MEN AT WORK

Masculinity, Mutability, and Mimesis among the Gogodala of Papua New Guinea

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Except where reference is made in the text, this thesis is the result of the research carried out by the author. This thesis contains no material published elsewhere or used for the qualification of a degree or diploma.

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For Alison, Callum and Annie

and

In memory of my father

Leslie Patrick Wilde

Contents

Maps

Abstract

This thesis explores images and expressions of masculinity among the Gogodala of Western Province, Papua New Guinea. I propose that, in contrast to anthropological studies that emphasise how men in PNG were rendered powerless and suffered bodily detumescence in response to colonial authority, Gogodala men experienced colonialism as part of a complex process of mimesis, of mutual appropriation and empowerment for both Europeans and the Gogodala. Gogodala masculinity is based on the display of internal strength through external appearance and action, or performance, and it is particularly through work that inner capacities are demonstrated, social relations maintained, and gender made known. Through an analysis of contemporary understandings of early colonial contact and the evangelical mission project, I explore the way colonial endorsement of the local work ethic has been interpreted not only as confirmation of Gogodala *ela gi*, or lifestyle, but as an attempt by Europeans to appropriate Gogodala bodily efficacy. The early colonial practice of collecting vast quantities of Gogodala artefacts, for example, not only acknowledged the skill of the carvers, but also reinforced male autonomy and many ritual practices. Canoes, canoe imagery and canoe designs form the basis of Gogodala social life by expressing an embodied relationship with the ancestral past, and contemporary canoe races provide a link to this past. Through a study of canoe races, and the relationship between canoes and the introduced sport of rugby league, I demonstrate how Gogodala men emphasize continuity with the past, despite colonial transformation. In addition, I argue that, just as work continues to define male strength and produce an 'ideal' body type, this work ethic also exhibits community strength and a Christian cohesion that, it is hoped, will ultimately produce an 'ideal' type of development.

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List of Abbreviations

APCM	Asia Pacific Christian Mission
BHC	Balimo Health Centre
CEF	Congregation of Evangelical Fellowship
CIM	China Inland Mission
ECP	Evangelical Church of Papua
ECPNG	Evangelical Church of Papua New Guinea
GCC	Gogodala Cultural Centre
KEA	Kwato Extension Association
LMS	London Missionary Society
MAF	Mission Aviation Fellowship
MBI	Melbourne Bible Institute
NCC	National Cultural Council
PIL	Papuan Industries Limited
PNG	Papua New Guinea
RH	Ritualized Homosexuality
SSEM	South Sea Evangelical Mission
SWNG	Southwest New Guinea
UFM	Unevangelized Fields Mission
WEC	Worldwide Evangelization Crusade

Notes on Language

In this thesis, Gogodala words are italicised except for the names of places, people, clans and moieties. Tok Pisin words are also italicised and followed by (tp). Similarly, non-Gogodala words are italicised and referenced. In phonological terms, the Gogodala do not distinguish between 'l' and 'r' and this is evident in past colonial reports that used 'r' such as when spelling Gogodara. In current orthography, however, the letter 'l' is used, as in Gogodala. While *a*: can be used to denote a short vowel such as the sound 'mat', I use the Gogodala spelling *ae*.

Vowels:

- *a* as in '*diba*' is pronounced 'ar' as in 'car'
- *o* as in '*ato'* is pronounced 'or'; and sounds like 'ar' 'tor'
- *ao* as in '*tao'* is pronounced 'oe'; and sounds like 'toe'
- *ai* as in 'Aida' is pronounced 'eye'; and sound like 'eye' 'dar'

Glossary of Terms

A

Abilo	white; white cotton cloth; calico
Aegae	Wagumisi clan canoe; canoe design
Aeile paela	people from a different place
Aewa saba	'footprint place', site of Bani's footprint at Balimo
Agi	mother
Aida	male initiation cult; decorated rattle
Aida lopala	Aida objects, masks, rattle, drum etc
Aida Maiyata	'Aida dance'; past male initiation stage
Apela gi	growth
Apela saelepula	nice looking body
Asipali	clan in the Segela (red) moiety
Ato	women
Ato ela gi	female way of life or lifestyle
Awa saki	marriage
Awa saki yaedae yaedae	exchange marriage
Awala	clan in the Paiya (white) moiety
Awana	'forbidden'; taboo
Awana ela gi	forbidden way of life
Awani kakada paka	'wasted fruit skin', rubbish

B

Baiga	village
Balago	bag
Bani	Asipali male ancestor
Bau	coconut
Baya	general word for food; sago; bread
Batalabega	large and fat body, derogatory term
Batalabega lumagi	large person
Bebema	male ancestor; first Aida man
Bini	finished; nothing
Bolame	'alive' place, like Dogono, sent from Wabila
Buwae	bark of a tree used as medicine

D

Daelila	bird of paradise
Daelila tao	'bird of paradise eyes', eye in some *gawa tao*
Dala	men or people
Dala ela gi	male way of life or lifestyle
Dalogo	female ancestor; first person to die

Dede	blood
Dede patepatemi gi	spoiling blood by marrying own clan
Dede sasa	'blood roots'; blood sacrifice; name for Jesus
Diba	conical hat worn by men during colonial contact
Dinipala	placenta
Diwaka	drum
Dogono	special village created by Ibali; first settlement
Dubali	banana
Dububega	large, fat and healthy body, form of praise
Dudi	south side of the Fly River
Duni tao	'spirit string'; ancestral string used to tie up the sun

E

Ela gi	way of life; lifestyle
Elemowa	one of the first Gogodala Christians
Enoba	'the same'; not different; to agree
Ema	betel nut
Etawa	lagoon; semen
Etawa dede	'semen blood'
Ewano gawa	'human canoe', ancestral canoe made from bodies

G

Gagaga	yam
Gaguli	mother of the Gogodala; same as Eve in the Bible
Ganabi	head
Ganabi dalagi	head man
Ganipala	'head', or front part of the longhouse
Gasi	brother-in-law
Gasinapa	clan in the Segela (red) moiety
Gauba	wallaby
Gawa	dugout canoe as vehicle; metaphorical clan canoe
Gawaga	kava
Gawa Maiyata	canoe dance'; past male initiation stage
Gawa saba	canoe place
Gawa tao	'canoe eye', or canoe design
Gi	'thing'; malaria
Gi bapimina gi	truth
Gi gawa	small ceremonial canoe
Gi Maiyata	'everything dance'; past male initiation stage
Gite tila gi	sickness that visits people in human form
Godpe okona luma	missionaries
Golali	*ugu* living under Saweta village; Awala clan *ugu*
Gosa	bones
Gosasa domana gi	'bones affecting thing', magic weakening bones
Gosasa kaekaemina gi	'breaking the bones', magic affecting strength
Gubali	ghost or dead person

Gubali kaka	ghost skin

I

I	tree
Ibali	father of the Gogodala; same as Adam in the Bible
Ikaka	mat
Ikewa	small headdress
Iniwa ela gi	ancestral way of life
Iniwa luma	ancestors
Iniwa olagi	ancestral stories
Imini	face
Imini saelepula	nice looking face
Itila lapodaewe	'black on it', term used to predict failure
Iwai	magic
Iwai dalagi	magic man
Iwai sakema	magic man; magic specialist
Iyapo	seed

K

Kabili	lagoon near Balimo
Kabiya ikaka	wallaby skin
Kaka	older brother; skin; bark of tree
Kaka dawa	form of medicine made of ginger and other things
Kakana lopala	body decorations
Kalimo dede	menstrual blood
Kalu	python
Kamali	strength or power
Kamali bini	no strength
Kamalile gwalemae gi	strong talking; persuasive orator
Kamalile oko aenaemina	hard worker; shows others how to work
Kamalinapa dalagi	strong man
Kanaba	Gasinapa clan canoe; leader
Kane	sago grubs
Kane baya	sago cooked with sago grubs
Kanikaewa sokate	'alive beginning'; life force
Kekakekabusa	gourd rattle; male dance decoration
Komo	central hall of the longhouse
Kowae	bamboo

L

Lalemana	clan in the Paiya (white) moiety
Lekeleke	female ancestor; wife of Bebema
Li	brain
Limo	spirit
Lopala	things; objects; decorations
Lugi	purple coloured yam

Luma	people
Luma pasamina gi	'people unfolding thing', magic that affects strength

M

Magata	mouth
Magata gilala	'mouth words'; magic words
Maiyata	dance ceremony
Mala	yellow
Mala lapodaewe	'yellow on it', term used to predict success
Manaka	mask; *ugu* mask
Masaga	blue coloured yam
Masanawa	ancestral canoe place, near Dogono
Mekeso	bird; feathers used in magic
Menagi	one
Mewa	fish
Miwasa	male ancestor; Dalogo's husband
Moka	*ugu* living under Kini village; Lalemana clan *ugu*
Mudulabali	ancestral migration canoe; Segela (red) moiety
Mulamula	medicine
Muluwapo	body spirit; soul

N

Nagala	'thank you'; sorry
Nagala baya	'thank you' food; gift of food
Nana	to eat
Natali nana gi	feast for marriage engagement
Naya	older sister

O

Obe	body
Oko	work
Oko kalakalabega	hard work
Okopela	worms
Okopela balago	worm container
Opaeya	different
Owama gi	spontaneous dancing by women as form of praise
Owame	a fish
Owame tao	'fish eye', eye in some canoe designs, see *gawa tao*

P

Padawa	grass
Paiya	moiety (white)
Palo betokolaedae	'shoulders not doing anything'; lazy
Pamowa	white coloured yam
Pedaeya	creek followed by first ancestors
Poko tepa	'feast time'

S

Saba	place
Saege	stones; fingernails; special ancestral sago
Saida	Gasinapa male ancestor; powerful
Saida dala	'Saida men'
Saida genama	longhouse
Salago	clan plant
Sakema	knowledgeable person with special skills
Saki	two
Salago lapila	clan plant ornament placed at front of racing canoe
Salela komeda	form of medicine made of ginger and other things
Salonae	place visited during ancestral migration
Sawiya	Wagumisi female ancestor; powerful
Sawiya ato	'Sawiya women'
Sawiya gawa	racing canoe
Sawiyo	name called at start of canoe race; praise for Sawiya
Segela	Moiety (red)
Seyata	fireplace
Siboko	clan in the Segela (red) moiety
Sigali	ginger
Sigali alila gi	revenge
Sika	kava; also beer
Sosola	*kanaba* or leader during early colonial contact
Sosowe	bad; forbidden; see *awana*
Sosowenapa dede	bad blood
Suliki	ancestral migration canoe; Paiya (white) moiety

T

Tabama	clan in the Paiya (white) moiety
Tila wamina gi	'constantly looking' or gazing
Tao	eye; bellybutton; seed; string
Tao ala	'close eyes, church; pray; worship
Tao iyapo	'eye seed', centre part of the eye; in canoe designs
Teme kaka	bark of tree used in medicine
Tepa	time; middle part of something
Tila	to see
Togobolo	bag used to carry Aida paraphernalia
Tota	clan design

U

Udaga	clan
Ugu	spirit; force; monster; village name
Ugu luma	'spirits people'; spirits that live underground
Uwa	male ancestor who taught Bebema about Aida

W

Wabadala	clan in the Segela (red) moiety
Wabeya	younger brother
Wabila	'the richest place'; the beginning place; like heaven
Wagumisi	clan in the Paiya (white) moiety
Wai	pig
Wai balago	container carrying cooked pig meat
Wasikola	initiate; novice
Wasikola Maiyata	'Initiates dance'; past male initiation stage
Wasiwa	magic
Wasiwa ila	'fire bottom men', magic men who use fire to travel
Wawa	father

Y

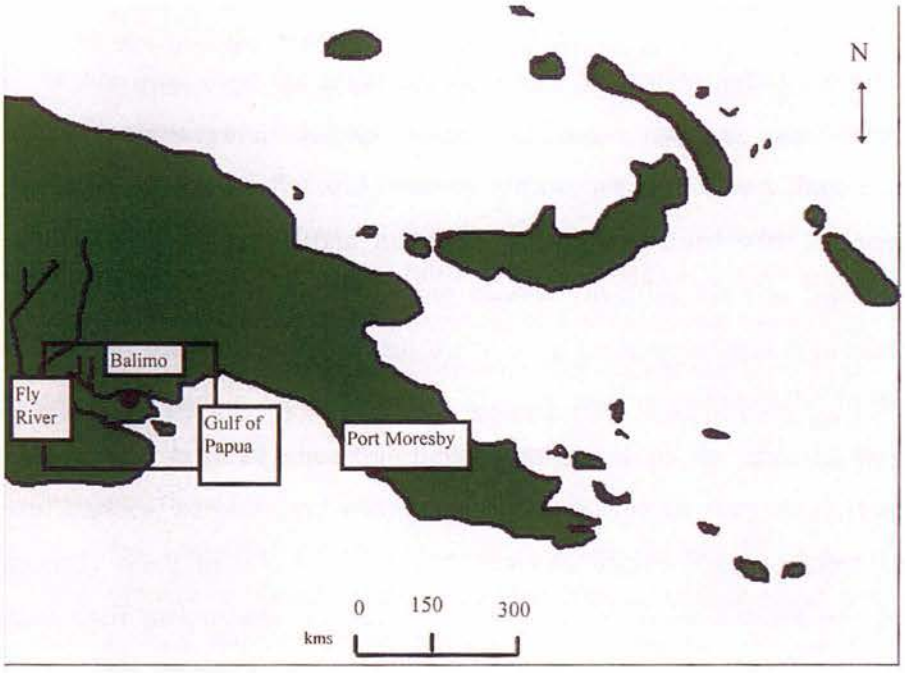
Yaebi saba	'the richest place', similar to heaven, see Wabila
Yaedae	side

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

I first heard about the Gogodala in Western Province, Papua New Guinea (PNG), during my third year of studying anthropology at the Australian National University in Canberra. While my wife, Alison Dundon, was deciding on a location for her PhD fieldwork, a colleague recommended we look at a book by Tony Crawford (1981) based on the Gogodala experience of a 'cultural revival' in the early 1970s.[1] These sources relate that, while visiting Balimo in 1972, as part of a project travelling around the country acquiring art for the National Art collection of Australia, Crawford was disappointed when he found what he saw as a lack of an observable art tradition. With the support of several enthusiastic local people, he initiated what became known as a 'cultural revival' (Crawford 1981:45). At that time, administrators cleared and allocated a site for 'cultural' purposes and the construction of a longhouse, based on traditional building methods, began. Sir Michael Somare officially opened the Gogodala Cultural Centre (GCC) in 1974. It was built to display and sell art and to revive interest in past customs and practices such as those involved in the secret male initiation cult known as Aida (Crawford 1981:163). The book outlined the early colonial history of the Gogodala, and provided an extensive catalogue of local artefacts and photographs, collected from 1890 to 1976, and housed in museums and institutions all around the world. The vast number of historical photographs, including images of men paddling in intricately carved and decorated racing canoes wearing distinctive conical caps, captured my interest in contemporary Gogodala masculinity and is the subject of this thesis.

[1] Other material included the 1977 film *Gogodala – A Cultural Revival?* and Crawford (1975, 1976a, 1976b).



Map 1. The Gogodala, Western Province, Papua New Guinea.

In early 1995, as my wife and I approached Balimo for the first time, we were confronted by a maze of lagoons, small islands, swamps and villages connected by a network of creeks, channels and muddy tracks.

Figure 1. Balimo town centre, lagoon, and waterways from the air, 1998.

As we flew over the area, people could be distinguished travelling and fishing the waterways in dugout canoes, as could gardens, sago palms and coconut trees. Across the flat and swampy terrain, we could see village clearings, each with distinctive sago-frond thatched roofs interspersed with tin ones. The historical photographs of men in racing canoes travelling on vast lagoons came immediately to mind, and it was not difficult to understand and appreciate why canoes define Gogodala social life both literally and metaphorically. In the past, *iniwa luma*, the original ancestral beings, migrated to the area in large and powerful canoes, naming and changing the landscape as they went. Gogodala subsequently trace their lineage, blood and clan rights back to these original ancestors, their actions and, importantly, their canoes. Indeed, while being shown around the Balimo area in early 1995, one local man commented that if we were interested in Gogodala *ela gi*, or way of life, then we only had to wait until the next canoe race was held. While the making, decorating and racing of canoes, and related myths, canoe songs and designs are exclusively male responsibilities, canoes also embody clan and land relations, define social ties and reveal gendered persons.

Subsequently, while watching my first canoe race at Aketa village, I was struck by the idea that these events had been held on a continual basis, despite colonial changes, since 'first contact' with Europeans in 1898. In 1916, for example, A. P. Lyons, Resident Magistrate of Western Division, described one such event as he travelled through the Gogodala area.

> It was my good fortune to visit the village of Balimo on July 25th, 1916, during the progress of a Gawa-moiata (canoe festival)...In the lagoon I saw eight large canoes, all gaily decorated. Near by were two shelters, which I learned had been made for storing food for the festival. From some of the old men I learned that the actual launching of the canoes is done by the men, and that, besides the feasting and dancing, trial races between crews picked from each of the clans are held, to test the speed of the canoes (Lyons 1926:351).

Figure 2. Canoe race in progress, Aramia River.

During 26 months of fieldwork, from 1995 to 2000, I attended several canoe races that were held in conjunction with trade store and school openings, PNG Independence and New Year's Day celebrations. In the contemporary context, from sexual prohibitions during the canoe construction process, to feasts and the consumption of specially prepared food prior to the race, strict rules govern canoe races. Aside from their own clan, men can show respect by paddling in the clan canoe of their mother or wife. The night before a race, men stay together, relating ancestral stories and singing canoe songs as a sign of reverence for the ancestors and call on their village and clan spirits, called *ugu*, to enter the canoe, give them strength and ensure victory the following morning. As well as being a display of male strength, it is in the context of the dynamic atmosphere of canoe races in which many ancestral stories and social relations are rendered known, interpreted and reaffirmed.

Although a considerable amount of anthropological research has focussed on the role of canoes in other areas of PNG, particularly in relation to Trobriand Kula expeditions, their significance along the south coast has received little attention (Malinowski 1922; Campbell 2002; Gell 1992, Leach and Leach 1983;

Munn 1986). The exceptions are Dundon's (1998) PhD thesis and a study by David Lawrence (1990), which analyses the early 'traffic in canoes' between the Torres Strait and the Fly River area, in which canoes were used as valuables to exchange. Haddon and Hornell (1937) provide an historical study of different types of canoes used in the region. By contrast, David Lipset (1997) provides insights into the way canoes are an integral part of village life for the Murik of the Sepik River estuary. In addition to describing the multitude of meanings given to the construction and use of canoes, he discusses the way canoes are a metaphor for the maternal body, or 'canoe-body', in the complex relationship between male agency and female powers (Lipset 1997:129).

In addition to the Gogodala use of dugout canoes for everyday activities such as fishing, collecting firewood, carrying house posts, transporting sago and garden produce, people also characterise themselves as metaphorically 'being inside', or standing inside, their clan canoe.[2] The Gogodala clan system was established when eight of the original male ancestors became 'fathers' of the respective clans after they were allocated with a canoe and canoe design. These powerful entities came to embody the eight clans. Divided equally between two exogamous moieties, and based on paternal blood ties, these eight clan canoes metaphorically identify and allocate people with land, names, food, animals and define social relations and responsibilities. Within each of the eight clans, people are further divided into several sub-clans, or canoes, which trace their lineage back to the primary ancestor and clan canoe. Metaphorically, people reside in 'smaller' sub-clan canoes within the clan canoe. Decorated and carved racing canoes embody these powerful vehicles and associated ancestral ties.

It was through the category of work, however, rather than canoe races, that we were first introduced to village life. After a short stay at Balimo in January 1995, we moved to Tai village, some two hours walk away. Tai village has over

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[2] The Gogodala are not alone in their use of the canoe imagery for clan affiliation: Jan van Baal (1966:259-60), for example, makes the point that among the Marind-anim on the southwest coast of West Papua, "[c]anoes are given the names of subclans and are the property of local subclans or men's house communities. Wirz, too, emphasises the significance of the canoe as a symbol of common descent, a notion the Marind share with the Gogodara [Gogodala], with whom the canoe is the clan-symbol par excellence".

two hundred residents and is located on a small lagoon close to the Aramia River. Being one of the few villages connected to Balimo via road, people from villages up the river regularly leave their canoes at Tai before walking to Balimo. A track runs from the lagoon edge past the village church and football field, and through the row of houses on either side. We moved there after meeting Sakuliyato, a woman in her early thirties who was married to a Tai village man. Sakuliyato had several years experience working with different missionary families. Being conversant in English, she agreed to act as our language teacher, guide and interpreter and arranged for us to stay with her husband's family. Our hosts at Tai village, therefore, were Sakuliyato's father in-law, Mala, and mother in-law, Kukupiyato, both of whom were highly respected elders and church leaders in the village. Mala's status was evident in his role as the chairman of the Gogodala Land Mediation Committee.

As we ate dinner that first night, we were watched closely for our initial reactions to the food. Our acceptance of sago, in particular, was greeted with great relief and excitement, as sago is the staple of the local diet. Satisfied that we liked 'Gogodala food', or *baya*, the topic soon turned to our place in the family. Through Sakuliyato we learned that Mala and Kukupiyato had decided that they would adopt my wife, Alison, as their daughter and give her the name Samakiyato, a name from Mala's clan. Sakuliyato quickly added that she was adopting me as her brother in the Gasinapa clan and gave me the male version of her name, Sakuli. Everyone was satisfied that we were now from opposite moieties and our individual relationships with the different family members and other clans could be negotiated properly. Drinking tea after dinner, the topic turned to planning the following day's activities. It was decided that Alison would go to 'the swamp' to make sago, or *baya*, with the women and I was to be taken to 'the bush' to work on gardens and carry house posts with the men. It was the experience of work, and particularly the process of producing and cultivating food, that was chosen for our introduction into what constitutes Gogodala *ela gi*.

Over 1995-6, we were introduced to Kamo Bagali, a former Papua New Guinea Defence Force soldier in his early forties who, along with his wife Genasi,

took care of us whenever we visited Balimo. Kamo had recently returned after spending 20 years working in Port Moresby, and was in the process of re-establishing interest for the construction of a new cultural centre. From the start, Kamo was supportive of my research gaols and, having spent so long away, was eager to learn more ancestral stories and gain deeper knowledge of the clans and related politics. Upon returning, however, he faced many difficulties adjusting to the village lifestyle and, after a time in his village of Kini, moved to Balimo town. When we returned to conduct fieldwork in 1998, we lived next to Kamo, on the site of the old GCC, adjacent to the Gogodala Council Chambers. Being based at Balimo provided the opportunity to contrast experiences of 'living on money', in town, with those 'living on sago' and the village-based subsistence lifestyle practiced by 95 percent of the population.

Figure 3. Author's house at Balimo, 1998-2000.

The town of Balimo is the Middle-Fly District headquarters and provides the region with government services, health care, businesses, schools and markets. There are approximately 150 people in paid employment in Balimo and each person supports a large extended clan family. Hundreds of people visit Balimo each day. Office workers, teachers and Balimo Health Centre (BHC) employees

can be seen visiting the market where village women bring produce such as fruit, sago and fish, and men sell meat and, depending on the season, eels, prawns and barramundi. Throughout the day, a steady stream of village people arrive to purchase kerosene, soap, and other supplies from the two large trade stores situated along the main street of Balimo. For council meetings, land disputes, police court cases, rugby league games, Independence Day celebrations, canoe races and church conferences, people come to Balimo. The creation of Balimo during colonial times, however, challenged local conceptualisations of work through the introduction of Western goods, money, medicine and services. The creation of this town lifestyle meant that it was no longer necessary for all Gogodala to live and subsist in villages. Enormous pressure is brought to bear on those who live in Balimo, however, to maintain village and clan relations and conform to the village-based work ethic.

In her thesis, Dundon (1998) contributed to a discourse on nation making in Melanesia through an analysis of Gogodala experiences of the landscape, development and Christianity (see also 2002a, 2002b). With a focus on the 'cultural revival', she explored Gogodala perceptions of names, bodies, food and places, and analysed the embodied relationship between people, canoes and land. In contributing to this discourse, this thesis focuses on Gogodala conceptualisations and expressions of what constitutes masculinity. In particular, it analyses to what extent masculine strength was able to adapt and continue in conjunction with colonial transformation.

Anthropologists have posited a range of conceptual strategies, from initiation cults and ritualized homosexuality to sexual antagonism and warfare, for understanding and discussing masculinity in PNG. For, as Matthew Gutmann (1997:386) argues, the concept of masculinity is a fluid category and anthropologists have historically employed a range of concepts to define "masculinity and the related notions of male identity, manhood, manliness, and men's roles". He outlines four distinct ways that anthropologists have use these concepts.

> The first concept of masculinity holds that it is, by definition anything that men think and do. The second is that masculinity is anything men think and do to be men. The third is that some men are inherently or by ascription considered to be 'more manly' than other men. The final manner of approaching masculinity emphasizes the general and central importance of male-female relations (Gutmann 1997:386).

Gogodala constantly discuss what it means to be male and female and have a term for what I refer to as masculinity called *dala ela gi*, or men's lifestyle or way of life. This prescribed notion compliments the female or women's way of life, known as *ato ela gi.* Both *dala ela gi* and *ato ela gi* emphasise what men and women do. Recognising the centrality of male-female relations, this account of masculinity is based on the articulations and actions of Gogodala men and women in terms of what it means to be male, as Gutmann refers to it as 'anything men think and do to be men'.[3]

A common theme to emerge in PNG studies has been the relationship between masculinity and bodily strength or power.[4] Increasingly, studies reveal that many men in PNG experienced colonialism as a process of alienation and emasculation. To differing degrees, and at different times, colonial agents and institutions instigated a range of feelings including inferiority, powerlessness, subordination, bodily detumescence and dependency (see Herdt 1981, 1982, 1987; Poole 1984; Clark 1989, 1992; Brison 1995; Kulick 1993:9; Lattas 1992:27; Tuzin 1997; Knauft 2002).[5] I propose that the Gogodala experience of colonialism, and particularly those concerned with contemporary interpretations of it, has enabled continuity of male practices, masculine strength and bodily efficacy. In particular, I argue that Gogodala masculinity is based on performances that revolve around the category of work, *oko*. Through work, men identify with the ancestors, and clan land, they produce food and, through their

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[3] This is in contrast to studies such as those of David Gilmore (1990) who searches for the notion of a 'universal manhood'. He concluded that, "although there may be no "Universal Male", we may perhaps speak of a "Ubiquitous Male... [w]e might call this quasi-global personage something like 'Man-the Impregnator-Protector-Provider' (Gilmore 1990:223).

[4] See Paul Roscoe (2001) for a comparative analysis of the category of masculine strength in New Guinea and the Amazonian region.

[5] A common theme in many of these studies is the idea that the loss of male agency was accompanied by an increase in the power and assertiveness of women.

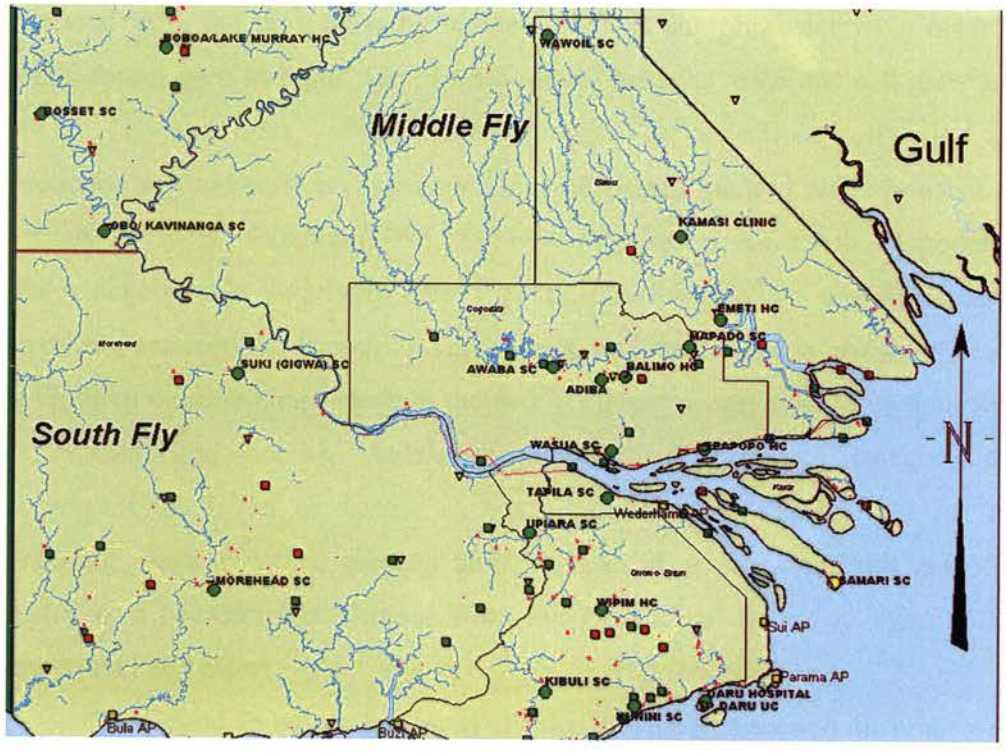
effort, construct an ideal body type - a lean and muscular body - that makes inner capacities and gender external and knowable.

The Work Place

Pacification, missionisation, administration and the introduction of money and medicines were some of the challenges that confronted village people during the colonial period in PNG. Due largely to the country's size, terrain and number of language groups, however, these were manifest at different times and in different ways. While Western Province is the largest of PNG's provinces, it is also the least populous and remote from the capital, Port Moresby. A scattered and isolated population, and a difficult environment that encompasses mountains, forests, and floodplains, has hindered economic and development opportunities and services and left the province with an inadequate transport and communication system. While the Fly River area became part of the British New Guinea protectorate in 1884, it received little interest from, and limited contact with, government patrols and missionaries.

The first European contact for the Gogodala came in the form of Reverend James Chalmers of the London Missionary Society (LMS), when he began holding church services at Gaima on the lower Fly River in 1898. Due to Chalmers' death at Goaribari Island in 1901, however, a LMS station was never established at Gaima. Although the colonial administration established contact with the population inland near the Aramia River in 1900, in the ensuing years the Gogodala had only intermittent interaction with Europeans and several villages were not contacted until 1914 (see Lyons 1914). It was reported, however, that in 1900 the Gogodala people "faithfully promised to refrain from fighting and to obey the Government" (Beaver 1920:192). Due to the lack of a permanent colonial presence, Gogodala ancestral stories, initiation ceremonies, land and leadership systems, and related clan and canoe ideology, and work practices had time and space to adapt and continue. Indeed, it was not until 1933 that permanent

European contact was established with the Gogodala when the Unevangelized Fields Mission (UFM) established a base at Balimo.



Map 2. Gogodala area in Western Province.

Currently, there are 25000 Gogodala living in 33 villages, including government and mission stations, located along the Aramia River and extending forty kilometres south to the lower Fly River, near the south coast of Western Province. The area is divided administratively into West, East and Fly Gogodala. While most villages stretch from east to west along the Aramia River, several villages located in the Fly Gogodala region are also referred to as southern Gogodala. In his comparative study of south coast communities, Bruce Knauft (1993:38) places the Gogodala "on the inland side of the coastal language families" and makes the point that "the coast-versus-bush distinction is in many places a gradient rather than a boundary". Although the south coast of PNG was the focus of several classic ethnographies in the early 1900s, no major ethnographic work has been published on this lowlands area for over forty years

(see Landtman 1917, 1927; van Baal 1966; Williams 1924, 1936, 1940; Beaver 1920).[6]

The primary food for the Gogodala is sago (*Metroxylon sagu*), which is processed from the sago palm by women. Sago is complimented by a range of garden foods, such as yams, taro, sweet potato, bananas, coconuts and greens, as well as fish and meat derived from hunting. The collection, cultivation and production of foodstuffs is a primary focus of village life and is the basis of the term *oko* or 'work'. Dundon (1998:151) writes "[w]ork or *oko* for the Gogodala is what village people invariably label their purposeful activities and movements. Travelling between the garden or sago swamp and the village is *oko,* as is caring for children or collecting fish from the nets". Village people assert that their lives are characterised by *oko kalakalabega* or 'hard work', a category that encompasses activities as diverse as house-building, sago-making, hunting and gardening. Sago swamps, gardens and the bush in which men hunt are often located at a considerable distance from the village and access to them entails much travel and effort.

The Gogodala have a gendered division of labour, although differing work activities are not necessarily considered to be mutually exclusive. It is a complimentary system based around extended families, in which men and women respect each other's roles and assist when necessary. Men typically hunt for wild pigs, wallabies and smaller marsupials in the bush and grasslands surrounding the villages. The acquisition and distribution of meat is an exclusively male activity. Men also make gardens of yams, bananas, taro, pineapples, pumpkin and sweet potato, which are often at a considerable distance from the village. They are also primarily responsible for the construction of village houses, from the staking out of the site, to the cutting down of large trees for house posts and the laying of the roof.

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[6] Indeed, Knauft (1993:36) notes that "[w]ith the exception of Maher's 1961 work, no monographs have been published on any of these south coast New Guinea culture areas taking developments during the colonial or post-colonial periods directly into account".

Figure 4. Building a longhouse at Kini village, 1996.

In addition, men make both carved and plain canoes and paddles for their wives, parents and children, as well as for themselves. They dominate and mediate land disputes, take leading roles in the church, and organise other major celebrations and occasions like canoe races and mortuary feasts. Village women are generally responsible for the production of sago, as well as preparation for its consumption. They fish in the rivers and lagoons close to their villages, and most have gardens of their own in which they cultivate various crops. Men and women often work on shared gardens as well. Women also cut and collect firewood, weave grass mats, sago bags and fishing baskets, care for animals and maintain the house. They are the primary carers of children, collectors of food like coconuts and fruit, and can also act as deaconesses in the church.

Figure 5. Women making sago in swamps outside Tai village, 1996.

While these are gendered activities, it is not unusual for men and women to perform any or all of these tasks at any one time. Men living on the Fly River spend as much time fishing as women, although they tend to catch larger types of fish and use different methods.

Figure 6. Father and son fishing near Kawiyapo village, 2000.

Typically, men and women are thought to help each other in a process of mutual obligation. When asked if it were emasculating for a man to make sago, I was told that what was most important was that he look after his family. Likewise, many women participate in land claims, cut grass and carry heavy loads from the bush. Certain activities, like canoe races and hunting, are deemed exclusively male, however, and gender distinctions are underscored by such practices, although women are considered vital to male success through the provision of food and support. The daily repetition of such activities creates certain kinds of bodies; strong, muscular and slim. As Dundon (1998:148) suggests, "[t]he ability to continue this difficult way of life is highly valued and strong, fit bodies are equated with responsible adulthood. The moral values which underlie such corporeal images of strength and ability are gendered".

The male way of life, *dala ela gi*, is often expressed in terms of the performance of male power or strength, called *kamali*. An entity that resides in blood, *kamali* is the substance responsible for bodily efficacy and health. A common theme in Melanesian anthropology is the notion that the skin displays a person's inner well-being (O'Hanlon 1989; M. Strathern 1979; A. Strathern 1975, 1996; Eves 1998:65; Robbins 1997). For example, Richard Eves (1998:65) makes the point that for the Lelet of New Ireland Province, "skin stands for the body as a whole and, in a pervasive process of revelation, exposes interior states of a person's being to the world". While Gogodala also discuss a person's health based on the quality of their skin, it is the substance of *kamali* that defines the relationship between the seen and unseen aspects of the body. It is through observable action, in combination with physical appearance, that inner strength, the efficacy of the internal machinations of the body, is elicited and gendered. And it is primarily through work, *oko*, that the potency of *kamali* is most often displayed. It was often said to me that, "work makes the difference, people know us by what we do".

In recent years, anthropologists have critiqued the mind/body dualism associated with Cartesianism (see Martin 1987; Lock and Scheper-Hughes 1987; Lock 1993). Some phenomenologists, for example, have employed the paradigm

of 'embodiment' as an alternative methodology for understanding the body (see Csordas 1990, 1993, 1994; Jackson 1989). According to Michael Lambek and Andrew Strathern (1998:14-5), the contribution of phenomenology has been to "overturn the dominant dualisms in which the body serves as either the passive material on which power works or the silent instrument with which it works...[i]t gives the body a positive and active status in social practice". In an influential study of Melanesian personhood, Marilyn Strathern (1988) proposes that Melanesian ideas of sociality and bodies are different from Western knowledge constructs. For Strathern (1988:13), rather than unique individual entities, "Melanesian persons are as dividually as they are individually conceived. They contain a generalized sociality within. Indeed, persons are frequently constructed as the plural and composite of the relationship that produced them". Despite criticism of Strathern's essentialism in regard to the idea of 'Melanesian' and her representation of a dichotomy between Melanesian and Western socialities, I want to draw on her discussion of work for an analysis of Gogodala ideas concerning work, *oko*, and bodily efficacy.

In a study of Hagen society, she emphasises the idea that work is 'purposive activity' that "cannot be measured separately from relationships" (1988:160).

> Work includes making things, but things are instruments of relations, and the creation of relations is not disguised. Work produces or makes visible a relationship, for example between husband and wife. A person's activities become overt evidence of their intentions" (Strathern 1988:164).

This argument forms part of her analysis of agency in Melanesia. For Strathern, (1988:272) "[a]n agent is one who acts with others in mind, and that other may in fact coerce the agent into so acting" and each act has the potential to reveal multiple relationships, depending on the point of view. When a wife harvests tubers for her husband, for example, she is an agent acting with him in mind, while he can be seen as coercing her to act. It is also through actions that gender is revealed. In discussing the way Gimi differentiate the sexes she argues, "[i]t is because women 'do' things differently from men, because they evince different

capacities in the way they act, that their bodies are gendered" (Strathern 1988:130).[7] I want to focus on the way acts make relationships, gender and internal efficacy known and emphasise the way work is an indissoluble part of such definitions.

The Gogodala Gaze

For the Gogodala, knowledge and action are intimately connected to vision. Anthropologists, among others, have discussed the relationship between vision and knowledge (see Biersack 1991:258; Eves 1998:36; Strathern 1988:108-9; Weiner 1995:15-21). The Gogodala usually clarify and base their claims to knowledge of stories and events by using variations of the phrase 'I saw it with my own eyes'. In the following narrative, Dundon (1998:58) emphasises the intertwined relationship between vision and knowledge for the Gogodala.

> Often the narratives I collected were punctuated with proclamations about the veracity of the stories, as the marks of these related events could still be seen. Sakuliyato, when translating a story one day, admitted that she had not really believed these stories when she was younger but had since seen the places and could verify that these things had happened as described. The efficacy of the stories are inscribed on the ground, water, and sky, available for acknowledgement by knowledgeable observers (Dundon 1998:58).

An old man from Balimo made it clear that he did not believe people's stories unless they confirmed that they had seen it with "their own physical visual eyes".[8] Another Balimo man made the point that part of the Gogodala way of life is the concept of *tila wamina gi*, literally 'seeing continuously thing' or gazing, whereby people constantly look at and judge what others are doing. Through the practice of

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[7] See also Melissa Demian's (2000) discussion on Suau ideas of gender and work in Milne Bay Province.

[8] This is illustrated at the end of each day when people congregate around villages to discuss the day's events. Karen Brison (1992:95) similarly notes the way Kwanga, of East Sepik, congregate in informal meetings to discuss gossip, rumours and disputes. According to Brison (1992:94) they "hold long weekly meetings in which people sift through the evidence to try to figure out how much truth there is to rumours, and speakers try to deny whispered charges against themselves".

tila wamina gi, people monitor other's actions to ensure that they act with others in mind. Commenting on the flat and swampy terrain, one man ascribed the lack of a serious criminal element in Balimo to the visibility of the environment. "Where will they [the criminals] go", he asked, "they can't hide". In the villages, houses are positioned and designed to give occupants maximum opportunity to view the village at all times. While houses are built high on posts to deter mosquitoes, the black palm floors and walls enable a high level of visibility, both from inside and out. Houses built near lagoons are positioned so as to make it possible to monitor the flow of canoe traffic.

Recently, Adam Reed (1999), drawing on Foucault's (1977) work on the technologies of surveillance and the penitentiary, has argued that Bomana prisoners, in Port Moresby, have different modes of visual experience that undermine the notion that prisoners are merely the subject of the overseer's anonymous gaze (Reed 1999:44). He refers to one mode as 'intersubjective gazing', whereby social relationships between the prisoners are defined in terms of mutual gazing or the reciprocity of vision (Reed 1999:50). He extends Strathern's description of the acting agent to include the notion of intersubjective gazing, whereby prisoners are constantly aware of the gaze of other prisoners and, consequently, are coerced to act in anticipation of that gaze. The Gogodala notion of *tila wamina gi* resonates strongly with the concept of 'intersubjective gazing' and specifically the ways in which this makes people act 'with others in mind'.

One morning in 1999, while I was visiting Kawiyapo village on the lower Fly River, a woman began yelling from the window of her house overlooking the football field. She was shouting abuse at her son, who could be seen making his way up from the canoe place. He was carrying a large pig across his shoulders and it soon became apparent that he was straining under the heavy load; however, he tenaciously carried the pig across the field, past the people gathering around to watch. While the man's mother called him stupid, suggesting that he was too small and weak to carry such a large pig by himself, the other women praised him. In addition to the subsequent dissection and distribution of the pig to his appreciative kin, and his demonstrated bodily capacity in hunting, carrying the pig

through the village was a performance designed to reveal his inner strength, *kamali*. Later, I learned that his mother's harsh words were actually received as a form of praise and communicated the pride he had bestowed on the family. Due largely to the introduction of guns, the number of pigs found near the villages is declining and men often have to walk further into the bush or travel by canoe in the night to visit islands on the Fly River in order to hunt. Even though he used a gun to kill the pig, his skill as a knowledgeable hunter was proven and any prospective female partners watching him would have been impressed by the display.

This story illustrates some of the ways in which gender and social relationships are largely determined by the observable capacity to work. The young man's internal power, his masculinity, and social relationships were made visible by his actions. The Gogodala practice of *tila wamina gi*, of intersubjective gazing, made the young man act with others in mind. Those out fishing who had seen him loading the pig into the canoe earlier in the morning would have communicated the news to village people. Had he not returned to the village with the pig, he could have faced serious accusations of greed. By cutting the pig into portions and distributing the meat to his kin, he reinforced his familial and clan relations. The next day, the young man arrived at my house with two large barramundi fish he had caught that morning. Although I had no previous contact with him, as a display of his strength of character and generosity, he gave me the fish and apologised in front of a large group for forgetting to bring some of the pig meat the day before.

People who work in the town of Balimo are also under constant pressure to demonstrate their social intentions. Unlike in the village, work in town is not based on an observable physical effort within an immediate, exacting social environment. Because money is seen as the reward for their work, family members expect workers to redistribute their income, just like the man who allocated portions of the pig to his relations. The main concern for village people is that there is a distinct lack of transparency when dealing with those in paid employment. This concern is particularly intense in the distribution and use of

public funds. In 1997, for example, the newly elected mayor of Balimo town took the unprecedented step of living in a house with no walls. He delayed the building of walls to demonstrate his trustworthy character, as most public servants and politicians are accused of 'eating' public funds and keeping the money in their houses. The new mayor added that he would not build a new house until he had fulfilled his promises and responsibilities of 'bringing development' to Balimo.

For men living in the village, work revolves around gardening, hunting for pigs, wallabies and cassowaries, spear fishing, building canoes and houses using bush materials and village maintenance that produces fit, hard and thin muscular bodies. A general lack of fitness and fat or soft bodies, by contrast, typically defines men working for the public service, health centre, trade stores and schools. They are commonly referred to as *palo betokolaedae* or 'shoulders not doing anything', a derogatory term that refers to their lack of manual work. It would be a mistake to assume that fat equates with laziness however; Gogodala also associate fat with strength and health. The issue is one of performance. If a man is large and fat and works hard for the benefit of his family and others, then he is praised for his superior health. In this case, fat is associated with nurturance and growth. The Gogodala have two words that refer to fat bodies: *dububega* means to be large and fat and is used as a form of praise; while *batalabega* is a derogatory term that implies laziness.

Anne Becker (1995) offers some useful insights into ideas of body imagery and aesthetic ideals for body shape in Melanesia.[9] She argues that in Fiji, like Western Polynesia,

> [l]argeness is highly valued in a variety of contexts, including body size. The Fijians' explicit attentiveness to fluctuations in weight and body shape is often registered in insults associating weight loss and thinness with social neglect or deprivation and compliments relating a robust form with healthy vigor and social connectedness. However, while there seems to be a consensual preference for particular ideal physical attributes in Fiji, there is a striking absence of interest in attaining these as a personal goal (Becker 1995:38).

[9] For a discussion of 'ideal' bodies among the Lelet of New Ireland see Eves (1998:57-8).

Despite the fact that her study revealed a high prevalence of overweight and obese Fijian adults, body size is equated with social connectedness, health, strength and the ability to do hard work. One man she interviewed suggested that the size and shape of a woman was noticed before her face, as her shape determined her ability to work. In particular, a woman's legs, especially the shape and size of her calves, indicate a strong working body (Becker 1995:50). These women are known as *jubu vina*, or well formed, and this is indicative of not only of the capacity for work but also that she has been well cared for by the community. While larger women are considered to be the ideal shape, extremely thin or overtly obese women are frequently subjected to verbal insults and taunting.

Bodies are constantly monitored for changes. Weight loss, therefore, is seen as a loss of social connectedness and societal neglect. Ensuring social connectedness is seen as the moral responsibility of the community as each person contributes to the regeneration of the community (Becker 1995:85). Like the Gogodala, village houses are arranged so that people's behaviour can be monitored at all times. Becker (1995:92) makes the point that communities are based on the idea of disclosure, whereby people are encouraged to make public confessions concerning anything that might compromise their health and the success of the community. Similarly, bodily changes due to episodes of illness and/or spirit possession are viewed as a communal concern and used as a reason for the resolution of conflict in the community (Becker 1995:114). According to Becker (1995:128), the cultivation of bodies is a collective effort and the ability to be generous with food is more prestigious than cultivating one's own body through the possession of food.

Many of Becker's descriptions of the intimate relationship between body morphology and social connectedness resonate strongly with Gogodala beliefs and practices. The Gogodala idea of *tila wamina gi* is based on the principle of the monitoring and surveillance of other's actions and bodily aesthetic to promote and ensure the health and well-being of the village community. While the Gogodala see the need to share and be generous as a fundamental part of social life, it is through the body that this is made known. Unlike Fiji, however, where little

attempt is made to actively cultivate bodies, the Gogodala directly associate bodily aesthetic with social connectedness. To be a thin, muscular and fit person shows that you work hard for others and implies a spirit of generosity. Gogodala men and women intentionally cultivate their bodies, for they recognise that 'ideal' body types can only result from living a way of life that is based on a demonstrated work ethic. Men and women living in Balimo are constantly made aware that their size and weight indicate differing levels of social connectedness. Many who work in town, then, spend weekends and other breaks participating in village activities to maintain their involvement in the village lifestyle.

The Malaise of Masculinity

Earlier, I made the point that a theme has emerged in anthropological studies that emphasises the extent to which Melanesian men were rendered powerless by the colonial process. Margaret Jolly (2001:195) recently raised the concerns that colonialism, conversion to Christianity, and development has disrupted local practices and gendered relations, and that this is "having undesirable corporeal effects" on men throughout Melanesia in what she refers to as "the malaise of modernity". She writes that sexual antagonism "has assumed now a more individual than a collective character" as the space of collective male violence, anger, and power has shifted with the demise of cult activities, to an increase in domestic violence and court disputes (Jolly 2001:194).[10]

Contributing to this discourse, Knauft (2002:240) writes that, for the Gebusi of Western Province, "the past is now cited as a problem" and that they are actively engaging modern institutions and agents, such as schooling, Christianity, and money, at the expense of more 'traditional' ones. Tracing the changes he experienced since he began fieldwork in 1982, Knauft (2002:40) proposes that Gebusi interactions with modern organisations have been characterised by "recessive agency", whereby local people have actively

[10] See also Knauft (1997) and Tuzin (1997).

compromised their agency and become subordinate to outside authority. He argues that they are passively waiting for modern benefits to emerge in what he terms a form of "active passivity". While he recognises that some Gebusi beliefs and practices, including social organization, sister exchange marriages, gardening and aspects of sorcery and sickness, have continued, Knauft (2002:22) emphasises that "changes among the Gebusi in 1998 were astounding". The Gebusi have subjected themselves to a process of cultural subordination to modern authority by diminishing the collectivism of traditional, ritual and social interaction in favour of a passive approach and an individualism that reflects Western conceptualisations of personhood (Knauft 2002:211-213). While recognising that Gebusi men are attempting to assert themselves in new ways, Knauft (2002:27) argues that Gebusi experiences of colonial changes have weakened and compromised male authority.

In another study, Jeffrey Clark (1989) describes the way Europeans made Wiru men, in the Southern Highlands Province, feel dependent and inferior after a patrol post was first established in the area in 1961. He outlines the ways in which Wiru masculinity was compromised and how they believed their bodies to be 'physically shrinking' in size and becoming weaker as a result.[11] In addition to pacification and administrative changes, the area was subject to an intense program of proselytization from a range of mainline, fundamentalist and evangelical missions, groups and sects (Clark 1989:121). As a result, Wiru men "with warfare suppressed and aggression punished, were lacking in ways to socially constitute their masculinity" (Clark 1992:19).

Karen Brison (1995) also examines the way colonialism weakened male character for the Kwanga of East Sepik, as they began "to view male strength in a more negative light than they once did". She focuses on the way leaders were faced with the contradictory challenge of remaining strong and aggressive, as they were in the past, while at the same time displaying a social sensitivity in line with introduced Christian teachings. She makes the point that while leaders in the past

[11] According to Lattas (1998:29), the Kaliai of West New Britain also feel they have been getting smaller since the arrival of Europeans.

were 'autonomous' men who combined 'aggressive strength' with 'social sensitivity' for the communal good, colonial changes have resulted in a diminished capacity to demonstrate superior strength as male efficacy is increasingly viewed in ambivalent terms (Brison 1995:156).

Donald Tuzin (1997) provides an excellent example of the dramatic changes experienced by men during colonialism in PNG. Based on his extensive fieldwork experience, dating back to 1969, Tuzin documents the complexities that confronted the Ilahita community of East Sepik Province as they moved from a debate between 'Traditionalists' and 'Modernists' to the acceptance of Christianity and total rejection of the Tambaran. In this complex study, he laments the "death of masculinity" for the Arapesh-speaking Ilahita village, when the men embraced Christianity by revealing and rejecting the secrets of the male Tambaran cult in 1984 (Tuzin 1997:181). He argues that, after thirty years of resisting mission teachings, the Tambaran ideology was dramatically exposed and consequently it died; "[t]he traditional grounds of male solidarity and association were obliterated", and "masculine identity, purpose, and agency died with it" (Tuzin 1997:33).[12]

From shrinking men to the death of masculinity, understanding contemporary masculinity requires an analysis of different conceptualisations of colonial change. Nicholas Thomas (1994:59), for example, calls for a better understanding of the complexities of the exchange between both colonizers and colonized, what he refers to as 'space of colonial politics' at the local level. He draws attention to the lack of agreement and cooperation in the colonizing project and emphasises that "the cultural and political dynamics of the dispersed process of colonization can involve a much deeper interpenetration of indigenous and colonial meanings" (Thomas 1994:64). In particular, for understanding local forms of Christianity, he argues that the complexities of the mission project, the techniques and conversion narratives and other features of what he calls "the

[12] See also Tuzin (1980).

evangelical imagination" need to be taken into account (Thomas 1994:61).[13] It is within this regard that Tuzin (1997) provides a detailed account of the role of the South Sea Evangelical Mission (SSEM) for the Ilahita,

> [t]he nexus of relationships between Mission Christianity, Revival Christianity, and the Tambaran is important to understand; otherwise it would be too easy to assume that Ilahita's wholesale shift to Christianity and the revelation of cult secrets were engineered or forced on them by European missionaries (Tuzin 1997:19).

