AFTER THE DESPOT

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CHANGING PATTERNS OF LEADERSHIP AND SOCIAL CONTROL IN

KILENGE, WEST NEW BRITAIN PROVINCE,

PAPUA NEW GUINEA

By

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation examines the continuing process

of transition, transformation, and adaptation of the people

of Ongaia village to their changing social environment. It

concentrates on a problem which reflects a people's concern

for their future in the year 1977. I focus specifically on

changing patterns of leadership and social control, and

contend that such patterns are not merely due to colonial

and post-colonial impositions of centralized administrations;

changing patterns of leadership and social control are in

large part a product of Ongaian adaptation to and manipulation

of external stimuli. The relatively unusual response of the

Ongaiains is explained in terms of several factors:

1. Traditional indigenous leadership patterns which, unlike

   leadership in most Melanesian societies, were based on

   ascription to a defined and named leadership position or

   office.

2. The fusion of traditional and introduced leadership roles.

3. The activities of one particular leader, the paramount

   luluai appointed in the wake of the Second World War.

4. The alleged use of sorcery as a tool of political

   assassination, and the consequences of people's beliefs

   regarding this.

5. The current explicit and implicit demands on leadership,

which legally require the election of a man to office, and in practice demand that he be a forceful, entrepreneurial sort.

Chapter I outlines the problems examined in the dissertation, describes the setting and conduct of the research, and provides a brief introduction to the Kilenge of West New Britain. In Chapter II, I describe and analyze Kilenge social organization, thus examining the social matrix of leadership and correcting certain errors in the ethnographic record. Traditional leadership and social control are discussed in Chapter III, as are the social consequences of the first introduced leadership roles. The place of sorcery in Kilenge society, and its use as a social control, are delineated in Chapter IV. Chapter V examines the thirty year career of the paramount _luluai_ Aisapo, and also explores the social changes wrought in that period. The consequences of Aisapo's actions for contemporary leadership form the subject of Chapter VI. The final chapter, VII, compares Kilenge reaction and adaptation to the course of events in other societies in Papua New Guinea, and draws conclusions aimed at explaining the current national political dilemma in that country.

For Joan,

and Ed,

and Tiger:

Thanks for believing in me, and for support in that time

when friends were scarce.

And for Jill,

Who was there for this whole thing.

Hail Social Science! You're the new afflatus
To which we moderns have attuned our ears.
We've jettisoned the Muses, for they date us
As unprogressive, barren of ideas.
But now you've given us our proper status
We're upward-mobile, working off arrears
Of ignorance that once enslaved humanity.
You are the dawn, the harbinger, of sanity!

So I write here a scientific tract;
And as a scientist I must dismiss
All observation that's not based on fact.
My modus operandi shall be this:
Each statement shall be faultlessly exact
And lead you through the whole analysis,
With not a detail introduced at random,
To my supreme Quod erat demonstrandum.

And so to facts. I'll take a single case--
An anthropologist--as illustration.
The first few stanzas I shall, therefore, base
On his peculiar brand of education.
And after that I shall proceed to trace
The various ways in which his occupation
Exemplifies the orderly appliance
Of all the rigid laws of Social Science.

From Don Juan in Melanesia, by Peter Lawrence (1967)

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This dissertation is many things to many people. First and foremost, to the people of Ongaia village, it is their "story": an account of their daily life, their ways of life, and their outlook on life. If I have fallen short of presenting a full and true picture, or have ignored some aspects which they deem important, I can only apologize by saying "I'll try harder next time." They took me in as a student, and trained me so that I could become a master of my craft. To them, my friends and informants, I owe everything. Particular thanks must go to Talania Aritio, who was always there to help, to Jerry Navoge, who extended his friendship, and to Suiusiu and Mundua, who assured our general welfare.

I owe a sincere apology to some of the people of the Kilenge villages. The subject of this dissertation, leadership, has led me to evaluate the performance of recent leaders, and this evaluation has been, in large part, unflattering to several individuals. I have tried to hide their identities as best possible. I hope they do not take offence at what I have said. They must realize that the problems they face are more than personal: the Kilenge are confronting problems which are a product of their changing social world, and I have attempted to understand that world.

Map 1

Papua New Guinea

reef

KILENGE

wharf

PORTNE

ONGAIA

vehicle
tracks

gas/kerosene
outlet

coconut

coconut

main road

mission
grounds

SKETCH MAP OF THE VILLAGE AREA
Not to scale.

LEGEND

Residential Area ⌣ Culvert

⊠ Trade Store ⌐ Church

⊡ Hospital ⌐ Stream

⚑ School ⚘ Swamp

Approximate
North

Map 2

The Kilenge Villages

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Problem

    This dissertation examines a specific empirical problem, a problem born of a people's traumatic experience in trying to find a new leader. I examine the historical and social setting of leadership and changing patterns in both the ideology and reality of leadership at the local level.

    I originally went to Ongaia village to study the behaviour and activities of business and political entrepreneurs, to examine their roles as middlemen between the Kilenge and the outside world, and to evaluate their effect on social change in the village. However, it readily became apparent that most of the local businesses had failed or were moribund. The failure of the businesses seemed to be due to a marked lack of leadership in commercial activities, and this specific lack of leadership reflected a more general problem of leadership in the Kilenge area. The people of Ongaia perceived themselves plagued by problems of local leadership. I decided to focus my attention on the leadership problems

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of Kilenge in general, and Ongaia in particular.
Simultaneously, my wife and I conducted general ethno-
graphic research to provide a base for the specialized
study of leadership and to clear up some of the confusion
regarding Kilenge ethnography.

Thus, my interest in Kilenge leadership arose
from the concern of the Kilenge villagers about the
quality of their leaders and the direction they provided.
Rarely a day passed without someone spontaneously offering
criticism of the current leadership, comparing it unfavour-
ably with that of the past. The criticism was more than
just an excuse for conversation, as is the weather in
North America: people had a deep and abiding concern
about how their lives and futures were being led and
determined by their leaders. They complained that the
village was run down: many houses were in various states
of disrepair and no leader forced people to fix them.
They complained of the lack of economic development in
the village: things were much as they were fifteen years
ago. They complained about declining moral standards,
and a lack of effective leadership to guide them out of
this dilemma, to "lay down the law", as it were. They
complained about pigs defecating in the middle of the
village, and the lack of a strong leader to require people
to fence their pigs. They complained that their leaders
were not able to control them, and visa versa. They

wanted a return to the strong leadership of the past,
when they were coerced into doing things "properly".
And yet (and here was the dilemma which I had to resolve)
they refused to return to this idealized strong leadership.
When given the chance to elect local leaders, they pre-
ferred to put into office persons who were ineffective,
who could not order them about, who could not accomplish
those things that villagers said they wanted done. When
they did elect an individual who met their leadership
standards, they proved to be an uncooperative constituency,
and at the first opportunity, voted the man out of office.

Here, then, was a real problem: why such a strongly
developed and deeply ingrained ideology so obviously
ignored in practice? In order to begin to understand
this apparent contradiction, it was clear that the pro-
blem would have to be approached as an issue set in some
depth of time: leadership, or expectations of leadership,
had been undergoing gradual change over the years. Was
it just the _form_ of leadership that had changed, or was
there also a transformation in the _content_ of leadership,
what leaders were expected to do? Had the activities of
the leaders changed: were they doing the same things
their predecessors had done, but in different ways, or
were they doing new things, engaging in activities for
which there were no precedents? Had the relationship of

leader to people, and that of people to leader, altered? What could be isolated as the causes, or contributing factors, of the changes in leadership? And how, if at all, do the changes in leadership relate to changes in Kilenge society in general? These are the major questions addressed in this dissertation. They imply other issues closely bound to leadership which will also be examined, primary among them being questions of legitimacy, social control, and the basis of power.

Legitimacy is critical because the Kilenge have particular notions regarding the manner in which a leader should come to power so that his accession may be seen as socially legitimate, and how a leader should behave in office so that his actions have the stamp of legitimacy. From the complaints of the people, it was clear that their ideas of legitimacy had undergone change hand-in-hand with ideas of leadership. Closely associated with this shift is a transformation of the ways in which a leader in office implements his decisions, and how his followers exert their control over him. Old means of social control have been abandoned or outmoded, and new, effective means have not been developed to keep pace with changes in other aspects of leadership. There have been fluctuations in the basis of power, that which a leader relies on to effect his decisions and assert his authority. The basis of power had shifted from below (local) to above

(colonial administration) with the introduction of certain imposed leadership roles, and has recently returned to validation from below with the introduction of local elections and the death of an autocratic ruler. The 'rules of the game', how a leader becomes a leader and what he does, have been in constant change since German colonial times.

Of course, the ultimate problem to be examined is change. Change seems to be the one unchanging reality in human existence, and frequently manifests itself in the ways in which men seek domination over others. Human societies are not homeostatic systems: they have and utilize the potential to change to meet new internal and external conditions. In the not-so-distant past, however, homeostasis had often been assumed by the anthropological fieldworker, because

> Seeing his society only in a cross section of time, the fieldworker is led to emphasize the coherence, pattern and regularity in his data. Internal contradictions which might in the long run lead to change, simply interfere with the orderly picture that he hopes to construct....We need to watch a society through decades and centuries. As soon as one takes the long view, it becomes obvious that social systems never remain stable. In particular, techniques by which leaders reach the top always seem to change, and these changes can by no means always be explained by the influence of other societies (Burling 1974:5).

Burling is describing situations where there is

little or no discernible influence for change coming from external factors. In this way, he can isolate the "internal dynamism" inherent in leadership and succession which leads to changes in society in general. But we need not assume that this force operates only where the impetus for change is internal to the society. External forces can also be responsible for change. Native societies are invariably faced with change when they are encapsulated by colonial regimes (Bailey 1969). The demands of the dominant, encapsulating society form new factors in the social environment of the encapsulated people, who must somehow adjust to the impositions of the outside world. Even under these circumstances, Burling's comments can provide some clues to the nature of changes in Kilenge leadership.

Perhaps one of the most dynamic aspects of leadership is the obvious problem of succession: no leader, no matter how wise, stupid, just or cruel, can live forever, and when he dies someone must succeed to his position. "The need to transfer power has been an important force in fostering the rise of new political patterns" (Burling 1974:2). Succession, then, can induce change. Such change is not restricted to politics, for political action does not occur in a vacuum. Men operate in a world where social, economic and moral factors impinge on and influence, and in turn are influenced

by, political action.

> Men in power have an imperative need to
> clothe their actions with legitimacy.
> However irregular a man's rise may be, he
> must construct some justification for his
> position once it is won. I am often
> tempted to see the ideological principles
> a man then proclaims as more or less
> deliberately constructed doctrines designed
> to rationalize the existing state of affairs.
> Ideological principles then begin to look
> more like the result of social relationships
> than their causes. Nevertheless, people may
> come to take this ideology seriously, and
> when they do, it can set conditions that
> become binding on those who follow....Men
> can, in a sense, become trapped by their own
> ideology and if they are not trapped them-
> selves, their children often are (Burling
> 1974:7-8).

Thus, there is a dynamic feature inherent in
leadership succession and politics. The new forms may
come to be accepted as "the way things are done." The
new man, coming to power, must "build his position upon
the pre-existing social forms--upon the expectations of
the men over whom he would rule" (ibid.:4). And yet,
once in power, he may change the nature of expectations
regarding leadership so radically that his successor
comes to power in a new way, occupying a new position.
"Problems internal to the society itself encourage men to
innovate and their innovations result in new problems
and then still more changes" (Burling 1974:5). However,
these 'innovations' need not be true innovations, but a
harking back to some older, disused ideology or an appeal

to other equally valid and accepted cultural values.
What Burling fails to take into consideration is that
value systems are not necessarily homogeneous. Contra-
dictory values may exist within an ideological system,
with the emphasis of one value or the other dependent
on the current circumstances of the members of the society
(Van Velsen 1967). One leader may choose to emphasize one
value, while his successor may find it expedient to
utilize another. It can even be that the contradictory
values can be in use at the same time (see Salisbury
1964). Be this as it may, leaders have a choice in the
values which they use to legitimze their positions, and
this process of choice can be initiated or stimulated by
changes external to the society. I contend that this is
what has happened in Kilenge.

It is impossible to reconstruct accurately Kilenge
leadership for "centuries". There is no known documenta-
tion before the start of the 20th century, and no compre-
hensive description that predates the Second World War.
The best that can be offered is an examination of the
changing nature of leadership from the time of early
contact with the German colonial administration. European
contact, and the subsequent appointment and election of
village officials and leaders imposed by various super-
local administrations, has presented the Kilenge and their
leaders with a certain amount of change that they have had

no choice but to accept. At the same time though, the Kilenge response to imposed changes has been neither static nor predictable; they have developed value systems and ideals which strive to incorporate, and yet control, these external changes. Faced with a situation of change beyond their control, they have tried to adapt their outlook on leaders and leadership to adjust to these facts, incorporate them, and in turn reassert their control. It is this process of adjustment, and the problems arising from the interim solutions[1] evident in 1977-78, which are dealt with in this dissertation.

Many of the key terms employed herein will be operationally or contextually defined to suit the needs of this dissertation. The term 'leadership' is used, in its broadest context, to indicate the ability to guide human affairs. Specific forms and contexts of leadership, e.g., political leadership, economic leadership, are discussed in the text, and defined in terms of the types of actions involved in those forms of leadership. Closely related to leadership is the notion of legitimacy. I see 'legitimacy' as the socially accepted principles that define the rule of a particular leader as being valid in the eyes of the ruled. In this way, what is considered legitimate from above, from a colonial regime imposing its own form of leadership and rulership on a population, may not be considered legitimate by those so ruled.

'Social control' is used in two related contexts: (1) a process by which a leader exerts influence over his followers, followers exert influence over their leader, and followers exert influence amongst themselves; (2) a mechanism by which such influence is exerted, i.e., a specific control (e.g., sorcery). Social control in the first sense is a reciprocal process engaged in by individuals or groups of individuals. The mechanism itself may be obvious, like coercion or the threat of coercion, or it may be subtle, as is persuasion. The form of control has to do with the nature of the power at the disposal of the individuals involved. 'Power' is defined as "the ability to exercise authority and control over the actions of others" (Levy 1952:333). Power may range from religious authority to economic sanctions--the bases of power must be revealed for each individual case. Leadership, if we accept it to be the ability to guide human affairs, thus becomes one of the manifestations of power.

In the remainder of this chapter I briefly discuss the research, the conditions under which it took place, and then give a short ethnographic introduction to the Kilenge area and people. In Chapter II, I present an extended analysis and description of Kilenge social organization. I do this for two reasons. Firstly, the extant descriptions of Kilenge social organization are inaccurate and misleading, and I want to correct the

ethnographic record. Secondly, leadership must be put in its proper social context in order to be understood. "Power is embedded in social organization and it cannot be understood apart from the matrix within which it is set" (Burling 1974:14). The chapter describes contemporary Kilenge social organization, with emphasis on the flexibility and choice of affiliations available to members of the society. I also examine contemporary perspectives of traditional leadership as set within the context of social organization. Chapter III deals with traditional leadership and social control in the period c. 1890 to 1942. I describe the historical base point from which this study proceeds, and the difficulties encountered in reconstructing that base point. In the description of traditional leadership and social control I stress the importance of the ascriptive nature of Kilenge leadership. Ascription to, and inheritance of, an office of leadership is a feature rarely encountered in Melanesia. Following this exposition, I discuss the ramifications of the first stages of encapsulation: the introduction of the offices of luluai and tultul, and Kilenge adjustment to these offices. The imposition of leadership offices by the colonial administration induced the first perceptible change in Kilenge ideas of leadership. In Chapter IV I examine Kilenge beliefs about sorcery, and the effects of sorcery on the problems of leadership and social control.

The introduction of sorcery as a powerful sanction of the
leader necessitates this divergence from the mainstream
of the argument, and sets the stage for the discussion of
the radical changes in Kilenge leadership following the
Second World War. Chapter V details the career of an
extraordinary Kilenge leader, one who came to power
during World War II. The actions and activities of this
man represent and reflect change in several ways: further
changes in what people thought about leadership and the
role of the leader in society; changes in the economic
posture of the Kilenge vis-a-vis the outside world;
changing ideas about how a ruler should enforce his rule,
and the resources available to those so ruled, i.e.,
social control; and changes in the basis of power. The
impact of these changes is the subject of Chapter VI,
where I examine contemporary leadership and social control.
Sorcery, and the legacy of the extraordinary ruler, are
seen as the parameters within which today's leaders operate.
I discuss the place of those leaders within Kilenge society:
what they do and how they do it. Previous notions of
leadership are seen as both the goals of the effective
leader, and the constraints under which he must operate.
Old ideas of what a leader should do, and how he should go
about doing it, are still espoused and held up to leaders
as an example, but people do not allow the attainment of
those goals: with the new tool of election, they vote

'effective' leaders out of office. The structural frag-
mentation of leadership, and the change from leadership
as a functionally diffuse to a functionally specific
activity, are new conditions effecting the selection and
behaviour of leaders. Villagers are in the process of
discovery: what <u>will</u> work in today's situation? In the
final chapter of this work, I will explore the underlying
theme of the dissertation: adaptation to a changing
social environment. The process of encapsulation has
resulted in the imposition of two particular conditions
on leadership in native societies in Papua New Guinea:
the need for a strong, entrepreneurial type of leader,
and the necessity of democratic elections. Kilenge
adaptation and adjustment to these imposed conditions
will be compared with the adjustments made by other
societies which have faced similar, if not identical,
impositions. The comparison will contribute to an under-
standing of the factors involved in the relative uniqueness
of the Kilenge response to outside forces.

<u>The Research</u>

Fieldwork was conducted in Ongaia village from
late March 1977 to early January 1978. I was accompanied
and assisted by my wife, Ms. Jill L. Grant, currently of
the Nova Scotia College of Art and Design. Only with her

aid and moral support was I able to carry out my work, and make it the fruitful and profitable experience that it was. We acted as a team for the most part, and only briefly pursued separate research interests. We jointly conducted most formal interviews, tape translations and census surveys. Team interviewing allowed us greater depth of perspective, more intense questioning, and longer interviews. Indeed, if there had been three of us, our informants would have enjoyed it more: most times, we had to cut off interviews because of ethnographic overload and fatigue. I have the feeling that the Ongaians wouldn't have minded another half hour of discussion in most cases.

We were treated as married adults, and to some extent this determined the nature of our interaction with people. Because of the way we were classified, and our team approach, young single men were uncomfortable working with us: for the most part, they do not regularly interact with married couples aside from their parents and elder siblings. Even working alone, I found that the young unmarried men were diffident in my presence. I ascribe this to my close association with the married "mature" men and the young men's inexperience with whites. Roughly speaking, the quality and quantity of interaction with married men, of whatever age, was far superior to that of the interaction with the single men, barring one

or two exceptions. Ms. Grant found it easier to relate to young, unmarried women, particularly in informal contexts.

On the whole, Ongaian men were easier to work with than women, at least in a formal or semi-formal setting. Most Ongaia males over the age of twenty have spent at least two or three years working away from the village in the proximity of Europeans in Rabaul, Vunapope, Lae or Port Moresby (see Grant and Zelenietz--in press). Sitting and talking with me, whether it was on the beach, under houses, in the men's house, or in our home,[2] did not seem to be a disconcerting experience for the vast majority of men. Indeed, if I wandered around the village without my pen and notebook readily apparent, the men would inevitably ask me where my appendages were, and frequently sent me back to the house to get them. I appreciated the rare individual who asked me to stop working, told me to slow down and just sit and chat.

Working with women presented a different set of problems. Most women had not lived outside of the village, even for a short period of time, and were obviously ill at ease with whites. A few of the younger women could accommodate themselves to open-ended inter-views where notebooks were readily apparent, but most of the older women shut up like clams at the flash of pen

and paper. Ms. Grant, therefore, found it beneficial to wander around the village and sit and gossip with the older women, having left notebook and pen at home. Two or three times during the course of an exceptionally good afternoon or evening she would run back to our house and furiously scribble the details of the conversation, while recounting the highlights to me. The one situation (outside of public meetings) in which notebooks, pens and writing did not seem to bother the women was during the two census-takings that we conducted in the village, one in April and the other in December. A crowd of neighbours frequently gathered at these censuses, and they readily supplied information about the household in question that members of the household could not provide.

Our daily routine was as follows. Early mornings were spent typing up notes from the previous day, a working rule we violated only when something exceptional or unique was occurring. During the days, we attended village meetings, participated to a limited extent in subsistence activities, and interviewed senior citizens and mothers who did not go to the gardens; interviews were conducted either at our house, or under informants' dwellings. Afternoons offered time to take care of correspondence, read, do the occasional bit of research, swim, and generally try not to let the heat affect our sanity. Evenings were usually spent interviewing, most

often at our house where we could provide informants with
coffee or tea. One or two evenings a week, or more if the
research was temporarily bogged down, we would sit with
our neighbours underneath their houses, sometimes playing
anthropologist and sometimes playing informant by talking
about life in the U.S. and Canada.[3]

One thing above all that we respected was the
confidentiality of the information provided by individual
informants.[4] In order to get the type of material that I
was after, this was absolutely necessary. I explained on
several occasions to the villagers as a whole, and to
individuals as they asked for clarification, what my
research was about, and what I thought the end product
would be. Furthermore, I explained that when the final
results were written up, everyone's name would be changed
so that outsiders wouldn't know to whom I was referring.
People appreciated the confidentiality bestowed on their
information. But the policy of confidentiality raised
minor problems for cross-checking information of a delicate
nature--frequently, I would have to wait several days, and
then ask someone "I've heard such-and-such--is it so?"
Invariably, I'd be asked where I heard such outlandish
nonsense, and invariably I'd answer "Oh, I forgot who said
it." Thus people were reassured that information they
considered confidential would remain confidential. At
the same time, people knew that I had to cross-check

information, to get the whole "story". It is a fact of
life in Kilenge that people slant stories of events of
yesterday or ten years ago to portray themselves in the
best light, and that they assume that others will do the
same. They accepted the fact that for my research to be
a success I had to hear as many versions of a given event
as possible, in order to arrive at what 'really' happened.

Doing the interviews in our house provided us
with a means to maintain confidentiality. Evening inter-
views were usually scheduled for just one informant.
Since we maintained an open-door policy, it was not
unusual for one or more people to wander in for a cup of
coffee, a bit of tobacco, and to listen to what someone
else had to say, adding their own opinion in the process.
Our original informants had the option of continuing, if
they were not adverse to other people hearing what they
had to say, or changing the topic to something less
delicate. In instances of the former, we were able to
get some idea of group opinion on a topic.

As I've implied above, evening interviews gave us
the opportunity to reciprocate to a small degree the
hospitality which we received in Ongaia. Coffee, tea,
snacks and cigarettes were available to all who dropped
in. To compensate people for the time they spent with
us, we carried a stock of tobacco, newspaper, rice,
kerosene, and odds and ends that people found useful.

Anyone who came to the house in an evening, whether he participated or just sat and listened, walked away with tobacco and newspaper. The 56 lb. bundle of newsprint that we brought with us disappeared at an incredible rate, and when we left Ongaia perhaps a pound or two remained. During the census, we gave each householder a stick or two of tobacco. On two occasions, once when returning from a break to Lae and once a few days before we departed in January, we gave gifts, albeit small, to everyone in the village: razor blades, lighter flints and tobacco to men; grass skirt dyes, sewing needles, matches and tobacco to women; a laplap to each household; beads to young single girls and young marrieds; fish hooks to adolescent boys; and balloons, marbles and chewing gum to younger children. It was our small way of thanking people for the help that they'd given us. They realized that we were students in training, not 'big men' in our field, and hence that we had limited resources. To those informants with whom we worked closely, we gave larger and more valuable items--cooking utensils, tools, clothing and the like. I only wish that we had had the wherewithal to have distributed more, because we lived in a village full of excellent informants who made our work not only tolerable, but enjoyable. We gave rice, tobacco, and kerosene in exchange for local produce which ranged from cherry tomatoes and green onions to taro and kaukau.

And we gave away a lot for free--although our neighbours disagreed with this policy, they themselves were frequent beneficiaries. The open-handedness seemed to help our work considerably. We also ran a small dispensary to patch up cut and scraped children, and to give aspirin and other patent medicines to adults, but we directed the more serious problems to the mission hospital, where they rightly belonged.

When we arrived in Ongaia, people thought they knew what we were there to do. They have had frequent contact with anthropologists for the last fifteen years or so, and they knew that we must be there to buy carvings and collect myths and legends. Initially, they would not listen to my protestations that we were there to do something different. It says much for their sophistication as informants that they would not recount myths unless we taped them, and much to our good fortune the batteries for our tape recorders did not arrive until two weeks after we did. In those two weeks we were able to convince people that we wanted to study their way of life as it was then, in 1977. They eventually warmed up to the idea. Going into an area where research has been done before is, in a way, a good idea, because 'trained' informants are ready and waiting for you. On the other hand, one wants to develop one's own relationship with the people in a village, to find those who will be best for the work.

While we did develop close relationships with two 'ace' informants, they never became "key" informants: Kilenge perception of much of the work-a-day world is so idio-syncratic that to rely on the views of one or two people is dangerous. A coherent picture of Kilenge culture and society will result from such reliance, but its generality will be minimal. Hence, the need for us to cultivate as many informants as possible, and to constantly cross-check information. However, we did rely on two or three people to give us information that initiated many aspects of the research. One in particular acted as our 'komiti', helping us in interviews when our informants did not understand what we were trying to get at. Talania under-stood, and we owe him more than can be imagined.

We interviewed every adult male in the village at least twice, and most more often than that. In the process of collecting employment histories and garden histories, we came to realize who could help us the most, and who the least. We tried everyone, and all of their information has proved useful or beneficial in some way. Research was conducted in Tokpisin (Melanesian Pidgin). All adult males, and most adult females, were fluent in this lingua franca. Ms. Grant learned a fair bit of Male'u, the Kilenge language, which served as a useful check on how people were translating for us. For most interviews, we took notes by hand, restricting the use of

tape recorders to public meetings, particularly disputes. Tapes would be translated a day or two after the event, usually with four or five men helping with the translation and providing background information.

The Kilenge

The Kilenge live on the northwest tip of the island of New Britain, at 5°29'45" south latitude, 148° 22' east longitude (see Map 1). In the recent past they lived along a strip of coastline about 16 km. in length. Natural disasters such as the eruption of Ritter Island and the subsequent tsunami of 1888, local warfare, disease and World War II, all served to reduce the number of settlements, so that since 1943 the surviving villages (collectively called Kilenge) have been clustered in an area about 4 km. long. (Map 2). Before the Pax Germanica the Kilenge lived in semi-autonomous hamlets, each formed around its naulum, or men's house. Hamlet clusters were named; the names have continued as village names, resulting in confusion regarding the precise number of villages present in Kilenge. The government administers the area in terms of four villages (from southwest to northeast): Potne, Ongaia, Ulumaienge, and Saumoi-Waremo. Dark (1973; 1977) notes five villages: Portne, Kurvok, Ongaia, Ulumaiinge, and Waremo. For distributions of pigs and

ceremonial foods, the Kilenge count either five or six

villages/village sections: Portne, Kurvok,[5] Ongaia,

Ulumaienge, Varemo and Saumoi. In daily conversation and

action people refer to and act in terms of three villages:

Portne, Ongaia and Kilenge proper. Communal work for the

government or mission is divided on the basis of these

three villages, and each village acts as an independent

unit with independent responsibilities in this work.

When one village is the site and sponsor of a performance

of a ceremonial cycle (narogo), the hosts speak of

inviting people from the other two villages. Traditional

activities requiring pan-village cooperation, such as

major pig hunts or fishing expeditions, pulling new

canoe hulls from the bush to the ocean, or major ceremonial

events, also occur in terms of three villages. I have

adopted this frame of reference.

There are between 900 and 1,000 people resident

in the three Kilenge villages, with perhaps another 400

to 600 Kilenge living in other parts of Papua New Guinea.

Both Portne and Ongaia have populations slightly larger

than 250 each, and Kilenge proper has approximately 450

residents. Together, Portne and Ongaia form a ward in

the Gloucester Local Government Council, with one

councillor to represent them, and Kilenge proper forms

another ward. Administratively, the Kilenge area is part

of the Kilenge-Lollo Census Division, with administrative

control located at the Cape Gloucester Sub-District Station,
30 km. to the east of the Kilenge villages. The region is
part of both the Kandrian-Gloucester Open Electorate and
the West New Britain Provincial Electorate for returning
members to the national parliament. Representative pro-
vincial government is currently being established in
West New Britain.

The Kilenge share certain common cultural elements
with the other populations of the northwest coast of New
Britain and the Siassi Islands (Chowning 1972; Dark 1970:
787; 1973:51; Freedman 1967; Haddon 1937:152ff.; Harding
1967). Chowning underscores the danger of placing too
great an emphasis on such cultural similarities since the
spread of many elements has occurred relatively recently.[6]
While their forms have remained the same, they have been
infused with new meanings and functions in different
locations (Chowning 1972:7-8).

The closest Kilenge affinities are with their bush-
dwelling neighbours, the Lolo. They speak mutually intel-
ligible dialects of a common language, known as Male'u,
and recognize a common cultural heritage. The Kilenge
formerly served as middlemen in trade between the Lolo
and the Siassi, but the Kilenge-Lolo relationship was
never extremely cordial. There was and is virtually no
intermarriage between the Kilenge and the Lolo; currently

the Kilenge are suspicious of the Lolo, who have the reputation of being effective and merciless sorcerers (see Zelenietz 1979b). Kilenge travelling in Lolo territory are careful not to leave bits of food, betel nut skins, or cigarette butts laying around, in fear that a sorcerer might find them and work a spell. When Lolo come to visit in Kilenge villages, the Kilenge become tense and act in a restrained manner so as not to insult their guests and incur the ire of a possible sorcerer.

The Natural Environment

The Kilenge live on the beach and make their gardens on the lower slopes of Mt. Talave. The area is well drained by major and minor streams coming off the mountain, and only isolated patches of swamp are found along the coast. Talave is the most prominent natural feature in the area, rising behind the village to a height of approximately 1,900 metres. Its slopes are covered with rain forest, containing stands of Klinkii pine which show some potential for commercial exploitation. The forest cover is broken in the area around the Cape Gloucester airstrip, where there are extensive tracts of kunai grass. Although Mt. Talave itself is an extinct volcano, there is an active "cluster of four coalesced cones, each with summit craters, on the eastern flank of

Talawe" (Johnson, Davies and Palfreyman 1971:7). The
cluster known as Langila Craters, has a history of recent
eruptions. Known activity has occurred in 1878, 1954,
1960, 1966, and continuously from 1970 to the present
(Cooke, McKee, Dent and Wallace 1976:151). "In fact
some activity...has taken place in almost every year
since 1954" (Ibid.:158). Although Kilenge is protected
from Langila itself by the northwest slope of Talave, the
volcano's grumbles are heard, tremors are felt, and rising
clouds of smoke and ash attest to the vulcanological
activity. When Langila is particularly noisy, villagers
will exclaim, but rarely do they manifest fear. Their
major concern is over the harmful effects of occasional
heavy ash falls on their gardens.

The volcanic soil is very fertile, and receives
an average of 380 cm. of rainfall annually (Brookfield
1966:54, map 4). There are two marked seasons: the
Northwest Monsoons, which begin in November-December and
extend to March-April; and the Southeast Trades, from
May to October. Rainfall is heaviest during the Northwest
season, with a mean February rainfall of 32 cm., and
lightest during the Southeast season with a mean July
rainfall of 12 cm. (Ibid.:56, map 5). Personnel at the
Kilenge mission could remember several years in which
there was no rainfall in the months of July or August.
They commented, as did the Kilenge themselves, on the

exceptionally heavy rainfall during that period in 1977.

The Kilenge distinguish between the Northwest and Southeast seasons, the former being called naiwala and the latter nalai. In addition to the two major seasons, which take their names from the prevailing winds, there are shorter periods such as nataivut, the time of high tides in October-November. Seasonal changes are heralded by the position of the setting sun, the flowering of certain plants, the variable nature of the wind, and the conditions of specific streams. Formerly the Kilenge had names for each of the months of the year, as marked by the moon, but these are now being forgotten as people adopt the Tokpisin names.

In the past, the rain forest provided the Kilenge with an abundance of raw materials. The forest still offers a wide selection of usable plant materials, but for house construction, people prefer to use imported items such as nails, planks, and corrugated roofing iron if they can afford the expense. Plant food gathered in the forest still supplements the regular diet and acts as a reservoir of food for times of famine. The amount of animal protein supplied by the forest is locally perceived to have decreased markedly in living memory. In all probability, rapidly expanding village population has led to overhunting of such animals as wild pigs, wallabies and cassowaries (see Zelenietz and Grant-- in prep.).

The sea is an important part of the natural
environment for the Kilenge. Reefs about a kilometre
offshore fringe the Kilenge coast, and coral outcrops
dot the interior "lagoon". Primary exploitation is
oriented towards this inner area: turtles, dugongs and
fish are netted or speared, and univalves and bivalves
are collected. There is little exploitation of the deep
sea. As is the case with the rain forest, expanding
population and overexploitation have taken their toll on
the shallow marine environment. The growing number of
Kilenge people is a factor in two respects: (1) there
are more mouths to feed, hence a greater demand on the
limited resources of the inner reef area; (2) a larger
population means more deposition of refuse in this area,
with detrimental effects on coral growth and the subse-
quent degradation of the habitat (cf. Johannes 1975).
Many of the villagers are aware of the situation and would
like to limit exploitation of the inner reef resources,
but traditional means of limitation (such as Nausang or
Natavutavu (see below)) which could be used to prohibit
fishing or gathering, are no longer effective, and new
controls have not yet been formulated.

Subsistence[7]

The Kilenge are slash-and-burn horticulturalists
with three staple crops: taro, yam, and sweet potato.

A garden site is cultivated for two years before the soil is exhausted. Taro or yams are usually planted in a newly cleared garden, and after they have matured and been harvested, sweet potatoes and manioc are planted as a second crop. Like gardens throughout Melanesia, plots contain many different food species. A typical garden inventory can include, in addition to the primary crops (and depending on the season), sugar cane, bananas, pitpit, chili peppers, tobacco, greens, onions, corn, tomatoes, ginger, other foodstuffs and decorative plants.

Gardening proceeds in stages, and at any given time most families will have gardens in all of the various phases: being cut, being planted, producing first crop, producing second crop, and entering fallow. This assures a steady supply of garden food through the seasons and over the years.

Traditional gardening tools are no longer utilized; people now rely on such imported metal tools as bush knives, axes and shovels. A garden site is first cleared of large trees by groups of men working with steel axes, after which the smaller trees and bushes are cleared with axes and bush knives. Tree-cutting groups are usually men cognatically or affinally related, or neighbours. They may also be a composite work group assigned the task by the local government councillor. Young men are expected to help in this work.

After the cut material has been allowed to dry
for a couple of weeks it is burned. Untimely rains can
delay the process and may necessitate a second cutting
of the bush. The cleared ground is laid out into plots
and scraped with bush knives to remove tree roots and
small clumps of growth that have escaped the fire. At
this point taro gardens are ready for planting, but yam
gardens undergo further treatment. Men cut saplings up
to 15 cm. in diameter and 4 metres in length and sharpen
one end. These are then driven into the ground point
first, to loosen the soil. They are discarded once the
garden is planted.

The gardens, except those very close to the village,
are left unfenced. Wild pigs do not disturb cultivated
areas, as they are afraid of the scents of man and burning.
Only village or feral pigs maraude gardens.

When the taro garden is newly cleared, it is
planted with taro cuttings taken either from producing
plants or from storage in a dark place. If a man has no
taro cuttings, he will purchase some from Lolo for either
fish or cash. The initial planting of new taro gardens is
the task of men working individually or in small groups
composed of father and sons (married and unmarried),
brothers (both single and married, natal and classificatory),
neighbours and affines. The men plant only a portion of
the garden: some cleared ground is left to be planted

later by the women. This assures a continuous supply of taro as the different plantings mature.

Yam and sweet potato gardens are planted almost exclusively by women working either alone or in groups recruited in much the same manner as men's work groups, but including more neighbours than cognates. Unmarried girls who have finished school help with the planting of their parents' gardens. Preschoolers may accompany their mothers to the gardens, but are frequently left behind in the village either to play with their peers or to be watched by one or two women who have chosen not to go to the gardens. At times, a man and wife, together with their children, may join forces to plant a garden.

Labour is usually reciprocated on a quid pro quo basis, but when large groups of men have been called upon to break the ground in a new yam garden, the garden owner will serve a large meal for the workers after work. The meal invariably consists of great quantities of boiled rice and tinned fish and meat, supplemented with baked tubers and sweet tea. Similarly, large groups of women working to plant a yam garden must be served a meal by the garden's owner.

New gardens are cleared in the months March through November, and during this period men spend two to four days a week at that task. Planting occurs from April to December, and harvesting is done year round by the women,

who go up to the gardens at least four days a week to plant, weed and harvest. Most garden-creating activity comes to a halt during the Northwest Monsoons. This rainy period is regarded as a time of food shortage, and in unfavourable years, various 'famine' foods (e.g., wild yam or manioc) are gathered. Despite the abundance of sweet potatoes and yams, the dry period of July and August is also seen as a time of food shortage, because of the lack of taro. Traditionally, during periods of food shortages, the Kilenge would travel to Bariai to make sago flour, or would visit kin and trading partners in the Siassi Islands to obtain food. Today, they simply increase their purchases from the local trade stores.

After the final crop in a garden is removed, the ground is allowed to fallow for a period of up to 20 years. We suspect that rapidly increasing population has led to some pressure on the land, shortening the fallow period and consequently decreasing fertility. While some Kilenge recognize the imminent possibility of land shortage due to population growth, others believe that extensive tracts of land in fallow are being wasted since no productive crops are planted on them. Some land has been removed from the pool of potential garden land by the planting of coconuts for copra production. Exhausted gardens near the village are frequently planted in coconuts, thus saving the labour of clearing a new plot of land for

the purpose.

In addition to garden produce, the Kilenge consume
the fruits of several types of trees (e.g., various nuts,
breadfruit, mango) growing in the secondary forest. Such
trees are owned and controlled by the cognatic descendants
of the person who planted and cared for them. Men, women
and children may all collect from the trees in which they
share title. The fruit from wild trees (those having
grown with no human attention), and fruit which has
fallen to the ground from any tree, is fair game for anyone.

Coconuts are ubiquitous in the diet. Depending
on their maturity, they are used for drinking, food for
children, food for pigs, snacks in the garden, or as a
condiment with taro, manioc, greens, meat and fish.
Coconut trees are the property of the planter, or his
designated heirs.

Pigs, dogs and chickens are kept as domestic
animals. Pigs are raised for ceremonial use, and conse-
quently are well cared for. They are given one meal a
day of tubers and coconuts, and supplement their diets
by foraging. While searching for food, pigs may destroy
gardens and uproot coconut seedlings, thereby creating
tension between pig- and property-owners. Dogs are kept
for hunting and for trading to visiting Siassi Islanders.
Hunting dogs are fed regularly, while dogs marked for
trading have to scavenge for food. Chickens are raised

primarily for use on major Catholic holidays, and must
find food for themselves.

The Kilenge diet is infrequently supplemented by
fishing or hunting. Fishing and hunting technologies
are discussed at length in Zelenietz and Grant (in prep.).

Religion

Traditional Kilenge religious beliefs and practices
have been almost completely supplanted by Roman
Catholicism, but some vestiges of old beliefs, such as
in naitu (spirits), are common among the older people
and have a surprising foothold among the younger ones.
This is demonstrated behaviourally by the avoidance of
certain places (Male'u naruk, Tokpisin masalai) said to
be dangerous--the abode of powerful forces. Knowledge
about, as opposed to belief in, such things is minimal
and what little lore remains is being lost. Dark (1974)
hints at the presence of specialized religious practi-
tioners, but today such specialized roles are gone.
Importance is still attached to the sacred stones in the
Ongaia men's house, which are said to be capable of turn-
ing themselves into animals or humans to seek retribution
for certain wrongs. Although the stones were sprinkled
with holy water some forty years ago to dissipate their
power, there are recent cases of the stones allegedly

changing form and attacking humans.

The Kilenge began to abandon their indigenous religious beliefs and practices before they had even seen a white missionary. Their trading partners from the Siassi Islands told them about the activities of the Lutheran missionaries, and that the eruption of Kulkul (Ritter Island) in 1888 was divine retirbution for an attack on Bishop Colomb years earlier. The Kilenge promptly burned their sacred Nausang masks. They later recarved the masks, but interest in the new religion grew and at their invitation a mission of the Order of the Sacred Heart was established in the area in 1929. It has been staffed by a succession of Irish and German priests, except during World War II. It is doubtful whether most villagers understand more than the basics of Christian dogma, but they do take their religion relatively seriously. At least 80% of the people of Ongaia attend mass every Sunday. This contrasts with a figure of less than 5% for daily attendance. Although there was a drive for daily prayer in the village, we saw little evidence of its success. Mission personnel feel that many of the villagers are "rice Christians" who would drift away from the religion if the church left the area. However, many people (primarily older ones) feel that all villagers should behave like "good Christians"; but, since the Kilenge cannot reconcile

their own feelings about adultery with the church teach-
ings, they are in a moral dilemma. Older people feel
that the influence of the church is on the wane, and they
regret its passing. They feel that young people are too
insolent and ignore the mission. When criticized about
their romantic adventures, young people mumble to them-
selves about parents having forgotten their own youthful
exploits.

Several Kilenge have been recruited as working
members of the church. In the period immediately follow-
ing the Second World War, several youths from Ongaia and
the other Kilenge villages were taken to Vunapope and
trained as catechists. They served as school teachers in
the Kilenge area and in the Siassi Islands. More recently,
one man from Ongaia was ordained a priest, and another
became a Christian Brother. One woman from Portne and
another from Kilenge proper have taken vows as Sisters
of the Sacred Heart. Until the establishment of a
comprehensive government school system, the Kilenge saw
and utilized the mission as the only road to education.

The mission has established a network of positions
within the village. There are one active, and several
"retired", catechists in Ongaia, and one Ongaian catechist
working in the Lolo area. The catechist serves as officient
in the absence of the priest. There is also a church
"council". One councillor and one alternate ('komiti')

were elected from each of the three villages in 1977 in an experiment to facilitate layman-hierarchy communications. The council articulates with other representative bodies at higher levels of administration.

The mission served as the major source of wage labour recruitment for a number of years. Most adult Kilenge men have spent some time working at the mission headquarters at Vunapope or at satellite stations. Only recently has the church been supplanted as the major employer of Kilenge men (see Grant and Zelenietz, in press).

The Kilenge view of the society and world around them is intensely personal and egocentric. After our first month in the field, my wife and I were convinced that something was wrong somewhere with our research techniques or our informants. None of our information cross-checked. We had great problems trying to confirm the details of events which occurred two days or twenty years ago: five informants gave us five different stories. It finally occurred to us that the stories and informants were telling us something: the storyteller, the narrator, has to be the central figure in a story dealing with actual occurrences. The actions of the event occurred around him: the narrator is the protagonist. The depth and detail of any narration are not limited by the constraints of what actually happened or the narrator's own role in

the event. The only limitation is the credulousness of the people listening to the story.

Kilenge social organization is the perfect matrix for expression of the egocentric world view. The individual operates in a milieu of freedom of choice: choice of units to join, choice of people with whom to associate, and choice of endeavours to support. In the following chapter I will explore the world of Kilenge social organization.

CHAPTER II

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION--THE MATRIX OF LEADERSHIP

At first glance, Kilenge social organization is a
tangled skein of interwoven and overlapping groups and
social categories. The Kilenge themselves do not perceive
their social world in terms of a simple hierarchical or
segmentary model of organization. Indeed, a segmentary
model of social organization cannot adequately represent
the character of the Kilenge data or the relationship
between units in Kilenge society, and this compounds the
problem of analysis and description as there is no
necessary starting point: discussion of any one type of
group or category presupposes knowledge of others.
Kilenge social organization is characterized by flexibility
of choice in group membership and in relations between
social units. For ease of presentation, I have chosen to
begin on the more general level with a discussion of
village organization, and then proceed to the more
specific groups and categories that are found within
villages and which cross-cut village lines.

Kilenge social organization is conditioned by the
prevailing cognatic descent construct, in which "the sex
of the linking kinsmen at each step is immaterial for the

tracing of the continuum, and the continuum itself is significant" (Scheffler 1966:544). The Kilenge cognatic descent construct is an operative principle readily verbalized and demonstrated in daily life. For example, a public meeting was held to discuss the impending visit of the Land Claims Commissioner. One man suggested that people should change to a patrilineal system of land inheritance and tenure to make the Commissioner's job easier. The people of Ongaia were of one voice in decrying the idea, saying "We have always received land from both sides [i.e., father and mother]. What would a man do for garden land if for some reason he couldn't get land from his father? And what about the children of our daughters who have married out--if those children return here, they should be able to have land to garden."

The cognatic descent principle is manifested in Kilenge kinship terminology, which is a Hawaiian generational system modified by a form of sibling ranking. Classificatory siblings are ranked elder or younger on the basis of genealogical position, and natal siblings are ranked according to birth order. The cognatic descent principle is also used as a basis for recruitment of membership in various groups and organizations. It is significant in entitling people to group membership and use rights, but actual membership in a unit is decided upon subject to a host of reasons for activating or

severing connections with a unit. The idiom of cognatic

descent allows a person a wide range of choices for

affiliation with particular groups. Likewise, cognatic

descent opens to the individual a selection of social

categories in which he may be included, but active inclu-

sion depends on an individual's choice.

The distinction between "organization", "group"

and "category" is critical in both the empirical and analy-

tical spheres. For purposes of this analysis, "organization"

is taken to mean "the membership units characteristic of

societies", or social systems (Levy 1966:20). Thus, any

unit or system in Kilenge society falls under the general

heading "organization". Organizations may be divided into

types by a variety of criteria, e.g., morphological

characteristics, social functions. Two particular types

of organizations are extremely useful in clarifying and

understanding the Kilenge data: the distinctions between

groups and categories has long been established in North

American social sciences (e.g., Chapple and Coon 1942;

Homans 1950; Parsons 1951). Oliver (1955) differentiated

between groups and gatherings, defined in terms of

interaction data, and aggregates, defined in terms of

symbolic data. For Oliver, a group is

> a combination of individuals who interact
> with one another face-to-face, with some
> frequency over a period of time, according
> to hierarchical patterns of interaction
> and as a discrete unit (i.e., while they are

thus interacting with each other, the
events involving each other have a more
frequent occurrence than events with
other individuals outside the combina-
tion) (1955:102).

An aggregate is seen as

a social unit composed of individuals
sharing characteristics believed to
link them together in a culturally
significant unit, but not necessarily
related by hierarchic interaction
patterns which include all of them
and only them (Ibid.).

If we take the clues inside his parenthetical expression

and read "social" for Oliver's use of "hierarchical", he

is describing the phenomenon I will call "category".

Holy (1976:123-124) made a similar distinction when he

characterized descent groups as defined by interaction,

and descent categories by formal criteria of membership.

Both Keesing (1971) and Scheffler (1965) have emphasized

the necessity for differentiation of cognatic descent

groups and cognatic descent categories. "A descent group

can thus be contrasted with the dispersed category of

persons, cognatically descended from the founding ancestor,

whose primary attachments are to other places" (Keesing

1971:123).

