game. The results were:

Player A-T lost K35

His wife (G-T) won K50

The other woman (J-T) lost K20

Teacher 3-Y won K5

After the game, Player G-T gave the other woman K10 to keep her in good spirits since they often played kampani in low stakes games. Her husband (A-T) joined another game in which he lost K50 more and decided it was time to take a break from the big-money

games. Players often leave the game network, at least temporarily, when they feel the 'cards have left them'. Although players say that card playing is an impartial system which favors no one, they - like players the world over - privately believe it to be a sentient and fickle arbiter of fortune which can be placated or influenced by personal magic.

On January 18, feeling like a 'winner', Player G-T challenged the teacher to another game. The game was joined by Player K-T. The results were:

Player G-T lost K40

Player K-T lost K35

Teacher 3-Y won K75

The teacher promptly said it was time to end the game since the school year had begun, that he was withdrawing from the game network entirely. Players G-T and K-T were angry, and the teacher was pressured into one final game. On January 19, the final game in this series was played with players trying to recoup losses or get some of the big money. The results of this game are included in Table 9.

At the same time this game was going on in Yandera, another high stakes game was unfolding in a nearby village. The main recipient of a brideprice including over K1000, invited several men to play tri-lip. Players from Yandera went to observe this game and participate in the lower stakes game which it generated. Money from the original game flowed through games in Yandera for weeks after.

Table 9.2 Tri-lip wins and losses (in Kina)

<u>Players</u>	<u>Net Total</u>	<u>1</u> [28-7]	<u>2</u> [8-13]	<u>3</u> [14]	<u>4</u> [15]	<u>5</u> [16]	<u>6</u> [18]	<u>7</u> [19]
Teacher 1-T	-130	-130						
Teacher 2-T	-125	-125						
Teacher 3-Y	41	-45		-10	36	5	75	-20
Player A-T (2-T's WiBr)	183	210	60	20	-22	-35	[-50]	
Player B-T (2-T's WiFa)	50	90	-20					
Player C-T (A-T's Br)	60		60					-20
Player D-K	-45		-45					
Player E-K	-55		-55					
Player F-Y (3-Y's WiBr)	20			-20				40
Player G-T (A-T's Wi)	60			10		50	-40	40
Player H-T (A-T's Br)	-15				-15			
Player I-Y (3-Y's WiBr)	1				1			
Player J-T	-20					-20		
Player K-T	-75						-35	-45

Column Code:

Players: Players are listed in order of first appearance in the game. Final letter designates clan or village affiliation: T=Tundega, Y=Yandima, K=Karasokara.

Net total: Net wins or losses for entire series of game.

Columns 1-7: Individual game sets with dates in brackets [ ]. e.g. Column 1 lists the wins or losses (-) for players who played cards with one another from December 28 to January 7.



Although the game network can be isolated, described, and analyzed on its own terms, it is a system within a system. The larger system - Gende society and the world economic system of which it is becoming a part - is the context in which card playing occurs. Up to now, the discussion has focused on relative income evaluations, their relationship to game strategies, and how card playing contributes to a more equitable (if temporary) distribution of cash throughout the community. By implication, income differences are a primary motivation for card playing. For a fuller understanding of why the Gende play cards so much, however, card playing's relationship to both inequality and the Gende exchange system must be defined. Two questions must be answered: Why are income differences a problem for the Gende? and How is 'temporary' redistribution a solution to this problem?

Too much, too little, too late, too soon

I often felt that if card games didn't exist, the Gende would almost surely have to invent them. The economic status of the region can be described as marginal when compared with other Highland areas: subsistence gardening and pig herds provide most of the food and much of the wealth whereby families sustain themselves. This generalization, however, masks a complex economic reality which includes extreme cash income differences among households, complicated by considerable and often unpredictable variation in any particular individual's or household's income over a period of years. This variation - along with the fact that each individual uses wealth (pigs and cash) to create and maintain

networks of reciprocal and competitive exchange relationships with others - poses a problem of distribution.

### Winners and losers

Today, every major exchange includes cash. The asking price for brides is K1000 and 10 pigs. The amount goes even higher when a young woman is educated, employed, or strong, healthy and attractive. At pig festivals, many thousands of kina are spent by aspiring big men on beer, food, tobacco, and gifts of cash to guests and supporters. Everyday exchanges also involve cash. Families who can afford it, buy rice, fish, and tea once or twice a week, inviting others to eat with them.

Both villagers and migrants who have access to cash have obvious advantages over those who do not: helping others with exchange payments, needing little assistance in making their own, they can build up an extensive network and fund of credit, prestige and respect for themselves. Where such inequalities exist there are losers: men without brides or access to garden land, parents whose migrant children are unemployed or poor paid and unable to fulfill reciprocal obligations, fathers whose children 'belong' to others, and young women who must depend on (and repay) brothers or husband's kinsmen for assistance in preparing gardens while their unemployed migrant husbands linger on in town.

Among the Gende, the adverse effects of inequality - as it effects individual participation in a social system organized on the basis of reciprocity - can be extreme: 'forced' migration and permanent exile. During the rainy season, when sweet potatoes and taro were scarce, families who had defaulted on exchange payments

for a number of years and had invested little in others, were never invited to share meals of rice and fish with more fortunate villagers. Often, they moved out of the village to their garden houses for weeks at a time where they suffered their shame and hunger alone. Accusations of theft or sorcery levelled against them increase their miserable isolation.

#### Uncertainty and investment

For the Gende, however, the problem is not simply that some people have more and others have less. An equally troubling problem is that income differences are often temporary, unpredictable, and beyond the control of villagers. Men who work at the mining camp experience alternating periods of relative wealth and poverty, do not know how long periods of employment will last, or that they will be hired again in the future. Children who were promising students fail or leave school too soon and lack the necessary education and skills to compete in a tight job market.

A central problem in systems of reciprocal exchange is to keep wealth flowing (cf. Barth 1967; Belshaw 1968:95; Schneider 1974:134). One aspect of the problem is managerial: reciprocal exchanges are delayed exchanges and, over time, interdependent with other exchanges. Individuals must coordinate their exchanges so that wealth coming in balances wealth going out. In the case of parents and children, reciprocity is delayed for long periods of time, and wealth given may pass through many hands and transformations before parents see a return on their investments. Pigs killed at a girl's puberty ceremony have to be 'returned' with her brideprice so they may be converted into a brideprice for her

brother's wife who will make tupoi to her inlaws who may in turn kill the pigs at a poi nomu. Any break in the flow of pigs has repercussions for both individuals and the groups they belong to.

Furthermore, individuals depend on others to invest wealth in them as they pass through stages of the life cycle (birth, childhood, puberty, marriage, parenthood, and death). While children are passive recipients, as adults they are concerned to create a fund of obligations to themselves among persons who can be depended on to reciprocate when necessary. Keen judgments must be made as to the character and reliability of potential exchange partners. When an individual proves untrustworthy and fails to reciprocate the support of others, thereby placing others' exchange relations and very lives in jeopardy, all support is withdrawn from him and relations severed (cf. Brown 1970:113). Wealth which has been invested in such a person is said to have 'died', a reflection of the seriousness of keeping up with exchange payments.

Uncertain income and employment make it more difficult to plan investment strategies and maintain longterm commitments. The person who initiates several new exchange relationships on the basis of current income (his or theirs) may discover he has overcommitted himself tomorrow, or that his new exchange partners are unable to reciprocate when necessary. Deciding when to break off a seemingly unfruitful relationship is also problematic.

As I have already shown in previous chapters, villagers try to solve these problems by diversifying their investments - putting smaller amounts of cash and fewer pigs into many more relations (increasing the likelihood that some of these relationships will

prove rewarding) - or following a narrow investment strategy. While many villagers no longer believe that education guarantees a job, a few still invest heavily in their own children's education, with the expectation that they can make up for this lack of 'generosity' behavior when they are the main recipients of their children's bounty.

Gende card playing, on the other hand, is an innovative attempt to solve the problems of both inequality and uncertainty. It supports the exchange system by redistributing cash for investment, and complements it by providing an alternative arena - the game network - for interpersonal exchange and involvement. It does this by converting loose money which may 'die', if invested unwisely, into 'live' money.