From Christian contact and conversion to cargo cults, understanding how indigenous people interpret and practice Christianity posits a continuing challenge for anthropologists in PNG (Barker 1990, 1992; Burridge 1960; Clark 1992; Lawrence 1964; Lawrence and Meggitt 1965; Tromp 1991).[14] In several studies, the concept of 'syncretism', of mixing separate religious belief systems, has been variously used and critiqued as a strategy for understanding religious change (Shaw and Stewart 1994, Magowan and Gordon 2001). The challenge, according to John Barker (1992:148), has been to overcome the dualistic tendency of studying and portraying Melanesian religion and Christianity as separate and incompatible entities. In rejecting this dichotomy, for example, Mark Mosko (2001:259-261) emphasises the systematic, consistent and integrated way that North Mekeo have mixed pre-existing practices and conceptualisations of personhood with Catholic charismatic performance.

In contrast, indigenous people are increasingly asserting that their ancestors were implicitly Christians (see Kaplan 1990a; White 1991; Burt 1994; Macintrye 1990; Chowning 1990). Geoffrey White (1991:247), for example, argues that Santa Isabel attempts to "find the Christian in the heathen" is analogous to other areas of the Solomon Islands and Melanesia "for finding

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[13] In their historical study of South African missionisation, John Comaroff and Jean Comaroff (1991:54) argue "that the missionary encounter must be regarded as a *two*-sided historical process; as a dialectic that takes into account the social and cultural endowments of, and the consequences for, *all* the actors - missionaries no less than Africans".

[14] Lamont Lindstrom (1993:50) argues that "in some ways cargoism as a discourse has digested Christianity" (1993:50). Alternatively, Martha Macintyre (1990:82) suggests that for Misiman, Christianity and the *Losevasevan* cargo cult co-existed, while Trompf (1990:78) refers to the Pomio *Kivung* cargo cult as a "Melanesian Christian cargo cult".

Christianity in or 'behind' the indigenous". According to Thomas (1994:63), "[i]ndigenous understandings...often deflect the notion that Christianity was a missionary import by positing a latent or implicit Christianity in ancestral religion and sociality, which evangelists merely brought into the light". Elsewhere, Thomas (1995b:35) makes the point that even though orally transmitted indigenous tradition may be "rich and precise" well after Christian conversion, "indigenous converts inevitably see their parents' or ancestors' beliefs through Christian spectacles".

It is within this context that the Gogodala are discussing and interpreting their ancestral past. The local term for Christianity is *gi bapimina gi*, 'the true thing' or truth. This is also the term used to describe beliefs and practices associated with the pre-Christian past. The idea of 'truth' articulates, and reiterates, what is commonly accepted as the clan-based Gogodala way of life. Gogodala do not consider themselves to be integrating their way of life with Christianity; rather they express the way that the Bible and the ancestral stories confirm a common Christian origin. In Gogodala *iniwa olagi*, ancestral stories, Ibali and Gaguli are the original father and mother, and are likened to Adam and Eve in the Bible.[15] It was suggested that, "Ibali got married to his real sister Gaguli. Why they did this is [that] they wanted to make people [the population] very big...So in this story, you have to go to this Good News Bible or Old Testament Bible, and see how Adam and Eve came. So we are just like them". This is reiterated in the following narrative.

> In the beginning everyone had white skin. The mother was Gaguli and the father was Ibali, and for white people it is in the Bible as Eve and Adam. Gaguli and Ibali were in the one clan, Gasinapa, which was the first clan and God told them to 'get married and have a service' and then all of us came out through them; they were white people. In the beginning all those people were white.

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[15] The authority to relate ancestral stories, *iniwa olagi*, is based on a system of age and gender hierarchy and the ability to demonstrate how the knowledge was acquired. While most of the *iniwa olagi* I recorded were told by respected old men, after recording several stories from old women, some of these men returned to confirm that it was appropriate for me to collect these stories as the women would have heard them from their highly respected fathers and grandfathers.

Implicit in these local interpretations is the idea that the Gogodala ancestors were inherently Christian.[16] Rather than see their Christianity as a form of religious mixing or syncretic process, then, Gogodala Christian discourse articulates a process of religious continuity.

Mutability and Mimesis

This thesis explores the implications of colonial change for understandings and experiences of Gogodala masculinity. It does so primarily through an analysis of contemporary local interpretations and narratives of the colonial experience and the ancestral past. This is represented in the above discussion of an inherent Christian past and the notion that "the Gogodala story and the Bible are *enoba*, the same, they are not different". In an insightful study, Christina Toren (1988) proposes a framework for understanding how people construct the past as a process of transformation, or mutability, that accommodates and interprets colonial change without denying the importance, and continuity, of tradition. In what she refers to as "the mutability of tradition", Toren (1988:696) argues that the Fijian practice of appropriating certain Christian images implies an inherent Christianity that "at once bespeak[s] the continuity of Fijian tradition and transforms it". For Toren (1988:712), then, Fijians respond to change through a process of interpreting, or revealing, the past, in ways that emphasise the continuity of a living and mutable tradition. I argue that, through interpretations like those that articulate an inherent Christianity, the Gogodala view the past in mutable terms. Such a perspective allows for change and transformation, whilst emphasising the continuity of past practices.

The notion of 'mimesis' provides a useful analytical framework for understanding Gogodala experiences of the colonial encounter. While various authors have discussed mimicry in relation to colonial history and art, Michael

[16] For example, the first ancestral canoe, called Suliki was the same as Noah's Ark, the Garden of Eden was Dogono village and Jesus is the same as Saida (see also Wilde 1997:35-40).

Taussig (1993) provides an account of how mimesis can be used as a conceptual strategy for analysing colonial relationships and representations.[17] For it was in the colonial 'space between' Europeans and indigenous people that a process of mutual mimesis took place, argues Taussig's (1993:78). Utilising this notion of mutual mimesis, I explore the events surrounding Gogodala colonial contact in 1900, and the establishment of a Christian mission in 1933, from the local perspective. I suggest that contemporary Gogodala understandings of this time are based on the perception of such encounters as processes of mutual mimesis between Europeans and Gogodala, which enabled continuity of masculine strength or *kamali*.

The Gogodala have a concept that implies mimesis through seeking sameness – *enoba* or 'the same'. *Enoba* is a complex term that encompasses ideas of sameness and difference, as well as copying or imitation. *Enoba* is used in various contexts, but one of the most significant implies a form of copying or mimesis, through which a person is empowered by another's skills, knowledge or action. *Enoba* is also one way of describing or confirming whether a person behaves in a socially responsible manner. When people from different villages meet in Balimo, descriptions of their activities are invariably received with the acknowledgement '*enoba*' – 'the same'. This recognises the contiguity of events and activities, like making sago, fishing, and gardening, from village to village. Those from a different place, who are not *enoba*, are referred to as *opaeya*, or different, suggesting that they act in different ways. People display their Gogodalaness to each other, and outsiders, by acting like, or copying, each other in a process of mutual mimesis based on mutual respect. Gogodala recognise differing skills and levels of knowledge and believe that, not only is it respectful to act like someone of superior status or skills, but it is also empowering and implies a kind of appropriation of such skills or status.

I propose that the Gogodala interpreted the colonial process in mimetic terms, as a process of the mutual appropriation of power and respect. While men in other areas of PNG expressed feelings of colonial emasculation, in what I have

[17] See also Lattas (1998); Bhabha (1984); Bell (1999); Thomas (1994); Wood (1998); Fife (1995).

referred to as 'the malaise of masculinity', I demonstrate the ways in which Gogodala maleness and autonomy was reinforced by colonial and mission agents and explore how masculine bodily beliefs, practices and imagery, specifically concerning strength, were able to both change and continue. I extend this discussion to include a focus on contemporary understandings that emphasise a continuation of this mutual relationship in a process towards an ideal kind of development, which, it is thought, will unite Europeans and Gogodala. I explore the theme of mutability in relation to masculinity, and ideas of mimesis, through a discussion of the extent to which work continues to define Gogodala life and how the colonial project, and especially the mission's evangelising strategy, served to reinforce this local work ethic and related bodily images. The premise of my argument is that Gogodala masculinity is based on displays of strength through performance, work, and clan relationships, and that this social dynamic continues to constitute male bodily efficacy into the postcolonial period.

In the following chapter, I explore the Gogodala experience of colonialism by analysing how colonial events and transactions can be discussed in terms of the mutual appropriation of power through mimesis. I begin with a discussion of 'first contact' and the way colonial agents, despite their different agendas, participated in the extensive collection of local artefacts and materials. This, I argue, was viewed as the European appropriation of local power or strength, an idea that resonates with contemporary interpretations of these events. In particular, I analyse how Gogodala currently interpret the disappearance of a powerful Gogodala leader called Sosola during the colonial period, as one example of European appropriation of male power. Later in the chapter, I explore the ways in which the UFM approach to Christian conversion from 1933 can also be seen as part of a process of mutual negotiation and mimesis, specifically in relation to local ideas about work and male strength. When they arrived in Balimo in 1933, the mission was based on the physical strength and tenacity of the early missionaries rather than theological training and knowledge. I suggest that, through a process that included 'living among the people', the early missionaries both intentionally and inadvertently mimicked many aspects of the Gogodala way

of life in an attempt to be accepted. This approach to evangelism meant that local conceptualisations of male strength, bodily efficacy and work were reinforced and able to continue in new ways.

In Chapter 3, I return to the theme of canoes, and canoe racing, to demonstrate how the relationship between clan relations and male strength continued throughout the colonial and postcolonial period. I discuss the extent to which canoe races are seen to represent a continuous and embodied link to the ancestral past and are the culmination of work practices that, despite colonial changes, continue to be a powerful display of the quintessential Gogodala male body and character. In particular, I trace the creation of the clan 'canoe' system that emphasises the link between ancestral bodies and places. I show how canoe races continued throughout the colonial period and explore the way canoe races and decorated and carved canoes continue to embody that ancestral past. Later in the chapter, I propose that playing rugby league is an extension of canoe race responsibilities and that both activities are approached as forms of work, so that rugby league has become a definitive part of local articulations of *dala ela gi*, the male way of life.

Chapter 4 explores contemporary constructions of the way Gogodala men defined power at the time of early contact and missionisation. Through an analysis of ancestral stories that underlie *dala ela gi*, I show how the category of male leadership during this time was linked to bodily power and corporeality that mimicked and appropriated the special powers of the first ancestors. In ancestral stories, the powerful male character of Saida is the epitome of masculine efficacy and behaviour. When men refer to themselves as Saida *dala*, or Saida men, they attempt to appropriate the power of Saida and, through collective copying, establish a male solidarity based on a claim of 'sameness' with this ancestral being. Ancestral accounts about Saida, a character identified with Jesus, and the events and images of the secret male initiation cult known as Aida, form the basis of this discussion. It is on these ancestral narratives that beliefs and practices pertaining to male strength and efficacy emanate and it is largely through these stories that Gogodala men now interpret the colonial relationship.

In Chapter 5, I turn to a focus on blood as an entity that continues to define strength. For the Gogodala, *kamali*, or strength, resides in blood and, through a discussion of local ideology concerning conception and specifically semen, I show how maleness continues to be largely determined by blood. In addition, I explore the way mission-introduced medicines and practices, including blood tests and transfusions, have merged with local experiences of the power of medicine. I discuss the importance of local authority in matters relating to illness and health as I explore, for example, what one man means when he says 'you can't rely on white man's medicine all the time'. I draw on contemporary debates about blood and semen and the south coast to show the integral part that blood continues to play in definitions of clan relations and bodily strength.

In Chapter 6, I discuss local definitions of development in relation to work and articulations of masculine strength and bodily growth. The chapter analyses some of the complexities associated with the local division between the town way of life, or 'living on money', and the village lifestyle of 'living on sago', by exploring the way some young men are looking for alternative means, such as magic, for securing 'development'. Through a study of local concepts of revenge, magic, money, vision and mobility, I discuss the way petty criminals, known as Balimo boys, are emerging as a group of men that fall between those who work in town or village.

Chapter 2

THE SPACE BETWEEN

First contact encounters in Papua New Guinea were mostly instigated, controlled and policed by Europeans, particularly in their role as explorers and patrol officers. During the 1935 Strickland-Purari patrol, for example, Australian patrol officers Jack Hides and Jim O'Malley led a team that travelled 1800 km and contacted many populations. In the process they killed up to 32 local men (Schieffelin and Crittenden 1991:2-3). Indeed, Edward Schieffelin and Robert Crittenden (1991) discuss some of the complexities and dimensions for understanding the experiences and interaction between Australians and Papuans during first encounters.[1] Although James Chalmers of the LMS established the first recorded European contact with the Gogodala on the lower Fly River in 1898, colonial contact with villages 40 kms inland, near the Aramia River, did not occur until late August 1900. At that time, the Resident Magistrate of Western Division, C. G. Murray, arrived with officers of the colonial administration of British New Guinea. It was during this trip that Murray made contact with several Gogodala villages, including Mida, Baia, Waligi, Balimo and Dogono. Unlike most PNG first encounter experiences, the Gogodala issued an invitation to Murray's administration to visit the area. Gogodala recall the tall and powerful man called Sosola, the leader from Balimo village, who invited Murray to visit in 1900. A colonial account reports that Murray "heard of many villages living inland from the Fly, and received through the medium of the Daumiri chief a message from a powerful and renowned chief named Sosora [Sosola] that he heard much of the Government and would like to receive a visit from it" (Beaver 1920:190). Sosola's authority in bringing the colonial administration to the area is still remembered and celebrated throughout the Gogodala area.

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[1] For another study of first contact experiences in PNG, see the film *First Contact* (1983), and related book by Connolly and Anderson (1987).

In this chapter, I explore the dynamics surrounding Sosola and first encounter experiences for the Gogodala and analyse how these events shaped local interactions throughout the early colonial period. In particular, I argue that contemporary Gogodala interpret the colonial experience in terms of a continuum, or continuous series or process, which emphasises local male strength and the idea of a performance-based masculinity. Through a study of the early colonial encounter, I demonstrate the way Gogodala see the colonial period as one of a process of mimesis, of the mutual appropriation of power between Gogodala and Europeans. This is based on what has perceived to be a European respect for local male power and related notions of *dala ela gi*, the male way of life. I draw on the idea of mimesis as a conceptual strategy for understanding Gogodala articulations of the colonial period, as Gogodala experienced the colonial relationship in terms of what they perceived to be the mutual empowerment and appropriation of efficacy through a process of mimicry. In particular, I trace the way colonial agents reinforced Gogodala masculine practices by collecting local artefacts, including canoes, a practice perceived locally as an attempt to appropriate Gogodala power. I propose, therefore, that rather than being rendered powerless by the colonial experience, it facilitated the continuation of local bodily constructs and autonomy and enabled ideas of masculine strength and performance to continue.

In the second part of the chapter, I turn to the way Gogodala also understand the events and images surrounding contact with the UFM in 1932 as a process of mutual negotiation. I contrast UFM accounts of early contact encounters with local interpretations of these events to demonstrate some of the complexities associated with the experience of missionisation.[2] I continue the theme of 'mutual mimesis' to argue that the UFM approach to missionisation, and their eagerness to settle at Balimo, was interpreted locally as a sign of respect towards the Gogodala and a confirmation of their way of life. It is discussed in the contemporary context as part of a European attempt to both unite with the

[2] See Young (1997) for a discussion of the way local communities are re-enacting and commemorating the arrival of missionaries as part of a narrative of nationalism.

Gogodala, by sharing their knowledge and wealth, and at the same time appropriate local power. I suggest that early UFM staff favoured physical strength over theological knowledge, in a field method known as 'muscular Christianity'. It was this style of evangelism that appealed to Gogodala ideas about masculinity and strength, and was one of the primary reasons that Gogodala men were not rendered powerless by missionisation. In addition, I analyse how the UFM approach of demonstrating faith through strength and mimicry, through what I call 'acts of faith', resonated with local definitions of masculinity and reinforced local agency by encouraging and enabling each village to determine their own future.

Contact and Copying

The events and stories surrounding 'first contact' experiences between indigenous people and Europeans have been the subject of anthropological inquiry for some time. Most notably, a discourse has emerged concerning Marshal Sahlins' (1981, 1985, 1991) analysis of Captain Cook's arrival at Hawaii in 1778, in which he argues that the Hawaiians interpreted the 'unexpected' event of first contact in terms of their own cultural scheme (1981:xiv).[3] Sahlins (1981) uses the term 'structure of the conjuncture' to conceptualise how events or happenings were interpreted locally.[4] In this concept, events are ordered by culture, as "a *relation* between a happening and a structure", or a happening interpreted (Sahlins 1985:xi). He also introduces the notions of 'prescriptive' and 'performative' structures for understanding how different cultures respond to unprecedented happenings (Sahlins 1985:xi). According to Sahlins (1985:xii), therefore, the "performative orders tend to assimilate themselves to contingent circumstances; whereas, the prescriptive rather assimilate the circumstances to themselves by a

[3] Obeyesekere (1992) and Friedman (1985) have both critiqued Sahlins' interpretation of the Hawaiian experience of first contact. For a comprehensive analysis of the debate between Sahlins and Obeyesekere, and reviews of their respective work, see Borofsky (1997).

kind of denial of their contingent or evenemential character". Thomas (1989:109) critiques Sahlins' analysis of history as providing a very limited theory of change.[5] Similarly, Schieffelin and Crittenden (1991:284-285) found that of the six PNG societies they studied, only the Huli were compatible with Sahlins' notion of the structure of the conjuncture and that for the other five groups, it "looks not so much like a 'structure of the conjuncture' as 'a structure of *mis*juncture'". They make the point that there were "more complexities in the process of cultural revaluation of history than Sahlins was aware of or are revealed in the Hawaiian case alone" (Schieffelin and Crittenden 1991:285).

Strathern (1990, 1992), also questions the validity and usefulness of Sahlins' argument for Melanesian cases and asks whether or not the indigenous experience of first contact was actually a unique and surprising event or happening. She proposes that Melanesians might not have perceived the first contact encounter as an untoward 'event' that had to be interpreted (Strathern 1990:29).[6] She emphasises the role and power of indigenous people in colonial encounters and argues Sahlins' model is founded on certain assumptions, including the idea that,

> (1) the coming of Europeans was a unique event; (2) it therefore stretched people's credulity, so that they had to find a place for the exotic strangers in their cognitive universe; so (3) it is no surprise that Melanesians regarded the first Europeans as spirits of deities; and (4) no surprise that in order to make sense of this untoward event, people reacted by trying to change their own lives and thus tap European power. Underlying these is the final assumption that (5) the Europeans really were the powerful ones,

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[4] For other definitions of the term 'the structure of the conjuncture' see Sahlins (1985:xvi; 1981:33, 50).

[5] In another critique, Friedman (1987:77) argues that Sahlins' approach is motivated by cultural determinism and that "if everything is generated by a cultural code, prescription and performance...are merely different ways of realizing the same culture in practice". For other studies that incorporate and discuss Sahlins' notion of 'the structure of the conjuncture' see Clark (1988:51, 1989:141); Schieffelin 1995; Kaplan (1990a:128, 1990b:14); Biersack (1991:283); Errington and Gewertz (1995:74, 109); White (1991:4).

[6] Sahlins recognises in a recent article that "for the local people the European is never altogether a stranger" and that as "Marilyn Strathern says of Melanesia: '[i]t has been something of a surprise for Europeans to realize that their advent was something less than a surprise'" (Sahlins 1994:387). He counters, however, that all "must construct their own existence in relation to external conditions, natural and social, which they did not create or control yet cannot avoid" (Sahlins 1994:387).

> not least because it was *they* who were the occurrence, who arrived in the Melanesian's midst (Strathern 1990:29).

Strathern proposes that Melanesians constantly take themselves by surprise, through dance and performance, and that although the coming of Europeans may have been a surprise, it was not a special surprise. Rather than assuming that Europeans were seen as powerful beings, she argues, "one might suppose it was the Melanesians who had a sense of power" (Strathern 1990:31). Indigenous terror and disorientation at the arrival of Europeans may have been in response to what they perceived as their own power, or capacities, which may have caused or enabled the advent of white people (Strathern 1990:31).

So what was first contact like for the Gogodala? Schieffelin and Crittenden (1991:8) emphasise the point that anthropologists face the problem of having a lack of local informants with primary accounts and that a combined lack of accuracy of accounts, severely limits many contemporary studies of the encounter. In terms of the ethnographic material available, they write that a common problem was the tendency of local informants to combine, or confuse, separate events and in "some places, informants could not remember the events clearly or accurately after 50 years, and sometimes there were no informants left at all" (Schieffelin and Crittenden 1991:8). For the Gogodala, there are no longer any primary accounts, or eyewitnesses, to Murray's meeting with Sosola in 1900, and, as such, all renderings of this event are in the form of oral narratives and colonial reports of the time. In this chapter, I examine these historical reports as well as contemporary local interpretations and articulations about early contact events, rather than try and engage in a debate about what 'really' happened.

To understand Gogodala narratives about first contact, I want to draw on Taussig's (1993) insights into mimesis and alterity in colonial situations. I refer specifically to his analysis of Charles Darwin's and Captain Fitz Roy's descriptions of first contact between the officers and crew of the *Beagle*, on a voyage in 1832, and the South American people of Tierra del Fuego (Taussig 1993:72-82). He argues that these contact descriptions can be understood in terms of mimesis, as "a 'space between,' a space permeated by the colonial tension of

mimesis and alterity, in which it is far from easy to say who is the imitator and who is the imitated, which is copy and which is original" (Taussig 1993:78). He displaces the idea that it was only the colonized, in this case the Fuegians, who are thought to have a 'natural' mimicking prowess. He points out that the sailors from the *Beagle* simultaneously mimicked the Fuegians to the point that it was difficult to tell who was mimicking whom (Taussig 1993:76).

Taussig (1993:74-6) contrasts Darwin's emphasis on Fuegian imitation of European expressions, habits and language with Fitz Roy's comments that suggest the crew simultaneously mimicked the Fuegians. Darwin wrote that the Fuegians "are excellent mimics: as often as we coughed or yawned or made any odd motion, they immediately imitated us" (Darwin in Taussig 1993:74). In contrast, Captain Fitz Roy, who wrote about the same event, emphasised the crew's power of mimicry, remarking that the Fuegians were "highly pleased by the antics of a man belonging to the boat's crew, who danced well and was a good mimic" (Fitz Roy in Taussig 1993:76). In the above example, Taussig makes the point that, in the colonial space between, both sides mimicked each other. It is this process, what I refer to as mutual mimesis, that I want to explore in relation to Gogodala experiences of colonial contact in 1900. I argue that Gogodala now emphasise the way Europeans copied them during this time and, as a result, reinforced local conceptualisations concerning the efficacy of male strength.[7]

The following colonial report describes Murray's visit to the Gogodala in 1900. I provide an extended version to adequately represent Sosola's pivotal role at the time.

> At Barimo [Balimo], over twenty miles inland he met Sosora [Sosola] the chief who sent him the message, a fine, tall middle-aged man with a keen-looking face. Sosora, of course, received the party hospitably, but there was much excitement at the first. Murray was anxious to proceed still

[7] Although he does not focus on first contact experiences, in his study of cargo cults in West New Britain, Lattas (1998:xxiv-xxv) analyses the way Kaliai are attempting to remake themselves, and become white, by miming and copying Europeans. His study explores the myriad of mimetic activities, including copying aspects of Christianity, Kaliai used to creatively rework and usurp their colonial subordination. Elsewhere, Lattas (1992:28) makes the point that cargo cultists have variously appropriated, borrowed and copied the structure of Christian myths in "a process of embezzlement".

> further inland, but everybody swore that this was the last village in the district and without a guide it was quite hopeless to try and find a path through the immense swamps. Murray, however, persisted in his inquiries, and at last Sosora [Sosola] taking pity on him remarked that he had just remembered that there was one more village called Dogona (sic) [Dogono], but it was a very long distance away. A march of two hours brought the party to the place. The people were taken by surprise and at once prepared for a fight. For a time the position looked doubtful. The Government party consisted of but seven or eight, two men having been left with the camp and carriers at Barimo, while the population of Dogono must have been six or seven hundred. Sosora, however, stalked up to the door of the greathouse, and striking on the post with a new tomahawk just given to him evidently harangued the people to some good purpose, for men, women and children came tumbling out in their eagerness to make friends with the police and to shake hands. Since then handshaking has become most fashionable, and when you go now to a Girara [Gogodala] village, it is simply imperative that you solemnly shake hands with the whole male and female population as it files by. If the ceremony were omitted, it would be thought there was something wrong...There was no doubt about the good impression produced by the trip. All the people faithfully promised to refrain from fighting and to obey the Government (Beaver 1920:190-191).[8]

In this colonial narrative, Sosola is characterized as a 'powerful and renowned chief', capable of mediating between the colonial administration and Gogodala villagers. Local stories about his physical size and presence are reiterated by his description as 'a fine, tall middle-aged man' and his power and efficacy are evident in his approach to the longhouse at Dogono. Rather than a 'surprising' and disorienting event orchestrated by a more powerful group, then, even in this account it is Sosola who is credited with instigating, controlling and mediating the relationship between the colonial government and the people of Balimo and Dogono.[9]

In the early colonial period, after Murray's encounter with Sosola, the Gogodala remained relatively untouched by the colonial administration. Communication was certainly a problem, evident in the fact that this group of people were not administratively known as the Gogodala until 1916, when then

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[8] In an annual report, Murray (1901:81) wrote, "although the people were shy and distrustful, the only village which met us in a hostile attitude, and with war cries, was Dogona".

Resident Magistrate, Lyons, discovered that their name had been misinterpreted for over 16 years. He acknowledged that "the Gogodara [Gogodala] tribe has been erroneously designated 'Girara' and 'Kabiri' by the late Mr. W. N. Beaver and myself respectively", and suggested that "owing to an imperfect understanding by the Gogodara [Gogodala] man, through whom my enquiries were conducted, of Kiwai, in which language they were translated, I ascribe my error, and I have no doubt that Mr. Beaver was misled the same way" (Lyons 1926: 329). Colonial contact with the Gogodala was sporadic and Lyons (1926:332) estimated the Gogodala population to be about 5000 people living in 15 villages in 1916. Thus Gogodala retained much of their internal autonomy to a great extent and, as a result, masculine ideology and practice continued relatively unabated throughout these early colonial years. It was not until 1914, for example, that Lyons (1914) visited a further eight previously uncontacted villages.

In Gogodala interpretations of these early colonial encounters, the efficacy and power of the Gogodala, through Sosola, is emphasised. In these stories, Sosola is thought to have disappeared not long after Murray and his party visited the area in 1900. Many are convinced that Sosola was taken by the colonial administration because they wanted his power and strength. A common theme in local accounts is that Europeans sought to copy Sosola and thereby draw on his reserves of strength and power. An old man from Kini village commented that "[w]hite people came here and found Sosola and he is a tall fellow and they came and they measured him and they wrapped him and tied his body and put him on a plane and took him to Australia. From Australia, they sent him to England" (see Appendix A). Bisaeli Tuniba, Sosola's great grandson, made a similar point in 1999: "my father told me they took him away because he was very tall and they wanted their children to be as big as that, so they wanted to give him a wife so he can have kids". Another great grandson, Gagole Ibina, suggested that "these white people came, these government people chose him as *mamusi* (tp) [leader] and they gave him *mamusi* (tp) clothes...Sosola was a mediator and white people gave

[9] Crawford (1981:52) makes the point that the last known and documented fight that involved several deaths occurred in 1914.

him a white colour *laplap* (tp), called *abilo*, or calico". According to Gagole, "in Australia they have no tall people and they took him over there to give his blood to other people".

Sosola's acceptance of the status of *mamusi* (tp), as well as other gifts of clothes and axes, has its basis in Gogodala practice. Acting like someone else is often linked to efficacy, power and respect. New forms of behaviour, as well as new objects and foods, are variously interpreted, adopted and transformed before becoming widely acknowledged, accepted and copied.[10] To act like, or copy, someone else can also be interpreted as an attempt to gain access to the power of the other, as mimicking denotes respect, and demands distribution of that power or knowledge.[11] Murray's gifts to Sosola, which included clothing, were deemed a sign of respect. It was appropriate, therefore, for Sosola to accept Murray's gift of a new axe and for people to readily accept the practice of shaking hands.

The following account provides an example of local interpretations of the arrival of colonial officers.

> This government came through Daru. As they came through Daru they started making peace among the different people. After that, they started the work of *mamusi* (tp) [colonial village leader], and gave them *laplap* (tp)...Then came axes and knives, the government gave them as free gifts for making peace; among them were razor blades and they did demonstrations on how to use them. Then they used shotguns to scare them to make the peace. Next they showed the mirror and they could see themselves and they killed themselves laughing...They were given free gifts to make peace and they sent some men to Daru to make money...Those who were *kanaba* [longhouse leader] in those days were chosen to be a *mamusi* (tp) [colonial village leader], the *mamusi* (tp) was picked from a good family standing. They showed us how to use guns, they would shoot the coconut or tree branch and slowly we put away the bow and arrows. We talked to each other using hands. They brought men from Milne Bay and Central as policemen and translation work. From there we learned about white man's laws: don't steal, adultery, similar to Gogodala rules.

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[10] The use of kerosene lanterns, for example, is increasingly being articulated as part of the Gogodala 'customary ways'. Thomas (1991-190-1) provides an example of the way kerosene has become an important Fijian exchange valuable.

[11] See also Wood's (1995) study of Kamula attempts to access the power and technology of Europeans.

In addition to free gifts, the colonial administration showed considerable respect for the established Gogodala leadership, including Sosola, by appointing them as government representatives, or *mamusi* (tp). Indeed, the issuing of *laplaps* (tp) as the clothing of the *mamusi* (tp) resonated with local definitions of *kanaba*, clan decorations, knowledge and power. European actions during the colonial period have been interpreted locally as an attempt to access Gogodala efficacy and power through mimesis. After giving Sosola gifts, they forced him to have children in Australia or England and it was through this process that his blood and 'ideal body' were mimicked for the purpose of creating tall and powerful Europeans.

The Art of Appropriation

Sosola was not the only medium through which Gogodala experienced mimesis of their bodies and things. A colonial fascination with Gogodala images and artefacts resulted in several large collections housed in museums and institutions all around the world. Crawford (1981:184) provides an extensive catalogue of Gogodala artefacts and photographs taken over the colonial period, from 1890 to 1976. In 1890, the Lieutenant-Governor of Papua, Sir William MacGregor, collected the first artefact. Although he had never met any Gogodala, he managed to buy a small drum and several bamboo smoking pipes that are now housed in the Queensland Museum (Crawford 1981:36). Apart from MacGregor, the first museum collection of Gogodala material was purchased by the Dresden Museum in Germany in 1900. As the only European known to have been amongst the Gogodala at about that time was the Reverend James Chalmers of the London Missionary Society (LMS), it is reasonable to assume that he collected the material" (Crawford 1981:183). Although the Gogodala were only visited intermittently in the early 1900s, each time European contact was made, artefacts were bought and traded, and photographs taken. In 1910, for example, whilst he was working among the Kiwai, Finnish anthropologist Gunnar Landtman

collected a large number of artefacts and was the first to photograph the Gogodala, exposing "over 500 glass plate negatives" (Crawford 1981:38).

During their years as Resident Magistrates for the Western Division, Murray, Beaver and Lyons, obtained large collections of Gogodala artefacts. Similarly, when the Lieutenant Governor of Papua, Sir Hubert Murray (1917), made his first visit to the area in 1916, he also collected material for the Port Moresby Museum, which now houses over 400 Gogodala items (Crawford 1981:184). The LMS, based at Daru, also obtained objects via their missionaries, the Reverends B. T. Butcher (1963) and E. B. Riley (1925). Based on the LMS collection, A. C. Haddon (1916) was the first to provide detailed descriptions of Gogodala material after a visit to Daru in 1916 (Crawford 1981:38). In addition to the above, Swiss ethnologist Paul Wirz (1924, 1934, 1937) spent several months researching and travelling among the Gogodala in 1930 and he also left the field with an extensive collection of artefacts. A common theme in early Gogodala contact experiences with colonial administrators, ethnologists, missionaries and explorers, then, was that despite different colonial agendas, projects, practices and intentions, local materials and artefacts were consistently and enthusiastically collected and deemed of high value to Europeans.

Thomas (1991) draws attention to the 'entanglement' of colonial and indigenous material transactions, local agency and the mutual experience of the appropriation of 'things'. He makes the general proposition, in relation to contact and colonial history, "that indigenous perception of, and reactions to, foreign people and goods must be taken seriously" (Thomas 1991:184). In discussing the different ways Europeans and indigenous peoples used each other's artefacts, he makes the following point.

> The cargo-cult house in the shape of a colonial bungalow can only be a parody for us; for the Fijian the official British imitation of chiefly customs could only be absurd; but perhaps in both these cases copying is appropriation, a project engaged in to specify alterity and to incorporate the powers of the other. The political seriousness of the intercultural transaction is diminished if acquisition and reproduction are understood primarily as burlesque imitation (Thomas 1991:187).

For the Gogodala, in addition to taking Sosola, Europeans also took possession of powerful ritual figures, carvings, canoes and other paraphernalia. Similarly, European clothing and objects used in exchanges were thought to empower local users in the same way that body decorations used in male initiation ceremonies did.

Recent literature has focussed on some of the complexities associated with the processes of ethnographic collecting and museum collections (Gosden and Knowles 2001; O'Hanlon and Welsch (eds.) 2000).[12] In acknowledging the lack of ethnographic material concerning indigenous agency in these collections, Thomas (2000:273) suggests that "our efforts to identify indigenous agency in the formation of collections needs to be more searching and more indirect". In the following account, Frank Hurley, an Australian explorer and photographer who visited the Gogodala area in late 1922, describes the process of buying a decorated clan canoe.

> I made several overtures to purchase one of these canoes for the Australian Museum, Sydney, but only small damaged ones were available or offered until on the eve of our departure our price was too much to resist and a new vessel finely carved was selected for the fleet. This canoe I had admired many times as being the finest on the lake. Although it measured 40 feet I was determined to secure the prize and carry it on the deck of our already encumbered vessel. The purchase price was: 3 calico ramis, 1 axe, 1 large knife, 1 small knife, 20 sticks tobacco. I further augmented this absurd request by empty tins, mirrors, beads, doubled the tobacco asked and sundry small presents (Hurley in Specht and Fields 1984:136).

This 12.6 metre canoe has been held at the Australian Museum in Sydney since 1923. In later discussions, I detail some of the ways in which Gogodala people identify themselves by their clan canoes. Decorated clan canoes, made from special trees on clan land, are the physical manifestation of this relationship and the above account illustrates a certain reluctance to part with the canoe. By taking the canoe, Hurley was appropriating one of the most powerful symbols of Gogodala creativity, relationship to the landscape and spirit world, the clan ancestors and masculine efficacy. In another example, during Lyons' 1914 visit to

several Gogodala villages, he saw the carving of a crocodile that "was hollowed out as a canoe, with the heads of men on the bottom of the hollow...indeed, it was the most wonderful piece of carving I have ever seen anywhere" (Lyons quoted in Crawford 1981:39). While this ceremonial canoe is now at the Australian Museum in Sydney, Lyons had to wait until 1916 to secure the artefact because he found in 1914 that "the chief would not sell at any price".

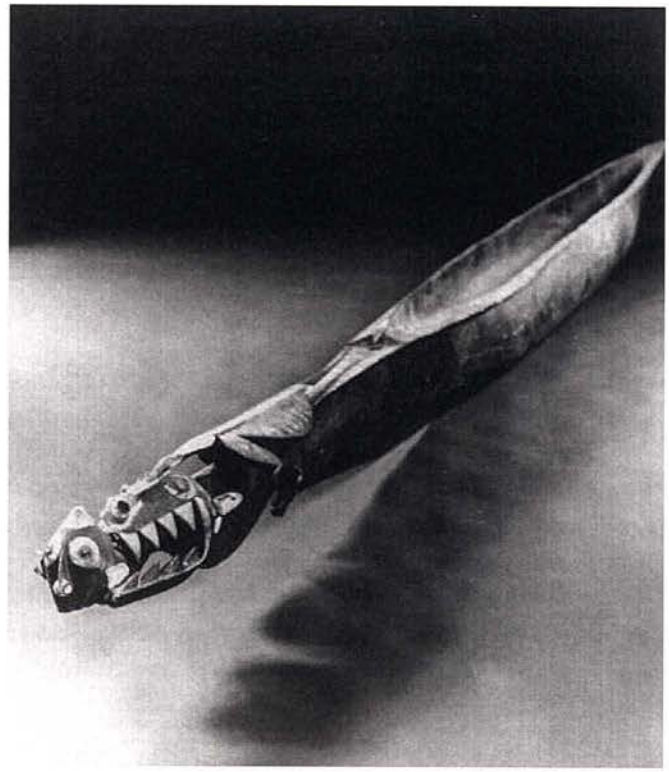

Figure 7. Ceremonial canoe collected in the early 1900s, held in The National Museum of Australia, Canberra.

Taussig's (1993) study of the 'colonial space between', includes an analysis of the mimetic power of colonial photography and phonography, although he is primarily interested in "the white man's fascination with their fascination with these mimetically capacious machines" rather than providing us with "a 'sociology' of the phonograph or camera or their effect on 'the natives'" (Taussig 1993:198). In contrast to Taussig, I am interested in the way Gogodala

[12] For a particularly useful overview of this literature see O'Hanlon (2000).

might have interpreted early colonial photography and phonography as an attempt to copy them. Crawford (1981:45) writes, "[f]rom the scenes captured on glass by Landtman, Beaver, Lyons, Hurley, Wirz and Lea, we can gain some perception of, and insight into, the earlier Gogodala society they observed". But the Gogodala did not necessarily perceive the use of photography as simply a European method of observation. In late December 1922, Hurley took photographs while staying at a Gogodala village called Totani, on the Aramia River. In his diary, Hurley wrote, "[t]he women after much persuasion were induced to pose...before the all seeing eyes of camera and cinema. The ladies were extremely shy and nervous, holding on to their husband's hands and shivering violently" (Hurley in Specht and Fields 1984:134).

An example of a contemporary Gogodala discussion about colonial photographs is reflected in a story told by one of Sosola's great grandsons.

> My father told me they took Sosola away because he was very tall and they wanted their children to be as big as that. So they wanted to give him a wife, so that he could have kids. I don't know where he ended up. I always want to know where he ended up, we might have relatives there and we can know each other. If he has a family in Australia or England I really want to know who they are. We don't want compensation, just to know about them and to maybe visit them. Somebody told me they are keeping the photograph of him in Mosbi [Port Moresby], in the National Library, I was told if you want information about him it costs 500 kina.

For Bisaeli, the existence of such a photograph would confirm that Europeans had indeed taken Sosola as suspected. That the 500 kina price tag to access the photograph, and information, is well beyond the means of most Gogodala, including Bisaeli, reinforces the local view that Europeans continue to be empowered by Sosola. For Bisaeli, the photograph represents more than a mere image of his great grandfather, then, it confirms the European appropriation of his power.

Like the camera, the phonograph machine was used to copy and appropriate aspects of the Gogodala. In addition to taking photographs, Australian explorer Frank Hurley, who visited the area in late 1922, was also the first to make recordings of Gogodala men singing. Hurley made the comment, "I was

fortunate in securing several phonograph records of the village songs, which though an exasperating effort, was worthwhile" (Hurley quoted in Crawford 1981:77). For the Gogodala, clan songs, including the Aida male initiation songs, formed a dominant part of social life. Even in the contemporary context, for both men and women, songs are variously used to communicate ancestral stories, as a sign of respect, for mourning, to provide clan histories, in identifying and naming the landscape or for calling on spirits to imbue strength.[13] During Aida ceremonies, the choice of clan songs determined the events to be followed in the initiation ceremony. Hurley's feeling of 'exasperation' may have been caused by the men's concern over what was appropriate to sing in this context. They would certainly have been worried about Hurley's intentions towards these locally distinctive and powerful songs.

So far, I have suggested that contemporary Gogodala emphasise the way Europeans copied them, and appropriated male power, during the early colonial period. In addition to taking Sosola, Europeans systematically appropriated Gogodala maleness, and femaleness, by taking artefacts, photographs and songs. In the following account, I provide an example of the way male strength was appropriated by an LMS missionary during one of these early encounters. At the time of first contact, initiated men wore a tightly woven fibre conical cap called *diba*. The cone shaped *diba* was secured tightly to the man's head using tree resin or wax and, over time, the hair would grow through the top. According to Crawford (1981:49), "[i]t was believed that the hair of the head was a medium through which the evil spirits entered the body and so the cap was never removed". In 1910, Butcher, of the LMS, managed to collect a *diba* from a Gogodala man.

> I bought one off a man's head and shook it very carefully before taking it on board. The transaction was interesting. I explained what I wanted and offered a stick of tobacco and some hooks but the owner seemed unimpressed. I added a fish line and small mirror and he looked interested, and when a bit more tobacco and some extra hooks went with the rest, a

[13] Schieffelin (1976) and Feld (1982) provide examples of the way songs form a powerful part of Kaluli social life on the Great Papuan Plateau in the Southern Highland Province, PNG.

> smile and a nod told me we had at last arrived. The price was right but the hat remained securely fixed to his head. To complete the transaction he called a friend and the latter took a shell with a sharp edge from his raffia woven bag, and as my man stooped down, started to use it to cut the hat away, and by the time he had finished, the late owner had had a hat off and a hair cut in one operation (Butcher 1963:70).

For Butcher, the above experience was merely a 'transaction', a moment of mutual agreement over the price. Certainly for the local man, the hat was more than an alienable object; the *diba* formed an intimate part of the male head and represented a distinctive display of masculinity with its related ideas about health, well-being and strength. Butcher's eagerness to acquire this artefact of Gogodala maleness could certainly have been interpreted as yet another European attempt to acquire such a focus of male strength.

Figure 8. Gogodala initiate wearing a diba or conical cap, early 1900s.

At the beginning of this thesis, I quoted Lyons' description of canoe race preparations at Balimo in 1916. Lyons was disappointed that the Balimo men cancelled their races as a result of his presence. He was so impressed by the display of canoes, that he arranged for a canoe race to be staged exclusively for his benefit.[14] Far from rejecting or prohibiting the racing of canoes and related ceremonies, the colonial administration demonstrated great respect and generated praise for the highly decorated canoes and the power exhibited by the paddlers during the races. As a sign of mutual respect, the Gogodala men of Balimo used these powerful racing canoes to transport Lyons around the area. During his visit to Balimo in the 1920s, Butcher (1963:73) describes how,

> [t]he Chief offered to take us over the lake [lagoon] and led us to a splendid canoe, at the same time calling to some of his men. They came with their paddles, each a work of art, carefully shaped, carved and painted and about six feet long. The canoe matched the paddles and was one of the finest I had seen. Hewn from a great tree and sixty-nine feet long, it was carved from end to end and also painted with elaborate figuring. The bow for the first six feet were fashioned with scroll work and conventional designs carved with great care and finished off with a projecting figurehead, somewhat resembling a boar with curving tusks but wearing the conical hat favoured by the men...The men of Warigi [Waligi village], led by their chief, stood upright in the canoe, swinging their paddles in unison as they drove us across the lake.

Rather than admonish or discourage the use of ceremonial canoes, then, the mission praised Gogodala male efficacy and were filled with awe at the 'splendid' canoe in which they travelled. Prior to the UFM arriving in 1932, then, various missionaries, patrol officers, administrators, explorers, and ethnologists collected a considerable amount of Gogodala cultural material and, in addition to travelling in racing canoes, men like Lyons went to considerable lengths to secure these artefacts for museum collections. As a result, prior to 1932, male power, such as

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[14] Lyons (1926:351-352) wrote " [e]ach crew took its canoe to an arranged starting place out in the lagoon and near some reeds. The canoes were lined up alongside of one another with the prows comparatively level. At a signal from the old men the crews commenced to paddle, calling out the name of their canoe as accompaniment. Those on shore did likewise, and shouted and laughed when one canoe got too close to another".

demonstrated by performances in these canoes, for example, remained a significant force after thirty years of colonial contact.

Figure 9. Gogodala men standing in their decorated clan canoe, early 1900s.

Acts of Faith

In this chapter, I have argued that Gogodala interpreted their experience of colonial contact as one of mutual respect and mimesis, whereby both Europeans and Gogodala appropriated and copied the power of the other. The Gogodala also interpreted early mission behaviour, of 'living like the Gogodala', as a form of appropriation as well as confirmation of their way of life. I now want to extend my discussion of early colonial contact, and the theme of mutual mimesis, to demonstrate how the Gogodala experience of Christianity and UFM missionaries, like the administration before them, enabled a version of local masculine capacities to continue. The UFM approach to missionisation, based on the idea

that showing 'physical' faith in the field, an approach commonly known as 'muscular Christianity', was necessary for conversion, appealed to the Gogodala lifestyle, itself founded on a performance-oriented and gendered work ethic.

In June 1931, following a split in the leadership of the Worldwide Evangelization Crusade (WEC), an organization that sent missionaries to Africa and South America, dissident members decided to form the UFM. It was founded on the same principles as the WEC as both were nondenominational faith missions modelled on the first 'faith' mission, the China Inland Mission (CIM). The founder and leader of the CIM, James Hudson Taylor, established the CIM on values that "renounced public appeals and, through praying in faith, expected God to supply all the mission's needs" (Weymouth 1978:91). In contrast to the practices of denominational missions, Taylor made all CIM decisions and recruited anybody who would follow his methods, including people with little theological and formal education (Weymouth 1978:91). Following this example, and in association with the London headquarters, the UFM established the Australasian Home Council in Melbourne in 1932.

The UFM began, therefore, as an interdenominational faith mission that comprised mostly Australian evangelical conservatives living in Melbourne, including Baptists, Plymouth Brethren, Presbyterians, Methodists and Anglicans (Garrett 1992:336). Although the UFM later changed to the APCM, and then became part of the Pioneers from 1997, the interdenominational approach continued throughout.[15] Although the UFM was formed by people with different ideological and theological backgrounds, the mission was founded on conservative evangelical principles that accepted "the original Scriptures as divinely inspired" and believed that it was necessary to firstly convert 'heathens' through the Gospel, and then establish, or 'plant', churches in local communities (Weymouth 1978:104-107). Following the trend of other 'faith' missions, the UFM was linked to the Melbourne Bible Institute (MBI) in Australia, an organisation that provided mission training for lay people (Weymouth 1978:103).

[15] For further background on the UFM see Prince and Prince (1991); Weymouth (1978); Garrett (1992:335-7) and for a study of missionaries in Papua New Guinea see Langmore (1989).

The first seven UFM missionaries who went to Papua, for example, were all trained at the MBI (Prince and Prince 1981:36).

Although the UFM was founded after a split in the leadership of the WEC, as Ross Weymouth (1978:64), a former APCM missionary, argues, "it is necessary to give an account of the origin, hopes and work of the London Missionary Society and the Papuan Industries Limited, for it was upon the foundation they laid that the Unevangelized Fields Mission later built". He adds, that a description of the Kwato Extension Association (KEA) is also necessary because they also failed in an attempt to evangelise the Gogodala people. At a time of evangelical revivals and explorations by Captain Cook in the South Pacific, the LMS was established in 1795 by a group of English Protestants for the purpose of sending missionaries to enlighten, evangelise and convert the heathen to Christianity (Weymouth 1978:64-65). It was not until 1871 however, that the LMS, primarily in the form of Samuel MacFarlane, were stationed in the Torres Strait and mouth of the Fly River in PNG. Following the lead of the Anglican Melanesian Mission, "MacFarlane's primary aim was to teach converts at a training institute away from their heathen environment and then return them to convert their own people" (Weymouth 1978:66). This strategy, however, was in direct opposition to the approach of James Chalmers and William Lawes, also of the LMS, who both advocated the view that "a missionary should live among his future converts" (Weymouth 1978:66).

This internal division over a unified evangelising strategy in the LMS reached a defining moment when Charles Abel rejected the approach of men like Lawes in favour of 'industrial missions' that separated men and children from their villages to teach them the value of hard work and commercial enterprise in order to make "these weak, foolish, superstition-bound people, strong Christian men" (Abel quoted in Wetherell 1996:96). It was with this 'muscular' approach, and a forced break with local customs, that Abel established an industrial mission called Kwato in 1891, where he built a sawmill, began boat building, and established coconut and rubber plantations. He proposed that it was through hard work that "these people will be able to go back to their villages in doubt as to

what is the Christian, all-round life to which we call them in Christ's name" (Abel quoted in Wetherell 1996:106).[16]

After working with and being inspired by Abel in 1890, and frustrated with the LMS rejection of separate industrial and trading missions, F. W. Walker resigned from the LMS and in 1903 began the Papuan Industries Limited (PIL). Like Abel's KEA, the PIL was formed on the same principles and the company's first Prospectus made the proclamation that the PIL was formed to aid in "the material, moral, and spiritual uplifting of the natives...by stimulating them to make efforts for their own improvement through the cultivation of marketable products and by other industrial pursuits" (Weymouth 1978:80). After setting up several PIL plantations, including one opposite the Gogodala at Madiri on the south bank of the lower Fly River in 1906, Walker retired from PIL in 1925 and returned to Kwato to assist Abel (Weymouth 1978:87). When the LMS decided to withdraw involvement from the Fly River area, they reluctantly agreed to let Abel's KEA buy PIL interest at Madiri. Due to Abel's death in 1930, however, the industrial mission's involvement in the Fly River area, the plantation at Madiri, was offered to the newly formed UFM as a base for them to continue and advance their evangelising effort. The UFM's approach to evangelism, however, did not include industrial training and the staff only ran Madiri plantation as a base while they surveyed the field and made contact with the Gogodala. Later, after they had moved across the Fly River to begin their work among Gogodala villages, Madiri was sold.

In late 1932, Albert Drysdale chose the Gogodala area based on his experience of Gogodala tenant farmers and rubber-tappers at Madiri, as he considered them to be "the most intelligent and industrious workers" (Weymouth 1978:128). Prince and Prince (1981:12) make the point that Drysdale thought the Gogodala "labourers stood out head and shoulders above the rest in physique and in intelligence". In addition, in several colonial administrative accounts and other writings, the Gogodala were commended for the great intelligence and skill

[16] In reference to Abel's lack of affection for the Papuans, Langmore (1989:119) makes the point that Abel "continued to feel 'nausea' in their presence throughout his long career".

displayed in their agricultural techniques and the elegance of their beautifully presented gardens. It was this way of life that appealed to Drysdale (see Lyons 1926:335; Beaver 1920:207). The UFM respect for the Gogodala work ethic, and masculine efficacy, can be seen in the following account by Rhys Price, a UFM missionary serving as an officer in the Australian New Guinea Administrative Unit during the Second World War. Price (1944:8) discusses the role of Gogodala men during the war campaign, including their work ethic as soldiers and carriers on the Owen Stanley Track.

> These Gogodala boys are the finest physical specimens I have yet seen on the Island,' declared one Patrol Officer... Men from all over Papua, who have never seen the mud flats and mosquito-ridden home of these Aramia River boys, will testify to their versatility and adaptability. They have shown an unexpected aptitude for machinery, compared with many other tribes, which are almost hopeless in this respect. The transformation which followed upon a simple trust in Christ is seen in the lives of numbers of these clean, sturdy Gogodalas, who have been influenced for twelve years by the Unevangelized Fields Mission (Price 1944:8).

In addition, Price (1944:11) described the way American soldiers considered the Gogodalas to be the best and hardest workers they had seen. These accounts show to what extent the UFM, and other colonial figures, had considerable appreciation for the Gogodala work ethic, their intelligence and 'sturdy' disposition.

Impressed by this work ethic, and inspired by an enthusiasm for their mission project, in December 1932 Drysdale and Theo Berger travelled with some Gogodala men in canoes via Padaeya Creek through to Kelesa village, where they were led "overland to the heartland of the tribe, where four villages clustered around a vast lagoon which took its name from the large village of Balimo" (Prince and Prince 1981:14-15). Thirty years of contact with colonial authorities and other Europeans had done much to introduce European materials and money into the area. Young men often had experience of working at places like Madiri plantation, or in the pearling industry at Daru, or further afield in oil companies. Weymouth (1978:149) makes the point that, by that stage, Gogodala men wanted the benefits of the English language and were eager to learn how to read and

write. People welcomed Drysdale and Berger as they travelled around 26 Gogodala villages in December 1932.

During that visit, Drysdale showed village people "a gruesome picture of a bleeding man hanging from two pieces of wood nailed across each other", and "explained that this was a picture of one Jesus, who was no longer dead, and that the white man had come to teach them about him" (Prince and Prince 1981:15). In Gogodala interpretations of this event, however, men identified Jesus as the same as an ancestral character called Saida, as they were both powerful characters who oscillated between life and death.[17] This is reflected in the following account of early UFM contact.