Following the usage established by Keesing (1971)

and Holy (1976), I refer to non-discrete (unbounded) and

non-localized (residentially dispersed) units as "cate-

gories". A category can serve as a basis for formation

of a group, although not all categories are manifested in groups and not all groups are formed on the basis of categories. A "group" is a discrete (bounded) and localized (residentially compact) phenomenon; descent groups are those in which membership is available through acceptance of claims of descent from a putative common ancestor. Descent groups are thus a manifestation of descent categories. Descent, though, is not necessarily the only, or even the most important, criterion for membership: interaction with current members of the unit may plan an important part in the acceptance of a new member (see Scheffler 1965).

Village Structure

The internal structure of each of the three Kilenge villages is basically the same, but there are some differences which appear to be the product of historical factors such as village settlement, growth and expansion. Because the research was conducted in Ongaia, I will restrict my remarks to that village, utilizing comparative and contrastive material from the other villages. The data reflect the current village organization of Ongaia, which differs from village organization in the past (discussed in Chapter III).

In one sense, Ongaia may be seen as being composed

of one group of people--Ongaians. Although almost all of
the inhabitants are related cognatically and/or affinally,
it is inappropriate to see the village as a kin group:
while kinship may provide an idiom for interaction on
some occasions, it is not the organizing principle for
daily interaction. The village is a solidary unit, with
solidarity expressed in terms of village identity. People
may choose to use their village identity in dealing with
people from other villages, although in other contexts
they may choose to act as "cognate", "affine", or some other
social identity. When people from other villages come to
attend ceremonial events, the host villagers act as <u>villagers</u>,
people from a specific village. The reputation of the
village is at stake in the event, not just the reputation
of the sponsoring man or men's house (see Zelenietz and
Grant in press).   Identity as a person of Village
X is established at birth for the majority of people. If
parents change residence when a child is young, there is
the chance that the child might become identified as a
member of his new village. However, identity can also be
situationally defined. In the case where a man changes
villages to reside with his wife, he may be considered a
man of either village, or neither. If he is a hard worker
and a man of prestige, villagers of both places will claim
him as one of their own. If he is slothful or a trouble-
maker, people of neither village will be particularly

anxious to include him in their ranks. A woman who moves to her husband's village is partially incorporated as a woman of her new village, but is still referred to as a person of her natal village. In disputes, protagonists will go back two or three generations to prove that their opponents are not really as ples tru (Tokpisin--persons with "real roots in the village"). As the intramarriage rate for Ongaia over the past five generations is only about 25% or so, it is hard to find a genuine as ples tru. Indeed, when men of Ongaia list all the land they claim to control, one gets the impression that all of Portne land, and a substantial portion of Ulumaienge land, belong to the people of Ongaia. When the men of Portne came to confront Ongaians about the alleged theft of betel nuts, one Ongaian announced that if the Portne people did not go home quietly, he would kick them off their house plots. He claimed to hold, through male ancestors, controlling rights over most of the land in the center of Portne (compare with Todd 1936:420-422).

An outsider may establish some identification as a person of a particular village through public action. If he supports the villagers during ceremonial cycles, if he sides with them in pan-village disputes, if he actively participates as a member of the community, he will be granted status as a man of the village. But at no time will people let him forget his roots: when they want to

claim superiority over him, they will gossip about his origins. Although accepted as a man of the village, he will be marked as an outsider, and this will serve to his detriment during public confrontations.

The people of Ongaia occasionally unite to act as a unit for various work projects. When called upon to provide labour for a government or mission project, the village as a whole sends a task force which is identified as members of Ongaia, and not some smaller or larger unit. The local government councillor may require the men to gather housing material, or do the preliminary clearing of a large garden plot, and this they do as villagers. Later work in the gardens and on the houses is done in the context of smaller, kin-based units.

The idiom of the village work force is used for some hunting and fishing expeditions, but these activities are actually carried out in work units based primarily on men's houses (see below). Each men's house, rather than the village as a whole, owns the necessary tools for hunting and fishing, but for large-scale expeditions, the groups unite and present themselves as "the men of the village".

The land behind the village 'belongs' to the village, in contrast to land 'belonging' to other villages. People of other villages must have a plausible explanation if they are found walking on or through Ongaia land, for they will

be suspected of either theft or sorcery. A hunted animal
is usually safe if, in the course of pursuit, it crosses
the boundary between village lands; men pursuing game are
reluctant to cross the border. Although land may 'belong'
to the village, smaller units actually control its use.
Secondary forest and garden lands are the property of
men's houses and ramages (see below). Primary forest,
used for hunting, is regarded as village land, but once
cleared for gardens, it will pass to the unit that cleared
it.

There are several modes of ranking within the
village. Place of origin is only one way in which the
Kilenge rank each other. Unlike many other societies in
Papua New Guinea (e.g., Brandewie 1971; Read 1959), there
is no ethos of equality in the Kilenge area. Some people
occupy superior social positions for a variety of reasons.
Whenever it behooves a person, he will remind others of
his superiority, ranking himself above others because he
is the eldest, or planted his garden first, or has larger
gardens, more pigs, ancestors from a particular village,
or whatever. These claims to superiority operate in
conjunction with other forms of ranking: ranking on the
basis of sex and age, and ranking on the basis of specific
status roles.

Male-female opposition is not nearly as marked in
Kilenge as it is in many other New Guinea societies (e.g.,

Hogbin 1970; Meggitt 1964; Salisbury 1972; Strathern 1970a).
Overall, the status of woman as a social being differs
little from that of man. Women can inherit real property,
such as coconut trees, and pass entitlement to membership
in descent groups and categories on to their children. A
woman is far from voiceless in public affairs: she may
speak out at meetings and argue with men on an equal foot-
ing. Men decide when to hold ceremonial events, but women's
action determine whether or not the event will be a
success: it is women who gather firewood and prepare the
food that is so crucial to a successful ceremonial. If
the women feel that they have been spending too much time
working for ceremonies, or that the ceremonies are consuming
too great a proportion of garden produce, they will let
their husbands know of their opinions in no uncertain terms.
'Strong' women may participate in ceremonial exchanges by
contributing a pig to the sponsor. A wife, irate over her
husband's adulterous indiscretions, may lock him out of
the house and refuse to supply him with food, until such
time as she has calmed down or he has made peace. We saw
one woman boycott her husband in this fashion for a full
month. There are few taboos associated with menstruation,
and evidence suggests that the past was little different.
However, menstrual blood itself is a powerful substance,
harmful to males, and is hedged with taboos. There are
very few taboos regarding sexual intercourse and postpartum

behaviour. Men are enjoined from frequent sexual inter-
course, but this is explained as a way of limiting
population and of preventing a male from becoming emaciated.
Sexual intercourse takes away fluids and fat from a male:
it is not polluting. Although the ideology is that men
and women have separate garden tasks, husband and wife
teams frequently plant and tend gardens together.

Social differentiation based on age is of much more
importance to village life. The Kilenge categories of age
differentiation are far from fixed and rigid, but the range
from adolescence to senility is usually characterized as
follows:

> young unmarried men and women
>
> young married men and women
>
> mature men: those who have several children,
> and whose fathers are deceased
>
> mature women: those women whose breasts have
> dropped
>
> old men and women: those who are hard of
> hearing, short of wind, with greying hair.

As a general rule, the younger people should defer
to the wishes and advice of the older ones, but an 'old'
person can be ignored by a mature one. Unlike a mature
person, the young adult should not assert himself over an
old person, and is expected to listen to him. Young
people should defer and show respect to anyone their
senior, but this is manifested less towards the young

marrieds than the other categories. A bachelor and a
young married man may be age- and initiation-mates
(/-sil/), having played and grown up together, and their
relationship may be marked by an easy-going informality
absent in other cross-category relationships. Young
married men and women follow the dictates of their seniors,
and the mature people treat them as if more respect is
due from them than from a single person: the young married
person has responsibilities of gardening and parenthood,
and is far more constrained in behaviour than a single
person. A man is not considered mature until his own
father has died and he has fathered several children (see
Chowning and Goodenough 1971:156 for a similar notion of
maturity in Lakalai). When these conditions are met, a man
becomes the head of a family, an important social unit.
A man in his late 30s or 40s who has several children,
but whose own father is still living, is placed in some-
thing of a social bind: he has the general requirements
of age and fatherhood to be considered a mature person,
but his father is still the senior man in the family.
Such a man may participate in public meetings, but he will
be shown less respect than another man the same age whose
father is dead. As a father grows older and less produc-
tive, more responsibilities devolve on his sons and the
social respect accorded the sons increases with the
responsibilities assumed. A man with a very aged father

might be considered mature and handle the decision-making responsibilities for his nuclear and extended families. His younger brothers will look to him, rather than their father, for guidance and support. Once a person is classified as old, his social standing depends on his productivity. The less productive a person is, the more his advice and decisions will be ignored by his sons and the mature men of the village. They might seek an old man's advice, but are not bound to follow it. Old people, even the most decrepit, try to maintain a house, if not a household, of their own. Necessary labour is provided by younger family members. Older men and women are the repositories of particular types of knowledge: myths, genealogies and the like. Traditionally, this might have led to some stature within the community, but today most young and mature men are not interested in learning such lore. The old people fault the younger ones for not wanting to learn; the younger people say their parents never taught them, and that the information held now by the old people is fragmentary, much of it already lost.

Concomitant with ranking based on age is ranking based on birth and genealogical order. A younger sibling, regardless of sex, should always defer to an older sibling and lend a hand when needed. In return, the older sibling should take care of the younger one, lending him or her tools or money, helping with ceremonial obligations, and

assuring the initiation of the younger sibling's children.

Female siblings, younger or older, single or married,

help their brothers with food for ceremonial events, and

brothers constantly look after the welfare of their

sisters. An elder sibling has rights to use any possession

belonging to a younger sibling. These guidelines apply

to classificatory siblings as well as natal siblings.

For classificatory siblings, classification as "elder"

or "younger" depends more on genealogical seniority than

on absolute age.

```
        ┌── A ────── C
  ──────┤
        └── B ─────D
```
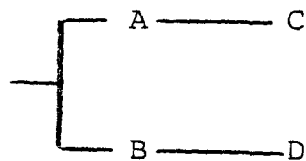
Figure 1

In Figure 1 (A) is the elder brother, (B) is his

younger brother, (C) is (A)'s son and (D) is (B)'s son.

(D) is older than (C), but because (D) is the son of a

younger brother, he should treat his first cousin (classi-

ficatory brother) (C) as an elder sibling, with respect

and deference. In cases where (A) is deceased, (B) should

defer to (C), as (C) is now the most senior in the descent

line. Whether or not (B) will defer to (C), beyond showing

him respect, depends on (C)'s age and personality. If (C)

is young, or a lazy or incompetent organizer, (B) will
assume control of family affairs, claiming that because
he is the eldest surviving member of his generation, he
is entitled to the position. If (C) is of age, and is
organized and aggressive, he will claim the leadership
and the seniority, saying that his line is the most
senior. The difference is reinforced by the reference
terms: (D) can call (A) tamage, father, but the full
term is tamage aienge, big or senior father. (C) refers
to (B) as tamage malange, small or junior father. (B)
calls both (C) and (D) by the same term, tuklia, son.
(D), although older than (C), must refer to (C) as tuage,
elder brother. (C) calls (D) taiklia, younger brother.
In families which control few resources, there is little
competition for the 'senior' position. Seniority is
important in those cases where the leadership of a men's
house is open to question and there is no clear support
for one person or the other.

According to many older villagers, the system of
deference and respect based on age is breaking down. My
own observations bear this out to a limited degree. The
older people cite what they consider the ultimate in
social informality: one man reaching into the basket of
another to get betel nut, lime, or tobacco without first
asking permission. The old folks say that in their day
people always asked first, especially younger or junior

brothers of senior ones. "Now, people just reach in
and take what they want--it doesn't matter if the person
is younger or older, senior or junior, or an affine."
They cite the village school as the primary cause of this
behaviour (see Zelenietz and Grant, n.d.b.). It is a
place where children learn "nonsense" and bad manners.
Children away all day at school don't learn how to behave
properly, how to work, or the importance of listening to
elders. While the public behaviour displayed might upset
the elders, they fail to mention that young people do
heed the words of the older people in important matters
such as gardening, marriage and the like. Tobacco and
betel borrowing might be common, but the young feel stifled
under the iron fist of their elders. They complain that
they have been sent away to high school to get ideas for
village development, but when they come back no one will
listen to them--they are too young to be heard.

The other major basis of social ranking within the
village is status roles.[8] Status roles are particular
identities which carry titles reflecting the abilities or
position of the title holder. Although often ascribed,
status roles can also be granted as de facto recognition
of some form of achievement. The most important status
roles in the village involve leadership in both the
traditional sense and in introduced political and economic
activities.

The two most important leadership roles on the
village level are the traditional leader (natavolo)- and
the local government councillor (kaunsel). The natavolo
is in command of a range of 'traditional' activities,
mostly in the ceremonial sphere. The kaunsel acts as the
local voice of the government, and as the people's
representative to the government. The relationship of
these roles and their occupants to one another, and to
the village population as a whole, is explored in later
chapters.

The church has introduced two formal leadership
roles to the Kilenge villages: catechist and church
councillor. There is also an informal leadership position,
the deacon. Although these church positions are institu-
tionalized offices, there is no particular power or
prestige attached to them. They are what people make of
them. In Ongaia, a young catechist had difficulty in
getting people to follow his requests. Villagers on
occasion listened to him because of his office, but
rarely took action on what he said because he was a
young man, not a mature adult. When the deacon (a mature
man in his mid 50s) tried to speak, people would not
listen for two reasons: (1) he was shown little respect
because of his involvement in a dispute over ceremonial
cycles; (2) his daughter had committed infanticide (some
say at his urging) and was generally considered a very

immoral person; he had 'shame' because of her. The third role, that of church councillor, was introduced while we were in the field, and had little impact on the village. The man in the office was trying to build a prestigious reputation and it seemed all was going well for him until he became ill. He suspected he was sorcerized, and in the course of investigation we discovered several local theories of why he had been sorcerized. It was apparent that the man was considered a usurper. His low standing in public opinion will affect his performance in the role of church councillor.

There are other informal status roles in Ongaia and the other Kilenge villages. Prominent among them is kuskus (Tokpisin: storekeeper or business man). Other statuses are related to traditional life, e.g., namos tame (master artist or craftsman) and a host of specialties for ceremonial cycles.

Naulum Organization

The villages are divided into named plots of ground on which houses are built. Each village is organized or divided into naulum (men's houses) which take their names from the plots on which their members reside. Depending on the context in which it is used, the term naulum can denote a variety of phenomena: (1) an organization; (2) a category of people; (3) a building; (4) a

local group.

Naulum Organizations

In its widest sense, the term naulum denotes a non-discrete (unbounded) entity which persists in time and space with or without membership. The organization owns various resources such as land, the heavy nets used for hunting wild pigs, ceremonial marks, sections of the reef and the sea inside the reef. The naulum organization is manifested in several ways: physically, through a naulum building; locally, through a naulum group which controls use of naulum property; and through use rights by the naulum category. If, through death or migration of local members, a naulum organization loses the physical manifestations of building or local group, the organization exists in limbo. People localized in other naulum groups and who gather in other naulum buildings, but with claims as members of the defunct naulum organization, may continue to use the resources of that defunct naulum. They do this as primary members of other naulum groups, but as categorical or secondary members of the defunct unit. In time, if those people feel the need to establish a naulum group of their own, they can use their affiliation with the defunct naulum organization as a basis for group formation, and physically manifest the presence of the naulum: build a building, localize themselves, and assert control over the resources.

Naulum as Category

All those people who can trace cognatic descent
from a member of a naulum organization are members of the
naulum category. Marriage between members of different
naulum groups and different villages has occurred at a
high frequency over a number of generations; accordingly,
one would expect that any given individual can claim
categorical or secondary membership in most, if not all,
naulum groups in greater Kilenge. One informant told me
"Marty, you are a member of Auremo (a naulum group in
Portne). Therefore, you are a member of every naulum
in all Kilenge." In reality, things never work out this
way. There are several factors which limit inclusion in
naulum categories. The foremost mechanism is imperfect
transmission of knowledge from generation to generation.
People never learn to trace all of their potential naulum
connections. Facilitating forgetfulness is the fact that
a claim should be acted on for it to be maintained. A
claim may be established or reinforced by helping out with
a major project of a naulum organization. When we went to
Kilenge to see the building of a new naulum (Poroso) we
were surprised by the number of men from Ongaia and Portne
who actively helped in the construction. When queried,
they all responded, "Oh, but we belong to Poroso." By
that they meant they all had, or thought they had, ancestors

who came from Poroso, and were there to help because of
that. The fact that they were working, and unlikely to
push their claims of membership any further, meant that
their hosts were unlikely to disagree. At the same time,
the outvillagers were either establishing labour 'debts'
that could be called in at a later date when they needed
help with a project of their own, or paying back labour
'debts' from a prior project.

Another way of establishing or validating a claim
is by gardening on land belonging to the naulum organiza-
tion. Some informants told us they had gardened on land
belonging to their mother's (or some ancestor's) naulum
specifically so that when their children wanted to garden
there, no one would dispute them. The child would be
able to say "My parent made a garden here, so I can do the
same." This statement is usually sufficient for acceptance
of the claim by the land's controllers, all other things
being equal. If a land use claim is not activated for one
or two generations, the claim will lapse; the land control-
lers and/or claimant's descendants forget about their claim.

A child loses no rights in his natal parents'
naulum categories if he is adopted into another naulum.
He does gain rights in his adoptive parents' naulum group,
and in all of the naulum categories to which they belong.
Adoption increases the number of naulum categories that a
person may claim and with which he may affiliate.

Ceremonial decorative marks (namer) are used to maintain continuity of secondary membership in a naulum. The marks are owned by naulum organizations, and controlled by naulum groups. A person may use a particular mark if he knows that either his father or mother used it. If anyone disputes his claim, he can argue that his parent used the mark, and therefore he can. Through this mechanism, a person with little or no genealogical knowledge can legitimately claim secondary membership in a naulum.

There are few rights or duties for most categorical members of a naulum. The rights include land use (if approved by the controllers of the gound), use of ceremonial marks and Nausang masks, and the potential for future primary membership. The duties are even fewer: occasional identification as a member of the organization, either verbally where members can hear it (and dispute it, if they so choose), or by participating in some major work project of the naulum organization.

The major benefit of being recognized a secondary member of a naulum is potential mobility: one may, at some time, wish to move to its land and establish primary membership. Having a recognized claim facilitates mobility, but does not guarantee that the move will be sanctioned. As on Choiseul (Scheffler 1965), residential mobility and primary group membership are affected by the quality of a person's relationship with the primary members of the naulum, their evaluation of him, their feelings about his

wife and his standing as a member of the community.

Conflicting obligations are another factor that limits claims of secondary membership. If a man spent his time validating his claims in all the naulum in which he could be a secondary member, he would have no time to pursue his own activities: gardening, hunting, fishing and the work of his own naulum group. Because projects of different naulum coincide, a man must decide in which work he will participate. It is impossible to activate and maintain all the possible secondary member-ships to which an individual is entitled.

Naulum Buildings

Ideally, there should be a building for every men's house group. At the time of German contact this was probably the case. In those days the naulum building was the central feature of the hamlet/naulum (see Chapter III). The naulum building was the only structure built directly on the ground without stilts. Informants say that this was to facilitate identification of the building by visitors coming from other areas; the naulum was where the visitors received hospitality. It was the focal point of men's activities, and their sleeping place. Each naulum building was surrounded by smaller houses built on stilts where women and children slept. Each men's house had two entrances. These served as a physical metaphor for the

internal divisions in the naulum group, divisions called naulum kuria (see below).

Ongaians believe that each naulum building is autochthonous, taking its name from the ground on which it is built; the naulum developed in situ. In Portne and Kilenge proper, the ideology and practice is that a naulum group moving in from another area or village can erect a building and name it after the building in the old locale. Thus, in Kilenge there is a naulum building called Poroso, named after the naulum of a group which migrated to Kilenge from the Siassi Islands. People in Portne would like to build one or two more naulum buildings (and hence revitalize naulum organizations into naulum groups) to represent the naulum in their area of origin, but a shortage of suitable land prevents them.

During the last fifty years, not every naulum group has had its own building. Two or more groups combine to use the same building. Elder Ongaians remember four buildings for five naulum groups. Currently, no Kilenge village has a building for each of the naulum groups localized in the village. In both Portne and Kilenge there are several buildings, some representing one group, and others sheltering two or more groups. In Ongaia, for at least the past decade, there has been just one building to serve all six naulum groups in the village. The building (and all naulum buildings in general) serves as a repository for various sacred and ceremonial items,

fishing and pig nets, and has several sacred stones at
the base of one of its two posts.[9] Only a few men sleep
in the building, most preferring to sleep in or under
their family houses. The interior of the Ongaia building
is one large room lined with bamboo beds raised about 50
cm. above the ground. The interior is divided by imaginary
lines into six sections, one section for each naulum group
in the village. Four of the groups, said to be senior,
have doors or entranceways of their own. When the building
is used for casual purposes of relaxing, visiting or
gossiping, men may enter through any door and sit anywhere.
When an important discussion occurs (usually pertaining
to the planning of a ceremonial event) a man should enter
and leave through his group's entrance and sit in his
group's section. Men from the two junior groups use the
doors that belong to the senior groups traditionally
affiliated with them. The interior of the building, as well
as the area between the building and the beach, is
forbidden to women. During food distributions, a portion
of food is sent to the building to be eaten by the men
gathered there. Food sent to the building, or to the
specific groups gathered therein, may later be sent out
and given to women and children. The only exception is
food sent to the Saumoi naulum group. The Saumoi section
of the building is haunted by a naruk (spirit), and if food
is sent out from Saumoi, those who eat it will become ill.

People say this restriction originated when food from the
Saumoi section was eaten by a young girl, who subsequently
became quite sick.

Ownership or control of the Ongaia naulum building
is becoming obscured. Several generations ago, the pre-
cursor of this building was erected to serve as a building
for the naulum Valapua. The craftsman in charge of con-
struction carved a large eagle to be placed on the peak
of the roof, and the building took its name from the term
saumoi (eagle). Through the course of time, the building
was rebuilt a few times, and the eagle carving lost.
However, the name Saumoi was retained for the Valapua
building. In its most recent construction, the building
was rebuilt primarily by men from the naulum Saumoi, but
still on Valapua ground. Men from the naulum Saumoi, and
many younger villagers, say that since the name of the
building is Saumoi, the building belongs to the naulum
of the same name. Older people, and the men of naulum
Valapua, Niavogea and Vultapua, maintain that the building
represents naulum Valapua. The claim will be debated for
years to come.

Naulum Groups

Naulum groups are those people living on the plot
of ground from which the naulum gets its name, and who
participate actively in the affairs of the naulum. In

other words, they are local groups organized around the
naulum. In the past, the physical focal point was the
naulum building, and the naulum group formed a hamlet
(see Chapter III). With the general demise of naulum
buildings, most groups lack a physical focal point on
their plot of ground, but they retain vestiges of such a
point in the section of the men's house building (Saumoi)
that belong to them. If we take the term naulum in its
widest sense as an organization, then people in the
naulum group are the primary members of that organization,
interacting with a greater frequency than do the other,
categorical members of that organization. As a group,
they form the body that exerts actual control over the
resources of the naulum. The naulum organization nominally
'owns' the land: the naulum group effectively controls
the use of this land. The naulum group also maintains
effective control of Nausang masks, use rights of sections
of the reef and lagoon, ceremonial marks, pig nets,
personal names for humans and animals (see Zelenietz and
Grant--n.d.a.), and large canoes.

When a named plot of land is first settled in
Ongaia there should be a naulum group created in the name
of that plot. This happened when Vultapua was settled,
but has not yet occurred in Onga Tuange. Onga Tuange
(Small Ongaia) is a large named plot that formerly
supported three naulum: Akawa, Aisukapua and Ulumaitu.

Akawa was destroyed in the last century because its inhabitants had shown their Nausang masks to women. Following the wholesale slaughter of all but one of Akawa's residents, the other naulum in Onga Tuange were abandoned. Today, the descendants of those naulum are primary members of Sugapua and Polpolpua. The ground at Onga Tuange has been cleared and resettled within the last fifteen years. However, no naulum group was organized and it is unlikely that one will ever be: the people who cleared Onga Tuange have moved about a kilometer up from the coast to be near their coconut trees. Onga Tuange will soon be abandoned unless new residents take it over. The new settlement up from the coast is named "Paradise", and only time will tell if a naulum group will be organized there and called either Paradise or Aikuriapua (the proper name of the plot).

Recruitment

In order to join a particular naulum, a man must claim cognatic descent from a known primary or secondary member of the naulum organization. If the group members consider his claim legitimate, they will allow the claimant to build a house on the naulum plot. With population expansion, however, many people have had to build houses on plots belonging to other naulum, or on unaffiliated plots (see Table 1). Recognition of acceptance to a naulum

is signalled by food being sent to the claimant during a
major food distribution. The statistical and ideological
norm in Ongaia is virilocal residence: on marriage, sons
usually build houses in their natal villages, and daughters
move to their husbands' natal villages. If the room is
available, sons prefer to build houses on the same plot
as their fathers. This norm of virilocality results in
cumulative patrifiliation: most male members of a naulum
group will be agnates. The distinction is analytical:
the Kilenge do not terminologically or behaviourally dif-
ferentiate between agnates and cognates (cf. Scheffler
1965; Keesing 1970,1971). Thus, cumulative patrifiliation
does not result in notions of patrilineality, but is just
a product of preferred residence. As of December 1977, 24
of 44 (54.5%) current or former male household heads in
Ongaia claimed membership in their father's naulum, and a
further four (9.1%) claimed membership in their adoptive
father's naulum; a total of 28 (63.6%) men were patrifilially
associated with naulum (see Table 2).

As much as the Kilenge feel that a married son
should build his house with his father's naulum and become
an active primary member of his father's groups, they also
feel that it is fitting and proper for a son to build and
reside with his mother's natal naulum group. Table 2
shows that eight of 44 male household heads (18.2%) have
chosen, or were requested, to be primary members of their

Table 1. Naulum Membership in Onqaia*

Naulum	Naulum Kuria **	Members*	Resident on			Primary members of other naulum resident on this naulum's ground
			own naulum ground	other naulum ground	non-naulum ground	
Valapua	Navisvogevoge Valapua	4	4			2
Vultapua	None	7	6	1		7***
Niavogea	Kiral Niavogea	9	5	2	2	
Saumoi	Saumoi volia Navaune Alopua(?)	10	4	5	1	
Polpolpua	Avisvage Polpolpua	8	1****	2	5	1
Sugapua	Sangapelai Mon Pidau	5	4		1	1
Undecided@		1		1		
Outsider		1			1	
Totals		45	24 (53%)	11 (24.5%)	10 (22%)	

Notes

*Male household heads or former household heads resident on village land. Does not include villagers resident at mission.

**Many people were unsure of their naulum kuria--they identified primarily with their food handler (see below).

***Vultapua is the only cleared section of the village not fully settled, so people from other naulum build houses there. The people from Saumoi (5 of the 7 outsiders resident on Vultapua) claim the land, but Valapuans dispute this claim.

****Polpolpua does have resident families, but with female household heads --see Table 3.

@At three different times, the informant listed three different naulum in which he held primary residence. He resides with his wife's naulum, Polpolpua.

Table 2. Claimed Connection to Current Naulum*

Naulum	Connection Through												Total
	Fa	Mo	FaMo	MoFa	FaFaFa**	FaMoMo	MoFaMo	FaMoFa	Wife	Adoptive Fa	Unknown		
Valapua	4												4
Vultapua	5			1							1		7
Niavogea	5	2							1	1			8
Saumoi	9									1			10
Polpolpua		5					1		1	2			9
Sugapua	1	1			1	1		1					5
Totals	24	8	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	4	1		44***
%	54.5	18.2	2.3	2.3	2.3	2.3	2.3		4.6	9.1	2.3		

Note:

*Many people claim more than one connection. These figures are the closest connection claimed or reconstructed by examination of genealogies.

**The informant's FaFaFa was born in Ongaia, but moved elsewhere. The informant is in Ongaia because there is no room for him in his Portne naulum, and his wife's father built a permanent house in Sugapua. Thus, he actually resides there because of his wife, but cites his FaFaFa as his proper connection.

***This figure does not include the one outsider included in Table 2. The one undecided in Table 2 has been assigned to the 'wife' category, as he resides and eats with his wife's naulum.

Table 3. Women Household Heads

Naulum	Connection Through				Total
	Fa	Mo	Hu	Other	
Polpolpua	1	1		1 (sister's hu)	3
Sugapua	1				1
Saumoi	1		1 (widow)		2
Total	3	1	1	1	6

Note: When her husband dies, a woman may either remain living with his naulum or go back to live with her natal naulum.

mother's natal naulum. If a woman is divorced or widowed,
she may move back to her natal village and naulum group
(see Table 3). Her young children will come with her.
Older children may elect to go with her, or to stay with
their father's group to 'replace' him. If a woman has
only young children, some may be adopted by members of the
father's naulum. If all of a woman's children return with
her to her natal group, some may be sent back to their
father's group when they mature. In either case, the
children are seen as taking the place of their deceased
father. When a woman resides with her husband's group,
but her own natal group is short of personnel, one or
two of her children may be sent back to increase its
membership. The children become primary members of their
mother's group, but are still categorical members of their
father's naulum. This is what happened in the naulum
Polpolpua, where no one claims membership through his own
father (see Table 2). There was a shortage of men in
Polpolpua, and children from out-marrying women of the
naulum were sent back. Five of nine members claim connec-
tion through their mothers. A further two claim connection
through adoptive fathers, and the remaining two members
use other connections.

When children reside in their father's natal naulum
group, they retain rights in, and are considered categorical
members of, their mother's natal naulum group. Because

membership in a _naulum_ category is based on cognatic descent from a member, a person has a range of choices of _naulum_ group membership open to him. Minimally, he may claim membership in his father's, father's father's (if different than his father's), father's mother's, mother's father's (if different than mother's), or mother's mother's natal or adoptive _naulum_ groups. The Kilenge believe that this can be extended further back, but several practical considerations serve to limit the range of choices: where a person was raised; his relationship with people of the various _naulum_ groups; and the establishment of an acceptable genealogical claim. These mechanisms have been discussed above. Table 2 indicates which connections are currently used by male household heads in Ongaia.

Membership in a _naulum_ group changes with adoption: the child becomes a member of his adoptive parents' _naulum_ group, but he may return (with full rights) to his natal _naulum_ group when he matures. Since an individual never loses rights in either his natal or adoptive groups, adoptions serve to increase, rather than limit, the choices of _naulum_ association open to him.

A person's name can be used to establish incontrovertible rights to membership in a particular _naulum_ group. Names are owned by _naulum_ organizations. A person must demonstrate clear ties to a _naulum_ organization before bestowing a name belonging to that _naulum_. The father's group has the right to name the first, third, fifth, etc.,

child, and the mother's group the second, fourth, etc.
Possession of a name belonging to a naulum other than one's
natal naulum gives the possessor a special privilege to
reside with the group which owns the name, and also allows
the possessor special use rights of that group's resources
(see Zelenietz and Grant, n.d.a.).

I hesitate to call the naulum group a descent group.
It is true that, in the extended sense, the formal criterion
for membership in the group is demonstration or acceptance
of descent.[10] This actually tells us very little about group
formation, membership, or activities. Holy (1976:126)
argues that groups should be defined on the basis of
interaction, rather than on formal membership criteria.
Scheffler warns that

> we should also remember that the classifica-
> tion of groups on the grounds of their descent
> ideologies is not on a par with classifica-
> tion of these on "functional" or "operational"
> grounds, as, e.g., political, economic or
> religious groups. These latter may be forms
> of corporateness, and pertain to the substance
> rather than the ideology of group membership
> (1966:546).

The Kilenge do not see the naulum group as a descent group:
the notion of naulum as category allows most people such a
wide range of choice in naulum group affiliation that
membership is dependent on factors other than descent
(see below).

Activities

Membership in a naulum group is reflected in more than common residence. Participation in certain kinds of activities affirms membership in the group. The most definitive activity in this respect is partaking of food prepared for ceremonies. Ceremonial food is seldom given directly to individuals: it is usually given to the naulum group, in care of the food handler.[11] The food handler then distributes the food to member families of the naulum group. Thus, if one receives food from a particular naulum group, one is marked as a primary member of that naulum. Food distribution usually coincides with residence, but there are anomalies in Ongaia. Several families residing in the section Vultapua receive food from naulum Saumoi (see Table 2). They explain their presence in Vultapua by saying that their ancestor from Saumoi had built the first house there, before the naulum Vultapua was established. He built there because of overcrowding in Saumoi (a condition which persists to this day). Men from Valapua and Niavogea organized the Vultapua naulum when they moved to the plot. The Saumoi descendants do not consider themselves members of these naulum organizations, and thus get food from Saumoi. A certain amount of tension exists between Saumoi and the other naulum concerning the alleged purchase of Vultapua and other matters. If the tension did not exist, the Saumoi descendants would probably

be incorporated into the Vultapua naulum group, as they
could present claims for cognatic descent from someone
in Valapua or Niavogea. However, chances are that current
interpersonal disputes would preclude acceptance of such
claims.

Women are in a slightly anomalous position in
respect to group membership. Where residence is virilocal,
they eat with the naulum group of their husband. To this
extent, they are incorporated into their husband's naulum
group. They demonstrate this incorporation by gardening
on husband's naulum group's land, and by socializing with
other women in the group. On the other hand, women never
lose their rights to use land controlled by their natal
naulum, and their children can always assume membership in
that group. Younger women, who have married into another
naulum, usually gave their natal or adoptive naulum group
as a response when asked "To which naulum do you belong?"
Older women usually responded by naming their husband's
group. Young married women frequently go back to their
natal or adoptive naulum (which, in any case for the Kilenge,
is never more than a fifteen minute walk away) to visit
with their parents and childhood friends who have remained
in the village. The young women also associate with friends
and kinsmen from their natal naulum who have married into
the same village or naulum group as they have. Older women,
however, tend to stay in their village of marriage and

associate with neighbours. Their daughters return to visit
and chat with them. Despite the general behaviour described
above, there are no hard and fast rules regarding women's
membership: women of all ages may go to their natal or
adoptive naulum groups to help with the gardening or
preparation of ceremonial food, and some women prefer to
eat with their original naulum, even though resident in
their husband's naulum group.

Members of a naulum group work together as a unit
on a number of occasions. The most important occasion for
women is the preparation of food for a ceremonial event.
It is incumbent on all women of a village to prepare food
for a narogo (ceremonial cycle) regardless of which man is
sponsoring, and what naulum group is hosting, the event.
Such work is done in the context of the naulum group--women
from the same group join together in making stone ovens,
and are aided by kin from other villages. Women also
frequently garden together with the other women living in
their husband's naulum group. For large-scale tasks such
as preparing yam gardens, the women of a naulum group work
together as a unit. Taro gardens are worked individually,
but one usually makes a taro garden close to those of one's
neighbours; women who associate with one another in the
village because of physical proximity also chat and gossip
while in the garden.

The men of a naulum group may form a unit for certain
stages of garden clearing. Formerly, each naulum group

used its own garden lands. Since the early 1900s, the
pattern has changed: men from all the naulum in Ongaia
unite and work one large section of ground, regardless of
ownership.[12] When the land is exhausted, they move on to
an adjoining section. In turn, each naulum group's land gets
used by the entire village. This is the pattern for taro
gardens: people make yam and sweet potato gardens on the
ground belonging to their naulum groups. Men do the large-
scale tasks for taro gardens, such as cutting down the
large trees, on either a village or a naulum group basis.
Other tasks, like clearing the brush, may be accomplished
by a united naulum group or by smaller units of families
or brothers.

Men also act as a naulum group when the Kilenge
villages pool forces to hunt wild pigs. Each naulum
organization owns a pig net; the men of the naulum group
are responsible for the net's maintenance, and for properly
positioning it during the hunt.

The men act as a naulum unit when it comes to
hosting a narogo, or ceremonial cycle. Before a man will
undertake the sponsorship of a cycle, he must be assured of
the support of all the men of his naulum group. Although
an individual sponsors a cycle, it is the naulum group that
makes the decision of whether or not to actually undertake
the cycle. The group as a whole controls the course of a
cycle once it has started, because the group's reputation

rests on the success or failure of the cycle (see Zelenietz and Grant, in press).

Internal Organization

Most naulum groups in Ongaia and the other Kilenge villages are internally divided into two or more naulum kuria, men's house segments. In the days when each naulum group had its own building, the division was stated in terms of the two entrances of the building. Today, with the common use of one building by all the Ongaia naulum, there is no such physical manifestation of naulum kuria. Lack of such a physical reminder may be partially responsible for the fact that some mature men, and most younger males (as well as females), have no idea of their kuria affiliation. In some naulum the division may be expressed by having a food handler for each of the kuria, but this is not always the case. Where people can identify their food handler, but not the name of their kuria, it seems that kuria could be more an expression of internal leadership and cohesion than of a structured division. In some instances the food handlers are very senior women, rather than men.

Each naulum should ideally have two kuria, but at least one naulum (Saumoi) has three, and one (Vultapua) none (see Table 1). The kuria are relatively unimportant today: they own or control no property, and are not the

basis for participation in or organization of any activities. The _kuria_ is of some importance in regulating marriage: one should not marry someone from one's own _naulum kuria_. Although the dogma is that two people from the same _naulum_ cannot marry, we recorded several marriages between people nominally in the same _naulum_ group or organization. If a person wishes to marry someone from his or her _naulum_, they may simply change their _naulum_ affiliation by using that of their mother or any other _naulum_ in which they can claim membership. But people in the same _naulum kuria_ cannot marry, and this rule is upheld. Most likely, this is because the contemporary Kilenge see marriage regulation as a mechanism of demonstrated genealogical connections (see Freedman 1967:215ff. for similarities in the Siassis): you must not marry your second cousin or anyone closer. It is impossible to say how much this has been influenced by church marriage regulations. The _naulum kuria_ of today are composed of groups of close agnates. Frequently, a _naulum kuria_ is made up of adult brothers, their wives, children and possibly grandchildren (see Sibling Groups, below). The people within a _kuria_ work closely with one another, and this is expressed as "brothers" working together: it is not a descent group, or the _kuria_ itself forming a cooperative unit. The _kuria_ of today is a byproduct of sibling cooperation, rather than the organizing principle for it.

Most likely, _naulum kuria_ composition and pattern-
ing in the past was similar to the present situation, and
kuria were the lines of division in _naulum_ fission (see
Chapter III). The process of fissioning and establishment
of new _naulum_ today is neither automatic nor patterned.
The need for new house sites is generally given as the
prime reason for clearing unoccupied ground. The _naulum_
Vultapua was recently established when people cleared the
ground and built houses there. The core settlement group
was composed of real and classificatory brothers, and the
naulum group is now augmented by their married sons. Then
again, people from Sugapua and Polpolpua cleared and
settled Onga Tuange, but never established a _naulum_ there.
They are still members of their original _naulum_ groups,
and there is no special section set aside for them in the
naulum building.

Naulum Saumoi has the potential for fissioning in
the near future. It is the largest _naulum_ group (with ten
male and two female household heads) and because there is
not enough land in Saumoi's small house plot, many Saumoi
members must live elsewhere. A few men within the _naulum_
are interested in making a bid for village-wide leadership,
and their aspirations could eventually come into conflict
with one another. Furthermore, there is smoldering
hostility between the acknowledged leader of the _naulum_
and his younger classificatory brother, over the latter's

conduct. The younger man is volatile and easily excited, and his behaviour occasionally drags his senior brother into defensive social positions which the latter would rather avoid. If the volatile person eventually raises enough support from his true brothers and their children, and if he can find a plot of unused house land, he will probably try to establish a local group of his own.

Leadership and Seniority

The notion of seniority pervades social life in Ongaia: it is an important operational and organizational principle. Each naulum is nominally headed by a natavolo, who should be the senior man in the senior line of the naulum organization. Seniority in lines of descent and naulum, and succession to natavoloship, should ideally be a clearcut matter: primogeniture is the rule. But succession is complicated when people migrate from villages and their descendants return. Take the hypothetical case of a woman who is a nararara--the first-born daughter and eldest child of a natavolo. Years after she has married out of her naulum group, her eldest son or senior grandson may return to that group to claim the title of natavolo. In the meantime, another line, most likely that of the nararara's younger brother, has established itself as the line of seniority, holding the natavolo title. Things are

further confused for the participants because some (but
not all) people feel that _all_ the children of a _natavolo_
or _nararara_ should be addressed by the honorific title.
Thus, at any one time there can be several individuals
who claim the title and compete for the position. This
problem is examined in greater depth in later chapters.

A _natavolo_ must validate his position by organiz-
ing ceremonial events, work parties for cutting large
canoes, and taking care of the interests of his group.
His major prerogative is his control of _naulum_ property;
he has the final say in the use and disbursement of
resources held jointly by the _naulum_ group members. In
the past the _natavolo_ also had the power to decide whether
to go to war: group members had to obey his decisions.

The position of food handler is a secondary role in
the _naulum_ group. Many food handlers today are people who
will in future become _natavolo_. The food handlers are
said to be 'in training' for _natavolo_ship. The _natavolo_
distributes ceremonial food either by himself, or he
appoints someone to do the job under his supervision.
The position of food handler may also be given to a senior
person in a junior line of the _naulum_ group so that some
prestige will attach to the person and the line.

Ramages

One major type of social unit crosscuts ties of the village and naulum. The Kilenge recognize the presence of this unit, although they have no specific term for it. Instead, they call it by a variety of terms: natepo tiavoelm (Male'u, "one blood"); lain pamili (Tokpisin, "family line"); bisnis (Tokpisin, "clan", "tribe"); and kambu (Lusi). I refer to the unit as a ramage,[13] because its features are very similar to the major features of ramages as described by Hanson (1970) for Rapa: it is a group of cognatic descendants of a common ancestor; membership is not exclusive because a member may hold rights in more than one ramage simultaneously (1970:49); and "[i]ts estate is the ramage's sole reason for existence" (Ibid.:51). I do, however, disagree with Hanson's use of the term "group" in reference to ramages. He shows that contemporary Rapan ramages are neither discrete nor localized (Ibid.:187), and from my perspective they should be considered 'categories'. The distinction must be made. Kilenge ramages are also non-discrete and non-localized, and the membership never gathers in whole, or even in large part, to act as a group.

Kilenge ramages exist to control and exploit particular resources, and to delimit resource use. Ramages are usually nameless, but the Tokpisin phrase "lain bilong..." occurs occasionally, where "..." is the founder of the

ramage. The founder is the person who developed the
resource around which the ramage is formed. There are
at least three different sorts of resources around which
ramages are formed: fruit trees, fish nets, and recently
cleared primary forest. The people entitled to use these
resources are all the cognatic descendants of the founder.

Fruit Trees

When a man or woman plants a tree such as bread-
fruit, betel nut, mango or galip, and subsequently cares
for the tree, it is his or her personal property. He is
the only person with gathering and use rights to the tree,
and must be consulted before anyone can cut it down.
Unless the tree is given away as a mortuary payment at the
time of the owner's death, control of the tree resides in
all his children: they have exclusive rights to fruit on
the tree (but anyone may gather fruit which has fallen to
the ground). The eldest sibling is the nominal controller
of the tree, but younger siblings need not ask permission
to use it. When the planter's children have died, rights
to the tree pass on to the grandchildren, and when they
die, the rights are transferred to the great-grandchildren,
and so on. The use group is headed by the eldest son of
the eldest son, and this person controls the use of the tree.
After a few generations of ramage growth, the role of
controller assumes greater importance, because members

should ask permission to gather the produce of the tree.
In lieu of control being maintained by the senior line,
it might devolve onto the ramage members who live in
closest proximity to the tree: it is easier for them to
check on the state of the tree and protect the fruit from
theft. The membership becomes so large and diffuse that the
controller may have real power, excluding distant members
from use rights. If the tree is heavy with fruit, the
controller can send word to all those he feels are entitled
to come and gather fruit. The members never gather in
meeting, and if a member fails to avail himself of the use
of the tree, chances are that his membership will lapse:
his children will not know of their rights in the tree,
and the controllers may not acknowledge those rights.

If a ramage member lives in a village other than
that of the controller, he should ask permission of the
controllers before using the tree, and send part of the
food he has gathered to the controllers in recognition
of their rights of control. A man may collect from trees
in which his wife has use rights, but first she must
approach the controllers and ask their permission. Under
normal circumstances, use rights should not be denied to
any claimant, provided they first ask permission and later
send a portion of the collection to the controllers.

An individual inherits use rights or ramage member-
ship in all the ramages in which his parents are members,

and they in turn have received rights and membership from all the ramages to which their parents belonged. An individual thus holds rights to use the resources of quite a number of ramages, provided his claims are accepted. The process of ramage affiliation is limited by imperfect transmission of knowledge and the impermanence of trees; when a tree dies or is cut down, the ramage based on it dissolves. With the estate gone, the ramage ceases to exist.

Now that men cultivate land that does not belong to their naulum, the formation of ramages around fruit trees is a source of concern to the people of Ongaia. Customarily, a man plants trees on his garden site both during and after the productive life of the garden. If a man plants trees on his own naulum's ground, he is the owner of the tree and may fully exploit it. On the other hand, if he plants trees on his garden site when he has no claim to the ground, the tree becomes the property of the members of the naulum group which controls the ground. The Kilenge recognize the danger in this. They understand that a man who plants a tree and nurtures it, regardless of on whose ground it stands, feels that he owns the tree. In turn, his children will think they own the tree, and because the tree is theirs, they have claim or entitlement to the ground on which the tree is planted--because, of course, no one plants a tree on ground to which he is not entitled! Ongaians see that land may become alienated

from the original controlling group in this way. They
urge each other to be careful about where they plant
trees, but we have no evidence that any action is taken
against people who mis-plant.

Fishnets

Large fishnets, used inside the reef to catch
large fish, turtles and dugongs, are a recent introduction
to Kilenge. It is only within the last sixty years or so
that large nets have been brought from Arawe on the south
coast. The nets have proper names, but are often referred
to as the 'net of' the person who originally made or
purchased the net. The original owner's eldest descendant
controls the net; it is the older men who have the
necessary knowledge of techniques and lore to repair and
use the nets. Although a net grows and shrinks in size
as new sections are added and old sections are removed,
and although the original components of the net are long
gone, the net as a named entity continues through time.
People entitled to use the net are descendants of the
original owner. Women do not use the fishing nets, but
rights in the nets are transmitted through women to their
children. In this way, ramages are currently being formed
around the fishnets.

It is likely that the nets will eventually become

property of <u>naulum</u>. A net is a large portable object and needs to be stored in some convenient location. The preferred storage place is the men's house; its roominess and high rafters make it the ideal spot to hang a net. Nets may eventually become identified with the storage area, as are pig nets. If so, <u>naulum</u> rather than ramages may come to be associated with the fishnets. Effective control of the nets will pass on to localized groups, rather than dispersed categories of people which crosscut other categories.

Forest

Ramages can also be based on newly cleared primary forest. Most Kilenge garden land has been secondary forest from time immemorial. It belongs to <u>naulum</u>, and its use is controlled by members of the <u>naulum</u> groups. However, cognatic descendants of people known to have cleared primary forest have a special relationship to that land. Although nominally owned by the <u>naulum</u> or village, the land is described in Tokpisin as 'graun bilong lain bilong...', 'the land of ...'s line', the person who cleared the land; his descendants have first claim in using the ground. Before someone gardens there, he must first consult with the members of the ramage to determine if there are any immediate plans for using the plot. If not, permission to

garden there will be granted. As with fishnets, ramage
control of such ground will probably lapse and come to
rest with the local group normally associated with the
ground.