#### Solving the problems of too much, too little, too late, too soon

According to card players, money which enters the game system is uncommitted money which has no legitimate claims against it. Players are critical of persons who play cards with money intended for someone else (e.g. other recipients of a brideprice) and often refuse to play with them, fearing the outrage of offended claimants. Much game money, therefore, originates from wealthy players who have too much money at their disposal.

Not all loose cash is invested in the game system, of course. Much is invested in expanding personal networks and competitive displays such as poi nomu. At some point, however, such investments become detrimental, particularly when others see it as primarily self-advancement or an attempt to shame them (because they cannot

reciprocate). Several wealthy men who did not play cards expressed more fears about sorcery by persons jealous of their wealth than did wealthy card players, who diffused jealousy by 'banking' some of their money in the game system

Once in the game system, money can be utilized - made alive - by those who have too little money. There is almost no risk involved for the wealthy 'loser', who is using excess money safeguarded by an ethic of reciprocity. Poorer players minimize their own risk by making careful investments or quickly 'losing' money back to its 'owner'. In general, however, wealthy players have little interest in winning their money back too soon since this defeats the purpose of having their money circulate for their own and others' profit.

One way gambling 'losses' are converted into profits is when wealthy players lose to persons who are heavily indebted to them in the exchange system. 'Re-staking' the debtor in the neutral arena of the game system where there is no shame involved in winning (receiving), the wealthy player gives his debtor a chance to clear some of his unpaid exchange debts in addition to keeping the relationship alive. In some cases this may amount to no more than the debtor being able to invite his creditor to meals of rice and fish. In one incident, a player invested his winnings in some cartons of cigarettes which he resold singly or in packs. After several weeks he was able to give K10 (in excess of what he had won) to his creditor with some money left over to use in another card game.

For players whose wealth has or may come too late, card

playing can be a means for re-establishing or maintaining friendly relations with others. Most persons who practice narrow investment strategies in the care and education of their own children, however, do not play cards. The few who do play cards tend to be cautious players who invest very little in the game system, which sometimes irritates other players. Nonetheless, the narrow investor's participation in the game network is taken as evidence that he is not really 'greedy' or 'selfish' and, in time, will invest his wealth in those who now help him. For the player, whose money may come too late, card playing is also a hedge against the possibility that it may not come at all.

Some players simply do not know what to do with their money. Players who have a sudden windfall, temporary employment, or are uncertain how long their good fortune will last, have the problem of investing their income too soon. Overextending their social commitments in a flush period can result in future shame and ridicule. Many card players who have worked at the mining camp are well aware of the 'boom or bust' syndrome. They can (and do) make a number of small investments in other person's school fees, taxes, childwealth and bridewealth payments, etc., but making cautious investments is not as satisfying or dramatic as losing big in a card game.

Reciprocal relationships in the game network have the added advantage of lasting only so long as the players desire, and can be 'one-shot deals' where money is 'lost', invested, and then returned, perhaps with interest, in a single rematch. There need be no longterm social commitments in card games other than a respect

and general commitment to the system itself.

Card playing is beneficial in other ways. It can be fun and socialable. High stakes games generate excitement and interest. Players sometimes raise the stakes in a game to make it more 'dangerous' and challenging. There is also the camaraderie of the game. When games go on late into the night, several women may pool their food supplies and cook a meal for all to share. Players who are winning may send someone off to buy tea and sugar, or tinned fish, to add to the festive nature of the occasion.

The game is also an arena where players represent themselves as 'good' persons doing good 'work'.

#### 'Gutpela wok bilong mipela'

Among the Gende, a good person - wana moger - is someone who is generous, always thinking of others, and ready to give more than he receives. A good person does not 'eat' his own wealth like a bad person - wana briki - but gives it to others who, in turn, will think of his needs. Card players do the same things. I have seen one of the wealthiest men in the village 'lose' many times, even when the cards lay in his favor.

Making money come 'alive' as it moves from player to player in the game network is likened to the 'work' of exchanging pigs. At my first card game, an old man told me "Cards are our bones", an expression comparable to 'pigs are our bones'. Others referred to cards as 'our blood'. These sentiments were repeated many times over, and refer to the life-giving and life-supporting flow of



wealth circulating throughout the web of interpersonal exchange relationships which constitutes Gende society. Just as the exchange of pigs and food sustains social relations and contributes to the well-being of others, so too does playing cards.

'Winners', in addition to praising 'losers' as wana mogeri, take care of their own. During the rainy season I carried out a survey of inter-household exchange. Card players, with money from the big card games at Christmas, showed a higher level of sharing than non-players. Winners bought bags of rice and cans of fish and invited other players to share meals with them. Non-players were rarely invited. When some of the greedier non-players showed up anyway, food was quickly hidden at the news of their imminent arrival. Likewise, selfish players who use winnings to buy food for themselves, thereby making money 'die', are soon ostracized from the game.

While parallels between Gende card playing and the Gende exchange system are several - the temporary redistribution in card games is a kind of delayed, reciprocal exchange, an exchange which invests 'goodness' and prestige in the 'loser'-giver who invests his wealth in the 'winner'-recipient - Gende card playing goes a step further, and by doing so complements rather than simply copies traditional exchange patterns.

The really 'good' or clever thing about card playing - the neutrality and non-committal nature of the game network - allows players of any age, sex, kinship or clan relationship to play with any other person, working out their own solutions to the problems of inequality and uncertainty as need dictates. Often misunder-

stood by non-players, this flexibility, nonetheless, helps prevent income differences from stopping the 'normal' flow of wealth which upholds the traditional system of exchange relationships it seemingly disregards. Many card players know this. One woman told me: "We live in the bush and have no money, just pigs. Money comes [from town] and wants to boss (control) us as if we were pigs. But when we play cards, we boss money. This is good".

So why do the Gende play cards so much? Because it is a good thing to do, a good Gende thing to do. "IT IS OUR GOOD WORK".

\* \* \* \* \*

To answer the question I raised in the beginning of this chapter, Why did the card playing 'vacation' last as long as it did in spite of the fact that there was work to be done in the gardens, and the money which flowed through the game network was not very much?, I will leave the reader with a glimpse of that 'vacation' and a proposition.

Less than a week after the 'vacation' began, I watched my father purposely 'lose' a game of 'seven' by continuously throwing away cards which were part of matched sets in his hand. Thinking that he wasn't paying attention to what he was doing, I tried to prevent him from discarding a winning card, by pointing out a more suitable discard. Brushing my hand aside, he threw away the winning card. The man who won the hand, in other words, the man my father purposely 'lost' to, had made a very poor showing in the

recent poi nomu. Unable to contribute money or pigs to a kwiagi given in honor of a deceased 'brother' because his pigs had to be used to pay other debts and his migrant son and other migrant exchange partners had failed to send money for the occasion, the man had suffered much embarrassment during the pig kill and spent most of the intervening time away from the village in shame.

Although at the time, my father and other members of the narawa had felt anger and frustration over the man's failure to contribute to the kwiagi, many had since had second thoughts, remembering all the times in the past when the man had been generous to them.

Returning to Yandera to sell some sweet potatoes at the market on Saturday morning, the man was invited to play a game of 'seven' by my father and two other Tundega men. Thus, for a time at least, the man's embarrassment and isolation was set aside and he was able to enjoy an afternoon with men he had known all his life.

My proposition is: that after a poi nomu that left so many 'losers' and not enough 'winners', it was more important for men and women to play cards and create new bonds with one another than it was to worry about 'feeding their stomachs'.