> This Saida changed his name to Kiwalema. This Kiwalema, after seeing Dogono, went and hung himself on the cross. This is the man, his photo is on that cross, he is the one who hung himself. The name Kiwalema was the name he used to cover himself...When Mr Deasey [UFM missionary] came...older men from Balimo village told him "we are *dede sasa*" [spreading the blood]. Mr Deasey told them "no, you are lying, this is our *dede sasa*", and the Balimo men said "no, it is our *dede sasa*". Mr Deasey didn't say anything because these elderly men claimed that it was our *dede sasa*.

The term *dede sasa* is a complex concept that means 'spreading' or 'giving' blood. The idea of spreading the blood is similar to a slain animal lying in a pool of its own blood and then coming back to life. It also refers to the local notion of sacrifice, in which blood is lost or 'given' for the benefit of others. According to Sanada, the mission's message, which became known locally as the 'Jesus way', was increasingly discussed as the white man's version of their *iniwa olagi*, ancestral stories. Prince and Prince (1981:16) make the point that, during Drysdale's first visit, "[s]ome thought the message was truth and wanted to learn, others felt it was not true". During the early formative years with the UFM, the Gogodala discussed the mission message in terms of the ancestral stories. This process became more focussed during the years of the 'cultural revival' in the early 1970s.

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[17] Saida is discussed in greater detail in the following chapter.

Crawford, who arrived at Balimo in 1972 to acquire art for the National Art Board of Australia, particularly encouraged the local process of interpreting and articulating the ancestral past in Christian terms. Concerned that the community was devoid of any art tradition, he instigated the beginning of a 'cultural revival' (Crawford 1981:45).[18] Crawford's (1981) provides useful details of the way in which mission and church ideology regarding the male initiation cult called Aida, as well as painted carvings and clan designs, was openly challenged and suggested that "time has to be spent reassuring the Gogodala that they can live with their own colourful traditions and yet remain Christians" (Crawford 1981:168). Weymouth (1978:350) notes that the "cultural revival has actually helped many Gogodala church members to reach a deeper understanding of their own cultural heritage. It has forced the church to re-examine and re-evaluate its own neglected traditions".

During the revival, much about the *iniwa olagi* was discussed and debated and parallels drawn between these and Biblical narratives. As a result, contemporary ancestral stories often relate the similarities between characters, events and places of the ancestral times and those found in the Bible. In these *iniwa olagi*, Ibali is known as 'the father of the Gogodala'. Ibali and his sister Gaguli married and had several children and each child was born into one of two moieties, known as Segela and Paiya (See Figure 3). The word Segela means red and this moiety is known as the 'red' people's moiety and is divided into four clans; Gasinapa, Wabadala, Siboko and Asipali. Similarly Paiya, meaning white, has four clans and it is known as the 'white' people's moiety, including the clans of Wagumisi, Lalemana, Tabama and Awala. Mala Sogowa, a respected elder from Tai village, explained that, as the children came out of Gaguli's womb, it was noted that their skin was a particular colour. Bani, for example, had red skin,

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[18] Bege Mula, a young carver who initially helped Crawford, outlined the history of the GCC, "[w]e started building the Gogodala Cultural Centre at Balimo in 1973 and completed it in 1974. The project was initiated and funded by the National Cultural Council (NCC) through the efforts of Mr Tony Crawford. Necessitated by cultural carnage attributed to the Christian Missions, the Centre's direction means an almost total revival process in its aims" (Mula 1991:71). See also Dundon (1998) for a detailed discussion of the role of the 'cultural revival' for understanding local conceptualisations of the PNG nation and the crystallization of what Gogodala refer to as 'Christian country'.

so Ibali made him a red 'Segela' clan person. Waliwali came after Bani and his skin was yellow, so he became a part of the white 'Paiya' clan. Bilidama, who came after Waliwali, had skin that was turning red, so he joined Bani in the Segela moiety. In this way, each of Ibali and Gaguli''s male children became the primary ancestor, and 'father', of the eight Gogodala clans.

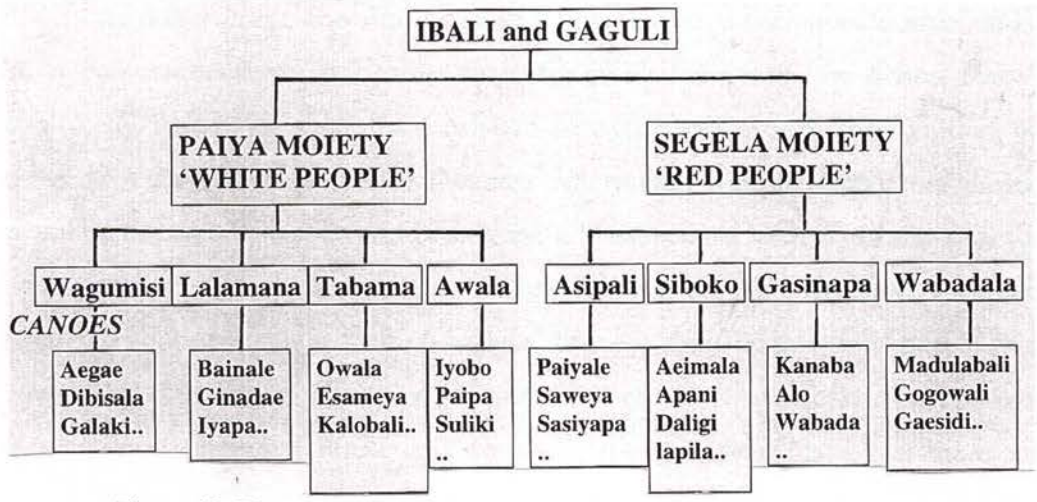

Figure 10. Diagram of Gogodala moieties, clans, and sub-clans or 'canoes'.

The following account relates how the first human body was created and demonstrates the intimate relationship between the landscape and the body, and between Ibali and God.

> Our first father, Ibali, he made the first person but the meat was too weak so he got those stones, *saege*, and he put it into the body of that person and it became bones. The fingernails are *saege*, end part of the bone growing out. *Saege* belongs to the Wagumisi clan. Blood belongs to Gasinapa/Wabadala clan. For the veins...Ibali got these worms, *okopela*, and put them into our bodies to transport the blood. The way we talk about creation is Ibali made the first person, Ibali we call him God. God made the first people...Ibali created the first person and the Bible says God, this is our version of creation.

After establishing the eight clans, called *udaga*, the children of the respective ancestors were subsequently divided up into several sub-clans, or 'canoes' called *gawa*. Ibali named and created these clans and sub-clans by allocating a canoe and canoe design to each of his sons. Clans continue to be organised along patriarchal

lines, whereby land ownership and rights to names are inherited according to male birth order, with the first born son given the most power. If there are no sons in a family, the eldest daughter may inherit the land and her sons are entitled to use that land, although ownership rights are an ongoing concern. Gogodala marriages continue to be organised along the lines of a prescribed 'balance' system, whereby people from one moiety marry those from the respective moiety.

In *iniwa olagi*, the first ancestors travelled to the Gogodala area under strict instructions from their father Ibali. Based at Wabila, or 'the richest place', commonly associated with the Christian heaven, Ibali ordered his children to travel to a magical place called Dogono, where they were to settle, marry, and populate the area.[19] Wabila has been generally associated with Australia and, for the Gogodala, there is a consensus of opinion that the first ancestors travelled from the south by canoe from Australia, through the Torres Strait, past Kiwai Island and then inland from Gaima on the lower Fly River, following Padaeya creek towards Dogono. While it is generally acknowledged that all of the clans travelled in Suliki canoe from the Paiya moiety, some accounts suggest that at this time a Segela moiety canoe, called Mudulabali, was responsible for transporting the 'red people' to the area (see Dundon 1998:34-60; Wilde 1997:28-45).

Before the ancestors left Wabila, Ibali told them not to have sex until they reached Dogono, a special 'alive' place, like Wabila, where they were to live an idyllic lifestyle. Before they reached Dogono, however, they stopped at a place called Masanawa, where they began arguing with each other over whether or not they should break Ibali's command. When the ancestors had sexual relations at Masanawa, Ibali punished his children by 'killing' Dogono, "the first people came and did bad things there [had sex] and this Dogono village went and died". The behaviour of the ancestors at Masanawa is often pinpointed as the moment that Gogodala people lost both their white skin and the chance of an idyllic life, as the following account depicts.

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[19] Local conceptualisations of heaven are a common feature in cargo cult and millenarian movement literature where it has been associated with the space of God, the ancestors and white people (see Connolly and Anderson 1987; McSwain 1977:170-1; Lawrence 1964:77; Cochrane

> The ancestors all had white skins. Because they made a trouble on the way, their bodies changed, because they didn't reach Dogono and do what their father told them, 'you go straight to Dogono and do whatever you like there'. White people and us will be all living together in groups.[20]

An old woman told me that, "before the ancestors came to Dogono, they had sex with one another and then they were changed; so that people have got some light skins and we've already got black skins". The breaking of Ibali's command has been likened to the Biblical story of Adam and Eve, who broke God's law in the Garden of Eden. Stories explaining the inequality between black and white people are often referred to in terms of 'original sin' or 'the Fall' (see Lattas 1992:34; Burridge 1960:173; Weymouth 1978:332).

In many origin stories, the differences between blacks and whites are explained in relation to Christian narratives in terms of an original kinship that was compromised and broken (see Macintrye 1990:84; Kaplan 1990:135-6; Biersack 1991:282; McSwain 1977:174; Chowning 1990:52; Wood 1995:31). For example, Lattas (1992:28) argues that, for the Kaliai of New Britain, "some cult followers claim that black people specifically are descendants of Adam and Eve" and that the virgin Mary carried two children; one being Jesus, who created the whites, and the other a 'king' who will return to redeem the black man. In particular, the Gogodala are interpreting the Bible stories concerning 'the brothers', Cain and Abel and Jacob and Esau, as an explanation for their current relationship with white people. The following account foregrounds a local perspective of these stories.

> The father, Ibali, came and he gave them a choice. And the bigger brother, us [Gogodala people], got the bows and arrows, but you people [white people], you got the gun. That's the hard time for us because that gun is for us, *kaka*, the older brother. *Kaka* missed a chance and he got the bows and arrows and *wabeya*, the younger brother, got the gun. So that's the beginning. That is why you became white people and why we became

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1970:44). The UFM approach to evangelism among the Gogodala was based on rethoric that included a focus on heaven and hell.

[20] All 'light skinned' people, including Malaysians, Chinese, Indonesians and Europeans, are classified as white skins and are called *mukusanada*, meaning 'light skinned fruit' (see also Wood 1995).

> black people. The older brother missed a chance for us. He didn't think of us, why? That beginning is going back to the Bible. You [white people] small brother got everything and you are just sitting down doing things. But us, we have a hard life, going back to the bush, doing things by ourself...it is hard work for us, but white people just sit down and do a bit of work and you get money...So you [white people] came back to us and you are teaching us again, you are teaching big brother...Those two brothers were white skin, and when the big brother missed a chance he got his skin turn into black and the small brother's skin remains white.[21]

By describing white people as the younger brother in this relationship, the right of Europeans to act as superior in the colonial relationship is supplanted. Weymouth (1978:5) also writes that the Gogodala "saw the white man as intrinsically no better than themselves, for both had originally come from the one father". Indeed, the above account locates white people as *wabeya*, or small brother, using local kin terms that emphasise a hierarchical relationship between older 'big' brother, or *kaka*, and younger brother. For the Gogodala, the relationship between older and younger brother is a defining bond, based on clan blood, names, and land. Younger brothers, *wabeya*, are expected to respect and help their older brothers, *kaka*, while older brothers are responsible for teaching, protecting and sharing with their *wabeya*.

In the above account, the idea that "the beginning is going back to the Bible", refers to Biblical stories about Cain and Abel, and Jacob and Esau. In the Biblical story of Cain and Abel, Cain became angry because God favoured his younger brother, Abel, so he attacked and killed him. God punished Cain by saying; "when you work the ground, it will no longer yield its crops for you. You will be a restless wanderer on the earth" (Genesis 4: verses 1-25). In this Biblical narrative, the older brother, Cain, like the Gogodala, is punished and robbed of his birthright. Gogodala also draw on the Biblical story of the two brothers, Jacob and Esau, to articulate a similar message. In this story, Jacob, the younger brother, tricks his father, Isaac, into giving him the inheritance and birthright that

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[21] Weymouth (1978:367) also refers to a local version of the brothers story that explains the differences between white people and the Gogodala: "Ibali gave them [his children] hard things to do and follow to see if they would obey him, but they only did the easy things. The only one who did obey him was the original ancestor of the European race, who built houses out of bricks instead of bamboo as the other sons did".

rightfully belongs to his older brother, Esau. Dressed in Esau's clothes, Jacob visits his blind father so that he can receive his dying father's blessing. In the process, Jacob deceives Isaac and steals Esau's birthright and his blessing. Isaac subsequently tells Esau that he has no more blessings to give, and that he has already made Jacob lord over him (Genesis 26: verses 1-40). According to the Gogodala, Jacob received the white sheepskin, or white skin, that was supposed to go to Esau, while Esau was left with the black sheepskin. In this story Esau is equated with the Gogodala brother who lost the first chance offered by Ibali, and lost the possibility of an idyllic lifestyle for the Gogodala community.

In Chapter 1, I introduced the idea that Gogodala describe their ancestors as implicitly Christian. For the Gogodala, then, articulations of what constitutes Christianity and the local way of life have become inseparable. What is particularly significant for the Gogodala is that Drysdale and Berger followed 'the same' path that the original ancestors followed when they first travelled by canoe up Padaeya creek to settle at Dogono further inland. For the Gogodala, an original kinship with white people, and specifically Australia, is reinforced by the way the colonial administration, which approached the area from Daru Island in the south, and the UFM, from Madiri, both travelled from the same direction, and place, as the Gogodala ancestors. It is thought that when Gogodala people die, their spirit, called *muluwapo*, travels south across the Fly River and returns to Wabila, the first or original ancestral place, where they became white-skinned. White people, then, are often perceived to be returning Gogodala ancestors. Rather than engage the colonial administration and mission as powerful separate entities, then, the Gogodala embraced them as returning members of the community. They interpreted the questioning of colonial agents about the Gogodala way of life as confirmation of an original kinship and the European desire to return to the local way of life.

Muscular Christianity

Diane Langmore (1989:134) has proposed that, before they began preaching, the objective of all pioneer missionaries was "the three-fold task of winning the confidence of the people, establishing themselves among them, and learning the language". Indeed, Drysdale held this objective and he approached his task with the expressed aim of living among and adopting the lifestyle of the people (Weymouth 1978:129). In addition to trying to learn the language, Prince and Prince (1981:20) make the point that Drysdale "completely identified with their lives, going hunting and fishing with them and sleeping with them in their longhouses, with the result that he was virtually adopted as a member of the tribe". As a result, Drysdale ate sago, sago grubs, yams and other strength-defining foods that embody Gogodala work and place. By being adopted into a clan, and accepting clan canoe names, he unwittingly gave approval to the clan system and related concepts including land, spirits and marriage. By sleeping in the men's section of the longhouse, and participating in their dances, he also was seen to approve of the status and role of men and their relationships to women. By hunting, fishing, gardening, building and living with and teaching the men, he reinforced the link between work, *oko*, performance and efficacy. Indeed, his praise of the Gogodala male work ethic at Madiri set the platform for his move to Balimo.

Drysdale's behaviour and attitude towards the UFM mission project exemplifies the ideology surrounding the practice of what is commonly known as 'muscular Christianity'. When Drysdale was called by God to stop working at a poultry farm and begin Bible training, he was 28 years old, "rugged and tough both in body and personality; his opinions were firmly held, his principles rigidly adhered to" (Prince and Prince 1981:13). Despite two years training at the Melbourne Bible Institute (MBI) in Australia, he was known for his physical strength rather than theological knowledge. Stubbornly, he rejected UFM head-office health warnings and concerns and, with few supplies and only two pounds allowance per month, he built a house using bush materials and relied on teaching

and medicine for food and assistance (Weymouth 1978:130). Although the UFM and MBI were closely linked, the Principle of the MBI, C. Nash, was critical of the UFM for sending unprepared missionaries to live in harsh conditions in Papua and at the time is reported to have said, "missionaries going to Papua needed 'thick heads and strong legs'" (Weymouth 1978:125).

Drysdale was also well known for his short-temper, and later missionaries argued that, "the Gogodala mostly appreciated Albert's forcefulness for, deep down, they respected a strong man. If on occasions he got angry and struck them, they accepted that from a man who so obviously loved them" (Prince and Prince 1981:20). For example, one day, when Drysdale found Elemowa sitting in his house instead of working he assumed that he was being lazy and "roundly rebuked him and threatened to come up and throw him down off the house". Elemowa was offended because he had injured his hand and replied angrily "[y]ou come up and I'll throw *you* down" (Prince and Prince 1981:21). Drysdale interpreted this confrontation as a show of mutual respect, and appreciating Elemowa's strength of character, he later chose him for special mission training. In 1934, Drysdale's ascetic, austere and physical approach to mission work was complimented when Len Twyman, an Australian truck driver who was a reformed heavy drinker and smoker, joined him in the field. Aged 32, Twyman was also well known for his aggressive, tenacious and forceful character and, according to Prince and Prince (1981:51), he "was known in Sydney and Melbourne for his vision, drive, evangelistic zeal and missionary interest, a man who did nothing by halves". Leaving Drysdale to manage the Balimo mission station, Twyman set off alone in January 1935, to establish another station at Awaba on the Aramia River. Their combined rugged self-confidence and ability to live alone for long periods of time under extreme local conditions, regularly suffering from beriberi and malaria, gained them considerable local respect.

The UFM's 'thick heads and strong legs' approach to evangelism was concomitant with 'muscular Christianity', a concept that derived from the middle of nineteenth century England.[22] This doctrine was based on the idea that "there

[22] See Barker (1987) for a discussion of Anglican missionary's style of evangelism.

was something good and godly about brute strength and power" and that "[p]hysical frailty was considered unnatural because it was a manifestation of moral and spiritual inadequacy which could be overcome by prayer, upright living, discipline and exercise" (Sandiford 1998:19). UFM pioneer missionaries were primarily working-class, muscular Christians, who demonstrated their faith through actions over time. This is not to suggest that evangelical rhetoric was absent from the UFM approach; rather these missionaries did not base their conversion project upon preaching alone. Comaroff and Comaroff (1991) provide a useful point of comparison for understanding the muscular Christian approach. In their historical study of the Southern Tswana in South Africa, they suggest that the majority of the Nonconformist missionaries had labouring backgrounds and some had very little schooling (Comaroff and Comaroff 1991:80). Based on the "mechanic arts" rather than theological training, Comaroff and Comaroff (1991:81) suggest that the Southern Tswana mission was made up of pragmatic men who were essentially "men of action rather than contemplation".

In Papua, unlike the LMS, whose missionaries derived largely from the middle classes, the UFM became known for sending 'rugged' working class men, with little education, to live in difficult conditions (Garrett 1992:336). By comparison, while UFM missionaries survived on 24 pounds a year, the LMS paid single missionaries working in Papua 155 pounds a year, an amount the LMS missionaries thought was far too low (Langmore 1989:89). In reference to the UFM capacity for living in difficult conditions, Garrett (1992:336) makes the point that,

> [t]heir conditions of work contrasted with the more commodious situation of the LMS in Papua and with the SSEM in Solomon Islands, which was founded and staffed by members of a more affluent middle class. LMS missionaries in Papua, also belonging mostly to the middle classes, were not admirers of the methods or theology of the UFM, but could not help being impressed by their daring and their ability to endure in a place where the LMS had settled no white workers.

Indeed, nearly all of the early UFM recruits from Australia came from the working class, and Prince and Prince (1981:224) make the point that, for the first thirty years, the UFM was a "mission of farmers".

As I discussed earlier, one of the most famous proponents of the muscular Christian approach to evangelism was Charles Abel of the LMS and later Kwato. Unlike Abel's industrial approach, however, the UFM subscribed to the view of changing the society from within, by living among the people. I argue that it was this approach, of copying their lifestyle, which enabled Gogodala decision-making processes and related masculine efficacy to continue. Just as Drysdale tried to live like the Gogodala, Prince and Prince (1981:25) suggest that Twyman was also a great mimic based on his incredible ability to mime Gogodala speech and behaviour. This included participating in local dances wearing clan decorations and singing clan songs. In one UFM newsletter to supporters in Australia, Twyman wrote about the Gogodala, "[t]hey themselves are very demonstrative" and Weymouth (1978:142) suggests that Twyman appealed to this by also being "impetuous and inclined to the dramatic" and that he used his mimicking abilities to encourage large groups of men to assist him in work.

Twyman's mimicry appealed to the performative style of Gogodala masculine practice, particularly so when he introduced the game of soccer into the community in 1935. The following account provides one example of Twyman's behaviour during this time.

> Occasionally mimicry without understanding got him into trouble, as it did when later he taught the men to play soccer! As he dribbled the ball he would coax it along with the words they used, till one of them pulled him aside. 'Taubada, you musn't use those words'. Why not? 'They are bad words!' Len's mimicry had filled his mouth with fruity Gogodala swearing! (Prince and Prince 1981:25).

For Gogodala, soccer was a mission sanctioned opportunity for the display of skill, efficacy and 'ideal bodies'. Just like canoe racing, soccer was an exclusively male activity and encouraged men to represent their clan and village. Like other forms of work, the game was based on performance; it was rule bound, competitive, gender specific and an opportunity for displays of inner strength.

While Twyman used soccer as a moral activity that would gain the respect and confidence of the people, Gogodala men saw it as confirmation of their way of life and another opportunity to display masculine strength. An old Gogodala Evangelical Church of Papua (ECP) pastor, called Lalela Dolesa, who was the first missionary to be sent to Port Moresby in 1960, put the mission's 'acts of faith' ideology into perspective. Pastor Dolesa said "the first thing I wanted was people to believe, so I started playing soccer to show my faith in action, but I broke my leg. I started the first Gogodala team and we became very strong".

As opposed to other missions, who often relied on the use of strong and emotive rhetoric in an attempt to quickly convert local people, the UFM preferred to target prominent individuals for conversion in the hope that these influential people would encourage others to accept Christianity of their own volition. Indeed, in an attempt to convince locals that they had to adequately demonstrate their faith through actions over time, it was seven years before the UFM baptised the first four Gogodala men, in 1940. As a result, the process of setting up a locally run church was slow and, as Weymouth (1978:291) notes, leisurely. This was reflected in the fact that, after the first local baptisms, it took a further twenty years for the mission to establish the ECP in 1961 (later the Evangelical Church of Papua New Guinea (ECPNG)).

In discussions with missionaries based at Balimo in 2000, the point was made that the early missionaries did not directly participate in the destruction of Gogodala ceremonial objects. It was argued that they were only 'invited to witness' these events by local converts and followers. Indeed, Weymouth (1978:146) suggests that, despite firmly held beliefs about the Bible and the need for conversion, Drysdale and Twyman "did not openly enquire into the culture of the Gogodalas, particularly their ceremonies, as they did not want to condone or encourage unscriptural practices by their presence or enquiry" (Weymouth 1978:146). UFM ideology was based on the tenant that Gogodala ceremonial life and Christianity could not co-exist, and as a result, they encouraged the rejection of male-focussed Aida ceremonies and related paraphernalia and dances. By not actively participating in the destruction of ceremonial objects, the UFM gave the

impression that the acceptance of Christianity was a Gogodala choice rather than one forced upon them. By working closely with local elders and leaders, then, Drysdale and Twyman influenced and reinforced the efficacy of local decision-making processes, something I discuss in much greater detail in the next chapter.

The UFM also utilised the *kanaba*, or headman, system of leadership, of the Gogodala, appealing to influential characters holding positions of power within the clan and village. Weymouth (1978:167) makes the point that "[t]he first converts involved – Elemowa, Wameke, Imowa, Gouba, Pasiya and others – were generally forceful characters and men of influence, for they wielded a great deal of authority in their respective villages". Pasiya, for example, was described by Twyman in the mission newsletter in terms of his "'fine physique', as an 'enthusiastic labourer', 'eloquent' in speech, known for 'generosity and hospitality', and possessing the ability to dance with 'great gusto' he stood out as a village leader" (Weymouth 1978:158). It was Elemowa, though, a man from Kelesa village, who was the most influential local figure in the destruction of ceremonial objects and the promotion of Christianity throughout the area.

Earlier, I described the physical confrontation between Drysdale and Elemowa at Madiri plantation in 1932. Recognising Elemowa's strength of character, Drysdale sent him for two years of special mission training at Kwato in late 1933. Along with another Gogodala man named Ibo, Elemowa was subjected to Abel's KEA doctrine of evangelism that emphasised conversion and intolerance of local customs, beliefs and practices and insisted on the total destruction of ceremonial objects (Weymouth 1978:153). While Ibo returned to his village upon retuning to the Gogodala, Elemowa eagerly embraced every opportunity to be involved in local conversion activities and, according to Weymouth (1978:153), became a "roving evangelist". Weymouth notes (1978:153) that "[a]s a result of their two years at Kwato, the two Gogodalas received only a meagre knowledge of the Scriptures, but influenced by the KEA evangelists, their behaviour was decidedly Kwato-oriented". And, while the UFM emphasised local determination and decision-making, missionaries such as

Twyman were happy to utilise Elemowa's Kwato training in his attempts to convert the Gogodala.

Elemowa, then, was with Twyman and other missionaries at the destruction of Aida objects at several villages. Weymouth (1978:159) makes the important point that "[o]f far greater significance than was realised by the missionaries was the presence of Elemowa at each destruction of sacred objects" and "[t]hat he was influential in initiating iconoclasm among the Gogodalas was further corroborated by the burning of the sacred objects at Kebane village", at which no missionary was present. So that, while the UFM promoted the approach of living among the people and changing the people from within, they also relied quite heavily on Elemowa's KEA training. This allowed the UFM to emphasise the 'invitations' they received to participate in local decisions to destroy these objects. As a result, the UFM survived these iconoclastic events relatively unscathed and their emphasis on local agency and mutual respect was maintained. Indeed, in one of the most defining examples of this surreptitious 'two-sided' approach, a famous mission photograph shows Elemowa chopping the canoe prow off one of the missionary canoes. Weymouth (1978:160) argues that Elemowa chopped off the canoe prow because he was concerned that the missionaries were unaware of the significance of it. Again, the missionaries escaped blame for the destruction of local objects of power.

In the early days of Christian contact, village people had no alternative but to understand Christianity through the behaviour of local missionaries (Tuzin 1997:27). For the Ilahita community of East Sepik Province,

> Miss Schrader introduced Christianity to Ilahita and for nearly a generation was the source of the villages' understandings of this new body of ethical and religious ideas...Miss Schrader was all the while defining Christianity in her own person. Missionaries put a lot of stock in setting a good 'Christian example', and well they should; for in the early days of contact, villagers, because they are unversed in the Christian ideals against which to compare the behavior of these missionaries, have no alternative but to assume that Christianity is what the practitioner does...Thus, even as Miss Schrader strove to behave in what she consciously understood to be a good Christian manner, the people were all the time learning what Christianity was by what she said and did (Tuzin 1997:27).

A member of the SSEM, Miss Schrader founded the Ilahita mission station in 1952 and was the head until 1969 (Tuzin 1997:24). Interested in the quality rather than quantity of coverts, only 10 per cent of the Ilahita converted during Miss Schrader's time. Tuzin suggests (1997:30) that the strict and confrontational approach of her successors changed the way Ilahita approached the mission, Christianity and the Tambaran. Similarly, the lack of comparative Christian ideologies and approaches to that of the UFM meant that Gogodala Christianity was largely founded on the idiosyncrasies of men like Drysdale and Twyman.[23]

As it took more than seven years to baptize the first converts, change was slow. In addition, after baptism, converts were able to participate in the communion sacrament through the consumption of sago and coconut milk, which were substituted for bread and wine (Weymouth 1978:175). This seemingly harmless substitution would only have reinforced local beliefs concerning an inherent Christianity by recognising the quality and power of sago. I argue that, even though the UFM had a policy that encouraged the destruction of Gogodala ceremonial life, by living among and 'like' the people, both inadvertently, and intentionally, Gogodala bodily beliefs were reinforced and encouraged. Although the early missionaries encouraged the destruction of dances and objects associated with the male initiation ceremonies which included carved and decorated figures, drums, rattles, canoe paddles and spears, they did not necessarily discourage other forms of dance or activities like canoe racing. As they failed to enquire into certain practices and beliefs, the UFM often missed the significance of these practices, such as clan naming practices and carved canoe prows, and as a result were largely unaware of local interpretations of their actions.

[23] The UFM did not send any female missionaries to the area until 1940. See Langmore (1989) for a discussion of the role of female missionaries in PNG.

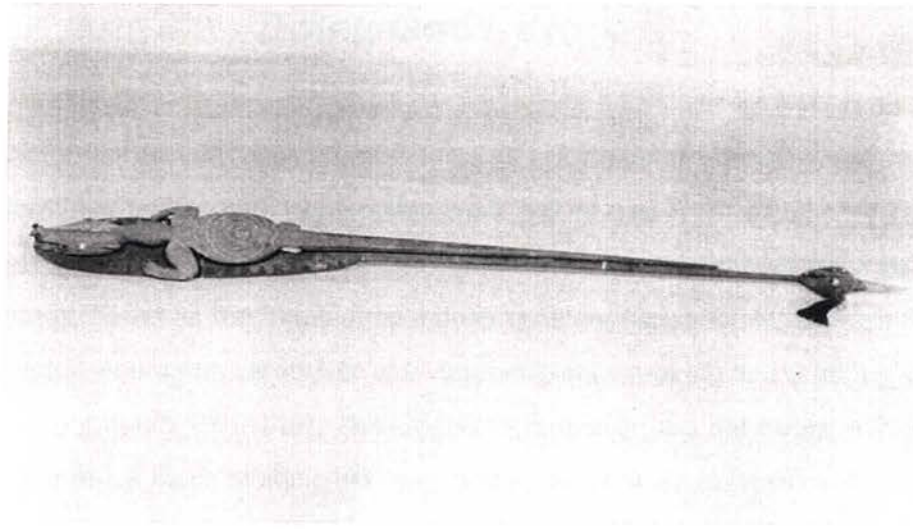

Figure 11. Aida paddle, collected in the early 1900s and held in The Australian National Museum, Canberra.

Weymouth (1978:213) makes the point that the UFM went against the trend of other missions, and received criticism for it, for baptising polygynists, men with more than one wife. Of the first four men baptised in 1940, Pasiya and Mase both had two wives. The primary concern was that these men were not allowed to become pastors or deacons. When the mission arrived, it was expected that a village *kanaba*, as a longhouse fight leader, would have more than one wife and several children. The UFM's decision to accept men with more than one wife, therefore, did not compromise the authority of these leaders. The acceptance of polygynists meant that a *kanaba* could engage the mission from a position of power and make decisions on behalf of the village. Indeed it was Pasiya who, along with several others, handed the UFM missionaries at Balimo a piece of paper with the hand-written message, "we do not want Aida things, we want Jesus" (Crawford 1981:41). While it took years of internal debate, the UFM's approach meant that villages slowly accepted Christianity at different times over a period of several years.

Doing God's Work

Like other missions that focussed on the task of reforming and creating new moral and disciplined bodies with appropriate work habits (see Eves 1996; Fife 2001; Comaroff and Comaroff 1991), the early UFM missionaries imposed strict bodily prohibitions, based on the Ten Commandments, encouraging locals to wash their bodies and discouraging habits like chewing betel-nut, smoking and drinking *sika*, or kava (Weymouth 1978:140). The Gogodala, however, did not necessarily find such prohibitions harsh as their life was already defined by strict rules. Both the missionaries and the Gogodala emphasized a "legalistic" approach to social life (Weymouth 1978:164). The mission concept of 'sin', and related ideas concerning the Ten Commandments, resonated strongly with Gogodala terms like *sosawe*, 'bad', and *awana*, 'forbidden'. For when the Gogodala ancestors arrived to settle at Dogono they found powerful spirits, called *ugu*, living under the ground. These *ugu* communicated with the first ancestors and gave them rules to follow, in order to help and protect them. Although these *ugu* have become less active since the arrival of Christianity, the Gogodala relationship with the landscape is still strongly influenced by such beings.

Weymouth (1978:168) argues that the Gogodala were significantly interested in the mission as a means for material gain, stating that the missionaries "noted the Gogodalas' hunger for European goods and recognised that it was a primary factor motivating their visits to the mission stations". He also suggests that the missionaries faced the problem of criticising their "materialistic attitude" while at the same time using European things as payments and gifts to encourage local participation in their programs (Weymouth 1978:168). For the Gogodala, the relationship was based on work and this entailed the notion of direct or delayed exchange. If they provided labour and bush materials for buildings, or supplied food, they expected something in return. They approached work with the UFM based on the local concept of work, sharing, and exchange. Indeed, UFM missionaries promoted the same idea when they arrived in 1932, telling the

Gogodala that they were 'doing God's work'. This idea is reflected in the local term for missionaries, *godpe okona luma* or, literally 'God's work people'.[24]

Through teaching, preaching and providing medical care, the mission inadvertently appealed to local conceptualisations of what constitutes work, *oko*, as an activity that benefits others. One old man remarked that when they lived in longhouses, "men had a special relationship with the man using the opposite fireplace, he was your number one friend, women too, and if you have big work you ask your special friend". In the longhouse days, people generally had the responsibility of "looking to the needs of others" and sharing both food and things they could spare. Gogodala social life continues to be based on the ideal of sharing, although older Gogodala men and women are concerned that since they began living in smaller dwellings this communal emphasis has waned. Nonetheless, many practices continue: in Tai village nobody was ever left without food. Once a week, women from the ECPNG in each village would visit every house to make sure that there was a sufficient supply of sago. The UFM approach of 'living among the people', therefore, necessarily included a focus on gift-giving and exchange, based on the idea of working together.

Equally, when the Gogodala gave male missionaries the name *wawa*, or father, as a sign of respect, they also drew the missionaries into hierarchical social relationships concerning work. Prince and Prince (1981:20) make the point that Drysdale had great difficulties when it came to the social obligations associated with adoption, names and family relations. They tell the story of how an old woman gave Drysdale a meal of fish, which he gladly accepted as a gift, only for her to return a few days later to ask for *calico* (tp) and a belt. According to Prince and Prince (1981:20), "[h]e was her clan son, he found, through having accepted the gift of fish and they now had an obligation to give each other whatever was asked for". Despite the fact that Drysdale offered desirable goods, he did not appreciate that a meal of fish was the product of hard work, having taken the old

[24] In a similar example, Tuzin (1997:26) describes the way Miss Schrader, of the SSEM in Ilahita, informed him upon his arrival in the field in 1969 that "if you do not obstruct God's work, you will be welcome here, as far as I am concerned".

woman hours to collect, prepare and deliver. In addition, she was offering a highly valued meal that could otherwise have been shared by her own family.

Like the colonial administration before them, the early UFM missionaries also relied heavily on the local system of leadership. For the Gogodala, the relationship with both the administration and the missionaries was based on the idea of work and the *laplap* (tp) became the symbol of that engagement. The colonial officers gave them to the *kanaba* of each longhouse community, like Sosola, and called them *mamusi* (tp). The *laplap* (tp) instilled the wearer with colonial authority and reinforced the efficacy of the local system, particularly the power of the *kanaba*. Kela Aidali was one of the first Gogodala men to be made a pastor and he worked as a missionary in other areas of Western Province. He made the point that missionary pastors were trained in three areas, medical, pastoral, and teaching, and that they were given a *laplap* (tp) to show others what kind of work they were capable of performing. The missionaries wrote a big letter on the side of each *laplap* (tp) to display the work they were responsible for. One man said that,

> when I was working as a medical they gave me a *laplap* (tp) and on the side they wrote a big letter M for medical, pastor had P, teacher had T. Then I went through training to become a teacher. I had two works, and they wrote M and T on my *laplap* (tp)…I had no shirt, I just wore a *laplap* (tp), no trousers, no things, no money, only *laplap* (tp).

In contrast to Wiru men, who tried to transform their 'shrinking' bodies by wearing European things, I suggest the Gogodala viewed the *laplap* (tp) as both European confirmation of their leader's capabilities and an associated sharing of power and responsibility. Taussig (1993:191) argues that when Europeans put on local decorations and locals wear Western clothing, "mimesis fuses brilliantly with alterity".

The sending of local pastors and their wives as missionaries to other areas of PNG from 1948, reinforced the idea that the Gogodala were 'chosen' by the UFM, that their way life was inherently Christian, and that they were morally

superior to others in PNG.[25] In addition to comprising one of the largest populations in Western Province, one old man suggested that groups living north of the Gogodala were "inferior to us, we call them *wabeya* [younger brother], we are the ones who taught them and sent pastors to them, they are behind us". This sentiment was further demonstrated by another man who suggested their neighbours all knew the Gogodala language, but the Gogodala did not need to learn their languages. In addition, Balimo is the Middle Fly District headquarters and, as a result, people from the region are forced to travel to the Gogodala area to obtain services. In terms of leadership in the area, in 2002, two Gogodala men were elected to the Middle Fly and Western Province Open seats in the PNG parliament. Similarly, the Gogodala high school at Awaba is the only one in the region, which means people from the entire province have attended the school and gained an understanding of the Gogodala language. For the Gogodala, the UFM decision to start a Bible school at Wasua in 1945 confirmed the status of the Gogodala people and instigated the opportunity to join with the missionaries in 'doing God's work'.

The 'space between' colonial agents and the Gogodala was a relationship that was primarily mediated and negotiated through the category of work. As we have seen, the colonial period was conspicuous for the vast collection of artefacts by Europeans, the products of work and the embodiment of Gogodala social life. For many Gogodala, the mysterious disappearance of Sosola, the quintessential male, during early contact represents another example of European appropriation of local power. Similarly, the arrival of the UFM reinforced the idea that Gogodala were 'the most intelligent and industrious workers', as described by Albert Drysdale. By praising the local work ethic, and attempting to live among the Gogodala through the approach known as muscular Christianity, the UFM demonstrated respect for their hosts. Despite changes, this enabled men to emphasize continuity in terms of masculine bodily beliefs, practices and autonomy. Despite colonial changes, then, the Gogodala clan system, based on

[25] For examples of Gogodala missionary activity in PNG see Prince and Prince (1981, 1991); Weiner (1988:28); Schieffelin (1976:7); Shaw (2001:176).

ancestral ties to land, blood, canoes and designs, continued. The most notable manifestation of continuity with the past is the practice and ideology of contemporary canoe racing and this is the subject to which I now turn.

Chapter 3

CANOES AND CONTINUITY

In 1935, Twyman taught the Gogodala to play soccer. As part of his approach to conversion, he actively encouraged the performative aspects of Gogodala masculinity and thought soccer would appeal to a masculine character he described as being 'very demonstrative'. I argued in the previous chapter that this formed part of a UFM approach that relied heavily on the physical capacities of individual missionaries rather than theological ideas and rethoric. While the UFM did not follow his particular style of missionisation, Charles Abel of the LMS was a famous exponent of the benefits of muscular Christianity. In particular, he promoted an environment that emphasised a moral relationship between work and play. Indeed, he established the Kwato industrial mission with the aim of forging "a cultural identity in work and sport between his converts and himself" (Wetherell 1996:xii). While Twyman did not articulate this policy when he introduced soccer in 1935, he did intend the game to form part of a relationship between work, play and Christianity, as part of a uniquely Gogodala Christian aesthetic. By appealing to the performative aspects of Gogodala male social life, however, he inadvertently reinforced many conceptualisations of masculine bodily beliefs and practices. While Twyman intended soccer to be a form of 'play' that resonated strongly with a Christian 'work' ethic, the Gogodala did not necessarily make such a distinction between the activities of work and play.

Victor Turner (1982) has drawn attention to the problems that arise when drawing distinctions between work and play in village societies. His study illustrates why a work-play distinction is an inadequate framework for discussing expressive genres, such as ritual and myth, and argues that the idea of leisure time derives from the Industrial Revolution in which work was considered to be separate from and fundamentally opposed to, 'free time' (Turner 1982:36). He argues that non-urban based societies do not necessarily distinguish between work

and play and suggests that perhaps it would be better to "see such symbolic-expressive genres as ritual and myth as being at once work and play or at least cultural activities in which work and play are intricately intercalibrated", as part of a work-play continuum (Turner 1982:32).[1] While several anthropological studies in PNG and Australia have discussed the relationship between work and play, in relation to card games and gambling (Maclean 1984; Zimmer 1986, 1987a, 1987b; Goodale 1987), there has been little attention given to the local dynamic of work-play continuity in sport.

In the past, canoes were raced to settle land disputes, prove adultery or as part of initiation ceremonies and head hunting raids. Winning canoe races, for example, determined land claims by proving to the community which clan was the strongest. It was believed that *ugu*, or spirits, from the land under dispute determined the outcome. Although with pacification, missionisation, and the introduction of courts to mediate land and social disputes, the reason for conducting races has changed, many of these themes continue to motivate paddlers. While canoe races are now only held as part of wider community celebrations such as national Independence Day, New Year's day and school and store openings, underlying village, clan and family rivalries and disputes and land claims continue to play a role in these events. Following a loss, clans or villages vow to seek revenge, or *sigali alila gi*, for the shame suffered, and this continues to be one of the main reasons why men participate. While the introduction of prize money also motivates many paddlers, winning a canoe race continues to be a highly respected activity as a display of a clan's collective strength, bodily discipline, and hard work. One of the central features of canoe races over time has been the combined ideal of clan solidarity and gender relations. Men are morally obliged to paddle in their mother's or wife's clan canoe as a show of respect and commitment to the success of her clan. In return, mothers, wives and sisters praise these men and provide them with foods that enhance strength, such as sago grubs or *kane*, to ensure their success.

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1 In his analysis of Brazilian capoeira, Lowell Lewis (1992) provides a useful study of the blurred distinction that can exist between sport, games and play.

The Gogodala clan system is based on the creation and allocation of powerful ancestral canoes and canoe designs and ancestral bodies. Contemporary men identify with this past, and empower themselves, through canoe practices and ideology that derive from these times. In this chapter, I also explore the way the recently introduced male sport of rugby league has become an extension of canoe racing, and show how both are considered to be performances of work. Both essentially male activities, they are highly ritualised and yet informal practices, incorporating magical and ancestral power with God and church-related activities. Through an analysis of the different ways in which spirits, magic and Christianity contribute to masculine power, I demonstrate the ways in which racing canoes and rugby league provide a continuous link with the ancestral past and continue to be a definitive and significant display of male strength.

Creating Canoes

Canoe races are currently arranged according to four grades that are determined by the size of the canoe. A-grade canoes, for example, are the largest and can accommodate up to sixty paddlers, while D-grade canoes may carry as few as fifteen. The day before a race, each racing canoe is paddled to the village hosting the event, where the men camp together. The racing canoe is placed in a prominent position with the prow 'looking' over the river. During the night before the race, men eat food that is specially prepared by their mothers, sisters and wives. Depending on availability, due to the diminishing sago tree supply, sago grubs are traditionally the most potent energy source. In addition, store goods, such as rice, sugar, tea and tinned fish are increasingly used as complimentary 'strong' foods. This sentiment is reflected in the following account.

> In the old days, they use *kane*, where men sing songs until daybreak the women would send *balago* [bags] full of *kane baya* [sago and sago grubs] to the canoe place. Now days, I see them sending store goods, sugar, rice, tea and tin fish to give them energy and strength. The problem now is we can't get a lot of *kane*.

Figure 12. Racing canoes 'looking' over the river at Aketa village, 1995.

Determined by the canoe's clan design, paddlers decorate themselves using clan colours, clan plants and painted paddles. Races are held in the early morning, around seven o'clock, before the sun rises to avoid the heat, and hundreds of people gather along the canoe route and at the finish line to cheer for their clan and village men. At the end of the races, several women supporting the winning canoes, jump into the water and dance while others swim to the canoe, climb onto the prow and jump up and down as the excited crowd cheers.

Figure 13. Two canoes race to the finishing line on the Aramia River.

Figure 14. Racing canoes arrive at Balimo canoe place, 1998.

The victorious paddlers carefully remove the *salago lapila*, a powerful carving decorated with a clan plant at the front of the canoe, and walk together to the village football field to sing victory songs and celebrate with a feast especially prepared by female clan members. Members of the losing canoes are left to discuss why they lost and begin the long process of planning their revenge.

Figure 15. Victorious paddlers hold up salago lapila, while woman celebrates.

While the above describes the race day, the path to victory actually begins when a tree is first identified, or marked, as a potential racing canoe. The following narrative describes part of that process.

> When fathers want to cut down the tree for racing canoe, they go to the bush and mark that tree, come back and set a date to chop it down. Once the date has been set the women and men go and look for food to make a feast. On that day they chop down the tree, they have a feast. They leave the tree, maybe two days, until birds have left excrement on the tree as a mark for the place to cut the end of the canoe. Then they start digging it, when inside part is finished and they want to take it to the village then there is going to be another feast, to pull the canoe down to the water and take it to the village. At the same time, when they are working on the canoe those men whose mother's are from that clan canoe, they are the first people to do the work on the canoe, the canoe has already been given a clan name, the name of the canoe. They give that name while that tree is still standing in the bush. After making the canoe, the *sakema* men will tell the men to have a trial run of the canoe...then when the older men are satisfied they start painting. Then people get prepared for the race. The first paddlers will be the men who are in their mother's canoe. They are the first to take their paddles and get ready. Then they put other clan men in and take the canoe to the race. At the start line, they wait until the starter tells them to go and they all call Sawiyo. As they paddle everybody starts calling their *ugu* for that canoe. While we are going in the race if we are already coming first, I am proud that our *ugu* is stronger than the other *ugu* and that makes us more excited.[2]

Gogodala land is divided into 'canoe' areas that were determined by the actions of the original ancestors who named and claimed places on behalf of their clan canoe. Ibali, the first ancestral father, established the clans and sub-clans by creating and allocating a special canoe with a clan canoe design to each of his sons as leaders, or 'fathers', of each clan. Colours and clan plants were also created to define clan relations as the canoe design and *salago*, clan plants, are potent symbols that are distinguished by the primary moiety colours of red and white.

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2 Men call the name Sawiyo at the start of the raced as a sign of respect for the most powerful of female ancestors, Sawiya. One man said, "she is very important, she was the first lady who came around here, Aramia River and they are doing the racing on that river and that river was used by Sawiya". The Aramia River is used for canoes races and the river is identified with Sawiya in several ancestral stories. She is commonly known as the 'big mother' of the Gogodala.

The following accounts provide one ancestral example of the way Ibali created and distributed the clan canoes (see Appendix B).

> Kelaki got his father Ibali's bucket and went down to get water. While Kelaki was going down to the well place, Bilidama went outside and picked all the flowers, we call those ones *salago* [clan plants], all of them were from the red side [Segela moiety]. He picked them up and tied it with the rope...Then he took all this *salago* up to the house, put it near him. And then this Kelaki went down to the well place. Kelaki put the bucket in and cleaned the water [swiped the bucket across the water]. When Kelaki did that, inside the well the canoe came out, with the canoe design *kanaba* on it. And the eyes, Bilidama's eyes, came out [something in the design is called 'Bilidama eyes'] and Kelaki didn't get the water when he saw that. He just ran up to his father Ibali. Ibali heard him crying and then called out 'what's wrong with you Kelaki?' And Kelaki said 'father I saw something in the well water'. Ibali asked 'What did you see?' 'I saw a canoe design inside the well water and that design opened his eyes to me'. And Ibali said 'come Kelaki' and he gave him that *salago*, to Kelaki. Then Kelaki got that *salago* from father Ibali and he told Kelaki 'go down and put this *salago* on that *kanaba* design, poke it in'. And this Kelaki took the *salago* down and poke it in the front of the design. He came out and make himself into a canoe. And Ibali told him, 'that's your canoe, Kanaba'.

This story depicts the creation of Kanaba canoe, the most powerful canoe for the entire Gogodala population. All Gogodala metaphorically live inside this canoe. In addition to creating the canoe, the story details how *salago*, clan plants, were introduced, named and allocated. This story also introduces the embodied link between ancestors and canoes. Two of the most powerful parts of contemporary racing canoes continue to be the canoe design, *gawa tao*, and the *salago lapila*, the decorated clan plant that is placed at the front of the canoe.

The following narrative continues the ancestral story pertaining to the distribution of clan canoes to the first ancestors. It provides some of the clan details that are currently used by families in discussions of land ownership, names and relations.

> So that same Ibali gave another canoe to Miwasa, Sidi gisali. So those people they call themselves the lightning and thunder people, those Siboko clan people. So that Sidi gisali is also called Aeimala. So that Ibali gave Bani two canoes, Ilimi and Sasiyapa, Asipali clan...So that Ilimi, Bani's canoe but he gave it to Dusila. So that another canoe called Sasiyapa,

> that's Bani's other canoe too. And Bani gave it to Waloma. This Ibali gave another canoe called Sameya. He gave it to Dimagi. So why these Asipali people are having problem with the ground because of this Dimagi had a mistake in the beginning of the world, Yaebi saba [Wabila]. So all Dimagi's line is doing the same thing, fighting for the ground, sago palms, places and bushes. And that's another Ibali's son called Gibawa gave him Paiyale canoe. That is the red people [Segela moiety] they are finished already, now it's white people's [Paiya moiety] turn...So that's the only father, Ibali gave canoe to white people and red people. There's no other father for white clan people. White and red got one father, Ibali. So the first canoe Ibali gave it to Dayale, his Aegae canoe. And then Dayale had a first son called Wimaya, gave this Aegae to him. And Ibali gave Lawi to Dayale and Dayale gave it to Igiya. So the people who are in Kotale, Kewa, Balimo and Dogono village, that's who are living in Lawi canoe.

Gogodala land is divided into areas that correspond to these clan canoes. Land disputes arise when one clan argues that their ancestor was first to visit the area in their canoe and claimed and named the ground on their behalf. The Gogodala landscape therefore, forms a complex mosaic of clan land. Current interpretations of each fragment of land, claimed under the name of the clan canoe, can lead to disputes in which boundaries are ambiguous.

In another ancestral story concerning the creation of some of the main clan canoes, one old man suggested that canoes were created from the placenta of the primary ancestors. For the Gogodala, the placenta is a living thing that is treated with respect, and several canoe designs depict the placenta of ancestors. Thus, in one story, "the thing that comes after the baby (the placenta) was different, the clan design was on it, they call the design *tota* and it (the placenta) turned into a canoe".[3] In other stories, canoes were created out of bodies and the following quote describes the creation of a canoe that establishes a special link between the Gasinapa, Wabadala and Asipali clans, "Bani killed his sister Gelege [Asipali clan] and then her body changed into a canoe, one end of the canoe was called Madulabali [Wabadala clan] and the other end Alo [Gasinapa clan]". Another example of clan canoes deriving from ancestral bodies is discussed in the following account.

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3 In other examples, the ancestor Mowagi's dinipala (placenta) became Giliwa canoe, Daeyali's dinipala became Aegae canoe and it was Ibali's dinipala that became Kanaba canoe.

> Bani [Ibali's son] had two children, Waewa and Bobosi...Ibali's other son Kiwalema, was a disobedient son and when Ibali told him to go and get water, he wouldn't do it, or he would take the bucket and get clean water for himself, and then get the dirty water for his father. So Ibali thought to himself, 'I must kill this man Kiwalema'. So he killed his real son. Then Ibali took his 'bellybutton part', cut down the middle and hung it on the fireplace. The fire dried it out and turned it into a canoe. Ibali gave this Kiwalema canoe to Bani's son, Waewa.

When a tree has been selected to become a racing canoe, then, it is named after the clan that is identified with the land. From the moment the tree is selected, the *ugu* from that area is called upon to support the men, and all men involved in the process are required to follow strict rules to ensure victory. Paddlers must reside in a place separate from their wives, "where they can't sleep with their wives". In addition, I was told that all men involved with the canoe, "can't steal things until the race comes, they can't do these silly things...like saying bad things about people. They have to stay in a place where they talk day and night about the canoe".