Ramages and naulum organizations are structurally
similar in that both types of organizations recruit
members through cognatic descent, and membership in such
organizations can crosscut village lines. But there are
several important structural differences between the two
types of units. Naulum, as naulum organizations, persist
in time and space irrespective of membership, or lack
thereof. The ramage is intrinsically linked to a specific
resource: if the resource ceases to exist, so does the
ramage. Naulum organizations are localized in naulum groups
where members use their naulum affiliation as a basis for
association. But ramages are never localized, and ramage
members seldom use ramage affiliation as a basis for
association with each other.

The functional similarities of ramages and naulum
are evident in resource control, although they differ in
the scale of control. The sole function of the ramage is
to use and control a limited range of real property.
Naulum own a variety of real and intangible property. In
addition, naulum have a host of other functions such as
ceremonial organization, nominal marriage regulation, and
leadership inheritance.

Any individual Kilenge is enmeshed in a number of
ramages entitling him to use a variety of resources. The
ramages make no claims on their members, so conflicts of
interest do not arise between ramages, or between ramages
and other social units. There are no activities involving
all the members of a ramage (i.e., all those people entitled
by cognatic descent to use a particular resource), although
large numbers of members might be called on to gather fruit
from certain trees or to help with the repair and use of
fishnets. Thus, while ramages are important for resource
utilization, ramage membership imposes no obligations on
an individual. A person may claim rights in any ramage to
which he feels entitled. Recognition of those rights is
contingent on his parents' demonstrated use of those
rights, and on his relationship with the controllers of
the estate.

Households

The household is an important unit of organization
and production in Kilenge society. A household is usually
composed of a nuclear family: husband, wife, and their
unmarried children. Only rarely are other personnel
attached to a nuclear family household. Elderly parents,
even though they might need aid in gardening from children
and grandchildren, maintain their own houses and try to
prepare their own food. One or two elderly men in Ongaia

sleep in the men's house and their children provide them with food: they are not really attached to one specific household. Elderly widows maintain houses of their own and, if capable, provide their own food by gardening together with one or more of their children. Newly married children, as a sign of their union, quickly build their own houses and establish their own gardens. One household in Ongaia was unique in composition: a single adult male in his late twenties (itself a rarity) and his elder sister's daughter in her late teens. They gardened together, and she prepared food for the two of them. Widows and widowers with adolescent children form complete households. A widower will rely on a daughter or niece for cooking, and widows with sons rely on them for garden clearing. If a household lacks a necessary member, the household head's siblings or siblings' children will contribute to the work unit. In many cases people will adopt children from real or classificatory siblings to complement the household labour force.

Males in their late teens are usually residentially detached from their natal households and live with friends or age-mates in a cook house or in the men's house at the edge of the village.[14] The youths are still members of the production and consumption units of their natal households, although they live elsewhere. They help with the gardening tasks and eat food prepared by their mothers or sisters.

The primary tasks of the household groups are the raising of children and the production of food. Preschool children, and particularly the youngest one in each family, are lavished with affection and attention. They are doted on by both parents, especially the father. When a mother must work in the gardens, infants are left in the village in care of the mother's siblings, parents or neighbours. Mothers hurry back from the gardens to be with their infants; a mother leaving her work in the garden to return to her newborn child in the village is a common motif in several legends.

Parents gratify a young child's every whim, especially when it comes to food. Children two or three years of age often wail and moan for treats: rice, tea or biscuits. Parents usually run off to buy the desired item, but if cash is short or the parents are tired, they try to placate the child with bananas or other sweet fruits close at hand. If the child persists he will be ignored by the parents. Kilenge children, as a general rule, do not cry from pain but from fear and the feeling of neglect. We have seen children with gaping, bleeding and obviously painful wounds sit patiently and quietly while being treated. The next day, the same child can be heard wailing loudly[15] because his mother has failed to respond immediately to his request for food or attention.

At the age of three or four, children join a play

group already established by the older children. If
children have younger siblings one and a half or two
years old, they bring the little ones to participate in
the activities, babysitting while mother has gone to the
gardens. In the play groups (there were three in Ongaia)
the children associate on a geographical and chronological
basis: they play with the children who live close to them,
regardless of kin ties or disputes between parents.
Children roam the bush behind the village 'hunting'
lizards and birds; in cleared areas within the village
they play games. The area behind our house was an
established play area, and we were able to observe a
variety of play activities. One popular form of play is
imitating the particular ceremonial cycle which the village
is hosting. We could see and hear the children of Vultapua
and Valapua playing at dancing Sia three or four times a
week. They used tin cans for drums and gave a fair
rendition of the drum beat and dance steps. Other games
we saw included playing at 'store', with the children
taking on the names and roles of people involved in the
running of the Co-operative Society, and playing at
rugby, where they took on the names of the young men on
the village team. Children also spend a good deal of time
in the water swimming, diving, and using large Siassi
bowls as canoes. Children six to eight years of age often
accompany their parents during subsistence activities, and

begin to assume minor responsibilities for the provision of the household's daily needs.

The household has been largely supplanted as an agent of socialization of children between the ages of eight and fifteen by the community school (see Zelenietz and Grant, n.d.b). The children spend several hours a day in the school and contribute little to the family economy. More than this lack of minimal contribution, parents resent the fact that the children are not engaged in learning necessary subsistence activities, but are learning a host of things which do not seem applicable to village life. Parents deem the few hours a week the children spend in the school garden insufficient for an understanding of proper gardening techniques. Parents also feel that those people who have been to high school have little to offer in the way of suggestions for improving the village by developing businesses.[16] Furthermore, people feel that children learn disrespect towards their elders in the school. Children do not sit and listen to their parents talk about family lines, genealogical con- nections, land entitlement, old stories and myths. But children, and some younger and older men, blame the parents for this disinterest: many children are interested in learning about such things, but no one seems willing to teach them. Young married men frequently came over to our house at night while older men were talking about

legends and traditions. The younger men were not only motivated by the free coffee and tobacco, but they also wanted to learn about the past, and hear more about current affairs in the village.

The gap in transmission of information is partially due to a change in the process of initiating children. Parents are responsible for initiating their children. The major responsibility is the provision of a pig for the initiation, or persuading an older sibling that he should include one's own children in the initiation of his own: this is an important obligation incumbent on senior siblings, particularly first-born brothers. Today, children are initiated between the ages of six months and six or seven years. Boys are superincised, and girls formally dressed. The initiation itself is a one day process (see Zelenietz and Grant, in press). In the past, children were initiated at an older age. Informants say that boys were superincised at about the age of twelve "so that it would hurt more", and the second (but now defunct) stage of initiation, ear lobe cutting, would take place a year or two later.[17] After superincision, the initiates were secluded in the men's house for several months until the wounds healed. Females bearing the title navarara or nagaliki were secluded in a specially built initiation house after they were formally dressed and had their ear lobes pierced. During this period of seclusion

the initiates received their first formal education into genealogies', myths, lore and legend. Because this seclusion and education no longer occur, the flow of traditional knowledge has been interrupted.

Following the years of initiation and schooling, the child gradually becomes incorporated as a productive member of the household. Boys help with gardening activities, hunting and fishing, and girls help with the running of the household, maintenance of gardens, and caring for younger siblings. Girls are fully occupied, while teenage boys have a fair bit of free time.

The next and final major event for a household in the raising of children is the marriage of the child. In times past, all first marriages were arranged either by parents or the natavolo of the naulum group. Today, many young people choose their own marriage partners. Parents usually do not stand in the way of a proposed marriage unless they think that the genealogical connections between the couple are too close. The groom's family begins to gather a brideprice, which will be paid to the bride's parents. The collection is organized by the groom's father; if he is dead or of no status, the father's father or elder siblings, or the groom's own elder siblings, will undertake the responsibility. Traditionally, the bride-to-be sent the groom's parents gifts of food and gave them help with garden and household

tasks before the marriage, so they could evaluate her worth
as a worker. The bride and groom took up coresidence
only when the brideprice had been paid. The Kilenge
maintain that the size of the brideprice was set by the
groom's family, and reflected the rank and prestige of
the payers: the larger the brideprice, the more prestige
the groom's family accrued. The size of the brideprice
is still set this way. There is no arguing or bargaining
over the size of the price. The nature of the components
of brideprice has changed little since European contact,
but there are indications that it had changed immediately
before. In the distant past, the major items of brideprice
were large baskets woven by the Lolo and various carved
items produced by the Kilenge: war clubs, taro spoons,
and nasavoi (tortoise shell armlets). Of course, the
brideprice included pigs. With the spread of Siassi and
Kove traders in the middle and late 19th and early 20th
centuries (Chowning 1972; Dark 1973; Harding 1965), the
brideprice came to include several carved Siassi or Tami
bowls, several clay pots from the Sio area of Madang
Province, several fathoms of shell money from the Kove
area, all in addition to the more traditional elements of
pigs and woven baskets. Other items, like nasavoi, are
in short supply or no longer manufactured. They are not
mandatory in the brideprice, but their inclusion adds
prestige to the payment. The Kilenge also possess, but do

not use in brideprice payments, large decorated gold lip
shells from the Arawe region on the south coast of New
Britain. The Kilenge say that these shells and pigs are
the two major elements of brideprice on the south coast.
When paying for brides from other areas of Papua New
Guinea, the Kilenge use cash or the traditional valuables
for those areas. A man, whose son was marrying a Siassi
woman, gathered an extraordinary (for the Kilenge) amount
of shell money, because this was what the bride's parents
wanted. Another man, whose son married a woman from
Nakanai, paid for the girl in cash. Cash itself is not
a major element in local Kilenge brideprices.

The groom's family gathers the brideprice from
anyone willing to contribute. All contributors are
kinsmen in some fashion, but a man expects the largest
contributions from those with whom he closely associates,
i.e., his natal siblings and members of his sibling group,
his naulum mates, his wife's siblings and her natal naulum
mates. People with more distant connections who wish to
acquire prestige and a reputation as a "generous" person
may contribute much more than expected. Contributions are
expected from those who have received a portion of a
previous brideprice payment, but these people are usually
in the classes of kinsmen mentioned above. Affines as
well as consanguines may contribute to a brideprice pay-
ment, or receive a share of one. The donations given to

the groom's family are seen as help extended. While the donations are not regarded as debts in the same way that pigs are, the recipient is obliged to offer help in a similar fashion when the donor is in need. On the designated date, the price is gathered at the groom's parents' house and taken in a procession to the bride's parents' house. One or more freshly killed pigs are carried at the front of the procession. The bride's parents receive the payment (which may include K10 to K40 in cash) and distribute it to their kinsmen: people who have helped them in previous brideprice payments, or those whose help they may wish to seek in the future. It is not unusual to see a person donate an item to the groom's parents, go with the procession to the bride's parents' house, and then receive an item in the distribution. Such a person claims, and acts on, a relationship with both parties. He receives prestige by contributing an item and recognition of other help or prestige by receiving one. Nowadays, the groom's parents set aside a part of the collected material and, keeping it separate, deliver it later directly to the bride's parents. This part of the price is intended solely for the parents of the bride, not for distribution to relatives.

Adopted children may have the brideprice paid or received by their natal parents, adoptive parents, or both, depending on the quality of the relationship with each set

of parents, and the relationship between the sets. Adoptive parents who have taken an active role in raising the child should organize the payment (for a son) or receive the payment (for a daughter). If the natal parents have also treated the child well and maintained a good relationship with him, they will help in the gathering of the brideprice (for a son) or receive a share of the distribution (for a daughter).

Church weddings have led to complications in brideprice payments. Today, people are officially married if they have had a church ceremony, regardless of brideprice payment. Some brides are paid for before the church service; others may not have the price paid for several years after the wedding. A delay in payment creates tension between the families involved and puts the new husband in an awkward position: he does not have authority over his wife and children until the payment is made. He should not beat his wife, nor can he punish her for running away. If the payment has not been made, the groom has low standing in the community.

Coresidence between young adults who have had neither a church service or brideprice payment is uncommon, but does occur (especially in urban areas). A non-formalized marriage creates tension for all involved: the man's family is angry with him, the woman's family is mad at her and at him, and the families eye each other suspiciously.

The parents of the woman may choose to force the issue by demanding a brideprice.

The household as a unit is little involved with the mourning rituals for a deceased household member, unless the deceased is a young child. The parents arrange the funerary and mourning rites for their children. Mourning practices for children are an attenuated form of those for adults. An adult who dies will have his mourning organized by his siblings and his children (if the latter are old enough to participate).

The second major task of the household group is the production of food. Garden work, which is the main subsistence activity, is roughly divided into male and female tasks. Only males cut down the trees and clear the garden site of bush. Only females weed the gardens and harvest the produce. The intermediate steps can be performed by men, women or a combination of both. Men do the initial planting in newly cleared taro gardens and women do the later planting. A husband and wife may join forces for the planting of other gardens, i.e., sweet potatoes and certain kinds of yams. Women usually do the cooking except for particular types of ceremonial food (e.g., _naravu_, the final mortuary feast) which require a joint male-female effort. Although it is said that the women should do the daily cooking, on two occasions we saw men preparing daily meals: one was a widower who frequently changed residence,

and the other was his son whose wife returned to her natal village. But generally speaking, Kilenge men know how to cook: they cook for themselves while on hunting and fishing expeditions, if no women or girls are close by in the gardens, or if European vegetables such as tomatoes, onions, peppers or beans are used in a meal. Carrying firewood for cooking fires is generally a female task.

Hunting and fishing are men's activities, but women and children gather shellfish from the reef. Small scale fishing is done on a household basis: a man alone at night in his canoe, or a man and his sons casting a net inside the lagoon. Men may hunt wild boars alone or in the company of their sons, friends or brothers.

Gathering activities can be carried out with all members of the household working together, or one or two members by themselves. If a large quantity of galip is needed for a ceremonial dish, the entire family might go and gather at the trees in which they have use rights. Other tree produce such as mangoes, breadfruit, betel or galip (when not needed in quantity) will be gathered by a lone individual. Coconuts for household consumption are usually gathered by individuals, while those for copra production are gathered by several family members working together.

Most production resources for daily subsistence are owned by the household or its head. Tools such as

axes, bush knives, shovels, hammers, saws and chisels are
owned individually, and are passed down to children.[18]   A
woman owns her own cooking pots, eating utensils, and the
like. Small canoes for use inside the reef are owned
individually but are not inherited since they last only
two or three years. Fishing spears, pressure lamps,
shotguns and similar items are also individually owned.

The household head and spouse own the garden
which they create with their own labour: the fruits of the
garden belong to them, and to them alone. They do not,
however, have title to the ground on which the garden is
made. Ultimate title rests with the naulum organization,
and direct control either with the naulum group or with a
ramage. The household head and/or spouse also owns all the
animals attached to the household: pigs, dogs, chickens
and the rare cat. Pigs may be owned by either husband or
wife, depending on how the pig was acquired, i.e., who
gave it to them, and with what stipulations. A male house-
hold head has nominal rights of disposal overall household
animals, but if he does not consult his wife about the use
of her pig, he will antagonize her and her siblings (who
might have had a use planned for the pig). The indiscriminate
or improper disposal of a pig will not permanently rend the
household, but it can cause much conflict and ill will
between the household head and spouse's siblings.

Men and women also own personally the coconut

trees which they themselves have planted, or which they
have inherited. Coconut palms, unlike other trees, are
seen as capital resources. Indeed, they are the only
enduring capital resources in the Kilenge economy. They
are the only guarantee of a steady, if minimal, cash income.
Unlike other types of fruit trees which are controlled by
ramages, coconut palms are individual property and long
before a man dies, he divides his lines of trees between
his children. Many men designate an inheritor as soon as
the trees are planted. Fathers emphasize the need for their
sons to have trees in order to derive a cash income from
copra production. Fathers also designate lines for their
daughters so that they will not be destitute. As with
gardens, the actual land on which the trees are planted
does not belong to the individual, but to a naulum or
ramage. Today, before an individual plants coconuts, he
makes sure that his right to use the land is acknowledged.
He does this either by planting on the ground controlled
by his naulum group, by using abandoned ground, or by
planting on his parents' naulum group's land. The latter
tactic is facilitated if he already has coconuts planted
there by his parents: his claim to the ground is clear.
Many people in Ongaia are now planting on the ground
belonging to Masele, a village abandoned during the Second
World War and never resettled. By planting there, they
are asserting their rights to the ground, claiming that an

ancestor was from that village.

The pattern of coconut planting was severely complicated during the 1950s and 60s. The paramount luluai Aisapo required that all men in the Kilenge villages plant coconuts for copra production. He resided in Ongaia, and when he told the people of that village where to plant their coconut lines, he ignored accepted claims of land tenure. Some men and groups had their ground effectively expropriated, and many others were forced to plant coconuts where they had no title to the land; they were not primary members of the naulum group which controlled the ground, nor were they categorical members of the naulum organization which nominally owned the ground. The people who benefited most from forced planting and expropriation were either kin of, or in the naulum group of, the paramount luluai. His naulum (Saumoi) was and is notoriously short of arable land. When we took a census of coconut holdings, the people of Saumoi often tried to show that they had some claim to the ground where their coconuts were located. They usually cited an ancestor from the controlling naulum, but the naulum group managing the ground never acknowledged the claims. As far as we could tell, this situation caused little social upset until late 1977, when a village man came back from Kimbe and announced that the Land Claims Commission would come to the village to establish and register ownership of land. The issue of the misplanted

coconuts was raised immediately. Controllers of the ground
insisted that the coconut trees would become their property,
as the trees were planted without their permission.[19] The
land owners said that they would allow the tree owners
six months grace, and then would take over the trees.
The controllers emphasized that their biggest fear was
permanent alienation of the land: children and grand-
children of the tree planters would figure the ground was
theirs, because their trees were planted on it. Tree owners,
meanwhile, insisted that the trees should be theirs in
perpetuity because Aisapo had made them plant there. When
we left the village in early 1978, the issue had not been
resolved.

Sibling Groups

An important operational unit in Kilenge society
is the sibling group (see Goodenough 1962). The Kilenge
have no name for this phenomenon, nor do they explicitly
recognize it. However, the sibling group is important to
adult males for the provision of labour, gathering of
brideprice, mourning the dead, and general support and
solidarity. Sisters are also members of the sibling group,
but because they may reside elsewhere, they interact less
frequently. Mostly, sisters help one another and their
brothers with gardening and the preparation of ceremonial
food. Under exceptional circumstances, a group of sisters

may form a complete sibling group, living close to one another and giving each other general support. But because of the usual pattern of virilocal residence, I will refer to sibling groups as basically male-oriented phenomena.

Sibling groups are composed of sets of male adult siblings. If a person has many true siblings, the composition of the group will probably be limited to those men. Frequently, though, two or more sets of true siblings will combine (see Figure 2). The usual relationship between them is father's brothers' sons; they would normally address each other as 'brother' since they are classificatory siblings. The group is headed by the eldest brother of the senior line. In the case of the second sibling group diagrammed in Figure 2, E is the defacto leader. The position of leader is informal, in that there is no title and no specific set of duties, but the eldest of the senior line is expected to provide leadership in various group activities. Given Kilenge ideas of genealogical seniority and ranking, his leadership is usually accepted. Members of a sibling group characteristically reside together: they usually belong to the same naulum group and build their houses close to one another (if circumstances permit). Sibling groups might be given organizational expression as naulum kuria, but in daily activities, people seldom operate in those terms.

Figure 2.   Sibling Groups

Notes:

1. The first sibling group is composed of A, B, C and D. Although D is of a higher generation, he is the same age as B.   B, as the eldest surviving male, heads this group for work and support projects.

2. E is the leader in the second sibling group.   He is also natavolo.   Siblings residing elsewhere, or too young to participate, are excluded from this group. Individuals F-K form a residentially compact unit.

3. The boundaries of the group are not firm.   Other people help the group members, and vice versa.   But the sibling groups do interact more frequently on a daily basis.

4. ▲ = deceased.

The sibling group is primarily a unit of solidarity. The members support one another whenever help is needed. For example, it is typically the sibling group that will unite to cut down the smaller trees and clear a garden site of brush after the large trees have been cleared from the area by the men of the naulum group or village. Later, the men of the sibling group might help each other plant the first taro in the garden.

Sibling group members also fish together. They may join together and buy an imported fishnet made of nylon line. They use the net as a group, and distribute fish to those who contributed towards the purchase price. They also lend each other fishing implements such as canoes and pressure lamps.

Sibling support is expressed during disputes. In a public confrontation over a garden-destroying pig, the alleged killing of that pig, and the possible consequences of that act,[20] two men dominated the shouting: the owner of the pig, and the owner of the garden. Both men were eldest brothers in their respective groups. After a time, younger brothers of each came forward and began to steer the debate around to minimizing the damages, demonstrating that there was no proof of the pig's death, and generally trying to quell the dispute.

The solidarity of the sibling group is also evident in ceremonial activities. If an elder brother decides to

sponsor a ceremonial cycle, he has the support of his
brothers. Such support can be crucial if the sponsor
has been back in the village many years, and spent the
cash that he accumulated while working in town. His
younger brothers, who have recently returned from or
are still in town, provide money to buy the necessary
commodities: rice, tinned fish and meat, tobacco,
newspaper for rolling the tobacco, tea and sugar. The
elder brother is responsible for the initiation of his
younger brothers' children; in exchange for his younger
brothers' support and provision of pigs, he initiates
their children with his own. Younger members of a
sibling group may be called back from town to help with
the ceremony and initiation, and to insure that their
children will be initiated. Even if an elder brother is
not sponsoring the initiation, he is morally responsible
for the initiation of his younger brothers' children.
Children initiated together tend to form a sibling group
of their own in later years.

A woman who marries out into another village
ceases to be an active member of her natal sibling group,
but she may return to the group at any time (such as
after a divorce or the death of her husband) and her
male siblings will look after her: build a house and
clear her gardens. If a woman's children are grown, they
will usually stay in their natal village. Younger children

may be brought back to the woman's natal village, or adopted by people in her marital village. Even when a woman lives in another village, she will support her brothers by helping them with food for ceremonial events, raising their pigs, and the like. A woman's primary loyalty is to her brothers, not to her husband.

A woman's status in the sibling group is not transmitted to her children: membership in the group is operationally confined to same-generation agnates or putative agnates. Sibling groups dissolve on the death of their members; they are not organizations with continuity through time. It is the task of the sons of members of a sibling group to form a new sibling group to their own liking.

Sibling groups act as a unit when a member dies; the responsibilities for organizing the burial and mortuary proceedings fall on the deceased's siblings, especially if the deceased has no adult children. Sibling group members supervise the distribution of the deceased's goods, provide food and valuables for the mourning feasts, and observe whatever mourning taboos are deemed proper.

Men marrying into a village have alternative strategies for joining a sibling group. They can attach themselves to an existing sibling group, form a functional equivalent of their own, or do without a group by relying

on a variety of connections and contacts to mobilize the support they need. If their natal village is close at hand, they will aid the members of their original sibling groups, and maintain active membership in two groups. If a man has come from another Kilenge village he probably has a number of 'siblings' present in his new village, and he will most likely associate with a sibling group localized in the naulum group where he resides. Men from areas like Siassi or Kove will either try to exploit some distant kin tie and join an existing group, or they will band together to form a group of their own. Although they are not true siblings, and perhaps not even cognates, they will consider themselves classificatory siblings and give one another the same type of support found in genuine sibling groups.

Although sibling groups are relatively stable, membership is not absolutely fixed. If brothers dislike one another or have a serious quarrel, one or more may associate with other 'siblings' and thus change sibling group membership. A change of allegiance may or may not entail a change of residence. Adopted children, when they mature, may associate with either their natal siblings or their adoptive siblings. Association depends on the quality of the adopted person's relationship with the other individuals involved. If the relationship with

both sets of siblings is good, the person may aid the
undertakings of both sets, regardless of where he resides.
On the other hand, if he does not get along with one set,
he will associate primarily with the other.

I must emphasize the fact that I have defined
sibling groups on the basis of behavioural, rather than
ideological, data. There is no local concept or ideal of
sibling groups, but people associate and behave in the
ways I described. To walk into Ongaia and ask about
sibling groups would gain a researcher little knowledge:
to watch who does what with whom would paint a clearer
picture.

Pisins

Dark has based his analysis of Kilenge social
organization on the existence and importance of units
which he variously calls 'pisins' or 'pidgeons' (1969,
1973, 1977). He claims that

> Kilenge society is basically one of a
> dual division of the society into exo-
> gamous patri-sibs. The members of each
> village belong to one or the other of
> the two patri-sibs present. The same
> patri-sib is to be found in more than
> one village today. Locally the term
> namon aiinge or 'pidgeon' is the equi-
> valent of a sib. A particular pidgeon
> in a village is considered 'big' and
> the other 'small'. In Kilenge, where
> the social organization is relatively
> complicated, due to a recent increase in
> the population, certain pidgeons in the

five villages are considered 'big' and
the first or original ones. Others have
accrued over time (1973:63; see also 1977:
5).

From a slightly different perspective he notes that

A village contains people who belong to
one or another of the two named groupings
which are referred to locally as pisin,
when the Melanesian Pidgin English term
is employed. Pisin means a bird. One of
the pisin is considered the most important
in the village and is associated with its
founding. Marriage is supposed to be with
a spouse of a different pisin (1969:80).

After painting this beautifully coherent and simple picture

of Kilenge social organization, there is the admission

that all is not as it seems to be:

While a type of dual organization within a
village seems to represent the norm, in
practice in many Kilenge villages things
have changed considerably. A person's
membership of [sic] a particular pisin
seems no longer of significance. In many
villages only an old person remembered his
pisin affiliation....Due to considerable
expansion in population of those living
at Kilenge and the pressures of change
from outside, some men's houses have not
been rebuilt when they have decayed away,
their membership being absorbed by a more
dominant or pertinacious pisin than their
own....The men's house of the dominant
pisin is usually the one remaining in a
village (Ibid.:81).

What are we to make of Kilenge social organization?

Our research was not influenced by a prior knowledge of

Dark's analysis of social organization: his material

came to our attention only after we had been in the field
five months. None of the data we had collected at that
time fit his model, and subsequent attempts to find such
social features failed. In my extended discussion of
social organization, I have demonstrated and emphasized
the presence of an all-pervading cognatic descent construct
in Kilenge ideology. This descent construct is opera-
tionalized in a number of different social units charac-
terized by flexibility in criteria and types of memberhship.
During our research in Ongaia, we found absolutely no
evidence of a "dual division of society into exogamous
patri-sibs." Before talking about what pisins are not, I
will describe what we found them to be.

I concur with Dark (1969:81) that pisins are very
unimportant. Most people, young and old, could not
readily name their pisins. When asked about their pisin
membership, people first considered what their naulum was,
and in which naulum organizations they held viable
secondary membership. They then said they used the pisins
of those naulum (still not having actually named a pisin).
Even older informants were generally puzzled as to what
pisins were supposed to be, and a few people asked us to
explain pisins to them!

A pisin is basically a concrete symbol attached
to a particular named plot of ground. The symbol is
controlled by the naulum group which controls the ground.

The symbol is based on the particular kind of eagle or
hawk that nests on the plot and uses the surrounding
area as its hunting territory. Some pisins are
thought of as being shared between naulum, probably
because an eagle may hunt over several plots of ground
belonging to different naulum. Informants did not know
much about the actual bird that served as the basis for
the symbol. Some believed the eagle to exist in perpetuity,
while the majority thought that the eagle was replaced in
time by its offspring. Some people maintained that when
the nesting tree of the eagle died or was destroyed, the
ground would retain its name and the eagle would take a
new name from its new residence. Others felt that the
eagle would transfer its name to the new nesting area.
Even though there are two or three instances of an eagle
changing nesting areas, no one was very sure what happens,
nor were they concerned. Only the anthropologist's inquiry
about pisins made them seem important.

The distinctive mark of the eagle is copied in a
ceremonial design (namer) given the same name as the bird.
The use of these designs is controlled by the naulum group,
and any member of the naulum organization is entitled to
use the naulum's namer. The name of the bird may be
called when hunting or fishing: if a man spears or nets
a pig, or catches a large fish, he shouts the name of his
pisin. A few informants thought this was so the hunter

would gain the strength of his bird, but most informants could not explain why the custom was followed.

A person may use the pisin of his parents, grandparents, or other ancestors, as long as he has knowledge of them. He acquires use rights in the same fashion as he acquires categorical membership in naulum and ramages. In fact, the right to use various pisins is a part of the package of rights associated with categorical or secondary membership in a naulum organization. Because of this, a person may use pisins owned by, and localized in, other villages.

A person should not marry someone who 'calls out' the same pisin he does. But if a person is intent on marrying someone with whom he shares a pisin, either party may change the pisin that they usually use as a ceremonial mark: by changing their namer, they have changed pisins. The only rule governing marriage is one of personal kindred exogamy: ego may not marry someone with whom he shares a great-grandparent.

It is evident that pisins are of no importance at all to the Kilenge, aside from providing people with marks and decorations to wear during ceremonial events. Naulum also control other kinds of marks, taken from cassowaries, lizards, crocodiles, other fauna, and Nausang masks. All these marks are used and inherited in the same way, and there is no reason why the ethnographer should imbue pisin

marks with special importance.

Informants related a story of an attempt to equate pisins with 'clans'. A patrol officer visiting Kilenge in the 1930s told people to line up in their fathers' pisins so that he could record their affiliations. It seems the patrol officer attempted to impose a neat and set form on Kilenge social units. People lined up as they were told, but noticed that several of the lines were shorter than others. Many people went into the lines of their mothers' pisins to equalize group size. Older informants used this incident to justify which pisin they used, but they also spoke of the pisins of their other parent. Men younger than middle age did not have this experience, and so did not use it as a reference point when discussing pisins. The attempt to reify pisins into unilineal descent groups (clans or lineages) failed: people today do not think of pisins in those terms.

Pisins are widespread along the northwest coast of West New Britain, and everywhere they occur they seem to be equally unimportant (Chowning, personal communication; Counts, personal communication). The origin and diffusion of pisins is a mystery the solution to which is not known but which should not be given undue attention, nor equated with real social units.

With the knowledge (at least as much as possessed by any Kilenge) of what pisins are, we can now deal with

what they are not. Most assuredly, they are not exogamous

patri-sibs. None of the behaviour which might be implied

by such a characterization was evident in Ongaia (as it

was, for example, among the Koriki of Papua--see Maher

1967:310-311), nor did informants discuss ideological con-

structs even vaguely resembling Dark's patri-sibs. Patri-

lineality is an idea alien to the Kilenge, as are the

concepts of sib, clan, or any other type of unilineal

descent group. It is possible that Dark has mistaken

patrilocality for patrilineality by interpreting residence

patterns as descent rules.

We found no evidence at all to support Dark's

contention of dual organization. There was no physical

dualism in Ongaia or the other Kilenge villages: villages

were not divided into two distinct sections. There was no

real dualism evident among the naulum. The six naulum

in Ongaia were not linked together in pairs, nor were

there two triads. There was some evidence of dualism in

the naulum kuria: each naulum should have two kuria.

But this is not universally applied, as Saumoi has three

kuria and Vultapua none. Nor was there any evidence of

marriage moieties of the type found elsewhere in Papua

New Guinea (e.g., A.L. Epstein, 1969; Maher 1961b). An

analysis of several hundred marriages over five generations

produced no evidence of marriage moieties or consistent

exchange of marriage partners between particular naulum

or groups of naulum.

Dark's equation of naulum and pisin (1969:81) is erroneous. Pisins are symbols which belong to naulum: naulum are groups and organizations. Pisins are controlled by naulum: the use of the pisin symbol and marks is available to primary and secondary members of a naulum organization. Not all naulum have pisins, and some have more than one, depending on what ground is controlled by the naulum. If a naulum controls a fairly sizeable amount of land, chances are that one or more kinds of eagles nest on that ground. A naulum which claims little land is unlikely to have even one eagle nesting on the claim. Furthermore, Dark is mistaken in his assumption that when a naulum building decays away and is not rebuilt, the naulum disappears and its members are absorbed into another naulum. I have shown that the life of a naulum as a local group or dispersed organization is not contingent on the presence of a building.

If, for the sake of argument, we accept the naulum= pisin equation, then the rest of Dark's information is unsupportive, particularly his statement that there are two pisins per village, a senior and a junior. This would imply that there are two naulum per village, but this would be incorrect, both historically and today. Not only are there several naulum per village; there are also more than two pisins per village. Nor do people know what difference (if any) there is between 'big' and 'small' pisins.

Dark's analysis is an historical reconstruction, although it is usually presented as a description of contemporary society. If it is an historical reconstruction, it has nothing to say about the operation of contemporary Kilenge social life. Dark ascribes the changes in social organization to "recent population expansion" and "pressures from outside", but he never specifies what the changes are, what the pressures are, or in what manner the mechanisms of change operate.[21] Dark also fails to specify the effects of population decrease, which apparently occurred on a fairly large scale in the Kilenge region in the second decade of the 20th century (Haddon 1937:154).

Dark was primarily interested in the study of art during his Kilenge sojourns. Only to the extent that art articulates with social organization is the latter important to him. But this does not prevent his material on art and art production from being flawed. Statements such as "its [art's] internal structuring can be considered to follow lines demarcated by pidgeon affiliation" (1973: 64) and "The artist serves his pidgeon" (Ibid.:65) are not only meaningless from my perspective, but from the perspective of the Kilenge artists themselves.

I believe that Dark was looking for finite, limited and neatly structured descent groups, and has mistakenly found them. On the other hand, it is my belief that Kilenge social organization can best be

understood by examining people's relations with one
another, and with resources. Affiliation with social
groups is a process marked by a wide range of choice of
groups for affiliation, and the exercise of individual
choice, rather than automatic and permanent ascription to
one of a few given units. Different activities and
resources are associated with different organizations, and
people have a complex web of relationships and affiliations
with different organizations at different levels.

CHAPTER III

TRADITIONAL LEADERSHIP AND SOCIAL CONTROL

Kilenge Origins

Any discussion of traditional leadership must
begin with an overview of the origins of the Kilenge
people. The question of origins is important to the
residents of Ongaia. They bemoan their ignorance of the
names and naulum affiliations of the first settlers of
the coastal villages. Ongaians believe that at one time
there was a settlement story, but old men failed to
teach it to their children and grandchildren, and the
story is now lost. People hold the lost knowledge to be
important because it would tell them which naulum and
which descent line had priority over all others; hence
it would also determine who should be the senior and most
respected natavolo in each village (see Chowning, n.d.).
Without this historical validation, the claim of any
natavolo is open to question and challenge, and a pretender
is free to assert the seniority of his line of descent.

The origin of the Kilenge is lost in what is
probably the not-too-distant past. Dark noted that "the
time of creation, as described to us, seemed confused and

the confusion may well have resulted from a superimposi-
tion of Catholic precepts about a supreme deity upon a
Kilenge cosmogony" (1974:19). He relates that two infor-
mants, a tultul and Aisapo the paramount luluai, told him
their genealogies and then tied their ancestors to a
corporate ancestor in recounting part of a creation
legend. Pora is the creator figure, and it is he who

> made the land and the sea, who created the
> world all by himself and who...lived on the
> top of Mount Talawe as a man and sorely
> oppressed the Kilenge, for he made them
> work too hard. The people finally got so
> cross with Pora...that he went away. First,
> he went to Australia, but he was buried by
> the Australians and after three suns and
> three nights he came alive and went to
> America, where he made aeroplanes and
> rockets, among other things (ibid.).

I agree with Dark that Kilenge ideas of creation
and creator are confused, but in this case I suspect
the confusion is deliberate. The story and the circum-
stances of its telling seem to me to be more of a political
statement than a retelling of Kilenge myth. We ourselves
never heard a creation story referring to Pora, although
some elements of the story are similar to the legend-cycle
of Namor, a Kilenge culture hero (see below). Pura is a
term used extensively in northwest New Britain to denote a
stranger or foreigner, usually a white person. The term's
use extends at least as far as Kaliai (Counts, personal
communication). The story ending carries strong overtones

of cargo cult beliefs of the kind recorded by Burridge for the Tangu (1960). In the post-war period Aisapo tried to interest the Kilenge in cargo cults, but most of the people would have nothing to do with them. Finally, it seems Aisapo told the story while he was trying to establish his deep roots in and as a Kilenge for the ethnographer. He did this by tracing his heritage back to the corporate ancestor. In reality, Aisapo's father's father was an immigrant from Kove. The Kilenge now speak of Aisapo as a "blodi hap-kas Kombe." Sister Mona Sackley told us that when she recorded Aisapo's genealogy, there was one ancestor Aisapo claimed to have forgotten and refused to speak about. Knowing Aisapo's background, she surmised that he was trying to hide his Kove ancestor from her (Sr. Mona Sackley, personal communication). Dark collected the story in the presence of another man, probably under the assumption that the third party would disagree if anything was incorrect. However, as I will later show, people seldom had the courage to refute Aisapo. The presence of another man at the storytelling was hollow validation. All in all, it is not too surprising that Aisapo's creation story would contain elements to "prove" his heritage and at the same time reinforce his case for cargo cult beliefs.

The Kilenge have a vague notion of a creator called Aratolpunganga, translated in Tokpisin as "man bilong putim yumi"; but the few people who knew the legend had idiosyn-

cratic ideas about it. One man insisted that the idea was
relatively new, that "the ancestors didn't think in terms
of such a creator." Another ascribed to Aratolpunganga the
creation of the world, all objects and people, including
the culture hero/trickster, Namor.

Kilenge distinguish between historical stories (napu)
and myths (naningpunga). If living men or their immediate
ancestors witnessed the action described, or if they saw
tangible evidence of the events in the story, then the
story is classified as napu, history. Lack of such tangible
evidence means that the story is naningpunga, a myth. The
stories of Namor are classed as historical stories (napu).
Namor himself is part of a culture hero cycle which extends
from the northeastern coast of mainland New Guinea through
the Siassi Islands and along the north coast of West New
Britain. Namor appears under a new name in each location
(e.g., Raupate in the Umboi uplands, Malavure on the Umboi
coast), but is recognized throughout the area as one and the
same person. People describe him as a man, and deny that
he was the creator.

We were able to collect only parts of the Namor saga:
no single individual in Ongaia knows the complete epic.
Aisapo manipulated one element of the epic as the basis
for his own personalized creation story. Informants agree
that Namor went to America after he finished his adventures
in New Britain, but they said this was a recent introduction

to the story, added after the war. Only one villager
connected Namor with possible cargo cult ideology. A man
from Kilenge proper told us that Namor had given the
Kilenge books and paper, but they were too stupid to learn
how to read. Namor took back his gifts and gave them to the
Americans.

Tales of another culture hero, Moro, are spread
along the New Britain coast. Moro is distinct from Namor;
Moro is half man and half snake, and has parents, a brother
and assorted spouses. Some of the few people in Kilenge
who know the stories of Namor and Moro are amalgamating the
legends and fusing the two figures into one.

We heard one origin story told by a Lolo man from
Tawale. It differs from the above stories in that no
supernatural or paranormal figures or feats are included.
Instead, the story purports to be a history of the initial
settlement of the Kilenge-Lolo area. The story is divided
into two parts. The first section begins on Umboi Island,
where people from two men's houses in Aval village are
involved in a dispute. The men of Magalab sent a ceremonial
prestation of food to the men of Ailekua. The gift was
no normal bowl of taro pudding: concealed in the pudding
was the body of a young boy. The Ailekuans were horrified
when they saw this: they feared for their lives. That
night they sailed away from Umboi on logs with attached
outriggers. After drifting, they landed at Yalerale, land

near what is now the Cape Gloucester airstrip. The Ailekuans
survived in their new land by hunting, following their dogs
as they tracked game. After moving slowly down the coast
through the area now inhabited by the Kilenge-Lolo, they
came to a place called Mongo. From Mongo they could
clearly see their homeland across the water, so they settled
there. In their movements along the coast and through the
bush, the Ailekuans encountered no other people living in
the area. Today, they are rembered by the men's house Ailekua
in Mongo. The narrator claimed membership in Ailekua naulum,
and through that membership he claimed ownership of tracts
of land on Umboi. Haddon (1937:154) relates a similar
story of Tuam settlement in the Kaliai region, and the Ongaia
naulum Vultapua has yet another, similar story (details
unknown) of Siassi dispute and migration to Ongaia.

In the second part of the story narrated by the
Tawale man, there are two brothers, Aigilo and Sapu (common
Kilenge names) who live by the two mountains Aiso and
Tangis. For reasons unspecified (and unknown to the story-
teller), the descendants of the two brothers decided to
move. The progeny of Sapu followed a path behind Mt.
Talave and settled the villages in that area. Aigilo's
descendants went the other way around Talave on the path now
called Laut-Mania (after the two Lolo villages connected
by it). At various encampments along the route, members of
the party decided to remain and build villages on the spot.
In this manner the villages of Sikal, Aimara, Aipate, Gi,

Laut, Naune, Nanwil, Koko and Aiviranga began. The people
of Naune moved slowly down to the coast, and eventually formed
the village of Tawale. The Luga people ended up at Portne,
after interim settlements in Niavukea and Valovalo. The
Nanwil people came down to Kurvok, people from Koko founded
Ongaia, and Aiviranga settled in Ulumaienge.

No one in Ongaia knew this story, but several men
were eager to learn it when it was told to us. They agreed
with the scenario that villages moved in stages from the
bush to the coast, and remarked that there were old village
sites in the interior above the beach. Some used the story
to explain why they didn't fish very much. And they all
felt that the story accurately reflected the common basis
of the Kilenge and Lolo.[22]

One competing origin story came to our attention.
One man claimed that Saumoi was the original naulum in
Ongaia, and that Saumoi's first settler was a man named
Vunom, who migrated to the Kilenge area from the Rai Coast
of New Guinea.[23] The informant did not know Vunom's wife,
or where she came from. The Vunom story, like Aisapo's
creation myth, is best interpreted as a political statement.
The storyteller was in the midst of a belated attempt to
establish himself as the senior natavolo in Ongaia. If
people accepted his story, they would be validating his
claim to senior status. To date, no one outside of his
naulum kuria accepts the story as historical truth.

While it is impossible to establish a precise date for initial Kilenge occupation of the coast, an educated guess would be between 150 and 200 years ago. I arrived at this figure by evaluating data on three factors: subsistence activities and techniques, diet, and patterns of land use. The Kilenge orientation towards the bush, rather than the sea, suggests a late date for coastal occupation.

Like other people living on the northwest coast of New Britain, the Kilenge are primarily horticulturalists, spending most of their time working in the gardens on the mountain slope. Adult males spend less than 10% of their working time in fishing. The Kilenge acquired much of their fishing technology in recent historical times. The first large fishnet was imported from Arawe about fifty to sixty years ago by the father of a man now 65 years old. Use of a tree bark derivative to poison fish has been more recently learned from the riverine Lolo.

Diet also reflects an orientation towards the land rather than the sea. Taro or yams eaten by themselves constitute a complete meal. Fish, eaten alone, on the other hand, is a snack, and only becomes a meal when eaten in conjunction with a root starch (see Zelenietz and Grant: In prep.). It is said by older informants that in the days of their grandparents, sweet potato was a newly introduced food, considered fit only for pigs. Had the ancestors of the

contemporary Kilenge been living on the coast, fish probably would be a more important part of their diet and the Kilenge would have acquired the sweet potato from New Guinea at an earlier date.[24]

Patterns of land use and tenure also suggest a late date of coastal settlement. Land is generally acknowledged as being in the control of a naulum group, except in those cases where primary forest has been cleared within recent memory. The cognatic descendants of the original clearer form a ramage and control such recently cleared ground. Two cases of ramage-controlled land in Ongaia involve the land cleared by the father of a group of brothers in their forties, and the grandfather of a group of men in their fifties and sixties. The tracts of land are close to the beach. All the land farther up the mountain is controlled by naulum, not ramages. I hypothesize that the people of Ongaia continued to use their upper mountain land as they moved down to the coast, and only began using land near the coast after they had lived on the coast for a while. Furthermore, if the coastal plots were primary forest, the secondary growth higher up the slopes would have been easier for gardeners to clear before the advent of steel axes.

Although no one knows the specific founders of the coastal villages, there is general agreement that Kurvok and Ongaia were settled before Portne. If we take the amount of land controlled as indicative of the relative

time of settlement,[25] then Ongaia was initially settled by the people of Valapua, Polpolpua, and Sugapua naulum. Niavogea came later or split off from Valapua, and Saumoi, with its minimal plots of village and garden land, probably came later still. Vultapua naulum, a recent creation, controls no land.

Kilenge settlements used to be more dispersed than they are at present. Villages or hamlets extended east of the current settlement area as far as Masele, near the Cape Gloucester airstrip. A tsunami destroyed the villages of Akoni and Samarara following the eruption and collapse of Ritter Island in 1888. Most of the inhabitants of those two villages, sleeping after a ceremony held the night before, died when the wave struck. The few Akoni and Samarara survivors, who were visiting other villages or in their gardens when the wave struck, came to live with the people of Ongaia, Portne and Kilenge. People from those three villages had seen the wave approaching and they fled into the bush above their villages. Nausang destroyed another village, Masele. People rebuilt Masele, and the settlement was again levelled during the Second World War. Once more, the survivors came to dwell at the present Kilenge village sites. The people of an Ongaian hamlet, Akawa, were exterminated by other Ongaians and men from Portne, Kilenge and Masele, in the time before the coming of the Germans. The men of Akawa had publically displayed a Nausang carving

to the women: the exposure of the most sacred and feared
Kilenge ritual mask brought retribution from the surround-
ing villages. Only one young girl, hidden by her uncle,
survived the slaughter.

Haddon notes that a smallpox epidemic devastated
the Kilenge and Sagsag areas in the period 1910-15 (1937:
154). According to information Haddon received from the
missionary V.H. Sherwin, there was serious depopulation.
Several villages were wiped out. Our informants did not
recall any villages abandoned because of smallpox, but they
did say that the disease killed many people. Villagers
believe that the Germans introduced the disease.

Settlement Pattern

The physical layout of Kilenge villages before the
Pax Germanica differed from the present pattern. In a
strict sense, villages qua villages did not exist. There
is no distinction in Male'u between "village", "hamlet",
and "house". All are referred to by the term nania.
Informants described a pattern of hamlets and hamlet clusters
for the past. Each hamlet consisted of a naulum building,
where the men resided and stored their ceremonial objects,
surrounded by houses for women and children. The hamlet
took its name from the naulum building, which in turn was
named after the plot of ground on which it stood. In other
words, the hamlet groups of the past are equivalent to what

I have termed "naulum groups" in the contemporary situation. Areas of vegetation separated hamlets from one another (see Counts 1968:44; Chowning and Goodenough 1971:111; Goodenough 1962, for similar situations in Kaliai and Nakanai), and the separation emphasized hamlet localization and local identification. A.B. Lewis, who was at Kilenge on 18 December 1909, confirmed the persistence of this settlement pattern well into the German period. "We stayed here till about 5:00 P.M. visiting different villages, a house group, each with its special name..." (Lewis, m.s.). The "special name" was probably the name of the naulum.

The hamlets were more or less autonomous units. The members of each hamlet controlled their own garden land, owned other productive resources, such as canoes, and feuded amongst themselves. However, the naulum/hamlets did group together into hamlet clusters. These clusters had names which persist today as the names of villages. The hamlet-clusters formed larger units for warfare.