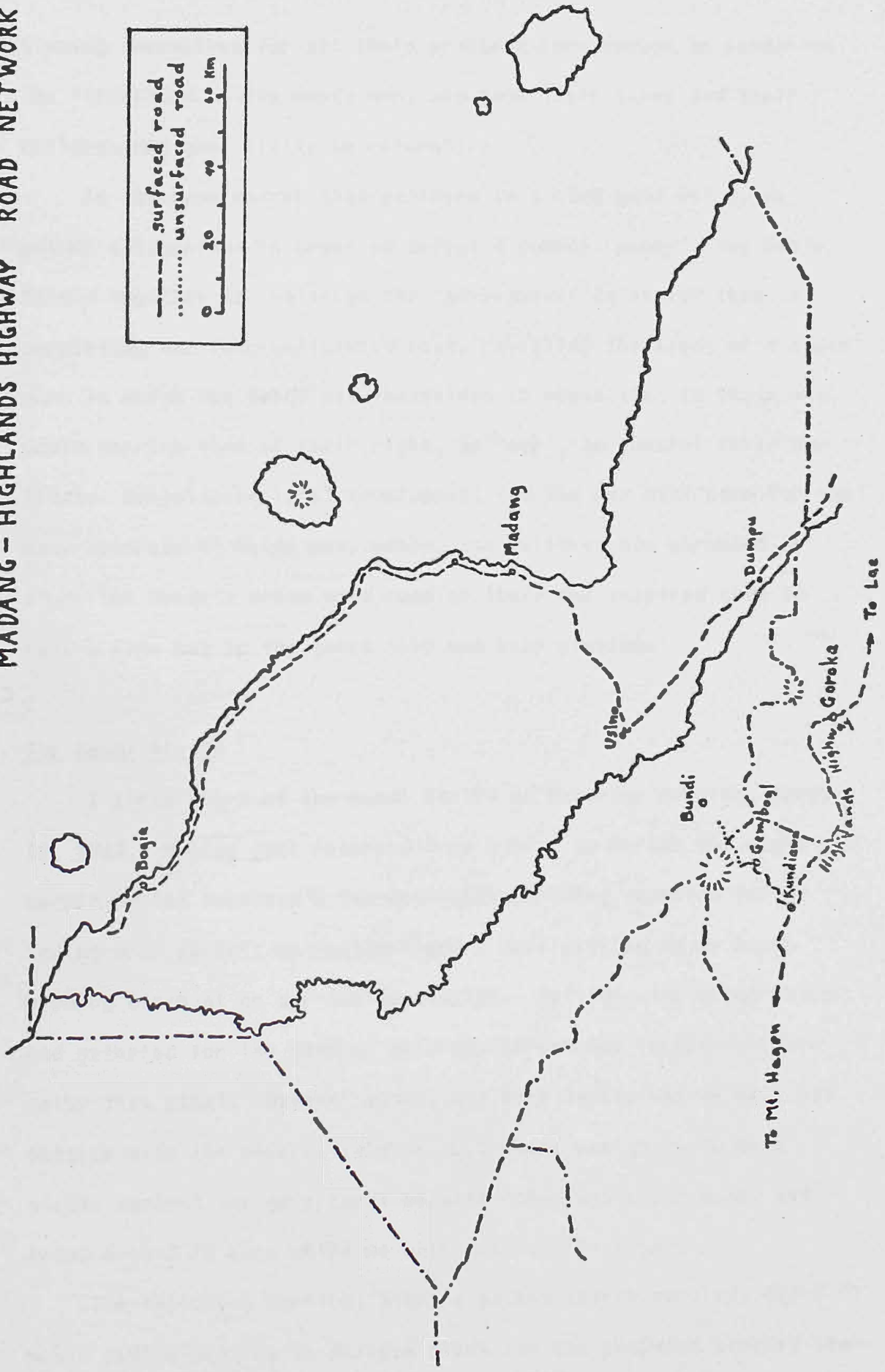
## CHAPTER TEN - Time Out! - The Bundi Strike

As satisfying and useful as the new game is, the Gende know that it cannot get at the roots of inequality. Early on the morning of March 28, 1983, a plane carrying national and provincial government officials landed on the tiny airstrip at Bundi. Within minutes, several thousand men, women, and children, many of them armed with bows and arrows or axes, surrounded the delegation. The organizers of the demonstration - dubbed the 'Bundi Strike' - stepped forward and delivered a long list of grievances and demands. Foremost was the request for sufficient funds to complete the road connecting Bundi with Madang and the Highlands Highway.

Challenging the visitors to treat them like 'men' or face the consequences, the Gende threatened to secede from Madang Province in favor of returning to the 'way of the ancestors', or joining a neighboring province. Having already disbanded the local government council and posted armed sentries at the district headquarters to prevent police interference, their threats were taken seriously, and the Gende Council received checks for K25,000 (\$37,500) and promises of more support in the future.

The immediate cause of this unprecedented display of tribal solidarity, was a news broadcast earlier in the month, in which the regional member of the national parliament made a statement that it would take five more years before all sections of the Madang-Chimbu Road would be completed (see Map 5 below). After twenty years of working on the road and seeing themselves fall behind other sections of the country in terms of development, the Gende stopped

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blaming themselves for all their problems long enough to ponder on the "treachery of the money men, who took their taxes and their children and gave little in return".

In the same manner that partners in a card game set aside mutual antagonisms in order to defeat a common 'enemy', the Gende banded together to challenge the 'government' to assist them in completing the long-unfinished road, revealing the seeds of a newer game in which the Gende see themselves in opposition to those who would deprive them of their right, as 'men', to control their own lives. Symbolizing local development and the way back home for the many hundreds of Gende men, women, and children now stranded in town, the Gende's dream of a road of their own inspired them to call a time out in the games they had been playing.

### The Bundi Strike

I first heard of the Bundi Strike on Saturday morning, March 12, 1983. Having just returned from a trip to Goroka the night before, which involved a ten-hour walk carrying supplies for my 'going-away party', my 'mother' and I were sitting in my house rubbing ointment on our aching muscles. Outside, the crowd which had gathered for the regular Saturday market was larger and more noisy than usual. Several women, who came to see why we were not outside with the others, told us that there was going to be a strike against the government because "they waste our money and drive around in cars while we walk around like pigs".

The following morning, after a packed church service, there was a public meeting to discuss plans for the proposed strike. In

attendance were men and women from Yandera, Karasokara, Kindakebi, and several other Gende villages. Also present were a number of young men I had never seen before. One in particular caught my attention. Although he said very little, he paid close attention to the speeches and debate going on around him. Occasionally, he would write something down in a notebook or confer with one of the other young men. Afterwards, he was pointed out to me as one of the main organizers of the strike.

Several days later, I invited Dimiri [not his real name] to tea, in order to learn more about the strike and his involvement in it. He told me that the idea of having a strike had been conceived of by himself and several other migrants from Emegari and Karasokara villages. Once their idea was out, it caught on among the younger men in the villages they visited. Realizing that the enthusiasm they were generating could get out of control and that a strike would be ineffective if they didn't have the backing of more mature members of the community, they quickly drew up an agenda and set about convincing local leaders and council members of the utility of a mass demonstration.

As the organizers envisioned it, the strike would unfold in a series of stages. After gaining the support of influential members of the community, letters were to be written to various government officials in Madang and Port Moresby, inviting them to meet with the 'strikers' at Bundi. To put pressure on the officials to accept, copies of these letters (as well as other memoranda) were to be sent to the mass media. In order to further impress the government with the seriousness of the strikers' intentions, all

twenty-one members of the local government council were to hand in their badges to the O.I.C. at Bundi, as a gesture of solidarity.

On March 15, two days prior to my talk with Dimiri, seventeen council members, including the president of the local government council, stepped down from their posts. Four councillors were absent but joined the strike later in the week. Having accomplished this much, Dimiri and the other organizers went from one village to the next, where they met with small groups of men and women to hammer out the details of the strike and to enlist more support.

These meetings evoked a welter of grievances. The one concern shared by everyone was the road. Without it, income-earning opportunities and the marketing of cash crops were hindered. With no road, rugged and often hazardous travel conditions made it difficult for health services, education, and government administration to be carried out. In Yandera, villagers accused the government of being insensitive to their needs and complained that all their past efforts to build a road had been a waste of time, since first one and then another route was abandoned in favor of alternate routes. Bitter over the fact that their Chimbu neighbors and marriage partners enjoyed the benefits of a road while they did not, men and women threatened to "sell themselves like pigs" to the Chimbis and leave Madang Province forever.