The men stay together before the race to ensure they do not compromise their chances in the race. They stay together because "it is also about team spirit, you can't stand in the canoe with a stranger, they must stay together and practice and select the position in the canoe, [as] staying with wife drains your strength".[4] Another young man who paddles in races also suggested,

> *ugu* comes into the canoe, not the paddlers; *ugu* from the bush comes in. If Kini village men make the canoe, they will call the *ugu* man Wakeya at Kini, who is appearing to people, people have been seeing him, or Moka the big village *ugu* or Dumabi, he wears Manaka mask. Just call one, they go and ask him to help, someone will do the talking and the *ugu* will give them restrictions. *Ugu* wants to go into that canoe but because of this *sosawe*, sin, he cannot go into the canoe. The paddlers and the owner and

4 The man who selects the tree must also comply with these restrictions, "the owner will try to trick the other owners. He will go to the bush with his wife or go to get firewood, in front of the people they will see them and word will go around. The other owner, in another village, will hear and say 'Oh, he is doing the silly thing' and maybe he will also do it. Another one is when owner and wife come back from the bush, if wife walks first they didn't have sex, if owner is first, they did it".

> people making the canoe need to be perfect or pure; that's *ugu's* conditions.

Ugu derives from the landscape. When the first ancestors began settling around the Gogodala area, they soon realised that powerful *ugu* spirits were living under the ground. These entities made it clear to the ancestors that they had the power to punish those who did not show them adequate respect. The underground *ugu* established a relationship with the first ancestors based on mutual respect and strict rules. In the past, particularly, people were careful not to enter other clan areas unless they were with an appropriate clan representative. Women would not use the lagoon to bathe, fish or travel in canoes if they were pregnant, or menstruating, as *ugu* could smell them and cause them pain during childbirth. People would thank and praise *ugu* while collecting water, and if late arriving to the well, would apologise repeatedly for their lack of respect. As a result, each *ugu* became synonymous with the clan that owned the land under which the *ugu* resided. So that while several *ugu* live under each village, the most powerful *ugu* living under the ground at Saweta village is called Golali. The Awala clan predominantly owns the land at Saweta and therefore Golali is known as the Awala people's *ugu*. Similarly, the Lalemana clan predominantly owns the land at Kini village and the main *ugu* spirit living under Kini is known as Moka, the Lalemana clan's *ugu*.

Prior to pacification, village *ugu* would give men invincible strength during warfare. They would only assist the men, however, if they had demonstrated sufficient respect. A prohibition on sexual relations with women prior to an attack was strictly enforced, for example. As another sign of respect, men would always leave a piece of meat hanging from a tree for the village *ugu* after they had finished hunting. Other rules included not stealing and refraining from making negative comments about others. *Ugu* had the power to smell any man who broke such prohibitions and, as punishment, would leave the longhouse defenceless in the face of attack or abandon the village men on an enemy raid. After a war raid, if the village suffered several casualties and failed to return with

enemy heads, then the men would work out who was to blame for the rejection of their call for help.

In the contemporary context, "when a canoe loses, everybody sits down and looks around for what went wrong. If all followed the rules, then they didn't make the canoe properly or a paddler sneaked out to be with his wife". Before a race, the village *ugu* sometimes appears in a dream to one of the canoe makers to warn the paddlers that there is a problem with their behaviour. For example, "those *ugu* people will go into the dream and tell him what needs to be done, 'Oh, I feel good, you are doing good' or 'I am not happy because someone is doing something wrong'". The person who had the dream will immediately go to the man identified in the dream and say "I saw Dumabi in a dream and you need to confess". Equally, "Dumabi will also say if he doesn't like someone in the canoe. When the canoe runs fourth, people will say *ugu* told us about doing the wrong thing and the person didn't confess, so we lost". If the person does not admit to breaking the rules, the *ugu* would appear in the dream and say "'sorry, I can't do anything'. In the dream, *ugu* wears a *seke tao*, a string around his neck, as a sign he is unable to act".

It is at this time that a village *sakema* will make the *salago lapila* that will be placed at the front of the canoe. This carving, decorated with clan plants and feathers, is thought to be 'alive' and is treated with special care before, during and after the race. The *iwai sakema*, or magic man, will ask the *salago lapila* "how many men will go into the canoe?" In the hands of the *sakema,* the *salago lapila* will jump up and down and *ugu* will stop at the necessary number of men. If the village men do not take notice and fail to recruit the number instructed, "they will definitely lose".

The night before a canoe race is a special time for the men associated with the canoes. For most of them, it is the culmination of months of hard work and it is the time when final preparations are made to ensure victory the following morning. Camps are set up near the Aramia River, close to the racing canoes. During the night, old men visit their clan camps to encourage and motivate the paddlers by telling ancestral stories and accounts of past victories. They talk about

race strategies and techniques, and reassure the young men through their presence. One of the aims of these pre-race camps is to enlist the support of the ancestors, *ugu* and God. Before the canoe race, for example, the clan leaders arrange for an ECPNG pastor or deacon to pray with the men for a successful canoe race. To show respect and earn ancestral and spirit support as well, however, each group sings canoe songs. The stories and sentiment conveyed in canoe songs vary, although a common theme is the link between canoes, ancestral journeys and clan land (see Appendix C). When paddlers sing these songs they are "singing the place names, you are proud of your clan and clan names". These songs are ancestral stories that describe the early ancestors as they created and named clan places, the same places that the canoes represent and defend in canoe races.

One such song is based on the story of Miwasa, which is discussed in more detail in the next chapter. This story describes the death of Miwasa's wife Dalogo, the first Gogodala person to die. Miwasa was from the Siboko clan and contemporary clan members sing a canoe song that draws on and describes Miwasa's grief at the time of his wife's death.

> Miwasa went to burn the grass and then his wife died. And then some people got a message and they went and told Miwasa, 'your wife has died already, she was bitten by a snake'. While he was coming towards Dogono village to see his wife, he sang a song while he was crying, he was feeling sorry for her, his wife, and he was singing some songs while he was crying. This song is related to this people from Siboko clan. They have big canoe called Aeimala; they use that canoe for racing canoe. When they are paddling towards the start of a canoe race they are using that song, because that song is related and in the right canoe. This song belongs to Siboko clan, so our Miwasa cried to his wife, feeling for his wife he was crying, that's the crying but its turned to a canoe song. A song they used to sing when they are preparing for a race.

Another reason canoe race songs are sung during the night is to show respect for the village *ugu* and engage their aid and goodwill. Old men from respective clans visit the camp during the night to make sure the young men, and especially those new to canoe racing, know the appropriate songs. They also tell the men to call

the *ugu's* name to gain strength during the race. In the following account outlines the role of canoe songs.

> We sing them to call the *ugu* for that canoe, for calling the *ugu* to come in. During the pre-canoe race canoe songs the older people will judge which songs are very clear and very loud and makes people feel good, they can tell which canoe will come first. They will say that canoe song is a bit heavy and it will lose, the elders can tell. They judge the canoes as they sing songs.

The above accounts articulate the multifaceted dynamic of male performance in canoe racing. It demonstrates part of the intertwined and embodied relationship that exists between the highly decorated clan canoes, the paddlers, *ugu*, food and the ancestors. For the Gogodala, each part of the canoe race process, from the selection of the tree to the day of the race, is determined by a work ethic that reflects the collective cooperation, moral integrity and strength of the clan members involved.

Canoe Eye-conography

Figure 16. Kanaba Gawa Tao or Canoe Design

One of the most important parts of the racing canoe is its design: the *gawa tao* or 'canoe eye'. As we discussed earlier, the first *gawa tao* and clan canoe to be created by Ibali was a design called Kanaba. As the first canoe, all are thought to be metaphorically living 'inside' it and the *gawa tao* depicts the origins of the Gogodala people. These designs compliment and are intertwined with the ancestral stories and, as such, designs invoke various layers of meaning, dependent on a person's knowledge, gender, and place in the clan and family. On various levels, for example, Kanaba *gawa tao* depicts the earth, sago, the rising and setting sun and the source of life between Wabila and the earth (see Dundon 1998:229-230).

Figure 17. Canoe designs, or canoe eyes, on racing canoes from opposing moieties. The canoe eye is clearly identifiable at the front of each canoe.

In his study of Papuan Gulf art, Douglas Newton (1961:33) draws attention to the idea that "[t]he main subject of all Papuan Gulf Art is the human figure". In particular, he argues, "[a] most striking aspect of many Gulf carvings is the prominence given to the eye" (Newton 1961:33).

> In the western Gulf areas of Wapo, Era, Urama, and in the Purari Delta, the flowing eye designs carved on the canoes are the local type of clan

> insignia. A canoe, jointly owned by members of a clan, was a visible expression of their solidarity (hence the Gogodala question to a stranger, "what is your canoe"). Clan insignia and ownership designs are indeed common throughout the area...These eye designs are the main feature of the important keweke masks (Urama), aiaimunu masks (Purari Delta) and semese masks (eastern Elema) (Newton 1961:33).

In another example of the way eyes feature in south coast myths and designs, Jan van Baal (1966:663) relates a Marind-anim origin myth where shields, which stand for human beings, surround a pit and "there is something odd about the shields...the shields are decorated with concentric circles which have a hole, an eye, in the centre. Into these eyes arrow-heads are inserted and from the moment the arrow-heads rest in the holes the shields are secret objects, not to be seen by the uninitiated". Gunnar Landtman (1927:207), similarly, draws attention to the prominence given to eyes for the Kiwai, suggesting the owner of a new canoe decorates the bow of the canoe with "painted eyes, also gluing on real eyes of a *ruburubu* or of a *wario* (two large hawks). After that the canoe 'all same proper man he look, he see what place dugong, turtle he stop'". Through the above ritual, the canoe is empowered to see and is thought to be alive.

Clan canoes, canoe designs and ancestral stories have an intimate relationship; in some cases, as we have seen, canoes derive from the bodies of ancestors. When men participate in canoe races they not only represent their clans, they become intertwined with the ancestral past and the power of the first ancestors embodied in the canoe. In *gawa tao*, canoe designs, ancestral body parts such as the backbone, vagina, womb, arm, head, hair, intestines and placenta are displayed.[5] Asipali clan designs, for example, depict Bani's bodily capacity as a tall and powerful Asipali clan ancestor, who could move from place to place effortlessly. Several designs show versions of either Bani's leg or foot and these are used to reinforce the ancestral story and provide a visual account or confirmation of these events. Bodily decorations, such as ancestral armbands and waistbands, may also be depicted.

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5 For a formal analysis of gawa tao see Mackenzie (1985).

The most potent part of the *gawa tao*, or canoe eye, are the concentric circles depicted at the centre of all canoe designs and known as the 'eye' of the canoe. In Chapter 1, I made the point that vision is a defining part of Gogodala social life and this is demonstrated particularly through local practices such as *tila wamina gi*, or gazing. I want to extend this discussion of vision and knowledge to include a focus on racing canoes. In racing canoe decorations, the eye of canoe designs is usually painted and often decorated using feathers, cowrie shells and abrus seeds set in wax. In addition to being the eye of the canoe, in some designs the area also represents an ancestral navel or anus. The word *tao* refers to the interrelated concepts of 'the eye' and 'seed', in which the hard part inside the eye is associated with a seed. Another word for seed is *iyapo* and the centre of the eye is known as *tao iyapo*, or literally 'eye seed'. In defining this relationship, one man suggested that "you get it out and the hard part is *tao iyapo*". The meanings attached to the two moieties, Segela and Paiya, also refer to different ideas and stories concerning clan seeds and eyes. Paiya moiety clan designs are considered to have an *owame tao*, a 'fish eye', at the centre of the design and Segela designs have *daelila tao*, 'bird of paradise eyes', in the centre.

Gogodala racing canoes have the power 'to see' when *ugu* spirits are present on race day. The clan *gawa tao*, canoe eye, is painted on both sides of the canoe and, during the race, the canoe is said to be alive and looking around. While racing canoes are always treated with special care, it is particularly when the *salago lapila* is placed at the front of the canoe that this is the case. The *salago lapila* is a plaque with an ancestor's head carved onto it, and it is intricately decorated and surrounded by clan plants and feathers. The *salago lapila* is considered to be 'alive' and 'part of the canoe' and it embodies the primary ancestor of the clan represented by the *gawa tao*. During the race, the ancestor involved is called upon to support and empower the canoe and paddlers. Like *ugu's* ability to look through the eye of the *gawa tao* during the race, the ancestor also looks through the head on *salago lapila*. After winning a race, the paddlers carefully remove the *salago lapila* and it becomes the centre of celebrations. Canoe songs are sung to praise both the ancestor and *ugu* for their support. In

addition, the head of an ancestor is usually carved into the canoe prow, which leads the men down the river. In these carvings of ancestral heads, the eyes are often highly decorated.

It is also through the eye that a canoe is disabled. Magic is often used in canoe races to enhance or diminish the *kamali*, or strength, of paddlers and to interfere with the *ugu* in the canoe. The following narrative outlines the way magic men, or *iwai dala*, can influence and compromise the racing canoe.

> Use *iwai dalagi* [magic man] in canoe races to shoot them like a spear, they use stone or piece of bottle to shoot those canoes, make those canoes blind. You blind the canoes, blind the actual canoe eyes so they won't win. Even if the paddlers call on the *ugu* [spirit] to come, that *ugu* has been stopped by *iwai* man, told him not to come around. Making the canoe blind stops the *ugu* coming in, puts a protective thing on the canoe, *ugu* will try his very best to go in but he won't be able to because somebody has done something to that canoe.

In addition to making the canoe 'blind', magic is also used to make opposing paddlers tired. One man suggested that paddlers make a mixture called *salela komeda* that consists of "ginger wrapped up with other clan things". When the canoe is leading, the paddler throws the magic component into the water to stop the following canoes from passing. He said, "we all throw them into the water to stop other canoes from coming past us and to make those men in the other canoes feel tired. All the paddlers are carrying those things. As we throw them, that's it, not one canoe will beat us or overtake us". Another man commented that, during the race paddlers will also call the name of the village *ugu* to empower the canoe, and suggested that "at the finishing line, when you win you start jumping in the canoe, dancing around singing *'yau yau yau'* and hit your paddle on the side of the canoe, thanking *ugu* and celebrating".

Figure 18. Victorious men hit the sides of the canoe and yell 'yau, yau, yau'.

Colour is another way in which racing canoes are empowered; colour also plays a role in coalescing a collectivity's or clan's power. In a critique of the usefulness of terms such as 'Oceanic art', Thomas (1995b:27-8) writes that these terms exclude ephemeral forms of art such as body painting and that "[i]t is also problematic if we presume that art inheres only in objects rather than in performances and practices". In his discussion of Maori war canoes, for example, he argues that canoes were,

> vehicles of a collectivity's power. They simultaneously indexed a group's own vitality and ideally or effectively disempowered others. Distinctions between function and meaning, use and expression, instrumentality and symbolism obscure what was integrated and processual in these collective presentations of tribal efficacy, practices which labels such as 'Oceanic art' and 'Maori art' elide (Thomas 1995a:103).

According to Thomas (1995a:104), "canoes were aesthetically awesome instruments - not mere symbols of ancestral power, but objects which enabled people to produce and exemplify that power". He emphasises the notion of presentation, projection and empowered performance of collectivites as opposed to focussing on the communicative symbolism of art 'objects' (Thomas 1995a:95). Thomas' emphasis on canoes as vehicles of power, resonates with

Gell's (1992) analysis of Trobriand canoe prows. In what he calls "the technology of enchantment", Gell (1992:44) makes the point that the Kula canoe prow-boards were used for more than visual effect. He explores how the canoe board's efficacy can be interpreted as "evidence of the magical power emanating from the board" (1992:46). It is the board's magical power and the group's access to superior carvers that makes it efficacious. He argues "the canoe-board is not dazzling as a physical object, but as a display of artistry explicable only in magical terms, something which has been produced by magical means" (Gell 1992:46).

Bodily insignia, costuming, beautification, adornment, body-painting and scarification are some of the ways that anthropologists have discussed how people in PNG express and decorate their bodies (Strathern and Strathern 1971; A. Strathern 1996; Knauft 1989, O'Hanlon 1989), and perform (Tuzin 1980; Schieffelin 1976; Gell 1975; M. Strathern 1979). For example, according to Knauft (1989:250) the elaborate costumes worn by Gebusi dancers are visually semiotic and in some cases the "dimension of ritual is also visually encoded in the symbolism of the dance costume". By contrast, Strathern (1979:244) states that, in her study of Hagen dancers, her interest "is not in the symbolism of style but in the act of display" and she emphasises the collective impression of solidarity given by the dancer's decorations rather than the uniformity of costumes and the accumulation of individual efforts. What is important is that the actors create and coerce, through the use of bright colours, reactions of awe and admiration from the audience for the clan as a whole. Dancing that spectators consider 'light' and 'bright', for example, communicates the inner strength and wealth of the clan members, that they have nothing to hide and that the ancestral ghosts are supporting the clan (Strathern 1979:248). Gogodala canoe races are governed by similar principles, where decorated paddlers combine with paddles and canoes in a collective display of colour that is definitive of clan solidarity and masculine strength and efficacy.

Gogodala canoe designs and clan decorations are predominantly defined by colour. As we have seen, the moieties are referred to as the 'red' and the 'white' people and that Ibali divided his children by the colour of their skin. In

discussing the importance of colour in *gawa tao*, Kamo Bagali made the point that "colours in the *gawa tao* are the colours in the human eyes". This establishes an intimate link between the *gawa tao*, 'canoe eye' or 'eye of the canoe', and the colour of human eyes and, specifically, the eyes of the ancestral beings embodied in the canoe. On race day, many in the crowd will predict the outcome of a race based on the observable attitude and confidence of the paddlers and the colour and brightness of their display. In particular, certain women are known for their ability to predict the outcome. One paddler made the point that,

> when men go to play, they go as a team, women will see them and say whether they are going to win, they will see the colour, bright they will win, darker or dull and they will lose. We call them Sawiya *ato* [Sawiya women] because they can tell if we are going to win. They call it *mala*, yellow, the winning colour, any clan can be called *mala* which is good news. If they are going to win the women say *mala lapodaewe*, or 'yellow on it' and if they will lose *itila lapodaewe*, or 'black on it'.

Men decorate their paddles with the *gawa tao* from their mother's clan as a sign of respect, and they call on those clan animals during the race to give them strength. Similarly, they paint their faces using specially coloured mud from their mother's clan. Many also wear coloured grass skirts made by their mothers and wives.

As they arrive at the village the night before a race, or line up the canoes at the beginning of the race, the paddlers sing songs and move their paddles up and down, giving a magnificent display of colour and movement. The aim is to impress the spectators with the colour of their performance and display of strength before the race even begins. Just as old men can predict the outcome of races by listening to the pre-canoe race clan songs, 'Sawiya women' predict if the men will win, based on colour. If they decide that the team looks 'dark and dull' the paddlers know that they have done something wrong, that they are without *ugu's* support, and that they will lose. The Gogodala concept of 'yellow on it', therefore, means that canoe and bodily decorations, colour, movement and attitude have successfully exhibited the collective strength, *kamali*, of the men.

From Racing to Rugby

Even though introduced sports have been played in PNG for over one hundred years, there has been a general lack of attention given to the dynamics of sport in anthropological literature.[6] Colonial administrators and missionaries were predominantly responsible for introducing different sports into PNG communities in an attempt to provide a controlled, competitive outlet for aggression, as an alternative to warfare, and as a morally elevating activity. For example, Sir Hubert Murray, Lieutenant Governor from 1906 to 1940, and F. E. Williams, government anthropologist from 1922 to 1943, were both skilled sportsmen who promoted the idea "that sport (principally football and cricket) should be encouraged among Papuans as an 'effective working substitute' for headhunting raids and tribal warfare" (Young and Clark 2001:29). At the same time missionaries, such as Abel of the LMS, promoted the benefits of sport for spiritual and moral growth.[7] According to Wetherell (1996:49), Abel established an industrial mission called Kwato in 1891 with the expressed aim of producing the ideal Papuan, "[b]y tempering disciple with athletic vigour", based on the assumption that "[c]ricket and football would instill into his boys' minds the healthy recepts of self-mastery in place of sexual profligacy". Despite the fact that no written material was produced to compliment the 1974 ethnographic film *Trobriand Cricket*, it provides an excellent example of a local response to the introduction of cricket.[8] It shows how, rather than replace warfare and the sexuality of the yam harvest as missionaries intended, Trobrianders dramatically

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6 For studies concerned with the relationship between sport and anthropology see Sands (ed.) (1999); Blanchard (1995); Palmer (2002). Studies concerning sociology and sport include Coakley (1998) and Dunning and Rojek (1992). See also Clifford Geertz's (1972) famous description of the betting associated with Balinese cockfighting.

7 See also Coakley (1998:485); Reed (1997:64) and Sandiford (1998:20)

8 Ness (1999:40) makes the point that, despite praise from anthropologists, the film was the subject of only two reviews, Leach (1975:6) and Weiner (1977:506-507).

altered the game to allow dancing, chants, feasts and fighting to be expressed in new ways.[9]

In studies of sport, the one area that has received significant attention is the relationship between warfare and current sporting events. Simon Harrison (1993) provides a useful study of the theme of continuity and sport in an analysis of Avatip ritual and warfare. He argues, Avatip "attitudes towards war are still evident nowadays in the football matches and other sports contests...which have become something of a modern substitute for headhunting raids" (Harrison 1993:85). Similarly, Berit Gustafsson (1998:175) argues that sport in Manus Province, and particularly field hockey and soccer, have been modeled on, and become a replacement for, past warfare and trade relations. Gustafsson (1998:186) suggests that preparing for games is treated like preparations for war raids in the past and that "[t]he cup trophy then could be seen as a transformation of the skull belonging to an enemy killed in war". Another notable example is Michael O'Hanlon's (1993) analysis of how Wahgi in Simbu Province continue to use war shields to represent clans in rugby league games. He draws attention to the extent to which designs on battle shields have changed and how teams are conceptualised in terms of past warfare practices.

The people of the south coast of PNG have been characterised historically as violent headhunters. In his historical comparison of the south coast region, for example, Knauft (1993:25) notes that "[h]eadhunting of enemies was in fact practiced along the entire nonAustronesian south coastal area, except by the Elema-speaking groups". For the Gogodala, collecting enemy heads was considered a male obligation and, especially during Aida initiation ceremonies, which I discuss in detail in the next chapter, initiates proudly carried skulls taken by their fathers. One former PNG Defence Force soldier living in Balimo suggested that the taking of heads for trophies in the past was like wearing military medals on uniforms today, as they both demonstrate strength and character during times of warfare and crisis. These are some of the themes and

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9 See Weiner (1987:114) and as an extention of this argument, Taussig (1993:243-6) suggests that Trobriand Cricket actually captures the irony that the Trobrianders "mime war – World War II, to be precise – war being what Trobriand cricket was designed, by missionaries, to replace".

images that Gogodala men draw on when they suggest that playing rugby league is "like going to war". Rather than suggest rugby league is a modern form of warfare, however, as the Gogodala have not practiced headhunting for over one hundred years, men engage football as a performance that allows them identify with, and embody, past masculine activities as contemporary displays of strength, just 'like' warfare did in the past.

During the Dry season, generally from March to October, hundreds of people travel to Balimo each Saturday to support their clan and village rugby league teams playing at Balimo Oval. Men are divided into A, B and C grades, with several clubs represented in each grade. Boys play at primary and secondary school and progress to the age-based under 19s competition, before progressing to the grade level. In addition to normal team training, each village often also holds informal low-contact games of rugby league, called touch football, on the village field in the afternoon. At Tai village, for example, a whistle was blown several times late every afternoon as a signal for all the men in the area to stop work and congregate at the oval where they would play until dark. Rugby league was introduced to the Gogodala in 1968 by two Australian administrators stationed at Balimo. Since that time, the game has become part of local articulations of *dala ela gi*, the male way of life. Indeed, the first local men to play the game now hold prominent positions in the community and many are remembered for being 'tough' football players. One village councillor is particularly revered as a strong man because he was responsible for accidentally killing a player in the 1970s in an aggressive tackle.

Figure 19. Playing rugby league at Kini village, 1999.

In this section, I want to expand on the theme of continuity and masculine strength by exploring the way Gogodala men approach rugby league as an extension of canoe racing and work, as both are displays of masculine power. In addition to demonstrating individual strength, canoe races and rugby league games are an exhibition of clan and village strength and solidarity, as well as the continuation of relationships with the spirit world, the ancestors, and God. Whenever possible, rugby league games are played after canoe races and men from the different canoes move as a united group from the canoe place to the football field, singing clan canoe songs as they prepare to play rugby league later in the day. One player told me in 2000 that,

> playing rugby league is the same thing as canoe races, the football team is in the canoe…Putting the paint and singing of canoe race songs, it is taking the village *ugu* with you. They sing canoe songs because they are going into competition. Some men do magic to make them lose…The same thing applies for rugby playing and the racing of canoes.

In extending my previous discussion of the interrelated concepts of work and play, therefore, I suggest men approach the tasks of canoe racing and rugby league as interconnected, work-related activities and emphasise the way Gogodala men have adopted the game as work based on the display and performance of maleness. As one current player said, "you look down on the guy who can't play tough, you praise yourself, everyone wants to be someone on the field". In addition to gardening, canoe making, house building and hunting, canoe racing and rugby league are also practiced as a form of work. Like carrying a pig back through the village after a successful hunting trip, or building a new house, rugby league confirms social relationships, makes gender visible, and enables internal capacities to be made known. During rugby games and canoe races, men draw on 'work' techniques, including clan magic, food, Christian worship and relationships with the spirit world, to enhance their strength, weaken others and ensure success.

When village men form a rugby league team, they name the team after the clan land that the village is built on. For example, Saweta village is situated on Awala clan land and this is reflected in the team's name, Golali Cassowaries. The cassowary is an Awala clan animal, while Golali is a powerful Awala *ugu* spirit living underneath the village. While clan affiliation derives from the father, a man can play for their mother's or wife's clan team as well. Just as men racing in Awala clan canoes call on the help of *ugu* like Golali, rugby league teams impose the same restrictions upon themselves to ensure Golali's support in important games held at the end of each competition. When canoe races are held in conjunction with rugby league games, players and paddlers stay together and prepare for both events in the same way. When important games are played, players follow the same procedure of staying the night in one camp, singing canoe songs as a sign of respect to the clan ancestors and the village *ugu*, and eating strength-enhancing foods like sago grubs.

The night before the 1999 grand final, for example, the Golali cassowary team sang Awala canoe songs and called on the Saweta village *ugu*, Golali, to assist them. At the same time, in a camp near Kimama village, the Kimama

crocodiles side were singing Wagumisi clan canoe songs and calling on the Kimama *ugu* to give them strength. As we have discussed with canoe racing, the relationship between the team and their village *ugu* develops over the weeks preceding the event and one player suggested that "leading up to the game you can feel if you are going to win or if you are going to lose, you can feel it through your body and sometimes through dreams". Indeed, it was suggested that when *ugu* decides to assist, it imbues the team with strength, going through the players "like electricity".

Other factors can come into play on the field, however. In the opening minutes of the 1999 rugby league grand final, the huge crowd was stunned into silence when three players from the highly favoured Cassowaries team were seriously injured and carried from the field. Cassowary supporters were particularly upset to see their best player writhing in pain from a suspected broken arm only minutes into the game. Players from the opposing Crocodiles team showed the crowd their intentions from the beginning of the match by launching their bodies into tackles, the impact of which could be heard and felt around the ground. The dry, hard and dusty field combined with the hot and humid conditions to provide extreme playing conditions. While many predicted that the Cassowaries would win the grand final, it was the Crocodiles who surprised the crowd by displaying superior strength, *kamali*, and skill by winning convincingly. One losing Golali player later suggested that:

> the Kimama Crocodiles went to the bush and got a python, called *kalu*, cut the belly without killing it and get the fat and let it go. You say magic words to tell python to slow down and help you, use clan magic words. They put the fat on their bodies, rub them on their bodies, they did that to us. This *kalu* breaks the bones; this is why most Golali players were injured in the grand final. There are a lot of things, *magata gilala* [magic words], we use to win the games and the fights.

While in this explanation for the loss, it is clan magic and the *kalu* python that 'breaks the bones' of the Golali player, there were other interpretations of the game. In one account, it was suggested that it was an old man sitting quietly alone on the sideline who caused the injuries. This old man first determined the

direction of the wind and then said *magata gilala*, magic words, calling the names of each player. By doing this, "the wind takes those *magata gilala* and puts it into those people's ears and that makes them weak".[10]

In the past, it was the responsibility of the village medium, a *sakema* in magic called *iwai dalagi* or magic man, to communicate with the village *ugu*. Typically, *ugu* would communicate with the *iwai* through a series of signs and dreams. In the past, *ugu* might leave bloodstains on the longhouse steps or, alternatively, tell the village *iwai* in a dream that they should prepare for an enemy attack. To call on *ugu* for assistance in warfare, the *iwai* would use clan magic. Each clan owns magic words, or *magata gilala*, and they are extremely careful about who has access to such secret and powerful words. The crocodile, for example, belongs to the Asipali clan and only members of this clan have access to the magic words that can influence this creature's behaviour. Similarly, the Siboko clan have *magata gilala* to make wallabies appear from the bush while they are hunting.[11] In her study of Mekeo, Central Province, notions of magic and self, Michele Stephen (1995a) provides a useful formulation for defining magic. She proposes that, for the Mekeo,

> magic involves the belief that the material world can be altered by nonmaterial means via rituals that usually employ words (spells), substances (magical medicines and objects), and ritual actions and special preparedness on the part of the practitioner (Stephens 1995a:325).

This definition resonates with Gogodala ideas about magic. For the Gogodala, an emphasis is placed on *magata gilala*, and these are often used in conjunction with different medicinal substances, such as bark and leaves or the fat of a python.[12]

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10 Stephen (1995:45) suggests that the Mekeo have a range of magical knowledge that includes magic for "competition in sport and gambling".

11 Both men and women have access to different clan magic words. Gogodala women have access to a number of clan magic words, including words to help them make sago, to make the sun move slowly and for healing purposes.

12 Weiner (1988:129) suggests that the Foi have many magic spells known as kusa dobora or 'spell talk'. Like the Gogodala, Foi women also have spells for activities such as sago processing. For a more detailed discussion of the role of magic in Melanesian societies see Stephen (1987b). E. E. Evans-Pritchard (1937:19) makes the point for the Azande of Central Africa, that all misfortunes are explained in terms of witchcraft. Several anthropologists have drawn comparisons

These words and substances are clan-based and knowledge of how to use these resides with a select number of men and women. In past times of warfare, the *iwai* would have been responsible for calling on the support of the underground village *ugu* and, in addition, he would perform magic rites that would enhance the strength of the warriors and attempt to influence the outcome of the raid by disabling the enemy.

When the village *ugu* decided to accompany the decorated warriors on a raid, it provided them with superior strength and ensured they returned to the longhouse victorious and in possession of several enemy heads. While it was recognised that the *iwai dalagi*, magic man, was superior in his knowledge and experience of different forms of magic, a hierarchy of general magical knowledge existed in relation to the rest of the male community. From the time of initiation, men would learn aspects of their clan magic. This magic included knowledge of how to control clan animals, influence the weather, to call on the ancestors, and the power of bodily decorations. While this hierarchy was generally based on age, the sons of an *iwai* would be given special status, as would men who demonstrated specific abilities.

As in the past, then, old men referred to as magic men, can affect the rugby league game in various ways. The above example, describing the way an *iwai* makes players feel tired is known as "counting the bones" or *gosasa domona gi*, which literally means 'bones affecting thing'. Alternatively, using similar techniques, the *iwai* can control the movements of opposing players and this is known as *luma pasamina gi*, or literally 'people unfolding thing'. This form of magic effectively spreads and scatters the players so that the attacking team can run through with ease. Another method is *gosasa kaekaemina gi* or 'breaking the bones', which causes injuries such as those experienced by the Golali Cassowaries in the 1999 grand final. After an unexpected win, it is common for supporters of the winning team to praise the effort of their village *iwai* for his use of *magata gilala* to ensure victory.

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between Azande witchcraft practices and the role of sorcery and magic in Melanesia (Bowden 1987:190-1; Reay 1987:92; Chowning 1987:156).

Players also use several methods to enhance their strength and prospects for victory. One player suggested that,

> players do special things before they play, they rub them on their body to gain extra speed...The players themselves or the coach will mix it up with some herbs, bark from the tree, leaves and some liquid, make it up and rub it on players legs and hands before the game.

In addition, players can get 'bad things' and rub them into their hands so that when they shake hands with the opposition before the game, these are passed on. It is thought that after they have shaken hands, the opposition player's "eyes become blurry so they can't see the attacking side and they feel heavy, like some sort of weight on him and he will be confused, like chasing you in the dark". Another method used to make the opposition lose strength, is to place a stick on the road and say *magata gilala* so that when the opposition team walks past "the players walk over it and some walk on it and when they get ready for the game they will feel tired".

One rugby league player from Kini village suggested that he used clan magic before every soccer match. As the team's goal keeper,

> I would get a stick and go and place it about 10 metres in front of me and say that it is Kalidolo's body, python's body. I prepare it before I play, say *magata gilala* to it, put it in my pants and run on the field. Put it so the ball will come and go back again. At half time changing over, I will pick up the stick, say some words and do the same thing at the other end. If I forget to get the stick at half time then that's it, people will score goals. From my experience, I have done those things and we won so many games.

He made the point that the players in his rugby league team, the Mili Hornbills from Kini village, used similar techniques for other activities such as canoe racing. In another rugby league example, he said the players "rub the things on their legs, arms, forehead, eyebrows before they go onto the field and I have seen many players get *kalu* python skins and put them on their legs, tie them on, and

then put socks on". The *kalu* snake belongs to the Wagumisi clan, although all of the eight clans use the *kalu* python for "good luck".[13]

During the 1995 rugby league Grand Final at Balimo oval, several players had white lines placed under their eyes. I was offered two explanations for this; firstly, the colour white, *abilo*, is a white clay that is owned by the Awala clan and, as Golali's clan colour, it provides the player with additional strength; and secondly, the white colour could have been lime mixed with the decaying skin of a dead person. It is thought that the lime mixture,

> makes the player invisible, as you are running you say certain words, just like in a canoe race, the dead relative will make him have extra strength to run faster or go through the defence and opposing players will feel weak and not move faster and look tired. You call the dead relative or *ugu* under whose name you did that thing, call upon him to help you, it only comes at a time when you are attacking, you call those things and you have the advantage, it makes you see clearly, they can't tackle you, they are weak.

In addition to calling on the spirits of the dead and *ugu* for added strength, players can make the opposing side weak by performing certain magic rites at the football ground before the game. According to one player,

> sometimes people do things on the ground, they say magic words to fruit skin or betelnut skin, rubbish that people won't take any notice of and they throw it at an end of the oval, or a man will go in the night and dig the ground on the oval and put those things in the ground. The opposing side also knows these things so you have to be very careful they don't see you or there will be a big fight.

Players also call on their clan animals during games, racing and other work activities to gain additional strength. For example, the cassowary, or *guwali*, is an Awala clan animal and it is prominently displayed in different clan designs. When a man's mother comes from the Awala clan he is affectionately called *guwali kowabi*, or small cassowary. It is a sign of respect for the mother's clan

13 This concerns many Wagumisi clan men who do not approve of other Wagumisi men giving specially prepared *kalu* for opposing clans to use. They recognise, however, that the men do not pass on the knowledge of how to prepare the kalu or the related magic words; it is thought they only allow them to use it because they want the team to win.

and it establishes lasting relationships with her brothers.[14] Men are proud to be called by their mother's clan animals, one man suggesting that it is like being "under your mother like a bird under the mother's wing". The primary clan animal for all the clans, however, is the pig and it is recognised as one of the strongest and most intelligent of animals. During football games and canoe races, players use *magata gilala* to call on the strength of both their clan pig and their mother's clan animals. Village games of football are often organised in a way that players are only allowed to play for their mother's clan. This was introduced to stop the fighting and clan rivalry that emerged when players represented their own clan. During the official rugby league season, however, players can represent their clan, or their mother's clan, and village and clan rivalries often develop.[15]

The 1995 grand final, between the Balimo Bulldogs and AKP, ended with the Bulldogs' unexpected defeat. Immediately after the game, the team gathered off the field and discussed what had gone wrong. It was revealed during a heated debate in the team camp that the wife of one of the players had recently had an affair with a married man. As a result, that player, her husband, was blamed for the loss. One player suggested that "she did it to him, the team is in the same canoe and he is out on the field, he is part of it, you need to be very careful". Upon hearing the news of his wife's affair, the player became angry, and ran up the main street of Balimo yelling abuse at his wife. Most of the crowd ran after him to witness the subsequent confrontation between the couple.

Since missionisation and the local acceptance and definition of Christianity, the role of magic in the community has been a contested topic. In Christian terms, the use of magic is commonly linked to the 'heathen' past and confined to other areas of PNG. Although magic is not deemed acceptable to most Gogodala Christians, many acknowledge that people, including prominent Christians, still rely on clan magic and *ugu*. One man suggested that no Gogodala

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14 In another example, the wallaby, or gauba, is owned by the Siboko clan and men whose mothers belong to that clan are called gauba kowabi, small wallaby. If a man marries a woman from his mother's clan he is ridiculed and forbidden to play for his mother's clan. He also cannot be called by his mother's clan animal name.

15 During the 1995 Grand Final, held at Balimo, several police were present and warning shots were fired into the air when clan and village fights broke out on the sidelines.

person would deny that *ugu* exist. As a result, the categories of 'good' and 'bad' magic have emerged as a means for Christians to label those who continue to practice magic. 'Good magic' includes acts such as sending rain away, bringing fish to the area or helping pregnant women in labour. It is something that generally benefits the wider community, and does not harm others. As a result, good magic is tolerated and, indeed, often encouraged by many Christians. Alternatively, 'bad magic' harms people and, in extreme cases, can be fatal.

Contestations occur therefore, when the use of magic, such as that used in the 1999 Grand Final, falls into both of these categories. For example, players and supporters of the winning side believe that good magic helped the team win, and that it was unfortunate that some players were hurt. The losing side argued, however, that bad magic was used deliberately to injure and harm their players. The rugby league grand final, then, was not just a competition between the players, it was a contest over magic, *ugu* and Christian practices. One player suggested,

> in sports, as they come to later rounds, near the finals, the players start to restrict themselves. The restriction is *awana ela gi* [forbidden way of life]...We have to be very careful because *ugu* doesn't like people to break those rules. *Sosawe* is like a sin. If you respect him the win is ours, that's for sure, we definitely win.

In this account, the link between *ugu* and the Christian way of life are expressed through interpretations of *sosawe*, or sin. A cassowary player reiterated the same point,

> our way of life and what the Bible says is no different. So this is why those Ten Commandments that God gave to Moses, we Gogodala have those same Commandments too, *awana ela gi* [forbidden way of life].... Therefore, if you break one you are breaking God's commandments, we believe strongly in those commandments. This is why we follow rules every time we do things, [whether] going to play football or canoe race, we follow these Ten Commandments.

Once a player breaks one of these restrictions, they are required to publicly confess and leave the team, so that there is no continuing association with their

actions and thereby potential conflict with the village *ugu*. In this context, confession is likened to that of the confession of sins during an ECPNG service. One player made a comparison with the Gogodala men who died in battle during World War II. He suggested that those men who died had committed adultery and not confessed their sins to the village people before they went to war. All those who had confessed their sins before they went, however, managed to return home safely.

The division and distinctions between the use of magic and *ugu,* and Christian beliefs is notable, however, in teams that claim to be playing for God. The coach at Dogono village, for example, insisted that all his players behave as Christians by regularly attending church services. They prayed to God for strength and success in their games. The team's 1995 grand final banner had the words 'victory for god' clearly displayed among the clan decorations. In another example, after the 1998 grand final, the Suliki 'eels' team paraded through Balimo singing canoe songs, intermittently spelling out the word 'Jesus' in the form of a victory chant. When asked why they spelt out Jesus' name, one player replied that "we have seen what that name Jesus can do, we will use it". Christians who play and support football often make the point that it is fine for them to follow rugby league, because the sons of several ECPNG pastors play football. Similarly, they point out that the ECPNG pastor in Balimo is always invited to say a prayer at the opening of the rugby league grand final and that the President of the Balimo rugby league in 1995 was also the local ECPNG church secretary and District church representative. The involvement of respected pastors, and their families, provides sufficient basis, then, for many to dismiss negative connotations about the game.

Recently, several new churches, including the Seventh Day Adventists (SDA), have begun to challenge the ECPNG's dominance throughout the area. During the 1998 rugby league final series, sponsored by a local businessman, the respective ECPNG and SDA church hierarchies came into conflict. The problem centred on whether the finals would be played on Saturday or Sunday. For the SDA, Saturday is the holy day while the ECPNG reserve Sunday as a day of rest

and worship. Until then, all rugby league games were played on Saturday. As the sponsor of the finals was an SDA member, he insisted that these games be played on Sunday.

Masculinity on Parade

Figure 20. In 1995, Tai and Dogono village rugby league team approaches Balimo on Grand Final day.

On the day of the rugby league grand final, the teams participating gather together at the Gogodala Council Chambers and parade down the main street of Balimo to the oval. After spending the night preparing and singing canoe songs, the teams make their way to Balimo by walking or canoeing from their respective villages, or camping places, accompanied by their families and supporters. The celebrations begin in the village and continue all the way to Balimo. In 1995, for example, the Dogono and Tai village team walked for two hours to Balimo surrounded by hundreds of excited supporters carrying the team banner, singing clan canoe songs, beating drums and cheering. As they approached Balimo, they

increased the volume of the celebration so that everyone along the way could see that they were confident of victory. Teams that travel to Balimo by canoe similarly sing canoe songs along the way, and are greeted by waiting supporters upon their arrival at Balimo.

When the teams emerge for the parade, they are variously dressed in bright clothes and caps, and carry clan plants, *billums* (tp), brightly decorated banners and flags. As they march, they sing canoe victory songs and call out special clan words, including the name of the supporting *ugu*. Weiner (1988:72) suggests that, for the Foi, "putting on clothing and decorations transforms individuals into their various social personae; it creates the person in his or her social capacity". Gogodala football players similarly project a transformed social persona when they wear an ensemble of bright clothes during the parade and then change into the team uniform for the game.[16] In 1999, players from one team carried brightly painted canoe paddles inscribed with their name and the grand final date that they later handed out as prized gifts to the crowd before the start of the game. As they walked and sang, they moved the paddles up and down imitating the movement of a racing canoe and giving a magnificent display of colour. The aim was to impress the spectators with the colour of their performance and display of strength before the game. The team banner, as 'part of the team', plays a defining role in the team's success and it is always creatively designed and colourful. It usually depicts team and clan names, often the date, clan designs and colours, streamers and emblems, such as animals, fish and birds, and words or phases such as 'victory for God'. It is adorned with colourful streamers and the banners are strategically placed at the oval in front of the team enclosure.

16 Clark (1992:17) writes that Wiru create the world through their bodies and because Europeans were known by the same term as steel, they would try to transform their bodies by wearing strips of tin cans around their waists.

Figure 21. A display of colour and strength; 1999, Grand Final parade.

Similarities can be drawn between the creativity of these banners and the Wahgi battle shields being used for rugby league games in Simbu Province and the ways in which they contribute to the team's success. O'Hanlon (1993:66) makes the point that war shields now being used to represent clans in rugby league games and that there has been a tendency to coordinate the designs on the shields. He argues that "[a]n important background influence may well be the popularity of rugby league in Papua New Guinea; this, I suspect, fosters a tendency to conceptualise the two sides in warfare as members of opposing teams, each in their own uniform" (O'Hanlon 1993:67). Similarly, he describes how Wahgi men have incorporated the South Pacific beer label into their shield designs, and uses the example of a shield that depicts the entire SP label with the two rugby league teams names written in the middle (O'Hanlon 1993:80).

As in canoe races, crowds make predictions concerning the outcome of the day's games based on the attitude of the players and the colour of their display. Sawiya women can predict the outcome of the game according to the confidence and colour of the team's presentation in the parade. One player said the teams

give enormous respect to these women and the accuracy of their predictions, and described how happy the team is before the game if these women make the observation that they have the winning colour, *mala lapodaewe*, or 'yellow on it'. After the 1998 grand final parade, one Sawiya woman announced that "Suliki team will win, my eyes told me, they were happy and looking good, Pisi team were a bit dark". Through predictions, players find out if their village *ugu* was supporting them during the parade.

Figure 22. 'Yellow on it', the team on parade, 1998.

Whilst a different context, the decoration of rugby league players in the grand final parade is comparable with other styles and performances. During formal dance competitions, such as the Balimo Show and PNG Independence Day, Gogodala men decorate themselves in uniform clan styles that includes large clan masks "an array of feathers, plumes, twigs of *salago* [clan plants] and with body ornaments of pearl-shell, diagonal chestbands, waistbands, armlets, leglets and groin shell" (Crawford 1981:248). These bodily decorations embody clan power and symbolise and communicate different clan ancestral stories. At the same time, however, the inner strength, or *kamali*, of the dancers is on show and

spectators can see the efficacy of the clan by the colour and the brightness of their style, attitude and performance. Similarly, the dancers communicate to the spectators that the village *ugu* is present and providing them with additional strength. Like formal dance performances, then, rugby league parades provide Gogodala spectators with a colourful performance of clan and individual strength, wellbeing and success.

At Balimo oval, several areas are arranged for each of the grand final teams to congregate for the game. Prior to the match, however, the players move away from the crowd and prepare in a quieter area near the oval. It is here that the players put on their team uniforms and make last minute preparations for the game, such as applying magic substances and saying magic words. The process of changing into a uniform transforms the men into a team that represents a village, a clan, and sometimes, a sponsor. In his study at Bomana Prison, Reed described the way soccer players prepare for the grand final.

> On the day of the final of the soccer competition two rival teams spend the morning constructing separate enclosures...Once completed, players and supporters encamp inside their respective dwellings...and devote their attentions to the decoration of a team poster. A few minutes before kick-off the [team] posters, now attached to a tall wooden frame and embroidered with streamers in the team colours, are ceremonially planted on the touchline outside the entrance to each enclosure. Shouts are heard from within, gradually increasing in volume, and then the teams suddenly appear. They burst through the poster-board and run onto the pitch, arms and legs tied with paper streamers...Both teams return to their enclosures, remove decorations and settle their minds on the game. When they emerge once again, they do so as a football team: in line and at an orderly pace (Reed 1999:48-9).

Although not the same, the above account resonates with Gogodala rugby league grand finals where the decoration of players, enclosures and team banners form part of a colourful display of masculinity and sporting readiness.

Being attractive to women is also part of the male display of strength in Gogodala rugby league and players use several methods to ensure they look strong and are admired by female supporters. For the Gogodala, strength is intimately connected to the notion of beauty and ideal bodies, and many

unmarried league players use love magic during games to attract women. One example is the practice of placing *mekeso* bird feathers into the hair and boots, to ensure that the man is handsome and appealing.[17] It is believed that the *mekeso* "is a clever bird living far in the bush and they are hard to catch, the whole bird is used, used for everything to get the ladies; it has the power". Similarly, Schieffelin (1976:125) notes that when Kaluli men of the Great Papuan Plateau dress in ceremonial costume they project "an irresistible image of beauty and splendor that (supposedly) fills women with admiration and desire".[18] Gogodala love magic is primarily concerned with making the practitioner physically handsome and desirable. In addition to using *mekeso* feathers, players from Kini village rub a magical substance onto their bodies before they play. They mix *salela komeda*, or ginger, with other substances and rub them on their bodies so that they look strong and attractive.[19] During games of rugby league, certain women dance on the sidelines to show appreciation for particular players, especially after points are scored. The crowd enjoy these displays by the women, known as *owama gi*, and while it is usually sisters and mothers, sometimes a woman will run onto the field and dance to show her desire for a particular player.

For Gogodala men, canoe racing and rugby league are both activities that demonstrate individual strength and gender, as well as clan and village solidarity and well-being, and embody both Christian beliefs and relationships with the spirit world and the ancestors. Rugby and canoe races are also correlated with work, *oko*. The next chapter looks at what constitutes *dala ela gi*, the male way of life, through an analysis of contemporary constructions of the way Gogodala men defined male power and leadership at the time of early contact and then later during missionisation. This includes a discussion of ancestral stories that relate accounts of a powerful male ancestor called Saida and describes the events and

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17 Stephen (1995:179) makes the point that the rituals involved in Mekeo love magic seek to make the practitioner attractive to a desired partner. For other references to love magic (see Stephen 1987c:45; Eves 1998:59-61).

18 Stephen (1995:179) also notes that the rituals involved in Mekeo love magic seek to make the practitioner attractive to a desired partner and the love ritual is known as *pakai*, or "to decorate or make beautiful" (Stephen 1995:179).

19 When selling carvings to tourists the owner will also apply this to the carving to make it attractive to the buyer and impossible to resist.

images of the secret male initiation cult known as Aida. For it is these images and recollections of the colonial and ancestral past that men draw on when participating in activities such as canoe racing and rugby league.

Chapter 4

THE BODY POLITIC

Not long after my wife and I settled at Tai village in 1995, we were taken to the site of the old village longhouse. During the trip, we were shown an old coconut palm that had a deep knife mark cut high into the tree. Pointing to it, our guide told us of how colonial officers had made the mark while they were measuring the height of Sosola. After the white men saw how tall and powerful he was, they took him away and he never returned. As I suggested in Chapter 2, Sosola was responsible for instigating 'first contact' with the colonial administration, when he sent a message inviting the Resident Magistrate of Western Division to visit the area in 1900. In 1999, Sosola's great grandson, said that,

> when the white men came, Sosola was at Tai village, it was his bush camp at that time. They came and took him away. Village people told him to come and stand beside the coconut tree so they put the mark there, before they took him away. So then all the village people came and measured sticks up to the mark, so that when they build their houses, the post is as tall as the mark, to remind them of the tallest man. So when we grew up they told us the story about him and showed us how tall he was.

Contemporary houses continue to be constructed according to the mark. An old man living on the lower Fly River, claimed he was told many stories about Sosola and that "throughout the whole world there was no one like Sosola, he was so big, so tall, he was the only huge man". He said, "white people came and measured his height, arms and legs and the parts of his body, his beard as well, it was so long, about 20 metres...then these white people came and took away Sosola". He gave this account of his fighting and leadership prowess: "Sosola lead the people and when the other tribes see him he is very huge and very big and they just run away and he would just grab them and give them to his men, 'this is yours, you have this'". In this account, his ability to merely 'grab' the enemy and hand them to his

men, so they could claim the highly prized headhunt victim, is seen as an incredible act of strength, leadership and selflessness.

Sosola's initiative and actions during this time of colonial contact, his bodily capacities and leadership, and the mystery surrounding his disappearance, are remembered and celebrated in local stories. Sosola was a *kanaba*, or leader, at Balimo village and he was widely known and respected for his ability to 'do everything'; that is, he exhibited superior strength, knowledge of the spirit world, skill at oratory and magic, land mediation, gardening, hunting, canoe and longhouse building and, particularly, fighting. Unlike other men, "Sosola had gardens all over the place", a sign of his ability to work hard and a testament to his strength. Indeed, when discussing Sosola, several people pointed out the island on Kabili lagoon near Balimo where Sosola had grown many of these gardens.

I introduce these accounts to illustrate Sosola's status as a man and the related emphasis placed on work, bodily aesthetic, performance and strength in local definitions of maleness and the political economy. Gogodala constantly discuss and characterise what it means to be male and female and this ongoing articulation is framed locally in terms of discussions about *dala ela gi*, 'the male way of life', and *ato ela gi*, 'the female way of life'. In contemporary discourse, Sosola epitomised *dala ela gi* at the moment of contact with the colonial administration. Invariably, however, these interrelated gender categories are defined through images that encompass the extraordinary actions, special abilities and experiences of the early Gogodala ancestors. Ancestral stories, or *iniwa olagi*, not only communicate where the ancestors went, and describe what they did, they also provide a spectrum of masculine and feminine qualities and possibilities that contemporary men and women use to negotiate the multifaceted aspects of being male and female. The *iniwa olagi* provide images, or imaginings, of the past that are communicated by knowledgeable and experienced men and women to help people understand and relate to their landscape and way of life. Since the arrival of the UFM in the 1930s, local understandings of the past have inevitably been influenced by mission teachings and Christian doctrine. Despite being inextricably tied to colonial memories and understandings of the landscape,

ancestral songs, *iniwa olagi*, clan designs and other legacies of the past all contribute to the ongoing process of articulating personhood. Local interpretations of Sosola's masculinity during early contact, therefore, form part of a discussion about the actions and character of the first Gogodala male ancestors.