Ongaia probably was two hamlet-clusters, Ongaia and Onga Tuange, separated by a stream. Onga Tuange consisted of three naulum/hamlets on the northeast side of the stream Akwoiya: Akawa, Aisukapua and Ulumaitu. On the southeast side of the stream was Ongaia proper, which at the time of German contact, probably had five hamlets: Valapua, Niavogea, Saumoi, Polpolpua and Sugapua. Residents abandoned Onga Tuange after the destruction of Akawa, and today their

descendants are in Sugapua and Polpolpua. The sixth Ongaia naulum, Valapua, was formed in the very recent past.

Without accurate records, it is impossible to reconstruct the process whereby people joined the naulum/hamlet. If modern notions of naulum recruitment applied in the past, then the naulum/hamlet membership consisted of cognatic kinsmen, based probably on sibling groups.[26] A shortage of personnel in one hamlet would have meant the opportunity for cognatic kinsmen from other units to move and utilize under-employed resources. Drastic overpopulation in a unit could have led to the establishment of a new hamlet through naulum fission.

Informants said that a shortage of food at ceremonial events was the most common reason for naulum fission in the past. During most major ceremonies, the sponsor or senior man of the host naulum distributed taro pudding and baked tubers to the food handlers from naulum that attended the event. The food handler directly distributed the food to each nuclear family in his naulum, or, in cases of larger naulum with two recognized sections, he gave food to a sectional food handler who then divided it among the families. Informants insist that the distribution of food was equal: each naulum received an identical portion.[27] People in naulum with larger memberships got a small portion of food. The men of a large group would deliberately absent themselves from the village during a ceremony, usually going off to work. They would rather miss the distribution entirely

than face a small portion of food. People should not work while a ceremony is in progress: hence, if they do, their actions could insult the ceremony sponsor. Close relatives, usually a group of siblings with various children and affines, form the work groups of today. In the past, this pattern was probably expressed as the organizational form naulum kuria. Following a series of food distributions in which the members of a large naulum consistently received small food portions, one of the sibling groups or naulum kuria would split off from the main body, clear a new residential area, and form a new naulum/hamlet. Multiple ties of kinship and resource claims would bind it to the old naulum, but members of both would now receive satisfactory portions of food during ceremonials. Informants never cited disputes between siblings or different sibling groups or naulum kuria as a reason for naulum fission; but, given comparative material from other coastal groups in West New Britain (Chowning, n.d.; Counts 1968), it is possible that such disputes were the underlying, but now forgotten, causes for splits.

Hamlet Leadership

A natavolo led each hamlet. Several factors hamper precise reconstruction of the natavolo's positions and duties in traditional society. In the first place, the

Pax Germanica removed one of the _natavolo_'s major functions,
that of war leader. The loss of this aspect of leadership
has had major consequences for leadership roles in Melanesia
and elsewhere (e.g., Scheffler 1965; Lowman-Vayda 1971; Maher
1961b, 1967; and Mair 1951:36 for Africa). It is hard to
determine in retrospect just how important this loss was in
the Kilenge area. Secondly, as a consequence of peace and
administration policy, villages were formed and _naulum_/hamlets
lost their identity and autonomy. The loss of autonomy must
have had some ramifications on the behaviour of the leaders
of hamlets, curtailing their ability to act independently in
a variety of situations. Finally, as I will argue at the
end of this chapter, people's ideas of leadership have changed.
It appears that current notions of how a _natavolo_ comes to
power, and what he does in office, are projected into the
past and used as a model for _natavolo_ behaviour for the time
before the First World War. Therefore, the following
reconstruction is tentative: it is based on data that seem
to be independent of later ideas of leadership, and on
comparative material for similar systems of leadership in
Melanesia. I have not relied too heavily on the latter
because they reflect circumstances and social situations
that perhaps differ from the Kilenge past.

Following usage established by Burridge (1960) and
Scheffler (1965:180), the term _natavolo_ can be translated as
"manager". This is not entirely congruent with the local

world view: the Kilenge would translate the term as "traditional leader". However, difficulties arise from using the native translation when we talk about leaders who do not lead. Dark (1973:63) translated natavolo as "Lord", a term which has its merits because it indicates a category or classification of people, regardless of prestige or function. The Kilenge also use natavolo to mean "generous man". Natavolo has its female equivalent, nararara. Nararara can mean either a female of high hereditary position or a generous woman. In exceptional cases in the past, a nararara was a true manageress (see Chowning, n.d., for a comparable situation in Kove).

First and foremost, the most important criterion for being a natavolo or nararara was proper genealogical quali-fication. The position of manager was hereditary. While ascribed criteria for leadership are uncommon in Melanesia, several studies indicate that ascription was important at various levels of organization in many societies (Chowning, n.d.; Freedman 1967; Groves 1963:70; Hallpike 1977; Hogbin 1951:118; Maher 1967, 1974; Read 1959; Scheffler 1965; Todd 1934:94-96, 1936:417).

A true natavolo or nararara ideally was the eldest child of the most senior man or woman in the naulum/hamlet. A nararara was a woman apart from all others: she underwent special initiation ceremonies, and she alone of all females had the right to enter the naulum building and to see the

Nausang masks (cf. Chowning, n.d.; Todd 1934:203). A
nararara might exert full influence and be the leader of
a naulum/hamlet, but usually her eldest brother took the role
of manager and the title of natavolo. In either case, if
the nararara bore a first-born son, he would ideally inherit
the title natavolo and assume leadership of the hamlet.
However, difficulties arose if the nararara's brother's son
had utilized his position as the son of an active natavolo
to establish himself as manager. The nararara's son and
her brother's son would probably compete for leadership and
the managership would go to the person who proved himself
most capable and competent (see Scheffler 1965:180). If
the nararara's first-born was a female, the daughter would
become a nararara and pass down the titled status to her
children. In order for a child's status as a title holder
to be widely accepted, the father would have to make one or
more validation feasts.

Although the duties and prerogatives of manager were
linked to a specific naulum estate, the title and status
of natavolo and nararara were portable. A nararara who
married out of her natal village retained her title, and
high status women marrying into Kilenge from Siassi received
the title nararara or nagaliki. Likewise, a natavolo
carried his title around with him. If he changed his
village of residence, he became a manager in his new village.
Sahlins, in a public address about succession in the Hawaiian

kingdom,[28] noted that among Austronesian speakers leaders
and high status persons are often foreigners. No one knows
why this tendency is so widespread, but it is evident in
Kilenge even today. People complain that many of their
natavolo are not "as ples tru." "Our natavolo are
foreigners--their ancestors came from another village."
The data are too scanty to understand how a "foreign"
natavolo could assert his control over a naulum/hamlet's estate.
The only explanations the Kilenge could offer were their
hospitality and the seniority of the newcomer--"Our ancestors
were generous people, and looked after the welfare of visitors.
They honoured an outsider by making him a natavolo, putting
him above themselves. If an outsider's ancestors came from
a senior line, if they were big people, we would listen to
him."

People say that in times past a natavolo or nararara
should have married a person of similar status, or at least
someone who was first-born. Villagers still espouse this
ideal today, but the titled people do not necessarily adhere
to it. The current genealogically senior natavolo in Ongaia
is married to a third daughter of a man with dubious claims
to a title, and a young nararara married a man with no title
connections at all.

The titles of natavolo and nararara were conferred
as the result of genealogical position. Respect and deference
were attached to the title, and, by extension, to the title

holder.   Unlike peoples of Polynesia and parts of Melanesia

(e.g., the Koriki of the Purari Delta, Maher 1961b, 1974),

the Kilenge have no concept of mana connected with the titles.

No power inhered in the title of natavolo or in the person

holding the title; deference and respect resulted from social

and genealogical, not magico-religious or supernatural,

superiority.

There is some confusion about the extension of titles

to the junior children of a natavolo or navarara. Most infor-

mants felt that while those children would not be true

leaders, they should all be addressed by a title and shown

deference and respect. This custom is followed by many people

today, and in genealogies people frequently identified the

younger siblings of a titled person, and those siblings'

children, as title holders. Even those who say it is improper

to use the title agree that a certain amount of respect and

deference, over and above the ordinary, should be shown to

all children of a natavolo or navarara.

The extension of titles to junior children created

a pool of people with more or less correct genealogical

qualifications for succession, and bearing the proper titles.

I suspect that in the past the pool of titled people led to

a blurring of the lines of succession. Succession by primo-

geniture was not automatic.[29]   Any title holder could try to

claim the rights and duties that the title implied: even if

not first-born, the title holders could try to become managers. The process of title spreading engendered competition among those entitled: competition to become actual manager of a group. Genealogical claims and title holding and a low birth rate limited the field of competitors, but naulum members evaluated the competitors on the performance of the manager's duties and tasks, not on genealogical grounds.

Competition for leadership is often a feature of systems of leadership where genealogical qualifications denote the range of people who may aspire to leadership. "The essential attributes of a manger are not the formal qualifications but rather managerial abilities" (Scheffler 1965:180). "It [recognition of title and leadership] rests, in fact, on a combination of heredity and achievement" (Chowning n.d.: 5).

> What does concern them [the Tauade of Papua] is the fact that men exercize power; that some men have stronger personalities and greater capacity to make effective decisions and manipulate their fellow than other men; and that the sons of such men, often the eldest sons, often exhibit these capacities as well (Hallpike 1977:142).

The Kilenge describe a man entitled to leadership, but who has done nothing to validate the claim, as a natavolo sapa, a "nothing leader". His status as natavolo does not suffer, but he has far less prestige than natavolo who have acted on their claims. In recent years, the competitive aspects

of leadership validation have declined. More emphasis has been put on the genealogical criterion for leadership. The change in emphasis is a response to changed conditions in the social environment of the Kilenge. In the later chapters of this work, I will explore the reasons for, and ramifications of, these changes.

A person had to successfully organize and lead activities for his naulum/hamlet to achieve prestige and establish and validate his claim as a natavolo. Just being able to organize a major activity was partial validation of the claim: people would not follow a person who they felt did not have some right to claim the status. Natavolo organized and led warfare, trading expeditions, some gardening activities, ceremonial events, and hunting and fishing expeditions.

The natavolo controlled the military activities of his naulum/hamlet.[30] If someone from another unit offended a person in his hamlet (by stealing a pig, committing rape or adultery, thieving from a garden), the victim went to his natavolo before seeking redress. The natavolo decided whether to pursue the matter by taking armed action against the offender, or to let the matter drop. The offender's manager, in turn, would decide either to support him by mustering the men of his naulum/hamlet, or to leave the offender to suffer the consequences of his actions on his own, without the support of his hamlet-mates. It was the

manager's task to go to the leaders of other hamlets to seek support for his cause.

The natavolo, when assessing the possibilities for war and peace, evaluated the situation from several angles. He had to determine if his group, or some alliance that he could construct, had sufficient manpower to attain its objectives of redress and revenge[31] without further loss of life and property to the group. He had to ascertain the consequences of conflict for his prestige: would unwillingness to fight be seen as a sign of personal weakness, or was it the general consensus of his group? Much depended on the status of the offended individual. If he was a respected man, he would likely receive his naulum's fighting support. On the other hand, if he was a minor or insignificant person, then people might not be willing to expose themselves to harm on his behalf. Group prestige was also important; if the group as a whole stood to lose face by backing down, then it might pursue a course of war. The natavolo had to assess the situation and come to a decision that satisfied both his own desires and his group's wishes (cf. Scheffler 1965:189-190).

Fighting occurred in daylight at a traditional fighting ground located somewhere between the two warring units. Two lines of men (one from each of the belligerent naulum) fought with spears,[32] and the fighting had the character of interpersonal duels rather than mass warfare.

This way a man could avoid injuring a close kinsman who resided with the opposing unit. No shields or protective devices were used: fighting was a contest of skill in throwing and dodging spears. As informants recounted fights from the past, their bodies would twist and weave in imitation of spear dodging. The natavolo was not necessarily the most skilled or renowned warrior. Indeed, the truly great and fierce fighters in historical tales are not natavolo. Read noted the same tendency for the Gahuku Gama of the New Guinea Highlands, where the unbridled "strength" of the warrior must be balanced by a sense of "equivalence" for effective leadership. "[T]he character structure of the really 'big' or 'strong' is not fitted for the subtleties of generalized authority. Among other things, successful leadership requires a fine feeling for the opinions of others" (Read 1959:435).

Once fighting began, uninvolved natavolo could intervene to try to stop it. They would attempt to get the disputants to agree that the damage done by one side cancelled out the damage done by the other, i.e., mediators strove for recognition of equivalence. With the system of cognatic descent, it was likely that two warring natavolo were kinsmen, and that the mediator was kin to them both. He probably used their common kinship to appeal for a cease-fire. If the men were unsuccessful in negotiating a truce or settlement, a nararara could stop the fighting immediately

by walking out in between the warring groups, taking off her
grass skirt, and waving it above her head.[33] The fighting
would stop, but the causes of the dispute would not be
forgotten. They would surface later as a fresh event
triggered a new round of hostilities. Some informants
said that a negotiated settlement would end in the initiation
of a ceremonial cycle (see below; also Rappaport 1968).
Additionally, the warring groups exchanged women to cement
the peace: this is how the members of Suapua and Polpolpua
naulum in Ongaia explain their close, cooperative relation-
ship and their exchange of women.

It was the natavolo's privilege and duty to lead
trading expeditions to neighbouring areas of New Britain
and the Siassi Islands, and to provide accommodations and
hospitality for visiting traders from those areas. A
successful expedition, or bargaining session with visiting
traders, enhanced a manager's prestige: an aspiring manager
could use an expedition to launch his career. Some of the
items exchanged were prestige or wealth items, such as Tami
and Siassi bowls and Sio (Madang) pots, but even these had
their utilitarian side. The pots and bowls, used for pre-
paring and processing food, were (and still are) an integral
element of a brideprice payment. By successful trading,
a natavolo could obtain a surplus of these items and use
them to help in the marriage payments of his younger brothers,
his own sons, his classificatory brothers and sons, and the

other members of his _naulum_/hamlet. A _natavolo_'s contribution to marriage payments enhanced his reputation as a generous person, and built up a store of prestige and credit useful in maintaining his following, in a process widespread in Melanesia (e.g., Chowning, n.d.; Berndt and Lawrence 1971; Burns, Cooper and Wild 1972; Scheffler 1965). The _natavolo_ could further manipulate the situation by arranging marriages, thus controlling the flow and direction of goods provided for the payment.

Trading expeditions also provided more immediately desirable goods. During times of famine, a manager would lead the men of his local group on an expedition either to Bariai to cut and process sago, or to the Siassi Islands to feast on the fish and bring a supply back to the hamlet. For either voyage, the men of the hamlet needed access to a large, ocean-going sailing canoe. Locally made canoes rarely were used for such voyaging, especially on the run to Siassi. The Kilenge preferred the Siassi two-masted canoe. Although Haddon intimates that the Kilenge must have manufactured this type of canoe (1937:154), the Kilenge maintain that they imported all such canoes. They purchased the two-masted sailing canoes from itinerant Siassi traders, for a price of three pigs: one to pay for the midships section, one for the bow, and one for the stern. Informants recalled later inflation, when an additional small pig was required to pay for the outrigger. If the men of a hamlet could not

afford the complete price of a canoe, they would join with the men of another hamlet to purchase a vessel on a share basis. The hamlets would then alternate in using the canoe. Organizing the payment for a canoe was the task of the group manager, the natavolo.

When traders from Siassi or Kove came to visit, it was the natavolo who had to provide overall hospitality for the group, even though the individual visitors went to their trading partners in the hamlet. The Kilenge say this is why the natavolo had more than one wife,[34] so that he could look after his visitors, providing them with more food than they could eat, as well as uncooked food to take home.[35] The abundant display of food was used in conjunction with the performance of a ceremonial cycle to honour the visitors. Performances accompanied the purchase of a canoe, and pro-vided a context for giving the pigs in payment. Traders also bought and sold cycles themselves, and specific songs and dances within cycles. The Kilenge acquired rights to Sia from the Siassi, and sold them rights to Bukumu. The man who purchased the cycle, usually a natavolo, controlled it. Today, the rights to perform various purchased cycles belong to both the naulum group of the purchaser, and the descendants of the purchaser, regardless of where they reside. There is some dispute as to whether the naulum or the ramage formed around the cycle can claim precedence and ultimate controllership: the outcome in any particular case depends on the force of personalities and the social

position and prestige of the disputants.

Large scale organized trading expeditions no longer occur. The two-masted Siassi voyaging canoes appear to be a thing of the past, and contact between the Siassi and Kilenge communities depends on sporadic visits of coastal vessels and trawlers. Visitors from Kove come frequently in their motorized outriggers, and stay with friends and relatives, not with the natavolo. Individuals are responsible for making their own provisions to gather new stocks of traditional valuables: one or two men will travel to the mainland to find and purchase the appropriate clay pots. Expeditions no longer provide a means whereby a natavolo can demonstrate his skill at organization and his concern for his naulum group by amassing valuables for brideprice payments.

One further way in which a natavolo could advance his reputation, increase his prestige and status, and thereby entrench himself in the role, was through the sponsorship of ceremonies and ceremonial cycles (narogo). Today, this is the only way a natavolo can validate his status, but historically it was part of the constellation of activities described above. Elsewhere (Zelenietz and Grant, in press) we have described and analyzed in detail the process of sponsorship of ceremonial cycles, and the relationship between cycles, resources, and the accumulation of prestige. Briefly, this is what occurred.

The cycles (narogo) are vehicles by which people honour their recently deceased senior kin and initiate their children.[36] A natavolo, or person aspiring to be recognized as a natavolo, would determine if his naulum/ hamlet needed to sponsor a cycle. If a group had one or more recently deceased senior kinsmen, or several uninitiated children, or embarrassingly outstanding pig debts, then the potential sponsor would convince the men of his naulum/ hamlet to assist in the sponsorship of a cycle. The group then proceeded to assess its resources to determine if it had enough pigs and taro to begin a cycle. The sponsor organized the work to gather the resources and once the cycle began, he was in charge of distributing the garden food and pigs to the participants from other naulum/hamlets. Food, tobacco and betel nut compensated the guests for their attendance. Pigs created or repaid debts. In the course of a cycle, which might last several years, men initiated their children. The leader of the naulum group was obliged to make sure that children of group members were initiated. The natavolo looked after the welfare of those group members who could not afford to initiate their own children. The recipients of the natavolo's favours for initiation put themselves into a morally binding debt to their manager, although they were not endebted in the sense of owing the natavolo specific recompense for the pigs he expended on their behalf. The manager used the initiations and the ceremonial

cycles to secure a followership.

Not only the _natavolo_'s prestige and position
depended on the successful completion of a cycle, but the
prestige of the hamlet as a whole hinged on the _narogo_'s
success. If people from other villages and hamlets felt they
had not received sufficient food during the various occurrences
of the cycle, or the sponsors had not provided enough pigs
in the final stage of the cycle (which is marked by a massive
exchange of pigs with people from the other Kilenge villages
and from Lolo, Bariai and Kove), then the reputation of the
organizing _natavolo_ and his hamlet would suffer.

Dark mentioned that the _natavolo_ also built his
reputation on successful organization of hunting and fishing
expeditions (1973:64). These activities alone did not
serve to establish or enhance a man's reputation. Rather,
they were tasks ancillary to organizing a _narogo_: the
provisioning of food. A man's reputation rode on the cycle
as a whole, not on one particular task or part of it.

I assume that the _natavolo_ also looked after the
day-to-day affairs of his hamlet, such as the distribution
of garden land, and the organization of gardening work. In
all likelihood, he was also the repository of esoteric
knowledge. He would have to have been well-versed in genealo-
gical knowledge, if only to support his claim to _natavolo_
status. Informants could not provide information on such
mundane aspects of leadership in the past, but the assumptions

are congruent with the pattern of natavolo behaviour and with his responsibility to look after the welfare of the people of his hamlet.

A brief word is in order on the nature of followership in traditional times. It is a commonplace in Melanesian literature that the big man creates his followership, binding people to him through a series of mutual obligations. He occupies no office, but holds the position that he has carved out for himself. Upon his death or retirement, the group formed around him, the people who owe allegiance to him, move off and regroup around another big man (Sahlins 1963:289ff.). This interpretation does not explain the actions of Kilenge natavolo. A given followership existed: the naulum/hamlet was a discrete residential unit controlling particular resources. Each naulum had an office that had to be occupied for the successful maintenance of the group and management of its resources. The natavolo did not create his followership. However, the natavolo did have to secure his position, establish and validate his right to occupy the office. Because it was possible for more than one person addressed by the title natavolo to reside in a given naulum/hamlet at any one time, men competed to establish who would be the effective natavolo, or the de facto manager, of the group. This competition occurred in the organizing and sponsoring of trading expeditions, marriages and brideprice payments, and

ceremonial cycles (see Maher 1967:312ff.).

Social Control

The ways in which contemporary informants describe
the social controls and sanctions applied by managers
indicate that a natavolo did not depend totally on his
followership for legitimization, and that occupation of
the office legitimized the actions of the man holding the
office. The Kilenge believe (I think wrongly; see below)
that the natavolo received absolute respect and obedience.

> When a natavolo told the people to do some-
> thing, they did it. It's not like today,
> when people sit around and don't listen.
> If a natavolo said to work in the gardens,
> they gardened. If he said "Bring pigs today
> for a ceremony," they brought pigs today.
> Not tomorrow or the day after, but today.
> People listened when a natavolo spoke.

Informants say that if someone disobeyed the order of a
natavolo, the manager would more than likely resort to
physical violence and have the sluggard beaten by other
men of the naulum/hamlet. Kilenge folklore describes the
ancestors as larger and stronger than the people of today,[37]
and natavolo were the biggest and strongest of them all (see
Watson 1960:149; 1967:62-63). In a fit of anger, or with a
particularly recalcitrant person, the natavolo himself would
administer the beating and perhaps even kill the man. The
manager was also within his rights to have a person speared,

or to spear a person himself. However, no one could recall hearing of any specific instances of use of these measures.

Informants stated that a natavolo could also use sorcery against group members and his enemies on the outside. But they note that the practice was not common before the Pax Germanica. Sorcery flourished only after the suppression of warfare, when men could no longer settle disputes with spears. Unlike the mahoni of the Kove, who traditionally were and still are themselves sorcerers (Chowning, n.d.), natavolo apparently were not necessarily skilled in the black arts. Instead, they would hire a known sorcerer to do their killing for them. Some informants stated that each naulum/hamlet had its own resident sorcerer who did the killing for the group's natavolo, and who also countered sorcery perpetrated against the group members.

A natavolo had two specific agents of social control available to him: Nausang and Natavutavu. Both usually operate within the context of ceremonial events. Nausang events were singular; a complete event lasted but a day or two. Natavutavu appear in the long term ceremonial cycle of the same name. Nausang are best described as a class of spirit beings of rather violent temperament, who take physical form in carved masks. People feel the mask itself has power (Tokpisin powa), and it is forbidden for women to see it. Nausang masks are wrapped in mats and stored in the rafters of the naulum building. Even the unwrapping of the mats, just to look at a mask, is an event fraught with uncertainty,

and a pig must be killed. Natavutavu (Tokpisin tumbuan)
are autochthonous spirit beings manifested in conical or
cylindrical hats. As with Nausang masks, Natavutavu hats
are stored in the naulum. There are two kinds of Natavutavu.
The harmful and malicious ones have two peaks on their
heads, and the non-violent ones have but one peak. Either
Nausang or Natavutavu may be called up by the villagers to
forbid the use of particular resources.[38] In the case of
Natavutavu, villagers had to initiate a ceremonial cycle
or use the current one (if it was a Natavutavu cycle). A
natavolo or man of high status would organize a Nausang
occurrence. The activated agent would punish people who
had broken the restrictions on resource utilization.
Additionally, Nausang and Natavutavu can punish people who
have committed social offences (e.g., adultery), failed to
pay back long-outstanding debts or fines for violating the
sacredness of the naulum building, or children who frequently
and flagrantly misbehave, annoying and upsetting their elders.

Both the Nausangs and Natavutavus belonged to naulum
organizations. As such, they were under the personal
direction of the natavolo of the naulum/hamlet. Although
people say that the masks and hats acted on their own
accord, they also note that since the objects are inanimate
the man behind the mask or under the hat really controlled
his own behaviour. Most likely he acted under the direction
of the natavolo, carrying out the manager's order and

punishing those people who were upsetting the social order.
The natavolo would order a Nausang or Natavutavu to be called
up. With the preparations made, the being would storm
into the village. The identity of the man inside, who was
hidden from head to toe in the mask or hat and a skirt of
banana leaves, was not general knowledge. The being would
terrorize the village, cutting down the trees of those who
had violated restrictions, breaking down houses, confiscat-
ing pigs, and beating those people unfortunate enough to
cross its path. It also sought out particularly troublesome
people, so as to administer a beating to them. The man
animating the mask or hat was not responsible for the
theft and material damage he did, or the beatings he
administered. However, if he got carried away and killed
someone, he could be held liable for the death and forced
to pay compensation (if the claimant could muster enough
support to argue his case). Nausang and Natavutavu acted
as the police force of the natavolo, in much the same
manner as some people interpret the Tolai dukduk (see Sack
1972).

Because of informant belief in and memory of these
coercive sanctions,[39] and general Kilenge emphasis on
social ranking, I doubt that an attitude of social equality
prevailed in Kilenge society. The natavolo of the naulum/
hamlet was a social and moral superior, his superiority
being backed by genealogical seniority and coercive

sanctions. Informants did say that his followers could kill a natavolo, either physically or with sorcery, but once again no one could recall ever having heard of such a thing (see Scheffler 1965:191; cf. Hogbin 1946:44). Most likely, as long as a natavolo carried out the proper actions, supported brideprice payments, sponsored and organized trading expeditions and ceremonial cycles, his application of coercive sanctions did not meet with wide-spread disapproval. A group member who met with particular disfavour from the natavolo, i.e., a person who was seen as a social liability rather than a social asset because of stinginess, irritability, and/or failure to participate in group activities and discharge debts, could have moved to another group where he had secondary membership. Scheffler (1965) points out, however, that such a disagreeable person would have difficulty finding acceptance anywhere.

Although it would seem possible to classify naulum/ hamlet natavolo as indigenous despots (Salisbury 1964), I hesitate to do so. The picture that my informants, and hence I, have painted of natavolo behaviour is incomplete: the non-sensational, mundane activities and controls of the natavolo have been more or less forgotten. Knowledge of these activities and controls could possibly lead to a more balanced picture of the natavolo, and of the sanctions and pressure that his followers could exert upon him.

Village Leadership and Colonial Impositions

In addition to the office of natavolo for each
naulum/hamlet, there was the position of natavolo of the
hamlet cluster. There is some confusion in the minds of
Ongaians about the role and office of the "village"
natavolo. Informants say that he was a hamlet natavolo,
selected by his peers as the spokesman for all the natavolo
of a hamlet cluster for matters which affected the cluster
as a whole. He would relay to the general cluster popula-
tion the decisions of the hamlet natavolo sitting in
council on such matters as organization of ceremonial events
or the pursuit of war against another hamlet cluster. As
a spokesman, he would have no special privileges or status,
or influence in the council, outside of that due him as an
established naulum natavolo. This information is analy-
tically congruent with the general known (or surmised)
picture for the Kilenge. The office was most likely not
hereditary; informants insisted that it went to the man who
was the best public orator. There was no property to be
controlled nor any specific focal point for the continuity
of office.

However, the same informants also described the
"village" natavolo as the absolute head and master of
village or hamlet cluster affairs. Failure to obey his
commands was punishable by sanctions. They also said that
the position was hereditary, and then cited a genealogy to

prove it. This indeed is the accepted ideology for leader-
ship in the past. Salisbury warned that "to regard the
political reality as identical with the ideology is to
mistake functional anthropological reconstruction for fact"
(1964:225). I would turn and expand the warning to read "to
accept the political reality as identical with the ideology
 is to mistake functional informant reconstruction for fact."
Given Kilenge settlement pattern in early German times, and
my own reconstruction of hamlet organization and leadership,
the first Kilenge model, that of natavolo as spokesman,
probably approximates reality. The second model, that of
hamlet cluster natavolo as absolute boss, is an ideological
product of change in leadership resulting from the German-
introducted offices of luluai and tultul, and a total fusion
of those roles with traditional leadership. Villagers have
taken a later ideology, applied it to an earlier situation,
and accepted the result as historical fact.

It is not my purpose here to review the aims and
history of German and Australian colonial policy in New
Britain and New Guinea. Readily available detailed volumes
exist (see, for example, Hudson 1971; Mair 1970; Rowley
1958, 1966; Stanner 1953). Rather, I will briefly review
the introduction of luluais and tultuls as a means of local
colonial rule, and problems involved in the imposition of
a new structure on a traditional one, and the various types
of responses generated in New Guinea to meet the situation.
I expand on this theme in the concluding chapter of this work.

The Germans introduced the _luluai_ system in order
to extend their control beyond the reach of centralized
authority. The Germans headquartered in the Kokopo region,
and took the term _luluai_ from the Tolai, among whom it
indicated a war leader within individual villages or
settlement groups (Salisbury 1964:226). The term referred
to the new office of village headman created by the Germans.
The officeholder was "directly responsible to the admini-
stration for the execution of administration orders" (Ibid.).

> The Germans recognized the dependence of their
> headmen on Government support and gave them
> numerous privileges, such as exemption from
> labor service and taxes. They deliberately
> used these officials to displace the existing
> and increasingly powerful indigenous leader
> ...and to promote economic and political
> development (Ibid.).

In order to attain their goals, "the Germans tried
to place someone with high indigenous status" (Rowley 1966:
84; cf. Todd 1935:440-441) in the position of _luluai_.
The apparent contradiction between Rowley and Salisbury
regarding indigenous leadership is explained by the fact
that Rowley addresses the pattern established by the Germans
for German New Guinea as a whole, while Salisbury refers
to the specific occurrences on the Gazelle Peninsula.

In addition to the office of _luluai_, the Germans
(under the direction of Dr. Hahl) created another position,
tultul.

> The tul tul was used partly to maintain
> a liason with the government office; he
> was chosen for his knowledge of government
> practices, and of Pidgin, the lingua franca.
> As he was often an ex-policeman the tul tul
> in German times represented in many cases
> an effective extension of police power into
> village affairs (Rowley 1966:84).

Although the tultul was structurally subordinate to the

luluai, and in fact supposed to be his assistant, there

were occasional struggles for supremacy between the two

(e.g., Todd 1935:440, n. 6), struggles which intensified

with the introduction of yet another position, native

medical orderly (Rowley 1966:84).

The Germans granted luluais judicial powers and

made them native magistrates, so that the luluais would

be able to carry out the administration's aim of the

"fusion of their law with native customs" (Ibid.:77).

German-appointed luluais combined administrative with

judicial powers, backed by the police-like presence of

the tultuls. By holding court on a limited range of offences,

the luluai had new, introduced sanctions with which to

enforce his authority.

The Australians invaded New Britain and seized

control from the Germans in September 1914. Under the

military, and later civilian, administrations, they continued

the German system of local administration with one important

exception: the luluai lost his official standing as a

native magistrate.

> The official position is that New Guinea
> luluais are not chiefs, dependent on
> support from below, but officials appointed
> to carry out the Native Regulations, as
> prescribed by Government ordinance,
> and to execute orders given by District
> Officers. They have no statutory authority
> to adjudicate disputes involving native
> customs, of which no official cognizance
> is taken. As far as the administration is
> concerned, a luluai who hears a dispute does
> so only as a mediator, at the request of the
> disputing parties; what he suggests is a
> compromise which is enforceable only to the
> extent that a party which does not accept
> the compromise then become guilty of an
> offence against Native Regulations, such as
> disturbing the peace. Such an offence can
> be tried only by a District Officer (or
> similar official) as a Court of Native
> Affairs--it is a "C.N.A. offence" (Salisbury
> 1964:228).

"This meant that not only was the traditional authority structure changed [by the imposition of new leadership roles] but that the luluais were given new responsibilities without the sanctions needed for the exercise of authority" (Radi 1971:100). This anomalous position of the luluai was alleviated somewhat by Australian continuation of another German practice, the selection of recognized native leaders as luluais. The basis of this policy was the assumption that traditional power and authority would be of use to the luluai, and that such power and authority could be transferred from the indigenous to the colonial context. This assumption was not always correct.

Rowley characterized the position of the luluai as follows:

> The village official was on one hand
> entirely necessary for the government,
> which had to have the assurance (or at
> least the illusion) that its authority
> extended into the villages. On the
> other hand he was equally essential for
> the village, which required someone with
> experience in talking to government officers,
> able to judge just how far an order must be
> taken seriously, to specialize in keeping
> the people out of 'trouble'; and, when he
> failed to 'manage' the government, to be
> its scapegoat (1966:84).

The _luluai_ was the man in the middle, caught between the village situation and the demands of the government. To complicate matters, he had to contend with the local situation in two respects: his position _vis à vis_ the established village leadership, which in turn affected his relation with and performance in the village as a whole.

The response to this dilemma varied across New Guinea, and although some authors have tried to generalize the response for one given area to the whole (e.g., Brown 1963), there has been no systematic attempt to list the variety of responses, their causative and contributing factors, and their geographical distribution. It is beyond the scope of the present work to engage in such an analysis, but I do wish to point out some of the factors influencing the _luluai_'s role in the village, and to give an idea of the variety of responses recorded in the literature.

The personal standing of the _luluai_, in terms of the traditional system of status and leadership, was probably a

major factor in his success or failure. Colonial government
officials made this assumption by appointing people who
already had some standing in the local community. But I
have already questioned the validity of the blanket assump-
tion that the powers and authority of the traditional leader
transferred to the colonial situation. As Rowley pointed
out, in the main "[t]raditional power was exercized in
skilful management of others, not in ruling them; so that
the intruder found it difficult to decide just where influence
and authority lay" (1966:83).

Local perception of the role of luluai was another
factor influencing response. Where people saw the role of
luluai as important, in that manipulation of the administra-
tion was beneficial to local life, the luluai was a major role
in local affairs, and important men occupied it. On the
other hand, if villagers saw the duty as onerous, being
little more than a messenger for the government and exposing
the person as a scapegoat for either the government or the
villagers, unimportant men with no traditional standing would
be put up for the position. Since "[s]ome officials let the
people decide on their choice in a meeting at which the
official was not present, and endorsed it even if their own
selection might have been different" (Mair 1970:73), the tra-
ditional leaders could protect themselves from luluai service
and the dangers to which it would expose them by putting
forward a candidate whom they could manipulate at will.

This was a frequent response in New Britain and New Guinea, as well as the rest of Melanesia (e.g., Chowning, n.d.; Counts 1968; Rowley 1966:84; see also Rodman 1977 for the New Hebrides).

The local bases of leadership and power were another significant factor. In situations where the bases had escaped erosion by the colonial government, the indigenous elite would have a good chance of maintaining itself and forcing the appointed official into a subordinate, if not absolutely powerless, role. Where administration action destroyed the traditional bases of power, the old elite was open to possible takeover by government appointees. Because the organization of warfare and its concomitant religio-social activities such as cannibalism, revenge, and ceremonial feasting were social hinge-pins in many societies, pacification stripped away the foundations of traditional power and the luluai and tultul were able to establish themselves as the only leaders with a modicum of power and authority (e.g., Hogbin 1963).

At times, the luluais managed to establish themselves as valid leaders, at least in dealing with the government, and yet not succeed in displacing the old order. This gave rise to a situation where there was competition for followership between the luluai and the traditional leader (e.g., Maher 1967; Reay 1959:121). In other cases, the appointed government officials were able to supplant the old order and assume total control. To all intents and

purposes, they were the only effective leaders in the
village (e.g., Brown 1963; Reay 1964). The competition for
supremacy usually occurred in terms of traditional norms
and values, thus favouring the traditional leaders who had
already excelled in such prestige-creating actions as
exchanges and feasts. But where the traditional system had
suffered setbacks, or was completely bankrupt, the field
opened for competition based on new social premises and
values. In this situation, the introduced leaders were
better capable of forming a followership and consolidating
their base of power.

One other response is found where indigenous and
colonial forms of leadership merge, with the functions of
both carried out by one person and finally accepted as the
ideological norm. This merging seems to be what the govern-
ment strove for in its initial appointments of men of
traditional standing as luluais, but in most cases the
ideological and practical fusion never occurred.[40] However,
the Kilenge provide an instance in which the roles were so
thoroughly merged that they fused: the natavolo-luluai.

Before they ever had seen a white man, the Kilenge
heard from their trading partners in the Siassi Islands about
the Lutheran mission.[41] They knew that the Lutherans had
the Siassis destroy all the Nausang masks. In anticipation,
the Kilenge burnt or broke most of their own Nausang masks.
The Kilenge acted because they thought the white men had

something to do with the explosion of Ritter Island in 1888:
today, they explain the eruption as a form of punishment
for the attempted murder of Bishop Colomb in the Siassi
Islands in the 1840s. From the Siassi people, the Kilenge
also learned about steel axes, but the Siassi would not
trade these axes. Unable to get steel tools from Siassi
traders, the Kilenge voyaged to the Sio area on the mainland,
where they acquired two axes. Thus, by the time the Germans
first contacted them, the Kilenge had already started off,
albeit tentatively, on the road of change.

The Kilenge have only muddled and confused recol-
lections of the German period; their memories do not form
a coherent chronological picture. The Germans recruited
the Kilenge for labour on several occasions, and at least a
few Kilenge served in the German police action on Ponape in
the Caroline Islands in 1903 or 1911. Some of the recruiting
was voluntary, but the Germans kidnapped Kilenge at least
once. On seeing a German ship approaching, most of the
Kilenge fled into the bush. The Germans landed and took as
hostages those older villagers unable to flee. They then
explained to the villagers that the old men would be freed
if the younger men came out of the bush and recruited for
labour in the Gazelle Peninsula. Informants say that the
negotiations were conducted in Pidgin, which a few Kilenge
knew, so we may assume that this was not the first German
contact with the Kilenge. As a matter of fact, a variety

of factors indicate that this event occurred about 1910-12,
but setting any definite date is impossible.

Informants say that the Germans chose the first
luluai for Ongaia because of his knowledge of Pidgin English
and his oratorical abilities. They gave him tobacco and
laplaps, in addition to the symbol of the luluai's office,
a brass-headed walking stick. The Germans chose the
natavolo for the 'entire village', i.e., the hamlet cluster
spokesman. The Germans also chose a 'natavolo' as tultul.
Then, whenever a hat man (the term derives from the hats worn
by Australian-appointed officials) died or became too old to
function, the office was given to his son. Only if he had
no son did the hat or office leave his family. The kiap
(administration officer) would automatically approve the
selection.

Informants insisted that the hat should have gone
to a person with a "name" in the community, a natavolo.
People from Portne cited the fact that no one in their
village obeyed the luluais and tultuls there because the
appointees were statusless people, social non-entities. The
people of Ongaia contend that all their hat men were natavolo.
The genealogy of leadership (Figure 3, below) confirms this
if one is aware that: (1) the term "son" includes not only
true and adopted sons, but also all classificatory sons;
(2) female as well as male links are important for the
inheritance of status; (3) the Tokpisin term pamili is
nebulous for the Kilenge, and in a broad sense refers to a

descent line; (4) the title natavolo attaches not only to the true manager, but to all his younger siblings, and to his and their children.

In the apical set of brothers in Figure 3, Avel and Ngaloa,[42] Avel was the natavolo of Saumoi naulum, and also the natavolo for the hamlet cluster Ongaia. The Germans appointed his eldest son Tule (L.1) as the first luluai. Tule's younger "brother" (father's younger brother's younger son) Aimogali (T.1) became his tultul. Aimogali, as the son of a younger brother of a natavolo, received some deference and was entitled to be addressed by the honorific term. For reasons unknown, Tule (L.1) moved to the naulum group Niavogea, where he became natavolo for that group. He had no sons of his own, but adopted Navona, son of his classificatory brother Vorau, natavolo spokesman of Portne. In exchange, Tule sent his oldest daughter to be adopted by Vorau. When Tule died, his position as natavolo devolved on his adopted son Navona, but the position of luluai went to Tule's "brother" (father's younger brother's son) Avel (L.2). Much later, Aimogali the tultul became senile and unable to carry out his tasks, so he appointed his "grandson" (father's elder brother's eldest son's eldest son's eldest son) Avel (T.2) to be the second tultul. In this fashion, one of the two appointed positions came back into the line of Tule (L.1). Avel (T.2) was the natavolo of the naulum group Niavogea. By this time, the naulum/hamlets had consolidated into villages.

Figure 3.   Genealogy of Leadership, Ongaia Village

```
                              ┌─Navona──┌─Avel─────Masa*kaunsel
                       ┌─Tule──┆        │  N  T.2      N.
                       │ S-N            └─Lua* (offered T.3)
                       │ L.1
                       │      └─Naŕoŕa
                       │            ┆┆────────Tol* (offered T.3)
                       │          ┌─Vaule (y)
              ┌─Avel───┤          └─Asuot (e)-Pange*
              │  S      │                       T.3
              │         │
              │         ├─Ambai─────Aisapo
    ?─────────┤         │  S        S  P.L.
              │         │
              │         └─Puana
              │            S
              │
              │         ┌─Avel─────Tea*
              │         │  L.2      L.3
              └─Ngaloa──┤
                 S      │
                        └─Aimogali
                           T.1
```

Note: the genealogy
does not include
various people not
figuring into actual
leadership positions.
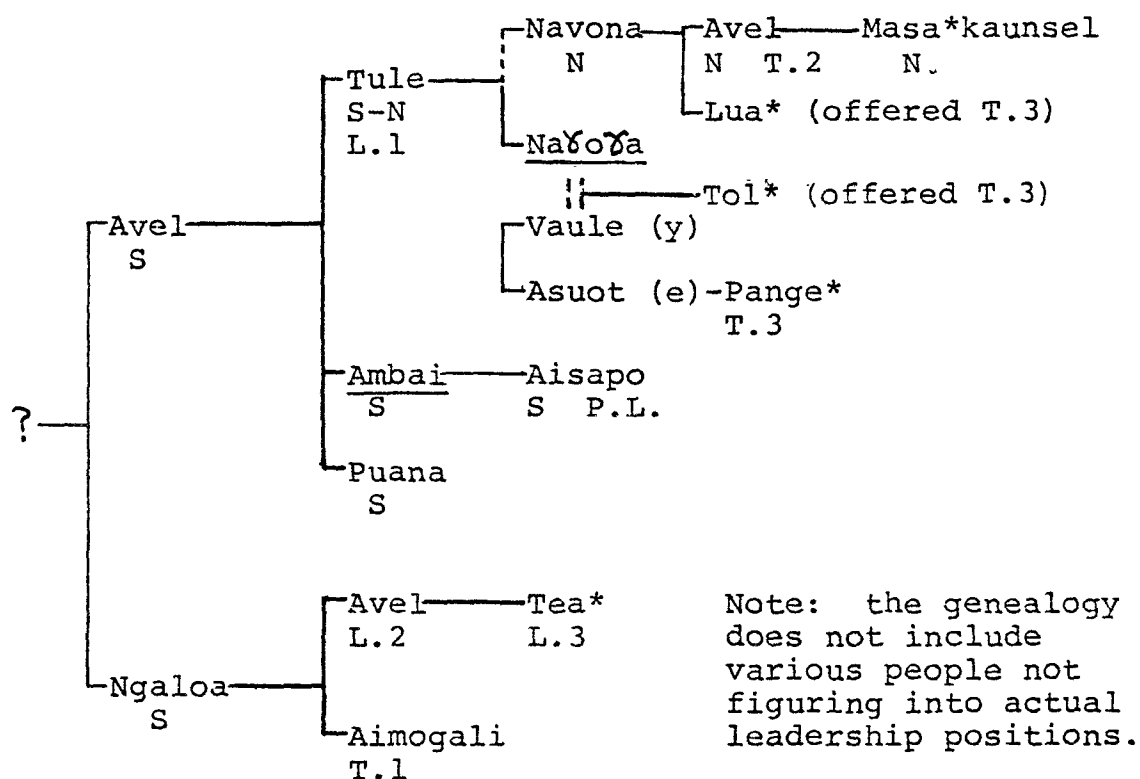
Key

S = naulum Saumoi	T. = Tultul	P.L. = Paramount Luluai	──── = female
N = naulum Niavogea	L. = Luluai	---- = Adoption	* = living

The naulum/hamlets were no longer autonomous, and the hamlet
cluster had become a recognizable village.   Avel (T.2) was
the natavolo for the entire village of Ongaia--he certainly
seems to have been the senior person in the village.   When
Avel (L.2) the second luluai died, his position went to his
true son, Tea (L.3), during the 1930s.   Tea is still alive,
but villagers question his right to be called natavolo: some

people say he is the natavolo of Polpolpua naulum, but others
mention two other candidates for the title. There is also
some debate as to whether Tea can be called a natavolo
because of his connection to the apical Avel. But there is
a tendency to call Tea natavolo because he was a luluai.
In address or reference, his name is rarely mentioned (see
Zelenietz and Grant, n.d.a.): he is simply 'Luluai'. He lost
the position in 1967 with the introduction of the Gloucester
Local Government Council.

When Avel (T.2) the second tultul died c. 1960,
reputedly as the result of sorcery, the senior men of the
village[43] first offered the position to his younger brother
Lua. Lua refused (probably because of his brother's death
by sorcery), and the elders then offered the hat to his
"brother" (father's younger sister's son), Tol, who also
refused. Finally, Tol's "brother" (father's elder brother's
son) Pange, accepted, holding the post until the formation
of the Council. No one considers Pange a natavolo.

The position of paramount luluai originated during
the war when the Australians appointed Aisapo. Aisapo's
mother, Ambai, was the senior person (nararara) in Saumoi
after Tule (L.1) left to settle in Niavogea, and thus Aisapo
had some entitlement to be called natavolo. But people
dispute the claim because Aisapo's father's father came from
Kove. Aisapo is the subject of Chapter V.

The genealogy demonstrates that the people of

Ongaia chose to associate the statuses of <u>luluai</u> and <u>tultul</u>
with the status of <u>natavolo</u>. The actions and qualities
of the <u>luluai</u> were similar to those of the hamlet cluster
natavolo-spokesman: he had to be a man with oratorical
ability, and acted as a spokesman for a group of decision-
makers. Although the concentration of traditional roles
and introduced roles might have led to despotic behaviour,
it did not.

The genealogy suggests that the positions of <u>luluai</u>
and <u>tultul</u> went to the most senior persons in their genera-
tions. There is insufficient information to explain
anomalies, such as why Tea (L.3) was chosen and why the
more senior people in his generation and the previous
generation (excluded from Figure 3) were not. However,
such factors as Tea's experience with the whites (he
worked in the Kokopo area for both the Germans and the
British, according to him), other people's absence from the
village for wage labour, reluctance to take the post, etc.,
might have influenced the decision. Whenever we asked why
a particular person became an administration appointee,
the answer always was "the senior men chose him" or "his
father was".

Another problem which does not have a ready answer
is "why didn't the same thing happen in Kilenge proper or
Portne?" Sketchy information and genealogies suggest that
at least initially, the people of these villages responded

in the same manner as the Ongaians, fusing the roles of

natavolo and hat men. However, this practice did not

continue. One informant said that once Aisapo became the

paramount luluai, he changed the officials in Kilenge and

Portne to suit his liking.

The ideological fusion of the roles of traditional

leader and administration official continues to this day.