Over the course of many such meetings, the organizers incorporated these concerns into a list of demands to be given to the government's representatives on the day of the strike:



1. Want a road to be built within fifteen years  
and completed in four stages:

Stage One: From Brahmin to Bundi

Stage Two: From Bundi to Yandera

Stage Three: From Yandera to Baui

Stage Four: From Baui to Karumbukare [the proposed site  
of a new mine at the edge of the Gende's  
territory]

2. Want a budget, road plan, and allocations for this road  
project to be made before the Somare government is out of  
power.

3. Want the road contract to be given to the PNG Army Defense  
Force rather than a private company in order to ensure  
continuous and quick development of the road.

4. Want local council taxes cancelled until the first two  
stages of the road are completed.

5. Want free health service and primary schooling, with the  
government subsidizing up to 60% of the secondary school  
fees of Gende children.

They also devised a program for the strike, which they spent  
countless hours going over and rehearsing with their supporters.  
As many Gende as possible were to assemble at the Bundi airstrip on  
the morning of March 28. Armed sentries would be posted at the  
airstrip, school, council chambers, and government buildings to  
prevent work from being carried out. Bags of coffee beans, local  
produce, and rocks would be collected and then thrown onto the

airstrip after the government plane landed, as a demonstration of the frustration the people felt over their inability to market their produce. Once this had been done, several speakers would present a list of grievances and demands to the visiting officials while the other strikers stood quietly by. Afterwards, the strikers would march from the airstrip to the O.I.C.'s offices up the hill from the airstrip, to demonstrate the solidarity of sentiment among them. Should there be no satisfactory response to the Gende's requests, logs were to be placed on the airstrip so that planes could not land or take off, the government was to be thrown out, the people would refuse to pay taxes, and the Gende would return to the customs of their ancestors and run their own lives.

When I asked Dimiri why he was taking it upon himself to instigate the strike, he emphasized that the main force behind the strike was the people's frustration. He justified his intervention by commenting that the older leaders of the community lacked the sophistication and courage to stage a protest against the government. He said that it was up to young men like himself to help the people - men who had all the benefits of a western education and who, because of first-hand experience with the workings of the government, were less impressed by the power of national and provincial officers.

For Dimiri, the strike was a first step in running for political office. Sent to school in Australia by the Catholic mission, he earned a college degree and returned to work for the government in the lands and survey office in Madang. He then worked as a

sales representative for a beer distributor in Lae (Morobe Province) because the pay was more lucrative. Dissatisfied with the long hours and selling intoxicating beverages, he left this job to return to his home village. Divorced and the father of two young children, he hoped to retrieve his sons from his ex-wife, remarry, and build a base of support on which he could run for political office in Madang Province. Eventually, he hoped to run for national office. He saw the Bundi Strike as a showcase for his talents, and said that if the strike was a success, his reputation would be such that he would have no trouble getting the people to vote for him.

On March 19, it seemed the strike might fizzle and die. One of the local missionaries reported to the people in Yandera that the lay missionary, who ran the store at Pandambai and volunteered his services as an engineer during periods of road construction, received K15,000 from the provincial government to be used during 1983 to finish a section of the road between Bundi and Yandera. This news, along with the arrival of a mining company official on the same day and news that work was going to resume at the mining camp on April 18, threatened to distract villagers from preparations for the impending strike.

Church leaders in Yandera warned their congregation that to go ahead with the strike would anger government and church officials and cause them to withdraw their assistance to an "ungrateful people". At the mining camp, the manager and others pointed out the fact that if the miners discovered a profitable lode of gold and copper, the company, in order to facilitate full-scale opera-

ations, would pay for a far better road than was now envisioned.

Opposing views were not long in being expressed. Many villagers felt that they, and not the mission, should be in charge of road funds. There were suggestions that the lay missionary had mishandled road money in the past by wasting it on frequent trips to Lae to find spare parts for a bulldozer which, although paid for by the Gende, was used by the lay missionary to clear the road of landslides so that he might drive his truck to Gembogl (Chimbu Province) to buy supplies for the tradestore at Pandambai and make "big profits" off the Gende tradestore owners who didn't have the use of "their own" bulldozer.

At the mining camp there was more dissension. Out of touch with the main office in Sydney because of a malfunctioning radio telephone, the local manager of the camp had been unable to report on the amount of back wages due villagers for odd jobs and maintenance work. When the geologist arrived and it was discovered that he hadn't brought enough money to pay all the workers, angry men and women threatened to extend the strike to include work at the camp.

During the next few days, I saw very little of Dimiri. Along with the other organizers, he was busy trying to prevent any slackening of interest in the strike while at the same time keeping the fury he was unleashing under control. When I did see him, several days before the strike was to come off, his stress was visible. Concerned that I might get hurt if any violence erupted, Dimiri (as well as numerous men and women in Yandera), warned me to stay away from Bundi during the demonstration. He also told me

that any hope I had of leaving the field on one of the company helicopters would have to be abandoned should the strike turn nasty, since it was rumored that there would be an attack on the mining camp if the strikers' requests were not honored by the government officials.

Remarkably, given the strong emotions the strike was generating, it went off as planned and without incident. On the Saturday before the strike, there were very few people at the market in Yandera. All day long, men from the outer villages passed through Yandera on their way to Bundi. By Sunday, most of those who were going to participate, were in Bundi going over the final instructions with the organizers. In Yandera, those of us who remained behind, were glued to portable radios, hoping to hear some news of the strike's progress. On Monday morning, we could hear and even see the government charter circling in for a landing at Bundi airstrip, hidden behind the spur of a mountain at the other end of the Tai-ayon River valley.

Late Monday afternoon, the first strikers to return were full of stories about the "frightened looks" of the government officials when over three thousand Gende poured onto the airstrip to surround them, and the embarrassed tears of one official (a Gende man) who was taunted for wearing glasses and being soft and fat from driving around in a car and drinking too much beer like a masta (Pidgin English for 'master', usually refers to a European) while his 'brothers' ate the same food as pigs and walked around on their own two feet.

On March 31, Dimiri stopped by my house on the way to his own

village, ecstatic with the way things had turned out. The demonstration had been peaceful and the speeches were not marred by violence or noisy interruption. From the government, the Gende people received K5000 for building materials to expand the Yandera Community School, a promise of more money for in the future, and a check for K20,000 for maintenance of the Bundi-Chimbu road.

In the days following the strike, there was a feeling of elation among the people in Yandera. The government's responsiveness to their group action had restored villagers' confidence in their ability to participate in developments effecting their lives: the local government council members took back their badges; work was begun on a new camp on Mt. Peori, where the mining company planned to make a series of test drills; and men and women began cutting down the bush in preparation for making new sweet potato gardens.

### Time Out!

In my first conversation with Dimiri, he remarked that the endless competition of 'big men' stood in the way of progress. From his point of view, the true strength of the Gende people lay in the value they placed on 'brotherhood' and mutual support of one's fellow clansmen. While I could not agree with the picture he painted of 'big men' as selfish and acting only in their own interests, his observation did point up the single most difficult challenge faced by the organizers of the strike: how to get the Gende to stop measuring themselves against one another long enough to see that they shared a common plight and 'enemy'. Since

virtually every villager had reasons for wanting to see the road completed, the main problem for the organizers was not a lack of motivation, but finding a suitable vocabulary, or language, for expressing the Gende's common concerns. In a few short weeks, 'a road of our own' became the battle cry of the movement. Playing up the differences between the Gende's situation and that of their neighbors and downplaying the differences which turned brother against brother, and father against son, 'the road' became a charged symbol of the Gende's frustrations as well as the answer to all their problems.

During every public meeting and in between, I listened as villagers went over their past experiences and made the associations which turned a history of conflict and individual interests into a formula for commonality and Gende brotherhood. Beginning with the early days of first contact, villagers recalled how hard they had worked to clear bridle paths along which Father Aufenanger road his horse to the various Gende settlements, and how arduous it had been to build the airstrip at Bundi so that the missionaries would have easier access to the coast and other highland posts. Forgotten was the fact that one of their reasons for working for the missionaries was to get the coveted shells which the missionaries handed out as wages, shells which turned 'rubbish men' into 'big men' - at least until the bottom fell out of the shell trade after tons of shells were airlifted into the highlands. Not forgotten was the fact that, even in 1983, most Gende could not afford to travel by airplane and had to cross the Ramu River in dugout canoes and walk through the malaria infested Ramu swamps to

get to the coast.