Gogodala men see themselves as living the lifestyle of the ancestors, as well as that of recent generations, like that of Sosola. Even though the original ancestors were big and tall, like 'giants', a male ancestor called Bani, the leader of the Asipali clan, is singled out as large with extraordinarily 'long legs'. Mala Sogowa from Tai village described him as "a fat man and tall man, long legs and long hands". When the ancestors discovered that the earth and sky were too close together, for example, it was Bani who is credited with lifting up the sky and tying it there using special string called *duni tao*. One man said, "Bani is somebody that is so huge that he is holding the sky and ground at the same time. He lifted up the sky so that's how tall he is...compared to some of our ancestors, they can't match him". Indeed, the day after our arrival at Balimo in 1995, we were taken to see a special place known as Bani's giant footprint or *aewa saba* (see also Dundon 1998:106).

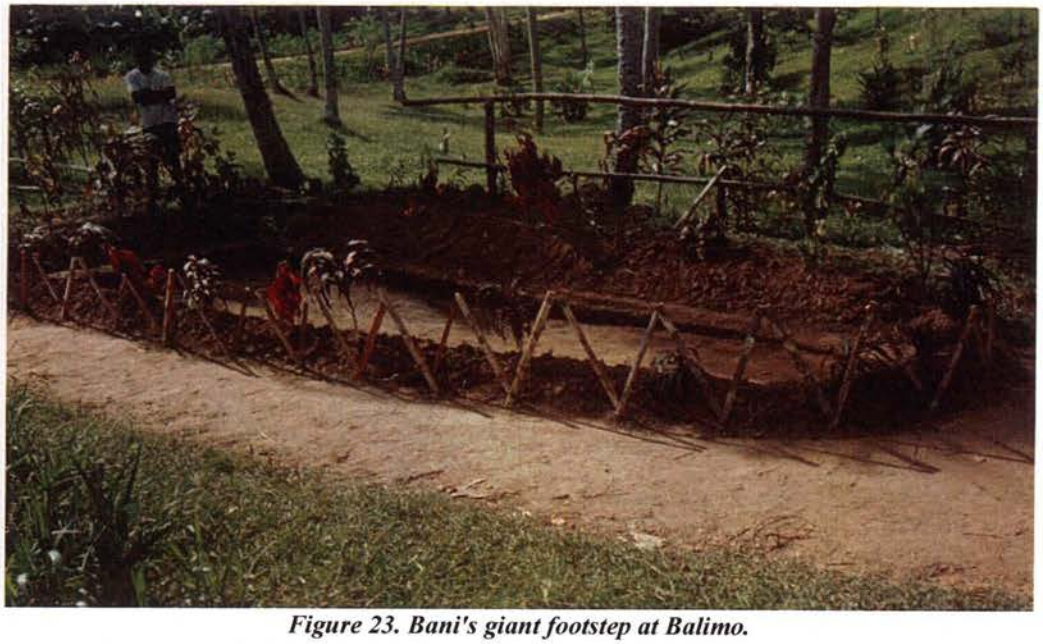

Figure 23. Bani's giant footstep at Balimo.

While Bani was a particularly powerful ancestral figure, however, it is the male ancestor known as Saida, a man who could oscillate between life and death, who is remembered as being the first to do 'everything' in terms of *dala ela gi*. Men commonly call themselves Saida *dala*, or Saida men, as they are thought to be mimicking Saida. Similarly, Dundon (1998:157-162) examines how one of the first female ancestors called Sawiya is integral to Gogodala notions of *ato ela gi*, the female way of life. Sawiya, who had the power to change her bodily appearance, is celebrated for doing 'everything' for women and women often refer to themselves as Sawiya women.

In this chapter, I explore the significance of Saida for the contemporary formulation and understanding of *dala ela gi* and male leadership. In addition to perceptions of Saida and his exploits, however, the stories and images surrounding the secret male initiation ceremonies known as Aida are equally crucial for definitions of masculinity. In particular, it was through the actions of a male ancestor called Bebema that the Aida phenomenon came to the Gogodala and enabled them to "turn boys into men". This chapter, then, analyses the extent to which local stories depicting the experiences of Saida, Aida and Sosola emphasise the conceptual themes of mimesis and the appropriation of ancestral strength, or *kamali*. This discussion is extended to include a focus on the way contemporary men seek to be as strong as those men of the past. I begin the chapter by exploring the relationship between the aesthetic of male bodily strength and ideas of power and leadership.

The Head Men

Recent anthropological studies of leadership and political economy in PNG have debated the comparative typology associated with the distinction between Big Man and Great Man societies based on differing systems of exchange and material wealth (Godelier 1986, 1991; Strathern 1991; Sahlins 1963; Knauft 1993). Most notably, contributors to Godelier and Strathern's (1991) edited

volume critique the usefulness of this distinction and provide several ethnographic cases that collapse regional boundaries and caution against over-generalisations in Melanesia leadership studies. According to Knauft (1993:79),

> Big Man societies are reasoned to exchange material wealth for human life and hence to reflect a complex exchange system in which non-equivalent items are transacted...Great Man systems, by contrast, are reasoned to be based on restricted exchange of like-for-like – for instance, a person-for-person model of exchange, as reflected in sister-exchange marriage...Leadership roles tend to be multifarious in Great Man societies and based on spiritual domination or on coercive force rather than on domination by control of material wealth.

Rather than contribute to this discourse by focussing on principles of exchange, I want to emphasise the corporeal aspects of Gogodala leadership and political system. For the Gogodala, leadership is intimately linked to bodily strength and performance. This is manifest in understandings of *kamali* and specifically ideas about the head, and represented in terms such as *ganabi dalagi* or 'head man'. The notion of head man is not uncommon in PNG; Langlas and Weiner (1988:83) note that, for the Foi, the most frequently used word for big man was *kabe anuhae* or 'head-man'. In the past, leadership was based on the prowess, strength and wisdom of the *kanaba*, leader, otherwise known as *ganabi dalagi*. It included the display and realisation of appropriate clan relationships, the authority to work hard to produce and find foodstuffs, to reproduce and, through persuasion and oration, to make wise and just decisions on behalf of the community. In particular, the most defining role of the 'head man' was the capacity to protect the community in times of warfare and this was evident in the number of enemy heads collected. The significance of the relationship between the body and power continues in the present, as will become obvious in later chapters.

The Gogodala word for both strength and power is *kamali*, an entity that resides in blood. Sosola was known as *kamalinapa dalagi*, or strong man, a term that refers to the quantity and quality of the *kamali* in his blood. In Chapter 1, I outlined the way *kamali* defines the relationship between the seen and unseen aspects of the body. It is through observable actions, through work and physical

appearance, that inner power is made known and this is primarily determined by the potency of *kamali* in blood. *Kamali* is assessed by what people 'do', through performance and social relations. When men hunt, make gardens, build houses, construct canoes, clear land, race canoes, compete in rugby league games and produce children, they demonstrate their inner strength. In addition to those physical displays, however, *kamali* also refers to the capacity, or power, to remain calm and composed during times of crisis. When different clans are in dispute, over such things as land mediation cases, a 'strong man' will be the one who resists the use of force, and instead seeks to resolve the problem through persuasion, mediation and reconciliation. In this sense, then, *kamali* refers to a person's power to control their physical strength and is articulated in terms of their depth of wisdom or knowledge.

Kamali also refers to individual and clan rights. Demonstrating ownership in a land claim or dispute requires a person to verify their right to speak through acknowledgment of their clan relationships. A man who is an authorised clan spokesperson or leader is thought to have the power, *kamali*, to speak with authority for the clan. Importantly, the power to speak is based on blood ties. If a person does not belong to the clan involved in the case, they may use the local term "*nae kamali bini*" or "I have no strength/power" to influence the result. The phrase is also used to express physical weakness during periods of illness. The Gogodala also use *kamali* to refer to politicians and public servants such as District Administrators and Members of Parliament. This does not mean that the individuals holding these positions are called *kamalinapa dala*, or strong men; rather it acknowledges their right and authority, or power, to make decisions and speak for community interests. *Kamali* is also an internal bodily capacity that can be affected, for example, by consuming certain foods, through clan magic or by coming into contact with a menstruating woman. Eating roast meat that contains animal blood, for instance, replenishes it, while the use of certain types of clan magic diminishes it. Magic, for example, is commonly used to affect strength during football games, canoe racing and hunting to stop others being too successful.

To be acknowledged as *kamalinapa dalagi*, a man must demonstrate two separate traits. The first is known locally as *kamalile gwalemae gi*, or 'strength in talking', and the other is *kamalile oko aenaemina gi*, or 'strength in working'. While administrators and politicians are recognised as having the ability to persuade others to act in certain ways, they are not respected for their capacities to work hard. It is through the demonstrated capacity to work that men and women are credited with teaching others through their actions. Sosola epitomised the strong man in his capacity to both teach others through his actions and to persuade and influence them through oratory and leadership. When the colonial administration first arrived in 1900, social life revolved around huge longhouses with one village leader called *kanaba*.[1] The *kanaba* was a man who had the ability to speak, think and act wisely. Like Sosola, the *kanaba* led the longhouse as a 'fight leader' in times of warfare and, through his actions, taught the community how to behave. The *kamali* of the *kanaba* was highly respected and, as a result, the *kanaba* was often encouraged to take several wives and produce many children. For the Gogodala, therefore, the concept of traditional leadership was intertwined with bodily aesthetic and efficacy. In Chapter 1, I introduced the concept of *tila wamina gi*, or intersubjective gazing, whereby people's actions and bodily aesthetic are constantly monitored to ensure the health and well-being of the village. Body morphology and social connectedness were intimately connected and the body of the *kanaba* was definitive in that relationship. Through his work and moral behaviour, he displayed the 'ideal' male body type.

The intimate relationship between body and leadership becomes apparent when considering another term used to describe the *kanaba*: *ganabi dalagi*, or head man. This concept refers to the ability of the *kanaba* to think clearly and wisely before he acted. In the past, as today, the head was a potent part of the Gogodala body. In addition to the brain, or *li*, the spirit or soul of the body, the *muluwapo*, is said to reside in the back of the head. The *muluwapo* can leave the body during sleep, after a fright, or as the result of magic. If the *muluwapo* leaves

[1] In 1914, for example, the Resident Magistrate reported that the Dogono village longhouse was 500 feet in length, 117 feet wide and 70 feet high (Beaver 1914:412). See also Haddon

the body for a prolonged period of time, the person becomes sick and eventually dies. The brain, or *li*, however, is particularly important in discussions of a person's ability to act and speak properly. People who behave inappropriately are referred to as *li bini*, literally 'brain finished' or no brain.

But the status of *kanaba* as a head man symbolised not only his knowledge and wisdom, but also his skill at taking heads during war raids. Past headhunting practices, therefore, made explicit the importance of the head for bodily efficacy and power. After a successful headhunting raid,

> Heads of both men and women among the slain were severed from the body using a bamboo knife, and retained after curing as trophies. The head was actually skinned, the skull being removed and the skin then cured by smoking, after which the skin was stuffed with grass and sewn up with cane. Discs of soft wood were inserted into the eye and mouth apertures and decorated with small pieces of pearl-shell surrounded by abrus seeds set in wax. These decorated heads were worn under the arms of novices during the initiation ceremonies (Crawford 1981:53).

In addition to collecting stuffed heads, the Gogodala also used eyes, eyebrows, ears, tongue, nose and skin for medicinal purposes. When a village *kanaba* died, for example, "they would take him to the grave yard in all his gears [ceremonial dress] with all the skulls he had killed, they hang on his shoulders, leave him overnight, next day take his clothes and skulls, cut the end of his tongue, eyebrows, beard and skin those special things, then put the dirt now and cover him up".

While each longhouse had one *kanaba*, or *ganabi dalagi*, decisions were made in collaboration with other elders and knowledgeable men in the community. Men with special skills in particular areas, such as hunting, carving, magic, healing and gardening were known as, and continue to be called, *sakema* or wise and talented men. In the past, as now, all men had the responsibility of being proficient at several aspects of life, and only those with special skills were referred to as *sakema*. So that when the *ganabi dalagi*, or head man, called a meeting, these *sakemana dala*, skilled men, would attend and contribute to the

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(1916:335); Dundon (1998:68-73); Crawford (1981:45-47); Weymouth (1978:12).

decision-making process. Such meetings were called *gaganabina lumumunu saba*, or literally 'many heads, of people, in a place', as it was the most knowledgeable men gathered in one place.

In the following section, I turn to the stories and images depicted in the ancestral stories about Saida, a powerful ancestor who defined *dala ela gi*. Gogodala men currently refer to themselves as Saida *dala*, or Saida men, as they are thought to be living like Saida. In the recent colonial past, Sosola emerged as a prime example of a man with Saida-like qualities. Therefore, in the following discussion, Sosola's *kamali* and *kanaba*, or head man, status is contextualised through an exploration of the pivotal place that Saida, and his bodily exploits, commands in ancestral accounts. This discussion is then extended to include a regional focus that draws on a series of historical ethnographic accounts pertaining to a similar ancestral character for areas of the south coast of Papua New Guinea, Irian Jaya and the Torres Strait Islands. This comparative discussion locates Gogodala stories of Saida and maleness within a regional set of ideas concerning fertility, sexuality, growth and food and masculine strength. I then explore local stories that discuss masculine strength in past Aida initiation ceremonies. I show that it was during initiations, and the associated male way of life, that men attempted to gain access to the strength and abilities of the first ancestors, like Saida, through a process of turning boys into men. Understanding contemporary images and accounts of Sosola, Saida and Aida provides a framework for discussing the role of male bodies and power in local definitions of leadership and other activities.

Saida and the South Coast

When Ibali sent his children to find a magical place called Dogono, these ancestors had 'special abilities' and were very powerful. It was the male ancestor, Saida, who is particularly celebrated for his extraordinary power to do things. In *iniwa olagi*, and particularly Miwasa's ancestral story, Saida is depicted as an

innately powerful male ancestor who had the ability to oscillate between life and death. Europeans have been recording ancestral stories concerning Miwasa, a Lalemana male ancestor, for over 70 years. In 1930, Swiss ethnologist Wirz (1934) collected the first account of Miwasa's story. In the 1970s, Weymouth (1978), an APCM missionary, also recorded a version in his PhD thesis on the history of the UFM. Then, in 1995, Dundon (1998:57-63; 323-333) explored how Miwasa's story contributes to the complexities of Gogodala perceptions of place, space, the landscape and bodies. Despite the different circumstances, agendas and times when these stories were collected, the story remains consistent.

Miwasa's story depicts the events surrounding the death of the first Gogodala person, a woman from Dogono village called Dalogo, who was bitten by a snake. After her death, her grieving husband, Miwasa, travelled to Wabila in an attempt to bring her back to life. Upon arriving at Wabila, after a very long and difficult canoe trip, Saida appeared to welcome Miwasa. The following account is an excerpt from a lengthy story provided by an old man from Kini village (see Appendix D).[2] He describes the way Miwasa attempts to leave Wabila with his wife Dalogo.

> Miwasa took Dalogo, she was in front of the canoe and he was in the back...Some metres away, Saida pulled a string attached to Dalogo's umbilical cord. He pulled the string back and Dalogo fell in the water and she came back. Miwasa said, 'Hey, what's happening?' And he followed her back to the canoe place and put her back in the canoe, left again, same thing happened the second time, third time same again, Saida pulled his string. Miwasa came and said, 'Ah, I've had enough, she no longer belongs to me, she is Saida's wife. Our future generations will come here, so this is the place for them, Wabila'. So he stood there and he told Dalogo, 'I know there is nothing I can do, you've set the way for everybody, future generations will come here'. And he took off alone.

This story relates the power of Saida in Wabila, the place of the dead. In the complete version of the above account, Saida tricks Miwasa on several occasions before he finally denies him the chance to take his wife back and, in these stories,

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[2] Appendix D includes several versions of Miwasa's story for comparative purposes.

it is not only Saida's power over Miwasa that is depicted, it is his power over the fate of all Gogodala that is confirmed.

While the above narrative explains Saida's control over death at Wabila, he is also recognised for his repeated ability to return to life after being killed.

> This Saida did all the things, everything...Saida has been killed all over the place, people kill him here, people kill him there...So at the same time, he had this long penis around him. Every time he threw this penis to a lady they chop it, it joins back together by itself...They killed him because of this long penis, he was throwing it out to the ladies, people got upset and they kept killing him. Saida has been killed so many times, coming back to life again. He is the life form, *kanikaewa sokate* [literally 'alive beginning'], so that is why when they kill him; he comes back to life again (Sanada Giliwa, Balimo 1999).

In 1998, two brothers from the Wagumisi clan described Saida as having "special abilities to do things and he came with a long penis, he went around with all these women". They reiterated the point that Saida was continually killed and subsequently revived, suggesting that, "Saida is the boss of this place where dead people go, he is part of that death and life as well; in him was life, in him was death". In the above accounts, Saida embodies strength, *kamali*, and his special status is reiterated and emphasised in contemporary accounts that equate him with Jesus. This is based on the notion that, in both the *iniwa olagi* and Biblical stories, Saida and Jesus both did "lively things, had the power to make things move, to create things and to come alive again"; they were both able to perform miracles.

Ancestral stories about Saida, however, are not unique to the Gogodala. Most recently, Wagner (1996) has drawn attention to a series of closely related hero myths along areas of the south coast of PNG, Irian Jaya and the Torres Strait Islands. The masculine imagery of Saida in Gogodala *iniwa olagi* correlates with these myths. Finnish anthropologist Gunnar Landtman (1927) made the point that the first Kiwai to die was a powerful man called Sido. He also analysed accounts of another Kiwai 'hero', a man named Soido. A. C. Haddon (1901) extends Landtman's study by drawing on several accounts of a 'culture-hero' known throughout the Torres Strait region as Sida, Said, Soiida, Sidor, Saider and Sidar. These interrelated myths are generally known as 'Papuan hero tales'.

Wagner (1996) recently extended this regional analysis by including the Sosom myths for the Marind-anim, west of the Kiwai, recorded by Jan van Baal (1966). In addition, he included the area north of the Kiwai, in the Gulf Province, where the Daribi have myths similar to the Kiwai's Sido myths concerning a hero called Sorouw (1996:290). He argues that Marind-anim have a spirit called Sosom that is closely related to the Kiwai and Torres Strait hero myths and that in all of these accounts "the hero is a bringer of food plants and of human fertility and growth, all mediated through his large penis" (Wagner 1996:289). According to Wagner (1996:290), these tales "almost invariably address crucial questions of human mortality, of fertility, and reproduction" and invoke a "life/death inversion", where the immortal hero inflicts mortality on others, and an inversion where the hero suffers mortality only to inflict it on others (Wagner 1996:290). Billai Laba similarly suggests that the Gizra, on the southwest coast of PNG, had a hero called Muiam whom he equates with Sido (1996:303). Laba (1996:303) makes the point that most versions of the Muiam myth suggest that he was the first man to have sexual relations with women, the first man to die, and the originator of life and death.[3]

For the Kiwai, Landtman (1927:284) makes the point that the first Kiwai man to die and to open the way for the dead to travel to the land of Adiri was a mythical hero called Sido. In addition to Sido myths, the Kiwai have related myths concerning another ancestral figure known as Soido. Landtman (1927:286) is convinced that Sido and Soido are separate characters; however, he admits that parts of Sido's story are "almost identical with that of the story of Soido".[4] In these stories, Soido is an agriculture hero who is associated with garden work and the origin of food. After he killed his wife, he cut up her body and then used her body parts to grow food, including yams, sweet potatoes and bananas. After consuming the food, the fruits and vegetables passed through his body and lodged

[3] Alternatively, according to Landtman (1927:284), the first Kiwai man to die and to open the way for the dead to travel to the land of Adiri was a mythical hero called Sido. He makes the point that Sido "seems to have tried to find a means for himself and everyone else to escape death" (Landtman 1927:285).

[4] By contrast, in Haddon's (1901) study of Mabuiag, Saibai and Miriam versions of these hero myths, he classifies the Torres Strait accounts as being either Sido or Soido related myths.

in his genitals.[5] Like Soido, Saida is also associated with gardening and remembered for his long and powerful penis and related themes of fertility, sexuality and mortality.

Another theme to emerge in this material is the link between these characters and longhouses. Sido, for example, transformed himself into a pig, which then turned into a very long house. The Gogodala longhouse is called *Saida genama*, or Saida's house. Sanada Giliwa suggests that when Saida named the longhouse he said "it's my name, Saida *genama*, you can call it after my name, *Saida genama*, my *Saida genama*". Billai Laba (1996:303) reiterates the point that, due to the various travels and activities of the Papuan hero, many places shared the characteristics of "the widespread 'long-house cult'". For the Gogodala, the longhouse was the centre of social life and certain areas were associated with power, leadership and secret initiation ceremonies.

Figure 24. Saida Genama, or Gogodala longhouse and gardens, early 1900s.

[5] Later, he went to Murray Island, in the Torres Strait, where he had sex with a woman called Pekai (Landtman 1927:73). In one story, "Soido's member was so large that Pekai was killed. He shook out the semen all over the island, and all sorts of plants and fruit...began to grow there. Pekai was restored to life by Soido touching her...with his member" (Landtman 1927:74). Subsequently, Pekai and Soido's ancestral support is considered essential for ensuring a successful crop.

The ancestral characters described in the various hero myths provide us with common themes for understanding ancestral bodily efficacy throughout the region. Wagner's notion of a life and death 'inversion' raises an interesting and salient point: that these heroes are at the centre of definitions concerning the mortal body. As we have seen, in Gogodala stories, Saida is referred to as 'the boss of life and death' and he was also the first to do 'everything' for men. The themes of fertility, sexuality, growth, food and masculinity raised in these myths resonate with Gogodala discussions of Saida. This regional discourse provides a source for comparative insights into the ways the Gogodala imagine Saida, and for understanding how he is a defining character in local definitions of both *kamali* and *dala ela gi*. When Gogodala men refer to themselves as Saida *dala*, or Saida men, they are articulating an affinity, or male solidarity, with one of the most powerful male ancestors and a descent relationship, based on blood, to a man thought to be the same as Jesus. I want to turn now to local stories concerning conceptualisations of strength through male initiation, known as the Aida ceremonies, to show that it was during Aida that men attempted to appropriate and copy the strength and abilities of the first ancestors like Saida.

Initiation and Imitation

The first ancestors had 'special abilities' or powers called Aida *gi*, or Aida things. The Gogodala notion of *gi* is a complex category that can be defined as relating to 'everything'. It also has connotations associated with the idea of truth. The category of Aida *gi*, then, refers to 'everything' that is true, special, powerful and sacred relating to the Aida ceremonies. Similarly, *dala ela gi*, or literally 'men's lifestyle thing', refers to everything associated with a 'true' male way of life that has its foundations in ancestral stories. The Aida powers, or Aida *gi*, of the early ancestors included immortality, being able to move effortlessly from place to place, and the ability to merely think of something and it would materialise. The

ancestral loss of the special abilities associated with Aida *gi*, as punishment for transgressing Ibali's orders, was a terrible moment for contemporary men and women, as the power and strength of these ancestors was lost to future generations.

The renewal or return of Aida powers remains an important discussion point. In the following narrative, the loss of Aida *gi*, in terms of *kamali*, is explained.

> While the ancestors were doing it [having sex] at Dogono...the strength, *kamali*, went away at that time. Then Bebema went to look for that strength again...He brought back the lost abilities. Aida thing is an ancestral thing that came with them from Wabila. They were practicing it here, and they lost it, at Dogono it disappeared. Bebema was just an ordinary man but he managed to go to Bolame and got that thing back.

It is due to the actions of an ancestor called Bebema that the Gogodala gained a 'second chance' at attaining the original powers of the first ancestors. Bolame was a powerful place, like Dogono, yet it retained its marginal and powerful status, merely disappearing from the sight of ordinary people. The ancestral narrative of Bebema's experience at Bolame is known as the Aida story. After visiting Bolame, Bebema returned to Dogono village with the knowledge and power of Aida, and became the first 'Aida man', or Aida *dalagi*. He was responsible for explaining to the village men new aspects of *dala ela gi* that would ensure health, strength and well being for the community.

The story relates that, while he was living at Dogono village, Bebema married a woman called Lekeleke. One day, while Lekeleke was making sago, an *ugu* [spirit] monster called Uwa disguised himself using a *kabiya ikaka*, a wallaby skin. Then he raped Lekeleke. That night when he discovered what had happened to his wife, Bebema went to the sago place with Lekeleke to kill the *kabiya*. The following day, he shot it with a spear and then chased the wounded *kabiya* until he came to a longhouse, where he found Uwa sitting on the verandah:

> Uwa asked Bebema, 'Are you man or a little boy'? Bebema said 'I'm a man'...Bebema went into the house and this Uwa changed into a very big man...a real Aida man...and sent the mat with a *kanaba* clan design on it,

> that mat went by itself, it went to Bebema...Uwa told Bebema, 'sit down on that mat - that's your mat'. From there, Uwa sent what they call this *togobolo* [bag containing Aida things] this Aida people's things with a *kanaba* design on it...Those things went to Bebema by themselves, these were alive things. Uwa told him, 'push your hands inside the bag and get the *ema* (betel nut), take the skin off and eat it'...Uwa kept Bebema there and...showing him how [to]...turn into a big man or something like that. From there, Uwa shot Bebema with a spear then he fixed him again, gave him life. Uwa took his medicines out and fix him with that medicine...The medicine he was using was the *gagaga* [yam], that's his medicine. From there, Uwa told him 'You got this Aida *gi* already'.[6]

Bebema was taught "everything about Aida, how to shoot a man and bring him back together, chew betelnut, he learnt everything". It was suggested in 1999 that Bebema received knowledge to compensate for the rape of his wife, so that to appease Bebema, Uwa gave him something extraordinary: the secrets of Aida.

After teaching Bebema the power of Aida *gi*, Uwa told him to "go to your own village and do this Aida in your own village, kill some people and fix them again". When he returned to his village, Bebema gathered the village men and told them what had happened. Next he called the village boys together in order to teach them the Aida secrets. In front of their fathers, Bebema cut several boys in half and left them lying dead on the floor. Later, he demonstrated the power of Aida by using the yam medicine he had been given by Uwa to bring them back to life. When he came to the final boy, he found that he had run out of medicine, so he put the boy's body into a bag and returned to Bolame for more medicine. The dead boy's father, however, grew upset that his only son was dead, so he decided to kill Bebema in retaliation. The father put 'magic' into a snake and sent the snake to follow Bebema. Later that day, Bebema was bitten by the snake and died.

Crawford (1981:252) writes that Bebema

> introduced to his society a rule for daily living and a concept of the supernatural. He taught the fundamentals of sexual intercourse, methods of making magic for daily needs, the manner of preparing *sika* [kava], and the technique of chewing betel. He also learned the magic needed for the

[6] In other versions of this story, Bebema was taught the Aida things from a man called Giwaleya. Uwa and Giwaleya are considered to be interchangeable names, depending on the narrator.

> return of life to the dead, and the rites of sodomy as a means of physically transmitting the strength of one man to another.

At the time of his death, Bebema was dressed in Aida decorations, and the men who found his body "got all those Aida things, and those were the old men who would go around each village, being Aida, shooting and bringing men back to life". Aida decorations and paraphernalia included items such as arm and leg bands and headdresses, carved and painted paddles, drums, rattles, ancestral figures and other implements such as smoking pipes, spears, digging and fighting sticks. These decorations and other objects carried extraordinary powers and it was those things that imbued the wearer with power. Aida, then, was not a person; rather knowledgeable men gained Aida's power through wearing the appropriate decorations. After Bebema's death, respected village men were selected to perform the duties of Aida during initiations. It was thought that Aida would travel from village to village to initiate boys every few years. Crawford (1981:245) suggests it "was no doubt the most secret and awe-inspiring ceremony of the Gogodala people". In January 2000, the point was made to me that "Bebema was the real Aida, these men were just imitators...not real powers, just copying". This was reiterated by an old man from Kini village who said, "the real way of curing them is gone with Bebema. The truth, the right way of curing people that Aida shot is gone with Bebema when he died".

Yet, even though knowledge of the life-giving powers of Aida are thought to have been lost when Bebema died, masculine beliefs and practices associated with Aida continued. These male initiation ceremonies taught boys how to behave, work and fight like men.[7] There were four main stages to the Aida ceremonies: Wasikola Maiyata, or initiates dance; Gi Maiyata, or 'everything' dance, Gawa Maiyata, or canoe dance; and finally the Aida Maiyata, the Aida dance. Although four stages have been identified, the temporal aspect and other significant details concerning such ceremonies remain unclear. Crawford (1981:245) wrote in the 1970s that he found information on the Aida ceremonies

[7] Gogodala girls were also initiated around the time of their first period. Female initiation included food taboos, seclusion, body decoration, bodily scarring and dancing (see Dundon 1998:133).

limited and that "trying to obtain a clear picture of what survived in their memories was most difficult, and therefore is still very much incomplete". He also suggested that "only a very few who took part are alive today, and they either remember very little, or do not intend to pass it on to anyone, let alone an outsider" (Crawford 1981:249). Twenty years later, in 1995, Dundon (1998:43) found few had experienced Aida or associated activities. Similarly, by 2000, I found that no eyewitness accounts were available and consequently I can only discuss local imaginings and interpretations of Aida. Therefore, rather than attempt a detailed analysis of these four stages and their temporal continuity, I explore the themes of local appropriation of ancestral power through mimesis and related ideas about the consumption of strength.

Prior to Aida's arrival at the village, the nominated male initiates, called *wasikola*, were secluded from women and instructed in the responsibilities of being men. During this time *wasikola*, aged in middle to late teens, would be decorated in their respective clan designs, colours and paraphernalia and told to stand in a ceremonial canoe or *gi gawa*. The activity of 'standing in the canoe' was called the *wasikola gi*, or 'initiates activity'.[8] During this time, boys would come out of the longhouse dressed and decorated in clan masks, leg and armbands and clan plants. Each boy would step into a decorated and painted ceremonial canoe and be presented with a bow and arrows (Crawford 1981:247). Sanada Giliwa makes the point that the boy's mother was especially remembered at this time and, during the ceremony, mothers and sisters called out in support and praise. As a sign of respect, *wasikola* wore his mother's clan design on the front of his mask and used her clan mud to paint his face. By standing in the ceremonial canoe, the initiates were imbued with clan affiliation, responsibilities and strength.

Initiates were also subjected to a particularly painful and strengthening episode described by Bernard Lea, a UFM missionary, in 1937.

> I found out that it had been a practice to push the boy's hands down into a pot of boiling pig meat...I suggested...it would be wise to think of some

[8] The word *wasikola* also refers to the last part of making a canoe, the final stage.

> other way of testing the boys strength. I found the whole purpose was to find out whether the boys would cry out when they had their hands pushed in. I found out on my return back that they had thought out something new...gave them so much pig meat that they filled up till they were uncomfortable, and then they took the boys and put their hands under a piece of material and then beat them hard (Bernard Lea quoted in Crawford 1981:251).

In 2000, Sanada Giliwa said that during Aida days, when boys were found to be stealing and causing trouble it was decided by older men that they needed to be taught how to behave properly. At that time, they would get the boys to

> come and sit around those *wai balago* [pig meat container], elderly men stand at the back of the boys while another man opens it. They tell the boys to push their hands into the hot *wai balago* at the same time the old man closes the *balago* until they are told to pull their hands out. You can't say anything or you will be beaten badly. These hands have been going around stealing, that's why we are teaching these hands never to steal again.

Boys were forced to demonstrate their strength as a sign that they would no longer steal food, but rather start growing their own.

During Aida, while the initiates were being instructed in clan-based knowledge and shown how to hunt, garden and build properly, older men planted yams while the women made plans for supplying sufficient amounts of sago and sago grubs in preparation for the arrival of Aida. When the *diwaka* drum sounded the women and children knew that Aida was coming and quickly left the longhouse. While women and children were not allowed to see the ceremony, Magamaga Baluga, from Kawiyapo village on the Fly River, told me that when he was a small boy he used to sit with his mother where they could hear the Aida noises. Unfortunately, there is little historical material concerning the role of women during male initiation. After reiterating that there are no longer any men left who actually saw Aida, one old man gave the following account of Aida's arrival.

> When Bebema died, they got his *kakana lopala* [body decorations] and they did exactly what he did. When they wanted to call Aida they would select the young men and have them ready for Aida's initiation

> ceremony...One older man will bring them [initiates] from the camp to the longhouse where Aida is waiting for them...The place will be quiet and the old men will yell 'come on boys, it will be alright', and Aida will hear the old man and Aida will throw pieces of logs in the house to make the boys scared. Boys will be shaking...As they come to the verandah of the longhouse, they try to send the boys in one by one. 'Who is strong man to go in first, who is the strongest here, go and find Aida inside'...As soon as the first boy walked in, Aida will shoot him using bow and arrow, he will fall down. Then second one; third one, fourth one, Aida shoots them. When they are all on the floor, Aida will come and chew betel nut and start fixing them one by one. After he has joined them back, all the men...will come down with sticks, dragging the sticks along the floor, making noise. They go to the boys and beat them up; boys will just stand there. They beat them up and then they shake hands and that's it, they are men now.

To be capable of sustaining a beating, which showed respect for the old men, was considered a show of strength on the part of the initiates. At the time of Aida's arrival, the initiates were secluded from women in order to enhance their strength. At the same time, they were also involved in homosexual relations, specifically anal intercourse, in which semen was used to strengthen and 'grow' them into men. During this time, initiates developed *gosa kakalemina gi,* literally meaning 'hard bones', and this meant they became able "to carry heavy stuff".

In the following account of Aida's arrival, the relationship between initiates and their mothers is outlined.

> Boys will be crying and they bring them to the longhouse, crying for their mothers. Aida is sitting with his bow and arrow, as he comes near he releases the arrow and it goes right through the middle of the body, shooting all those boys. Then their bodies have been cut in half. After that the men will tell the mothers; 'Aida shot your children, they are dead now lying in the *komo*' [middle of the longhouse]. Aida will wait till afternoon and then he puts medicine on them and then they get better. That night they will sleep, resting their bodies, 'tomorrow night we will dance'. Then comes the next night, they put the long *kundu* (tp) drum called *diwaka* in the middle of the *komo*, now they are dancing now, beating this *diwaka* drum. Aida goes away after the dance. These boys are now men who sleep in the *komo*, we call them *komona dala* [*komo* men].

In this account, a separation between mother and son marks the transition to manhood. In the past, the spatial dynamics of the longhouse defined a man's

status. Dundon (1998:68-79) discusses the "ways in which Gogodala domestic spaces are sensed, ordered, used, and transformed" with particular reference to the spatial dynamics of the longhouse. In the past, men lived in the central hall of the longhouse, called *komo*, while the women and children lived in separate compartments along the sides. "There was a distinction drawn between the 'tail' of the house and the 'head': the initiated men slept in the latter and uninitiated boys in the former" (Dundon 1998:72).

Seclusion and secrecy from women ensured that female pollution did not hinder the bodily transformation of the initiates. Though a very important relationship, the disruption of the mother-son bond was necessary for the achievement of adulthood. This is a common theme in studies of male initiation; Herdt (1999:59), for example, argues that, for the Sambia of eastern highlands, "masculinization after childhood is the responsibility of the men's secret cult and its initiation system...Boys are initiated at seven to ten years of age, when they are separated from their mothers".[9] Sambia gender relations are highly polarised and generally antagonistic and Sambia women "are stigmatized as inferior, as polluting and depleting to men, because of their menstrual and vaginal fluids," while Sambia men fear contamination and loss of their strength (Herdt 1999:58). Schieffelin (1976:67) similarly suggests that, for the Kaluli, "women are considered weakened people and prolonged intimate contact with them or their things is detrimental to men's health and stamina. This is the primary reason why the women sleep separately from the men in the longhouse".[10] Gogodala men have always avoided contact with menstruating women and it is considered a woman's responsibility to ensure that she doesn't endanger men through reckless behaviour at critical times.[11]

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[9] See also Schieffelin (1976:126) who argues that for the *bau aa* "[s]eclusion from women was strictly observed".

[10] The theme of sexual antagonism has been the subject of much critical debate in anthropological literature (Meggitt 1964:204-224; Langness 1967:161-177; Feil 1987:168-232; Herdt and Poole 1982:3-28 and Strathern 1988:43-65).

[11] Such times include menstruation, first pregnancies and the period after the birth of a child.

The notion of secrecy is also central in studies of male cults in PNG.[12] For the Gogodala, the practice of homosexuality was a secret Aida activity. According to Herdt (1999:80), for the Sambia, "the ritual secret of insemination growth and strength unites all males as a category against females". Gogodala initiates were taught to keep their knowledge of Aida secret from women, and women and children were excluded from the events and activities surrounding Aida's time in the village. An old man suggested to me that, "in those days people were very careful, child will not make noise in the house, if child makes noise they [the men] take that woman [mother] down to the bushes and all the men take a turn [rape her]". This was also the punishment for any woman who saw any of the Aida paraphernalia.[13] He also said that, in those days, women could not see a man go to the toilet.

> Women will not see men going to the toilet, if she sees a man going to the toilet she will be in serious trouble, so women will be scared to stare at the men going to the bush. Ladies who grew up at that time learned that men never went to the toilet; food will disappear in their stomach. They used to think those men stopped going to the toilet, when they were a child they went to the toilet but they stopped when they became a man. These men were *gwa kaokodaena gi*, or 'anus, sewn up, thing'. As they grow older the anus will join together itself and there is no longer a passage there.

This perception of the male body only reinforced the secrecy surrounding the practice of ritualised homosexuality in Aida. Schieffelin (1976:124) wrote that, for the Kaluli; "men's homosexual relations with boys are a vulnerable point in the male image of strength and consequently a subject of considerable embarrassment in relation to the women" and that "[m]en try unsuccessfully to maintain it as a secret that women do not know". Herdt (1984b:194) similarly notes, "[o]ne of the manifest functions of the secrecy of homosexual fellatio is to hide from women the shame men feel at having earlier performed in this feminine way". For the Gogodala, the categories of strength and secrecy were definitive

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[12] See also Allen (1967).

[13] See also Knauft (1993:102) for his account of the Trans-Fly. He states, following Williams (1936) that if a wife deserts her husband she will be brought back and then "communally raped by the men of her husband's clan".

and intertwined; Aida activities promoted and consolidated male strength as a primarily male concern.

While little is known about the Gi Maiyata, in the early colonial period, Europeans came across several Gogodala feasts and dances that were described variously as 'sexual orgies', 'immoral rituals' and 'fertility ceremonies'. Weiner (1987:274) notes, "the prevention of sickness and its implicit converse, the promotion of general fertility is a theme of male definition throughout the southern fringe area of the highlands of New Guinea".[14] The Gi Maiyata, or 'preparation dance', could be seen as a fertility ceremony. In the following, Resident Magistrate A. P. Lyons describes what is thought to be an example of a Gi Maiyata.

> The ceremony opens with a parade of the men who carry the carved canoes, paddles, etc., around the *komo*. Beside each man walks a nude woman with his phallus in her hand. In this way, and with libidinous remarks, she endeavours to excite him into having sexual intercourse with her...The ceremony then develops into a sexual orgy, interspersed with dancing, singing and feasting, which is kept up until daybreak (Lyons 1926; cited in Crawford 1981:249).

It was suggested to me that, during the time of Gi Maiyata, "it will take so long, the ladies will become pregnant...the men will prepare those dancing gears, go to the bush, hunt for birds, bird of paradise, to get the feathers". It appears that it was during this time that men began the process of initiating boys and preparing them for the later arrival of Aida. Future feasts were prepared, men began planting yams and making gardens, while the women organised a supply of sago and sago grubs. At this time, village men also began the process of making the Aida *lopala*, or Aida things; including initiation decorations and objects such as masks, plaques, arm, leg and chest bands, paddles, ceremonial canoes and especially the Aida drum and rattle. It was suggested to me that the Gi Maiyata was the time to "get ready, prepare the boys dance, plant yams and eat yams". Like the Kiwai

[14] The theme of fertility cults is one that has been explored in relation to the south coast of PNG. Knauft (1993), for example, outlines how several south coast societies conducted fertility rituals. According to Knauft (1993:195), "Kiwai fertility cultism emphasised the collective creation of

moguru ceremony to the south of the Gogodala, the Gi Maiyata was concerned with the themes of fertility, heterosexuality, gardening, consumption and community well-being.

But if Aida was about copying ancestral *ela gi*, in order to gain strength and maleness, it was also about consumption of strength, through certain 'male' foods and substances such as semen. Aida was a medicine man, who empowered Gogodala men by using medicine, or *mulamula*, to promote strong and healthy bodies, as after Aida had initiated the boys "things would be healthy and they would have medicines to help with sickness". The power of Aida's medicine was particularly evident in the ceremony that resulted in the death of initiates and their subsequent revival. In one account of the Aida story, Uwa shot Bebema with a spear and then left his body in two pieces for the rest of the day. Hours later, Uwa returned and, as "Aida, medicine man, comes back, he puts the medicine on one hand, on the other hand, joined the two pieces together, and then he came back to life". Busali, an old man from Dogono village, also suggested that "Uwa took his medicines out and fixed him with that medicine...The medicine he was using was the *gagaga* [yam], that's his medicine". According to Sanada, the yam medicine used by Bebema "was the true medicine".

In addition to Aida using yam medicine to bring the novices back to life, the initiates were also given a powerful medicine to ingest to provide them with additional strength. During Aida, initiates were fed a medicine called *i nana gi*, or literally 'tree food', which included, among other things, a mixture of sago, banana and semen. For the Gogodala, the central part of a tree epitomises strength and, through ingestion of this medicine, it was believed that a similar strength was being instilled in the novices. Crawford (1981:247) also writes that, at some stage during the Aida ceremonies, initiates were given "a powerful and life-giving medicine" that consisted of "sago, bananas and sperm, sprinkled with hair from an old man's beard...to provide strength and vitality". I was told that the boys "took this medicine to make a vow or promise". It was suggested that because the tree is

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life-force through festive heterosexuality" where "[c]elebratory sexuality was a focal point of the main *moguru* fertility rites".

a "solid thing", the medicine "makes you strong, you won't open your mouth and say anything forbidden, you are a man now". The penalty of disclosure was death. Even in the contemporary context, several old men expressed their concern that they could not tell me certain things because they feared for their lives.[15]

Aida was also about the performance of maleness, particularly through the display of yams, the quintessential male food. Being able to grow big yams was both a show of strength and proof that you were living according to the principles of *dala ela gi*. According to Dundon (1998:163), "Gogodala bodies are the corporeal expression of the intimate connection between people, place and sago". Specifically, she demonstrates why sago "is an integral part of being Gogodala" and how making and preparing sago is a definitive activity for women (Dundon 1998:175). While all Gogodala are considered to be "living on sago", the cultivation and consumption of yams continues to be integral to articulations of health and maleness. In her study of food for the Wamira in PNG, Kahn (1986:166) notes, "yams and pigs are interpreted as phalluses and symbols of male prestige.[16] The intimate relationship between manhood, gardening and yams has also been noted for areas south of the Fly River. Ayres (1983:165) suggests that in the 'Trans-Fly' region, "[t]he importance of gardening for the people of Morehead cannot be overstated". According to Ayres (1983:165), yams are visible wealth and "[a] man is a 'big man', *kavar kambei*, by virtue of his success in yam gardening. He will also be known as a 'garden man', *ndau kambei*. To accuse a man of not having many yams, or of growing small yams is a formal insult". The Kiwai, at the mouth of the Fly River, are also a group that emphasised yams and gardening in the past (Landtman 1927; Riley 1925). During the Kiwai *Moguru* ceremonies, initiates were taught the ritual for planting and harvesting yams and techniques for ensuring successful crops.

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[15] In addition to displays of physical strength, therefore, a man's strength is also demonstrated by his ability to keep secrets and to use his knowledge wisely. The point was made that "in a fight you will not run away to show your courage, it will show out in what you do or say, people will say he has eaten those things".

[16] For studies about the importance of food for understanding social life, see Jolly (1991); Knauft (1989); Meigs (1984). For studies of yam symbolism, see Tuzin (1972); Young (1971).

During Aida *gi*, Gogodala initiates were instructed to rub a *totobe* yam around their anus before eating it.[17] The *totobe* is a long spindly vegetable that is likened to Saida's penis. It was thought, "the yam *totobe* is like a snake, shaped like Saida's penis. The boys will hold it and that is a sign you are a man now, the boy will rub it on his anus and eat it, [thereby] getting strength from Saida". This process also demonstrated the gardening skills of the older men who grew the yams. In the process, initiates were imbued with Saida's strength. Crawford (1981:252) also writes that, as part of Aida secrets, Bebema taught the men "the rites of sodomy as a means of physically transmitting the strength of one man to another".

Eating meat also enables men to replenish their supply of *kamali*, or strength in the blood. The different types of meat eaten by the Gogodala include wallaby, cassowary, cow and pig. In addition to blood in meat, Gogodala men also consume pig and wallaby testicles to enhance the quality of their semen and *kamali*. One Gogodala man suggested that eating meat "gives a man *kamali*, you eat meat to fertilise it, the meat is roasted on the fire so the blood is there, the animal blood grows semen properly". In discussing the Foi, Weiner (1988:41) notes that, because a man's semen is depleted during intercourse, he must replenish it by eating the "fat and juices of meat, for it is only meat that the body transforms into semen".[18] Young Gogodala men, and married men without children, are encouraged to eat roasted meat to enhance their *kamali* and semen quality. During fieldwork I was told that the reason people made the effort to give me roasted meat was because they were worried that I had been married for several years without children.

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[17] Additional yam types include *masaga* [blue yam], *lugi* [purple yam], *pamowa* [white yam].

[18] Schieffelin (1976:66) also notes that, for the Kaluli of the Great Papuan Plateau, "[t]aboos on meat follow the Kaluli in one way or another virtually all the days of their lives" where married men and women, for example, must only eat smoked meat because it is "has no juice and is safe". In another example, Mosko (1985:77) makes the point that, for the Bush Mekeo, "[s]emen and bush meat generally are male derived". For the Sambia, Herdt (1984c:182) argues that "[m]eat fed to children also contributes smaller increments to growth".

Boys to Men

In this Chapter, I have explored the way contemporary men draw on images and accounts of the ancestral past as a template for local masculine behaviour. Through descriptions of Sosola's role in 'first contact', and an analysis of the way ancestral stories of Saida and Aida emphasise bodily strength, I traced the way masculinity and leadership are intimately connected to displays of bodily power. Contemporary images of Aida ceremonies emphasise male strength and performance. It was during Aida that boys developed *gosa kakalemina gi,* or hard bones, through a series of strength related activities. Semen, yams, sago and medicines like *i nana gi* were given to boys at different stages "to grow them properly" into strong and efficacious men. And although Aida ceremonies ceased in the 1930s, images of these strength-imbuing and defining activities remain important for expressions of *dala ela gi.* Although the method was different during the Aida days, the message being impressed on young men is consistent.

This becomes evident when considering some contemporary practices that draw on the principles of past initiation practices. Yams, for example, remain significant in the construction and performance of maleness. It is no longer considered to be an exclusively male activity but as Nakeyo Kakana from Kini village said in 1995, "there are two things which are very important from the beginning to now, yams and sago".[19] The contemporary importance of sago and yams for Gogodala constructions of gender is considered in the following account.

> Yams are people, they will smell you, they won't grow to the size you wanted...They have spirits in them as well. You have to say special words for planting everything but especially yams and sago, use words and sing

[19] While men grew yams in the past, it is now common for husbands and wives to plant and harvest yams. If they behave badly, by having sex before gardening for example, yam spirits will smell them and leave the garden leaving small yams. Similarly, spirits might cause woman who are pregnant for the first time to have difficulties during childbirth. Nakeyo suggests, "the best way to plant yams is in a yam only garden, otherwise pineapples, or something else with thorns, will grow up under the yams and scare the spirits away". During harvesting, "because the spirits of the yams will get frightened, husband starts at one end of the garden and wife at the other end, working inwards and collecting all of the yams".

> songs to grow them properly and to keep insects away from eating them. You regard them and treat them as people, like a human be good to them, be nice to them so they will be good to you and come up with a nice big yam. At *poko tepa*, feast time; you have to come out with the best food you can, people see each other's work. Women come out with plenty of *kane*, sago grubs, and for men, yams are very special. Small yams people laugh at you, I have beaten you, my yam is so big, so you take extra care so people will praise you.

In addition, yams continue to be consumed to instil strength and used as a form of medicine during times of illness. The practice of punishing boys for stealing during Aida times, continue today. During the 1998 New Year's celebrations at Kimama village, for example, village men killed a cow and, after distributing most of it to kin, prepared a small feast for the men involved. At this time, the men "get the bad boys who run around stealing because they are hungry, they get a plate and fill it up and make the boys eat all of it, sit them in a separate place, as punishment". By feeding the boys until they feel sick is a form of punishment that demonstrates to the village that those boys are eating food that they do not deserve and that, by stealing, they have failed to act responsibly to the community. By being subjected to this type of public humiliation, boys are forced to realise that they need to work for their own food, grow gardens and stop stealing food.

Previously, we discussed the way boys are separated from their mothers during times of initiation in the past. While this practice is no longer strictly followed, contemporary actions reflect this sentiment. One day in 1996, for example, I was with a group of about eight men under the age of thirty who were building a house in Tai village. At one point, a young boy began complaining to his father. The group of men, including his father, stopped work and began calling him names. When the small boy called them names, however, they picked him up and began throwing him from man to man while he cried. After repeatedly throwing him into a small tree, catching him as he fell, they told him he should be in the house with his mother and the other women who were preparing food. When they let him go, he ran crying up to the house while the men continued

laughing. It was a demonstration to the older boys watching that this kind of behaviour was not acceptable, even from a young boy.

In the past, in addition to storing the secret Aida paraphernalia, the village longhouse was the place where several initiation ceremonies were conducted. Kamo Bagali of Balimo made the point, during discussions of these initiatory practices, that Aida was "like a God" and that the longhouse provided the same community role that the church does today. It was particularly during Aida that the longhouse was a sacred place where people showed respect. The design of many village churches reflects the shape of the longhouse and is known as *tao ala*, literally 'close eyes'. This refers to the practice of closing your eyes during prayer. Kamo argued that when men gathered in the longhouse to welcome Aida, they sang clan songs and worshipped him in the same way that village people now sing and pray in church. Indeed in 1998, a longhouse that was built at Kini village for cultural and tourism purposes was used as a church. At that time, meetings to discuss the use of the longhouse as a church caused some division in the village. Some were concerned that the use of the longhouse implied a contemporary worship of Aida, while others presented the view that Aida and God were both about the 'same thing', or *enoba*. Accepting this view, church services were still being conducted in the longhouse in 2000, although a new church was under construction.

Previously, I have analysed the way racing canoes are an embodiment of ancestral power and, earlier in this chapter, I discussed the way, in the past, male initiates were decorated and made to 'stand in the canoe' during the *wasikola gi*. While rituals like this stopped after the UFM arrived in the 1930s, as we have seen, racing canoes continue to play a determining part in clan solidarity and masculine efficacy. In relation to past practices like *wasikola gi*, however, at a canoe race event in 2000, under 16 schoolboys were encouraged to compete in clan canoe races for the first time. Usually restricted to men, it was decided by the Gogodala cultural committee, organising the event, that it was important for schoolboys to be included in these activities. Today, the importance of clan knowledge is also being taught to children during their cultural lessons at school

and, particularly on Independence Day, school children periodically dress in clan decorations and colours, dance, sing and act out ancestral stories.

Local stories depicting the experiences of Saida, Aida and Sosola, emphasise both the importance placed on strength and bodily aesthetic and outline what it is to be a Gogodala man. Leaders in particular are thought to embody these special ancestral traits and power. Stories about Sosola's initiative, superior power and bodily exploits during early colonial contact, continue to encapsulate the quintessential Gogodala male leader. It was Sosola's capacity to motivate others through speech and action as 'head man' that is celebrated. In the next chapter, I expand on the theme of bodily strength through an analysis of local conceptualisations of blood. This discussion covers local ideas about conception beliefs and practices, marriage systems, and the importance of semen for male power. Expanding on the theme of continuity, I explore the way introduced medicines and other practices, such as blood transfusions, have been interpreted and accepted by the Gogodala.