While we were in Ongaia, the man considered to be the

genealogically senior natavolo, Masa, held the role of

local government councillor (kaunsel). People said Masa

was the natavolo for the entire village, because his father

Avel (T.2) was, and as such Masa was entitled to be

kaunsel. When we asked people why they elected Masa as

kaunsel, they replied "Because he is the village natavolo."

This does not explain why they didn't elect him the first

time he ran for election. Furthermore, it is unlikely that

he will be re-elected, as people judge his level of compe-

tence to be very low (see Chapter VI).

We have little data about the activities of appointed

leaders before the Second World War. The only surviving

apointee in Ongaia, Tea, is becoming senile, and consequently

it is hard to work with him. He says of his role, "Oh, I

kept people out of trouble with the government. I never

reported offences in the village, or took anyone to court.

It was my job to argue with the government, and to protect

the people from them."[44] The distance of the government

made the job easy: the patrol post at Talasea was established in 1918 (Rowley 1958:40), and superceded only in 1959, when a patrol post (now Sub-District Station) was built at Cape Gloucester.

The climate and activities of leadership changed radically after the Second World War. The war had great impact on native populations and local leadership throughout the territories of Papua and New Guinea (Brookfield 1972: 96). For the Kilenge, the war and its aftermath were devastating. Sorcery became an important social control, the ultimate sanction of an autocratic ruler. In the next chapter, I will examine Kilenge sorcery beliefs, and the ramifications of sorcery as a form of social control. In Chapter V, I explore the next phase of Kilenge leadership, describing the career of Aisapo, and his use of sorcery to retain his position.

CHAPTER IV

SORCERY AND SOCIAL CONTROL[45]

After spending some six months in Kilenge, we
believed that homicidal sorcery[46] was truly something
of the past. The Kilenge claimed their parents and grand-
parents had given up the practice of sorcery even before
missionization in the late 1920s and early 1930s. Most
adults knew something about sorcery, could describe in
general terms how to go about sorcerizing someone, and
usually claimed they did not believe in it. The disinterest
in homicidal sorcery contrasted with a still-functioning
system of beliefs and practices of other types of sorcery
and magic, also glossed under the same term as homicidal
sorcery, _navorau_. People use spells and magical substances
to increase the fertility of their gardens, given themselves
extra strength for especially hard tasks, make heavy burdens
lighter to carry, make public speaking easier and more
convincing; in short to insure success in various kinds of
undertakings. But even these beliefs and practices did not
seem to be an integral part of daily life. True, we had
attended one sorcery accusation, but the accusation was
about the _threatened_ use of sorcery, and there was little
agreement as to whether the accused actually had _powa_

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(Tokpisin "power", "sorcery"). We had also heard oblique references to another threat of sorcery, but there was no general credence in the threat. Beliefs in sorcery, particularly homicidal sorcery, were generally stronger among old people than among young ones, but several young men did believe that sorcery was something "real" while some old men pooh-poohed the idea. The only time villagers paid more than lip service to sorcery was during Lolo visits to the Kilenge villages, and even then the Kilenge did not react as markedly as their ideology suggested they would.[47] We collected, in fragmentary form, some stories about Aisapo's use of sorcery to assassinate political oponents, but in general people did not volunteer too much information on the topic. Nor, may I add, did we ask too many questions: the entire topic of sorcery did not seem a profitable line of inquiry. Had we left the field then, I could have summarized all the relevant material on Kilenge sorcery in one or two pages.

Then the picture suddenly changed: someone got sick. Villagers said that sorcery induced the sickness. For the next month, we spent at least fifty percent of our working time delving into sorcery, both the specific case at hand and the wider topic of sorcery in general. People recounted numerous cases of sorcery deaths, and spoke of Aisapo's involvement with sorcery and sorcerers. The threat and realization of sorcery as a means of social

control in Kilenge life gradually became clear. No so clear, but equally important, was the devastating effect of sorcery beliefs on local level leadership in the Kilenge villages. As Lieban notes, locally held views of sorcery in the Philippines "are more than exotic manifestations of lingering folk traditions; they also have contemporary sociopolitical significance, indicating, at the local level, limitations of the nation-state" (1960:142). Although the limited effectiveness of national policy at the local level is beyond the scope of this work, the emphasis on the sociopolitical significance of sorcery is an underlying theme of this chapter. Sorcery can be an important factor in and of change.

> If sorcery is a function of political relations in Melanesian societies...an investigation into the impact of European contact on the institution could yield useful data on the dynamics of social change and on adaptations of indigenous normative systems to new conditions (Patterson 1974-5:231).

Concepts

The field of sorcery study resembles a state of intellectual near-anarchy. There seems to be no mutually acceptable definition of sorcery available; perforce, people must implicitly or explicitly invent their own, to make their data intelligible. In the next few pages I offer my own thoughts on the nature of sorcery, in order

to bridge the conceptual gap in the field. In addition to working towards a definition of sorcery, I discuss some salient features of sorcery which are important for the Kilenge data. Specifically, I look at the distinction between sorcery and sorcerers, and the relationship of sorcery and social control.

> Anthropologists who have attempted to explain sorcery and witchcraft agree on at least one essential point--the delimitation of the field of study. It is acknowledged that sorcery and witchcraft refer to the belief, and those practices associated with the belief, that one human being is capable of harming another by magical or supernatural means (Patterson 1974-5:132).

Patterson's statement, straightforward as it is, serves to highlight some of the difficulties encountered in the study of sorcery. Her denotive feature of sorcery is the use by human beings of magical or supernatural means to cause harm to others. This perspective is in line with the views advanced in Notes and Queries, where "[s]orcery and witchcraft are ritual means of working harm against an enemy" (1951:189). The direct object in the sorcery equation is one or more human beings. Sorcery is performed so that humans will suffer, and sorcery is defined by its human object.

Not all thinking on sorcery directly equates sorcery with the human object. One definition, based on Evans-Pritchard (1931, 1937), sees sorcery as

> (1) the use of substances and objects believed
> to be imbued with supernatural power, to the
> accompaniment of (2) verbal addresses (or
> "spells" where there is an emphasis on their
> being word perfect) by (3) an operator who
> believes that, provided his procedures have
> been perfectly followed, the desired result
> will inevitably follow (Hayano 1973:180).

Sorcery, from this perspective, is a manipulative technique devoid of a prescribed direct object. The utility of this type of definition inheres in the ability of the researcher to empirically define the object of the sorcery, be it animal, vegetable, or mineral. It coincides with many native views, such as that of the Kilenge, who have one class of manipulative techniques for the supernatural known as navorau, encompassing all sorcery and magic except for weather control. Navorau is glossed in Tokpisin as poisan, and roughly translates to English as "sorcery." No direct object is implied, nor are harmful or beneficial actions distinguished in terms of the category. The lack of a prescribed direct object is also reflected in the official view of the Papua New Guinea government on sorcery, The Sorcery Act 1971.

> "Evil" sorcery is the sorcery that brings harm
> to the victim or subject and is made illegal
> under the Act whereas "good" sorcery enables
> the sick to recover, hunters to catch animals
> and fishermen to catch fish and is permitted
> by the Act (Narikobi 1978:2).

Hayano's definition does raise particular problems in classifying acts as sorcerous. When someone utters a

spell, or just thinks about it, without the use of substances or objects, is that sorcery? What about the use of an object without an accompanying spell or incantation? Perhaps it would be better to condense the first two stages of Hayano's definition into the phrase "ritual techniques", and define sorcery as 'a practitioner's use of ritual techniques or magic to manipulate the supernatural, in order to obtain a specific outcome or effect in terms of the natural (i.e., non-supernatural) world.' The extra-normal is used to directly effect the normal, the super-natural is employed to change the natural order. Magic is seen here as the tool kit of the sorcerer, and use of magic constitutes sorcery.

A definition of sorcery which does not take a direct object, and which does not restrict actions to harmful ones, offers many advantages to those studying the field. It does not narrowly prescribe the field of study, nor does it prejudge the parameters of the phenomena examined. An intransitive definition of sorcery requires the researcher to establish empirically the boundaries of his study and the social consequences of sorcery. The issue of legitimacy provides us with a case in point. Studies of sorcery in Africa have led to the conclusion that "sorcery (though not witchcraft) is best understood when regarded as...the illegitimate sub-division of the destructive branch of magic" (Marwick 1967:232). Sorcery is, of necessity and by

definition, illegitimate and anti-social. How, then, does
one treat the case where members of a society see sorcery
as either legitimate or illegitimate, depending on the
situation and circumstances (see Tuzin 1974; see also below)?
If we use a definition of sorcery that does not specify
a direct object nor contain value judgments, then we are
free to examine sorcery in a broad context and determine
empirically the aspects and attributes of sorcery in each
individual case. We can overcome the handicaps of a narrow,
restrictive definition.

It is by no means certain that sorcery, at all times
and in all places, has served as a mechanism for social
control. Lieban sees sorcery as a "product of social dis-
cord and an index of the inadequacy of social controls"
(1967:125). Swanson (referring to a catch-all category of
"witchcraft" that includes sorcery) regards the use of
witchcraft as suggestive of a "serious lack of legitimate
means of social control and moral bonds" (1960:46). But
the picture is different in Oceania, at least for Melanesia.
Malinowski regarded sorcery as a legitimate and valued means
of social control when he said "ordinarily, black magic acts
as a genuine legal force, for it is used in carrying out the
rules of tribal law, it prevents the use of violence and
restores equilibrium" (1926:86). More recent studies (e.g.,
Chowning and Goodenough 1971:66; Lane 1972:261; LaFontaine
1963:271) reflect the same view, although Lawrence and

Meggitt (1972:19) warn that the effect of sorcery as a
social control is variable and not necessarily consistent
in its socio-political importance. Furthermore, sorcery
is not always a preventative control. It often operates
as an after-the-fact explanation of why something occurred
or why someone became ill and died (Patterson 1974-5:133).

Where sorcery does serve as an instrument of social
control, the agent of social control is the sorcerer or his
client. The process of defining sorcery entailed making an
explicit distinction between sorcery and sorcerers. Lieban
characterized the sorcerer as a "man or woman for hire, a
specialist in death and affliction" (1967:23). He also
noted that in the Philippines sorcerers may also act on
their own behalf, to seek the vengeance due them. If we
accept the definition of sorcery to be 'a practitioner's use
of ritual techniques or magic to manipulate the supernatural,
in order to obtain a specific outcome or effect in terms of
the natural world,' then the sorcerer is the manipulator
of a set of beliefs and techniques, regardless of whether
the intended outcome is harmful or beneficial. Sorcery
itself is the tool of the sorcerer. This distinction is
basic to the idea that sorcery is a form of social control,
and is crucial also in the examination of the relationship
of sorcery and social change. The tendency in the litera-
ture, dating back to Malinowski, is to see sorcery as an
inherently conservative force.

> ...sorcery remains a support of vested interests;
> hence in the long run, of law and order. It is
> always a conservative force, and it furnishes
> really the main source of the wholesome fear of
> punishment and retribution indispensible in any
> orderly society... In whatever way it works, it
> is a way of emphasizing the status quo (Malinow-
> ski 1926:93; see also, for example, Brown and
> Hutt 1935:182; Marwick 1965:247).

There is a powerful but misleading assumption con-
tained in the notion of sorcery as a conservative force; that
is, that sorcery operates independently of sorcerers. How-
ever, sorcery is merely an instrument in the hands of men
or women. It is not the practice of sorcery, but its prac-
titioners or their employers, who will determine if sorcery
is to act as a conservative force, a bastion of the status
quo, or whether sorcery will be applied to effect change and
"progress" in an area. In the vast majority of cases,
sorcery does seem to be used in a conservative fashion, but
this does not preclude its use in a progressive manner if it
so suits the interests of the sorcerer or his employer.
Thus, when we examine Aisapo's use of sorcery (Chapter V),
we find hints that the threat of sorcery was used to
stimulate and maintain coconut planting and business
development. However, sorcery has had a conservative, if
not deadening, effect on local level leadership in the
Kilenge area, but the effects seem to be a result of the
peculiarities of the case (see Chapters VI and VII).

With the groundwork laid, I will now describe and
discuss sorcery in the Kilenge area, focusing on the use of

sorcery as a means of social control. I distinguish between observational data on sorcery and sorcery accusations, and information gathered during formal and informal interviewing. Although I did witness sorcery techniques for curing individuals and insuring success in various enterprises, I saw no homicidal techniques. However, I have little doubt that techniques for "downing" people are actually performed, and that sorcerers do what they and other people say they do. When I was invited by a renowned sorcerer to learn killing techniques, I felt it was wiser not to gain such esoteric knowledge.[48] Several nonsorcerers provided us with an adequate knowledge and description of sorcery techniques.

Sorcery Beliefs

Kilenge beliefs about sorcery per se do not form a coherent or logically articulated system (see Evans-Pritchard 1937; Levine 1974). Perhaps this is because there are now two systems of sorcery operative in the Kilenge area. The first system is the remnants of the traditional Kilenge-Lolo sorcery system, of which very little survives. One informant, a renowned Lolo sorcerer, said that most of the traditional knowledge was lost when the smallpox epidemic swept through the area sixty or seventy years ago. Kilenge informants maintained that they voluntarily abandoned the knowledge during the process of

missionization. While most of the techniques of traditional Kilenge-Lolo sorcery are thus of the past, Kilenge reactions to sorcery are still more or less based on this system. An important premise of the traditional system is that only the sorcerer who actually sorcerized someone is capable of removing the sorcery. The face to face solution of the problems heals the social rift which engendered the attack.

The second system is not really one system in and of itself. It comprises sorcery techniques purchased from other New Britain people (mainly the Tolai and south coast Mengen, both reputed to have very powerful sorcery) and a smattering of knowledge acquired from the New Guinea mainland. Imported sorcery differs from indigenous sorcery in that: (1) it is initially purchased rather than inherited[49] and; (2) anyone who has the ability to cure and who recognizes the symptoms may remove the sorcery from the victim.

The co-existence of two systems of techniques and related beliefs changes the sorcerer/victim/accuser relationship (see Marwick 1965), and introduces a certain flexibility of belief. In former times, if a man sickened and attributed his illness to sorcery, his relatives would ask around to determine who caused the illness. If a known sorcerer protested innocence, but suggested that the seekers try another sorcerer, the victim's relatives were virtually assured that the third party was, in truth, the responsible sorcerer. They would then ask him about his involvement.

In most cases, unless the client had strictly forbidden it,
the sorcerer would admit his responsibility and take action
to effect a cure, receiving compensation and payment in
traditional valuables. If the man denied responsibility,[50]
the seekers would go to a third sorcerer and repeat their
inquiry. If the third sorcerer suggested that they go
back and ask the second sorcerer, then they were certain
of responsibility. In such cases they could confront the
responsible (second) sorcerer and demand a cure, or hire
their own sorcerer to work countersorcery and kill the
initial sorcerer. If the initial victim died, the surviving
relatives could have the sorcerer sorcerized, or could
physically attack and kill him with spears or clubs.

Today the situation is much different. If villagers
ascribe someone's sickness to sorcery, his relatives will
try to find out who is responsible. They ask around, but
don't make the rounds of sorcerers as they would have before.[51]
Instead, if they cannot discover the responsible party,
they will hire a renowned sorcerer and curer to remove the
illness. Initially, then, they guide their actions by
traditional beliefs which emphasize the sorcerer/victim/
accuser relationship: a settling of differences in a face
to face manner by a payment of compensation to the sorcerer
for the removal of sorcery. Not only is the physical
disease cured; by dealing with the responsible sorcerer,
confronting him and paying him compensation, the victim's
relatives also heal the social discord and divisiveness

which precipitated the sorcery attack. They find out why the sorcerer did what he did, how the victim offended him, and they try to heal this ruptured social relationship. If attempts to find the sorcerer fail, emphasis shifts to effecting a cure of the sick person by anyone who has the competence. Whatever perceived wrong induced the attack is still unknown and unsettled, and hence liable to be used for another sorcery attack in the future. Furthermore, there is always the possibility that the person hired to remove the sorcery is, in fact, the person responsible for the attack, and his willingness to cure the victim may be construed (depending on circumstances) as tacit admission of guilt.

Although we did not witness any deaths caused by sorcery, I would venture to say that the competing belief systems have not caused any major changes in the behaviour of the victim's relatives. If they wish revenge, they must, as in times past, identify the sorcerer and take appropriate measures, usually hiring another sorcerer to seek retaliation. Now, as a result of government law and police presence, they no longer have the option of killing the sorcerer outright.

Currently, people think most sorcery attacks come from the Lolo. Although people speak of Bariai sorcery, they never ascribed attacks on Kilenge victims to Bariai sorcerers in the cases they told us. This seems to conform

to Hayano's hypothesis that as physical distance between
groups increases, the rate of accusation decreases. But
it does not conform to his second hypothesis that as groups
become more dissimilar and negatively stereotyped, the rate
of accusation increases (1973:181). It is true that Lolo
are negatively stereotyped from the Kilenge perspective,
but this seems to be due to their reputation as sorcerers;
only a tautological argument in this case would support
the hypothesis. Additionally, the Lolo are culturally very
similar to the Kilenge. In this instance, then, spatial
distance appears to be a more important factor than cultural
dissimilarity and negative stereotyping.

Traditionally, the Lolo did not sorcerize the Kilenge.[52]
Each Kilenge naulum/hamlet probably had its own sorcerer,
navorau tame, who looked after the affairs of the group
and the welfare of the members. Hamlet sorcerers tried
sorcery against one another, and sometimes united against
a common victim. All the sorcerers of a hamlet cluster
would meet to approve the sorcery death of someone within
that cluster; if one or more sorcerers objects on kinship
or other grounds, the victim was not attacked. Informants
maintain that sorcery became prevalent only after pacifica-
tion, so it is impossible to determine if these cabals
existed before the coming of the Germans. When the Kilenge
could no longer settle their inter-naulum and hamlet cluster
disputes with spears, they came to rely on sorcery (a

feature commonly noted in Melanesia). Only after they gave

up their own sorcery did the Kilenge start going to the Lolo

as clients, thus contributing to the Lolo reputation as

sorcerers.

It is commonly believed that sorcerers perpetrate

their evils at night. In the dark hours, they steal into

a village to plant sorcerized materials under a man's

house ladder or bed, or collect a man's (or woman's)

personal debris. People regard anyone who walks about at

night without a light to guide his way and to identify

himself, as up to no good. But sorcerers also do part of

their work during the daylight: they can collect material

for sorcery then, or attack a victim from a hidden vantage

point. Sometimes the sorcerer may leave his calling card:

an inexplicable footprint made during the night near a house,

or a stone thrown on a roof. These are signs of sorcery in

progress. By the same token, a sorcerer may not provide

his victim with any knowledge of the attack, so that the

victim only finds out when he sickens and dies. The "calling

card" approach is definitely part of the traditional sorcery

system. By informing his victim of the sorcery, the sorcerer

allows him to search for the aggressor, resolve the dispute

and pay compensation. The "hidden sorcerer" idea seems to

have come with the imported sorcery techniques, and constructs

a barrier to resolution of interpersonal conflict. If the

sorcerer remains unknown, the best the victim can hope for

is a cure, while the ultimate cause of the sorcery remains unfathomable.

Sorcerers, both in times past and present, are always men. We have no cases of women sorcerers. People denied that women ever were sorcerers, although they sometimes acted as sorcerers' aides to secure personal leavings of the intended victim. For this reason, villagers say that a man should marry someone to whom he is 'close'--a classificatory sister beyond the second cousin range. When a man marries a 'close' woman, he not only protects himself from untrustworthy women who would aid sorcerers, but he also gains friendly inlaws, people whom he probably considers relatives anyway. A man with distant or noncognatic affines always faces the danger of seeing them at a ceremony, where they could get close to him and dip into his basket to remove some personal object for sorcery use.

Anyone may be the victim of sorcery: man, woman or child. Children become victims not because of what they have done, but because of what has come before them. A man wishing revenge on someone may sorcerize his opponent's child. The death of a child inflicts extreme pain and grief on the parents. In some cases where a sorcerer fears retaliation for a previous act, he will attack a child as a warning, the message being "This will happen to you if you seek revenge." The sorcerer may also kill the child of

a man he has sorcerized, in an attempt to stave off any
future revenge. In one case on record, two children died
from sorcery because of a feud which began two generations
earlier. Our informant, a survivor of the feud, did not
know why the feud started, or who was involved. "My
grandmother refused to tell me, because she did not want
the feud to continue. She felt that if I knew the details,
eventually I would seek revenge and continue the killing."

Sometimes a person is the inadvertant victim of
sorcery; the sorcerer "misses" his target, and hits someone
else instead. In one recent case the sorcerer "missed"
twice, first hitting the younger brother and then the
younger sister of his intended victim. The symptoms of
the disease disappeared and the patients recovered in both
instances, after treatment at the local mission hospital.
Some people ascribed the recoveries to the fact that the
sorcerer realized he "hit" the wrong people, and removed
the sorcery.[53] This incident indicates that the Kilenge
see sorcery as highly personalized. Not any victim or
member of an offender's family will do: the sorcery is
directed at one specific person. If someone other than the
offender dies, and the diagnosis indicates sorcery, then the
sorcerer killed purposefully, and the offender may live in
fear of a later attack on himself.

Our case material shows that there are several
kinds of offensive action that can bring on sorcery attacks.[54]

In particular, disputes over ground ownership and unpaid debts might lead to sorcery. There are a variety of other potential causes. People are sorcerized because they use ceremonial marks or personal names to which they are not entitled, and refuse to pay compensation for the privilege of using them. Another proximal cause of sorcery is rape and/or adultery. In the case of rape, the husband or father of the victimized woman would work sorcery against the offender, either by himself or by hiring a sorcerer. With adultery, the offended person might seek retribution against either or both of the parties involved.

Killing a man's pig may be cause for sorcery. In one detailed case history, a man inadvertantly killed some-one else's pig. The pig owner was later seen fraternizing with a sorcerer, and shortly thereafter the offender's son died in peculiar circumstances. The offender let the matter rest there, not wanting to start a large-scale and long-lasting revenge feud.

Food provides a focal point for sorcery attacks. Selfishness with food may engender sorcery. Sometimes if people complain about the quantity and quality of food distributed at a ceremonial cycle performance and are overheard by the sponsor, they open themselves to sorcery attacks. Today, mature men warn young men about complaining whenever they receive food in another village, but the younger men are told that the usual consequences are paid

in pig debts, rather than sorcery deaths.

Jealousy of success is another oft-cited reason for sorcery. In this day and age, jealousy and fear of sorcery may act as a brake on village development--people fear that if they are successful in starting a small business alone or with a small group, other people will envy them and sorcerize them. Success also proved to be a liability for a natavolo. If his fellow natavolo thought a manager too successful, they would fear his competition and sorcerize him. Success for the natavolo had to be moderate (see Zelenietz and Grant in press).

Sometimes, at least in the past, sorcery was due to sheer orneriness on the part of a person. Two generations ago, a villager became angry when a German mission lay brother hid his basket as a joke. A day or two later the Ongaian procured the butt of a cigarette used by the brother and proceeded to put a spell on it. The brother died a short time later, and everyone in the village ascribed his death to the Ongaian's sorcery.

People believe that minor disputes and anger, if not brought out into the open, will stay within a man, and when sufficient anger and cause have built up, will result in the man sorcerizing the object of his anger. Accordingly, there is a social premium put on airing disputes in public so that they may be dissipated. Not surprisingly, though, this overt evidence of hostility may be used against a

person later on, when people are trying to diagnose the cause of a particular act of sorcery. When men meet to assign the blame, the finger will be pointed at known hostile persons, i.e., those people who aired their grievances.

I use the term "proximal" when referring to most causes of sorcery. This is because the "ultimate" cause may actually be unknown. Although the Kilenge traditionally had ways of settling grievances and warfare, and today say that airing disputes dissipates ill will, they contend that men don't forget wrongs against them; a list of wrongs will build up over a lifetime. The pattern of disputes and arguments that we witnessed confirms this. A dispute is triggered by a single event or incident, and rapidly fueled by mention of old grievances between the disputing parties, grievances supposedly settled long ago (see A.L. Epstein 1974). Thus the proximal cause of a sorcery incident may only be the triggering mechanism, the tip of the iceberg; years, and sometimes decades, of bickering and feuding lay beneath the surface. The ultimate cause of a sorcery incident can be the sum total of several minor incidents and conflicts distributed over time.

The causes of sorcery today are much the same as the causes of warfare in traditional times, and sorcery is used in a retaliatory manner in much the same way as warfare was. The major difference between the two is that

warfare was a group undertaking, while sorcery revenge is usually a personal undertaking. I believe it is the personal, rather than group, nature of sorcery which has led some people to classify sorcery as 'illegitimate'. But the Kilenge data demonstrate that, at least for this particular society, the socially sanctioned causes of war are the same as the causes of sorcery and that sorcery is not necessarily 'illegitimate'. The Kilenge regard sorcery as legitimate or illegitimate, based on the causes of the sorcery and their group's interests in the affair. They evaluate sorcery in terms of whether the sorcerer and his client had justification for their action, a determination conditioned by their relationships with the sorcerer and/or victim (see Chowning 1974:194; Tuzin 1974). Thus if some action against a person or group would have resulted in warfare in prepacification days, sorcery as retaliation may be considered a justified or legitimate response by persons so offended today. On the other hand, sorcery with no apparent justification, such as killing a man to obtain his wife, is considered illegitimate. In the old days, illegitimate sorcery would have caused warfare between groups, or at least retaliation by brothers against the offender. Today, it can result in sorcery revenge, which society sees as justified by the initial, unjustified attack.

The Kilenge do not ascribe all deaths and illnesses to sorcery: impressionistic data[55] suggest that only one

or two percent of all illnesses today, and less than a
quarter of all deaths, are sorcery-related.[56] Any sick-
ness or disease which runs a short course and where the
victim recovers spontaneously is not attributed to sorcery;
it is a natural disease. Likewise, any disease cured by
treatment at the mission-owned and government-run hospital
is also a natural disease, not due to sorcery (see Basso
1969:26). When the hospital personnel fail to effect a
cure and the disease lingers or the patient dies, then
people begin to suspect some other etiology for the sickness.

Sorcery is not the only supernatural cause of
death recognized by the Kilenge. The sacred stones in
the Ongaia men's house are capable of harming individuals
who treat the men's house or the stones themselves with
disrespect. Those who joke about the efficacy of the
stones, or children who play loudly or cry near the men's
house, or women who come too close to the building, flout
the stones' powers. The stones, people say, can cause
death or injury by changing into a variety of creatures
including fish, snakes, and men, which then attack the
offender. The stones can also wreak havoc by causing
"accidents": a man will "accidentally" cut himself with
his bushknife or axe and bleed to death, or go fishing and
drown, or be out walking in the bush and be crushed by a
tree falling on him. Although the 'power' of the stones
had supposedly been removed in the 1930s when a priest

sprinkled holy water on them, we have several cases on record from a more recent period where the stones allegedly caused injuries, mostly in children who played near the men's house and disturbed the stones.

Entering restricted areas of bush known as naruk (Tokpisin, masalai) causes deaths, injuries and illnesses. It isn't clear if naruk refers to the ground, or to a 'power' that resides there; it may be either or both, depending on the place and case. Naruk are not restricted to land: several places along the fringing reef are naruk, and men who fish in those places endanger their lives. Two adult men in Ongaia with advanced cases of elephantiasis ascribe their disease to naruk. Each, as an adolescent, went into a naruk area to cut firewood or flowers, and shortly thereafter developed the disease. Some people today say that the power of naruk has gone. A couple of adult men in Ongaia, noted skeptics about supernatural matters, have recently cleared naruk areas for use as gardens and coconut plantations with no ill effects. Then again, in 1977, a seven year old Ongaian girl died. Consensus was that she drank from a spring that was naruk: the snake spirit which lives there ate her soul.

Nausang and Natavutavu can also be agents of supernatural death, but Kilenge beliefs on this point are not clear to outsiders. Most people maintained that humans animated Nausang and Natavutavu, and that men

actually caused phsycial attacks by those agents. Historical
legends about the retribution taken when women saw either
of these objects supports this interpretation. However,
there is also the belief that if a woman sees a Nausang
or Natavutavu and does not report it, then she will be
struck by a supernaturally caused death, injury or illness.
An occurrence in 1977 added further confusion. A man who
had promised a pig for a Nausang performance the next year
learned that a village youth might have killed the pig,
discovered ravaging a garden. The pig owner was afraid
that Nausang would punish him for failing to live up to
his promise. Part of the time, it seemed that he feared
the sponsors of Nausang would sorcerize him; at other times,
it seemed he feared a direct attack by the particular
Nausang itself.

Supernatural agents are not the only causes of
death. People know and accept the fact that individuals
will die of diseases, old age and accidents that are not
supernatural in origin. A man killed by a spear or another
weapon in a fight died a "natural" death. The diagnosing
of the cause of death in any given instance will reflect
the particular circumstances of the individual's life and
death (see Levine 1974). If an old person dies, and
people cannot remember the deceased's participation in any
sorcery revenge feuds, or exceptionally angering someone,
then the death is simply attributed to old age. If an

accident befalls someone, and no proximate or ultimate
supernatural cause is immediately apparent (i.e., there
are no peculiar circumstances surrounding the death), then
the death is regarded as a real accident. If someone sickens
and dies, and once again nothing peculiar taints the case,
people regard the disease and death as natural in origin.
In particular, cases of tuberculosis and related respiratory
diseases among people of any age are regarded as natural
illnesses and deaths. But if the victim believes himself
sorcerized (or otherwise supernaturally attacked), or if
the surviving relatives believe that the death is related
to some interpersonal conflict or dispute preceding it,
then an inquiry is held to ascertain the cause of the
sickness or death.

The inquiry may be a private or public matter. We
have little information on private inquiries; they are
well hidden from the public eye because survivors fear the
possible wrath of sorcerers. But in order to determine
that they are potential sorcery victims, they must meet
and discuss the case amongst themselves. The little
information we have indicates that if the victim was a
mature man or woman, the surviving natal or adoptive sib-
lings, and perhaps other members of the sibling group, will
meet secretly to discuss the death. If an old person has
died, his children will meet. When people suspect a child
of having been victimized, then his parents and parents'
siblings make up the group. People hold private inquiries

because they fear that if the sorcerer or client responsible for the death hears about the meeting, he will fear that the survivors are plotting revenge, and will act to stave off that revenge, i.e., the sorcerer will kill more people. The survivors meet to determine whether sorcery was the cause of death, and what revenge they should take. In many cases, it seems they did nothing but let the matter drop, reflecting the Kilenge belief that "With sorcery, either just one person dies, or many, many people die." The sorcery may claim just one victim, or many people from both sides will die in an extended feud. The private inquiry also allows the survivors, if they so choose, to plot in secret a course of action against the sorcerer. Several years may elapse between the time of a sorcery death and the time that the survivors deem it appropriate to retaliate. The private inquiry hides their actions from public scrutiny, protecting them from pre-emptive strikes by the sorcerer or his client. On occasion, a sorcerer <u>will</u> make a pre-emptive strike, even if the survivors are not taking any action of their own. Sorcerers do this "just to make sure", to keep the survivors in line and the sorcerer out of harm's way. When an inquiry is kept private, there are no public accusations of sorcery, the proximal and ultimate causes of the sorcery are never satisfactorily resolved, and the resultant tension may be manifested at a later date. A final contributing factor

which keeps inquiries private is that the church frowns upon sorcery beliefs and practices. People try to hide their actions not only from each other, but from the mission, especially in cases where they plot revenge.

A public inquiry produces radically different consequences. A public inquiry into, and accusation of, sorcery acts to resolve the matter and dissipate the tension generated by the suspicion of sorcery. The victim's kin usually hire one or more people to diagnose and divine the cause of illness or death before they make public the accusation and inquiry. We have one description of traditional Kilenge divination. On the first night following the burial of the victim, a close cognate of the deceased hides himself in the bushes near the special beach paths which souls frequent. Eventually the soul of the victim comes walking along the path; trying to hide behind it is the soul of the sorcerer. In this way, the victim's kin may "positively" identify the sorcerer responsible for the death. Today, villagers use other methods for divining the person(s) responsible. In one case of divination, two specialists used dreams to identify the culprit. One specialist was a Tolai man working at the government station at Cape Gloucester, and the other was a New Ireland man visiting in Portne. One old man commented that this was not how things were traditionally done, telling the young men that they were making a mess of the matter; they should

have used Kilenge, not imported, divination techniques.
As is so often the case with divination in Melanesia,
the results of the divination were ambiguous and open to
favourable interpretation by both sides.

We attended two cases of sorcery accusation. The
first was an accusation of a threat of sorcery: no one
believed that sorcery had yet been performed. The second
case concerned an attack of sorcery believed already to
have been carried out. Both cases illustrated the anoma-
lous position of the sorcerer in Kilenge society, and the
second case demonstrated the importance of sorcery as a
social control.

In general, the Kilenge feel that a known sorcerer
is a marked man. They say that in the old days, the
people of the village would steal up on a sorcerer at
night, capture him, tie him to a house post, and kill
him.[57] Barring that, they would have to hire a sorcerer
themselves to rid them of the undesirable villager. But
informants' accounts indicate that this was a poor second
choice, since they preferred direct physical violence over
sorcery. Today, people have few effective options in
dealing with a sorcerer. The traditional sanction and
social control of a physically violent death is no longer
operative. If a person murdered a sorcerer, eventually he
would be discovered, tried, and sent to serve a prison
sentence. A new sanction, the threat of trial and imprison-

ment for committing acts of sorcery, is very ineffective.
People say that sending a sorcerer to jail does not remove
the threat of sorcery. The sorcerer can retaliate by
attacking people from his jail cell, or can wait until
release to seek his revenge. People feel that the only
effective way to deal with sorcerers is to execute them, a
common sentiment in other parts of Papua New Guinea.

A sorcerer today cannot be trusted, except by his
close relatives. What, then, does a man have to gain by
acquiring a reputation as a sorcerer? For the most part,
it appears that his talents are a social liability, as
people don't trust but always suspect a sorcerer. At the
same time, a sorcerer is treated circumspectly, and not
offended, for fear of a vengeance attack. Sorcerers gain
materially: they are paid once they sorcerize someone,
and again when they remove the sorcery. Sorcery can be a
lucrative part-time specialization, increasing a man's
wealth in trade goods, cash, and traditional valuables.
Wealth stays with a sorcerer longer than it would with an
ordinary man because relatives ask less help of him than
they would of an ordinary man. There is less constant
drain on a man's resources, as kinsmen avoid requesting the
usual gifts of traditional valuables and food for sponsoring
ceremonial cycles, brideprice payments, and the like.
People will not borrow from a sorcerer for fear of the
consequences of a delayed payment. In essence, the man

who is thought to be a sorcerer, and who reinforces that impression, has opted out, to some degree, from the responsibilities of being a kinsman. He has partially removed himself from the web of kinship obligations.

The value of sorcery as social control, even when it is applied as a post hoc explanation of events, was illustrated in one particular accusation we attended. People agreed that Naniu was the victim of sorcery. We thought the whole village united in sympathy for him, until we delved deeper into the case. In the days and weeks following the public accusation, we discovered at least half a dozen reasons for the sorcery. Some people ascribed the sorcery to a longstanding personal feud between Naniu and a suspected sorcerer. Many people, perhaps the majority of Ongaians, believed that Naniu suffered because of an unpaid pig debt--not his own, but one for which he assumed responsibility. A few people wondered if Naniu had been struck because of his success in business. Some people mentioned that Naniu committed misdeeds in connection with Natavutavu. One man felt that Naniu was paying the price of dabbling in sorcery himself--years before, so the rumour went, Naniu had participated in a sorcery homicide. People also proposed other interpersonal feuds, and the theft of a large sum of money, as causes for the sorcery.

Most interpretations of the cause of Naniu's illness put the ultimate guilt on Naniu himself. Naniu, recently

returned from several years in town, asserted himself in several contexts: church leadership, business leadership, traditional leadership; in short, village leadership in general. People resented Naniu's "take charge" attitude, and the sorcery attack gave them a chance to express this resentment: Naniu was going too far too fast, engaged in matters that were not his concern. The villagers expressed their resentment in their interpretations of the cause of his illness. The sorcery was justified, Naniu got what was coming to him.

Naniu maintained the sorcery came from a man living in Portne who had long coveted Naniu's wife. But Ongaians discounted this, and generally accepted the pig-debt explanation of the sorcery. They believed the evidence was strong: Naniu did owe a pig. Acceptance of the pig-debt explanation led to two results. In the first place, people's own general fears of being sorcerized were quieted. This was not the illegitimate use of sorcery by some sorcerer out to hurt and kill people for no good reason; the sorcery was legitimate, justified by the delinquent pig debt. Secondly, the explanation made life easier in the Kilenge villages because the sorcerer was an outsider. It was clear that the man from Portne had not sorcerized Naniu, and villagers did not have a sorcerer living in their midst. The justified blame rested with an unnamed Lolo sorcerer, who lived far away from the beach community. The

threat to the community was averted, and people had a
satisfactory explanation of why Naniu was sorcerized.
As Tuzin notes, an interpretation of justified sorcery
may be used "as an excuse for not initiating dangerous
revenge actions" (1974:336).

Consequences of Sorcery

The next chapter, Chapter V, analyzes the life
and times of Aisapo, the first and only Kilenge paramount
luluai. Because Aisapo was intimately involved and
identified with sorcery, I find it necessary to anticipate
part of the discussion of his career when speaking of the
contemporary consequences of sorcery.

Aisapo banned the use and practice of sorcery
following the Second World War. The ban worked, at least
within the Kilenge villages, but within two decades Aisapo
reintroduced sorcery and became known, in the words of one
informant, as the "concert master" of sorcerers. People
say that Aisapo personally sorcerized, or had his agents
work sorcery against, many of the established natavolo of
all three Kilenge villages, in order for Aisapo to secure
his own position as natavolo and avert any challenge to
his leadership. I interpret Aisapo's actions as an attempt
to strengthen his position as he faced the failure or
stagnation of the village development projects which he
initiated or supported. Most villagers see Aisapo's use

of sorcery as illegitimate; he did not respond to any just cause or provocation, but rather used sorcery for his own personal ends. Aisapo's reintroduction and use of sorcery had widespread effects on the social, economic and political lives of Kilenge villagers.

Socially, the renewed and intensified Kilenge fear of Lolo sorcerers probably damaged and limited Kilenge relations with their bush neighbours. Most Kilenge are very reluctant to travel up into the bush to visit or trade with the Lolo. If they do go, the Kilenge take care not to discard any personal leavings where they can be found and used by sorcerers. When a Lolo visits the Kilenge in their coastal villages, the Kilenge are visibly uncomfortable and upset. They take exaggerated care not to offend the guest, for fear of retaliation by sorcery. Although only a very small fraction of the Lolo are actual sorcerers, the Kilenge believe sorcery knowledge to be generally available to all the Lolo. The Kilenge negatively stereotype the entire Lolo population, and treat them all in the same cautious, distant fashion. We did not find out how the Lolo feel about the Kilenge, but many Lolo we met did not seem to mind the negative stereotype--in fact, they seemed to use and manipulate it to their advantage in extracting favours and gifts from the Kilenge. As long as this negative stereotype remains, efforts to develop the region as a whole will meet with the problems caused by Kilenge reluctance to

of his success and resort to sorcery as an outlet for this
jealousy. Sorcery is not employed against business groups
with large memberships. Large business groups are rarely,
if ever, successful: with large memberships men feel little
personal involvement or interest in the group, money gets
"lost" and assets "disappear". There is the possibility
that those responsible for the lost money and assets can
become the targets of sorcery commissioned by their own
group members. Naturally, this would have terribly divisive
effects within a village, since business groups are usually
groups of kinsmen working together. But so far, it seems
that sorcery is used only against individuals or small groups
of brothers who may run successful enterprises.

Given the Kilenge belief about sorcery, the specific
beliefs about Aisapo's actions have major ramifications for
contemporary leadership. Those people genealogically quali-
fied to be natavolo are reluctant to fulfill the role expec-
tations for proper leadership. Their reluctance results
from their beliefs and fears about sorcery and sorcerers.
One person genealogically qualified to be a natavolo discussed
the problem candidly. He said that the qualified people
assert themselves reluctantly because they fear that the same
sorcerers who killed their fathers might kill them. The new
natavolo would be killed because of the sorcerers' own fears
that an assertive natavolo candidate, in the process of
establishing his leadership credentials, would try to seek

revenge for his father's death. The sorcerer, trying to
protect his own life, would resort to a pre-emptive strike
against the aspiring leader. Given such a situation, a man
in a potential leadership role seldom asserts himself because
the sorcerer may misinterpret his actions. Our informant is
a man who recently began a slow but steady attempt to
validate his natavolo credentials, and had become active in
political affairs. He recounted one abortive attack of
sorcery against himself. He maintained that the same people
who had killed his father and uncle attacked him. He
mentioned the names of other natavolo candidates who, he
said, admitted the same fears to him. We tried raising the
matter with one or two other natavolo, but they were exeedingly
hesitant to discuss sorcery against natavolo today, and we
learned nothing further. But other factors have led us to
accept the one informant's analysis and explanation of
constraints on current leaders. People who are not village
leaders thought that it was an accurate explanation. In
fact, a couple of men suggested that sorcery constrained
leadership behaviour before we mentioned it. From our per-
spective, the local analysis provided an accurate explanation
of the behaviour of local leaders and made intelligible
many of their actions. While eliciting the names of the nata-
volo of the various naulum groups in Portne, we were
consistently given names we did not recognize. Nearly all
of the responses were the names of dead men, most killed by

Aisapo or his agents. Since their deaths none of their sons had come forward to replace them. When we asked for Ongaian natavolo we were given the names of living men, but rarely did lists gathered from different informants coincide exactly. Furthermore, eliciting the information at two different times from the same informant usually produced at least one change in the list. The confusion of the occupation of traditional leadership roles exemplifies the ineffectiveness and unassertiveness of the people supposedly occupying those roles. The low profile approach to leadership is not restricted to the traditional realm: in Ongaia, it is also manifest in the elective role of councillor, who is currently the genealogically senior natavolo of the village. The elected officials in Portne and Kilenge proper do not maintain a low profile, but neither are they natavolo candidates. Perhaps purely elected officials, with no claims of traditional status, are free of the constraints and fears posed by sorcery for natavolo, and hence can be more effective leaders. However, because they have no traditional standing, they lack the true legitimacy of leaders in the village situation.

Thus the Kilenge are facing a crisis in leadership. Villagers do not see the councillors as legitimate leaders, and they ignore the councillors' leadership. People look to the natavolo for leadership, but the natavolo are afraid to assert themselves and act like proper leaders--they are

afraid of being sorcerized. The Kilenge are facing a crisis in leadership which they have not yet resolved. The roots of this crisis lie in the life and times of Aisapo, an extraordinary man whose meteoric rise to power and prominence began in the dark days of despair during World War Two.

CHAPTER V

AISAPO

> Whenever a man gains predominant power,
> he seems driven to consolidate his
> position. Many men have gone much
> further in the acquisition of power
> than had ever been intended by those
> who first put them into office
> (Burling 1974:133).

Studies of recent despotic rulers in Melanesia are

few and far between (see, for example, Hogbin 1946, 1951,

1963; Brown 1963, 1972), and yet the centralization of

power by coercive means has occurred with some frequency

in the area since the late 19th century (e.g., Terrell and

Irwin 1972; Zelenietz 1979a). In this chapter, I illustrate

the career of an extraordinary local ruler, Aisapo, who

dominated the Kilenge scene from the Second World War until

his death in 1973. Following the description of his life,

times and actions, I discuss the implications of his career

for basic concepts utilized in the analysis of middleman

roles. The case of Aisapo is a counter example to many

assumptions about middlemen, particularly those regarding

the legitimization of leaders and middlemen. In later

chapters, I will analyze Aisapo's influence long after his

death.

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There is a basic problem encountered in writing about the life and times of Aisapo: people have an overwhelming sense of ambivalence about the man and his deeds. The villagers feel ambivalent about Aisapo—there are those people who generally regard him with favour, and others who denounce his every action. The ambivalence extends to the personal level. His staunchest supporters will admit that he sometimes got out of hand, beating and sorcerizing people, while his major detractors will grudgingly concede that he did, in truth, develop the village economically and provide strong, effective leadership. The ambivalence crosses lines of kinship and group affiliation: some relatives and members of Aisapo's own naulum revile his memory, while other relatives and non-relatives come close to revering it.

This "love-hate" relationship has no doubt coloured the data, in the sense that no two "factual" accounts of Aisapo, or any particular event associated with him, are the same. Although this proved a standard problem in working with the Kilenge, it became even more pronounced when talking about Aisapo. But however clouded the "actual events" are, the very ambivalence can tell us much about the way people reacted to Aisapo and about their overall relationship with him.

We can trace part of the ambivalence to the nature of Aisapo's career. His aims and goals, and thus the

nature of his actions, changed during the thirty years
between his appointment as paramount luluai and his death.
The Kilenge recognized the changes. They feel that Aisapo
became more and more capricious and arbitrary in his orders
and actions. The very fact that the Kilenge recognized,
and yet accepted, the arbitrariness of Aisapo leads me to
suggest that charisma, and the charismatic relationship,
might be an explanatory device applicable to the situation.
But before I deal with the maintenance of Aisapo's position,
it is necessary to supply some background information. We
must remember that this is "information" as the Kilenge
see it, with their picture of Aisapo fixed firmly in their
minds. We could find no documentary evidence to supplement,
confirm, or deny the validity of this background information.

Aisapo was born in Ongaia, as were his parents. His
father's father came from Kove; he migrated to Kilenge for
reasons that are unclear,[58] and married a nararara. The
stigma of having alien blood and origins clung to Aisapo
throughout his life and after his death.

Sometime after the First World War Aisapo went to
Rabaul to work as the personal servant to the top admini-
stration official there, Mr. Mooney. People believe that
Aisapo learned a great deal about white men from his asso-
ciation with Mr. Mooney.[59] When Mr. Mooney left government
service to explore for gold on the New Guinea mainland,
Aisapo went with him. The Kilenge say that Aisapo was

instrumental in constructing a road from the Bulolo gold-
fields to the (then active) port of Salamaua, south of
Lae. As part of his duties, Aisapo recruited labourers
to work on the road and in the goldfields. One or two
informants maintained that the development of the gold
mining industry in Papua New Guinea depended solely on
Aisapo's initiative and efforts. After his goldfield
adventures, Aisapo captained numerous coastal vessels, finally
returning to the village where he assisted the luluai and
tultul in their activities.

Aisapo had barely settled down to a village
existence when World War Two broke out, and the Japanese
invaded New Britain. When the Americans counter-invaded
and chased the Japanese out of the area, they wanted to
appoint one man paramount luluai for the entire coast of
West New Britain from Talasea to the Siassi Islands.[60] Mr.
Mooney had helped the Americans in their fight and was
instrumental in having Aisapo appointed the waitpus
(paramount luluai). In a major ceremony at the Cape Glou-
cester airfield, Aisapo received his honour. He stood on
a platform, flanked by an American officer and his Austra-
lian counterpart, while a marching band played and the
Kilenge and Lolo looked on. To this day, Kilenge who were
there fondly remember, and are impressed by, the show of
pomp devoted to one of their own.