Remembered was the fact that men in their forties had spent their entire adult life working on the road with nothing to show for it, except that mission and government personnel were able to drive around Bundi station in jeeps and trucks while the Gende cut their bare feet on the razor sharp stone fragments left lying in the road when T.N.T. was used to blast away parts of the mountains, and had raw welts on their shoulders from carrying heavy patrol boxes and other burdens as they plodded along in the same manner as their ancestors had done. Not mentioned was the fact that villages made a competition out of working on the road, or that when Gende migrants and villagers bought first one and then a second bulldozer to help clear a section of the road near Bundikara, they brought the money - on bamboo poles - to Bundi as clans and villages, the people in Yandera or Mendikara vying to show they were as or more generous than the people in Karasokara and Emegari.

There were plenty of more recent troubles to draw upon, like the flu epidemic which swept through the area several months earlier, leaving more than ten dead in its wake while the aid post in Yandera, supposed to be attended by an aid post orderly year-round in order to provide medical services to the Upper Bundi Villages, sat locked up and abandoned because a replacement for the old doctor, who had left months before, had not yet been named; or the 'hungry time' which comes every year during the rainy season - a time which was made more severe for some families in Yandera and Kindakebi because their old gardens had been ravished to feed guests at the poi nomu the two villages hosted - a time when the



local trade-stores were short of everything because the big store at Pandambai was closed and the dangers of mudslides and flooded rivers made travel to Bundi or the Chimbu side of the mountains dangerous; a time when the school teachers, many of them coastals who were used to travelling by bus and shopping in supermarkets, complained more than usual about being stuck in the bush. Not mentioned was the fact that some villagers had eaten better than others during the 'hungry time', waiting until midnight or later to eat their evening meal of rice and tinned fish bought in the secrecy of night-time expeditions to the mining camp and paid for with more money than some villagers saw in half-a-year's time.

Perhaps equally important was the power of dreams to move the Gende to set aside their differences and strike. Time after time, the expression "If we had a road..." prefaced such heart-felt desires as "My Granddaughter [who was born and raised in town] would not be ashamed of me and would be able to visit her grandmother without crying because her legs hurt her to walk a long way over the mountains"; "My son and his family would come to see me more often"; "I would be able to make enough money to pay back my brother for all he has done for me"; or "Our children would not have to leave home and become rascals".

Waiting such a long time for 'the road' to become a reality, men and women began to ascribe to 'the road' an almost mystical capacity to solve their problems instead of seeing it as an inanimate thing without sentiment or ambition. In their determination to have a road of their own, they could not see that the road could as easily be a way away from home as a road upon

which men and women could return home.

### Challenging the Winners

The strike could have been predicted by a simple understanding of the way the Gende play 'the game'. With so many 'losers' in the old game, it was only a matter of time before the Gende began looking around for a culprit and questioning the intentions and good faith of the 'winners' - at first among themselves and later among the more distant 'government' - a culprit who was causing them to fall behind in the game in spite of all their efforts to succeed.

Believing that 'development' and 'the road' would rejuvenate the game by bringing in new wealth (and that more equitably), the Gende set themselves against the 'government', who seemed to dismiss their cooperation as unworthy of recognition and would not play the game like 'real men'. Thus, finding a common ground upon which to air their grievances, the Gende sought to restore a balance of power by demanding reciprocity and threatening to withdraw their support from the 'government' and, if necessary, backing up their threats with violence. In participating in the Bundi Strike, the Gende regained, for the time being, a measure of self-respect.

### A young man's game

Although I have no complete record of the makeup of the several thousand Gende who participated in the Bundi strike, eyewitness reports and my own observations of strikers passing through Yandera on their way to Bundi reveal a diverse cross-section of the

total population. Males of all ages were in the majority, but females were also represented, mostly by mature women who left their young children in the care of elderly grandparents and teenage daughters. The contingent from Yandera included tradestore owners, big men, and other respected members of the community, as well as members of poorer households and rubbish men. On the surface of things then, the strike was a mass movement.

Nevertheless, two of the richest and most powerful men in Yandera did not participate in the strike: my 'father' and the local manager of the mining camp. A third non-participant was the local catechist of the church in Yandera. Although each of these men defended their non-involvement by purporting to be acting in the best interests of the Gende people, each can be shown to have been acting at least as much in their own self-interests. Without his salary and the power he derived from having control over who could and could not work at the mining camp, the manager would at best be a minor big man. Even more likely, however, without the benefits he derived from his position at the camp, the manager, who was still relatively young when compared with most big men and the father of six young children, would be struggling to pay off marriage and childwealth debts and nowhere near the status of a big man. Likewise, the catechist, who relied on his much smaller salary from the church to pay the school fees of his children, two of whom were in high schools on the coast, and to support a very modest investment policy, depended on his connections with the Catholic church for the influence he enjoyed in Yandera.

My father's situation was more complex. For most of his adult

life he had made a conscious effort to be in the forefront of developments which might bring greater economic opportunities and improve the general well-being of the area. For 24 years, as government-appointed luluai and then member of the local government council (until his retirement in 1981), he had helped direct construction of the road, the school, the aid post, the church, and the wire bridge across the Tai-ayor River. He had also helped the lay missionary build the tradestore at Pandambai, believing (mistakenly) that the profits from the store would be used to help out some of the poorer families in the area. To stand back and allow others to take the lead at this critical juncture in the history of 'the road' troubled my father, aware as he was that to do so might seem as if he were against 'progress'.

As someone whose status was largely a result of his generosity and the image he projected of being a caring 'father' who looked after the welfare of his 'family', he could ill afford to have his supporters dwell on the fact that his status was also a result of the very inequality the strike was aimed against. If anything, he had as much to gain from an improvement in the rural economy as did anyone else, since more of his past investments would pay off and he would no longer have to rely on only a few wealthy migrants for most of his cash income.

Why then did my father refuse to participate in a movement which was eminently popular and which held out the favorable prospect of almost certain prestige and wide-spread respect for its leaders? When Dimiri, along with several councillors and others, tried to persuade my father to go with them to Bundi to represent

the Gende people on the day of the strike, my father steadfastly declined, claiming that the strike was the 'affair of young men' and that he, as one of the 'fathers' of the community, must stay home and look after the women and children who would be left unattended.

As a means of disassociating himself from the strike without impeding its progress or casting himself in an unfavorable light, my father's concession speech was a stroke of genius. By suggesting that the strike was a young man's game, he directed attention away from any benefits he might gain from the existence of a road and focused it on the duty of young men to take on and share the responsibility of looking out for their own and others' futures. Declining on the grounds that he must guard defenceless women and children, he made his abdication of leadership seem like an act of moral rectitude and selflessness.

#### An old man's game

In actuality, my father was playing the same game as Dimiri. Far from being disinterested in the strike, my father had a keen interest in its outcome. Astute enough to recognize that the strike would come off with or without him, my father allowed Dimiri to take the momentary glory of being one of the strike's leaders in order to see how much power the strikers would achieve in their confrontation with the government. Planning to run for political office himself, in the 1984 elections, through Dimiri my father could test the uncertain waters of provincial and local political relations without getting wet, or hurting his own chances of

effective leadership by being identified by higher government officials as a troublemaker. By taking a conservative stance and staying home to 'take care of things', my father exhibited characteristic caution and foresight: if the strike did not work out, he could not be accused of encouraging the Gende to chase after fool's gold, and his campaign for public office [1] would draw upon a string of successful enterprises without the taint of a humiliating defeat at Bundi.