Chapter 5

BLOOD BROTHERS

I now want to extend the discussion of the significance of *kamali* through a focus on Gogodala conceptualisations of blood. As I have already suggested, *kamali* is a powerful entity that resides in both male and female blood and discussions of strength necessarily invoke a discourse on the efficacy of blood or *dede*. And, as we have seen, land ownership, access to names, marriage, health, *kamali* and personhood are determined by a dual moiety clan system based on *dede*. One man suggested that, "a person's blood is important because that blood has land, names, sago swamp, *gawa tao* [canoe designs], everything". All people have 'Gogodala blood': however membership in moieties and clans is determined by ancestral blood. Wagumisi clan members, for example, refer to themselves as having 'Wagumisi blood'. Clan affiliation is based on paternal blood, although the contribution of maternal blood is also highly valued. Marriage restrictions, therefore, are such that 'red clan people' cannot marry 'white clan people'. This form of marriage, known as sister-exchange, ensures the integrity of the moiety and clan system and establishes permanent relationships between people and the landscape, thereby maintaining the 'purity' of clan and Gogodala blood.

In 1995, we took a short canoe trip from Balimo to Saweta village where we met Mula, a highly respected village elder. Famous for being a gifted carver of racing canoes, we were shown one of his winning canoes proudly displayed at the edge of the lagoon near his house. Sadly, a few months later, Mula died and his village mourned him as a *kanaba*. They buried him on a prominent point of land, near his gardens overlooking the lagoon. He was buried in one of his prized racing canoes. His family also erected a decorated cross replete with clan designs, colours and animals, carved by his eldest son, Bege, one of the most respected Gogodala carvers. In acknowledging Mula as a powerful and respected leader, discussions about his life invariably concluded with reference to his status as the

father of 22 children. Thus, his bodily strength and efficacy as a man was confirmed by his role as father and grandfather.

In another incident in 1999, a Gogodala man ran into the Balimo Health Centre and demanded to be given a vasectomy operation. Due to administrative rules, his request was refused, but it was quickly revealed that an unmarried, pregnant woman from his village claimed he was the father of her child. Being a Christian, and married with two children, the man thought that having a vasectomy would allow him to refute the allegations. At the time, it puzzled me that, in a place where a man's capacity to have children, like Mula, is both a social obligation and a testament to strength, a vasectomy seemed to represent the antithesis of masculinity. When I asked if this was the case; I was told, "no, those men already have children and it means they keep all of their semen and it makes them stronger because they can't stop it [semen] going out otherwise". The Australian missionary doctor in charge at Balimo subsequently confirmed that she performed vasectomies only on patients who already had several children as she viewed the operation, performed at Balimo since 1985, as a good contraceptive option.

Figure 25. Balimo Health Centre.

In Chapter 1, I argued that Gogodala maleness is based on the performance, or external display, of inner strength, *kamali*, primarily through the ability to undertake hard work. As part of this work ethic, the most significant way that *kamali* can be demonstrated, and manhood judged, is the act of producing children. The above stories contribute to an understanding of how male strength and efficacy are intimately associated with the control and use of semen. For the Gogodala, however, semen is inextricably linked to blood and *kamali*, and as a result, male strength and semen form part of a local discourse about *dede*. This chapter is concerned with the extent to which blood continues to define Gogodala masculine strength and social life. In anthropological studies comparing different ethnographic regions and groups in PNG, particularly between the lowland and highland areas, distinctions have been drawn between societies that place significance on either blood or semen in their bodily beliefs and practices. The common theme in these arguments is the notion that semen and blood can be analysed as exclusive entities. In this chapter, I contribute to these studies by arguing that for the Gogodala, and specifically *dala ela gi*, the categories of blood and semen are inseparable. This is demonstrated through an analysis of Gogodala conception beliefs and marriage systems. I conclude by exploring how the UFM approach to medicine, health, marriage and children, and specifically blood, both inadvertently and intentionally, reinforced and encouraged local understandings of *kamali*.

Semen and Blood

The categories of 'semen' and 'blood' have been the focus of numerous anthropological studies and critiques that have used to define and compare different groups and regions (Herdt 1984a; Knauft 1990, 1993; Lindenbaum 1984; Whitehead 1986; Feil 1987) and for distinguishing between male initiatory practices (Allen 1998; Herdt 1982, 1987; Sorum 1984; van Baal 1966, 1984; Ernst 1991; Creed 1984; Serpenti 1984). For example, Allen (1998:189-193)

argues that different politico-economic systems can be analysed in correlation with two main forms of male initiation practices, either 'ritualised homosexuality' or 'blood-letting' and other male cleansing rites. This distinction is based on the idea that societies that practice ritualised homosexuality emphasise semen rather than blood as the critical bodily fluid. In supporting this distinction, Allen (1998:191) makes the point that the Sambia of the Eastern Highlands provide one example of the few groups that practice both ritualised homosexuality and nose-bleeding as part of the male initiation process in Melanesia.

A debate has emerged between Herdt (1984a) and Knauft (1993) concerning the use, and interpretation, of the south coast historical material for the purpose of comparative studies. In his edited volume *Ritualized Homosexuality in Melanesia*, Herdt (1984b:48) makes the characterisation that "[r]itualized homosexuality is a lowlands phenomenon" and that, in this region, semen, rather than blood, is a defining substance. In a comprehensive critique of these assertions, Knauft (1993:47-51) argues that Herdt's emphasis on semen is misplaced and denies, among other things, the region's pronounced ritual heterosexual practices and related notion of mingled sexual fluids.

Herdt (1987:75-6) suggests that Sambia maleness depends "on the acquisition of semen", while femaleness "rests on the creation and circulation of blood". While women can create their own blood, men are born without semen and are therefore forced to obtain semen, following initiation, through ritual homosexual insemination via fellatio (Herdt 1984c:171-2). Ritual nose bleeding is practiced in conjunction with insemination to rid the initiate's body of female contamination (Herdt 1987:140). Based on a review of Melanesian literature, and his study of the Sambia, Herdt (1984b:49) extended his analysis by proposing a distinction between highlands and lowlands PNG based on the notion that, in contrast to the Highlands, ritualised homosexuality (RH) was a lowland phenomenon (Herdt 1984b:48). Shirley Lindenbaum (1984:342) similarly suggests that contrasts emerge "from a comparison between the so-called semen groups of the Lowlands and the Highland cultures in which semen is not the

ritualized stuff of life". In defining this regional characterisation, Herdt (1984b:67) argues that,

> a pervasive cultural principle separates Highlands from (RH) cultures...(RH) groups focus on milk and semen as critical gender fluids. Eastern Highlands groups especially emphasize blood. Mother's and women's womb and menstrual blood is seen as contaminating and lethal to male development in the Highlands, so bloodletting rites are key initiation activities...By contrast, bloodletting is rare or absent in (RH) groups...The differential principle seems to be this: in (RH) groups no distinction is made between male and female blood, and female contamination is not feared.

In his study, Herdt (1984b:50) makes the point that in relation to "southwestern coastal New Guinea on both sides of the international border, there is no longer any question that ritualized homosexuality is *universal* there". According to Herdt, therefore, southwestern coastal New Guinea (SWNG), can be studied as an area that allocates critical importance, via male RH, to the intertwined substances of semen and milk.

Knauft (1993:51) systematically critiques Herdt's (1984a) comparative model and suggests that "the notion that lowland south New Guinea was generally associated with ritual homosexuality is empirically erroneous" as well as overlooking other customs and diverse forms of sexuality. In contrast to Herdt's analysis, Knauft (1993:51) makes the point that "[i]nstitutionalised sexual liaisons in the form of extra-marital hetero-sexual coitus or ceremonial heterosexual hospitality were pronounced in all the Papuan language-culture areas of the south New Guinea coast". In particular, he is concerned that "an emphasis on 'semen-exchange' and 'semen-culture' belies the very strong emphasis on mingled male *and* female sexual secretions obtained through heterosexual intercourse" (Knauft 1993:53). As opposed to concepts such as RH and semen-exchange, therefore, he proposes terms such as 'sexual substance exchange' or 'reciprocal exchange of sexual fluids' (Knauft 1993:53).

Knauft (1993:48-51) provides a detailed study that undermines the foundation of Herdt's RH characterisation of SWNG by suggesting "available information makes it highly questionable that ritualized homosexuality (or boy-

insemination) was in fact prevalent across lowland south New Guinea". He argues that,

> the south coast language-culture areas where ritualized homosexuality was present had a combined population in the order of 27,509. By contrast, the population of the Elema, Purari, Kiwai, and Kamoro tabulates as 73,175. These figures suggest that fewer than thirty percent of the south coast population were members of societies that indigenously practiced ritualized male homosexuality (Knauft 1993:48).

While not necessarily convinced by Knauft's use of these population figures, I am more specifically concerned with the emphasis he places on the 'size' of these populations rather than the 'number' of the societies involved. He argues, "evidence suggests that more than three-fifths (62.5 percent) of the population of lowland south New Guinea lived in societies in which ritualized homosexuality and boy-inseminating practices were normally absent" (Knauft 1993:51). An analysis, however, of the number of societies listed provides a completely different interpretation of events. Of the 37 lowland south New Guinea societies listed by Knauft, 25 groups did practice RH as opposed to 12 societies who did not. Based on this data, more than three-fifths (67.5 percent) of the societies in his south coast survey 'did' practiced ritualized homosexuality. I am concerned, then, that in his attempts to discredit Herdt's argument, Knauft fails to adequately study the critical role of semen in many of these societies. While not suggesting that semen is the defining substance of the region, I argue that Knauft's approach to a study of 'sexual substance exchange' denies the very strong emphasis that continues to be placed on semen in societies like the Gogodala, particularly by men.

For Gogodala men, in particular, semen continues to be a critical bodily substance in definitions of maleness. However, while I agree that semen is a significant male bodily fluid for many south coast societies, I think it is misleading to assert that these same societies do not emphasise blood. In the past, prior to the UFM arrival in 1933, men practiced anal insemination to provide boys with strength and to allow them to grow properly as part of the Aida male initiation ceremonies. Although many of these ceremonies and practices were

stopped during the colonial period, including ritual heterosexual practices, semen remained a defining substance in male social life. I want to reinstate an emphasis on semen as an analytical category, undermined in Knauft's (1993) regional reconfiguration and, at the same time, collapse Herdt's (1984a) argument that RH societies emphasise semen rather than blood. Through an analysis of local conception beliefs and marriage relationships, I emphasise the intertwined relationship between semen, blood and strength for Gogodala men and women. In the next section, I explore how Gogodala conceptualisations of blood are definitive in discussions of clan relations and articulations of bodily strength.

Conception and Kamali

Throughout Papua New Guinea, it is generally accepted that conception occurs through the combination of male and female sexual fluids, commonly referred to as male 'semen' and female 'blood'. Local beliefs vary significantly, however, in regards to the ways in which these substances combine. Among the Sambia of the Eastern Highlands, for example, "a man's semen enters the womb and becomes a pool that eventually coagulates into fetal skin and bone tissue, set within the female blood of the womb" (Herdt 1982:196). Knauft (1989:206) writes that, "a belief common in highlands societies is that male semen 'binds,' congeals and structures the woman's amorphous menstrual matter into a fetus". Alternatively, Eves (1998:66) suggests that, for the Lelet of New Ireland, conception results from the mixing of seminal fluid and vaginal secretions, fluids referred to locally as 'blood'. While in the Southern Highlands, Weiner (1988:41) makes the point that "[t]he Daribi, like the Foi, believe that two substances are necessary for conception: women's blood and men's semen".

The Gogodala use various categories for defining the efficacy of the human body, or *obe*. The brain, *li*, the spirit, *muluwapo*, blood, *dede* and strength, *kamali*. While these are distinguished as separate entities, they are mutually interdependent. All of these components must be present and 'working' for a

person to be considered strong and healthy. For example, if a person's spirit, *muluwapo*, leaves their body temporarily, due to magic, a fright or bad spirits, they become sick. If stolen or departs permanently, the person dies. While all Gogodala are aware of the importance of their *muluwapo*, it is blood, *dede*, that is considered to be the most defining and critical bodily substance for Gogodala growth, strength, success and well-being. The following account draws the link between strength, *kamali*, and blood, *dede*.

> The bones and the veins, that carry the blood, makes men strong, *kamali kabigibega* [big strength], men have bigger veins, the bigger the veins you have the more blood and the more powerful. Person who has no blood has no strength, very weak, no veins. When the baby comes out it is very weak because it hasn't got strong bones, as it grows the bones get stronger and blood is working hard.

Men who work hard and have veins showing on their bodies are said to have more blood than others and are *kamalinapa dala*, strong men. The following account by two old women reiterates the above statement.

> *Kamali* starts from when the baby is being formed, from mother's and father's blood. When the mother gives birth it comes out with that *kamali*. It gets the strength from the inside; once it gets the strength, the mother feels the pain. I've seen some people, those people who don't have enough or right amount of blood, they are weak, *kamali bini* [no strength]. The people with the right amount of blood are strong, *kamali ameta*, the strength is there.[1]

This relationship is best described through an analysis of Gogodala understandings of the conception process. Understandings vary depending on age and gender and older women and men, usually grandparents, are considered to be the most knowledgeable. In 1998, Sawiyato and Bagaliyato, two old sisters from Kini village, suggested that conception occurred when "a man's blood and a woman's blood join together and start forming a baby...before it was formless or shapeless, blood forms the baby". Sawiyato's son Kamo, however, provided a different interpretation, suggesting that male blood is primarily responsible for forming the baby, while female blood merely grows the foetus. Sawiyato and

Bagaliyato make the point that men and women contribute different forms of blood for conception to occur, "[for] ladies is *kalimo dede*, menstrual blood, and men's is *etawa dede*, semen blood". One man clarified that *etawa dede* means "the father's blood is inside the semen". The word *etawa* generally means a pool of water and, while *etawa* is commonly used to refer to semen, the notion of *etawa dede* emphasises that the substance of semen is a pool of male blood.

For the Gogodala, serial copulation is required to form a baby. It is thought that each contribution of *etawa dede* gradually forms the foetus. An old man from Kimama village, illustrates the process by suggesting,

> the first things which comes out is the eyes. From the eyes, the rest of the body starts forming, then comes the bones. As the body develops the next thing is the *dinipala*, placenta, then it starts breathing. As it grows meats getting stronger the owner, Ibali, gives it breath of life inside.

The following is another version of the conception process.

> When the baby is forming, when the father is working with the mother, the first thing that comes out is the two eyes, *tao saki*, and then later the head and inside it comes the nose; from the nose then blood starts working inside and then comes bones. Once the bones are formed we have a flesh and skin comes and covers the flesh now.

It is generally accepted that the face is the first part of the body to form and, as a child gets older, the family will look closely at the child's face to confirm parentage. So that, people will say the child has "*wawa imini*", the father's face, or "*agi imini*", the mother's face. Gogodala men and women both have *kamali*, or strength, in their blood and this powerful entity is most potent in the condensed form of *kalimo dede* and *etawa dede*. The amount and potency of *kamali* in *etawa dede* is always greater than the contribution of *kalimo dede* and as a result, based on the increased efficacy of the father's *kamali*, children inherit the father's blood. Despite this, if the child looks like the mother, then it is thought that during the growing stages, after the formation of the child, the mother has a "bigger share of the blood" and a greater influence on the looks of the child. Regardless of the

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[1] Frankel (1986:82-83) similarly discusses the way Huli associate weakness with a lack of blood.

share of the blood involved in growing the child, however, *kamali* in *etawa dede* forms the basis of bodily efficacy and associated clan relationships. When children are being unruly it was not uncommon to hear women saying loudly to their husbands, "you take them, they are your blood".

One way of understanding how *kalimo dede* and *etawa dede* combine during conception is to analyse how children are viewed if the mother had sexual relations with more than one man during her pregnancy. It was suggested to me that, "when a man and woman start working, it is the blood that forms the baby, if another man sleeps with the same woman that child will become a mixed blood, 'mixed *dede*'. Sawiyato and Bagaliyato provided the following detailed explanation of what constitutes a mixed blood child.

> This is especially single girls, and their parents have to ask them 'who was it' and she will say 'oh, it was this man' but she knew it was more than one man and she will call the name of the man she loved. Why this lady gets pregnant very quickly is because she is going around with more than one man. If it is one man and both of them will get married then it will take a long time, one month, two months or three...Then they question that lady and she will call that man and they will go to him and say 'it was you'. And he might say 'no, it wasn't me' and call other men's names. If there's more than one man then they will see the face of the baby and if the face proves to be of another man then that man must have gone to her for more than five or ten times. Also the other men who have gone around with her have joined the hands and legs, if once or twice...It's always the one who formed the face who is called the father. They will tell that lady 'you use the name of the man who formed the face, not those who joined the hands and legs or body, neck to waist'. And then the baby starts walking and they say that he will walk like this man; doing things and talking like different men.

While such a person is known as having mixed blood, they will be accepted into the clan of the man considered most responsible for the child, based on his or her appearance and, later, disposition. These children are known locally as *etawa saba dede*, or literally "semen place blood". This term is highly offensive, and rarely used in public, as it means that they are the place or site of more than one person's semen blood. These are also known as *opaeya dede*, or 'different blood'.

This generally refers to the idea that, based on the mixture of male blood, these children are different from others in the way they walk, talk or behave.

Although anthropological studies have tended to separate semen and blood, I want to draw attention to studies that resonate with Gogodala conceptualisations of male semen blood, *etawa dede*. Mosko (1985) makes the point that, for the Bush Mekeo, "'[s]emen' (*ilaila*) contains, or is constituted of, 'male blood'" (1985:60). Further, procreation is achieved "by the mixing of equal quantities of father's and mother's sexual bloods" (Mosko 1985:64). He refers to the father's sexual blood as 'semen' and the mother's sexual blood as 'womb-blood'. By contrast, Lewis (1980:176) argues that, for the Gnau of West Sepik, many believe that the man's semen goes into the woman and changes into male blood and that it is this blood that makes the foetus, while "others say male and female 'bloods' mix in the foetus but the placenta is made only of the woman's blood". The Gnau have a notion of a finite stock of blood and that the use of semen, among other things, depletes that supply. Like the Gogodala, the Gnau emphasise the intertwined aspect of semen and male blood, strength and the mixing of male and female bloods in the conception process.

In another West Sepik study, Poole (1981, 1982, 1984) introduces the notion of *finiik* as an important entity for Bimin-Kuskusmin bodily beliefs. According to Poole (1984:198) "[t]he father's strong male blood is embedded in his semen, which is the biological medium of *finiik* spirit". The *finiik* spirit is a powerful entity that derives from the ancestors. For the Bimin-Kuskusmin, "[m]ale blood, carried by and effective in the formation of males and females, originated in ambiguously masculine ancestors in mythic times, and it is procreatively transmitted in its strongest and most enduring form by men" (Poole 1984:197). The Gogodala, like the Bimin-Kuskusmin, emphasise ideas of strength and the potency of male blood embedded in semen. While Bimin-Kuskusmin *finiik* spirits differ significantly from the Gogodala concept of *kamali*, I want to emphasise the point that, in both cases, semen is a medium for transmitting different forms of strength via male blood. Like the Bimin-Kuskusmin, Gogodala women pass on *kamali* in a less effective form as part of their menstrual blood. In

addition, they also transfer *kamali* to others through breast milk, a substance also known for its healing qualities. The above ethnographic examples, therefore, lend strength to my argument that comparative studies, like Herdt's, based on a distinction between semen and blood, fail to adequately address where local conceptualisations of what constitutes blood and procreative substances, including semen, are inseparable.

Based primarily on his study of ritual and gender among the Sambia, Herdt's (1981, 1982, 1984c, 1987) characterisation of the south coast fails to adequately examine the ways that semen is intimately connected to blood. While the Gogodala did not participate in ritualistic bloodletting, they did, in the past, practice bloodletting in relation to sickness. During certain types of illness, knowledgeable village men, called 'medicine men', made small cuts to affected parts of the body to remove 'bad blood'. Village medicine men also used magic words to assist the flow of bad blood. Gogodala continue to avoid close contact with women during their menstrual period. The fear of menstrual blood is based on the idea that women, during this time, rid themselves of 'waste blood', or *sosowenapa dede*. It is this waste blood, not female blood, *kalimo dede*, that is antithetical to men's health. Contamination can result in the development of asthma or 'short wind'. During their menses, women do not cook or make sago, and they observe strict rules concerning food, hygiene and physical contact.[2]

Herdt (1987:31) argues that "the Sambia belong to that group of warrior cultures that stress ideas about strength". Sambia masculinity, according to Herdt (1987:31), is based on the concept of *jerungdu* which he describes as "a bodily essence, a substance akin to life-force...[and] it is semen that bestows this power". *Jerungdu* is a "physical (biologic) strength, the supreme essence of maleness in body, personality, and spirit. The concept subsumes hardness and resolve, bravery and warlike exploits" (Herdt 1987:31). I argue that the Gogodala is also a society that stresses ideas about strength and that *kamali* resonates strongly with Herdt's

[2] Herdt's main point is that, because men in Ritualized Homosexuality (RH) societies do not bleed themselves to eradicate polluting and feminising menstrual blood, then blood is a less critical and gendered concept in their social life. My aim is to redirect attention away from this oppositional

description of *jerungdu*, including the notion that both entities are transferred by semen. Semen and blood are not mutually exclusive categories for Gogodala men and women.

While Knauft does not explore the historical significance of blood in his study, he does provide examples of the historical role that blood played in relation to headhunting. Among the Kolopom, for example, novices would drink the blood that dripped from an enemy head after a headhunting raid "to make the novice strong" (Knauft 1993:179). Likewise, the Asmat used to rub fresh blood from enemy heads on the inside of canoes and onto their carved ancestor poles, *bis*-pole, to appease the Asmat ancestral headhunt victims who constantly demanded vengeance (Knauft 1993:190-1). While, for the Kiwai, "[h]eads were also used to strengthen and embolden warriors. To this end, blood from the heads was smeared on the young men's faces, and they were enjoined to crawl over and bite at the line of assembled heads as senior warriors straddled them". Blood was also used to stain the longhouse for protective purposes (Knauft 1993:196). In addition, F. E. Williams (1936:279-350) provides several insights into the way blood was important throughout the area.

According to Knauft (1993:53), "an emphasis on 'semen-exchange' and 'semen-culture' belies the very strong emphasis on mingled male *and* female sexual secretions". While the Gogodala also practiced what has been described as ritualized heterosexuality in fertility ceremonies associated with Aida, there is no historical ethnographic material available to suggest that they collected mingled sexual fluids. Despite this, however, I argue that the relationship between *kamali*, blood, semen and menstrual blood provides significant insights into this regional theme. For the Gogodala, *kamali* is received in different quantities and qualities from both the mother and father at conception and via breast milk. However, it is in the father's contribution, *etawa dede*, or 'semen blood', that *kamali* is most pronounced. The most powerful portion of *kamali* in female *kalimo dede*, or 'mentrual blood', also derives from her father's *etawa dede*. For the Gogodala,

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characterisation towards a more inclusive understanding of the way semen and blood might coexist.

therefore, mixed sexual secretions combine male and female *kamali* in their purest and most potent form. Historically, several societies are known to share the practice of collecting male and female sexual fluids, after intercourse, to be used for fertility purposes. For example, van Baal (1984:138) makes the point that for the Marind-anim "the mixture of semen and female excretions, flowing after copulation from the woman's genital, was a most powerful medicine". Societies such as the Kiwai, Kolopom, Marind, Purari and Asmat all collected sexual fluids during rituals for growth purposes (Knauft 1993:52).[3] I propose that if we merge Knauft's emphasis on mingled sexual fluids with Herdt's analysis of semen, it could provide a useful framework for discussing the way blood is a critical bodily substance, as well as show how it is intimately linked to local conceptualisations of strength and fertility, not only for the Gogodala, but the south coast region.

Exchange Marriages

I now want to explore the way Gogodala social relationships are mediated through marriages that are based on the concept of blood. The primary form of marriage among the Gogodala is known as *awa saki yaedae yaedae*. *Awa saki* is the general term used for marriage and it literally means two people, or a couple. *Yaedae* means 'side' and *yaedae yaedae* therefore means 'side-side'. While this form of marriage is commonly known in anthropological literature as 'sister-exchange', this term does not translate into Gogodala.[4] For the Gogodala, *awa saki yaedae yaedae* refers to "brother and sister from this side marrying a brother and sister from the other side". An exchange between moieties is considered to be a more apt local description.[5] At the beginning of this chapter, I outlined the way blood is

[3] The Kolopom, for example, rubbed the sexual fluids on initiate to promote growth (Knauft 1993:52).

[4] Knauft (1993:53) critiques the tendency to relegate women, as passive objects, to the category of "sister-exchange".

[5] In contrasting examples, Weiner (1988:105) notes that "[f]or the Foi, classificatory sister-exchange is not sister-exchange at all, since different men control the women in each case". Alternatively, Aryes' (1983:210) describes Morehead marriage practices as arranged between two men of different sections and different places who exchange sisters", the notion of 'sides' is used

the defining substance in distinguishing between Paiya and Segala, the two moieties, and the corresponding clans and sub-clans. *Awa saki yaedae yaedae* is thought to protect the integrity of a two-moiety, or two-sides, system.

In several anthropological studies, ritualized homosexuality has been connected to the practice of sister-exchange marriage. For example, Herdt (1984:70) argues that the "inter-linkages between sister-exchange marriage and ritualized homosexuality are impressive". According to Herdt (1984:41), "[m]arriage and homosexual activities are therefore inseparably linked through semen exchange". Similarly, Lindenbaum (1984:345) argues that "sister exchange and ritualized homosexuality act in tandem". She suggests, "[i]t might be said that semen is a kind of covenant that keeps the sister-exchange system intact...linking individuals and groups in complex chains of mutual dependency and obligation" (1984:345). This relationship, according to Lindenbaum (1984:345), is "a kind of double affinity" based on the transmission of semen between the husband's and the wife's clans. Herdt (1984b:70) provides one example of 'double affinity', where a boy's parents give his sister to an older man who becomes responsible for inseminating the boy. The boy, therefore, "is being ritually 'masculinized' into adulthood as his sister is being impregnated by the older man" (Herdt 1984b:70).

In the past, the Gogodala also practiced what has been described as ritualised homosexuality and sister-exchange. I want to expand on the notion of 'semen-exchange', however, to include a focus on blood relationships, for both men and women. The discourse on the connection between 'sister-exchange', semen and male homosexual practices, could benefit from a more inclusive analysis of the various ways in which blood is used to define and mediate relationships. Gogodala emphasise that, in addition to marriages balancing appropriate blood relationships within the clan system, these ties also maintain and protect interrelated clan-based land ownership. When the original ancestors travelled to the area, they claimed and named the land on behalf of their clans.

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in the Morehead area to define marriage residence. When no exchange is made a man is said to have married "one-side" and is known locally as *nemba-nemba* or "this side-that side" (1983:227). According to Aryes (1983:227), "the man lives part of the time at his own place ('this side'), and

Different versions and interpretations of the ancestral journeys, however, mean that land disputes are an ongoing concern for the Gogodala. In addition, due to a rapidly increasing population, internal family and clan disputes are also prevalent, particularly those that concern rights and access to land and the use of limited resources. Defining land boundaries is a major concern and subject to much public debate.

Gogodala women typically live with their husband's family after they marry and use their husband's clan land. Indeed, it is often suggested that she is 'marrying' his village. One man said that "parents will look to your land, they send their daughter to the man and he needs to be right, they don't want trouble later".[6] A man, therefore, must have sufficient access to land and sago swamps to support his wife and family. Because first-born sons inherit rights to family land, names and sago swamps, a third or fourth-born son may not have much to offer a prospective wife. The parents of a woman marrying a man with little land will tell him "you come and live with us, we don't want our daughter to go hungry". Another man said that marriage is "about sago", the staple in the Gogodala diet, and that the boundaries in the sago swamp need to be protected. It is thought that an important part of marriage negotiations includes attempts by parents to ensure that their children marry into appropriate clans, arrangements that secure clan boundaries, particularly those near their sago swamps. Having children, therefore, is a critical part of protecting claims to clan land and sago.

For example, Kakanato and Gunipi, two sisters from the Wagumisi clan in Paiya moiety living at Kini village, each married men from different clans in the Segela moiety, who had land neighbouring Wagumisi sago swamps. Kakanato married a man called Segela, a Siboko clan man from neighbouring Saweta village, while Gunipi married a Wabadala clan man also from Kini village called Alibi. Kakanato and Gunipi's father controls access to Wagumisi sago swamp and

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part of the time at his the wife's place ('that side')".The Gogodala have a similar clan system and related notions of sister-exchange to the Marind-anim, see van Baal (1966:99; 1984).

[6] Parents are heavily involved in the marriage process. If a man and women want to get married without their parent's approval, they run away into the bush in what is known locally as a 'bush' wedding. When they return the parents will usually exact justice on the man for his actions, especially if he is not from an appropriate clan.

land that has boundaries with both Siboko and Wabadala clans. To protect the sago boundaries, then, Kakanato is exclusively responsible for using sago trees along the Wagumisi/Siboko boundary, while Gunipi controls the swamp along the Wagumisi/Wabadala border. This arrangement strengthens family, clan and blood relations and will result in a new generation that will continue to protect the sago supply from outside clans. In addition, this marriage exchange also reinforces clan relations between the wife's husband and her brothers and confirms intra-village relations, in this case between Saweta and Kini villages.

Two old women from Kini village, also made the point that, particularly in the past, parents 'judged' prospective partners for their children to see if they are hard working. They suggested that "the girl's parents, they normally look for boys who make good gardens, canoes and paddles, *dala ela gi* [male lifestyle], and from there they will make arrangements with the boy's parents and they will make engagement, *natali nana gi*". *Natali nana gi* is about respect and sharing, it is "the parents of a boy and parents of a girl agreeing to share things together, to eat things together. There are certain land issues, lagoons, creeks, but now we are binding everything together, so it is like a sort of a friendship between those clans". The women were concerned that money was becoming a motivating factor in contemporary marriage arrangements and that parents were increasingly aiming to marry one of their daughters to 'income earners' rather than 'hard workers'. Having plenty of children, then, is seen as the primary way to ensure protection of clan land and names, as well as providing an opportunity for one or more of the offspring to excel at school and gain employment or an employed spouse.

While I explore the tension that often arises between family members based on this distinction between paid work, village work, and clan security more fully in the next chapter, at this stage I want to emphasise the critical importance placed on the marriage system in the protection of clan interests. To return to the example above, *awa saki yaedae yaedae* was achieved when Kakanato's cousin-brother from the Wagumisi clan, Kamo, married a Saweta village woman, called Genasi, from the Siboko clan. Kamo is the first-born son in his family and, due to his father's recent death, he controls his family land near Kimama village. Kamo

and Kakanato's husband, Segela, entered into a special 'brothers' relationship that is characterised by the use of the term *gasi*, a name that is used by each to denote respect. By providing a man with a wife and, thereby, children, the Siboko clan claim credit for contributing to the strength and well-being of the Wagumisi clan. This relationship is based on blood as a woman's clan blood and *kamali* are an integral part of the children of the union, and her husband must acknowledge and respect that contribution. The *gasi* relationship, then, is based on intimate blood ties between clans, and mutual respect between husband and brother-in-law and their respective clans. While all of a woman's brothers are called *gasi*, the brother who forms part of the *awa saki yaedae yaedae* marriage exchange is given special priority, particularly during times of hard work. Avoiding such a responsibility is shameful for both the person and the clan.

Upon the death of a married man, the widow is expected to marry his younger brother or remain a widow within his clan. Widows may not marry their deceased husband's older brother as he is classified in similar terms to her father in-law. What is impressed on the widow is that the children should remain with her husband's clan. When a woman marries, she is seen as metaphorically joining her husband in his clan canoe and she is given special in-law names to confirm this relationship. The oldest brother stands metaphorically at the front of the family's clan canoe, with his siblings and spouses behind him, organised according to age.[7] When a man dies, therefore, his wife is encouraged to 'turn around' in the canoe and marry one of the younger brothers behind her. In practice, however, such issues can become complex: when a village councillor recently tried to marry his younger brother's widow, for example, village people were extremely upset. In another, a woman whose husband died married a man from the Sepik area and moved to Port Moresby. The deceased husband's family then took the clan names away from her children, which disinherited the children from the land and names of the clan. A woman who marries outside of her

[7] Lipset (1997:130) makes the similar point that, for the Murik of East Sepik Province, the first born son is called the "canoe -prow".

deceased husband's clan is ridiculed as "jumping from canoe to canoe" and thereby spoiling blood relationships that situate children in society.

An old Gogodala man said that "people from other areas come here and intermarriages have spoiled our Gogodala *ela gi*". The marriage between a Gogodala person and someone from outside the area is known locally as *aeile paela*, or literally "different ground coming". This is an offensive comment that is rarely used in public. Because blood gives a Gogodala person rights to land, marrying outside the area compromises blood ties and lifestyle. These marriages have different consequences for men and women. As men, and their children, have rights to clan land based on the father's blood, children of Gogodala women who marry men from outside are not identified as Gogodala and have no clan rights. Despite this, children from such relationships can be adopted into the family and given clan status if the man is no longer involved in the relationship.

In addition to *aeile paela* marriages, a Gogodala person who marries into their mother's clan is thought be 'spoiling the blood' of both clans. This is known locally as *dede patepatemina gi*, or "spreading the blood". To spread the blood means that the blood has been 'spoiled' and rendered useless. When an animal is killed during hunting, for example, the pool of blood that accumulates around the dead animal is commonly referred to as *dede patepatemina gi*. One man from Kini village made the point that, in relation to blood in marriage, "you need to keep it pure, not spread it". He suggested, "[n]ow a few people are marrying from the same clan, same blood, it is really shameful thing, *dede patepatemina gi*, spreading the blood…it brings death. The children are really different, their way of doing things is different from what other Gogodala do". Equally, when a man marries a woman from his mother's clan, he is ostracized. If his mother's clan canoe wins a canoe race, for example, in addition to not being allowed to paddle in the canoe, he is forbidden from joining in the celebrations. Men from his mother's clan will cut 'floating grass' from the lagoon and put it on his head so that everybody will know what he has done. Floating grass is known to drift, cause trouble for fishing nets and block canoe access, and people labelled floating grass are similarly perceived as not belonging to one place or clan canoe. At the

feast following a successful canoe race, clan men will refuse to share food with such a man and "he is given just dry sago, dog's food". He is not allowed to celebrate because "he spoiled his blood already, he is a silly man".

Since the 1930s, missionaries have encouraged Gogodala men and women to marry for love or similar Christian sympathies rather than according to tradition. In October 1999, for example, a church convention was held by the ECPNG at Dogono village for young women. The title and theme of the convention was "Choosing a Partner" and APCM missionaries were involved in the promotion and organisation of the events. Despite mission attempts to erode the notion of 'exchange' marriages, however, clan, land, names and blood relationships continue to define Gogodala *ela gi*. What concerns many older Gogodala, however, is that young people are getting married too young and that they are not waiting for parents to arrange appropriate exchanges. One young man said he would just get married and that his parents could work out how the exchange process could be balanced at a later time. Similarly, another couple secretly organised their own exchange and then told the parents what they had done. Despite this, the integrity of *awa saki yaedae yaedae* and blood relations remains a priority for prospective partners.

Dependents and Depletion

At the beginning of this chapter, I mentioned the death of Mula, a Saweta village *kanaba*, who was famous throughout the area for fathering more than twenty children. For the Gogodala, having children is essential for attainment of full adulthood. During Aida and longhouse days, boys would 'inherit manhood' through years of instruction and practice. Marriages were carefully planned and closely monitored and restrictions regarding sexual relations and pregnancy were placed on all men to ensure that their strength was not compromised, particularly through the unnecessary loss of semen. In the past, only the *kanaba* was encouraged to have multiple wives and several children. It was thought that the

children of the *kanaba*, as the strongest man, or *kamalinapa dalagi*, would inherit his *kamali* and grow into strong adults who would protect and support the longhouse community. Due to a hierarchical system of male inheritance, men who were not first or second-born sons were married to older women who could no longer have children, typically widows. This effectively prevented younger brothers from having too many children, who they could not adequately provide with land and clan names. Ideally, the village *kanaba* would have been a first-born son, with a clearly defined knowledge of his descent and related clan ownership rights.

For Gogodala men, the loss of semen, *etawa dede*, depletes *kamali* and, in the past, only the strongest men were thought to be capable of having numerous offspring and yet performing in war, hunting, and gardening. Mula was one of these men, a 'true' *kanaba*. As a sign of respect for their superior strength, these men were also known as Aida men, or Aida *dala*. For others, the excessive use of semen had debilitating consequences as it represented a loss of bodily strength, *kamali*. It was and continues to be each man's responsibility to control and restrict semen use, lest they erode the supply of *kamali* in their blood.

> Semen makes a man keep strong in hard work, make houses, gardens, it's your energy, you can't waste energy, a man with many children say they can't do heavy work, if his hands start shaking it is a shameful thing, nobody wants to be laughed at, if you waste your energy on that wife, get another one. You can die at an early age if you have sex too much, you need to slow down your activities when getting old. You have to be strong to provide for your family, otherwise the people say you are wasting it [semen].

It was the longhouse that was specifically targeted by the early UFM missionaries as the space of the Aida *dala*, and people were encouraged to create separate, family-based dwellings. Gogodala look back now and say that this was the time when the population began to increase dramatically. One man suggested several reasons for the increase: individual houses removed the surveillance and supervision afforded the occupants of the longhouse; the introduction of new medicines meant less deaths during childbirth; and people began to protect their

family interests rather than simply contribute to the community's well-being. Most wanted several children so that they could adequately use and protect their land. Increasingly, people are having many children in the hope that at least one of them will either become a worker, or marry one, and thus provide financially for the family. The older generation is concerned that an increased population is putting pressure on the land and, particularly, sago supplies. Unfortunately, many are responding to these pressures by having more children to ensure a large family population to defend sago swamps from claims from other clans.

Ultimately, it is local choice that is considered responsible for the increase in the population, rather than mission pressure. Having children remains the goal of most men and is a definitive display of male bodily efficacy. Some of the older generation, however, believe that young men are having too many children, and thereby compromising their *kamali*, without continuing to demonstrate their efficacy through work. One man suggested that,

> from our great grandfathers through to our fathers was different. In those days they did not have plenty of children because they didn't want their *kamali* to go out. One family will have one or two kids, that was enough, that was the limit. Not like now, teenage people getting married, no, you had to turn into a real adult and then you get married, *dalagi bapi dalagi* [man, true man]. He must have beard, among his hair he must have one or two white hairs coming out. Then you are fit to have children. So *kamali* will not go out, strength will stay with him and he can do everything, all the hard work. Those days, they used to say that if you get married when you are young man you can't do any hard work, you can't do anything. You feel lazy when you have a kid and the laziness starts from there.

This discussion on male efficacy forms part of a process of negotiation concerning male behaviour. Young men are constantly made aware of their responsibilities to family and community, and older men challenge them to work hard and prove that they are as strong as their fathers and grandfathers. Men like Mula are emulated as the epitome of a work ethic, by having more than twenty children, yet also providing for them and fulfilling his social obligations.

Tests and Transfusions

Earlier in the thesis, I made the point that the Gogodala term for Christianity, *gi bapimina gi* or truth, refers to a local way of life that is described and defined by the *iniwa olagi*, ancestral stories, and the Bible. For the Gogodala, Christianity represents, to some extent, an intertwined extension of Aida days, when local health and well-being relied on 'acts of faith' to ensure the support of ancestral and spiritual entities. One of the most defining characteristics of the UFM staff was their capacity to heal through prayer and medicine. In the previous chapter, I mentioned that Aida was also a medicine man and that, after Aida had visited the village, "things would be healthy and they would have medicines to help with sickness". While the early UFM missionaries utilised a combination of medicine and prayer in order to demonstrate the superior power of God over those of the local spirit world, I suggest that this approach actually reinforced local bodily beliefs and practices concerning the power of different medicines. For the Gogodala, it was not a case of exclusively following one or the other, as local and European methods were thought to be mutually effective.

Medicine and prayer were powerful tools for the early conversion process and Weymouth (1978:170) notes that "[a] number of Gogodalas became Christians as a direct result of the cures they obtained for their physical ailments". Prince and Prince (1981:26-7) provide the story of Wameke, one of the first Gogodala converts, and relate how he became a Christian after receiving medical care from Len Twyman. The story begins with a badly wounded Wameke being brought to Twyman at Awaba mission station after a pig had gored him while he was hunting:

> Len set to work to clean the dirt out of Wameke's jagged wounds, inserted thirty stitches into the worst of them, bandaged him up and sent him home to his village with a fair chance of recovery. Checking the next day Len discovered that Wameke's wife, fearful of the foreign remedies, had removed all the bandages and plastered the wounds with an evil smelling concoction of mud and the less savoury ingredients which the spirit dictated. Len cleaned him up again and settled down to sleep in the house

> to prevent any repetition. Each night Len prayed over Wameke and talked to him of Christ until, gradually, his wounds healed...Less than a week later Wameke was at Awaba asking Len to teach him to 'pray to your God like you used to pray to Him while I was sick'. God had given Len his first serious seeker, the man who would be the first and leading Christian of the Awaba area (Prince and Prince 1981:27).

The Gogodala relationship with the spirit world revolved around the use of clan magic words, *magata gilala*, or mouth words, and this resonated with the mission concept of prayer. In addition to *magata gilala* being used for healing, singing was also used as a form of prayer or supplication. During the Aida ceremonies, several songs were sung to praise and celebrate Aida. Equally, it was through singing songs as a form of praise that men would elicit the help of village spirits to assist them and give them strength when going to war. One of the first things Drysdale did was to teach Gogodala songs such as 'Nothing but the blood of Jesus' and 'Jesus loves me this I know'. Drysdale and Twyman's practice of praying and singing, then, were seen as an extension of local beliefs and practices, and many were eager to acquire that knowledge.

James Weiner (1987:274) makes the point that "the prevention of sickness and its implicit converse, the promotion of general fertility is a theme of male definition throughout the southern fringe area of the highlands of New Guinea". Weiner's comments resonate strongly with Gogodala definitions of the male way of life. As we have seen, Aida was known as a 'medicine man', who empowered Gogodala men with medicine that promoted strong and healthy bodies. Aida used a particularly potent medicine, based on yams, that was known as the 'true medicine'. During initiation, boys were also fed a powerful mixture of sago, banana and semen, *i nana gi* or 'tree food' to strengthen their bones, *gosa kakalemina gi,* and make their bodies hard. The missionary approach of providing different foods and medicines to promote health and treat sickness, therefore, was not a surprise for the Gogodala. One of the first medicines to be used by the missionaries was quinine. The Gogodala interpretation of quinine as a powerful medicine is reflected in the following account of Mase, one of the first men baptised in July 1940.

> He [Mase] had become the leading Christian in Balimo village and Charles Horne's principal informant and interpreter. He was the most colourful of the Gogodala preachers, full of choice touches like that with which he rounded off Charles Horne's sermon on the prodigal son. He had the father giving the returned prodigal a calico and quinine pill! (Prince and Prince 1981:54).

The term quinine is currently used as a generic term for all medicine dispensed from the Balimo Health Centre (BHC). It is common for people to ask "did they give you quinine?" after someone returns from the BHC. One old man suggested that the power of quinine is the same as the yam medicine used by Aida, and that, just like Aida's 'life-giving' yam medicine, the Gogodala do not know how quinine is made, or what it consists of.

The Gogodala term for sickness is *gite tila gi*, which literally means 'sickness seeing thing'. This refers to the idea that sickness is an invisible entity that takes human form and can see those who are not healthy. Those who have been socially irresponsible, for example, are particularly susceptible. Sickness in human form is called *sawesawe* and village people often have dreams that warn of an impending attack from this entity. These people warn the village people that "this *gite tila gi* is here, be careful". In one account, *sawesawe* tricked a village person by calling out for help from an island in the lagoon. When the person went to the island, they found nobody and returned to the village. It was later revealed that they were responsible for giving the *sawesawe* access to the village via their canoe. The mission message concerning the evil of invisible spirits and the need to pray and use different kinds of medicine to ensure strength and health, resonated, then, with local interpretations about the invisible aspects of sickness and methods of healing.

For many Gogodala, although Western medicines are viewed as powerful, it is a combination of introduced medicine and local ones that provide the best approach. In 2000, an old man told me that, "sometimes you use Gogodala medicine you feel better, you feel good. It is good to use both white man's medicine and Gogodala medicine, *mulamula*". Known as a local medicine man, he said,

> before the missionaries arrived, when people get sick they used bamboo, *kowae*, to cut the affected parts of the body to let the bad blood out. They used bark of the tree called *teme kaka* and *padawa* grass. Rub it and it smells like lemon skin, use mushrooms off coconut leaves which are rotten, used on cuts and bruises. *Buwae*, the bark of tree with a strong smell, use those barks to wash sick people, put it in hot water pot and wash them. *kaka dawa*, like ginger, is another one. Those are our Gogodala medicines. Now, white people came with different kinds of medicines. I don't know the names of those. You can't rely on white man's medicine all the time, if you rely on these medicines all the time you are likely to die.

The mission introduced 'different kinds of medicine' that were gradually accepted and used in combination with local methods. He was concerned that 'you can't rely on white man's medicine all the time' articulates the importance of local agency and authority in matters relating to illness and healing.

The first images UFM missionaries used to introduce Christianity to the Gogodala included several references to the efficacy of blood. In Chapter 2, I noted that Albert Drysdale used a picture of Jesus 'bleeding' on the cross in his conversion process. In what I discussed as a process of 'mutual mimesis', Gogodala elders challenged the mission interpretation and claimed that the image depicted their male ancestor Saida. The Gogodala idea of sacrifice has subsequently been associated with the way Saida spilt his blood, *dede*, for the benefit of others and he is known by the term *dede sasa*, meaning 'spreading the blood'. Albert Drysdale also used Christian songs to convey his message. As the following song suggests, the power of blood played a significant role in the UFM conversion rhetoric: 'what can wash away my sins, nothing but the blood of Jesus, oh precious, precious blood, that flows from Jesus side, nothing but the blood of Jesus". In addition to songs and images, the mission's approach to medical treatment, including blood transfusions and blood tests, also confirmed local ideas concerning the relationship between illness, blood and strength. Sawiyato and Bagaliyato from Kini village reiterated that, "with this modern technology, these doctors can prove it's blood that determines the strength of a person".

Certain knowledgeable members of the Gasinapa and Wabadala clans know *magata gilala*, magic words, to control the flow of blood. If a person is suffering blood loss from an injury, for example, they are taken to one of these 'medicine men' to stop the follow of blood. Similarly, if a person is sick, they assist in the removal of 'bad blood'. The idea of blood transfusions has been accepted as a valuable compliment to this local knowledge and practice.

> In those days we didn't have those medicines or equipment of transferring blood to another person. If a person runs out of blood that's it, like at birth or big cuts, that's it...In those days, if people have big cuts and if the medicine man was close and they come quickly they use *magata gilala* [magic words] to stop the blood coming out and they save the life of that person. Nowadays, there is a way in which they can put blood in...Like what they do now with doctors, we all know what they are doing, transferring from one person to another. So if they have the same blood number, then that's all right. That's this new idea coming with the doctors, we fully support that. Like a lady who is giving birth, running out of blood, they call her relatives, that's good.

The idea of a 'blood number' refers to the identification of a blood type. This concept has been accepted locally as medical proof of the different clan-based blood groups. It is now common for the family members of a person waiting for an operation at the BHC to give a 'bag' of blood to ensure their relative has enough blood available for a transfusion. This gift of blood forms part of the intra-family exchange relations, whereby people 'look to the needs' of others and provide assistance as part of a system of mutual obligation. By giving blood, family members are also making a public statement that they are healthy because donated blood is 'tested' for diseases.

One young woman suggested that the idea of giving blood was "about helping each other". She made the point that it was the same as when a woman is unable to feed her newborn child at the BHC, other women help by temporarily breastfeeding the child. This act forms a special bond between the mother and these women. Later, she will provide gifts of food and clothes as a sign of appreciation, known locally as *nagala lopala*, or thank you gifts. She pointed out that she still provides clothes to a woman who helped feed her nephew when he

was born ten years earlier. Similarly, when people receive blood transfusions, it is expected that they will provide a feast for the people who supplied blood during their time of need. Depending on the seriousness of the treatment, and quantity of blood donated, the patient would plant banana and sago trees as a gift to assist the donors for a number of years. Gogodala are not concerned that blood from another clan member, or from the opposite moiety, may have a detrimental effect. While potentially saving their life, the quantity of blood being supplied is too small to compromise or alter their bodily capacities. What is emphasised is the way blood can be tested to identify relationships between people rather than the incompatibility of different blood groups. One man, for example, cried uncontrollably when BHC staff told him that his blood was not the right blood group to be included in his sister's transfusion.

Strathern and Stewart (1998) provide a useful point of comparison in their analysis of blood transfusions among the Melpa people of Mount Hagen. They provide narrative accounts of the events surrounding the blood transfusion received by Ongka, an ageing Kawelka leader. For the Melpa, bodily vitality derives from a combination of two substances, blood and grease, which includes breast milk, semen, pork fat and certain vegetable foods (1998:2). For the transfusion, "Ongka received blood that was either from his 'one blood' (*mema tenda*) kin...or was from an affinal group...The transfusion combined cognatic, agnatic, and affinal values all together" (Strathern and Stewart 1998:13). In addition, he compensated people who contributed food and money towards his recovery by killing a large pig and distributing it for them to eat. Strathern and Stewart (1998:13) emphasise the way Ongka's blood transfusion was interpreted in terms of the local exchange system and ideas of wealth and compensation.

For the Gogodala, the idea of 'blood tests' is medical confirmation of local conception beliefs and bodily efficacy. Earlier in the chapter, we saw that it is the combination of male 'semen blood' and female 'menstrual blood' that forms a baby. Clan affiliation is accorded on the strength of the father's blood, and on the quality and quantity of the man's *kamali*. According to one man, "you can have five wives and they are all his children. Modern medicine proves it, men have

more *kamali* in their blood". This idea is best demonstrated when considering the local term *etawa saba dede*, or literally 'semen place blood'. This refers to those children whose mother had sexual relations with several men during the conception process. The child is thought to be the product of more than one man's blood. In the past, people would wait and see who the child most resembled in order to confirm which man contributed the most blood and *kamali* during conception. Now, blood tests confirm local beliefs concerning the presence and potency of *kamali* and remove doubt about paternity.

In the past, when a couple could not have children, people looked for reasons to explain the situation. Often clan and family members would question the quality and strength of their blood. It was especially difficult for a first-born son who did not produce children. In the contemporary context, blood tests have become common practice for couples having problems conceiving. In 1995, a woman returning to Tai village called out to people in each house that she and her husband were unable to have children because of his weak blood, and that blood tests had confirmed this. This couple had been trying to have children for a few years, and had decided to have blood tests at the BHC. The results suggested that he had a low sperm count, which his wife interpreted as a weakness in his and his family's blood. When the husband's family heard the news, his mother confronted her son and asked him why he was doing this to the family. The family and clan reputation was restored, however, when the couple later managed to conceive a child.

At the beginning of this chapter, I told the story of a man's unsuccessful attempt to undergo a vasectomy in order to refute pregnancy allegations. To me this seemed to be antithetical to masculine bodily efficacy. It was suggested, however, that rather than emasculate men, such an operation enabled them to retain their supply of semen. Upon further enquiry, it was revealed that the local word for vasectomy translates as 'cutting the vein'. This concept refers to cutting the vein that connects *kamali* in the man's blood to the seminal fluid. When a man has a vasectomy, therefore, it is thought that the male blood, *dede*, is separated from the semen, *etawa*. While he acknowledged that a vasectomy enables men to

retain their *kamali*, when I asked Kamo if he would consider having such an operation, he laughed and said that he would never do it because "It would be funny, [as] I am in charge of the family". Kamo is a first-born son and, although he already has six children, he places much emphasis on the authority and male efficacy that directly relates to his continuing capacity to have children. His potential to have more children is in itself a public demonstration of his *kamali* and masculinity.

Chapter 6

BALIMO BOYS

In Chapter 1, I introduced the idea that a desire for development unites village and town and it is thought that development can be achieved through a collective Christian work ethic based on the clan system. I related the story of the Balimo Town Mayor who built his house without walls to indicate political transparency. Although some Gogodala saw this as a cynical exercise, for most the effort alone demonstrated social awareness and responsibility. In addition to his village-style house, it was his practice of regularly returning and working in the village that earned him much respect. And even though his body does not match the muscular fitness of village men, he has won public acclaim nonetheless. This is not to suggest that he is regarded as a *kanaba*, or leader, as many recognise his underlying political ambition; rather it acknowledges his attempt to maintain and balance both social responsibilities and individual interests.