A truly accurate account of Aisapo's rise to promi-

nence, from an objective perspective, demands that we know the reasons why the administration appointed him. Unfortunately, I could not get access to records possibly containing the reasons for the appointment, nor could I interview the former official (now deceased) responsible for that appointment. But we do have some indication of why the same administration official appointed another paramount luluai in the same area at the same time. Mr. J.K. McCarthy, the former District Officer for what is now the north coast of West New Britain, appointed two paramount luluais in the region in 1944. McCarthy named Aipao as paramount luluai of the Kaliai area because of "his personal qualities: these made him an excellent policeman and, in Mr. McCarthy's opinion, a leader of his people" (Counts 1968:163). "Aipao himself thought that he was chosen because of his role in the apprehension of the killers of a police constable" (Ibid.:161). Aipao, like Aisapo, had no traditional status position in the village (Ibid.).

If the basics of the Kilenge-told story of Aisapo's early years are minimally accurate, we can assume that he brought himself to the attention of the administration in much the same way as Aipao did. However, the careers of Aisapo and Aipao diverged almost from the moment of appointment: the latter sank rapidly into obscurity, ignored not only by the people of his area of responsibility, but even by the people of his own village (Ibid.:161, n.1). Aisapo,

on the other hand, rose to prominence in and dominance of
local affairs, spreading his reputation far beyond that of
his official administrative area.

Although Aisapo had tenuous claims to natavolo
status through his mother and her mother, informants
suggested that before the war he took little action to
validate those claims. Indeed, if the accounts of Aisapo's
pre-war activities have some basis in reality, Aisapo
worked outside the village most of the time, and could not
take action on his natavolo claims. His initial prominence
and success in village leadership stemmed from his appoint-
ment as paramount luluai and the appointment, in turn,
originated in the war years. It is to those socially
disruptive years that we must look to ascertain the roots
of his power and success.

Charisma, as Wilson (1975) points out, is a concept
frequently used, and frequently misused, to explain why
people have risen to positions of prominence and power.
He argues that the mass media have weakened and corrupted
the term, using it in connection with anyone who can attract
a following. He feels that actually "[c]harisma denotes a
quality not of the individual, but of a relationship between
believers (or followers) and the man in whom they believe"
(1975:7). Thus "charisma is a relation of supreme trust in
the total competence of an individual whose qualities are
'supernatural, superhuman or at least specifically exceptional'"
(Ibid.:25). Charisma is often associated with situations

of social change, both as a causative agent of that change
and as a response to the change, a "response to social
disruption" (Ibid.:27).

In a similar fashion, Aberle suggested that "it is
through the unpredictable and uncontrollable that man most
experiences power, whether in the world of nature or of
man," and "that he endows with power that which or those
who help him cope with the helplessness that results from
these experiences" (1966:221). Aberle examines charisma
from this perspective, seeing it as "a special gift of
occupants of offices or of other persons that is not based
solely on training or experience" (Ibid.:223). The
charismatic leader is "a source of unpredictability and
uncontrollability to his followers" (Ibid.). Somewhat
paradoxically, he is also "the reducer of ambiguity, the
wellspring of action in situations of uncertainty, the
clarifier of aims, and so on" (Ibid.). In short, although
unpredictable and uncontrollable himself (i.e., arbitrary--
see Wilson 1975:9), the charismatic leader manipulates the
world, reducing the unpredictability and uncontrollability,
hence uncertainty, of events for his followers.

The power and charisma of the office-holder varies
inversely with the rules constraining his behaviour: "the
less the office-holder is bound by rules, the larger the
scope of his arbitrary decisions, the greater his charisma"
(Aberle 1966:224). Also, "charisma varies with the amount

of authority as well as with the amount of arbitrariness"
(Ibid.:225). Finally, Aberle notes "charisma is only in
part a product of the amount of arbitrary decision-making
provided for in particular social structures. It inheres
in part in the situations that these structures confront"
(Ibid.:226). New situations, unprovided for in the tradi-
tional roles, lend scope for decision-making in a way that
contributes to an individual's charisma.

Both Wilson's and Aberle's thoughts on charisma and
leadership, although primarily intended for the analysis of
religious and magical phenomena, are also applicable to
office-holders in a more politically-oriented situation.
They provide an excellent framework in which to analyze the
rise of Aisapo. However, the use of charisma as an explana-
tion in and of itself is both facile and weak. It does not
specify the conditions which gave rise to the "charismatic
leader" nor the situation in which he operated. Although
one could argue, even years after Aisapo's death, that he
was a charismatic leader, this would tell us little about
the man and how he came to be what he was. If, on the other
hand, we use the notions of the charismatic situation out-
lined above as an heuristic device, as an explanatory tool
rather than as an explanation, we might gain some insight
into the conditions surrounding Aisapo's career. Aisapo
was thrust into a leadership office during a time of uncer-
tainty. New conditions in the social environment, situations

of uncertainty, call for innovative leadership (Bailey
1969:59-60). Aisapo rose to meet the challenge.

For the Kilenge, the Second World War was a time
of "unpredictability and uncontrollability", when they
"experienced power" far beyond their comprehension. The
war began for them with conscription to help the Australians
complete an airfield at the site of the present Cape
Gloucester airstrip. Shortly afterwards, in 1942, the
invading Japanese replaced the Australians. Several Kilenge
at the mission headquarters in Vunapope fled and made their
way across the length of New Britain on foot, to return to
their natal villages, while the Japanese interned a few
others with the mission personnel. For the people in the
village, the presence of the Japanese engendered a time of
uncertainty. The Japanese, who established a camp close
to Kilenge proper, killed local pigs, looted homes and
gardens, and destroyed many of the sacred dancing masks
and carvings. They also made the Kilenge work on the air-
strip. Most of the Kilenge fled into the bush on the mountain,
living in small groups and eating food from old gardens--
they planted no new gardens. Even cooking became a
clandestine activity, because aircraft bombed and strafed
positions revealed by cooking fires.

The Japanese the Kilenge experienced differed from
those known before the war. Pre-war Japanese were mainly
merchants and trochus-shell divers who hired the Kilenge

to work for them. Cordial relations existed and several adults in the village bear Japanese names bestowed on them by visiting divers.

The coming of the Americans in 1943 made life even more uncertain for the villagers. The invasion of New Britain began in the Cape Gloucester area, and the Kilenge felt the impact of naval and aerial bombardment. When the Americans landed, many Kilenge volunteered to help them track down the Japanese living in the bush. The Americans gathered the bulk of the population at the airstrip and provided them with food and clothing. Young adult males were conscripted to join the war effort--some became bearers, others received combat training and participated in the fighting on Bougainville and in the Wewak area. As the war progressed, the remaining Kilenge re-established themselves in their beach villages. Villagers fondly remember this period as the time when "the inside of every house looked like a story." The Americans supplied the Kilenge with what appeared to them to be unlimited supplies of food and clothing. Tins could be had for the asking, and according to memory, the Kilenge were given carte-blanche in the PX at the Gloucester airfield.

The treatment they received from the Americans differed markedly from that the Australians. Furthermore, the Americans had "ol man Aprika" (blacks) who fought with them. No longer was black skin so conspicuously a mark of

inferiority. When the Americans left, they again gave
large quantities of goods to the Kilenge. Much to the
shock and dismay of villagers, these goods were shortly
thereafter confiscated by ANGAU units. This action, coupled
with the treatment shown them by the Americans, reinforced
the Kilenge suspicion and distrust of Australians.

Before the war ended, the Americans and Australians
jointly appointed Aisapo paramount luluai. This office was
new to the Kilenge: they had never before been subject to
a paramount luluai. It was an office little understood by
the population in general,[61] and even Aisapo probably had
little idea of its formal powers. In this fashion, it
became an office in a relatively "rule-less situation", and
hence the possibility existed for the development of
charismatic power. The time was right, the position was
right. As it turned out, the selection of the man for
the office was also right.

In the period immediately following the war, Aisapo
used his position as paramount luluai to institute a series
of changes in Kilenge life which would better integrate them
into the world around them. One of his first major
activities was the suppression of sorcery. According to
informants, sorcery was not a widespread practice among the
Kilenge themselves: the beginning of the end had been the
coming of the Australian administration, and sorcery had
virtually ceased with missionization. However, sorcery

was common among the neighbouring inland Lolo, who had less contact with administration and church. Aisapo gathered all the Kilenge and Lolo sorcerers near the reef off the Kilenge beach and commanded them to cast away their powers and paraphernalia. Backing up Aisapo, informants say, was the power of the government. Aisapo effectively used his potential sanctions to get the Lolo to publically divest themselves of the powers at their command.[62]

In addition to the unseen, but ever-present, sanction of government intervention, Aisapo made use of his reputation as a physically strong man. As a young man, he had beaten one of his daughters, breaking her lower jaw and knocking out most of her teeth. During the war, while the Americans were still present, the new paramount luluai beat to death a Lolo man whom he accused of sorcery and womanizing. Although Aisapo spent several months in the Talasea jail because of this incident, he kept his symbol of authority, the white hat of the paramount luluai. These incidents, and probably others, contributed to Aisapo's reputation as a strong and volatile man, earning him the nickname "han kandal."[63] But he did not rely on violence alone: he adroitly manipulated his position as representative of the government. While some of the Kilenge men were still away serving in the armed forces, Aisapo asserted his authority as paramount luluai over the Lolo. Baran, a man from Sumel village, started a cargo cult. Aisapo acted

quickly and squelched cult activity.

Although he never received general acceptance of his claims to natavolo status, Aisapo did acquire social standing from his mastery of some traditional practices. There is some dispute as to whether Aisapo was a full-fledged sorcerer capable of killing people himself; most villagers say that he was not. But there is no question in people's minds that Aisapo did have a great facility for controlling the weather. He was a renowned weather sorcerer. Informants described how he would bring just enough rain during the drought-prone season (July-August) to save the taro, or how he would make sure that there would be good weather for a ceremonial performance. They say that even the white mission personnel and sea captains admitted that Aisapo controlled the weather. Any abnormalities in the weather today, in fact the whole pattern that the Kilenge perceive to be poor weather, are blamed on the death of Aisapo-- there is no one left with his capabilities for controlling weather.

People also acknowledge Aisapo as a repository of traditional lore, received from his father. He knew more stories than any other Kilenge man or woman, and Ongaians describe him as an excellent storyteller.

Some time around 1950 Aisapo began what, in retrospect, appears to have been a direct attempt to undermine traditional agents of social control in order to replace

those agents with his own personalized sanctions. He

ordered that Nausang and Natavutavu, the agents of social

control controlled by the natavolo of particular naulum,

be publicly danced. Aisapo felt that the powers inherent

in the masks and hats would dissipate with exposure to

women and children. Accordingly, men publicly danced

Nausang and Natavutavu. In later years, this action gave

rise to a series of sorcery accusations (see below). As

no deaths immediately followed the public exposure of the

masks, and no calamities occurred, one assumes that

Aisapo's goal of undermining these agents, and thus freeing

the Kilenge from the traditional dreads, was successful.[64]

The success achieved was temporary, as today people remain

cautious about viewing both Nausang and Natavutavu. Some

people believe that Aisapo's action permanently removed the

power from these objects, but the majority of the Kilenge

still treat Nausang, and to a lesser extent Natavutavu,

with a good deal of respect and restraint.[65]

Both before and after the exposure of the sacred

dancing masks and hats, Aisapo cooperated with the Catholic

mission in rebuilding the mission station. The extant

station was in ruins: it was occupied by the Japanese and

bombed during the war. Aisapo saw to it that villagers

built a station down by the beach near Onga Tuange in 1945

or 1946, and later (1952) helped in the construction of a

new station located about ten minute's walk up from the beach.

Aisapo's ability to lead impressed the missionaries, and one noted an almost evil aura emanating from the man. As one patrol officer put it years later, "If it is possible for a man to look like a leader, then Aisapo Talavi has the looks" (Tweedie 1972).

In this immediate post-war period, a time of upheaval and uncertainty for the Kilenge, it is evident that Aisapo acted to reduce uncertainty and introduce a new state of normality for the Kilenge. Aisapo removed the fear inspired by beliefs in sorcery and the retributive powers of Nausang and Natavutavu by demonstrating that powers based on a different premise, powers to whose use he was privy, were more efficacious than traditional Kilenge powers. Aisapo's support of the rebuilding of the church probably lent further credence to his actions and his power. It was obvious to the Kilenge that, despite the strangeness of times and events, Aisapo knew what to do, how to cope. In Aberle's words, he was "the reducer of ambiguity, the well-spring of action in situations of unpredictability..."

After stabilizing the Kilenge social environment, Aisapo supported a series of changes designed to develop the Kilenge area economically. The most important plan did not originate with Aisapo: the order came from the District Commissioner in Talasea to plant coconuts. Aisapo, along with village officials from Kilenge and other areas, went to Talasea to receive instructions and seed coconuts.

On their return, the Kilenge say that they behaved like
real "primitives"--they wanted to eat the coconuts. Only
Aisapo knew what to do with the seed nuts, and ordered the
people to plant them. People cleared the bush area imme-
diately behind the village and planted the coconuts there.
Aisapo broke with accepted practice when he ordered the
people of Ongaia to plant in specific locations: many men
planted coconuts on ground to which they had no clear or
accepted title (see Chapter II). At a public meeting in
1977, men of other villages chided and laughed at the Ongaians
for complying with these instructions, which they knew would
result in confusion about land and tree ownership. The
Ongaians defended themselves by saying "Had you been there,
you wouldn't have laughed; you would have planted where you
were told. Otherwise, you would have died." Although
many people feel that Aisapo ordered the planting so that
men of his naulum, Saumoi, would be able to plant coconuts,
a few people insisted that Aisapo ordered the planting so
that he personally, regardless of the rest of Saumoi,
would have land on which to plant.[66]

At the same time, Aisapo ordered the killing of all
pigs in the Kilenge villages, so that they would not uproot
and destroy the coconut seedlings. The moratorium on pigs
lasted for several years (probably five), and when it ended
the Kilenge had to restock by obtaining pigs from their
trading partners in Kove, Bariai and elsewhere.

As anyone familiar with Melanesian cultures knows, pigs are the objects of attention and obsession. A capricious move such as killing off all the pigs in the Kilenge villages, coupled with instructions to plant coconuts where ordered, ignoring boundaries and traditional land tenure, could certainly have cast Aisapo as "a source of unpredictability and uncontrollability to his followers" (Aberle 1966:223). However, the Kilenge followed orders, and this very act of compliance probably served to reinforce Aisapo's control over them. Whatever resentment people might have harboured at the time of these actions has dissipated (except for the unresolved situation of who owns what trees), and the actions are seen as the most fruitful operations undertaken by Aisapo. The planting of coconuts 'developed' the village, giving the Kilenge access to cash by producing copra. For five years, no pigs roamed the village. There was no excrement 'lying about, so that women had less work. People were able to plant gardens among the coconut seedlings very close to the village. They did not have to fear the damage of marauding pigs. Food was close at hand: men did not have to walk an hour or two uphill to clear garden sites, and women could gather fresh garden produce at a moment's notice. Although the Kilenge identify the pre-war years as a 'golden age' (Tokpisin, gutaim), they see the initial years of coconut planting as a time of hope for the future,

development of the village, and minimized personal labour.

During this time, Aisapo had access to trade goods
and cash by acting as a recruiting agent for plantations
and other recruiters. Perusal of patrol reports indicates
that Aisapo would contract to provide twenty or more men,
receive his commission beforehand, and then deliver only a
handful of workers. Concurrently, he also engaged in
refurbishing the Cape Gloucester airstrip, recruiting villagers
for that work.

The late 1950s and early 1960s marked the culmina-
tion of Aisapo's design for "developing" the Kilenge area.
In 1959 a government patrol post was built at Cape Glou-
cester, on the west coast of Borgen Bay about thirty
kilometers to the east of the Kilenge settlements. In 1961
a Native (cooperative) Society was established for the people
of Ongaia and Portne, headquartered in Ongaia.[67]

Ongaians contend that the patrol post was established
and built on Aisapo's request. Aisapo had tired of going
to Talasea to confer with the District Officer, so he
ordered the latter to build a station closer to Kilenge.
The government as a tool of Aisapo is prevalent in Kilenge
beliefs and stories about him. People saw the government
as an extension of Aisapo, rather than vice versa. Aisapo
did not do what the government wanted; rather the government
followed Aisapo's dictates. If a kiap displeased Aisapo,
he had the man removed or fired. The kiaps respected, and

to an extent feared, Aisapo because their jobs depended on him. The government was there only because Aisapo wanted it so.

In the process of finding land for the government station, Aisapo encountered his first setback. He wanted to build the station near the airstrip, on land associated with the former village of Masele. He did not consult the heirs to the ground, and when the District Officer came to alienate the land, a group of people from Portne, Kilenge and Ongaia protested the proposed transaction. An administrator from Rabaul came to mediate the dispute. He eventually found in favour of the heirs to Masele, who wanted to use the ground for planting coconuts and as a land reserve. Aisapo then successfully negotiated the alienation of a plot of ground about ten kilometers to the east, jointly claimed by the Masele heirs and people from the Lolo village of Gi. Aisapo received the payment for the ground, and kept it for himself. The Masele descendants report never having received a share.[68]

Aisapo and three other men from Ongaia and Portne then laid out the boundaries for the station, and Lolo living nearby cleared the land. At the same time, the paramount luluai marked out a road from the station to Sagsag, and the people of the villages along the road cut it out from the bush by hand. People speak with pride of this work: they built the station, and they cut the road.

In these contexts, they call both the road and the station "Aisapo's". "Aisapo built the station, and Aisapo cleared the road." During the actual construction, Aisapo worked along side the villagers, and was intolerant of anyone who shirked his duty; if old people were ill, he allowed them to rest, but he reprimanded and beat able-bodied people caught goldbricking.

In the post-war era, Aisapo ordered several Lolo villages to move down from their traditional lands on the mountain to beach locations. Ongaians say Aisapo did this so that he would have less difficulty in reaching the villages and supervising their activities. In 1960, he again pushed for moving other Lolo villages down to the coast.

> At a meeting of village officials in Cape Gloucester in March, he [Aisapo] proposed that the inland villages between Borgen Bay and the Itni River should move their villages to the beach and although I explained that there was no Administration pressure for this move, it has resulted in the villages of Kakumo, Garimati, Nekarop, Niapua and Mangailapua in moving from their original sites to set up villages along the coast between Natamu and the Patrol Post (Besaparis 1960:2).

The patrol officer goes on to note that although the villagers moved because they thought they could get away from working on the inland road, they will still be required to do so. He does mention the fact that they will now be much nearer their coconut groves. Whatever

the motivation for moving, the people in the Kilenge villages saw the move as yet another manifestation of Aisapo's power and control; he ordered the villages moved down the coast, and they were. Kilenge attribute the subsequent rapid growth of population in these Lolo villages to Aisapo's edict banning the use of traditional contraceptives and abortifacients, and the demise of sorcery at Aisapo's orders. People say that Aisapo wanted population increase.

In 1960 Aisapo began discussing the possibility of organizing a cooperative society for processing and marketing copra, and for running a trade store. He sent an Ongaian man to Kavieng for two and a half months to learn about the cooperative movement and how to run a business. On 11 September, 1961, subscriptions were accepted for membership in the Ongaia Native Society, shares being priced at £A5 each. On that day, seventy people from Ongaia and Portne purchased membership shares. By the middle of October, another 56 members had been recruited from Lolo villages, and the Society was a capitalized concern.[69] Initially, people did not want to part with such a large sum of money, but Aisapo intimidated them into joining. According to one informant (the storekeeper):

> When Aisapo started the Society, he first
> asked all the men to join. Many didn't
> want to--it cost alot of money. He gave
> a short speech, and told them they had to
> join, otherwise the village wouldn't
> change at all. He wanted to know how things
> would change if they just sat down all day
> long....When the new coconut trees matured,
> he told them they would have many coconuts

for business. He said that the village
would then change--there would be more
business, more money, and more trade
stores would open up. He said that he
didn't have anything else to say, that they
should listen to him and join him.

People say they didn't understand the Society and what it
would do, other than it cost them money to join, it would
bring them business and a trade store into the village,
and they somehow would receive "profit" money. After
sixteen years of operation, most men in Ongaia are still
unclear about the goals, objectives, and running of the
Society. But they are still members.

Aisapo took it upon himself to appoint the leadership
of the Society. He appointed three directors from each of
the two participating Kilenge villages (no mention was made
of directors from the Lolo villages). He also appointed
two other officers, a storekeeper and a chairman. The
chairman was to run the Society meetings, and the directors
were to stimulate copra production and supervise product
quality. No one except the storekeeper received a salary.

Initially, the Society purchased copra. Trees
planted in the big push of the late 1950s were beginning
to mature, and Aisapo ordered the people of Ongaia and
Portne to build a copra drier in each village. Before this,
when people produced copra they sold it to the Catholic
mission or the rare trade store. The Society received a

Copra Marketing Board number so that it could sell direct to the Board, and not have to deal with middlemen.

In November of 1963, after two years of operation, the Society established its trade store on a plot of ground between Ongaia and Portne villages. The Society encouraged members to purchase goods at the store, and told them that the more each individual bought, the larger the "profit" (rebate?) he would later receive. The earliest store inventory records date back to 1966, and they indicate that a wide selection of goods was, at least occasionally, available at the store. For a time, the Society also acted as a bulk store, wholesaling items to the smaller trade stores in the Kilenge-Lolo area. After several years of operation, the Society used its accumulated profits to construct a new, permanent, European-type store on the site of the old store.

Although begun with enthusiasm and high hopes for development, the Society soon began to run into problems.[70] The major difficulty, as cited in patrol reports, was the lack of adequate transportation. In the early 1960s, ships called in at the Kilenge area about once every six weeks, and as early as February 1963 the patrol officer, N. Wright, notes that "people are fast losing interest [in business and the Society] because of the amount of copra which has apparently rotted while awaiting transport" (1963a). In November of that year, Wright (1963b) estimated that the

Society was shipping sixty(?)[71] tons of copra a month,
but by September of the following year, production in the
Kilenge area in general had fallen off so much that "the
captain of the M.V. Kurwina advised me recently that
unless copra production was boosted considerably the Kurwina
would come only as far as Arowe on the south coast as any
further would not be a paying proposition" (Kelly 1964:4).

People never regained their initial enthusiasm for
the Society and business; patrol reports from later in the
decade reveal the picture. In 1966 (Kelly 1966:8) the
Society shipped 70-75 bags of copra a month to Rabaul
(about six to seven tons, using the figure of 180 lbs.
average per bag). In January of 1969 (Batho 1969), the
Society was producing 60 bags/month (five tons),[72] and the
mission buying 70 bags worth. One patrol officer guessed
that about 50% of all copra produced rotted while awaiting
transport.

The Society suffered from more than problems of
shipping copra and copra rotting while awaiting transport.
Irregular shipping also caused problems at the store end
of the Society's operation: cargo came infrequently, and
no one understood inventory methods well enough so that
they could order items before the previous stock sold out.
Months would (and still do) pass with store shelves sitting
empty, waiting for the next load of stock to arrive.

About the time that Kilenge dreams for business and

development were bearing shrivelled and bitter fruit,
several things occurred which jeopardized Aisapo's supre-
macy and to which he reacted by invoking that powerful
control that he himself had banned, sorcery.

Aisapo's relations with the mission deteriorated
during the 1950s. After his appointment as paramount
luluai, he took a second wife. Informants insisted that
Aisapo became a polygamist at the advice and urging of a
patrol officer. They added that since Aisapo had to
entertain visitors in his role as waitpus, he needed a
second wife to tend gardens and to ensure sufficient food
for all and sundry who came by. By taking a second wife,
Aisapo demonstrated that he was an important person, since
traditionally only important men had more than one wife.[73]
Apart from taking a second wife, people insisted that Aisapo
did not fool around with younger women, although luluais
in other parts of New Guinea supposedly took such advantage
(see, e.g., Hogbin 1946). The second marriage seriously
strained Aisapo's relations with personnel at the Catholic
mission. They banned him from attending church. Although
the Kilenge today are ambivalent about the church's role
in village life, they take church-going and praying rela-
tively seriously. Anyone banned from the church is cut off
from a small but important part of social and religious
life. Villagers had treated Aisapo's house and person with
general respect and avoidance; his status vis à vis the

church served to set him off still further from the general village population. Children were warned away from his house, so as not to disturb him, and men only came with a specific purpose in mind, not to sit and chat as they would do with friends, neighbours and relatives.

A strange incident (the facts of which are hard to ascertain) further fueled disillusionment with Aisapo. Some time around the founding of the Cape Gloucester Patrol Post, according to a couple of informants, the kiap and Aisapo tried to introduce a system of 'free love' among the unmarried Kilenge and Lolo women. The kiap, who spent much of his time in Portne village, discussed with Aisapo the possibilities of allowing the men of the village, patrol post personnel, and anyone wandering through, free access to unmarried women. The kiap called all the luluais and tultuls from the Kilenge-Lolo area together at the patrol post, and he and Aisapo explained the plan to them. The two assured the assembled men that married women would not be included in the plan--they would be off-limits to all but their husbands. As the story goes, Pange, the tultul of Ongaia (and the storyteller), opposed the plan. He spoke against the idea, and opposition to the scheme crystallized around him. Despite the pressure applied by Aisapo and the kiap, the opposition remained steadfast and the proponents finally withdrew the plan. It is hard to verify this story or discover what sort of incident or

misunderstanding it is possibly based on, but some Kilenge

believe it to be true, and react to it accordingly.[74]

The government station records indicate that the

patrol officers saw Aisapo as the only competent leader in

the Kilenge-Lolo Census Division, although they felt that

he occasionally overstepped his authority. In the initial

patrol from the Gloucester station, M.R. Haywood noted that

> The Paramount Luluai Aisapo of Ongaia Village
> is the most important person in the area. He
> is an hereditary leader with a very strong
> personality and although quiet in manner his
> authority extends right throughout the area
> and even into Bariai sub-division.
>
> Aisapo has shown a willingness to cooperate
> with the administration and through him there
> is some hope of getting the Kilenge/Lollo
> people interested in economic development and
> general advancement. He has given good support
> to my effort for copra production, although at
> Kilengi he is inclined to want to control all
> the money and this has caused some dissatisfac-
> tion. There is no doubt that his assistance
> was vital to opening up the road and bridges
> from Kilengi to Borgen Bay (1959:4).

In a letter from A.D. Stevens, the Assistant District Officer

at Talasea, Haywood was warned that

> Although Paramount Luluai Aisapo is a competent
> official, he should be discouraged from settling
> major disputes. These natives have had such
> scant attention in the past that I suspect
> Aisapo is undertaking authority in matters
> beyond his province (my emphasis).

Later patrol reports reconfirm Aisapo's position and

prominence as the "most important" and "only true" leader

in the region.

An incident in the early 1960s heralded a return, in part, to times past.[75] Avel, the tultul of Ongaia and Aisapo's classificatory son (mother's elder brother's adopted son's son; see Figure 3), died. This death was to have repercussions felt to the present day. The people of Ongaia subscribe to two major versions of the story of Avel's death.

In the first version, Avel and Aisapo had amicable relations. Aisapo asked Avel to be one of the men to dance Nausang in public (circa 1950), and Avel, a master of the dance, agreed. One of the other dancers was Kaikmata, luluai of Kilenge and Avel's brother-in-law (Kaikmata had married Avel's younger sister). Kaikmata envied Avel's ability to dance Nausang. After the dance, Kaikmata offered Avel a betel nut treated with a sorcerized compound. Avel chewed the nut and some time later (days, weeks, years?) experienced intense stomach pains. Over the course of years his condition worsened, and in 1960 or 1961 he died. Initially, Avel himself suspected that Nausang inflicted the illness because he had danced the mask in front of women. But following Avel's death his relatives decided that he had been sorcerized and they set about trying to find the guilty party. Aisapo discovered (through means unspecified) that Kaikmata was the culprit and subsequently hired a sorcerer from Tawale village to kill Kaikmata. The

sorcerer did his job, and Kaikmata died. One informant suggested that Kaikmata compounded his "guilt" because he had overruled Aisapo's order to have the men of Kilenge proper plant cacao. A further complication occurred before the actual deaths of Avel and Kaikmata: Kaikmata's sister, Patiu, was killed by her husband, an Ongaia man. Patiu was several months pregnant and angered her husband when she asked him to remove their two children from the village for a short while, so they wouldn't be injured by men dancing in a ceremony. Her husband, a man noted for his short temper, beat her once across the stomach with a bamboo pole, and she died in agony several hours later. The man, Aisapo's naulum mate and classificatory son (Aisapo's father's mother's elder brother's son's son's son) was tried for the crime, but the waitpus Aisapo told the kiap that Patiu had been chronically ill and had died from some sickness. He also intimidated two witnesses so that they perjured themselves, and the murderer spent only a few months in jail.

In the second version of the story of Avel's death, he and Aisapo are cast as opponents. Avel opposed Aisapo's steady usurpation of the functions and role of natavolo. Aisapo asked Avel to dance Nausang, and Avel agreed reluctantly. At the same time, Aisapo hired Kaikmata of Kilenge to kill Avel. Aisapo arranged for three people to gather Avel's personal leavings and take them to Kaikmata.

Before the dance, Kaikmata spat a ginger root preparation
(properly sorcerized) over Avel and his belongings.[76]
The sorcery was efficacious, but slow, and Avel died
several years later. His relatives said and did nothing to
arouse suspicion, but they soon discovered the sorcerer
involved. They hired another sorcerer to kill Kaikmata.
They also had the sorcerer avenge Avel's death by killing
the people who helped Kaikmata kill Avel. Two of these
people died horrible, painful deaths. The third, according
to one informant, is still alive, but fears that he has
been sorcerized.

Proponents of the latter story maintain that Aisapo
had Avel killed in order to consolidate his position in
Ongaia and all of Kilenge. Although Aisapo was older
and generationally senior to Avel, he was Avel's genealogical
junior (see Figure 3). People see Avel's death as the
first in a chain of killings in which several natavolo
from all three Kilenge villages were sorcerized by Aisapo
and his agents, to leave Aisapo the undisputed senior
personage in the Kilenge area. I contend that Aisapo's
perceived return to sorcery was a move to reassert himself
after the failure of several development projects. With
his authority as paramount luluai undermined by his lack of
success in these endeavours, Aisapo turned to more tradi-
tional means to assert his position and control. Increasingly,
he used the medium of narogo--as befitting a man claiming

the title natavolo, he sponsored several ceremonial cycles
for the naulum Saumoi.

In 1967, with the establishment of the Gloucester
Local Government Council, Aisapo lost his position as
paramount luluai. The people of the three Kilenge villages
elected Aisapo to be their local government councillor
(Kaunsel).[77] When the council first met, the councillors
reaffirmed general recognition of Aisapo's position of
leadership by electing him president of the council.[78] The
literature indicates that the position of councillor was as
little understood locally as that of luluai or tultul,
and that councillors could, if personally able, make as
much or little of their roles on the local level as they
wished. Villagers saw councillors as replacing luluais,
and thus in many instances councillors stepped into the
luluai's local role. It is clear that Aisapo saw the roles
of kaunsel and council president as extensions of his former
role of paramount luluai. What is equally clear is that
the people of Kilenge regarded the elective positions as
extensions of Aisapo's former positions. Whenever he ran
for office, and as long as he was a candidate, he won.[79]
To the people of Ongaia, only the name of Aisapo's govern-
ment-oriented position and office had changed: the content
of these offices, and Aisapo's behaviour and actions within
them, remained the same.

The late 1960s and early 1970s were the last years

of Aisapo's life. Although weakened by illness in his
last few years, Aisapo remained a force to be reckoned
with up to his death and beyond.

In 1970 or 1971 Aisapo apparently lost faith in
his ability to develop the Kilenge area by the means
prescribed by a succession of district and patrol officers.
In a direct reversal of his behaviour following the war,
he tried to introduce into Kilenge a cargo cult then popular
among the Lolo. According to both patrol reports and
informants, the cult leader was a mentally defective
adolescent from a Lolo village. The most outstanding
feature of the cult, outside of a youth leading senior
men, was the promise that if members followed certain pre-
scriptions, $93,000,000 in United States currency would
appear on the graves of the ancestors. To support the
claim, cult adherents displayed U.S. 25 cent pieces recovered
from the Cape Gloucester airstrip, former site of a large
U.S. installation during the war. The cult came to an end
when the patrol officer gathered all the Kilenge and Lolo
at the Kilenge mission and opened the box belonging to the
cult. The box, which supposedly contained the money, in
fact contained nothing but rocks.

Aisapo met with little success in his bid to convert
Kilenge to cargo belief.[80] The village catechist, who
acted as spokesman for a group of senior men, vigorously
opposed him. Aisapo assigned a group of men to go to the

headquarters village of the cult and bring back the leader
and the box, but the catechist dissuaded them. When asked
why Aisapo did not sorcerize or threaten to sorcerize the
catechist, people invariably responded that the man was
Aisapo's classificatory son (mother's elder brother's son's
son's son), and the catechist's ancestor was senior. One
should never sorcerize one's own kin.

In a brief period in 1972, two cases of infanticide
occurred. In handling these cases, Aisapo demonstrated
not only his ability to work for the administration, but
also his manipulative position in relation to that admini-
stration as he prevented the interference of higher courts.

An unmarried woman in Portne, and a married woman
of Ongaia (whose husband was away in Rabaul) both became
pregnant.[81] The Ongaia woman managed to conceal her
pregnancy from her parents (with whom she lived) by saying
that she had a disease which produced a swollen stomach,
but neighbours say that they knew she was pregnant. The
night she delivered, her parents were away gathering shell-
fish and snails by torchlight. She concealed the infant,
and in the early morning went to the sea to "wash". She
drowned the infant and swam out towards the reef, to dispose
of the body. A few hours later, some young children out
for a swim reported to their parents that they had seen
something in the water that looked like a human baby. When
the woman's neighbours heard this, they wasted no time in

broadcasting their suspicions to the village. Most of the villagers wanted to cover up the matter, but Aisapo sent for the patrol officer. When the kiap arrived, he made the men of Ongaia dive in the area inside the reef, looking for the body, which was never found.

The two women accused of infanticide were never tried. The only record of the incident in the Gloucester court records is the sentence of one month hard labour given to the Portne woman's mother for "burying a body under the house." The two women spent six months at the patrol post, assigned to menial labour. Much to the dismay of the mission personnel, their cases never reached a higher court. People speculate that the relative leniency shown the women stemmed from the fact that the father of one was a naulum mate of Aisapo's, and the father of the other was an Aisapo-appointed tultul. Despite the women's lenient sentences, the fears of the Ongaians were realized. The kiap required all villagers from the Kilenge area to work on the airstrip for six months, or to rebuild all of the houses in the villages, or to work on the road for seven weeks (from 6 A.M. to 6 P.M.).[82] Needless to say, people attribute the forced labour to Aisapo's influence with the patrol officer; it was Aisapo's retribution for the villagers having soiled his reputation.

Aisapo's behaviour became more and more capricious and arbitrary as he grew older and approached death. In

addition to the sorcery killings of _natavolo_ in the 1960s, villagers ascribe at least two other deaths to him for the early 1970s. The cases are related and concern the use of ceremonial marks. Aisapo wanted to use a certain ceremonial sedan chair for the initiation of his granddaughter's son. The use rights of the sedan beonged to the _naulum_ Saumoi in Kilenge; Aisapo had no clear rights to its use. His granddaughter's husband, however, did have use rights, but Aisapo insisted that the rights be granted to himself personally. The controller of the sedan chair and the members of his _naulum_ felt that they had good justification for excluding Aisapo from using the chair: the genealogical evidence that Aisapo presented was too weak to be accepted. It is my interpretation that by using the sedan chair as a test case, so to speak, Saumoi of Kilenge felt that they would be able to exclude Aisapo and his descendants from all use rights and benefits in their _naulum_. Because Aisapo's own _naulum_ is short of land, Aisapo might have tried to use access to the sedan chair as a substantive justification and argument for entitling his heirs to Saumoi of Kilenge land. On the other hand, Aisapo might simply have wanted to use the prestige item for its intrinsic social value. In any event, Saumoi of Kilenge denied the use of the chair, and shortly thereafter villagers found the body of the controller of the sedan in the bush, supposedly slashed by pigs. One informant who

saw the body said it looked like it had been mutilated with axes.

A woman of Ongaia, Galiki (the younger sister of the natavolo and tultul Avel), planned on using the same chair for the ordination of her son as a priest. Her entitlement to use the chair came from her mother, a natal member of Saumoi of Kilenge. Aisapo learned of her plans, and became jealous. Galiki's relatives attribute her death to sorcery by Aisapo's agents.[83]

When Avel's and Galiki's eldest surviving brother, Lua, talked about Aisapo, he was very ambivalent. In discussing the deeds and actions of Aisapo in the time prior to Galiki's death, Lua described Aisapo as a good leader and a close kinsman, hinting that Aisapo avenged Avel's death. For the period after Galiki's death, Lua characterized Aisapo as an arbitrary, capricious, and even vicious person who did more harm than good to the village and its inhabitants.

Ongaians did not interpret all of Aisapo's actions, even in his later years, as capricious and arbitrary, designed to enhance Aisapo at their expense. Nor were the inhabitants of the Kilenge villages powerless in their relations with him. In the last years of his life, Aisapo instituted a local law which required the support of unwed mothers and their children by the men responsible. Somewhat cynically, villagers say that Aisapo got a percentage of all these child support payments.

Aisapo actively supported the local school, and took both parents and students to task when he discovered truancy. It is evident that Aisapo saw education as the road to the future. Alone of all the villagers, he took interest in ensuring that the children's education was balanced by a proper respect for the past, and during 1970 and 1971 he frequently went to the school to instruct students in traditional legends and crafts.

Despite his reputation as a man to be feared and treated with respect, Aisapo was not immune or invulnerable to attacks on himself or his family. The following incident from the 1960s illustrates one way in which people could strike back at him.

One night, while Aisapo and his son-in-law were away from their house on business, Aisapo's grandchildren slept unattended under the house. When Aisapo's daughter returned, she couldn't find her youngest child. She called the men of the village to help search for the child, and several hours later a dog located the body of the child. The body was severed in half, and the lower portion missing. Aisapo suspected that one of his pigs, known to be carnivorous, had eaten the child; he slaughtered it to see if the remains of the child were inside. Not finding any evidence in the pig's digestive tract, he killed several other pigs, all to no avail. It was generally accepted that a pig had eaten the child, but informants constantly noted the incon-

clusiveness of Aisapo's search for remains, and the fact that the child was severed cleanly in half. "Oh, a pig did it, but it was strange--the body was cut in half cleanly, as if by a knife, not the way it should be if a pig mauled it. It was a pig, but it sure is strange...." The direct implication, by the informants' tone, manner of speaking and insistent repetition of the strangeness of the way in which the child had been severed, is that the child was killed not by a pig, but by a human. Because of the nature of the subject matter, more direct research into the incident was impossible. A few men contend that the spirits which reside in the sacred stones in the men's house killed the child. The death, they say, was punishment for the child crying and loudlyplaying near the men's house, thus profaning the place.

Aisapo did not waste the slaughtered pigs; he made a feast for the men of the village, and in repayment had them clear the ground immediately southwest of the village boundaries, a plot then called Kauapua. He changed the name to Alopua, and today the site is part of Vultapua.

People feel that when Aisapo died, village law and order died. His organizational skills and leadership abilities were recognized by all, even his most severe critics; popular belief is that had Aisapo lived, he would eventually have become the Prime Minister of Papua New Guinea. As much as people disliked his arbitrary nature

and his petty tyrannies, they felt that he was a man who will never be replaced. But they also feel that Aisapo went to his grave with the last laugh.

Villagers believe that Aisapo was responsible for the failure of the taro crop shortly after his death. They attribute the failure to his intervention in two ways. First of all, shortly before he died, Aisapo supposedly worked powerful weather sorcery that upset the seasonal pattern of rainfall for years after his death. Too much rain fell at once during the rainy season, and the dry period of June to September became a time of genuine drought with no rainfall whatsoever.[84] Secondly, Aisapo collected taro shoots from the Kilenge gardens and sorcerized them. Before he died, he gave the parcel to his "son" (the catechist who opposed cargo cults), and told him to go to Kaliai to get a sorcerer to remove the magic after his death. When Aisapo was buried, the catechist told the Ongaians about Aisapo's orders regarding the Kaliai garden magician, but hid the fact that he himself possessed a sorcerized taro bundle (obviously, he did not want people to accuse him of collusion with Aisapo). Some men fetched two Kaliai sorcerers, who went up to the gardens, opened the bundle (people wondered where it had come from) and removed the sorcery. This was at great cost to the villagers, who paid for the service by giving the garden magicians large quantities of traditional valuables such as carved Siassi

bowls, pigs, bundles of tobacco, and new valuables such as cash. Kilenge garden magicians made the most of the situation and learned Kaliai garden magic, which seemed more effective than their own. People are puzzled about why Aisapo ruined their taro--most feel that he did it just to spite them.

When Aisapo died in 1973[85] people ascribed his death to sorcery. While there is general agreement that he died at the hand of sorcerers, there is no consensus about why he died. We were able to elicit four general reasons for the ultimate cause of his death.

(1) Aisapo died because of Niavukea, ground claimed jointly by Lolo villagers and people from Portne. Aisapo tried to remove all Lolo claims to the ground and insinuate his own, so that he and his descendants would be able to plant coconuts there. There is also some hint that Aisapo might have kept for himself part of the payment made to the Portne people when whites leased much of Niavukea for use as a coconut plantation--this behaviour is consistent with his policy of keeping other land-transfer money. Many people say that because of Aisapo's fraudulent manipulations with Niavukea and other plots of land, "the ground ate him." Lolo sorcerers with a claim in the ground are presumed to be the killers.

(2) Aisapo died because of unpaid debts. While he was paramount _luluai_, and later as president of the council,

Aisapo would go around to Lolo villages and collect tradi-
tional valuables for use in the staging of various cere-
monies and ceremonial cycles. Popular belief has it that
Aisapo regarded these contributions as tribute, and conse-
quently he never repaid them. People say that the Lolo
thought this was tantamount to theft, and thus sorcerized
Aisapo to gain vengeance. Some villagers feel that the
repayment of these debts is still incumbent on Aisapo's
heirs, but others think that the matter ended with his
death. A few villagers think that the Lolo sorcerized
Aisapo because of his dishonest dealings with them; they
killed him because of both the ground and his outstanding
debts.

(3) Aisapo died because he was responsible for the
death of Pano, a _natavolo_ in Portne. No one agrees about
why Aisapo had Pano sorcerized. Some people say it was
because Pano was an independent man who flouted Aisapo's
orders and did not believe Aisapo's entitlement to _natavolo_-
ship. Others maintain it was because Pano had a man
sorcerized, and Aisapo sorcerized him for revenge. Aisapo
hired some Lolo sorcerers to do the job, but eventually
they became afraid that Aisapo would tell the villagers
who had done the actual killing. Fearing the possibility
of revenge if the information became public, the sorcerers
killed Aisapo to keep him quiet. To the best of our
knowledge, no one attributes the death of Aisapo to revenge
by Pano's surviving family.

(4) Aisapo died because he had Avel killed. Some
people in Ongaia subscribe to this theory, but were reluc-
tant to talk about it as they feared that the sorcerers
who had carried out Aisapo's bidding were still alive and
would act to squelch any plans for revenge before they
bore fruit.

In all likelihood, had I investigated other instances
of death attributed to Aisapo and sorcery, I would have
discovered other explanations of why Aisapo died. Only the
first two reasons above are publicly acknowledged at general
meetings for the populations of all three villages.
Generalized reasons such as land manipulation and unpaid
debts remove the responsibility from any person living in
Kilenge, and thus leave no one open to the danger of re-
tribution by the sorcerers actually responsible for any
acts of sorcery.

Aisapo's impact on village affairs did not cease
with his death. He remains a powerful force, even though
he has been buried for years. Four years after his death,
his influence is still felt: the storekeeper of the society
maintains that he cannot be replaced or voted out of office,
because Aisapo appointed him (see Chapter VI); people raise
the matter of Aisapo's burial and dying wish in a dispute
that threatens to rupture the naulum saumoi, and increases
fears of sorcery within the village; villagers bitterly moan
and mourn his passing as the end of the age of development,

business and strong leadership within the village. Before

I explore Aisapo's legacy and impact on contemporary local

life and leadership, I shall examine some of the implications

of Aisapo's career, since it is of more importance than mere

ethnographic curiosity in the actions of an apparently power-

ful man. Aisapo was a man between two worlds, the Kilenge

and the outside, but was he a middleman? His life and deeds

raise serious questions regarding the validity of some

assumptions made by theorists of middleman behaviour.

In situations of encapsulation, differences in the

value systems of the encapsulating and encapsulated cultures

can lead to difficulties in communications between the two.

These difficulties permit only a limited variety of responses

by the encapsulated culture, and one such frequent response

is the development of middlemen (Bailey 1969). A middleman

"interrelates and articulates the needs, aspirations,

resources and traditions of his local village or tribe to

the corresponding demands, supplies, resources and jural

order of the province or nation" (Swartz 1968:199-200). In

other words, a middleman bridges the gap (Boissevain 1974)

in communication between two organizational and political

levels, the local and the higher level. A middleman who

faithfully bridges the gap, who accurately transmits messages

with no aim of personal gain, is a "go-between", while one

who exploits the gap for gain, who manipulates the flow and

content of messages, is a "broker" (Paine 1971). With the

notion of broker in mind, it would be wise to amend Swartz's definition to include 'the middleman, as broker, interprets and determines the needs of the local level.' This emphasizes the manipulative and exploitative aspects of brokership, and characterizes many of Aisapo's actions.

We may ask what motivated Aisapo: an altruistic concern for the fate of Kilenge's future, his own self-aggrandisement, or a combination of the two factors? With the man dead and buried, a definitive answer is beyond our reach. However, we may supply a tentative answer by looking at the effects of his policies. Initially, the community as a whole benefited from his actions. He removed fear of sorcery and Nausang, making the Kilenge area a more congenial place for its inhabitants. The mission was rebuilt. People planted coconuts, giving them some access to the western economy and valued goods, minimally satisfying tastes which they acquired before, and reinforced during, the war. The government station was built, the road cleared, and the airstrip renovated, putting the Kilenge in greater touch with agents of the administration and increasing the possibilities for village development. Although Aisapo acted in the role of broker and gained personally from these actions, the Kilenge villagers also gained. It seems that only when Aisapo's motives lost congruence with the aspirations of the community did people begin to question and resent his rule. In the later phases of Aisapo's career, community members

did not see what was good for Aisapo as being good for the
community. They saw Aisapo manipulating and draining their
resources, and wantonly killing senior and respected men and
women by reintroducing sorcery as a means of backing his
demands. Through all this, however, his legitimacy was
never questioned.

Swartz (1968) sees the political middleman as a
major phenomenon of leadership, but I believe he was unneces-
sarily restricting himself in regarding leadership as a basically
political phenomenon. Traditional leadership in Melanesia
is usually seen, quite rightly, as a social rather than
merely political phenomenon. A leader must operate effec-
tively (by local standards) in all spheres of social life.
Not only must he order, manipulate or convince men to do
his bidding, but he must also have expertise in other areas,
primarily economic activities (Sahlins 1963): production of
foodstuffs, accumulation and/or exchange of traditional
wealth items, renown for generosity. To strip leaders of·
their economic success is to rob them of a major basis of
power. Melanesia is not alone in this pattern: indeed,
political life in modern countries often depends on economics.

Levy has pointed out that

> explicitly or implicitly, "economic" generally
> has reference to the allocation of goods and
> services and that "political" has reference to
> the allocation of power and responsibility.
> Viewed in such terms there can be no concrete
> isolation of economic action from political
> action. A given concrete act contains elements

of both....And yet one of the commonest
activities of social scientists is the
identification of specific concrete acts
as "economic" or "political" (1950:295).