### Future games

The popular appeal of the Bundi Strike and the rapidity with which it was organized give pause for thought. For in it are the seeds of future games and the still virile presence of the old game. Patronizing pictures of the Gende as a docile, uncomplaining, and grateful people, or more scurrilous assessments of them as an untrustworthy, lazy, and selfish lot, must be replaced by ones in which Gende men and women are seen to be struggling to achieve a sense of dignity and self-worth in a world which does not understand, much less respect, the values the Gende strive to embody in their persons and in their relations with one

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[1] According to Gabriel Doa (personal communication), my father did run for the office of Provincial Member to Parliament in the 1984 elections. Although he lost to a younger man who has worked in the provincial government for a number of years, he placed third in a field of 16 candidates, with 275 votes. The winner had 298 votes, and the runner-up had 294 votes.

another and with outsiders [2].

Driven apart by inequality and the burden of proving their 'manhood' and 'humanity' in a game which had grown to include men and women holding a different world view and a socio-economic system in which, all too often, the rich get richer and the poor get poorer, for a long time the Gende fought their battles individually and alone.

While some men and women succeeded in acquiring the wealth and status symbols of 'big men' in the new context, others did not. Sharing their good fortune with their brothers and sisters, those at the top (wealthy migrants and big men and women in the village) soon discovered that their acts of generosity often did more harm than good. Less fortunate brothers were reduced to the status of dependent children and sisters were married off to the highest bidders in their fathers' and mothers' attempts to secure some of the new wealth to offset the challenge of younger men, who threatened to upset the known scheme of things by becoming 'bigger'

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[2] At various times before and during my fieldwork, the Gende were described to me as either "untrustworthy trouble-makers and thieves, who would steal everything I owned", or "good people who were easy to handle and who would do anything for me". These and similar sentiments were expressed by many (but not all) of the non-Gende government and church officials I had occasion to talk with, and even by some Gende men and women themselves. Grossly inaccurate, not to mention contradictory, such generalizations say more about those who made them than they do about the Gende.

than and largely independent of their elders.

As time went on, the winners found that there were fewer and fewer persons to play with in each round of the game and that, at best, their own status was shaky and easily wiped out by a stroke of bad luck: the loss of a job, a rash of sorcery accusations and compensation suits against them, a failure of exchange partners to come through with the expected support, and so on. Above all, there was little satisfaction in winning and being 'big' when one's children were envied by their aunts and uncles, and one's brothers went out of their way to avoid you because they were ashamed of their inability to match your generosity.

The Bundi Strike provided a release from internal division and conflict. With 'the road' as a symbol of their commonality and shared predicament, the Gende found the means to realign themselves and the structure of the game changed, at least temporarily, with the Gende standing together as partners in opposition to forces which had hitherto been beyond their control. Since the strike was successful - in the sense that the Gende were given road funds and listened to by the government - the Gende will undoubtedly band together again on other issues in the future. More importantly, however, although the strike was born in the village area, it had the guidance and support of migrants and, at the very heart of the strike, was the desire of most Gende men and women to find ways to pull those who are now out of the game back into it.



## CONCLUSION - OUT OF THE GAME?

The two questions which my field research was designed to answer are: 1) Why is there such a high rate of outmigration among the Gende, and 2) Why are so many Gende migrants of the "long-term" or "permanent" varieties? As my analysis has shown, a combination of economic, social, cultural, and historical factors are involved in individual Gende's decisions to migrate to town or to remain in the village, and - among migrants - to return home or to stay on in town. Furthermore, I have shown that individual migration decisions are part of a process in which one of the crucial factors is how well or how poorly an individual (and his or her exchange partners) is maintaining his network of exchange relations.

One of the more significant variables determining patterns of mobility among the Gende has been a continuing imbalance between rural and urban economic opportunities. Although there is a high rate of unemployment among Gende migrants, the possibility that one might earn more money in town than one can earn in the village continues to be a deciding factor in individual decisions to migrate. Above all, with few opportunities in the village to offset imbalances in exchange payments, members of poorer households have found it increasingly difficult to maintain their places in village society and more and more are being forced to look elsewhere for the means to restore a balance in their exchange payments.

Several of the more significant historical factors which have played a part in population movements among the Gende have been: 1)

the collapse of the pre-colonial north-south trade route (in which the Gende enjoyed the advantages of middlemen in the shell trade) soon after missionaries and government officers entered the central highlands, 2) the building of roads and greater economic development among neighboring peoples who have a long tradition of exchange and intermarriage with the Gende, and 3) the unequal advantages enjoyed by the parents and relatives of children who first attended the (now defunct) English boarding school at Bundi Mission and who have, in many instances, subsequently moved into lucrative white-collar jobs in Papua New Guinea's towns and outstations.

One of the most important factors explaining Gende mobility patterns has been the effect of inequality and urban remittances on individual Gende's participation in the local exchange system. From the time a Gende individual is born until long after he (or she) dies, that individual is part of a system of exchange in which he is both dependent upon others to invest wealth in him and obligated to reciprocate that wealth at appropriate times in the lives (or deaths) of those individuals (or their descendents). Only by maintaining their exchange relationships in good order or, in the case of younger men and women, by demonstrating a potential for becoming reliable exchange partners, do individuals gain access to land, enjoy affiliation with a particular group and place, receive support for marriage and childwealth payments, and have the security of knowing that when they die others will mourn their deaths and sacrifice pigs for them.

As I have shown, migrants who fail to keep up with their

obligations to village exchange partners risk losing their rural option when their exchange partners sever the relationships and give their support and land to others (both migrants and non-migrants) who are better able to reciprocate that support. One of the more negative effects of inequality has been an inflation in the cost of exchange payments as villagers attempt to compensate for a lack of urban remittances and income differences among themselves. This inflation, along with relative income differences, has made it increasingly difficult for some villagers to retain their option to remain in the village, and has resulted in even further migration as 1) young (and not so young) men who are without wives and/or land leave the village to look for work in town and young women follow in order to attract wealthy husbands, and 2) older men and women are forced out of the village by the inflationary demands of creditors, conflict over unpaid exchange debts, and ostracism.

While inequality has proven to be disadvantageous for some Gende, it has offered certain advantages to others. By being ready to step into the breach when other men and women default on their exchange payments, wealthy migrants and their village exchange partners have acquired control over vast tracts of garden land, thereby increasing the economic differences between themselves and other Gende. In a very real sense, wealthy migrants are becoming a class of "absentee landlords". Unable or unwilling to return to the village and lose the advantages they enjoy because of their highly paid employment in town, such migrants nonetheless exercise enormous influence over village affairs by setting the standard or

rate of exchange by which other Gende are judged.

Inequality has effected women in various ways. For some women, in particular widows and older women in the village, it has offered an opportunity to increase their status (or at least keep abreast of inflation) by raising pigs for men with money.

Similarly, wealthy female migrants and village women who are the recipients of generous urban remittances are able to play a bigger role in village affairs than was their lot traditionally, and, in some cases, their exchange activities rival that of most men.

Other women, however, are simply faced with an increased work load as they and their village husbands attempt to keep up with their exchange payments in the absence of any significant cash income.

Although inequality and inflation have seriously interfered with Gende exchange relationships, the combination of inequality, inflation, and uncertain economic conditions has prompted a greater reliance among most Gende on what I call a BROAD INVESTMENT POLICY (in contrast to a NARROW INVESTMENT POLICY). For many Gende, investing in a wide network of exchange partners has become an essential component in their efforts to cope with inequality and the uncertainties of which exchange partners will turn out to be the most reliable or the most lucrative. For other Gende, particularly those with moderate (but not low) incomes, investing in only a few individuals in the hopes that their exchange partners will "come through" with generous remittances is a way of betting on the future as the means for overcoming present difficulties and imbalances in exchange payments. Although the latter investment policy carries with it a certain amount of risk, enough villagers

have experienced sudden reversals in the fortune (when their children or other exchange partners suddenly land a high-paying job in town) to make it a tempting policy to adhere to.

Although an investigation of the economic, social, and historical contexts of Gende migration was essential to my understanding of the impact of migration and inequality upon Gende society and of the broad patterns of population movements among the Gende, it was only by collecting data on individual exchange histories and by looking at the cultural context of exchange and inequality, that I was able to make sense of individual migration decisions and to have a clearer understanding of current patterns of social interaction (or disruption) among the Gende.