As we have seen, work reveals relationships and gender. When people heard that the Middle-Fly Member of Parliament was visiting Australia in 1999 to have medical tests, it was rumoured that he had heart disease. Known derisively as *batalabega lumagi*, or fat person, his medical condition was blamed on his selfish attitude and misuse of public funds. One woman made the point that "his heart is not for the people, his heart is for himself; if he changes his heart for the people the heart disease will go away". His illness, then, arose both out of his bad intentions and lack of a working relationship with villagers. While Gogodala express a desire for a form of development, then, that will allow them to maintain the essence of a village lifestyle whilst enjoying the benefits of living on money, these two examples illustrate some of the difficulties associated with balancing two differing sets of practices and concepts.

Village people often resent that town people enjoy the benefits of money, clothes, food, houses, water tanks, electricity and store goods. Town people, on

the other hand, of which there are approximately 150, lament the loss of freedom afforded by the village lifestyle, and miss the community and the self-reliance. And despite the power that comes with having access to money, travel and store goods, town people are conscious of the need to maintain strong village relationships. Workers know that ultimately they will have to return to life in the village. To ensure that they are welcome and have a house, gardens and land when they return, they have to 'look to the needs' of their clan and village people while they have access to money. If a worker is thought to be selfish and arrogant, or 'big headed', and ignores the needs of village people, then he or she can expect a difficult time when they return. In reference to one town worker, who was believed to have ignored family in the village, one man commented; "he thinks he is somebody, but we will make him nobody and he will suffer". Another man was laughed at in the village and called *okopela balago*, or 'worm container', when he unexpectedly lost his job in Balimo and was forced to return and work in the village. Everyday he could be seen going to the Aramia River with a container full of worms so that he could catch fish to feed his family. In this case, however, despite being the object of some ridicule, his commitment to providing for his family was acknowledged and respected.

In the space between town and village, are a group of young, unmarried men, commonly in their teens to late twenties, who congregate along the main street of Balimo; they are known as 'Balimo boys'. During the mid 1960s, the word *rascal* (tp), or *raskol* (tp), meaning criminal, emerged to describe an increasing number of crime gangs whose members are young male migrants living in squatter settlements around the capital, Port Moresby (Roscoe 1999:171). The emergence of these gangs has been attributed to urban inequality, poverty, underdevelopment, unemployment, the decline of traditions and a related antagonism towards government and mission authority (see Goddard 1995; Po'o 1975; Kulick 1993; Harris 1988; Schiltz 1985; Ward 2000). While *rascal* (tp) activity has generally been studied as an urban phenomenon, Roscoe (1999) draws attention to the recent rise in *rascal* (tp) activity in rural area such as the Yangoru Subdistrict in East Sepik Province. Although Roscoe (1999:172) makes

the point that, since the mid 1980s, there has been a dramatic increase in gang related crimes such armed robbery, break-ins, violence, vehicle ambushes, vandalism against mission and government, and rapes and murders, this has not been the experience for most Gogodala. Unlike other areas of PNG, Gogodala communities have not experienced this kind of rapid increase in serious crime. While the Gogodala are proud of the absence of crimes involving guns, murder, rape and robbery, Balimo does have a petty crime problem characterised by minor vandalism and theft from trade stores, mission stations, businesses and government institutions and Balimo boys are blamed for much of this.

Village people are particularly concerned that, as Balimo boys oscillate between the village and town, they elude both social relationships and the village work ethic. Town workers also argue that the community suffers as a result of their selfish activities and argue that these young men should return to the village and work for their families, as this forms the basis of the relationship between village and town. Each day people could be seen arriving at Balimo with village produce and firewood for their relatives. They invariably return to the village later that day with the basic essentials of soap and kerosene. On public service payday, village people expect other goods, such as rice, flour and clothing. The behaviour of the Balimo boys, however, falls outside the bounds of this mutual relationship. In this chapter, therefore, I analyse how Balimo boys form an integral part of an ongoing process of negotiating male agency, development and Christianity. In contrast to village and town assertions, rather than see themselves as useless, Balimo boys approach their activities as forms of work. My aim is to show the different ways in which village men, town workers and Balimo boys represent three approaches to the goal of 'development' through work.

Crime and Punishment

Balimo boys generally reside with relatives in government houses, worker's residences, in village houses on clan land or surrounding villages. Each day, they

can be seen walking in groups, holding hands, smoking tobacco, joking, listening to music, or congregating near the market and around the two main trade stores along the main street. The Trade-store owners occasionally require help when making deliveries to other areas, or unloading the barge that brings supplies to the area once a month. These young men are always eager to be involved. Payment is often in the form of tobacco, or *mutrus* (tp), and the chance to travel by motor canoe to places like Awaba up the Aramia River, or by tractor to the airstrip to meet the aeroplane. At Balimo, they usually meet and socialise with friends and clan brothers from other villages, who are travelling through Balimo that day. Arrangements are often made to meet again at future events, such as football games and other celebrations. They also regularly solicit employed relatives for money to buy food and tobacco and the number of Balimo boys in town increases on days when the public service, teachers and councillors get paid.

Figure 26. Gogodala Council Chambers, Balimo town.

As the area is known administratively as a 'dry area', and the community has a strong anti-drinking stance, few problems arise in relation to alcohol consumption. The main problem that exists in Balimo is petty theft, crimes that usually occur under the cover of darkness and involve the theft of things like

bicycles from under houses. One night in 1999, however, two men stole a 44 gallon drum of kerosene from a shed at the back of Roy's store, located near the edge of Kabili lagoon. They manhandled the drum into a large canoe and then paddled quietly towards the Aramia River. When the news of the theft spread around Balimo that morning, one man recalled his sighting of a couple of men at the mouth of Kabili lagoon. To the great amusement of many in Balimo, it was revealed that when the police went to the area, they simply followed the tracks left by the kerosene drum, which was rolled into the scrub. The men involved were subsequently arrested and sent to prison at Daru, and, while many did not care about the loss of a drum of kerosene, they were concerned that such crimes gave the area a bad name.

Figure 27. Roy Biyama's tradestore in Balimo town.

Punishment is a concern for local criminals. In recent studies, however, a correlation has been drawn between the rise in *rascal* (tp) activity and the decrease in traditional forms of control and punishment. For example, Roscoe (1999:178) suggests that, in East Sepik, Yangoru traditional sanctions and practices for combating crime, such as sorcery and setting booby traps, have

declined markedly. Among other things, he suggests that criminals are considerably more elusive than before, as they can now travel quickly and thus avoid many social sanctions. For the Gogodala, new forms of punishment such as court cases and prison sentences have come to compliment past practices. In the past, men were subjected to violent attacks, or beatings, by the men in the longhouse if found guilty of an offence. As a show of unity, each man was required to punch, kick or hit the man with sticks; these beatings sometimes resulted in death. One woman told the story that her uncle was beaten by Balimo village men as a result of adultery, and that when he was taken to the police station, he died from his injuries. This practice continues in the present, albeit somewhat less violent. Several times during our stay, young men were taken to the village field, usually at night, and beaten by the other men until they were unconscious. And when a man from another village commits a crime, it is still common for men to approach the village and ask for the guilty man to be handed over so that he can be punished, which often happens when a case is proven against him. Beatings no longer result in death, yet the message they send to young offenders remains the same.

While the local police force, village law and order officers, and the court system deal with most crimes and complaints, the fear of additional police being called upon from Daru is a considerable threat that often reduces the level of serious crime. The Daru police occasionally conduct 'raids' in the area and are known to be particularly tough. During one visit to Balimo, they drove around the area with guns asking questions about drugs and taking up issues on behalf of the local police. On another occasion, the local police found themselves unable to deal with several Balimo boys responsible for damaging a government vehicle. Very early the next morning, while it was still dark, three dinghies arrived carrying a team of policemen known locally as the 'Daru riot squad'. They raided the village of Balimo, using force to capture the men involved. One man commented, "it was scary, men were jumping out of windows and running everywhere". Later, they lined up the men in the centre of the village and stripped them down to their underpants in the hot sun, before forcing them to carry each

other on their backs down the main street of Balimo in front of the growing crowd. They were later taken to Daru where they each received 6 months gaol time.

One man said, "people like it when people (criminals) are paraded through town, they like to see police being hard and doing something, like the old days". Public humiliation, or shame, also forms part of the local Christian practice of public confessions. Indeed, village law and order officers are usually respected members of the church and the ECPNG is well known for its commitment to confessions during church services. In one example of this kind of punishment, Gogodala policemen forced a young man to carry a bicycle above his head, up and down the main street of Balimo, in the hot sun, calling out to the crowd "I am a thief, I am a thief, I did it, I stole this bike". The policemen walked along side making him yell louder as he tired. He then returned the bike to the owner, who was asked what other punishment he thought the young man deserved. In another case, Balimo boys who stole several items from the BHC, were forced to walk through town, from the police station, carrying the items above their heads.

Throughout the colonial period, the Gogodala continued these forms of discipline and punishment and often use them in conjunction with the official police and court system. Indeed, the UFM encouraged the Gogodala practice of fighting as a form of punishment, by labelling such activities 'boxing', or 'using hands', because they did not involve weapons like knives or guns. Yet, although great shame is attached to public displays of punishment, young men are praised if they accept punishment and later prove to the community that they are reformed. To accept punishment is both a display of bodily strength, and a show of respect to the community and the authority of clan and village elders.

The following story illustrates the way public beatings continue to form part of *dala ela gi*. In November 1999, a fight erupted on the road outside our house in Balimo, which was close to the Gogodala Council Chambers. A meeting of village councillors was in progress at the time. The fight was between an older man and a young man in his early twenties, who the older man suspected of seeing his daughter without permission. As is common in such situations, the

father used English to express his anger. A leading ECPNG member, he was distressed that his daughter was 'spoiling his name' and that people were talking behind his back. Wielding a grass knife above his head, he yelled to the excited and rapidly growing crowd. "I am not stupid, I am not an idiot, I will be the first Gogodala to murder someone in public". One woman nearby said he was "getting it out of his stomach". Dropping the knife, he proceeded to hit and kick the young man with considerable force. One man nearby said, "he is allowed to hit as hard as he can and even break bones". The young man, who was physically capable of fighting back, chose to lie on the ground and accept the beating. By this time, councillors had gathered at the front of the chambers and I was relieved to see two older councillors running towards the fight. I expected them to intervene and mediate the dispute. With the vocal support of their colleagues, rather than restore order, however, they blocked those trying to help the young man and yelled to others to stand back and give them space.

Criticism and Revenge

In the above incident, the young man's acceptance of his beating was a sign of respect to his elders, particularly his father-in-law, and a public confession of wrongdoing. This is an integral part of the concept of *sigali alila gi*, or ginger medicine. *Sigali alila gi* ensures that you take the punishment and criticism, like medicine, as a challenge to improve yourself. *Sigali* is a type of ginger and is used to "put it on sores, put it in the saucepan with meat, eat it raw, boil it and put it in water and wash with it. Ginger is used to make you feel better; it is a medicine". The following articulates the metaphorical idea that ginger represents in *sigali alila gi*.

> *Sigali* is hot, bitter and sour and painful and it hurts; it is a medicine. It is used to tell small boys who steal garden food and get caught, the owner tells them off and calls them bad names. They take those words like a medicine, hurtful words. They hit boy's hands with a stick and this is called *sigali alila gi*.

The term is a form of criticism that is used to provoke a person to prove their worthiness. One man said, "it is a challenge to improve yourself, if you lose a canoe race or a rugby game, or you steal, or you have small bananas, or you have an old house or you get belted for staying with someone's wife, you need to do something to make your name better". In reference to canoe races and rugby games, it was suggested, "winners always criticise the losers and they want revenge". This can take several years to achieve. The loser takes the criticism, *sigali alila gi*, like medicine that makes him feel better when he eventually wins.

As we have seen, men with special skills in areas such as hunting, gardening, canoe and house building, medicine, magic and carving are known as *sakema*. The word *sakema* refers to the 'wisdom' they possess. The village *kanaba*, for example, is recognised as a *sakema* in more than one area. Equally, women with skills in activities such sago-making and fishing are also known as *sakema*. In the village, only a *sakema* is allowed to criticise small boys, as the following account demonstrates.

> If a small boy has been criticised for not growing gardens, he will plant fruit trees and then take the fruit to them and when they eat the fruit they say who planted it to have your revenge over them. Prove to someone who criticised you, you take it and then prove them wrong, not just fruit, canoe races, coconut tree, building house, planting sago palms. Men good at planting gardens, *sakema*, will cut part of banana tree or sugar cane and get the small boys who are running around doing nothing and hit them with it. The small boys take it as a lesson from him. He hits them to make them try harder, like him. My father's brother did that, he belted village boys and these small boys are now men who make plenty of gardens and they say he motivated them to beat him. There are many gardens now because of him.

For the Gogodala, punishment and criticism continues to be practised as a public challenge directed at men and women to motivate them to prove their worth and bodily efficacy to the community. It is a sign of a person's strength that they can accept a beating, a prison sentence or criticism, and later prove to the community that they are reformed.

Another form of harsh criticism used to motivate Balimo boys, and other young men known as small boys, is the local term *awani kakada paka*, or wasted fruit. Commonly called AKP, it refers to men and women who are thought to be wasting their lives, like the 'unwanted bark of the tree'. More accurately, it refers to the action of carelessly ripping the skin off a certain fruit and spoiling the edible seed inside. Many believe that Balimo boys have unreal expectations for development and are wasting their time walking around Balimo looking for money, rather than making gardens in the village. In addition to describing young men like the Balimo boys, AKP also refers to older men who have remained unmarried and have no children. One man, who recently returned to Balimo after living in Port Moresby for twenty years, is known as AKP and his clan brothers joke with him that he missed the opportunity to find a wife as his sisters are now married. In reply, he jokes that his brother in-law's family cannot sit next to him because they have not provided him with a sister. In addition, older unmarried women and women with 'fatherless' or illegitimate children are called AKP, as "nobody wants her".

Married men jokingly refer to their wives as *seyata*, or fireplace, as cooking is a defining role for women. Married men might greet each other by asking "how is your *seyata*?" and will address a man known as AKP by asking "*seyata aetapeya*?, or "how are you going finding a wife?" Although terms like AKP and *seyata aetapeya* are intended as both insults and jokes, they are also meant to provoke a response. Earlier, I argued that Balimo boys sit on the fringe of both village and urban hierarchies. Insults directed at these young men often represents an attempt to establish a relationship with them. One of the main ways that Balimo boys feel marginalized by the community is through a lack of clan responsibility and associated land ownership. As first and second-born sons tend to inherit most clan responsibilities, names, land, magic and ancestral knowledge, younger brothers, and adopted boys, sometimes find it difficult to attract potential partners as they have little to offer. Such boys are most likely to become involved with the Balimo boys, as they move around from place to place.

In addition to being known as Balimo boys, small boys, AKP, *sigali alila gi*, and *oko bininapa dala* or 'no work men', these young men are also commonly referred to as 'floating grass'. Floating grass literally refers to small islands of matted grass that float down the rivers and creeks and cause trouble by obstructing canoes and blocking access to the myriad of creeks, channels and small lagoons that connect villages, gardens and sago swamps. Floating grass floats indiscriminately from place to place. It is an offensive comment, therefore, used to describe the movement of small boys from village to village. The word 'feather' is also used and invokes similar images and metaphoric interpretations. In chapter 5, I described the way men who marry women from their mother's clan have floating grass placed on their heads during canoe races and are called *gawa papama dimina gi*, or 'canoe stuck in floating grass'. Such comments refer to the man's stupidity of linking his clan, or canoe, with the wrong clan, through marriage, and thus compromising clan relationships, as marriage between the wrong clans is thought to 'spoil' the clan, complicate social relationships, and compromise the use of land and clan names.

The term floating grass, when applied to Balimo boys, is also posed as a challenge, or criticism, intended to motivate them to settle down in their village. The main problem for village people concerns those small boys who have little claim to village land and therefore no incentive to stay in one place. Stories of men who have made much of themselves, despite difficult circumstances, are told to these boys. One such story outlines how a Kini village Deacon in the ECPNG managed to establish himself in the church hierarchy even though he was the third-born son. The Deacon is highly respected and people make the point that village and clan members now turn to him rather than his older brothers for advice. While the majority of small boys eventually get married and return to village life, some resist the pressure and continue to move around, looking for opportunities to improve their circumstances. Indeed, these men often embrace and invert the negative terms levelled at them as a sign of their strength in the face of adversity. They exploit the fact that, by moving from place to place, their

behaviour is difficult to monitor and village people feel threatened and concerned about the type of magical knowledge and power they acquire in the process.

Magic and Mobility

In a study of community representations of *rascals* (tp) in PNG, Kulick (1993) discusses the interrelationship between magic, power and vision for *rascal* (tp) gangs. He makes the point that there are two types of magic attributed to the 'great *rascals*' (tp): "the power to cloak themselves in invisibility as they commit their crimes, and the power to evade the bullets fired at them by policemen or soldiers" (Kulick 1993:10). According to Kulick (1993:10), stories of *rascal* (tp) confrontations with police usually involve the *rascals* (tp) killing all the policemen "with the help of magic which makes them invisible, invulnerable to bullets, and full of superhuman strength and speed". In buying and obtaining these magical powers, *rascal* (tp) leaders associate themselves with the warrior leaders, or 'great men', of the past. Like *rascals* (tp) in Port Moresby, Balimo boys and other village-based small boys are also concerned with learning magic words to enhance their power, make themselves invisible, and again access money.[1] Men inherit clan knowledge, such as ancestral stories, songs, magic words, clan designs and connections to land, from their fathers and clan elders over a long period of time.

In combination with frustration over a lack of paid work opportunities and urban inequality, some young men do not wait for access to clan magic and attempt to gain magic through other means. Due to the difficulties associated with acquiring local magical practices, some small boys travel from place to place, hoping to learn, or buy, powerful magic from outside the area.[2] One Balimo boy

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[1] See Wood (1998) for a study of the way Kamula men in Western Province are using *dali patalo* spirits to acquire money and magic.

[2] Eves (1998:9) makes the similar point for the Lelet of New Ireland Province, where young men are seen to be constantly moving, wasting their strength and never being settled in one place. Their uncontrolled movement is known locally as *sasa*, like the uncontrolled movement of children playing.

commented that he travels from place to place looking to buy magic for his "tool box". In addition to having many contacts from his time living in Port Moresby, he had spent six months in Daru gaol and, through this experience, had established contacts with men all around the Province. This experience is itself enough to have given him a reputation as potentially dangerous, as most people are unsure what kind of knowledge he may have gained while away from the area. At 28 years old, he acknowledged that he was getting a bit old to be spending his time travelling around and mixing with the Balimo boys. He expressed concern that while he was trying to make gardens in his village, attend church, and build his mother a new house, he also enjoyed moving around. As his mother's older brother adopted him, he is unsure what rights he has to either his father's or adopted father's property. As a result, he sometimes thinks of returning to his 'real' mother who lives in the neighbouring village, where he is more confident of his place in the clan hierarchy. While he is categorised locally as AKP and floating grass, like many of these unmarried men, he is intermittently involved in village activities including football teams, canoe racing, ECPNG services, village maintenance, funerals, feasts and other work.

The magical skills he desires most are those that enable travel from place to place. The ability to travel is one of the main goals of development for many Gogodala. Previously, I outlined the local notion of *tila wamina gi*, or intersubjective gazing, whereby social relations are constantly monitored through surveillance. This is designed to coerce people into acting with others in mind. Using magic to become invisible directly challenges this emphasis on transparency in relationships. The following account provides a useful example of these concerns for the Kwanga in East Sepik.

> [v]isible things are safe and controllable, just as the person who walks through the center of the village can be seen by everyone and controlled by gossip and other measures if he deviates from norms of expected behaviour. But each visible surface conceals a hidden, and more dangerous and uncontrollable, inside. This dichotomy is apparent in ideas about leaders. Chiefs live in the centre of the village where everyone can see them and this checks their power. Their counterpart, sorcerers, live on

> the edges of the village or in the bush, are invisible to the public eye, and are thus uncontrollable, powerful, and dangerous (Brison 1992:118).

Magic men who do 'bad things' threaten the security and health of the community. One of the most feared exponents of magic are 'evil' men known locally as 'fire bottom men' who use *wasiwa ila*, or literally 'fire magic'. These men are thought to move around under the cover of darkness and travel quickly from place to place, using fire that emanates from their anus. During the day, they are thought to be 'liars' who trick people into believing that they conform to daily life, only to go 'flying around at night scaring women'. They also cause sickness when people are sleeping by going under village houses and "heating them up so that they get sick". It is suggested that this type of magic, and other forms of bad magic, derive from outside the Gogodala area. Balimo boys, like fire bottom men, tend to travel at night, and this casts suspicion over their activities and intentions, rendering them potentially dangerous and uncontrollable.

The notion of *tila wamina gi*, or intersubjective gazing, forms part of a local attempt to control behaviour so that an 'ideal' type of development will emerge. When young men, and magic men, subvert this gaze, they potentially compromise the well-being and development of the community. As we have seen, these men are subjected to a series of insults, including AKP and *sigali alila gi*, in an attempt to change their behaviour and conform to the village way of life. In addition to concerns about the type of magic learnt by small boys while out of sight, village people see their behaviour as essentially self-interested, which has the potential to spoil both the name of the community and sabotage its chance at development.

One Balimo boy suggested that he was in the process of buying some magic from a neighbouring group so that he could travel around the world. He described the type of magic as being similar to, yet more powerful than, a local version that allows men to move invisibly around the area with ease. He recalled the day he and several friends came across an old man, known for his magical skills, as they were walking out of Balimo on their way to nearby Dogono village. As they passed the old man, who was sitting alone in front of a house, they asked

him if he was also returning to Dogono that afternoon. The old man laughed and told them to start walking and that he would see them at the village later. Being fit young men and capable of walking fast, they were shocked to find the old man sitting in his village house when they arrived at Dogono. As there is only one road linking Balimo and Dogono, it was impossible for him to pass the group unnoticed without using magic. After telling the story, the Balimo boy assured me that as soon as he acquired the right magic words and practices, he would use them to visit me in Australia.

Rascals and Rugby

Balimo boys are subject to derogatory terms such *palo betokolaedae*, literally 'shoulders not doing anything', *oko bininapa dala*, or 'no work men' and *oko bini ae wamidili*, meaning 'no work, just playing around', which represent them as worthless and lazy. It is thought that young women are attracted to these men based primarily on how they look, *imimi saelepula* or 'nice face', and *apela saelepula*, literally 'nice body growth', and how they perform during rugby league games rather than on a demonstrated ability to work. I suggest, however, rather than being simply lazy or worthless, these young men are looking for alternative ways of achieving development, of attracting a partner, and consider their behaviour to be both efficacious and a legitimate form of work. Fife (1995a:289) argues that *rascals* (tp) in West New Britain use traditional ideals from their rural village setting in an attempt to "assert personal forcefulness" in an urban setting where they are socially unacceptable. Similarly, Balimo boys draw on magic to empower themselves, as they 'look for money', just as village men use a range of clan magic to improve success and enhance bodily strength during hunting, gardening, building, carrying loads, paddling long distances and other work-related activities.

In his discussion of criminal gangs in Papua New Guinea, Goddard (1995:71) draws interesting connections between development, the gift economy

and the idea that "[c]rime is *wok* like other goal-oriented activity". He proposes that, "criminal lifestyles represent not a response to unemployment, miseducation, or material poverty, but a strategy in pursuit of prestige and an appropriation of commodities into a gift economy" (Goddard 1995:73). He emphasises the way *rascals* (tp) are attempting to become 'big-men', motivated by social 'customary' relations in which "[t]he relative personal success and wealth of individuals is acceptable if they are seen to operate within this system, gifting, repaying or engendering debts, enabling kin and prospective exchange partners to maintain customary relationships" (Goddard 1995:72). Unlike attempting to become 'big-men', however, Balimo boys do not seek attention or promote the amount of cash they obtain. This is not to suggest that they are not interested in prestige; rather they seek to rectify the combined lack of village status and material wealth imposed on them by clan, Christian and urban hierarchies. Most feel that they have been denied a place in the definition of development and, as a result, attempt to approach it on their own terms. Rather than rely on the village approach to work, status, and development, Balimo boys are redefining what constitutes work by achieving similar feats through the power of magic. While crime sometimes forms part of their lifestyle, Balimo boys approach the task of attaining the ideal body, development, and community praise, through magical means.

Balimo boys also seek to define their bodily efficacy and ability to work hard through displays of strength in games of rugby league.[3] Earlier, I argued that, rather than distinguish between work and play, Gogodala men approached canoe racing and rugby league as work related activities that reveal social relationships and gendered bodily capacities. Although young men, like the Balimo boys, move between the town and village, they continue to participate in community and clan activities such as canoe racing and rugby league. Previously, I discussed the way such sports are much respected in the community, even by the church hierarchy.

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[3] In Port Moresby, Po'o (1975:36) makes the point "The gangs are socially linked together through games like Rugby League. The way the relationships are established is by different gangs in different areas coming together and challenging other gangs from different residential areas. They might dislike each other during play but after it there is always a friendly atmosphere...Through this they come to see each other frequently in their own gang society" (Po'o 1975:36).

While the ECPNG supports the game of rugby league as a male activity, young men who cause trouble when they are not playing concern church, clan and community leaders. Indeed, in 1987, troubled church workers tried to influence the behaviour of a group of these young men by encouraging them to embrace the church as part of their community life.

> There was a serious *rascal* problem in 1987,...[s]o Yauwaba Auma, Wabewaba Kasela and Sawaka Banaba asked some of the ringleaders if they would like to be organised into a football team. The response was very positive and the name the young people chose for themselves showed how they saw themselves. AKP stands for three Gogodala words meaning 'Unwanted bark of a tree'. The rules for the team were strict. Training every weekday afternoon, club meeting to look at rugby videos on Saturday night and the club fellowship on Friday night, under the leadership of Yauwaba, the club chaplain. "My purpose as chaplain" he explains "is that I would like to share with them that, though they are rejected by the community and even by one another, there is Somebody who is caring for them and that is God through our Lord Jesus Christ". The club's football progressed well, but before the end of the year the violence of the young men erupted again...A whole group had to be expelled from the club. Again a Christian layman intervened [and]...collected the expelled group together into a new team, the *Pukpuks* (crocodiles). By 1989 AKP and *Pukpuks* were the top two teams in the Balimo competition! The *rascal* problem had been greatly reduced. Sadly the church did not benefit. When the club leaders tried to take their young people into the church, they were told that the church did not want to have that bad influence coming in. The Balimo church had forgotten that it exists first of all to welcome in the sinful and the unlovely, so that they too may find the love and acceptance of Christ among the Lord's people (Prince and Prince 1991:104).

Despite not welcoming the players, church and mission leaders credit the game of rugby league for greatly reducing the crime problem in Balimo at that time. The above account reiterates some of the social divisions faced by young men who do not conform to either the village or town lifestyle. These young men are perceived as compromising both the Gogodala name and an opportunity for an ideal form of development.

Development: Work in Progress

Underlying the daily criticism and discussion of Balimo boys, therefore, is a concern with conceptualisations of what constitutes development for the community as a whole. It is felt that Balimo boys often operate to offset the efforts of the Gogodala community to initiate this development and bring about a different and brighter future, because they do not fully understand the importance of the relationship between work and Christianity. As I have already suggested, Wiru men of the Southern Highlands felt their masculinity was compromised by the arrival of Europeans and that they experienced bodily detumescence (Clark 1992:18). In attempts to appropriate the power of Europeans, Wiru men tried to transform their bodies by wearing European things, like tin cans, around their bodies and engaging in hard work. Clark (1992:17) argues that "[w]ork was ritual exchange of labour for the 'new' Christian body promised by development".[4] Like the Wiru, Gogodala ideas and principles surrounding the local concept of *oko*, or work, defined their relationship with the mission. However, I have argued that rather than seek a 'new Christian' body like the Wiru, Gogodala approached the UFM through concepts of sharing, exchange and an already defined work ethic. And, as we discussed earlier, rather than focusing on the reformation of the Gogodala, and the creation of new Christian bodies through the encouragement of disciplined work habits, the mission recognised the local attitude towards work and instead imposed rules aimed at changing bodily practices such as smoking and drinking *sika*, or kava.

The UFM missionaries interpreted a Gogodala enthusiasm for schooling, medicine and Western goods in terms of their 'materialistic' attitude and I have argued that Gogodala approached mission activities as part of a process of mutual mimesis and appropriation. When the APCM established the ECP in 1966, for

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[4] Eves (1996:85) provides a useful example of how the Methodist Missionaries in PNG sought to "reconstitute the indigenous people's bodies, and through this their moral constitution" as part of the colonial project. Eves (1996:89) studies the importance given to the reforming of a new 'visible' Christian body including "its appearance, habits, and movements" through the conflation

example, they defined the mission and church relationship as one of travelling in the one canoe. In the mid 1970s, during the process of making the ECP independent from the APCM, the mission suggested that it would be like travelling in canoes, side by side. According to Prince and Prince (1991:91), however, many Gogodala church leaders asked "[w]hy can't we all be in the one canoe?". The Gogodala expected the missionaries to share their knowledge and wealth in a mutual partnership towards the development of the church and community. The mission metaphor of travelling in separate canoes, therefore, disturbed church leaders who had based their ideas of development on mission goals and agendas.

People continue to complain that, despite the changes that can be seen around Balimo, the Gogodala are yet to enjoy the benefits of 'real' development. As a result, anti-mission and anti-government sentiment has become increasingly apparent. By 2000, the mission began to withdraw personnel from Balimo as a result. The Gogodala are increasingly concerned that, unlike an earlier generation of missionaries who lived frugally, contemporary missionaries exhibit a superior standard of living and are not interested in sharing their obvious material advantages with the community. Disgruntled locals refer to the mission practice of flying in produce and other foodstuffs from the Southern Highlands Province and Port Moresby as an example. Many are concerned that the mission has changed from their earlier muscular approach to a more disengaged and less transparent managerial style of leadership.

In addition to challenging the mission's role in the area, the authority of the ECPNG has also come under considerable pressure for the first time through the introduction of several new churches in the area (see Dundon 2002a). Leaders from these new churches point to a lack of development in the area as one reason for encouraging people to change allegiance from the ECPNG. Loyal ECPNG members, on the other hand, contend that people are 'looking for a short cut to development'. It is within this debate that they also criticise Balimo boys for

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of morality and physicality. He (1996:92) makes the point that visible practices such as dancing, dress, cleanliness and habitual practices were targeted and scrutinised.

having a similar objective, although they attempt to achieve it through magical means. The vast majority of the Gogodala population consider themselves Christian and the idea of development is intertwined with Christian beliefs and associated work practices. The local term for development is *apela gi*, or growth, and it can also be used to describe a person's bodily shape and health, or the condition of their garden. One man compared the town of Balimo with a garden when he made gestures with his arms suggesting that, like a garden, the town metaphorically grew up from the ground. Development, then, is associated with metaphors that also encompass the body and certain work practices. Just as personal bodily growth and health depend on successful social connectedness, the economic benefits and other services associated with development are equally envisaged in terms of social relationships.

The Gogodala do not blame themselves for the lack of development in the area. Rather, many feel that they have been 'tricked' and emphasise the failure of the government and mission to adequately fulfil their promises. Despite this frustration, they continue to work towards development because many believe that eventually the superiority of the Gogodala, as God's chosen people, will be acknowledged and rewarded. Much of this idea, of 'real' development, revolves around a Christian belief in the imminent return of Jesus. Village people believe that waiting for Jesus to return, and resisting the evils associated with a love of money, requires patience and wisdom. These are perceived as characteristics of inner strength, rather than indicative of dependency and weakness. Waiting for Jesus does not equal passivity, as they see themselves as active agents engaging a Christian way of life through work and relationships.

Education forms part of that approach for, while the mission used education as a platform for conversion, the Gogodala viewed it largely as a platform for development. When the UFM began conducting school at Balimo in the early 1930s, preference was given to the male children of the first converts, mission workers, and later the children of pastors and church representatives. In keeping with mission policy of engaging existing village leadership structures, village *kanaba* and their family also received special treatment. The Gogodala

now have government community schools in most villages and a high school at Awaba. Students come from all over Western Province to attend the latter as it is one of the few boarding schools that offer up to year 10. Local people are particularly proud that, as a result, many people in the province know how to speak the Gogodala language. In addition to a large population, this is seen as another example of local superiority and an indication that they are destined for future development. For many, the fact that the Gogodala founded the ECPNG, became missionaries to teach other areas about Christianity, and now provide schooling for the rest of the Province, is in itself evidence that they already done enough to deserve the benefits of development. Resentment is beginning to surface about the relative lack of development, given sacrifices many feel they have already made for others. It is particularly upsetting when other areas receive better government treatment, and gain more services, when many believe that it was only because of the effort of Gogodala pastors and missionaries that they have anything at all. For many Gogodala, while they recognise the benefits of a high school education as part of the process towards development, school itself is not necessarily only a means to an end, but an end in itself. The hard work has already been done, the platform for success has been laid, and many are disappointed that the education system continues to perpetuate early missionary behaviour of favouring the children of pastors and other church workers.

Fife (1995a) discusses the way Christian missionaries in PNG established a hierarchy of masculinity, through the creation of an educated elite in the missionary education system. He argues that, after the Second World War, opportunities emerged for "relatively educated adults to work in rudimentary schooling, missionary evangelism, and as intermediaries for government operations" (Fife 1995a:285). His point is that missionary educators in the mission system were largely responsible for elevating an elite minority into these positions and corresponding inequalities that arose between urban and village men. He argues that the mission-derived educational system has created a four-tiered male hierarchy from the urban elite at the top, to an emerging rural elite, to

skilled workers and finally, at the bottom, the unskilled village man with very little access to the cash economy (Fife 1995a:287).

While the Gogodala experience of an urban setting is restricted to the small town of Balimo, there is an emerging rural elite. While this reflects Fife's hierarchical model, the clan system challenges the viability and authority of this elite. As we have already discussed, the clan-based system determines male hierarchy at the village level. Depending on the order of birth in the family, the clan and family allocates land, sago swamps, names and authority. Within each clan there is a hierarchy of sub-clans, or canoes, and within each sub-clan there is a hierarchy of families. Within the Wagumisi clan, for example, Aegae is the largest and most prominent canoe, or sub-clan. Families within Aegae canoe, however, divide themselves into two separate canoes with distinctive canoe designs, which represent different Wagumisi ancestors through which members trace their lineage. They commonly refer to these canoes as 'big' and 'small' Aegae. Depending on the circumstances, such as land claim cases, certain male members of Aegae's big canoe might challenge the authority of a man to speak on behalf of the clan if he is from the smaller canoe. The point is often made that, no matter how much money a person earns, they can never buy a higher place in the clan hierarchy.

As we have discussed, men in positions of power in Balimo who do not acknowledge those in control of their clan land suffer when they return to the village. A public servant in Balimo recently built a new home with a tin roof in his village, in anticipation of his retirement; one village man commented at the time that unless he started addressing family and clan needs, he would find this house burned down. In another example, when a prominent public servant returned to his village to hold a meeting, he was ridiculed and accused of not delivering development to the village. As a sign of disrespect, men planted several banana trees in front of his newly-built home, an offensive challenge to his masculinity. For many, the fact that the government official didn't notice the trees until after the meeting was itself a sign of his incompetence and selfishness. The act not only referred to his lack of skill at growing his own garden, it commented

on the fact that he 'lives on money' and has no gardens for the future. The trees are also a metaphor of his inability to bring development, or growth, to the village. In addition, it reminded him that he ultimately relied on village support for his long-term well-being. While he currently enjoys a position of power in Balimo, he was reminded that he has limited authority in the village. As well as having limited clan knowledge, the fact that his father was not a first-born son, and does not belong to a prominent sub-clan canoe, means he must show respect to clan men in positions of authority in his village.

Many Balimo workers, such as teachers, public servants, councillors, police and health centre employees, had a family relationship with either the early missionaries or the ECPNG. I often heard the phrase, "their father was a pastor"- a reference to the preferential treatment they received at school and increased job opportunities; the basis of Balimo's urban elite. It was often suggested that, to become a leader, or prominent in this urban community, a person "needed the blood" of these families. Problems arise, however, when this urban hierarchy, based on position and wealth, competes with village clan relations. The opportunities enjoyed by pastor's families has meant that children, who had little authority in their clan or village in the past, are gaining employment and money that does not reflect their social standing. Conflicts have arisen between those in the village and town, based on these competitive hierarchies. One man suggested that, despite access to money, not one of the current workers in Balimo would be identified as a *kanaba*, or leader, in the village sense.

The task for workers, therefore, is to demonstrate that their interests also lie in maintaining and respecting village relationships. One teacher, who was also a school inspector and leading ECPNG official, decided to live in his village and run a small trade store to benefit 'his people'. Although he has access to money, he continues to live a predominantly village lifestyle and walks to Balimo for work each morning. While this approach reinforces his standing in his village, it is not enough to earn him wider respect. He has failed in three attempts to be elected as the Middle-Fly member for parliament. Some resent that he enjoyed special treatment because his father was close to the first missionaries, and others

point out that his position in his family and clan does not make him an authority on clan issues. Many Gogodala acknowledge that the tension and conflict between the urban and the village hinders Gogodala businesses and development programs. Education, therefore, in itself will not bring development for the Gogodala. 'Real' development will only be possible when these different hierarchies merge. The mission, meanwhile, is largely blamed for failing to 'teach the Gogodala properly', the idea being that education skills should lead to a merger between the village and urban rather than benefit only a few.

Fife (1995a:289) makes the point that it was common knowledge that *raskal* (tp) gang leaders committing crimes in West New Britain towns were well-educated men who "felt that the promise of well-paying jobs had not been kept and were determined to take matters into their own hands, rather than retire to what they saw as failure and the lesser life of the rural village". Despite the fact that Balimo, by comparison, is a relatively minor urban centre with few facilities, the above description resonates with the Gogodala experience. Balimo boys resent the lack of work opportunities available after completing their compulsory time at high school. As most leave school at the end of year 8, however, many are forced to return to the village. While they might resent the lack of paid work opportunities, depending on their place in the clan hierarchy, a return to the village is not necessarily a failure, as many are praised for their school achievements and encouraged to participate fully in village, church and clan work and responsibilities. While Balimo boys have the most difficulty subscribing to the village lifestyle, their approach to development is also aimed at a merger between the village and the urban.

As we have seen, the mission-based education system has tended to favour the children of ECPNG pastors and mission workers. Children who do not have financial support and the encouragement of their family to succeed at school, usually return to the village after completing year 8. As a result, resentment, rivalry and tension often emerge. Many families, who do not form part of the Christian elite established by the mission, have taken to investing their limited resources into one chosen child. A mother and father of seven argued that they are

putting all their money into their eldest boy's education because he was deemed the 'smartest', in the hope that he will eventually get a job and be able to support the family. This kind of approach, however practical, often causes concern for the younger members of the family who are destined to work in the village. This also places enormous pressure on the eldest or chosen child to succeed, gain employment, and 'help' his parents and siblings. Many Balimo boys are the third or fourth born child, with little family support in regard to education and few rights in terms of land ownership, names and often have limited access to other forms of clan knowledge such as magic words.

Previously, I outlined the way Crawford was instrumental in what became known as the 'cultural revival' in the early 1970s. Local interest in Crawford's revival project was initially centred on several villages close to Balimo. Villages at a distance from the town, up the Aramia River and near the Fly River, watched and commented on the events from a distance. Men from the villages of Kimama, Saweta, Balimo, and especially Kini, responded to Crawford and embraced and worked on the project. The events surrounding the 'cultural revival' concerned APCM missionaries and many local pastors, who feared a return to ritual practices and associated pagan beliefs. During the revival, Crawford consistently reassured people that they could continue 'traditional' beliefs and practices and remain Christian (Crawford 1981:168). As we have seen, it was in the early 1980s that ECPNG leaders questioned why the mission and the church could not remain committed to the same future, in the same canoe. 'Cultural revival' activities formed part of this discussion concerning local agency, Christianity, the past, and development, and challenged the urban-based Christian elite, reinforcing the efficacy of village men.

Bege Mula from Saweta village emerged as a defining figure in the success of the revival project and, thirty years later, continues to be a highly respected village councillor and leading Christian. In 1972, Crawford was immediately impressed by Bege's skill as a knowledgeable and gifted carver even though he was only in his early twenties. Now in his fifties, he is renowned as one of the Gogodala's finest and most successful carvers. He continues to receive

regular orders from art dealers in Port Moresby. Until the early 1980s, when interest in the Cultural Centre waned after Crawford's departure, the 'revival' came to be known as 'the selling days', due primarily to the large number of carving sold. Men, like Bege Mula, were the main beneficiaries of 'the selling days' as they were able to continue the village way of life, only travelling to Balimo to sell their carvings and participate in cultural events. Men who performed clan dances at Independence Day celebrations and other occasions, were also invited to perform at places such as Port Moresby and Cairns, Australia.

Few men are acknowledged as *kanaba*, or leader. In the tradition of men like Sosola, this title is reserved for special men with extraordinary skills and innate strength. Bege Mula is known as a *kanaba*. In a previous discussion, I discussed the death of Mula, a Saweta man who fathered 22 children and was a successful carver of racing canoes. Bege was Mula's first-born child and, as such, inherited the clan rights of his family. He is also thought to have inherited his father's carving and leadership skills. In keeping with the idea that leaders are tall, powerful and physically gifted men, Bege is one of the biggest and strongest men in the area. In his early fifties, with 6 children and 2 grandchildren, he is also a dedicated family man. Having spent his life in the village, Bege would fall into the 'unskilled village man' category at the bottom of Fife's four-tiered male hierarchy, based on the education system. His clan, family and Christian status, community support and carving skills, however, place him firmly at the top of a rural male hierarchy.

Several of Bege's male contemporaries left village life in the 1970s to pursue employment outside the Gogodala area as teachers, defence and police force personnel, and other public service positions. These men formed part of an emerging urban elite and skilled workers around the country, and especially in Port Moresby, just before PNG Independence in 1975. After years away from the area, many of these men returned with the expressed aim of 'doing something for their people'. After enjoying the town lifestyle and having regular access to money, many found the transition to village life extremely difficult. Back in the village, they were quickly made aware of their lack of knowledge and authority in

clan issues. Several men currently occupying paid positions in Balimo have only recently returned to the area for their final years of work and are in the process of moving back to the village. Being away for so many years, however, means that many have missed the opportunity to learn detailed clan stories and other knowledge from their fathers and grandfathers. Similarly, they lack skills in hunting, gardening, house building and other village-based activities. One man working in Balimo confided that, although he is nearly fifty, he has never had the opportunity to make his own canoe. Despite this, these men hold relatively powerful positions in the community as they have access to finances, projects and other resources that the village people need.

In previous chapters, I outlined the idea that it is primarily through the observable activity of work, *oko*, that a certain kind of 'ideal' bodily appearance is formed and internal strength is displayed. Like the body, the Gogodala also have a concept of an 'ideal' kind of development; this is based on a confluence of Christian precepts, village principles and the benefits of town living. Just as *apela gi*, or bodily growth, is evidence of *kamali* and associated work practices, development is also envisaged in terms of *apela gi*, where growth, in terms of money and infrastructure, is a metaphorical display of the inner strength of the Gogodala people. Rather than see development as an outside authority that negates and replaces local agency, the Gogodala see themselves as being actively engaged in bringing about their own ideal type of development. Based on Christian work-based ideals, it is thought that both individual bodies and the area will enjoy growth and success as a community. When village and urban people call Balimo boys, and other small boys in the village, terms such as *oko bininapa dala*, meaning men that don't work, they are attempting to control and define the local path to development. Balimo boys are interested in attaining a similar kind of development; however, they are not content to simply follow either the village or the urban path. Rather than see themselves as 'no work men', they are actively engaged in a process of empowerment aimed at displaying their own bodily power.

Chapter 7

CONCLUSION

In what I have called 'the malaise of masculinity', recent anthropological studies have shown that, to varying degrees, men in PNG experienced colonialism as part of a process of emasculation that rendered them subordinate to outside institutions and agents, and challenged bodily efficacy and the autonomy of previously held beliefs and practices. While experiences and understandings of colonial contact, pacification, Christian conversion and development vary considerably from place to place, a discourse has emerged that emphasises the dramatic, and often abrupt, ways in which local masculine capacities were challenged during this time. Although in most cases local men actively participated in these changes, and there is evidence of continuities in 'traditional' activities, colonial changes have compromised and diminished, if not replaced, the efficacy of many past male beliefs and practices.

What emerges from recent studies of emasculation in Melanesia, however, are the differing experiences of colonialism. While the Gogodala have had contact with Europeans since 1898, permanent contact with the UFM from 1933, and have a current population upwards of 25000, societies like the Gebusi of Western Province have a population of only 600 and were still using stones axes when first contacted in 1962 (Knauft 2002:12). Clark (1989) suggests that when a permanent patrol post was established among the Wiru in 1961, they were subjected to an intense program of proselytization from a range of missions, groups and sects. And, although the Ilahita had a permanent mission presence from as early as 1952, the decision to abandon the Tambaran cult was driven by local men after the mission had departed. As a response to colonial intrusion, Knauft (2002:238) argues that the Gebusi approach to modern institutions was and is consistent with their historical subjection to more powerful external forces, including the headhunting Bedamini and the colonial administration. Thus, in their

subordination to modern institutions, the Gebusi are 'actively passive' in their attempt to become what Knauft terms 'locally modern'. He provides an example, therefore, of cultural change in which Gebusi have "reframed and hybridised their previous customs in ways that are increasingly neotraditional" as part of a process of social subordination to outside influences (Knauft 2002:248).

By contrast, as I have suggested, the Gogodala experience of colonial institutions and agents meant that local customs and masculine efficacy were not subject to the same coercive and subordinating practices as those experienced by groups like the Wiru and Gebusi. In this thesis, I have explored the complexities of the colonial experience for Gogodala men, primarily through an analysis of contemporary interpretations and constructions of the colonial and pre-colonial past. I have argued that Gogodala men see the colonial period as a mutable process in which they were active agents who rendered colonialism a mutually empowering experience, rather than a one-sided affair. I suggested that colonial agents and institutions engaged the Gogodala way of life in a fashion that resonated with local ideas about social relationships and that this served to reinforce local autonomy and ideas of bodily efficacy. In particular, it was the role played by Sosola during early colonial engagement that contemporary men remember in terms that validate their own power and autonomy. I also demonstrated that the events and circumstances that led to the formation of the UFM, and their subsequent 'muscular Christian' approach to conversion, complimented local notions of masculinity and work. Despite attacking aspects of the Aida male initiation ceremonies, many clan, ancestral and bodily customs, including social and leadership systems, were left intact if not reinforced by the UFM.

In a similar case, Schieffelin suggests that the Bosavi of the Papuan Plateau, although not brought under administrative control until the 1960s, regarded the government as another tribal group. He writes that, "[f]rom the Bosavi perspective, the new order that the colonial administration imposed was not experienced as subjugation so much as a changing of the rules of the political game" (Schieffelin 1995:557). For Schieffelin (1995:578), then, despite change,

the Bosavi have "undergone a single continuous historical experience in which the people have (despite weak internal political integration) retained a degree of independence and social identity". His main point is that "Bosavis have always been participants, not merely passive victims, in these changes" (Schieffelin 1995:579).[1] The Bosavi case, and the experience of the Ilahita, illustrate the way colonial change can be seen as a process of continuity of local autonomy, rather than an exercise in dependency and passivity. It is within a similar context that Gogodala view their colonial period as part of a continuous historical process, in which social transformation is understood as a dynamic extension of the past. Toren's notion of the 'mutability of tradition' resonates for the Gogodala masculine experience as colonial transformation accommodated the continuity of tradition. Indeed, the Gogodala are interpreting and responding to change by revealing the past as a process that emphasises the continuity of a mutable masculine tradition.

In August 2000, I received a letter from Kamo Bagali in which he wrote that the Gogodala cultural committee had decided for the first time in twenty-five years not to hold canoe races during Independence Day celebrations. Instead, in recognition of the special occasion of the Silver Jubilee of independence, they would conduct a special 'canoe show' where "all the canoes will line up together and slowly they will come to the finishing line or canoe place; these canoes will not be judged". Racing canoes, and the clan ideology and practices on which they are based, continue to define Gogodala social life. During a canoe race in 1996, a former APCM missionary at Balimo told me that, even after sixty years in the area, the mission was still trying to 'redeem' racing canoes, to 'free them from sin'. The mission policy has been to show support for canoe races by labelling them 'cultural games'. Despite Gogodala Christian interpretations of the importance of such races, the mission continues to reduce canoe practices to a form of 'play' or recreation. As we have discussed, canoe races are inseparable from discussions of Gogodala masculinity, which is based on observable

[1] See also Schieffelin (1981).

performances of work. This enables men to identify with the ancestors and their clan land, and develop an ideal lean and muscular body. The mission's attempt to categorise races as play, then, fails to acknowledge the extent to which the complexities of the Gogodala clan system, gender relations, and bodily constructions continue to be represented in such activities. For the Gogodala, the continuity of traditional practices is a dynamic and mutable process that incorporates change. From Sosola's decision to invite the colonial administration to the area, and an engagement with the Christian project, to Gogodala missionaries 'doing God's work' in other areas of PNG, people emphasise the continuity of local autonomy in the colonial and postcolonial periods.

The State of Play

As part of my discussion on continuity and mutability, I have demonstrated how Gogodala men approach the game of rugby league, introduced by Australian colonial officers in the late 1960s, as an extension of both canoe races and the masculine work ethic. I also introduced the notion of mimesis as a conceptual strategy for understanding the way in which Gogodala appropriate the power of others through imitation, and thus ensure the continuity of local practices. Rugby league is an illustration of this mimetic practice. In Chapter 3, I argued that rugby league is intertwined with canoe racing, so that rugby players are thought to be metaphorically playing in the team's clan canoe. Rugby league, then, has become part of a dynamic and continuous process of local autonomy, bodily efficacy, and leadership that derives from ancestral times. But this is not confined to the local context: the Gogodala are increasingly imagining and articulating their place in the PNG nation, and further abroad, in terms of sport, specifically through rugby league. According to Young (1997:91), "[n]arratives of nationalism in the Pacific are frequently underwritten by a Salvationist master-narrative deriving from Christianity. To a remarkable degree the modern Pacific nation rides on Christianity's back". But the nation does not only ride on the 'back' of

Christianity; increasingly it has been linked to sport and other activities. Rugby league, then, forms part of Gogodala discourse that locates them within the PNG nation and provides an embodied link between Gogodala and the ancestral past through a special relationship with Australia and Australians.

Papua New Guinea is the only country in the world where rugby league is the national sport, and 1998 marked the 50th anniversary of the official competition in the country. There are now 23 leagues affiliated to the PNG Rugby League in Port Moresby that play the game according to international rules and regulations. The national team, the Kumuls, regularly competes against other countries, and plays a defining role in narratives of nationalism and masculinity. In a speech honouring the Kumuls, made prior to the rugby league World Cup in 2000, then Prime Minister Sir Mekere Morauta made the point that supporting teams like the Kumuls was "an opportunity for PNG to unite as a nation under the banner of sports" (*Post-Courier* October 16, 2000). The popularity of the game was demonstrated most recently during the 2002 national election campaign, when then Prime Minister Morauta enlisted the services of Mal Meninga, one of Australia's greatest former rugby league players, to accompany him on campaign visits to his constituency. On May 11, 2002, an Australian newspaper, *The Canberra Times*, reported that as part of his campaign for a second term, Sir Mekere "has opened a new school every week and visited the numerous small church groups in the constituency. He has also 'imported' a crowd puller, rugby league legend Mal Meniga was at Sir Mekere's side on his school visits".

During the 1999 rugby league grand final day parade at Balimo, a commentator standing on the back of a truck announced to the excited crowd that "we are a global game now", and described the canoe songs sung by the teams as the "war cry of our environmental location of where we are living". The commentator reminded the crowd that they formed part of a worldwide rugby league community. For the Gogodala, playing rugby league unites them with others in the PNG nation in what Benedict Anderson (1991) has referred to as an

'imagined community'.[2] While most Gogodala will never visit Port Moresby or other areas of the country, they are well aware that rugby league is the national sport and played in villages throughout the country. By conforming to a universal set of rules that governs the game, players and spectators alike perceive the game to be 'the same' everywhere.