Levy does not deny the possibility of drawing analytical,

as opposed to concrete, distinctions between economic and

political actions. The distinction has been applied in the

study of middlemen; for example, Barth (1965) has written

about economic entrepreneurs, while Swartz (1968) and Atwood

(1974) have discussed political middlemen. Although it is

possible in many instances in the study of middlemen to draw

an analytical distinction between economically oriented and

politically oriented behaviour, it becomes problematic in

Melanesia, where bases of power are spread diffusely over a

variety of actions.

Aisapo's career is a case in point. Without question,

many of his policies were economically oriented. People

planted coconuts and joined the Society not because they were

trying to develop the village politically, but because they

wanted the benefits of marginal participation in the market

economy. At the same time, pursuit of these economic

policies reinforced Aisapo's political position; it impressed

on the local and district officers Aisapo's capability as a

leader interested in following the policies outlined by the

administration.

Aisapo also used his position as government-appointed

middleman to establish and enhance his role as traditional

hereditary leader among the Kilenge. In order to do this, he had to participate in the sponsoring of ceremonial cycles, a basically economically-oriented activity. Success in these undertakings in turn increased his status and prestige within the Kilenge area, allowing Aisapo to exploit this deferential position when mobilizing people to carry out the policies of the administration.

Swartz (1968) maintains that the legitimacy of middlemen is constantly open to question, and furthermore that accelerated political change renders such legitimacy problematical. Aisapo provides us with a counter example. Initially, the general public did not question his legitimacy because of his status as a government appointee. Preceding appointees in Kilenge had met with some marked degree of success and acceptance, probably because of their traditional standing in the community. Aisapo assumed a relatively open, ill-defined position of paramount _luluai_ and used the office and the threat of government sanction to validate his somewhat weak claims as a _natavolo_. As with the case of Tea, third _luluai_ of Ongaia, people referred to him as _natavolo_ because he was a government appointee, positions which, in the past, generally went to traditional leaders. The Kilenge had fused the notions of traditional and appointed leadership. By becoming paramount _luluai_, Aisapo also stepped into legitimate competition for the office of _natavolo_, thus securing another base on which to build his

legitimacy. In retrospect, most people rarely questioned Aisapo's actions as paramount luluai, but his actions as natavolo receive some criticism. Aisapo's strongest base of support, then, lies outside the local milieu, but his legitimacy was never questioned from either above or below.

Accelerated political change never rendered Aisapo's legitimacy problematical. Because of the fusion of roles, and his outstanding personality which gave weight to those roles, his position as leader was continuous through time. When the Local Government Council was introduced, it was Aisapo who was elected the Kilenge councillor and president of the Council. From what informants say, his actions altered little with the change in title. Nor did villagers' regard for him change. Aisapo, whatever his title and administrative framework, was boss of the villages. Although his attempt at further enhancement of his position failed when he lost the election for the House of Assembly, his unsuccessful candidacy did not result in a weakening or deterioration of his powers within the village.

Patrol reports clearly indicate that Aisapo's legitimacy remained constant in the eyes of the government. Patrol officers saw Aisapo's success as a product of his position as hereditary leader of the region (sic), and his general acumen for leadership. In other words, the administration regarded his legitimacy as coming from below, from the local level. Meanwhile, the villagers perceived Aisapo's

legitimacy as coming from above, from the government.
After all, the Australians and Americans had appointed
Aisapo, with due pomp, to be the paramount luluai, and
furthermore, Aisapo effectively controlled the government.
Not only did Aisapo's legitimacy come from above, it also
stemmed from his ability to manipulate the higher level.
One of the most important manipulative techniques available
to middlemen is impression management (see Briggs 1971;
Cohen and Cormaroff 1976). Listening to the Kilenge
describe what Aisapo did and how he did it, there can be no
question that Aisapo was a past master at impression manage-
ment. As far as the Kilenge are concerned, Aisapo was a
one man show. He personally opened up the exploitation of
gold in New Guinea, was responsible for the building of
Kimbe town, the Cape Gloucester Patrol Post, and the road.
They built at his command, for his convenience. The govern-
ment was an extension of Aisapo. He was not the government's
agent: the government was his agent, his to command. Thus
when the government punished the villagers for lack of ade-
quate housing, or for committing infanticide, villagers
directed their resentment at Aisapo; he controlled the
punishment, he could have prevented it if he so chose. At
the same time, the government saw Aisapo as the crucial man
in developing the region, the only capable ruler.[86]

It would be fatal to overestimate the amount and
quality of impression management that Aisapo actually

utilized, because there is no doubt that Aisapo genuinely
wielded great power, both with the villagers and the
administration. Not just illusionist and conjurer, he was
instrumental in getting the government station and road
built and he probably petitioned the government to start
such activities. He did secure, with some difficulty, the
land for the station, and he laid out the course of the
road. That his influence over the administration was real
may be attested to by the curious absence of any records
regarding the known infanticides in 1972.

Related to the notion of legitimacy are the ideas
that the broker must provoke the need for his services
(Cohen and Cormaroff 1976), and that once need is established
the broker must constantly produce, or deliver the goods as
it were (Boissevain 1974). Aisapo never provoked the need
for his position or services: the administration perceived
the need for a higher-level government appointee to administer
the area and gave the post to Aisapo. He thus walked into
a tailor-made office. Once in, he followed both the govern-
ment's policies for regional development and his own program
for self-aggrandizement. The initial success of the various
undertakings meant that he delivered the goods, produced on
promises both for the administration and for the villagers.
His successes were short term, and eventually ran into diffi-
culties which persist to this day.[37] Even when Aisapo
could no longer produce, his position remained unassailable,

partly because of his unquestioned legitimacy as leader,
and partly due to his reputation as a killer of men.
Aisapo had built a multiplex base of power on his admini-
strative status, his attained traditional status, and his
ability to control the activities of Lolo sorcerers.
Failure in one sphere of activity did not induce failure
in other spheres, or lead to his general downfall. As his
economic position failed, Aisapo's reputation for "downing"
men grew. His relationship with the villagers changed.
Instead of the relationship being based on ability to carry
out government directives, provide the villagers with
economic success, and sponsorship of ceremonial cycles, it
became based on the villagers' fear of him. As "legitimate"
means failed him, Aisapo came to rely on "illegitimate"
means to maintain his position. Some fear characterized the
relationship between the villagers and Aisapo from the start.
In the early days people knew Aisapo was a physically
powerful man, capable of beating someone to death. They
feared his ability to call government sanctions to bear.
As years passed, and times changed, their fear intensified:
Aisapo's affair with sorcery frightened them. Even after
his death, Aisapo's shadow looms large over the villages.

CHAPTER VI

CONTEMPORARY LEADERSHIP AND SOCIAL CONTROL

> Just because you can put a shoe into an
> oven doesn't mean you can call it a
> biscuit (American folk saying).

Many contemporary Pacific island societies are
experiencing problems of local level leadership. Frequently,
these problems originate in a conflict between indigenous or
traditional political ideologies and introduced or imposed
political ideologies, with the problems themselves manifested
in a clash between traditional and introduced leaders and
leadership roles. Force (1960:120) and Hughes (1969) suggest
that new leadership roles which have no traditional counter-
parts are more readily accepted and implemented than those
which do have traditional counterparts. "When a new political
system is introduced into a society, people will apply
introduced norms and principles of authority more quickly to
new leadership roles" where there are no traditional counter-
parts, because they will be less likely to "confuse the
norms, behavior, and expectations of such new leadership roles
with corresponding elements of their traditional counterparts"
(Hughes 1969:278). If the new roles are clearly differen-
tiated from the old, people may compartmentalize the introduced

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ideology and roles, and treat them separately and differently
from the traditional system and ideology (Keesing 1968).
If, on the other hand, the new roles are not clearly differen-
tiated from the old, or if leadership is more than a political
phenomenon tied to a particular political ideology, we should
expect confusion regarding the roles, competition between
traditional and introduced leaders for followerships, or
local blending of the old and new to fit the particular
circumstances.

We have seen that in many parts of Papua New
Guinea the introduced roles of luluai and tultul are not
clearly differentiated from traditional leadership roles.
The policy of appointing locally established leaders to
these positions of headmanship, in combination with the
functionally diffuse nature of local leadership, served to
confuse the situation for villagers: they had to decide in
what capacity their leaders acted. At the same time, the
overlap of personnel in the different leadership roles ..
allowed the range in choice of models of leadership described
in Chapter III. A similar process occurred with the transi-
tion from the luluai system to the local government council
system. The office of councillor (kaunsel) is structurally
differentiated from that of the luluai. The councillors
are elected, not appointed, they meet to debate issues rather
than simply relaying orders from above, and they disburse
funds (Strathern 1970b). Despite the structural differentiation,

councillors in many parts of the country still had to rely,
as did their luluai predecessors, on indigenously based
status to 'subsidize' their elected roles (Strathern 1970c).
Additionally, many of the accepted functions of the kaunsel
are very similar to those of the luluai and tultul: the
provision of law and order, construction and maintenance of
public works, and stimulation of the economic development
of the area (A.L. Epstein 1969). The inadequate functional
differentiation of the roles, coupled with a lack of alterna-
tive role models and the fact that the first councillors
were frequently former appointed officials (see, e.g.,
Strathern 1970c:554), often led to both the councillor and
the constituents using the position of luluai or tultul as
their initial role model for the kaunsel (see, e.g.,
Lawrence 1970; Morauta 1974). The luluai and tultul had,
in a sense, become 'traditional'--so 'traditional', in fact,
that in some areas, such as Kove, people long resisted
change in 'their customs' (Chowning, personal communication).[88]
The use of the luluai as the role model, the development
of a historical 'tradition', demonstrates more than a super-
ficial change. It is indicative of a changing ideology of
leadership, a change in what people think their leaders
should be and do, and an alteration in the way that leaders
legitimize their positions.

The process of change in Kilenge leadership ideology
did not terminate with the merging of the natavolo and luluai

roles. As conditions changed, the way people thought about leadership changed. The transformation proceded during Aisapo's tenure and continues today. Aisapo left behind a clear legacy of what a leader should be, a model which differs from that of the natavolo/luluai. The autocratic 'Aisapo' model emphasizes coercive strength, whereas the natavolo/luluai model rested on respect and prestige. Aisapo's basis of power diverged from his predecessors'. But the conditions which gave rise to, and favoured, the autocratic ruler are no more. The autocratic model has become obsolete, but the Kilenge villagers have not yet generated an acceptable and effective alternative. Villagers see the only role model available, Aisapo the leader, as unacceptable in practice, although much desired in theory.

Those attempting to succeed Aisapo in office face an ideology which does not fit the situation, circumstances which do not allow application of the model. This disjuncture of ideology and reality has contributed to problems of leadership and social control. In this chapter I examine changes in the rules of leadership and succession, the inadequacy of the autocratic model for the times, and the problems of leadership created by the disjuncture of the ideal and the real.

Autocracy and Democracy

Aisapo 'retired' from public life in 1972, according to his own testimony, and died a year later. He retired in name only, but continued to exert influence on public affairs as long as he lived. Thus when the people of Portne and Ongaia elected a kaunsel to replace Aisapo in 1972, they selected a man to be leader in name only--Aisapo still dominated village life. With Aisapo's passing in 1973, the Kilenge, and particularly the Ongaians, finally faced the task of finding a new leader in fact as well as in name. But the chore was far from easy and the criteria to be applied in the selection were far from clear. Three decades of Aisapo's rule had served to change ideas of what a leader should be and how he should behave, just as the appointment of natavolo to luluai and tultul roles eventually brought about a change in Kilenge ideology of leaders and leadership. The Kilenge reformulated their ideas of leadership based on their experience with Aisapo and the way he demonstrated that leaders should behave. Over a period of thirty years, the Kilenge became convinced that a leader should be strong (Tokpisin), respected, feared and obeyed.

The Kilenge realized that Aisapo's rule, and hence their role model, was idiosyncratic, but this was the only role model available to them (see below) and they responded accordingly. They also know that despite his idiosyncracies,

Aisapo got tangible results: the government is close at hand at Cape Gloucester; the airstrip is operating; the area behind the village is planted in coconut palms used to produce copra; and there are several trade stores and the Society. In spite of the later setbacks to Aisapo's policies and projects, the manifestations of those policies remain and, as is the case elsewhere in Papua New Guinea, people judge councillors and leaders primarily on their economic success (Counts 1968). In order to continue reaping the benefits of these modifications of their natural and social environments, the Kilenge see the need for a man who will take Aisapo's place, someone who will rule as Aisapo ruled.[89] They express a desire for the strong and autocratic type of ruler that marked Aisapo's time. They have, to a great degree, internalized the autocratic model of leadership, the idea of the strong man as leader.

Although the idea of strong man as leader is widespread throughout Melanesia, the autocratic ruler is relatively scarce. In the Eastern Highlands Province the strong man, the 'hard' autocratic and independent individual, does not occupy positions of leadership. His strength, his independence, must be offset by a sense of 'equivalence.' "This means that although in some measure he must attempt to dominate others, he must also recognize their right to parity: he should not act in ways which make it impossible for others to achieve 'equivalence'" (Read 1959:433). The

Lakalai leader, a "man of strength" and a "man of anger,"
must balance his personal behaviour by being a "man of good
conduct," a "man of knowledge," personality features which
Valentine (1963) sees as combining the two types of modal
Lakalai personality traits. In neither of these cases is
the autocratic man considered the ideal leader type: he is
too far outside the system of mutual obligations and proper
behaviour to successfully lead activities within it. Successful
leadership needs aggressiveness and character 'strength',
but the leader cannot be too aggressive or too strong. With
no sense of equivalence or parity he will offend and alienate
his following, who will then withdraw their support. Aisapo,
the antithesis of the "autonomous" man (Read 1959) or man of
'equivalence,' was able to succeed as an autocratic ruler
because his followers could not withdraw their support. The
government appointed Aisapo; his mandate came from above,
not below. The times in which he came to power were unsettling,
and people needed the guidance and leadership provided by his
'strong' personality. Once the situation had settled down,
Aisapo had entrenched himself; he was impossible to remove.
His power base, originally predicated on the backing of the
government and popular support for his leadership and under-
takings, later shifted as a result of his ability to control
the activities of the sorcerers. By public exposure of his
opponents' major supernatural weapons, Nausang and Natavutavu,
he purportedly neutralized them. When Aisapo's reign of fear

and terror began, people became reconciled to autocratic
rule as a daily reality.

The people of Ongaia sense that they became trapped
by this autocratic ideal. They know that the conditions
which gave rise to the autocratic ruler no longer obtain.
The horrifying and unsettling experiences of World War Two
fade with the years. No longer do people remember the war
as a time of social upheaval and chaos; instead, they fondly
recollect the material wealth they received from the
Americans. The political situation in Papua New Guinea has
changed. The age of the white colonial kiap has passed; no
longer do they rule, a rule which by its very nature was
unquestionable. No longer do colonial officials appoint and
oversee leaders (luluais and tultuls). The Kilenge know
that they are part of an independent nation, and hence
independent themselves. The kiap should provide services
and adjudicate disputes, not dictate orders. And, most
importantly, leaders are elected by, and responsible to, the
people. Although the concept of election to office at first
was not (and still may not be) comprehended equally every-
where in Papua New Guinea, the Kilenge have some grasp of
the meaning and utility of elections, at least at the local
level. They know that by speaking out at public meetings,
and by quietly chatting with their neighbours and relatives,
they can nominate the type of man they would like to see
leading the village. By voting in the council elections,

they can try to secure a man's official position within the village and the council chambers. The democratic tool of election has freed them from the grip of a 'strong,' autocratic ruler: elections can undermine a power base, can implement a new kind of rule. But still, villagers say that they want a strong ruler, an Aisapo-type, to lead them. They have become dependent on strong, autocratic leadership with decisions made for them and orders given to them. And yet, despite this avowed desire for autocracy, they consistently elect weak and ineffective leaders. When an elected leader attempts to follow in the steps of Aisapo by demonstrating forceful leadership, he loses his position in the next election.

The people of Ongaia, and of Kilenge in general, know that their ideology, the Aisapo model of leadership, fails to suit the times, but they have yet to rationalize that model with the process of local elections. It is a difficult task because Aisapo incorporated several elements of traditional leadership and legitimacy into his own legitimization. Over the years, through ceremony sponsorship and other activities, Aisapo made people acknowledge his claim as natavolo. At times, he acted as a natavolo should act. Accordingly, when the Kilenge examine the pattern of Aisapo's total behaviour, they see some of it as legitimately traditional (and traditionally legitimate), thus reinforcing the validity of the entire autocratic model. Because of its

traditional connotations, the Aisapo model becomes more
difficult to abandon. If the villagers wish to preserve
'traditional' leadership, they must ask "What was there
before Aisapo, and what did he add to the role(s)?"
"Where do we draw the line between traditional and intro-
duced?" Thirty years is a long period of time for an idea
to take root and flourish. Those elders who would have the
knowledge and first-hand participatory experience of how
leaders operated before Aisapo's time are mostly dead and
buried; the remaining survivors are senile. Many people
have little but childhood or adolescent memories of the
village before the war, most have not even that. Only today's
elders would know, but they were young adults at the time
and hence non-participants in village affairs. The Ongaians
know the potential for faults and abuses inherent in the
autocratic model of leadership, and they are unwilling to
submit themselves to such a system. But unfortunately the
only 'traditional' model of leadership available to them seems
to hold the same potential for corruption of the office-
holder. They use the process of election to protect them-
selves from an incipient Aisapo-type, but they have not yet
generated, developed, or borrowed a locally acceptable and
effective alternative, not that they haven't tried. In the
next section I will describe their attempts to find such an
alternative, and the factors which impede those attempts.

Ideology, Roles and Reality

The people of Ongaia have taken the old model of
combined roles, of the village natavolo/luluai, and have
continued to use it in the present context. They say that
the kaunsel for a village should be the person who is the
village natavolo, and that the village natavoloship is a
necessary prerequisite for holding the office of kaunsel.
They explain that their kaunsel is the genealogically
senior (but chronologically junior) natavolo of the village.
Merging of the leadership roles produces the ultimate leader-
ship role, the lida (Tokpisin), distinguished from its com-
ponent roles kaunsel (councillor) and bos bilong ples
(village boss, natavolo). Although Ongaians continue
their 'tradition' and have a lida for their village, there
are no lidas in Portne or Kilenge proper. Portne has
neither a village natavolo nor a kaunsel, and Kilenge
villagers deliberately keep the two roles separate. Overall,
of the seven people elected to serve as kaunsel for the
Kilenge area since the inception of the Gloucester Local
Government Council in 1967 until 1977, only two were acknow-
ledged natavolo, and only one of the two had relatively
incontestable genealogical claims to the title. In order
to understand the disjuncture of the lida ideology with reality,
we must examine the structure and social significance of the
various leadership roles, how they articulate with, and
stand in opposition to, one another.

Natavolo

The natavolo or bos bilong ples occupies a role in
which the office-holder determines, to some extent, the
parameters of his role. Nonetheless, the circumstances of
recent Kilenge history have led to a major reduction in
the authority and responsibility of contemporary natavolo,
compared to the natavolo of the past. Since pacification,
the natavolo has ceased to act as the war leader of his
residential group. Likewise, with the demise of long
distance trading voyages, an aspiring natavolo no longer
need organize expeditions to neighbouring or distant areas.
Within the last few years, the natavolo has lost his
function as an arranger of marriages,[90] although he still
is expected to provide larger than average donations to
brideprice payments.

The natavolo controls or manages his naulum's
property, and has a degree of control over land use.
Authority over land is not very significant at present,
because people now unite to communally clear and use tracts
of land for gardens, regardless of their naulum affilia-
tions. The natavolo may have some say if people from
another village want to participate in such joint land use.
Similarly, the natavolo ideally controls the use of the
naulum's ceremonial marks (namer), but the Kilenge have
become relatively lax about the control and use of designs.
The natavolo exercises influence in his capacity as manager

of his ramage's estate--he can set the time for collection
of arboreal resources. Although many elders possess
traditional knowledge, the natavolo is a repository of
traditional lore, knowing land boundaries, when and where
to hunt and fish, ceremonial marks, and the like. The
natavolo does not need to have extensive knowledge of the
outside world to perform his tasks and functions. He
should not interfere in the work of elected officials
engaged in social, political or economic development of the
village, but should support such work. He should intervene
only to exhort the people to follow the advice of the kaunsel,
and interfere only to the extent that the work threatens
traditional aspects of life still operative.

Today, the natavolo, and the aspirants to that
position, have only more or less ceremonial functions.
The demonstration of natavolo status is limited largely
to the ceremonial sphere, sponsoring and organizing cere-
monial cycles (see Zelenietz and Grant, in press). The
bos bilong ples organizes and coordinates ceremonies to
honour recently dead ancestors and to initiate children; the
extent of the natavolo's involvement in such activities
determines people's opinions of him. In recent years,
natavolo have partially abdicated responsibility even in
the ceremonial sphere of activity, reflecting their
weakened position.

The appointment of natavolo as the government's
spokesmen and local leaders partially compensated for the
initial decline in the leadership functions of the natavolo.
In the process of losing some of his duties as defender of
the hamlet, the natavolo gained a new set of responsibilities
as luluai or tultul of the village. After the Second World
War, the natavolo suffered a further deterioration in their
duties and prestige as Aisapo came to dominate the Kilenge
scene. Aisapo's use of sorcery further compounded this loss.
Although sorcery beliefs and activities rest below the
surface, they still strongly influence the leadership
scene. Those who should be natavolo do not act like
natavolo because of fear of sorcery. Natavolo abdicated
much in the way of village leadership, restricting them-
selves to a ceremonial role. Even in this limited role of
organizer of ceremonies, the natavolo must still exert a
fair amount of control over his fellow villagers, and hence
must demonstrate his leadership. In contrast to the past
when (according to informants) only natavolo could sponsor
ceremonial cycles, today men with no claim to natavolo
status may take the initiative in organizing and sponsoring
such cycles. This indicates yet a further abdication of
the responsibilities of the natavolo; they are afraid to
assert themselves even in a ceremonial context. 'Ordinary'
men who have nothing to fear from the sorcerers and who can
gain increased prestige in the village by sponsoring a cycle

now try to fill the gap in leadership. Although not
sanctioned by claims to natavolo status, villagers tolerate
ceremony sponsorship by non-titled men because they place
a great premium on ceremonies: better to have the ceremony,
and thus initiate children and honour recently deceased
relatives, than to wait for natavolo sponsorship which
might never come.

The natavolo of today does not command the same
range and power of social controls available to his
ancestors, but, given his limited social functions, he
does not require them. The contemporary natavolo has no
following of henchmen who will kill on command. The use of
sorcery or the employment of sorcerers by a natavolo is
an admission of weakness which results in the alienation
of public support from the leader. Two other important
natavolo sanctions, Nausang and Natavutavu, are held in
abeyance. Since Aisapo's attempt to remove the 'power' of
these objects by dancing them in front of women and
children, people are unsure of the 'power' potential of
Nausang and Natavutavu: do they have their power, or
has it been dissipated? People feel that Aisapo's attempt
was unsuccessful, but since no one has tried using the
masks as agents of social control since that time, no one
knows for sure. Nausang masks have danced recently, but
merely in initiations. Natavutavu, as far as we know, was
last used to taboo coconuts in 1964: it has not been used

for punishing villagers since the time of its public
exposure. Only after someone attempts to call up the
objects as agents of social control will the issue be
resolved.[91] Ongaians regard another possible agent of
social control, the sacred stones in the men's house, in
the same ambivalent manner as they do the masked figures.
About the only effective control left to the natavolo is
the weakest of the potential spectrum; people's respect
for his position and title. Although it appears that a
natavolo could use respect to build an effective base of
power, in Ongaia the current natavolo's lack of assertive-
ness and organizational ability has eroded people's respect
for him. The same pattern appears in the other Kilenge
villages. The competition of candidates for natavoloship
is limited to those people who fulfil the particularistic
criterion of genealogical qualification for the role, i.e.,
those who are the first born or eldest surviving sons of
men recognized as natavolo. This is not to say that all
those people who satisfy the criterion have committed
themselves to a course of action that would validate their
status. Many have selected themselves out of the field of
leadership, but their removal is only partial: they are
still considered natavolo by virtue of their genealogies,
and their children (we were told) would also be valid
contenders for the status. The ever-present threat of
sorcery discouraged several young men from embarking on a

natavolo career. As these men attain chronological seniority
to complement their genealogical seniority, they will
inherit the duties of controller of the naulum estate and
be forced to make decisions regarding jointly held resources.
Even with only genealogical qualifications, not validated
by practical experience, they will be the most 'qualified'
people available, more 'qualified' than those genealogically
non-titled men who have sponsored ceremonials.

Genealogically qualified people who do attempt to
validate their status do so by a process of self-selection.
It is the individual who determines whether he will attempt
to validate his claim to the status, and who, by validating
it, legitimizes his title and his right to control the
resources of the naulum. Kinsmen might try to influence
the potential candidate one way or the other. A candidate
needs his kinsmen's support and resources when he proposes
the sponsorship of a cycle, and later when he calls for the
realization of such commitments in the material necessary
to begin and maintain such a task. Support will be forth-
coming if the people feel that: the candidate has fulfilled
his kinship obligations by helping others in their own
undertakings; the candidate has genuine genealogical quali-
fications; and there is a real need for the proposed narogo.
The self-selection of leadership candidates is thus balanced
by social acceptance of the legitimacy of the claims of the
candidates, as people demonstrate acceptance by supporting

the candidate and his projects. It is not enough for a man
to declare himself leader; there must be a body of people
willing to respond: "We are your followers." Without a
body of followers, a man may have the title natavolo but
little else. He will have no one to listen to his opinions
or decisions, to accede to his wishes.

Today, genealogical qualification for the title
is probably a more important criterion for actual possession
of the title than it was in the past. Paradoxically, it
could also be less important. It is more important
because fear of sorcery has stifled actual competition for
the office: people are afraid to assert themselves and
bring themselves to the attention of the sorcerers who
assassinated their fathers. Because people concede that
attempts to validate the claim can bring about the death of
the candidate, mere possession of the genealogical qualifi-
cations has come to be equated with the right to hold
office. At the same time, the growing size of families,
and the ambiguities in the rules of succession, have opened
the field of candidates to include a greater number of
people than ever before. Those who have marginal claims
(e.g., sons of younger sons of a natavolo) can press their
claims more fully. Since their natal fathers survived the
sorcerers, they have little to fear if they assert their
tenuous claims to natavolo status; no sorcerer will feel
threatened by their activities, provided the candidates steer

clear of involvement with those whose natal fathers <u>were</u>
killed by the sorcerers. At the same time, because their
claims are marginal, acceptance of those claims could
result in a situation where the <u>natavolo</u>'s powers and
authority are further curtailed. A man's actions will
constantly be open to question because his initial claim
was so tenuous. Some people will always doubt the validity
of the claim, and thus room for other contenders will
exist. The Kilenge have yet to work out a process for the
selection of <u>natavolo</u> under contemporary conditions: will
genealogical qualifications or actual behaviour determine
who is to be <u>naulum</u> manager? As the number of people
addressed by the title increases, the title itself becomes
less meaningful and the villagers look more and more towards
their <u>kaunsel</u> to provide effective leadership.[92]

<u>Kaunsel</u>

Officially, the <u>kaunsel</u> is the liaison between the
village and the most immediate level of government, the
Local Government Council. As such, he should represent
the interests of his ward members at the monthly council
meetings and report back to them about decisions reached
at the metting, and about information disseminated by the
various levels of government. The <u>kaunsel</u> also acts as liaison
between the villagers and the adminstration, the <u>kiap</u>. The

kaunsel should not concern himself with traditional matters unless they impinge on him personally. If a kaunsel has no claims to natavolo status, villagers will interpret any dabbling in traditional affairs as an attempt to usurp a role not rightfully his. Usurpation will engender gossip which weakens the kaunsel's prestige and effectiveness in office.

The komiti assists the kaunsel in his local duties. There is one komiti per ward appointed by the kaunsel or the senior men of the ward, or elected by all the ward residents. Unlike komitis in other parts of Papua New Guinea who play active roles in local leadership and dispute settlement (Reay 1974; M. Strathern 1974), komitis in Kilenge have restricted roles, acting basically as mouth-pieces for the kaunsel and issuing work orders in his absence. If the komiti is a natavolo, people may have greater respect for and obedience to him, but natavolo status is not a prerequisite for office. As is so often the case in Kilenge, different roles or statuses held by the same man tend to reinforce one another and increase the prestige of the holder.

The kaunsel's position is not solely a political office. The kaunsel organizes and announces work for Business Day, the day in which all villagers should gather coconuts and work copra for their respective business groups or the Society (work on Business Day should not be

for individual profit). More importantly, the _kaunsel_ is
the first level of recourse in local disputes; he is the
dispute settler, and people with problems or arguments
should (but not necessarily do) go to him before seeking
a higher authority. Although not empowered as a local
magistrate, the _kaunsel_ may adjudicate or arbitrate in
cases of adultery, marauding pigs, premarital pregnancies
and similar issues. Two related factors may hamper the
kaunsel in performance of this role as adjudicator of
local _kots_ (Tokpisin, 'courts'): his personal relationship
with the disputants and his unwillingness to utilize the
sanctions available to him. Ties of cognatic and affinal
kinship can effectively cripple a _kaunsel_ in a _kot_. He
may not wish to adjudicate because of the ties he has to the
people involved, ties which may very well distort or
influence the decision he makes (Lawrence 1970), and thus
leave him open to community gossip and charges of favouritism
and nepotism. The _kaunsel_'s unwillingness to apply the
sanctions available to him stems from these fears of
accusations: fear of resulting gossip about nepotism can
prevent him from taking further action. An additional
constraint on the use of sanctions comes from the nature
of the _kaunsel_'s tenure of office. The _kaunsel_ is elected
and public dissatisfaction with his performance can follow
his application of sanctions. This in turn can lead to his
defeat at the next _kaunsel_ election.

The _kaunsel_, as _kaunsel_, does not have the right

to use the controls and sanctions available to the natavolo.

The primary sanction open to the kaunsel is recourse to a

higher authority, the kiap. In the time we were in Ongaia,

kaunsels used this sanction sparingly--once in Ongaia, and

once in Kilenge proper. The Ongaia case involved an unstable

marriage, where villagers put great pressure on the kaunsel

to bring in the kiap for some official resolution of the

conflict.[93] The Kilenge case concerned an assault on the

Kilenge kaunsel; the kiap did not jail or punish the culprits,

because he felt that there was just cause for the assault.

The reluctance of the kaunsels to involve the kiap is part

and parcel of the kaunsel's attitude towards his role: to

protect and shield the villagers from outside interference.

This attitude is a holdover from the ways and days of the

luluai and tultul. Additionally, the villagers and kaunsel

see calling in the kiap as an admission of the kaunsel's

inability to handle the problems.

There are two contrasts to the reluctance of the

kaunsel to call in higher authority. The first is the

kaunsel's willingness to threaten to call in such authority.

When the kaunsel perceives that a situation is deteriorating,

he threatens the disputants or recalcitrant individuals

by invoking the image of the kiap and the government. He

tells people that if they do not settle the matter, they

will force him to go to such higher authority. Because

people resent government interference in village affairs,

this sanction seems to work at least temporarily by dampen-
ing, but not resolving, the conflict. The second contrast
is the occasional willingness of individuals to go over the
head of the kaunsel and approach the kiap directly with
their problems or grievances. Public opinion is usually
against such a move, once again because people feel that
the government (in the person of the kiap) has no business
in village affairs. On occasion, though, people feel that
such moves, while distasteful, are justified because of the
kaunsel's own personal interests and prejudices in the case
at hand. With no fair or satisfactory recourse available
in the village, the only place to go is up.

Further sanctions are available to the kaunsel,
but none were invoked during our stay in Ongaia, perhaps
demonstrating the weakness of the man in office. The
kaunsel, according to villagers, has the right to fine
people who commit various offences; the money should go into
the Village Fund. A loose, often ad hoc, body of principles
known as "Village Law" specifies the punishable offences.
The villagers passed the laws affecting Portne and Ongaia
during the tenure of Aisapo and Napuo as kaunsels, and
they regarded those laws as legitimate. Now that the people
who pushed for the laws are out of office, there is some
question among villagers as to whether such laws are
actually laws at all, i.e., whether they are genuine,

binding and enforceable. Despite the questioning, during our
stay a complex of laws regarding sexual conduct was added to
Village Law, at the urging of the mission priest. People
honour these new laws, like other village laws, more in the
breach than in practice.

Under previous kaunsels, mature adults who broke the
'laws' generally were fined. Young men and women, then and
today, who violate the laws may be 'imprisoned' in a
specific area of the village, and made to do work beneficial
to the community (as defined by the kaunsel). Such laws
regarding the conduct of young unmarried men and women are
applied more frequently than laws regarding adults, and also
appear to be more ad hoc in nature. When the kaunsel or
villagers feel that something is "wrong" with the conduct
of young people, they invoke Village Law to cover the
situation. On the other hand, when an adult does something
"wrong", Village Law seldom is used: people first resort
to gossip, and if that is ineffective, then to public confron-
tation. Adults in the village see the formation and
application of Village Law as one way in which to keep the
government outside of village matters, because problems that
they handle locally will not reach the kiap and his more
official court. At the same time, the notion of Village Law
is sufficiently quasi-governmental so that while explicitly
invoking the 'law' to young people, adults also raise the
spectre of the "Government" in Cape Gloucester.

Like the other sanctions available to him, the
Ongaia kaunsel rarely invoked or utilized Village Law. The
failure to use the available controls and sanctions is
both a mark of the relative weakness and ineffectiveness
of the kaunsel, and a contributory factor to that weakness
and ineffectiveness. The kaunsel who does not invoke
sanctions has little control over village affairs and
behaviour. By not invoking sanctions, he forfeits the
structural means of social control available to him, which
further weakens his position as community leader. Such
forfeiture of control is almost a necessity; the kaunsel
is not in a position to exercise strong and effective con-
trol. His power base is his electoral support, and if he
dominates the electorate he will erode his support base.
The kaunsel who asserts himself, who imposes his will on
the people, will lose his office in the next election,
because he has alienated his electorate. But the people
judge the kaunsel by his effectiveness, his ability to
get things done. After the establishment of local govern-
ment councils, the only model of behaviour available to
many of the newly elected councillors was that of the luluai
or tultul, particularly so in the Kilenge area where Aisapo
was the first councillor. When Aisapo stepped down and
chose not to run again for office, villagers felt it was
natural that his successor should continue with the same
type of behaviour and with the implementation of Aisapo's

policies. Ongaians see the role of kaunsel as something of

a holdover and continuation of the role of paramount luluai.

The criteria that people use for judging candidates and

office holders for the kaunsel position are, in large part,

the same criteria they used for judging the effectiveness

of the paramount luluai. But the kaunsel no longer has the

power base and support necessary to meet those criteria.

The office of kaunsel has no formal qualifications

attached to it, other than election by the residents of the

ward.[94] There are informal or locally conceived qualifica-

tions and requirements for selection to and performance in

office. Such local or de facto criteria figure heavily

into the selection of kaunsels in Papua New Guinea, but the

Kilenge do not use some criteria applied elsewhere. For

example, people sometimes point to the ability to speak

Tokpisin as an important qualification for the office of

councillor (e.g., Brown 1972; Strathern , 1970c), but in

communities with a long contact history, such as Kilenge,

all adult males are fluent in the lingua franca and such

ability does not figure as a criterion of selection when

electing a new kaunsel. Time spent away from the village in

wage labour (and hence in contact with whites) is another

factor often cited in the literature to explain the selec-

tion of councillors, but the Kilenge kaunsels (past and pre-

sent) have the same outside work experience as the other

members of their particular age group (see Grant and Zelenietz,

in press).

We established the Kilenge criteria for the behaviour
of an incumbent _kaunsel_ and the attributes that should be
present in a candidate for the office by interviewing most
Ongaian adult males and many adult females about what they
thought a 'good' _kaunsel_ should be, how they rated the
current _kaunsels_ in Ongaia and Kilenge, and what they
looked for when considering a man for the post. It was
clear that there was a commonly shared set of criteria for
evaluation. It was also clear in the interviews and
discussions that people saw the _kaunsel_ as the leader of
the community, the man in charge of and responsible for a
multiplicity of activities. The criteria of assessment are
consistent with the notion of _kaunsel_ as community leader.

(1) The _kaunsel_ or candidate must be hard working.
In the case of the incumbent, he must work alongside the
villagers, particularly on Monday, Government Day. Many
Ongaians complained that their _kaunsel_, Masa, would issue
orders for Monday work and then disappear. Indeed, Masa
came to talk with us more frequently on Monday or Thursday
(Business Day) mornings than at any other time. Villagers
compared his behaviour unfavourably with that of Aisapo,
whom they described as always working alongside them,
always pitching in. The same unfavourable comparison was
made by Ongaians and people of Kilenge proper when discussing
the work of the Kilenge _kaunsel_. Most men said that when
they elected a new _kaunsel_, they wanted one who would work

with them, not just issue orders and disappear.

(2) The kaunsel or candidate must be a good public speaker. He should know when to raise his voice in anger, when to cajole, when to say the proper things. He should know when to lead the discussion and impose his opinions on others, and when to follow public opinion and concensus. People look to the kaunsel for leadership. He demonstrates such leadership when he is standing before them, talking about issues of public concern. A frequently voiced complaint about the kaunsel from Kilenge was that he talked too much: he endlessly reiterated things and had no feeling for the mood of the audience, no empathy with his listeners. At the other extreme, Ongaians accused their kaunsel of not speaking enough. At public meetings, particularly those involving disputes between people, Masa would not provide enough direction. He failed to give the vocal leadership necessary to sort out the tangle of accusations and resolve the issue. Masa claimed that the villagers did not show him proper respect when he spoke, but people said that the respect was not forthcoming because he was such an ineffectual speaker. In the eyes of the villagers Masa did much better at speaking to mundane issues, such as work organization, and abstract ideas, such as unity in Papua New Guinea, than he did during crisis situations of open dispute in the village. Several villagers also cited Masa's lack of independence, maintaining that his in-laws controlled and biased

his actions. Thus the public tended to ignore decisions reached or orders issued that would benefit only the small clique of in-laws.

(3) The kaunsel should be a forceful person, both in public speaking and in his personality. He should manifest the forcefulness in several areas of life. The kaunsel should work along with his constituents on Government and Business Days. He should punish those who fail to come to work, and those who come but don't work. The Kilenge kaunsel, while frequently failing to work on work days, did have a reputation for forcefulness; he urged people to hurry to attend Monday and Thursday weekly meetings, threatening sanctions if they stalled. Again, through the threat of sanctions such as fines, labour punishment, or government court he induced people to work on those days. The Ongaian kaunsel, noted by the people for his lack of forcefulness, occasionally threatened punishment or court for lazy, disobedient people, but no one took him seriously. It was frequently an hour or more between the time the bell rang for regular public meetings and the time when enough men and women came to start the meeting. Masa would give out work assignments, but chances were that people would not carry them out to completion. One day, when returning with Masa from Portne, I saw a group of perhaps fifteen Ongaia men sitting around and chatting at the site where they should have been working. The sight of the kaunsel did not inspire any

pretence of work--the men continued to sit and talk.

Neither did Masa mention the matter--he walked by as if the

men did not exist. On several occasions, the kaunsel

lectured the Ongaians about the necessity of putting their

pigs in the existing fenced areas, and building new corrals

to accommodate more pigs. People agreed with him, the pigs

should be fenced to keep down the spread of disease, to

lighten the women's workload of sweeping, and to remove a

source of frequent disputes over destroyed gardens.

Despite some practical objections to fencing the pigs,[95]

most people thought fencing was a reasonable idea, but they

waited for the kaunsel to take the lead and fence his own

pigs and the pigs of his in-laws, pigs which had reputations

as the worst garden marauders. Without the kaunsel setting

an example, it was obvious that the villagers would never

fence their pigs. When people discussed the control of

pigs, they inevitably compared the current situation to

Aisapo's leadership. Aisapo ordered that the villagers

kill all their pigs, and he placed a ban on the importation

of pigs for five years, so that the coconut palm seedlings

would have a chance to mature. Ongaians see Aisapo's ban

on pigs as the epitome of effective leadership and control,

and use it as a standard by which they judge all other laws

and orders about pigs in the village. Thus they see the

current kaunsel's actions as weak and ineffective. Masa's

bias towards his affines, particularly regarding the

behaviour of their pigs and the lack of compensation paid

for damages to other people's gardens, further weakens the
kaunsel's position and opens to question his qualifications
for fitness as leader.

(4) In addition to forcefulness, a good kaunsel
should also have a strong temper. That is, when he gets
mad, he should stay mad and do something about the source
of his anger. Informants often cited Napuo, the former
kaunsel from Portne, as an example of a man with a quick
temper which flared up easily, but subsided just as rapidly.
His anger over issues would amount to nothing, because he
would do nothing. Ongaians felt that Masa behaved in the
same way, except that he would become less agitated and
angered over matters. Like his predecessor, his anger would
fade and he would do nothing. People judged the Kilenge
kaunsel to be a man with a relatively strong temper--he would
apply sanctions against villagers who disobeyed his work
orders, ignored his instructions for dispute settlement,
and the like. Occasionally, during his several years of
tenure, he made good on his threats to take offenders to the
kiap's court. Once again, villages compare all the kaunsels
to Aisapo, who when angered (according to Ongaians) would
always take action to rectify what he perceived to be wrong.
When children failed to go to school, he gave them and
their parents a stern lecture. When people did not
participate in assigned work, he intimidated or beat them
into submission. Justice was swift, perhaps uncertain, but

justice there was. Today, people see a leader who, although disturbed by what is happening in the village, takes little action on matters of concern. Pigs raid gardens, and the garden owners receive no compensation. Adolescent boys carry around a banished weapon, the slingshot, and no one punishes them. Young men and women indulge in 'immoral' behaviour, and although the kaunsel lectures them, he takes no concrete effective action. When Masa gets frustrated, he threatens to resign, but no one takes him seriously. Curiously, resignation could increase Masa's standing in the village, as people would finally see their kaunsel take action on his word and would respect him for that.

(5) The kaunsel must promote the development of bisnis (Tokpisin, 'business') in the village. This is the last of the commonly cited attributes of the good kaunsel. The ability to stress and carry out such economic development requires a combination of all the desirable traits noted above: a hard worker to set an example, a good speaker to convince people to listen to what he says, a forceful personality so they know he is serious, and a strong temper to prove his effectiveness in the face of opposition. When people discuss business development, they always cite Aisapo as the example without parallel. Not only did Aisapo's actions set the standards by which all others are judged, but people generally hold that those

standards are unattainable and that no one will ever be able to do the kinds of things Aisapo did, and institute such broad and sweeping economic changes. Neither of the two current kaunsels in the Kilenge area has demonstrated any ability as an economic leader or a social entrepreneur. Under pressure from government agents, two "business groups" were set up in Ongaia in the mid 1970s, with membership based loosely on kin affiliations. The Ongaia kaunsel heads one group, and Ongaia's only true entrepreneur, the man who is also storekeeper of the Society, heads the other. Although one day a week (Thursday) is officially devoted to production of copra for these enterprises, and the group led by the kaunsel serves as a retail outlet for petroleum products (mainly kerosene and gasoline), neither of the groups is an economic success; they are plagued by problems of cash flow, inadequate (in fact, non-existent) bookkeeping, petty and major theft, and unrealistic goals which, if realized, would lead to a supersaturation of trade stores in the Kilenge area. The former kaunsel from Portne, Napuo, when newly elected, tried to follow in Aisapo's footsteps and sustain the waitpus's policies, but met marked resistance from his constituency. Today, as a private citizen, Napuo still tries to promote economic development among certain of his kin, but still meets resistance.

The agency with the greatest potential for the promotion of economic change and development in Ongaia,

the Cooperative Society, is beyond the control of the
kaunsels. Aisapo formed the Society while he was paramount
luluai, and he continued to control it while he was a
kaunsel. Although most of the posts within the Society
are now elective, the critical position of storekeeper is
appointive, still held by the original appointee. As
manager of the store, the storekeeper is in the unique
position of determining his own salary and paying himself.
There have been occasional rumours that he has overpaid
himself, and that he has embezzled substantial sums of
money--many villagers see no other explanation for the
chronic indebtedness of the Society. There were two attempts
while we were in Ongaia to unseat the storekeeper and turn
the job over to a younger man. These moves were supported
by both kaunsels and probably initiated by the mission
priest. Both attempts failed. The storekeeper reminded
the Society members that Aisapo, his classificatory father,
appointed him and thus only Aisapo could remove him from
the post. With Aisapo dead, no one could command him to
step down. Although he promised to vacate the post, because
he was "tired of public work, and eager to pursue private
business," when we left Ongaia he still ran the Society.
Some villagers complained, but they felt that his logic
was impeccable: he had been appointed by Aisapo, and there-
fore no one could touch him. Because of public acceptance
of the reasoning, the storekeeper and the Society he manages

are independent of the leadership of the kaunsels.

This is not to say that the kaunsels do not try to provide some leadership in economic activities. The Ongaia kaunsel gave frequent speeches on the necessity for economic development of Ongaia village and the Kilenge area. The usual theme of such speeches was "Money is the white man's garden, and it shall become ours." He stressed cash cropping of coconuts and betel nuts and urged people to plant more trees and set aside a greater percentage of the crops for monetary gains. Such exhortations failed, primarily because while most Kilenge see copra or betel nut as a way to gain urgently needed pocket money, they do not consider heavy involvement in cash cropping as a viable alternative to their current lifestyle (see Grant and Zelenietz--in press). Thus, when a kaunsel follows the established pattern and pushes people to 'develop' by increased cash cropping, his efforts are doomed to failure. On the other hand, villagers will not allow an innovative kaunsel to institute any changes in the 'development' pattern in Kilenge. Group business ventures other than trade stores are not socially acceptable. People want to be able to point out a store as "their own", because a store is the only material way Kilenge identify success in business group undertakings. Villagers ignore suggestions by kaunsels or other leaders for other types of enterprises which have less tangible and visible assets and

results.

There is some competition between the two incumbent
kaunsels for pre-eminence in the council chambers (where
the villagers never go) and also in the villages. A
kaunsel may try to intercede in a dispute in a ward other
than his own, by claiming that his relatives are involved
and he wants to help as a private citizen. However,
people see his presence as the official attendance of the
kaunsel, and frown on the interference. The Kilenge
kaunsel actually lost prestige instead of gaining it by
intervening in disputes in Ongaia. At public meetings
involving all three villages, the kaunsels are generally
supportive of one another. A Lolo kaunsel with much
experience in local and provincial affairs usually attends
major Kilenge meetings, and adds his thoughts to the
discussion. People see this, too, as interference, and they
resent it.

Although people look to the kaunsel to provide
effective leadership, the constraints upon the kaunsel
are such that he meets with failure in almost everything
he undertakes. In spite of his election to office, he
does not have the widespread public support that typifies
Melanesian leadership: he does not have a true followership,
a body of people bound to him by social or economic
indebtedness. Instead, he is bound to them by the fact
of his election, and it is the electorate which determines

if he is to retain his office. In order to maintain
their support, he cannot give them the kind of 'strong'
leadership they say they want. 'Strong', forceful leader-
ship would alienate the voters. But the Kilenge do have a
leadership role that would seem to provide a platform for
the building of strong leadership in the village. This
position is the lida.