Throughout the dissertation I have made extensive use of case studies to illustrate the workings of a number of factors in the lives of individual Gende and in their interactions with one another. In virtually every instance, regardless of whether the subject(s) was rich or poor, resident or absentee, old or young, and male or female, there was one set of motivations or values which was common to all and which is a dynamic force in individual migration decisions and in the Gende's responses to their situation. This set of motivations includes a concern with personal and group identity, and a desire on the part of individual men and women to be (and to achieve reputations for being) generous and good 'fathers' and 'mothers' of their clans and to ensure the on-going continuity of Gende society.

However, as the case studies and the data on income differences and recent exchange behavior show, inequality has

reduced the effectiveness of most men and women's participation in the Gende exchange system and resulted in reduced self- and group-images. As I was told by a number of Gende, "Before there were only a few rubbish men, but now there are many". As I have shown, for many Gende the 'old game' has become a 'losing game', one in which it is increasingly difficult (and sometimes impossible) to achieve those values which are meaningful to the Gende and to their way of life. There is a sense, even among the winners in the old game, that things have gone awry and that even big men are not as "big" as they once were before the white men came and the Gende first suffered a sense that as a people they were inferior.

The main thesis of this dissertation is that inequality has posed a problem of identity for the Gende, a problem which they are attempting to resolve in ways which are culturally meaningful and satisfying to them. As my material on card-playing and gambling illustrates, one problem which the Gende face is the loss of so many players from the old game that the game itself is in danger of breaking down. Responding to the need to re-incorporate players into the game of social life, the Gende have accepted gambling into their lives as a means of reducing internal conflicts and rejuvenating the old game.

By losing money in card games, men and women are trying to turn the 'losing game' into a 'winning game' once again. Whether or not this is possible will undoubtedly depend on a number of variables. The energy that the Gende invested in the "Bundi Strike" indicates that in their minds the primary solution lies in effecting a more equitable balance between rural and urban economic

opportunities. This fact should be taken into consideration by policy-makers and others who are interested in national development and migration issues in Papua New Guinea and other Third World countries. As the data which I have presented in this dissertation indicate, there is a pressing need for rural development projects in the Gende area if the quality of village life is to improve. My data also suggest that rural development will ease the press of migration upon Papua New Guinea's urban centers by providing an alternative source of income for villagers who might otherwise be forced to migrate in order to restore a balance in their exchange relationships in the village.

However, it is not yet possible to say with certainty that rural development will provide a "way back home" for men and women who are now out of the game and/or unemployed migrants living in town. Although the Gende's use of card games and the sentiments they expressed during the Bundi Strike suggest that there is a willingness on the part of most Gende to accept those men and women who are now out of the game into the game, further investigation is required on a number of issues which I have only hinted at in this dissertation. Foremost is the issue of the relationship between wealthy "absentee landlords" and landless migrants. As I have shown, there is a tendency for men who have few or no claims to village lands to migrate rather than use land belonging to their wealthier peers. More information on the nature of the interaction and exchange behavior between "absentee landlords" and their "dispossessed" peers in town might shed some light on the permanence of much migration among the Gende. It may be the case that wealthy

migrants contribute to permanent migration by being a source of income for unemployed migrants and so indebting them that there is little chance that "dispossessed" migrants will ever have enough money to buy their way back into the village system.

Another issue which needs to be looked at in greater depth is the growing independence of some migrants from both the structural and emotional constraints which tie most Gende migrants to exchange partners in the village. The economic independence and emotional distance which exists between some wealthy migrants and their wives, and between some migrant children and their parents, heightens the possibility that migrants will become alienated towards the values of their parents and be more likely to accept Western standards of behavior or to create new values of their own. Should this be the case, there may be greater inequality and poverty in store for villagers in the future as more and more migrants default on their exchange obligations and turn their back on the village.

Until such questions are answered, however, or until such possibilities become realities, it seems likely that for some time to come the Gende will continue to participate in what for most Gende is the only game in town.



APPENDIX 1. Gende kinship terms.

<u>Kin type</u>	<u>Reference</u>	<u>Address</u>	<u>Kin type</u>	<u>Reference</u>	<u>Address</u>
Fa	Nomowo	Weno	So	Movone	<name>
Mo	Niyowo	Yoro	Da	Orune	<name>
Br (f)	Nizawo	<name>	Si (m)	Nizawo	<name>
E1Br (m)	Aiyane	<name>	YoBr (m)	Nugunawo	<name>
E1Br (f)	Aiyane	<name>	YoSi (m)	Orunugunawo	<name>
E1Si (m)	Apone	<name>	YoBr (f)	Nugunawo	<name>
E1Si (f)	Apone	<name>	YoSi (f)	Orunugunawo	<name>
FaE1Br	Waune	Wau	YoBrSo (m)	Nanuwawo	<name>
			YoBrDa (m)	Nonovoro	<name>
FaE1BrWi	Bowane	Bowa	HuYoBrSo	Nanuwawo	<name>
			HuYoBrDa	Nonovoro	<name>
FaYoBr	Nomowo	Weno	E1BrSo (m)	Movone	<name>
			E1BrDa (m)	Orune	<name>
FaYoBrWi	Niyowo	Yoro	HuE1BrSo	Movone	<name>
			HuE1BrDa	Orune	<name>
FaBrSo (f)	Nizawo	<name>	FaBrDa (m)	Nizawo	<name>
FaE1Si	Bowane	Bowa	YoBrSo (f)	Nanuwawo	<name>
			YoBrDa (f)	Nonovoro	<name>
FaYoSi	Apone	Apo	E1BrSo (f)	Nugunawo	<name>
			E1BrDa (f)	Orunugunawo	<name>
FaSiHu	Niyamo	Niyamo	WiBrSo	Niyamo	Niyamo
			WiBrDa	Nereamo	Nereamo
FaSiCh	Novowo	Gowo	SiSo	Movoneko	<name>
MoBr	Bavone	Bavo	SiDa	Oruneko	<name>
MoBrWi	Avune	Avune	HuSiSo	Movoneko	<name>
			HuSiDa	Oruneko	<name>
MoBrCh	Novowo	Gowo	SiSo	Nanuwawo	<name>
MoSi	Bowane	Bowa	SiDa	Nonovoro	<name>
MoSiHu	Niyamo	Niyamo	WiSiSo	Niyamo	Niyamo
			WiSiDa	Nereamo	Nereamo
MoSiCh	Novowo	Gowo	ChSo	Nanuwawo	<name>
FaFa	Waune	Wau	ChDa	Nonovoro	<name>
FaMo	Bowane	Bowa	ChSo	Nanuwawo	<name>
			ChDa	Nonovoro	<name>
MoFa	Waune	Wau	ChSo	Nanuwawo	<name>
			ChDa	Nonovoro	<name>
MoMo	Bowane	Bowa	ChSo	Nanuwawo	<name>
			ChDa	Nonovoro	<name>
Hu	Wenepine	Omo	Wi	Kaunane	Yowo
WiFa	Niyamo	Niyamo	DaHu (m)	Niyamo	Niyamo
WiMo	Nereamo	Nereamo	DaHu (f)	Niyamo	Niyamo
HuFa	Waune	Wau	SoWi (m)	Nonovoro	<name>
HuMo	Bowane	Bowa	SoWi (f)	Nonovoro	<name>
WiBr	Niyamo	Niyamo	SiHu (m)	Niyamo	Niyamo
WiBrWi	Nereamo	Nereamo	HuSiHu	Niyamo	Niyamo
WiSi	Nereamo	Nereamo	SiHu (f)	Niyamo	Niyamo
WiSiHu	Niyamo	Niyamo	WiSiHu	Niyamo	Niyamo

(f)= female speaker (m)=male speaker <name>= use of personal name

APPENDIX 1. Gende kinship terms. (cont.)