Although Knauft (2002:211) argues that the Gebusi are attempting to become locally modern through submission to institutions such as schools and church, he acknowledges that sports competitions "are now an important part of male community culture". Knauft (2002:213) notes he was surprised by the significance Gasumi placed on sports and "surprised not just by the level of interest and the calibre of play – which was very good – but by the strong internalisation of rules, organization, spectatorship, and sportsmanship". He was amazed that spectators spent most of the day walking to rugby and soccer matches, waiting for and then watching games, commenting that "[o]ver the hours of watching the games, an almost couch-potato mentality develops among the observers" (Knauft 2002:211). For Knauft, Gebusi participation in sports like rugby league is part of their passive approach to modern institutions, and he interprets the time spent waiting and watching a demonstration of how traditional collective assertive male practices have been replaced by a willing passivity.

I argue that watching and playing rugby league among the Gogodala is not a passive pursuit; rather it engages people with the nation, identifies and reinforces clan relations, and elicits praise for the skill of the participants. During games, masculinity is on display as clan canoe solidarity is asserted, relations with the ancestral past articulated, and internal efficacy and gender revealed. And, although players form part of an international rugby league community, playing the game identifies them particularly with Australian rugby league. As we have seen, in Gogodala ancestral stories, Australia is identified as a special place similar to the Christian heaven, called *yaebi saba*, the place from which the ancestors derived. One man commented that *yaebi saba* is thought to be

[2] For studies concenring nation making in Melanesia see Foster (1991), (1992), (1995); Jacobsen (1995); Kelly (1995); Otto and Thomas (1997); Clark (1997).

accessible by travelling underneath the Sydney Harbour Bridge. We have already discussed the importance placed on the nationality of both the colonial administration and the UFM, and that both approached the Gogodala area from Australia in the south - the same direction as the original ancestors. I argue that by playing rugby league, Gogodala men mimic and attempt to appropriate the power and skill of Australian players and define a close and continuing affiliation with Australia. The use of colours and emblems from Australian clubs also posits a personal relationship. The uniform, colours and tiger emblem of a Sydney-based club, commonly called the Tigers, for example, are used by the Golali Cassowary team from Saweta village, so that this village team is also known as the Saweta Tigers.

The Gogodala are proud of their status as the rugby league centre of Western Province. Periodically, representative matches are arranged between the Gogodala and teams from the North and South-Fly districts. During the 1995 Balimo District Show, representative rugby league games were showcased in addition to 'Traditional Dancing, Traditional Dramas and a Traditional Canoe Race' (see Appendix E). On that occasion, a competition was arranged between the Balimo Eels, the Kiunga Catfish from the North-Fly, and the Daru Barramundi team from the South-Fly. To gain experience and exposure, the best local players are sent to play for a Gogodala team in a minor competition in Port Moresby. The competition between Daru and Gogodala is particularly fierce, and a journalist commented on this after a visit to Balimo in 1998. In a national newspaper article, entitled 'Balimo has ball at its feet, and Daru trails', journalist Barney Orere argued, "[t]he game of rugby league on Daru and neighbouring islands goes under the banner of 'island of origin'. But come to Balimo for a weekend of rugby league and see up to 3000 spectators!" (*Post-Courier* December 21, 1998). In addition to identifying with Australian players, the game also provides an opportunity for Gogodala to promote themselves on a regional and national level.

The special place that Australian rugby league has among the Gogodala is best demonstrated in the support of the State of Origin series played annually

between the states of New South Wales and Queensland in Australia. Queensland is the most preferred team, due primarily to its close proximity to the south coast of PNG and Queensland. PNG interest in the State of Origin is obvious in newspaper reports, particularly one following the first game of 2001. The *Post-Courier*, one of PNG's national newspapers, reported that Goroka residents in the highlands nearly started "an all out riot in town as angry supporters who had congregated at a local club to watch the game found there was no signal". The angry audience threatened to interrupt the town's power supply, and a riot was only averted when the owner of the club provided free beer and staged a dance (*Post-Courier* May 8, 2001).

National political figures, like Jamie Maxtone-Graham, the chairman of the People's Democratic Movement, have raised concerns about PNG fanaticism in relation to the State of Origin games played in Australia. In a letter to a national newspaper, Maxtone-Graham challenged Papua New Guineans to "take a strong stance on PNG nationalism", suggesting that:

> Australian television programs generally pose a very real threat to PNG retaining and developing its own true national identity and pride in our nation and in our people...The mass hysteria created by the State of Origin matches is obviously not in the best interests of PNG...Our people are looking to Australians to find heroes and role models, not our own leaders in sport and the community, because our own television, radio stations, and press glorify the State of Origin games with very little coverage for our local competitions...We have become more and more "Australianised" every month (*Post-Courier* May 9, 2001).

As we have seen, Gogodala people consider themselves to be in an intimate relationship with Australia, based on a common ancestral origin and intimate colonial history. Through rugby league, they maintain an embodied link to Australia. Gogodala players and spectators form part of an imagined rugby league community that, for the Gogodala, will ultimately bring even closer relations with Australia in the future. By acting like their Australian league counterparts, these men at once acknowledge a common ancestral origin, seek to appropriate

Australian and past colonial masculine power, whilst also managing to continue local bodily practices that derive from ancestral times.

Waiting for Jesus

Discussions about the colonial and pre-colonial past focus on the common origin between Gogodala and white people and posit that the original ancestors were inherently Christian, and ancestral narratives and Biblical stories the same. In Chapter 2, I explored the colonial space between colonizers and the colonized through an analysis of the defining role of Sosola during early colonial contact. I want to now return to Sosola, as he continues to epitomise contemporary masculine values and bodily constitution and, in addition to orchestrating contact in 1900, is celebrated for 'opening the door' to the possibility of the reunification of Europeans and Gogodala. One man commented, "Sosola, our Gogodala person, Sosola...he went and he opened the door for the white people to come here...so you have got a white track, still open from the beginning to here Papua New Guinea".[3] This sentiment is conveyed in the following account by one of Sosola's grandsons:

> the white people came and took Sosola away and then the missionaries came and we didn't know how these missionaries knew this place Balimo was here, so people thought that maybe Sosola told them that 'This is my place, Balimo is my place, you go there'. So that is how the white people came around this place and settle here and set up schools, hospitals and how Christianity spread around here, because of this man, Sosola.

Another one of Sosola's grandsons reiterated the above story, suggesting that when the first missionaries came to the area they called out "where is Balimo, where is Balimo?" and "we didn't know why the missionaries came here...we

[3] There are several ethnographic examples emphasising the indigenous metaphor of 'the door' and related local notions of an inside/outside relationship between Melanesian people and white people (see Wood 1995:35; Biersack 1991:276; Linnekin 1991:168; Lattas 1992:45-46, 1993; White 1991:47).

think that maybe because our grandfather, Sosola, went from here and that they came to Balimo because of him". Rather than see themselves as submissive or subordinate in this relationship, then, locals suggest that it was their autonomy and power, embodied in Sosola, which brought about the advent of white people and, with them, aspects of development, like education and money, and Christianity. Gogodala envisage an ideal kind of development, based on a common work ethic that is steeped in Christian ideals and practices. For most, development will only be achieved when Jesus returns and white people are permanently reunited with Gogodala.

The imminent return of Jesus is a constant theme in ECPNG village churches. Waiting for Jesus, however, is not a passive pursuit: rather it requires moral action and Christian fortitude, for Jesus, it is said, will know the worthy by their appearance. For, it is primarily through body morphology that social connectedness and Christian disposition are determined and expressed. It is within this context that pastors also warn that there is 'no short-cut to development'. The following narrative provides an account of Sosola's role in Gogodala expectations for the future (see Appendix E). It begins with Sosola arriving in England after he was kidnapped and taken to Australia in the early 1900s.

> Then Sosola went to England and he got married to a white lady and then Queen Elizabeth was born; the mother gave birth to Queen Elizabeth and they sent word back to Balimo, 'this Sosola's daughter, she is going to be a Queen'. They sent the message to Balimo village, 'here is Sosola's daughter, she's now a Queen; Queen Elizabeth'. They gave that Queen Elizabeth a Gogodala name and then they sent that name to England. Queen Elizabeth is mixed-race now…So Queen Elizabeth got married and then gave a birth to a boy, Prince Charles. So he's the one, he went back to Bible. We are waiting for Jesus, waiting for Jesus and were just praising God and we are waiting for him. So Jesus' name is Prince Charles and his Gogodala name is *Dumaya Gwaligwali*. So he's the one we are waiting for, he might come back to Dogono…So we are waiting for Jesus, we are waiting for the Queen's son, Prince Charles. Because our person, Sosola went from here, in the beginning. So we are waiting for Charles because Jesus, Prince Charles, is coming back.

In this account, the Gogodala are placed at the centre of what they consider to be European power, with Sosola as the King of England and his daughter the current Queen. Jesus represents a return to a common kinship between Europeans and Gogodala, based primarily on Sosola's blood. An old man commented that "when Gwaligwali, Jesus, Prince Charles comes, our skin will not be really white, but a half black and half white, mixed". An ideal future is envisaged, in which white people marry Gogodala "then those kids their hair will really mix and their bodies will mix...half Gogodala and half white".

Recent anti-mission sentiment in the community, however, has highlighted concerns about the path towards development. Development is envisaged as part of a collaborative partnership with expatriate missionaries, a relationship confirmed by the establishment of the local church, the ECPNG (see Dundon 2002b). As we have seen, however, during the separation of mission from church in the 1970s, the mission used the analogy of travelling in separate canoes, side by side. At the time, concerned church leaders confronted the missionaries, asking "[w]hy can't we all be in the one canoe?" The creation of a new church by disgruntled ECPNG members in 2000, called the Congregation of Evangelical Fellowship (CEF), called the mission's role in the community into question. It also represented an attempt to control the future of Gogodala Christianity and the path towards development.

At the beginning of the thesis, I explained that the local term for Christianity, *gi bapimina gi*, or truth, is based on the idea of a moral way of life that is synonymous with articulations about what constitutes Gogodala *ela gi*. The CEF was established with the claim to being the 'true' Gogodala church, utilising Gogodala administrators and pastors and conducting all services in the Gogodala language (see Dundon 2002a). While, the CEF is based on a similar doctrine to the ECPNG it differs in practice. Although still a minority group, CEF followers believe that by practicing *gi bapimina gi*, the truth, based on a more exclusive Gogodala *ela gi*, then development will be assured. They, like many others, are disgruntled and disappointed that the relationship with the mission has not resulted in a more advanced state of development.

The debate about the formation of the CEF as the one true Gogodala church, foregrounds a continuing discussion about the nature and path to development. Envisaged by those Christians in the ECPNG, still by far the majority of Gogodala, as the culmination of the relationship between expatriate mission and indigenous church, this has come under increased debate in the last decade. What constitutes the state of development and how it will be reached, are major concerns in the community and are, to a great extent, based on Gogodala experiences and understandings of their colonial engagement. In this thesis, I have argued that Gogodala experienced change associated with the colonial and post-colonial periods as part of a mutable process of mutual mimesis, appropriation and empowerment. For the Gogodala, colonialism, development, Christianity, and relationships with Europeans, have always been about collaboration and engagement rather than imposition. Contemporary Gogodala interpret European behaviour during the early colonial years as one of the mimicry of local power, particularly through the appropriation of artefacts and bodies, like Sosola. In light of events of first contact in the early 1900s, missionisation in the 1930s, and the cultural revival in the 1970s, Gogodala continue to interpret the pre-colonial past in ways that emphasise the continuity of local institutions and practices.

Appendix A

Sosola Story

Sanada Giliwa, Wagumisi Clan, Kini Village 1995.

Translated by Kamo Bagali, Wagumisi Clan.

Sosola was staying at Balimo. Then white people came here and they found him and this Sosola is a tall fellow and they came and then they measured him and then they wrapped him up and tied up his body. They put him on a plane and they sent him to Australia, to Port Moresby and then to Australia. From Australia they sent him to England. And then while he was staying in England people started looking for him here, asking 'where is Sosola'? Some people knew but they didn't say anything. These white people came, they bribed them with clothes and some other things. They took all of Sosola's family, Lalemana [clan] people at Balimo village. Then Sosola went to England and he got married to white lady and then Queen Elizabeth was born, the mother gave birth to Queen Elizabeth and they sent word back to Balimo, 'this Sosola's daughter, she is going to be a Queen'. They sent the word [message] to Balimo village. 'Here is Sosola's Daughter, she's now a Queen, Queen Elizabeth'. They gave that Queen Elizabeth a Gogodala name and then they sent that name to England. Queen Elizabeth is mixed-race now.

Sosola used to send the letters to his people, this Lelamana [clan] people. He used to write 'I'm okay, I'm staying here, I'm staying very well, doing this kind of work, they gave me work'. And then Sosola's daughter, Queen Elizabeth, got married. They sent the word to Lelamana people, 'Oh you're Sosola's family'. And then 'his daughter Queen Elizabeth is trying to get married. They're going to have a wedding and they sent the

word to Sosola's family at Balimo. So Queen Elizabeth got married and then gave a birth to a boy, Prince Charles. So he's the one, he went back to Bible. We are waiting for Jesus, waiting for Jesus and were just praising God and we are waiting for him. So Jesus' name is Prince Charles and his Gogodala name is *Dumaya, Gwaligwali*. So he's the one we are waiting for, he might come back to Dogono.

So as I told you before all the beginning right came from here, goes back, went back to the beginning and the end part is coming right to the beginning. So we are waiting for Jesus, we are waiting for the Queen's son, Prince Charles. Because our person, Sosola went from here, in the beginning. So we are waiting for Charles because Jesus, Prince Charles, is coming back to see Dogono.

Appendix B

Clan Canoes Story

Mala Sogowa, Wagumisi Clan, Tai Village 1996.

Translated by Sakuliyato, Gasinapa Clan

All these people, their father is Ibali. When this Ibali he had a wife called Gaguli. So their children, first one is Bilidama. Then this Ibali called Bilidama 'come and get me a bucket and come and fill the water for me'. So Bilidama refused. So poor Ibali was sitting there waiting for somebody to come. And then the second born Esanada came. Ibali heard him and said 'Who are you?' And Esanada said 'Father, I'm Esanada'. 'Come, come and get me a water'. He said 'I don't want to get you a water'. So number third born Alamia came and Ibali said 'Come and get me a water'. He refused too. So the number fourth came, Ibali asked 'who are you?', he said 'father I'm Dologo'. He told him to get his water. He refused too. So the number fifth one came and he heard him and ask again, 'who are you?', father I'm Waena'. And then Ibali told him, 'come and get me a water'. He refused. He was sitting there, waiting and then a number six man came out, called Miwasa. And then he asked him to get him water. He refused. And Ibali was waiting for somebody to come, he heard Bani was coming, call out 'come and get me a water'. Bani did the same thing, he refused. So the number eight came, he heard him. Call out 'who are you?' 'Father, I'm Dimagi'. 'Come and get me a water'. And this Dimagi is a big head man, he answered his father and said 'I don't want to get your water, I'm going away'. So he went away. So the number nine came, his name is Kelaki. Ibali heard him and asked 'who are you'. And he said 'I'm

Kelaki'. 'Kelaki come and get me a water'. 'Oh yes father give me your bucket, I'll go down and get your water'.

Then Kelaki got his father Ibali's bucket and went down to get water. While Kelaki was going down to the well place, Bilidama went outside and pick all the flowers, we call those ones *salago* [clan plants], all of them were from the red side. He picked them up and tied it with the rope. Those *salago* were called *aubu* [Wabadala clan], *aubu suliga* [Wabadala clan], *dibisala* [Asipali clan - sasiyapa], *walubi* [Asipali clan-paiyale], *iayebi* [Paiyale], *noka* [sasiyapa], *dedewana* [Gasinapa-Wabadala clan], *isili* [Asipali clan], *busu* [Wabadala clan] and *bakumi* [Asipali clan]. Then he took all this *salago* up to the house, put it near him. And then this Kelaki went down to the well place. Kelaki put the bucket in and cleaned the water [swiped the bucket across the water]. When Kelaki did that, inside the well the canoe came out, with the canoe design *kanaba* on it. And the eyes, Bilidama's eyes, came out [something in the design is called 'Bilidama eyes'] and Kelaki didn't get the water when he saw that. He just ran up to his father Ibali.

Ibali heard him crying and then call out 'what's wrong with you Kelaki?' And Kelaki said 'father I saw something in the well water'. Ibali asked 'What did you see?' 'I saw a canoe design inside the well water and that design opened his eyes to me'. And Ibali said 'come Kelaki' and he gave him that *salago*, to Kelaki. Then Kelaki got that *salago* from father Ibali and he told Kelaki 'go down and put this *salago* on that kanaba design, poke it in'. And this Kelaki took the *salago* down and poke it in the front of the design [like a racing canoe]. He came out and make himself into a canoe. And Ibali told him, 'that's your canoe, *kanaba'*.

So when Kelaki saw this *kanaba* canoe, Kelaki said 'this canoe doesn't fit with me, this canoe I'll give it to Bilidama'. So Kelaki gave that *kanaba* to Bilidama. So the people who are in that *kanaba*, these days, there's a many people...So Ibali gave *alo* to Esanada, Gasinapa clan people...And that same Ibali gave another canoe to Alamia, he gave

madulabali to Alamia...So the same Ibali, father Ibali gave another canoe to Waena, this *Daligi lapila*. So those people are Siboko people but they call themselves Waena people.

So that same Ibali gave another canoe to Miwasa, *sidi gisali*. So those people they call themselves the lightning and thunder people, those Siboko clan people. So that *sidi gisali* is also called *aeimala*. So that Ibali gave Bani two canoes, *ilimi* and *Sasiyapa*, Asipali clan...So that *ilimi*, Bani's canoe but he gave it to Dusila. So that another canoe called *sasiyapa*, that's Bani's other canoe too. And Bani gave it to Waloma. This Ibali gave another canoe called *sameya*. He gave it to Dimagi. So why these Asipali people are having problem with the ground because of this Dimagi had a mistake in the beginning of the world, *yaebi saba* [Wabila]. So all Dimagi's line is doing the same thing, fighting for he ground, sago palms, places and bushes. And that's another Ibali's son called Gibawa gave him *paiyale* canoe. That is the red people [Segela moiety] they are finished already, now it's white people's [Paiya moiety] turn.

So white people's [Paiya] big canoe, the first canoe is called *giliwa*. So all of them they went into this *giliwa* canoe but this *giliwa* canoe got no strength to come all the way to Dogono. When they push it, it went back again [to Wabila]. So they left Giliwa and they went into *suliki* canoe. So that's the only father, Ibali gave canoe to white people and red people. There's no other father for white clan people. White and red got one father, Ibali. So the first canoe Ibali gave it to Dayale, his *aegae* canoe. And then Dayale had a first son called Wimaya, gave this *aegae* to him. And Ibali gave *lawi* to Dayale and Dayale gave it to Igiya. So the people who are in Kotale, Kewa, Balimo and Dogono village, that's who are living in *lawi* canoe.

So that same Ibali gave another canoe called *galaki* to Dayale. And Dayale gave it to Dibaso. So the people who are in that canoe are at Kotale, Kewa, Duwaba, Kimama, Kini, Kubu villages. That same Ibali gave *bainale* to Waliwali so those are the people who are living in Bainale

canoe is Giniya from Tai village. And another canoe Ibali gave it to Waliwali and Waliwali gave it to Kiwa. The canoe's name is *ginadae*. That same Ibali gave *owala* to Bogela and Bogela gave it to Abini. And then Abini gave it to his son Galobe [Awala clan]. *Abini* people are called *abini* Awala.

So same Ibali gave *somono* to Bogela. Bogela gave it to Gwemani. This Gwemani gave that *somono* to his son Iwi. So these people are called Awala. That same Ibali gave *iyobo* to Wibili. Those people are called 'real' Awala. Those Awala people from Balimo is Mase family, very big family. Saweta, Bogela's family , Kimama Delada's family. That same Ibali gave *kiwaki* to Waliwali. So Waliwali gave that *kiwaki* to his son, Naseba. Those people are called *kiwaki* people.

That same Ibali gave *kalobali* to Mawe, Tabama clan people. That same Ibali gave another canoe *esameya* to Gegele. So they are 'real' Tabama, 'Tabama bapi'. So this family, big family, the red and white people got only one father and mother. So their father and mother is Ibali and Gaguli. So this children they didn't came by themselves. When she had a boy, she had a girl at the same time, so they call them twins, boy and girl, brother and sister. They came out at the same time, inside Gaguli's stomach. So this Ibali got married to his real sister Gaguli. Why they did this is they want to make people very big. So two of them did this same thing and pass it to their sons and daughters. So their sons and daughter did the same things. They got married to brother and sister. So in this story, you have to go to this Good News Bible or Old Testament Bible, and see how Adam and Eve came. So we are just like them. That's the end of the story.

Appendix C

Clan Canoe Song

The following is a pre canoe race canoe song for the Wagumisi clan.

wa	Uladu	*wi*	*kwa,*	*wi*	*kwa*	*a*	*kwami*
kwami,							
wa	Samaki	*wi*	*kwa,*	*wi*	*kwa*	*a*	*kwami*
kwami,							
wa	Buna	*wi*	*kwa,*	*wi*	*kwa*	*a*	*kwami*
kwami,							
wa	Ulila	*wi*	*kwa,*	*wi*	*kwa*	*a*	*kwami*
kwami,							
wa	Papula	*wi*	*kwa,*	*wi*	*kwa*	*a*	*kwami*
kwami.							

(Bege Mula, Saweta village 1999)

wa (place), *wi* (water), *kwa* (down), *a* (already), *kwami* (gone)

Uladu, Samaki, Buna, Ulila and Papula are Wagumisi clan places. Uladu for example is the land surrounding the present day Uladu village and Samaki is a prominent point of land near the Aramia River.

Appendix D

Miwasa's Story

1. Sanada Giliwa, Wagumisi Clan, Kini Village 1995.

Miwasa, he came to Dogono. From Dogono he got married to Dalogo [and] their first daughter [was] called Ukila. While Ukila was growing up, around adult age, one day Dalogo went fishing and she put earthworms in [her] *balago* [bark] container and she came back to Dogono, put [it] in the canoe and went to sleep. One night the death adder came and went into container. Next morning she [Dalogo] came down, got the paddle out and she went to check these earthworms and this death adder came out and bit her. And she went back to the house [and] told Miwasa what had happened. Those people at that time had no medicine to cure it. So they took her to the other side, Lawapa Kawula, dug a grave and put her sitting up and put her back against her digging stick, *piliwa batala.* And the *balago* and earthworms they put next to her feet. Then they covered [her].

Then she went to Wabila, her spirit - *limo.* Then it [her spirit] came back and told Miwasa "You have to come back and get me from Wabila - Walawi, I'll be out there, that's where I'm going". So next morning, he got up and packed his things. And he was looking for [the] way to go [by] canoe. But he was not lucky. So [he] went to see his in-law Kiwa and asked him for a canoe and Kiwa gave him a canoe called Ginadae [Lalamana]. He went straight out the mouth of Yau, along the Aramia River, straight to Wabila. Before he went out the mouth of Dibiri [the Aramia], at Pada there was a man just sitting beside the bank [called] Waya. While Miwasa was coming, Waya put his leg across the way [to] stop Miwasa from going across his way. Miwasa said "Hey, what's going

on?" And he got tired and cut his [Waya's] leg and put it in his canoe. Then he went to Aeisegelaebiyawa [a] camping place. At Aeisegelaebiyawa he got this clay and he made two humans, Nali and Sidolo [Siboko clan people] and gave them life. He told these two people, "I did something wrong on the way, coming here so on the way back, you give me a fighting clubs".

Then he went to Ugu, there's a mouth of a creek called Mumu from up there he went up that creek up to Bolame. And he met these kids, they call them placenta, *dinipala* [Umbilical cord which is the where the] spirit from buried placenta go to Bolame. Then they told him to climb the coconut [tree] and get the coconut for them and "Then we will show you the way". So he said "Hey, I'm a big man, why am I getting coconuts for you". But they said they would show him the way. So okay, he climbed up but as he was reaching forward, but coconut tree was getting taller. Every time this Miwasa leaned forward, this coconut tree leaned forward [and] got higher. He came straight up to an old man Dabema [Siboko] up in the sky sitting down in the house making this handband called *mudi*. And this coconut leaves came up underneath the house and poked him in the bottom. And he stood up and said "Hey what's going on?" He looked through the floor and saw Miwasa [who had] another name, Babe. "Hey what's this stupid Babe doing?" He got that needle [for sewing cane and] poked it on the wall and then he got that club, *gabi lapila,* with *gawa tao* on it [the] Pagawa design on it and he started hitting him, Babe. And as Miwasa was going down, this coconut [tree] was going down with him. Then he came back to these children, and small boys were holding coconuts and hiding. Miwasa had blisters on his body where he came down the tree.

He came down and he was looking for these small kids. And these kids were holding this coconut to their chests and singing :

Bau bau Miwasa naewanamo

[Coconut, coconut Miwasa praise me]

And they were coming close to him, and then himself too he was starting to dance, scratching his blisters with the blood. After they had danced, he said "Hey hurry up, which way do I go". So they said "See that way there, that's the, there's a bridge (Sydney Harbour Bridge) - don't go over it, only under it. It's a boundary between dead and live people". As he went underneath that bridge there, the boundary, this Saida was sitting there [and] he wore this old man's skin. He was scratching all his scabies. As he was scratching , Miwasa came through. Miwasa said "Hey who is this old man sitting in the way", and he pushed him. And Saida said "Hey, easy". Miwasa is in the house now, where these men were sitting down. And these men came closer to him and they were looking at his eyes, they were strange. They said "Hey this man is not a spirit, he might be a real fellow". And they were poking him with sharp needles. And he was saying "Hey".

Then Miwasa said "Where is my friend Saida?" And they said "He is outside by the side". And he said "No, that's an old man". While they were talking, Saida sent this *gauba ikaka* [wallaby skin mat] with Kanaba design on it into the house and it landed near Miwasa. "Ah, that's your friend's mat, for you to sit on". Miwasa was scared to sit on it because the eye on the Kanaba *gawa tao* was blinking. They said "You sit down" [but] he was restless [and] he couldn't sit down. He was scared. Miwasa sat on the mat, he couldn't believe he was sitting on something [that] was alive. Saida was coming, he was a giant [and] as he stepped the floors were going down. Before he came, this betelnut [and a] container for lime, they came and stopped there [near Miwasa]. And they [the men] said "Oh your friend has sent you betelnut, you can have it". That thing looked like a snake so he was scared to get it. Then he chewed betelnut. As he was chewing betelnut Saida came. While he was coming he sent this penis, big penis, underneath the floor [and] it came through the wallaby skin and into Miwasa's bottom.

From there, after this penis came, Miwasa jumped up scared. They said "Sit down". He [Saida] told him, "After chewing betelnut, we'll go to the garden and get homemade beer *i sika* [kava]". Both of them went and they were looking for digging sticks to take it out; this *batala* [a digging stick] came by itself [to them]. That *batala* name [is] Wapi and it's eyes were blinking; [the] end part had [a] human face. And Miwasa got scared and Saida [said] "Take that *batala* and dig the *i sika* up". From there, before digging the *i sika,* he was holding that *batala* [and] Saida send [a] pigeon bird and [the] bird came down to Miwasa. Miwasa was hitting the bird and he spoilt the leaves of the *i sika* while he was trying to kill the bird. And that Wapi *batala* got broken. After that they got another piece of *batala* and they dug the *i sika*. And then they came down to the water well to wash them. But the guards of the water well, *wigala* [leeches], one on each side. Saida didn't let him know that there were guards [like the leeches], so [that he would] be careful for that . And then those two leeches [held] holding him on either side [and began] pushing [him] in the water, down and up [and there were] scratches and things on his body.

After that he came up and Saida told him to climb up [a] coconut tree and get the *wakota* [betel nut] seeds just hanging down. And on top of [the] *wakota* seeds there's a security guard snake called Kida [Lalamana]. While he was climbing up, that Kida came down to his nose. When he saw it he got a shock and came right down [to the bottom of the tree] and spoilt all the *wakota* leaves. Then Saida came to him and said "I'm sorry my friend, I forgot to tell you about the guard in the *wakota* tree".

Both of them went back to the house, in the afternoon. Then in the house, [the] two of them they sat down and they cut the *i sika*. Saida told Miwasa "Hey my friend, it's very hot, why don't we go outside, and when we are outside we can see Dalogo with the rest of the women - they went to collect the fish at Salonae and Makapiya". While they were sitting outside, this lady's spirit came first [and] her body was still with the rest of the women. Miwasa saw her coming with plenty of fish tied to her

back. And he stood up and said "Hey Dalogo is coming. I'm happy to see her". And Saida said "No my friend, that is not [the] real Dalogo, it is her spirit". Miwasa told Saida "That's her, she's coming". Two of them were talking and the spirit disappeared. And then shortly [after], the women came and then Miwasa went and grab Dalogo. Saida came and said "My friend came already. You go to the house and cook some food [and] we'll have a small feast". And Dalogo told Miwasa "Oh it's okay - we'll go tomorrow back to Dogono". And Saida told Dalogo "You told him to pick you from here and go back again?" Dalogo answered "It's okay, I'll cook the fish [the] big ones and small ones and take the fish tomorrow".

In the afternoon he went in [to] the house. Miwasa was still there and Saida went to talk to Dalogo. And Dalogo hid the big fish and put the small ones [out] to eat. From there, Saida went in the night and had a sex with her and have a turn. And then he put something on Dalogo and he went and told Miwasa: "Hey my friend, you go have a turn". In language we call it *kabuwa* - so Miwasa couldn't have sex with Dalogo. And Miwasa went to have a chance and didn't do anything. Then he went underneath [the house] and he went and made a big fire and called "*bila, bila*" from corner to corner [of the house], jumping in the night. Miwasa's brothers and sisters felt sorry for Miwasa, they knew what *bila* meant [that he couldn't have sex with his wife]. While he was doing that, his canoe got lost. And while he was looking for the way to come back, [his] Siboko friends, they send the message to him [because] they want[ed] to burn the grass [to] kill wallabies, smoke them and bring back to Dogono. The grassland's name [is] Siyale (Siboko). Some of his friends they greet him "Hey Babe, what time [did] you come?" "Oh I came long time to get Dalogo but she didn't come so I'll get the wallabies, smoke them and bring them".

While he was doing this, his friend Saida split up his canoe, Ginadae, and put it up at the sky, where the sun is coming and the sun is going down [clouds with tints of colour as the sun rises and sets]. After

burning those grassland, they [Miwasa and his friends] killed some of these wallabies, lastly this big wallaby called Kauli (Siboko). This was high in the sky. Then they found Kauli right at the point and they said "Miwasa you stay there, a big wallaby is coming from this point to this point". They tricked him. From there, one of the men missed it and that Kauli was still going to[wards] Miwasa. Miwasa raised his spear and hit it but didn't kill it [just] hit it on the side, on the side but didn't kill it. That wallaby disappeared. And then, after chasing the big wallaby, he [Miwasa] brought some wallabies he had killed, had a bath with some of his friends, smoked the wallabies [and] had a dance. It was the last night for Miwasa so they gave him a *waluwa* [*kundu* (tp) drum] called Kanaba. It's the last night for him up in the sky. And then he was beating the *kundu* (tp) drum.

Then Miwasa came down from the sky and he was looking for a canoe. He brought all the smoked wallabies. Now he's at the canoe place looking for a canoe. And they gave him a canoe. They cut the tree called Olabele, they chop it down, make a canoe and call it Olabele Kanaba (Gasinapa-Wabadala). And they burnt the inside and outside with fire, made the *tao*, Kanaba. They told him "The canoe's ready now". So they got all his belongings and put them in the canoe. Miwasa took Dalogo now, she was in front of the canoe and he was in the back. They said farewell to the men and they took off.

Some metres away, Saida pulled a string attached to Dalogo's umbilical cord. He pulled the string back and Dalogo fell in the water and she came back. Miwasa said "Hey, what's happening?" And he followed her back to the canoe place [and he] put her back in the canoe, did it again. The same thing happened. Second time. Third time and same again - Saida pulled his string. Miwasa came and said "Ah, I've had enough, she no longer belongs to me, she's Saida's wife. Our future generations will come here, so this is the place for them, Wabila". So he stood there and he told Dalogo, "I know there's nothing I can do. You've set the way for everybody. Future generations will come here". And he took off alone.

He came and he met Waya again, the person who he cut his leg off. They fought there. After fighting he got those two clay human beings that he made, called Nali and Sidolo [one boy and one girl]. He put them in a canoe after fighting with Waya and came to Dogono with this skin that Saida gave him. Saida told him to share this skin with everyone at Dogono, everyone would eat this skin and they would be able to eat this skin and change their skins when old, like a snake. When he came back, to see Waya, the two clays turned into human beings, they're waiting for him.

From Pada he came and stopped over at Bela and met some girls. And this Daiyale's daughter, Sawaledae, who were fishing. And he asked them "Who caught the most fish?" And Sawaledae got plenty so he told her to get in the canoe. Sawaledae got on and Miwasa told her "Your father Daiyale will come and get you at Dogono". He put her at the back of the canoe; these people, Nali and Sidolo were at the front. And then he set off. And they came and almost at Ginidaewa [near mouth of Dibili River]. Nali was upset because Miwasa was talking to the girl. So Nali threw the paddle at Ginidaewa and it made a creek at Ginidaewa and then the paddle came back. When Miwasa saw that; he said "Hey, what have I done, I'm just telling her we are going to Dogono".

Then they came to Dogono. And Miwasa got married to Sawaledae and he had two children, Gagole and Gaesubana [two boys: Siboko]. While they were fighting at Pada, Miwasa and Waya, that skin of a human being, that Saida's skin, the wind blew it out of the canoe and it fell into the water. And snakes, birds, grasshoppers, and small water insects, butterflies, everything that changes skin, came and ate that skin. Miwasa told his friends at Dogono "Saida gave a life but it fell out at Pada and we have only one way, we'll follow Dalogo". After arriving, Miwasa told the people what happened: "I went to get Dalogo and life but I came back without [either]. All of us will follow the same way it's only way". So Miwasa broke all those regulations. "There is a shortcut to Yaebi Saba but

we can't get there yet". It's the only way, we've all got to go the other way, Dalogo's way. Die from here and go back from Yaebi Saba (Translated by Kamo S. Bagali, Balimo).

2. *Sebenawa Makupita, Tabama Clan, Kini Village 1999.*

Saida was at *Yaebi saba*, Miwasa was at Dogono and after seeing so many deaths Miwasa got on a canoe and decided to go to *Yaebi saba* to get a new skin, so people can eat the skin and change their skin when they grow old. He got on a canoe, *aeimala*, and set out and then Saida saw him and said "Oh, that is my friend coming". Then Saida asked him "Why did you come?". Miwasa replied "I am coming to get the *ani* skin because many people are dying and leaving us" (*ani* is skin left after snake has changed, he knew that people at *yaebi saba* were changing their skin and living forever, he wanted an old skin). Then they went to the house, they stayed till night came and Saida took him out to see all these dead people. Then they went around and saw so many people from Dogono, they could see them from *yaebi saba*. They were all holding onto kava leaves, branches, kava roots, kava trees. Miwasa saw all these people sleeping holding onto these things and he saw his daughter Ukila, one of those people sleeping.

He went over and saw his daughter sleeping next to another man, a boy and he said "Oh, Ukila is sleeping with another man" and he went and took the necklace off her, necklace called *bitibiti*. As soon as he took it she woke up and told her mother "Oh, agi where is my necklace?", mother replied "I don't know, check those boys". They checked all the boys in the house. Then that morning they went out to find fish at place called lugigiwa. While they were fishing Miwasa looked down from the sky and saw them ans told Saida "Oh, can I jump from here, I can see my daughter fishing at lugigiwa". Saida replied "No, you can't jump from here, you might make another way from here".

After that they went back to the house and Miwasa asked Saida if he could give him an old skin. Saida said "I can give you a skin, do you want an old one?" Miwasa replied "No, I want a new one" (*Pakalanapa-* old, *kanikanapa-* new). Saida gave him a new one, took it down and put it in front of the canoe, Miwasa put the skin in the canoe with the face part looking at him. Then as he was coming this skin started blinking its eyes, Miwasa was a bit scared. Then Miwasa called this wind *siyale* to push his canoe and blew that skin into the water. And these things came and ate it up, snakes, butterflies, all these things which are changing their skins they ate that skin (Gogodalas think snakes live forever so they kill them to stop the eggs).

He came back without the skin to Dogono, and started wanting to marry Dalogo, he was going after her. He couldn't find anyway of his friends with her so he got upset and went and put a snake as a trap in her fish bait container. Early next morning she went out fishing while that fish container was at the back of her canoe. She wanted to put the bait on the hooks, as she opened the *balago* the snake bit her on the hand. Then she paddled home to Dogono and told everyone "Oh dear, I have been bitten by a snake". They dug the ground and put her in the grave. They put her *balago*, bait container, and *batala*, digging stick, in her grave and threw the dirt on her. These things grew up and stand there today. The *babedae* black plam tree and the *piliwa* tree, they are still there today (Translated by Kamo S. Bagali, Balimo).

3. *Saekewa Gouba, Siboko Clan, Kini Village 1999.*

From Dogono, Miwasa went to *yaebi saba* and at the mouth of the Aramia River there is a place called Gaupiyaw and he went into the water. Then he went straight to Saida at *yaebi saba.* When he arrived, Saida welcomed him and said "come and sit here". Then they slept that night. Next

morning the ladies went out to catch fish and then in the afternoon Saida and Miwasa sat on the verandah and watched the ladies coming back with baskets full of fish. Miwasa saw Dalogo coming and he wanted to go and say hello but Saida stopped him and said "you came as a different person, you can't talk to her or touch her. You wait this is not the real Dalogo this is her *dinipala*" Then the real Dalogo came and Miwasa wanted to talk to her but Saida stopped him "you come in a different form you can't talk to her or touch her".

All the ladies went into the house and started cooking all those fish, then Miwasa went slowly to the *komo* and peeped through the opening and saw Dalogo dividing the big fish into one *balago* and the smaller fish into another *balago*, big fish for Saida and small fish for Miwasa. After cooking Dalogo called Miwasa to go and get her food. Miwasa went and got the food and as he got those fish he saw he got the small ones, and he wondered what happened to those big fish. Then after eating, all the people went to sleep and Saida took him around the longhouse and he saw people were sleeping with loose bones, no flesh, males and females, mothers and children, sleeping with just bones, bones were lying around. Then in the morning all these people started looking for their bones, "this is my leg bone, this is my arm bone" the voices were coming out.

Then the ladies went back to catch more fish again. In the afternoon Saida and Miwasa watched the ladies again, the first ones, *dinipala* ladies came and then the real Dalogo came and Miwasa wanted to talk to her but Saida stopped him again. They went straight into the house, they cooked the food and went to sleep and Saida took him to the other side again to see how the people from Dogono were sleeping. And Miwasa saw his daughter Ukila said "hey, it's my daughter sleeping with somebody else, it's a man sleeping next to her". He wanted to hit that man but Saida stopped him "hey, don't do it, if you hit that man you are going to spoil everything". Then he went and got the necklace from her called

bitibiti. Then next day Saida took him to see where Ukila and other women from Dogono were catching fish and he looked down. Miwasa said "oh, that's Ukila, can I go down from here?". Saida stopped him "no, don't do it, don't make another way, when people die they come here, don't make short-cuts".

After that they came back and that night Saida broke Miwasa's canoe and he put it on the sky, that's the clouds early in the morning, pieces of canoe. Then he gave him another canoe, called *ginaedae*. Early in the morning as Miwasa was getting ready to go to Dogono, Saida took off his new skin and gave it to Miwasa to take back to Dogono. "You take this skin and you and all of you at Dogono eat this skin and you will not die, when you grow old you can change your skin". Miwasa took Dalogo down to the canoe, he put the skin in the canoe, he put the skin in the canoe with Dalogo in front. As he set out Saida pulled Dalogo's *dinipala* and Dalogo flew out of the canoe. Miwasa jumped over into the water and he was crying over her and brought her up into the canoe. Second time she did the same thing. Saida pulled her *dinipala* and she went into the water and Miwasa put her back into the canoe. Same thing again, third time and Miwasa said "oh, I think I am wasting my time, she is no longer my wife or human being, she has changed already". Miwasa left her and came back to Gaupiyawa and came out again.

Before, on his way to *yaebi saba* he made two humans out of clay and told them if you want you can change to real human beings and on the way back I will pick you up. So on his way back he picked them up at bush camp called *aei segelaediwa*. They were a lady called Sidolo and a man called Bela and all these children were swimming there. He stop over and took one of these Wagumisi girls name Sawalemato and put her in the canoe. Then they came and he told Nali that Sawalemato would be his wife and then he put her close to him and Miwasa started talking to her. Nali saw this and said "hey, you said she would be my wife". He got upset and threw his paddle and made that creek called *ginidaewa*.

From there they came to Kini where Nali, that's the clay man at Kini. They went to burn the *kunai* grass at *ame kenekene* and after that they came back and while they were coming back heavy rain came and started pouring. As they were paddling back the canoe was full of water and then Nali's leg started changing into clay and he sat in the canoe. By the time they put the canoe at the canoe place his legs had already changed to sand. They ran up and told his wife and she ran down and she cried for him, nobody could do anything for him. Then he disappeared, changed into complete sand. She got the container, drained the water out at the canoe place. That's how that canoe place got this sand, that's Nali's body changing into sand. Nali's people are now living at Kewa village (Translated by Kamo S. Bagali, Balimo).

4. *Busali, Wabadala Clan, Dogono Village 1995.*

Those white clan people got married there [*masanawa*]. That place he's staying [Busali] and his daughters were getting food from there, that's *litamada:wa*[this name place is rude - the first people came and did bad things there - so it's a bad name]. From there, they did the bad things there and this Dogono village went and died. They were staying at *botewa,* they thought that it was Dogono and the first lady who start dying call Dalogo - she came to the place call *yagabo* [place Wagumisi near Dogono]. She put fish trap called *saiya* there. Everyday this Dalogo used to come and get that fish from that fish trap called *saiya* while the people were living at Botewa. That village called Dogono not plenty trees, just a few trees, only kunai grass were growing on that place called Dogono. And this Dalogo she used past that Dogono, go straight to *Yagabo*. From there, next day, she put this *balago*, she put it where this fish trap thing, went home again. Had overnight, next morning went back. That container was there. In the night snake called *sanada:* [death adder] went into the container. Dalogo pulled the fish trap, ahe got plenty of fish and then she got that container.

Snake came into, out from the container, bite her on the hand. She didn't thought that was a snake.

She went home, she was having her breakfast; she feel something, that eyes were going around. And she asked "What am I doing?" And then they asked her "You tell us, what did you do when you go out?" And then she said "I was bitten by the snake". From there she passed away. From there they were crying and calling her name "Dalogo, get up, tell us what have you done?" From there she got up again and told them "I'm going to die- everybody is going to follow me". It was the first lady who opened to die. From there, she said "When I die, go and put me on my mum's hand". And then some people said "Who is her mum?" And some said "Ground is her mum!" So they put her in the ground.

From there, this old people who came with her, they followed what Dalogo have told them. They were staying right away from this, the place that put her, call *bata:*. They were living at Botewa - it's a far away from *bata:*. They took her body to *bata:* - they dug the hole. They didn't put her down, lie her down but they sat her up. That was her clan ground, *bata:* [Lalamana]. They sat her on the ground in the grave and they put a stick at the back of her, lean on the stick. They covered her with the ground.

From there they went home, they buried her and went home and in the night they just said, in the midnight or somewhere around there, the ground was changing. He said [Busali] he dosen't know the day, what the time, the ground was changing. Busali's father just told him that in the night the ground was changing. And then the ground was changing at the same time people got up, they were very scared and they went, coming back to *Ugu, Kebani, Kenewa, Waiya, Saewasi*. Those people went from Botewa. And some people went to the Fly side and they are living there now. When Dalogo died, that night when they buried her, this ground was changing, these people were a bit scared and they break into pieces and some went to Fly side, some went up the river, Aramia River. All these people were living in one place, Dogono so our old people, these real

Dogono old people, some went to the Fly side, some went up the river, down the river. FRom there they thought of the things from Dogono, came back again, came back to Dogono. Now they are living in Dogono, so we are their grandchildren. And this Wawi side [riverside people] went across the *pada*, this Kotale, Kewa, Uladu. Those are the three villages went by *pada* and some us break from Dogono and Adiba. So this Gogodala, the first woman who start to die, Dalogo, she start it (Translated by Sakuliyato Mala, Tai Village).

5. *Sawiyato Kakana, Asipali Clan, Kini Village 1995.*

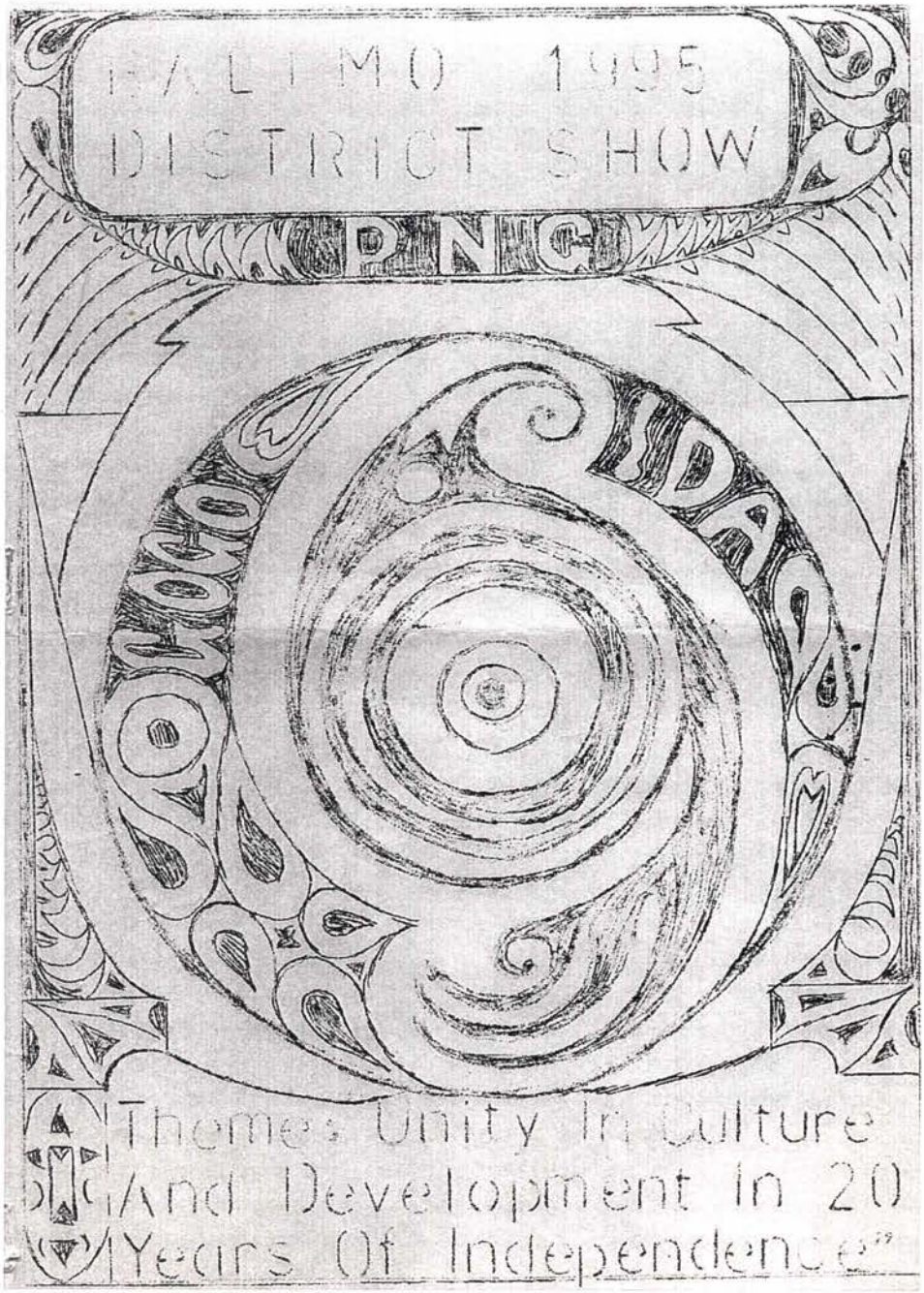
There's another ancestor called Miwasa. This Miwasa clan also belongs to this Siboko clan. And this Kiwa's sister is Dalogo. And then Miwasa's sister is Mewasa's sister name is Bidamato. Mewasa's sister, Mewasa. And then both of them they got married, they exchanged. Kewa got married to Mewasa's sister Bidamato and, then Mewasa, Mewasa got married to Kewa's sister Dalogo. They got married, they exchanged kewa got married to Mewasa's sister. And then Kewa and Mewasa changed their sisters and then they got settled and then Mewasa's wife Kewa's sister, Dalogo, she's the first person started our, she's the first person who died. When our ancestors came there were no sign of death and no nothings. She's the old, she's the first one. First, yeah, first person to die. She was a bitten by a death adder. While she was looking for these hookworms, these round worms, these are bait she was bitten by a death adder. That Miwasa's daughter, Ukela, name Ukela, yeah, that Dalogo gave birth to that daughter Ukela.

In all our ancestors came and nobody died. She's the one bitten by a snake, death adder, then she died. Then when she died, that day, Mewasa went to the place where they were bringing grass, that's the place where the call, they burnt this grass, this kunai grass, they burnt it, they killed some wallabies, that place name is Lubi. That clans name, I mean that

lands name, they burn the grass. Mewasa went up there, his wife died, his wife got bitten by a death added, while she was looking for bait, worms, hookworms, things like that, worms. She was looking for these ones and the death adder , and then she died. That's the , Mewasa went to burn the grass and then, grassland and then his wife died. And then they, people, some people, got a message and they went to and they told Mewasa"your wife has died already bitten by a snake ". While she was coming, he was coming towards Dogono to see his wife, he sang a song while he was crying, he was feeling sorry for her, his wife, and he was singing some sings like this one, while he was crying. That song is related to this people from Siboko clan. They have big canoe, this Amala , yeah when they get a canoe for racing canoe. When they are paddling towards the racing place they are using that song, because that song is related and in the right canoe. This is belongs to Siboko clan. So our Mewasa cried to his wife, feeling for his wife he was crying, thats the crying but its turned to a song. A song they used to sing when they are preparing for a canoe race. That's the one that belongs to this Siboko clan. And they buried her, that Miwasa's wife onto the other side [of] Dogono and this Lapala (Translated by Nakeyo Kakana, Balimo).

Appendix E

Balimo District Show Program 1995



BALIMO DISTRICT SHOW COMMITTEE

BALIMO DISTRICT SHOW PROGRAMME 1995

DATE	TIME	ACTIVITIES
MONDAY 11TH & TUESDAY 12TH SEPTEMBER 1995		Arrival and receiving of participants and guests. Entertainment by selected dancing groups
WEDNESDAY 13TH & THURSDAY 14TH SEPTEMBER 1995		School Activities and Agriculture/DPI Show commences and ends on 19th September
FRIDAY 15TH SEPTEMBER 1995		Youth Sports Activities
SATURDAY 16TH SEPTEMBER 1995	6.am - 8.am	Traditional Gogodala Colourful canoe race
		- Floats show - March Past, Flag Raising - Independence Day Speeches - National Antem by Independence Choir Group - Official Show Opening - Tree planting and Bull Ride - Traditional Dancing
	3.pm - 4.30pm	- Barramundi Vs Suliki - Greasy Pole/Greasy Pig Chase
	6.30pm-10.pm	- String Bands Show - Ordinary Bands
SUNDAY 17TH SEPTEMBER 1995	6.am	- Cross Country
	8.am - 9,am	- Church Service - Independence choir
	10.am - 12.pm	Church choirs
	1.pm - 3.pm	Traditional customs Display Traditional Art/Crafts show - Womens crafts - Mens Crafts - Traditional Drama
	3.pm -4.30pm	- Kiunga Catfish Vs Balimo EELS
	6.30pm-10pm	- String Bands Show - Electric Bands

DATE	TIME	ACTIVITIES
MONDAY 18TH SEPTEMBER 1995	8.am - 2.pm	- Open Day Show for judging of all activitées.
	3.pm - 4.30pm	- Rugby Finals
	6.30pm - 10.pm	- Choir Competition
TUESDAY "FLY RIVER PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT PROCLAMATION DAY"		
19TH SEPTEMBER 1995	6.am - 8.am	- Traditional Gogodala Canoe Race - Selected Dancing Groups to entertain
	9.am - 10am	- Flag Raising and Speeches
	11.am - 3pm	- Prepare for Feast
	3pm - 5pm	- Presentation of prizes and Feasting
	END OF SHOW	

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