<u>Kin type</u>	<u>Reference</u>	<u>Address</u>	<u>Kin type</u>	<u>Reference</u>	<u>Address</u>
HuE1Br	Waune	Wau	YoBrWi (m)	Nonovoro	<name>
HuE1BrWi	Bowane	Bowa	HuYoBrWi(f)	Nonovoro	<name>
HuYoBr	Movone	<name>	E1BrWi (m)	Niyowo	Yoro
HuSi	Nogoro	Nogoro	Br Wi (f)	Nogoro	Nogoro

<f>= female speaker (m)=male speaker <name>= use of personal name

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1977 "Population Mobility in Agarabi/Gadsup Eastern Highlands Province", in Change and Movement: Readings On Internal Migration in Papua New Guinea, edited by R.J. May, pp. 173-202. Port Moresby: Papua New Guinea Institute of Applied Social and Economic Research.

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EDUCATION

1977 B.A. University of Pennsylvania, Anthropology  
1979 M.A. Bryn Mawr College, Anthropology  
1985 Ph.D. Bryn Mawr College, Anthropology

ACADEMIC AWARDS AND HONORS

1977 Phi Beta Kappa, Summa Cum Laude, Distinction in Major  
University of Pennsylvania  
1977-79 Graduate Scholar in Anthropology  
Bryn Mawr College  
1979-80 Bertha Reed Coffman Fellow in Anthropology  
Bryn Mawr College  
1982-83 Max Richter Fellowship for Dissertation Research Overseas  
Bryn Mawr College  
1984 Graduate School of Arts and Sciences Travel Award  
Frederica de Laguna Fund Travel Award  
Bryn Mawr College

M.A. THESIS

"Man in the Middle: Melanesian Man as Transactor and Mediator -  
Making Oneself and Society in the Context of Interregional Exchange"

Supervisor: Jane C. Goodale, Bryn Mawr College  
Second Reader: Philip Kilbride, Bryn Mawr College

COMPLETION OF GENERAL REQUIREMENTS FOR THE PH.D.

1977 German Language Exam  
1979 Spanish Language Exam  
1980 Preliminary Examinations  
1. Culture Change and Modernization  
2. Oceania - Prehistory, Linguistics,  
Ethnography and Physical Anthropology  
3. Culture Theory  
Oral Examination  
Proposal Defense  
1982-83 Dissertation Research, 16 months in Papua New Guinea  
May 29, 1985 Final Dissertation Defense, Dissertation Accepted,  
Degree to be awarded December 1, 1985

DOCTORAL DISSERTATION FIELD RESEARCH

- Proposal** "Rural-Urban Relations and the Impact of Migration on the Rural Community: An Analysis of the Impact of Urban Remittances on Income Differences Among Rural Households and the Effect of Income Differences Upon Social Relations, Living Standards, and Patterns of Migration".
- Location** Yandera Village (and other Gende villages in the Upper Bundi Census Division, Ramu District, Madang Province), and the towns of Lae, Madang, Goroka, and Port Moresby (the National Capital) in Papua New Guinea.
- Status** During my stay in Papua New Guinea, I was an Affiliated Researcher with the University of Papua New Guinea in Port Moresby.
- Grant** The research was funded by a Max Richter Fellowship awarded by Bryn Mawr College.

TITLE OF THE DISSERTATION

"The Losing Game - Exchange, Migration, and Inequality Among The Gende People of Papua New Guinea"

DISSERTATION COMMITTEE

Jane C. Goodale, Bryn Mawr College, Anthropology - Director  
Noel J. Farley, Bryn Mawr College, Economics  
Judith Shapiro, Bryn Mawr College, Anthropology  
Richard Davis, Bryn Mawr College, Anthropology  
William Davenport, University of Pennsylvania, Anthropology

TEACHING AND OTHER PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

- 1985-86 Interviewer and Research Assistant in a study on the Caregivers for Persons having Alzheimer's Disease, conducted by the Gerontological Research Institute of the Philadelphia Geriatric Center.
- Assistant Professor at West Chester University in the Department of Anthropology-Sociology.
- 1984-86 Chair, Session on Gambling in Oceania, Association of Social Anthropologists in Oceania, Annual Meetings, Molokai, Salem, and New Harmony.

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE (continued)

- 1984-85 Teaching Instructor in Introductory Cultural Anthropology at West Chester University.
- 1984-85 Interviewer and Research Assistant in a study on The Meaning and Function of Home for the Elderly, conducted by the Gerontological Research Institute of the Philadelphia Geriatric Center.
- 1980 Phonetic transcription and linguistic analysis of Japanese spoken by a native speaker for a course in Linguistics at Bryn Mawr College.
- 1978-79 Designed and carried out research on The Revitalization of the West Chester Central Business District for a course in Methodology at Bryn Mawr College.
- 1978 Field and Lab Assistant on the project - The Excavation and Cataloging of Delaware Indian and Pennsbury Manor Sites, conducted by the Pennsylvania Historical Commission and West Chester University.
- 1974-75 Lab Assistant in the reconstruction of skeletal material at the University of Pennsylvania.

PUBLICATIONS

- 1983 "Rural-Urban Relations and the Impact of Urban Remittances on the Rural Community", Research in Melanesia, Volume 7 Numbers 1 and 2, June 1983. University of Papua New Guinea, Port Moresby.
- In Press "Card-Playing Among the Gende: A System for Keeping Money and Social Relationships 'Alive' ", Oceania,
- Projected for 1986 Gambling With Cards For Money in Oceania, co-editor along with Jane C. Goodale. The volume will include papers from the ASAO Session on Gambling in Oceania, including a paper given by me: "Playing at being men".

(The editors of Pacific Studies and the editors of Women in International Development have asked me to submit a revised version of the paper I presented at the Annual Meetings of the American Anthropological Association in Denver, 1984 for publication).

John Connell (Sydney), editor of a upcoming volume on Migration, Inequality and Development in the Pacific has asked that I submit a paper on Gende migration to that volume.

INVITED LECTURES AND PAPERS READ AT PROFESSIONAL MEETINGS

- 1983        Prior to leaving Papua New Guinea in May, 1983, I gave a lecture on my fieldwork among the Gende in a seminar at the University of Papua New Guinea.
- 1984        In February, I presented a slide show and lecture on my fieldwork among the Gende to the Bryn Mawr College Anthropology Colloquium. Similar slide shows and lectures were also presented at Haverford College (October), West Chester University (December), and University of Pennsylvania (April '85).
- 1984        "Pigs, Money, Migrants, or Men? Identity Crisis in the Highlands of Papua New Guinea", paper read at the session on Migration at the 83rd Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association in Denver, Colorado, November 1984.
- 1985        Seminar on my dissertation research on migration and inequality in Papua New Guinea for students and faculty in the Anthropology Department at the University of Rochester, New York.
- 1985        "Playing at being men", paper read at 1985 ASAO session on Gambling in Oceania, Salem, Mass.

PROFESSIONAL MEMBERSHIPS

Philadelphia Anthropological Society (Secretary, 1981-82)  
American Anthropological Association  
Association of Social Anthropologists in Oceania  
Society for Urban Anthropology  
Northeastern Wantok System  
Women and Development Discussion Group - Philadelphia area

ACADEMIC COURSEWORK IN ANTHROPOLOGY AND RELATED SUBJECTS

**Undergraduate:**

Cultural Anthropology  
American Indians  
Political Anthropology  
Sociology  
Social Stability and Change  
Historical Geology  
Human Paleontology  
Social Organization  
Development of Anthro. Thought  
Cultural Pluralism in U.S.  
Revitalization Movements  
World Ethnography  
Environmental Biology  
Tropical Habitats and Org.  
Senior Conference - Food  
and Culture  
Folksong and Ballad  
Physical Anthropology  
Psychology of Perception  
Archaeology  
Statistics

**Graduate:**

Cultural Theory  
Social Organization  
Complex Societies  
Cultural Dynamics and Modern.  
Anthro. and Development  
Economic Anthropology  
Sex Roles  
Australian Ethnography  
Melanesian Ethnography  
Melanesia - Independent Study  
Melanesia - Urban Ethnography  
Methodology I and II  
Linguistic Anthropology  
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Field Methods in Linguistics  
Theoretical Approaches to  
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REFERENCES

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