Lida

The term lida denotes a role which embodies the
ideal formal qualifications for village-wide leadership.
A lida is both a natavolo (or a genealogically qualified
natavolo candidate), and a member of the government
structure most immediately involved with the village. In
former times he would have been a luluai or tultul, and
currently he should be a local government councillor, or
kaunsel. I stress the formal nature of the classification:
if a person occupies both offices, he is a lida. He may be
effective or ineffective, respected or despised, but as
long as he holds both offices, he is a lida. As lida, he
is in control of daily village affairs and implementation
of government policy. He represents the village to the
government (in the form of the kiap and the local government
council) and vice versa. The lida is also in charge of the
coordination of ceremonial affairs. He announces mandatory

work at the regular Monday morning (Government Day)
gatherings, and exhorts people to labour for their business
groups at the Thursday morning (Business Day) gatherings.
He should settle minor disputes within his ward by adjudica-
tion, arbitration or mediation. Ideally he should be an
adjudicator. His word should be binding in all matters,
not only those of jural decision-making. People should
heed his decisions because of his multiple leadership role.
When he tells them to work, people should obey him and
work. In other words, people should obey the leader the
way they obeyed Aisapo. The idea of lida quite clearly
incorporates both the Kilenge notions of the 'strong'
leader and the merging of indigenous and introduced
leadership roles.

On the face of it, the position of lida seems ideal
for the provision of effective local leadership. At his
fingertips, the lida has an array of social controls which
should be mutually reinforcing. He has all of the sanctions
available to the kaunsel, as well as command of the controls
of the natavolo. He should have prestige and respect
because of his status within the traditional system,
augmented by his government office. Village life should
run smoothly, and there should be a lida in every village.

But the realities of community leadership are far
different from this idealized model. Of the seven kaunsels
elected since the inception of the local government council

in 1967, only two have also been natavolo, and hence

fulfilled the formal requirements for lida. One of these

persons was Aisapo, and his own claim to natavoloship

was questionable, although uncontested at the time. The

other is the current kaunsel for Ongaia-Portne, and we have

already seen in the preceding discussing that people

consider Masa a weak, ineffective kaunsel. In fact, he lost

the election the first time he ran for the kaunsel office.

His performance as natavolo is hardly more impressive.

People agree that he has the proper genealogical qualifica-

tions for natavolo status, but they wonder when he will

act to validate those claims and assert himself. Some

people feel that he is too young to be natavolo and lida.

Others think that he recognizes the threat of sorcery,

and consequently has taken little action to 'establish

his name.' He claims to have co-sponsored one narogo,

but Ongaians note that the real direction and sponsorship

of that cycle came from Aisapo. They complain that instead

of participating in the ceremonial life of Ongaia, Masa

would rather join the ceremonies of Portne, where he

controls a Bukumu hat and where his paternal grandfather

was born. As a kaunsel, natavolo and a lida, villagers

feel that he is much less than successful and effective.

In the other five cases of election to the kaunsel

office, and in the appointment of all the komitis, the office

holders had no claims to natavolo status. It is clear that

while people still espouse the _lida_ ideology, they do not
feel that it is suited to their needs. Why? Perhaps the
explanation lies in the difference between the power bases
of the leaders of old and the leaders of today.

The _natavolo_ who was also a _luluai_ or _tultul_ had
two bases of support. He had support from below, because
he was a proven _natavolo_ who had validated his status. As
a _natavolo_, he was responsible to his followers for their
welfare. He also had support from above, from the govern-
ment officer who appointed him. To an extent, he was able
to 'subsidize' his position as _luluai_ or _tultul_ with the
status and prestige stemming from his position in the
indigenous scheme of things. One base of support reinforced
the other. But this is not the reality found today.

In the first place, contemporary _natavolo_ occupy an
attenuated position in comparison with their ancestors, an
attenuation partially due to the decreasing scope of their
functions. Additionally, the reason for attenuation stems
in part from fear of sorcery: those men genealogically
qualified to be _natavolo_ are reluctant to take the actions
necessary to validate their claims. The emphasis on quali-
fications for _natavolo_ship have shifted heavily towards
the formal qualifications, with de-emphasis of the behavioural
qualifications. Accordingly, the village now has a weakened
natavolo, a _natavolo_ who has not proven himself or validated

his status by taking the proper actions, and who has thus
not been able to build up a following. He lacks the base
of support from below that his predecessors had.

Neither does the lida have the governmental support
that the luluais and tultuls had. The lida's support as
kaunsel comes from below, not above. His constituents
elect him to the post of kaunsel. He is responsible for
his actions to his constituents, not to the kiap or the
government. The Kilenge leave no doubt in one's mind that
they see elections as a potent means of control over their
leaders. If they are dissatisfied with the conduct of a
leader, if he is too loud and too forceful, they will remove
him from office. They also apply electoral control in
another way. In discussing the character of the kaunsels
with several people, we noted that they constantly described
at least three of the seven kaunsels as notorious philanderers
and adulterers. We finally put the question to people:
"Did these men pick up their habits while they were kaunsels,
or did they already have them? If they did, did this
behaviour affect the way people voted?" Invariably, Kilenge
responded that they knew of the kaunsels' bad habits long
before election, and they elected those men in an attempt
to change their habits. People thought that if an adulterer
was constantly in the public spotlight, he might mend his
ways.[96] The attempt at control was not effective, and two
of the philanderers were removed from office at the next
election. There was some talk that the third, currently in

office, would not be re-elected at the next council election. More than destroying his chances for re-election, continued 'immoral' behaviour destroys a _kaunsel_'s control of his electorate: regardless of what he has to say about any topic, people don't listen to him because they know about his faults and see him as an untrustworthy man.

Although a _lida_ should ideally have mutually reinforcing social controls at his command, in fact he does not. The _lida_, as a weak _natavolo_, lacks sufficient forcefulness or influence to utilize the traditional controls of Nausang, Natavutavu, etc. This again reflects his lack of a power base in the indigenous system. As a _kaunsel_, he is reluctant to invoke the few sanctions available to him. Instead of having two systems of social controls and sanctions to use, he has none.

The above discussion has brought into sharp focus the disjuncture between Kilenge beliefs and practices regarding leaders. The Kilenge expect a leader to do particular things, they evaluate his performance as if he were able to do them, and yet the contemporary structure of leadership does not allow the leader the latitude he needs to attain those ends _if he plays within the rules of the game_. Aisapo more or less created his own rules, his

own standards of conduct, and achieved what people considered
success. People expect today's leaders to emulate Aisapo's
success. But a new set of rules (elections) constrains the
new leaders, and they are content to stay within those rules.
Only a person operating outside of those rules and constraints
with a basis of power independent of electoral control,
can hope to become a 'strong' leader in Kilenge today.
Furthermore, a potential 'strong' man must overcome the
structural fragmentation of leadership roles, a situation
that has existed since Aisapo's death.

Decentralization of Leadership

Up to this point, we have examined Kilenge leader-
ship in terms of the formal leadership statuses and roles
available in the community and the men who occupy those
roles. I chose this particular orientation because the
Kilenge themselves used this perspective when discussing
leadership: they see leadership tied to a small number of
formal, institutionalized roles. Inherent in this perspec-
tive are the operative assumptions that those who are in
leadership roles (who hold leadership titles) are leaders,
and leaders are to be found only in leadership roles; that
is, people accept direction and leadership only from those
individuals who occupy an office of leadership. The first
assumption, "those who hold offices are leaders," is false

if we distinguish between effective and ineffective leadership. The Kilenge make this distinction in both the traditional and modern contexts: they recognize both the natavolo sapa, the nothing or empty natavolo, and the ineffective kaunsel and/or lida, as social characters. Although they know that such people will not, or cannot, provide effective leadership, the people still look to them for just that. There is still some special quality that attaches to an office or an office-holder such that villagers see the office-holder as capable of leadership. If and when he proves incapable, they can remove him, at least from government office. This is a relatively rapid process, spanning two to four years. A natavolo reveals his incompetence much more slowly; it is a process of accretion of wrong, inadequate, and ineffective decisions over a number of years, perhaps a lifetime. No one can remove the natavolo from office. At most, people can call him a natavolo sapa, but because of the respect which now inheres in the (genealogically-determined) possession of the title, the position is his for life (see Maher 1967:313).

We must empirically determine the validity of the second assumption, "leaders are to be found only in leadership roles," by examining specific activities in Kilenge that need effective leadership if the activities are to be successful. When Aisapo was alive, most of these activities were centralized under his control: there was little

opportunity for leadership other than Aisapo's. People did
not see these various activities as needing institutionalized
leadership roles. Centralized control dissolved with Asiapo's
death, opening up a number of heretofore unrecognized roles
for occupation.

Village Leadership

Village leadership is best characterized as the
ability to conceive, organize, and execute work assignments
and projects on weekly Government and Business Days (and
the occasional Mission Day), settle village disputes,
attract government money in the form of village development
or improvement funds, promote the maintenance of the
community school--in short, to improve the quality of life
in the village. The leader should also represent the village
when dealing with the local administration, provincial or
national officials, and the mission. Although villagers
look to the kaunsel and/or lida for the provision of this
overall leadership in the village, such leadership is not
usually forthcoming. The kaunsel from Kilenge proper was
relatively successful in attaining the above goals, until
he ran afoul of the morality laws he helped set. His
flagrant adultery alienated so many people, who felt that
his behaviour was particularly hypocritical, that his base
of support totally disappeared. He is serving out the

remainder of his term as an ineffective lame duck. Neither
Masa, the kaunsel/lida in Ongaia, nor the komiti in Portne,
provide the effective leadership that people desire. Those
who are leaders in name are not leaders in fact. Are there
leaders in fact, but not in name?

There is a nebulous category of men who take a
semi-active role in village leadership because they formerly
held positions and offices. People who have served as liasons
with the administration as luluais, tultuls, kaunsels and
komitis tend to speak out more at public meetings than other
men. They say that because of their past experience people
should listen to them. Former officials also speak authori-
tatively in smaller gatherings of men, where they tell the
gathering what it was like when they were the leaders, and
what they would do if they were the leaders now. Men respect-
fully listen to, and do not contradict,[97] the old officials,
but privately people gossip about the former leaders and
their shortcomings, enumerating their faults and their bad
decisions. Men do not appear to have undue sway over public
opinion by virtue of their former office. In general, their
opinions carry equal weight to those of their peers, although
the former officials tend to be more vocal. Those former
office-holders who performed effectively in office may exert
more influence than their peers, but this influence seems to
be a function of their personal abilities rather than their
status as former office-holders. People rarely heed the advice

given by former officials, unless it reflects the feelings
of most mature men anyway. Former office-holders are
frequently referred to by their titles, which have been
incorporated into their names (see Zelenietz and Grant--
n.d.a.).

Villagers look to an emphemeral decision-making
body known as the 'big men', or the 'senior men', for
leadership. It is the 'big men' who decide who should run
for elective office, who is competent to sponsor a cere-
monial, how to allocate garden plots, what land to garden,
and the like. Although much of their leadership is in the
traditional sphere of activities, the 'big men' chose
candidates for local leadership offices. Through intensive
questioning and searching, I attempted to define the nature
and composition of this group of 'senior men'--who belonged,
who qualified, what the qualifications were, and exactly
what did they do? Middle-aged men denied that they were
big men or members of that group, saying "We are too young
--we are like adolescents compared to the big men." The
few older men who were in their 60s and 70s admitted to
being senior men, but said that no one listened to their
wisdom and advice. They bemoaned the shabby treatment they
received, saying that in their fathers' time, people really
listened to the big men. Although some respect is due the
older men, as non-producing members of the society their
words do not carry as much weight as do producing members'.

They nominally control ramage estates, but their active sons are in actual control. Because of their supposedly greater knowledge of things traditional, villagers listen to the older men in decisions about ceremonies, gardens and the like. But the senior men's lack of recent experience with the ever-changing outside world means that their knowledge and experience are out of date with, and irrelevant to, the situations faced by the younger men, who find little time to listen to their elders, and trust their own recent knowledge as a basis for decision-making.

Who, then, are the 'senior men'? In one sense, the senior men as a decision-making body <u>do not exist</u>. When people say "This is what the big men want; this is what the big men approved," they indicate a lack of objection on the part of any mature man to an idea or course of action prescribed or suggested by another mature man. It does not indicate active consensus--it is merely passive agreement, a product of apathy in men who really do not care about the decision or action. Then again, in another sense, the 'big men' constitute <u>all</u> the mature men of the village, people whose opinions must be heard and whose objections must be taken into account when there is disagreement on a subject, or when a course of action is not evident. The big men constitute a forum for disagreement: lack of disagreement is interpreted as approval by the 'big men'.

Neither the former leaders nor the big men provide
the kind of general leadership the Kilenge say they want.
Men in their twenties and early thirties do not usually have
an opportunity to provide such leadership. Although
younger men can speak at public meetings, older men tend
not to listen to them. At all-male meetings at or near the
men's house, young men do not even try to voice their
opinions. They are too young to be elected to the posts of
kaunsel and komiti. They complain bitterly about the
older men's reactions to their ideas; the elders berate
them for being lazy, shiftless bums who waste their time
and money in town and who fail to apply their education to
help the village. The latter criticism arouses the ire
of the younger men. They maintain that they do not
receive an opportunity to help the village with their
education because they are not allowed to speak, and when
they do speak they are told that they are mere teenagers
and should be quiet. The young men's complaints are
justified. They do lack sufficient seniority to speak
publicly, and people ignore their suggestions for develop-
ment and change. On one occasion, the kaunsel from Kilenge
denounced the young men as fit only for sitting down for
office work, and noted that the only offices in Kilenge
were the latrines. The older men, while desirous of the
experience and knowledge of the younger men, feel threatened
by that knowledge: implementation of the knowledge means

the younger men will replace them as the important people in the village. But the older men cloak the rejection in traditional terms: the younger men do not have the age, experience, or necessary prestige to assume control of village affairs.

Overall, the Kilenge fear of the autocratic ruler has triumphed (at least temporarily) over the desire for a strong leader. Although there are some leaders for specific activities (see below), there is no real recognized village leadership. Although the kaunsel talks about develop- ing the village, the people feel that he does not push them hard enough. They compare the physical state of the village unfavourably with the times of Aisapo. To them nothing is being done, nor will it get done until they have a leader who will motivate them. However, despite the difficulties inherent in the system, there is a genuine candidate for village leadership in Ongaia.[98] To discuss his career and plans fully would be to compromise his position--he has long range projects which, if revealed now, could possibly be undermined. Tamtatea is working to become a village leader, but not within the accepted structure of village leadership--he has chosen an alternative route. Tamtatea sees himself as a progressive leader, keenly interested in the development of the village, but he has decided to act, in part, within the traditional system. A natavolo candidate, he has sponsored at least one ceremonial cycle to validate

his status. He has taken pains to insure that his children
are properly initiated, and has made a feast to secure
recognition of the status of his first-born son. Tamtatea
fears the attacks of sorcerers, but has successfully with-
stood at least one attack. To avoid the public approbation
that would result if he baldly asserted himself in village
affairs, and to avoid further attention of the sorcerers,
Tamtatea has chosen to strive for village leadership in a
way that is new to the Kilenge--from without instead of
within. He intends to use the status and prestige accrued
in outside activities as a foundation for building a base
of power within the village. He contemplates revival of a
powerful form of social control, but in the process he
intends to change the symbolic content of that form to
make it controllable by humans. This plan encapsulates
much of his thinking: to do things in a seemingly
traditional way, but to change the contents of the symbols
and actions.

Tamtatea strongly disagrees with the policies of
the current lida of Ongaia, but takes care not to publicly
argue with him. At meetings or disputes when people fail
to listen to Masa, Tamtatea berates them, but at the same
time he undermines the prestige of the office-holder by
drawing attention to his inability to lead. "Your leader
is here, and he tries to tell you something. Why don't you
listen to him?" Tamtatea lends his support to the kaunsel
only to make the kaunsel's position weaker and the kaunsel

less effective.

This up-and-coming young man, in his middle thirties, sees the need for strong, effective village leadership to effect change and development. Yet he knows that people are loath to submit themselves to an autocrat. He realizes that by working only within the system he could never attain the position of leadership that he wants: he is too young, his status as natavolo is not yet secure, and he can easily be denounced as a "shiftless, educated bum." But by obtaining a recognizable status outside the system, and making his own rules for becoming a leader, he feels that he has a better chance of success than those working within the self-contradictory system. It is far too early yet to predict Tamtatea's success, but he is the front runner in a field of one.

Various other situations in Kilenge society have provisions and opportunities for leadership. I have selected several situations to point out the pervasiveness of the crisis in leadership, and to demonstrate the structural fragmentation of leadership roles.

School--Parents and Citizens Committee

Primarily, the Parents and Citizens Committee (P & C) oversees the maintenance and operation of the community school. If the members of the committee feel that the

school needs repair, they submit a request to one of the kaunsels for a group of men to work for a specified time (usually one day). The P & C also urges villagers to pay their school assessments on time and can ask villagers for a secondary assessment if the school operates at a deficit. The committee should also mediate in problems between teachers and villagers.

Ideally, the P & C should be a forum for the participation of parents in the running of the school. As it stands now, villagers ignore the body. Napuo, the former kaunsel from Portne, was the P & C President and he dominated the committee. Members of the committee are elected, but public disinterest is such that if a person wants to serve, he will easily be elected to the P & C. During committee meetings, the members sit and listen to what the President has to say, providing little input of their own. They are ineffective at collecting school taxes, levied at the beginning of the school year (February). By November 1977, several families in Ongaia had still not paid the tax.

The P & C provided Napuo with a leadership office so that he could try to get himself heard in public meetings. Napuo, despite his record as a former kaunsel with a progressive bent, was thoroughly discredited because of his philandering, and had difficulty in getting people to listen

to what he had to say. As P & C President, he occasionally
had to address the residents of each village. In other
public meetings he tried to use this status to give himself
authority, as a man in office. But the tactic of status
reinforcement is not terribly successful for Napuo. Shortly
before we left Ongaia, Napuo was replaced as President by
a young man. We did not have time to evaluate the effec-
tiveness of the new President.

The headmaster of the community school, a non-
Kilenge, has very little input into village affairs and
leadership (cf. Morauta 1974).

Business

There are numerous business activities which occur
on the inter-village, village and naulum levels. All the
activities require leadership of one sort or another, and
effective leadership would seem to make the difference
between success and failure at business.

Ostensibly, the acknowledged leader in business
activities in Ongaia and all of Kilenge is Harold Sanga'ul.
He runs the Society trade store, heads a smaller kin-based
business group, and is an entrepreneur in his private
interests. As the Society storekeeper, he orders new stock,
keeps the books, pays those who work for the store, purchases
copra for the Society and ships it to the Copra Marketing
Board in Lae or Kimbe. Aisapo appointed him to this

position. Consequently, Sanga'ul argues that neither the
board of directors, nor the entire membership of the Society,
can remove him from office. People in Ongaia say that he
is the only man there that truly understands business, but
they question his performance. The Society is perpetually
in debt, and members believe that the debt, in part, might
be due to embezzlement. Even those who don't believe that
Sanga'ul is an embezzler feel that the deficit is due to
poor management.[99] The Business Development Officer, who
visits at infrequent intervals, has suggested a change in
management. He would like to see the Society run by a young
man who has completed a course at the Laloki Cooperative
College. The younger man now works as Sanga'ul's assistant.
Many villagers are in favour of this change, but Sanga'ul is
adamant. In May 1977, he promised the Society membership
that he would step down so he would have more time to devote
to his private interests, but by January 1978 he had made
no such move.

Sanga'ul also headed up one of the two business
groups in Ongaia. By selling copra and collecting funds
from younger kinsmen working in town, the group accumulated
enough cash to purchase several capital items: a speedboat
with an outboard motor, a large fishing net, and a kerosene-
powered deep freeze. They planned to use the speedboat and
net to catch bonito and other large fish, store them in the
deep freeze, and take the catch on the weekly barge to Lae

to sell in the market. But mechanical failures plagued the project: the outboard engine kept breaking down, the deep freeze proved unreliable and several catches spoiled. The group became dormant after one of the members appropriated several bags of group-produced copra and sold them on his own. He kept the money for his own use and other members of the group threatened to quit. No one wanted to prosecute the thief because he was a close kinsman. Some members felt that because of previous expenditures, the money was rightly his anyway. The group in fact has dissolved, but several issues remain unsettled. The major issue is the reimbursement of members for their initial cash and copra outlay. The money is tied up in the equipment. Sanga'ul controls the equipment, and although he speaks of it as belonging to the group, he sometimes acts as if it was his own personal property.

The deep freeze figures in Sanga'ul's latest scheme, the Ongaia Children's Club. He organized the club to "teach children about business, so they'll know what to do after they finish school," but many villagers suspect that it is just another Sanga'ul business venture. Harold has the club members bring coconuts from their parents' trees to the meetings. The children husk the coconuts, split them and put them into one of the copra driers. Sanga'ul hires a young adult man to tend the copra in the drier. When the copra is sold, the Club buys a shipment of bread with the

proceeds, and stores it in the deep freeze. They sell the
bread to villagers, and send the profit to the group's
bank account in Lae. Occasionally, Sanga'ul uses club
funds to purchase treats such as ice cream and flavoured
ices for club members. When we left the village, the club
was embarking on a new project, planting cabbage for eventual
sale in Lae. As with Sanga'ul's other projects, the
Children's Club is not very successful. Bread consignments
are lost in shipment, and those that do arrive are sometimes
spoiled when the freezer breaks down. Parents don't support
the club, because they feel it is for Sanga'ul's benefit,
not for the benefit of their children. The men who have
supervised the copra drying complain that Sanga'ul doesn't
pay them for their work, and that if some pay does materia-
lize, it is usually far less than the original wage they
agreed to. The people who own the copra driers complain
that no one ever asked them for permission to use the driers,
and they never received compensation for such use. The
project appears doomed to failure, in spite of the children's
support. Whatever Sanga'ul's motives, the Children's Club
is preparing the young people of Ongaia for life as village
adults by teaching them copra production and the rudiments
of business organization.

Sanga'ul maintains his private business interests,
processing copra for himself and his family. He contemplates
expanding his operations, and has planted more coconuts

than any other individual in the Kilenge area: he claims
to have planted about 2,500 trees. True to form, even
this enterprise has met with setbacks. Sanga'ul gave two
hundred kina to an agricultural extension officer to have
a new copra drier built, but he had not heard from the
officer for several months (see Counts 1976:289).

Harold Sanga'ul has voiced no desire to become
involved with village leadership. He himself says that he
is more than content to work with business and stay out of
other matters. In keeping with this posture, he rarely
attends public meetings or disputes. When he does, he
invariably delivers a message about business. Sometimes
it is a straightforward request for people to work on a
specific day for the Society, bagging copra. Other times,
he lectures to people about the necessity to develop local
businesses, primarily planting betel trees so that they can
sell betel nuts in the market at Lae. Harold plays a minimal
role in ceremonial life, and usually avoids dances and other
traditional activities. He can carve in the traditional
style, but does so only for sale to the tourist market. He
sees himself as a man apart from much of village life, a
view shared by the villagers. They look to him for leader-
ship in business activities, but his failures disillusion
them.

There are other opportunities for leadership in
business activities. All three villages have one or more

business groups, usually formed along naulum affiliations.
Some of these groups were formed under the direction of
men in their late twenties and early thirties, and some by
older men in their late thirties and early forties.
Although aligned by name and membership with naulum
organizations, the groups are independent of traditional
naulum leadership. The men who were instrumental in forming
the groups are now the presidents, directors, or chairmen.
All of the groups follow the same pattern. They begin
capital formation by getting naulum-mates living in town to
contribute cash, and then raise further capital by working
copra as a group. They use the proceeds to build copra
driers. With further profits they will reach the ultimate
goal of each group, the opening of a trade store. Innovations
in business groups are strictly limited to variations on the
trade store theme: for example, purchase of an outboard
motor to facilitate unloading cargo from the barge, or
possession of a license to retail gasoline and kerosene.
Most leaders are content to continue in this direction,
especially because the group members are not receptive to
different enterprises. One group in Portne soundly defeated
an idea to form a pig husbandry business. The Business
Development Officer aids the proliferation of trade stores
by encouraging such endeavours despite the saturation of
the area with small stores. Business groups are prone to
failure (of the seven original groups in Portne which
started in the middle 1970s, only three remain) because of

the number of stores, improper management, and poor bookkeep-
ing. They thus have difficulties getting loans from the
banks for capital improvements. To date the leaders develop-
ing in the business groups have not asserted themselves in
village affairs. People consider ability in business as
distinct from ability to lead a village, despite the apparent
overlap in the necessary skills. Business leaders lack
innovation, a key to Aisapo's success. They follow set
patterns, formulae, with monotonous regularity. They are
not entrepreneurs or innovators. They operate by rote, and
usually fail when rote knowledge cannot handle a problem.

Innovators or experimenters are found in private
business enterprises, of which there are only a few.
Sanga'ul qualifies in this respect, although his attempts
usually end in disaster. In all of Kilenge there are only
a handful of men trying to build a different business,
whether it be a family copra enterprise or raising pigs and
chickens for market. The only notable example in Ongaia,
outside of Sanga'ul, is Naniu (see Chapter IV). Naniu's
family copra business was part of the general pattern of
his assertiveness, his attempt to demonstrate his ability
to lead. We have seen the consequences of what many
people considered the usurpation of powers not rightfully
his. Village leadership in Kilenge will not, in the near
future, come from the group of men who gain organizational
experience in what the Kilenge call business. Unlike many

other parts of Papua New Guinea where leadership in business
had led to involvement in political activities, the Kilenge
situation is such that leadership in business is markedly
distinct from general leadership. A partial explanation
for this lies in the nature of traditional leadership itself.
In Kilenge, because of the ascriptive nature of leadership,
entrepreneurial activities were not a path to leadership
roles. Rather, such activities validated such roles.
Competition for the roles was not open--it was restricted
to those with the proper genealogical qualifications. Thus
the Kilenge system of leadership recruitment differs
significantly from the 'big man' systems described for much
of Melanesia. As a result, ability in economic transactions
is not an entree into positions of power and control, as
it is elsewhere, e.g., Goroka (Finney 1968), where tradi-
tional entrepreneurial activity translated into modern
business acumen and political power (see Chapter VII). Modern
business in Kilenge is not grounded in tradition, and people
who participate in business tend to ignore those activities
that could increase their traditional status. When they
attempt to combine the two, sorcery attacks may result.
The business leaders, for the most part, are not innovators
or entrepreneurs. Poorly trained, they follow government
directions under inadequate supervision. This constellation
of factors contributes to business failure which can under-
mine any prestige or status the business leaders might have

derived from their activities.

Religion

The Catholic mission has introduced a number of
new statuses and roles concerning the leadership of the
Christian community in Kilenge society. Chief among these
is that of parish priest, who, in addition to looking after
the spiritual welfare of his parishoners, operates and
maintains the mission station. To increase the financial
self-sufficiency of the mission station, the current priest
has started a number of business enterprises: a piggery,
renting the mission launch, and a large-scale copra operation
employing three or four men full time. The priest sincerely
believes that the Kilenge must raise their standard of
living, and spends much of his sermon time lecturing to them
about the necessity for hard work and frugal habits.
Paradoxically, this has undermined his influence in Kilenge.
The villagers believe that a priest should worry about their
moral and spiritual welfare and not concern himself with
business enterprises. "He should think about God, and not
about money." The situation is exacerbated by the fact that
many services formerly provided free by the mission, such
as schooling and medical care, now cost money. Although
the government has taken over the sponsorship and running
of the hospital and school, both institutions are still

partially staffed by mission personnel, and identified by
the Kilenge as mission institutions. The villagers see the
fees charged for the use of these facilities as another
facet of the priest's concern over money, and this adds to
the growing resentment towards the priest. The Kilenge are
dissatisfied with the priest's personal conduct--he very
rarely visits the villages to talk with people (as did his
predecessors) and he maintains regular contact with only
a handful of people, his workers. This isolation does not
help the priest implement his policies for economic
development, nor those for the spiritual welfare of the
people. Because of the barriers people see, they resent
rather than welcome the priest's intervention in moral and
spiritual matters. To them he is an outsider, unlike other
priests who were "one of us, our man."

The priest has had disputes with both the lida of
Ongaia and the storekeeper of the Society. He encouraged
people to remove Sanga'ul from the Society management, imply-
ing that Sanga'ul had overpaid himself and embezzled funds
for years. At the meeting called to discuss the matter,
the priest received support, but as he walked back up to the
mission station it dissipated. He wanted the people of
Ongaia to construct a wharf for the use of the mission; he
took exception when Masa told him that, since everything
cost money these days and the mission charged for services
formerly given free, the men of Ongaia must charge the

priest for their labour. The priest subsequently had the wharf built in Portne. Ill feelings still exist between the priest and the two Ongaians.

The priest is unresponsive to criticisms regarding his policies. At a meeting called at his instigation to set up laws against fornication and adultery, he failed to answer several critical questions from the crowd, deflecting them and changing the issue. Both at the meeting and later in the village, a few men voiced resentment at these tactics.

The priests's apparent heavy-handed treatment of his catechists has fueled resentment towards him. People were furious when the priest failed to give the catechist nails to construct his European-style house. Word was the the help would have been forthcoming had the catechist built the house on the mission station, but the catechist wanted to build in the village where he could be with the people and keep abreast of their problems. Further resentment stems from the prohibitions that the priest has placed on ceremonials.[100] In a radical departure from the policy of previous priests, the current priest denounced ceremonials as a waste of time and money, and refused to attend them. People contrast this with the behaviour of his predecessors, who attended regularly. In accordance with his policy, the priest has prohibited ceremonials on Saturday nights, so that people won't be too tired for Sunday Mass. Despite the

resentment at the ruling, people still have respect for the Church and therefore adhere to the rule.

Dissatisfaction with the current priest is such that people told us on numerous occasions that a letter would be sent to the Bishop in Rabaul, listing their grievances. We were never able to ascertain if such a letter had been sent, but villagers saw the priest's departure for six months' leave as proof of the effectiveness of their control over him. Many people did not realize that, after his holiday, the priest would be returning.

In sum, although he is ideally situated to provide effective leadership in the Kilenge villages, the priest's policy of isolation and maintenance of social barriers, coupled with the misunderstood economics of the mission station, have alienated the priest from his parish to the point where people vigorously resent his interference in any matter and try to assert some control over his actions.

The catechist runs religious activities when the priest is away from the village, and is the priest's right-hand man. We have already seen the conflict between the catechist and the priest over the matter of the house; their antipathy is much deeper than that. The catechist complains about the general attitude of the priest. The catechist himself is not in a position to provide leadership in the village, not even in church matters. He is too young for the older men to regard him seriously, although

they will accord him a degree of respect because of his position. There are several former catechists living in Ongaia, the product of a push in mission education directly following the war. They served as school teachers in various mission stations and have now all 'retired.' One above all receives respect and prestige because of his former position, and people sometimes seek his opinions on matters related to religion. Some people feel that he could be an effective village leader, but others say that he doesn't speak well in public and that he has one or two murky incidents in his past that would undermine people's respect for him, and thus his effectiveness in an official position. In his younger years, he set the moral tone for the village by leading the resistance to Aisapo's idea of introducing cargo cult into the villages, and he still speaks out at public meetings about morals and behaviour. People listen to him, unlike the way they treat the current catechist.

The dikon (Tokpisin 'deacon') is an unofficial position and was held until recently by a former catechist. The dikon promotes prayer within the village and helps out with Mass. The dikon of Ongaia, although supported by the priest, finally was removed from office after several veiled complaints about the conduct of his family reached the priest. The incidents occurred years ago, but public dissatisfaction with the man grew in a dispute over the proposed ceremonial cycles of Ongaia (see Zelenietz and

Grant, in press). The dikon attempted, rather late in life,
to assert his claims to natavolo status by sponsoring a
cycle which Aisapo had requested to be buried with him.
People felt that the dikon over-reached himself, and one
consequence was the series of complaints to the priest about
his conduct and the conduct of his wife and daughter.
Villagers, in the style of gossip, were quite willing to
discuss the various 'sins' of the dikon privately or in
small groups. However, the priest committed a faux pas
when he asked, at a meeting attended by men and women from
all three villages, what the dikon had done wrong. No
direct accusations were forthcoming; people only spoke of
rumours that they had heard and never specified the content
of those rumours. The priest finally bowed to the over-
whelming weight of public opinion, and removed the dikon
from office.

The final church-oriented office of concern is the
position of "church kaunsel." Based on a directive apparently
originating at the mission headquarters in Vunapope, the
priest informed the people of each village to elect two
representatives, a kaunsel and a komiti, to serve on a lay
advisory board tied into the church structure. People
were blase during the election, and even after several
rousing speeches from committed church members, did not seem
to care who was elected to the post, as long as it was not
themselves. Three candidates were nominated, one (Harold

Sanga'ul) withdrew, and Masa did not allow the nomination
of another man, saying that the proposed candidate had a
grudge against the priest. The people of Ongaia elected
(on advice from the catechist), the two remaining candidates.
Naniu was elected kaunsel, and a man seldom heard from in
village affairs was elected komiti. Naniu never had a
chance to establish his effectiveness as a kaunsel, for
shortly after the election he became the victim of a sorcery
attack (see Chapter IV). By the time we departed from
Ongaia, several months after the election, little had been
heard from the church kaunsel and komiti. Their main task
to that point had been to urge people to organize the priest's
farewell party.

Little effective leadership, either within or out-
side the context of the church, comes from those occupying
church offices. The priest has isolated himself from the
community, and the villagers feel that they have power over
the priest, a recourse obtainable by writing a letter to the
bishop. The current catechist is too young to be heard in
discussions, although he does try to help people with their
problems. The older catechists, if interested at all in
leadership, use other claims to status, and rely on their
former titles for a minimum of prestige and respect. The
former dikon is thoroughly discredited, and the present
church kaunsel and komiti have yet to attempt to do anything
major in connection with their roles.

Subsistence

The final area I will examine for leadership activity is subsistence. The majority of subsistence activities, such as the bulk of gardening work and most fishing and hunting, are individually oriented, requiring but one or a few men or women. When the activity involves a small group, such as a sibling set, the eldest person present provides whatever direction is necessary and coordinates the efforts of the workers. But there are some facets of subsistence work, such as the apportioning of garden land and large scale hunting or fishing expeditions, which involve a number of people and require a leader to take charge.

The _natavolo_ of the _naulum_ used to apportion garden land to members of the _naulum_ group. Since the Second World War, all the men of Ongaia gather and clear one large plot of ground for taro gardens. Regardless of land ownership, they all make their individual gardens in this area. We don't know how the initial pattern of land use and rotation was set up, but today few if any decisions are needed--people follow the cycle of use and fallow progressively through adjacent plots. Several of the older men, acknowledged experienced gardeners, assign sections of the plot to the various _naulum_, but many people follow their own wishes and make their gardens close to those of their friends, neighbours and relatives. Active males direct the communal task of

felling large trees. Groups of kinsmen, led by the senior
male present, clear small trees and brush from the plot.

Fishing expeditions require the coordination of a
number of men, canoes and nets. Senior men, caretakers of
the nets, are in charge of handling the canoe(s) with men
from their own naulum. The caretakers are usually experienced
fishermen, experts at handling the huge nets. Consensus is
the key to overall coordination of fishing activities;
people going on the expedition meet beforehand to decide
where to fish, and what catch to pursue. Older, experienced
men have a greater voice in the decision than do younger
men. If a man has recently been successful in fishing, his
words will carry great weight and he may become the de facto
expedition leader. If a man has recently directed a fishing
expedition that did not meet with success, or if he has a
history of such unsuccessful enterprises, people will ignore
his opinions, and they will not allow him to assume leadership.

Pig hunting occurs in several contexts: one or two
men hunting together with their dogs; the members of one
naulum working together with their net; the men of one
village hunting together; and the annual combined village hunt
at the airstrip. When the men of a single naulum hunt
together, the senior male provides direction. He assesses
the signs of recent pig activity and decides where they
should place the net. Other mature men may offer their
opinions and suggestions, but the hunt leader need not heed

them. If he guesses wrong, and the other men were right,
the hunt leader exposes himself to gossip which can generate
such humiliation that he may decide not to accompany the
next hunting expedition. Younger men do not offer, nor
are they asked, their opinions during the hunt--they follow
the orders given by their seniors.

The combined village hunt we witnessed in August
1977, points to the difficulties of coordinating a large
number of men when there is no clear cut direction or
leadership. On the basis of public opinion and past experience,
the kaunsel from Kilenge decided that the time was right for
the hunt: the kunai grass surrounding the airstrip was
sufficiently dry. Accordingly, he set a day for the hunt,
and no one disagreed with the choice. The morning the
hunt was to take place, men began gathering near their men's
houses, preparing the canoes to take the large nets to the
airstrip. Things were ready--the nets were checked and loaded,
supplies were aboard, and wind conditions were favourable for
a good burn of the grass. The men then sat and talked for
a couple of hours, waiting for someone to give the signal
to begin. No one from Ongaia took any steps to lead the
village contingent. The men finally launched the canoes
when they noticed that canoes from other villages were
under way. After arriving at the beach near the airstrip,
the men sat and chatted for another hour or so, again
waiting for instructions from someone. The Kilenge kaunsel,

who was supposedly acting as leader, told us that they were
waiting for a Lolo sorcerer to come and perform hunting
magic so that the hunt would be a success. Some men finally
got up and took their net into the bush, and this activity
triggered the rest of the men into action: they followed
suit. The nets were at last in place, although there were
big gaps between some of them.[101] An uneventful two hours
passed as men waited for someone to set the kunai alight.
The Kilenge kaunsel passed his time talking with us, com-
plaining that someone should set the grass afire. Napuo,
the former kaunsel from Portne, and Masa, the Ongaia kaunsel,
joined us and voiced similar complaints. Almost miraculously,
some unknown individual finally took matters into his own
hands and began to set the fires. But by then it was too
late--the wind had died, and the grass burned sporadically
and unevenly. Consequently, the hunters took only a few
pigs, although they had expected many. The Kilenge kaunsel
blamed the failure on the absence of the Lolo sorcerer.
Most other men blamed it on the lack of leadership and
coordination: the Kilenge kaunsel had taken upon himself
a task for which he had no special competence or right. The
hunt, originally planned to last two days, fizzled as the
weary and disheartened men made their way home in the moon-
light.

     The Kilenge appear to have solved one of the

problems posed by Aisapo's autocratic rule: they have attained a large measure of control over the actions and behaviour of their leaders by use of the popular vote. Some do not yet see the vote as an indication of the will of _all_ the people. They interpret it as an expression of the will of the 'big men.' They forget the fact that women and young men also cast ballots: tradition says that this type of decision is the prerogative of the big men. Thus, although the popular vote is, in fact, a reality, the result of the vote is cast in the idiom "the big men say..." The popular vote as a solution to the problem of autocracy is not totally satisfactory from the participants' point of view: while they are now able to control their leaders, the leaders cannot control and lead the villagers, and consequently things do not get done.

One important factor that has contributed to the problem, and which the problem itself perhaps obscures, is the change in the nature of leadership from a functionally diffuse to a functionally specific activity (see Morauta 1974:129-130). This change resulted from the structural fragmentation of leadership, the proliferation of leadership roles and positions following the death of Aisapo. Formerly, the _natavolo_, and later the _natavolo/luluai_, was the undisputed leader of his hamlet or village. When Aisapo became paramount _luluai_, he took over control of traditional activities, and introduced many new activities

of which he was also the head. At the same time that village

leadership became more diffuse, in that the leader had

more and more activities to supervise and coordinate,

leadership had developed the potential for becoming more

specific: the areas of activity became sufficiently

isolated from one another so that they had the potential for

independent leadership. Several leadership positions

opened with Aisapo's death. Today, one can be village or

men's house _natavolo_, _kaunsel_ or _komiti_, chairman or store-

keeper of the Society, president of the P & C, director of

a _naulum_-based business group, or church representative.

Each of these positions provides a base of power which

individuals can maximize to achieve village leadership.

Concomitantly, a would-be village leader will have to

occupy a number of these positions; status and prestige are

cumulative, and thus several positions are necessary to

reinforce the image of the 'total' leader. By occupying

several positions, a man will have a diffuse power base and

be less subject to pressure from, and less under the control

of, an one specific group in that base. However, in order

to achieve and maintain such a position, a man must manipulate

and placate representatives of a variety of interests.

Because the positions differ greatly in form, content, and

followership, it is difficult for a man to manipulate the

situation to his advantage. This is particularly true because

Kilenge have failed to recognize the structural fragmentation

of leadership that has taken place. They still regard
leadership as a unified phenomenon and see the leader as one
man occupying a clearly demarcated position of leadership.

Traditional norms and notions of seniority still pre-
vail, excluding young men from most leadership roles. When
younger men do occupy leadership positions, they are
ineffective because they lack the prestige and respect
necessary to get people to listen to them. The Kilenge
claim they want 'progressive' leadership, but they exclude
from participation in decision-making activities those very
people best equipped for 'progress'.

The Kilenge emphasis on the importance of the role,
the office, is readily apparent. Only those who occupy an
office may proffer leadership. The people of Ongaia will
not accept leadership from a person who has no official
status or title. A leader must have a leadership office,
play a leadership role--he cannot be effective from outside.
Without an office, a man has little chance of getting people
to listen to him in matters concerning leadership of the
village as a whole, and he has no access to the necessary
means of social control (be they traditional or introduced)
by which to implement his decisions. He is thus powerless,
and as far as leadership goes, a social non-entity.

However, mere possession of a title, be it natavolo,
kaunsel, komiti, or lida, does not insure followership.
The leader has to prove himself once he is in office. He

must demonstrate his ability to accrue prestige for his
status. He must have seniority over others; the seniority
may be chronological, genealogical, generational, experien-
tial, or some combination of these, but he must be <u>more</u>
than his fellow men. He must be the 'strong' leader, the
superior man. But the realities of life are such that the
'strong' leader can no longer arise. Those genealogically
qualified to be <u>natavolo</u> fear to assert themselves: "What
will the sorcerers do?" <u>Natavolo</u> cannot accrue prestige,
and are not sure if the traditional means of social control,
particularly Nausang and Natavutavu, still have their
'power'. Without prestige, they cannot even manipulate
inherent respect for their titles as a means of social control
--fear of failure makes them unwilling to put their remaining
prestige on the line. The <u>kaunsel</u> faces his own problems.
He has controls available, but is loath to use them,
because application would alienate his constituents; he
would be over-asserting himself. Elections have given the
Kilenge a powerful control over the actions and behaviour
of their leaders, a control absent for most of Aisapo's
rule. The villagers do not hesitate to apply the sanction
of the vote when a leader follows Aisapo's footsteps: they
dismiss him from office. Without the popular vote, a man's
power base disappears. The <u>lida</u> faces the combined problems
of both the <u>kaunsel</u> and the <u>natavolo</u>.

Although the ideology of the strong leader still
prevails, the Kilenge will not subject themselves to the

vagaries of such leadership. They have not yet found an
effective alternative that would balance the power of the
people with the power of the leader. Until they do, they
will face the same problems that they now complain about.
Things will not get done, because there is no leader to
initiate activities, organize undertakings, and set an
example for the community. After a generation of autocracy,
the Kilenge people want to be led.

Nor have any potential leaders developed a solution
to balance the power of the leader with the power of the
people. No one has devised a way that could win a man office
and allow him to implement his policies. No one has been
able to rewrite the rules of succession. No one of Aisapo's
ability has appeared on the scene. Although the current
crisis is chronic, and not acute or as unsettling as was the
Second World War, the stage is set for a man of extraordinary
abilities to assert himself and lead the Kilenge. The one
development that bears watching is Tamtatea's attempt to
become a leader by following his own set of rules, building
prestige outside the village in different political circles.
In a reversal of the normal pattern of working up from the
inside only in accepted village leadership roles, he has
chosen to simultaneously build his power base outside of the
village, where the Kilenge will not feel threatened by his
assertiveness. Using the experience and prestige gained in
another political arena, and combining this with his status

as a potential <u>natavolo</u>, he intends to make a bid for village leadership, to try to implement his ideas and policies for bettering the lot of the villagers. He may become the new prototypical <u>lida</u>.

CHAPTER VII

ADJUSTMENT, ADAPTATION AND CHANGE

Since the turn of the century, the Kilenge have experienced continual change in their social environment. The scope of that environment has greatly widened, and the encapsulating societies have brought particular pressures to bear on positions of local leadership. The Kilenge are not unique: all native societies in Papua New Guinea have faced similar pressures. In this concluding chapter I will identify the pressures resulting from encapsulation and the variety of local responses to them. I will compare Kilenge reaction to encapsulation with the reactions of several other societies, in an attempt to ascertain why the Kilenge have taken the path they have.

Kilenge adaptations to changes in the social environment began in the early days of colonial rule, before they had even seen white men. Their initial response on learning of the activities of the Lutheran missionaries in the Siassi Islands was to burn their sacred Nausang masks. Later, as German colonial authorities administered the area and imposed new authority structures

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and leadership roles, the process of adaptation continued. The Kilenge integrated the introduced roles of _luluai_ and _tultul_ with the traditional office of _natavolo_. The _natavolo_ lost certain of his leadership functions as hamlets were combined into villages and warfare was suppressed, but at the same time he gained new powers and authority as the local representative of the colonial regime. With both roles held by one man, there was positive feedback between the introduced and traditional offices: power and prestige from one enhanced the power and prestige of the other. This general pattern of adjustment to the demands and impositions of the outside world continued as the Australians took over the colonial administration of New Guinea, and it lasted until the Second World War.

The Japanese take-over of New Britain, and later the American invasion of the area, brought times of uncertainty to the Kilenge. They fled into the bush, where they sub-sisted on old gardens and wild food. The Australians and Americans re-established administrative control once they dislodged the Japanese. The Kilenge remember this period as a time of prosperity, with the Americans distributing food and clothing _gratis_. It was also the dawn of the rise of Aisapo. People were unfamiliar with the new office of paramount _luluai_, and its responsibilities, powers, and authority. Aisapo used his office to bring certainty and stability to Kilenge. He banned sorcery and attempted to

remove the power of Nausang and Natavutavu. He also embarked
on a series of activities designed to integrate the Kilenge
more fully with the outside world: construction of the
patrol post and road, refurbishing of the airstrip, planting
of coconuts, and the establishment of the Cooperative
Society. The reduction of the conditions of uncertainty,
and the access to cash to satisfy material wants which
sharpened at war's end, gave Aisapo popular support in the
village. He worked to reinforce this support by sponsoring
ceremonial cycles, thus activating his marginal claim to
natavolo status. But his main basis of support was outside
the village--the government had put him where he was, and
because of his ability to manipulate the situation, people
saw his power as near-absolute and his position as unassail-
able.

By the mid 1960s Aisapo's attempts at village
development ran into major problems. The Society store was
in trouble, and erratic shipping meant that copra rotted on
the wharf. As the benefits of participation in a cash
economy declined, people became less interested in producing
copra and began to question some of Aisapo's activities.
With his popular support eroding, Aisapo is alleged to have
resorted to intimidation, assassination, and sorcery to
consolidate his position. He became a feared ruler. The
Kilenge had to adjust their ideology of leadership to
accommodate the situation: the leader was now the strong one.

Introduction of the Gloucester Local Government
Council in 1967 did little to alter the picture. Aisapo
sat on the council, and became its first president.
Aisapo was the primary role model for the behaviour of a
councillor for the Kilenge, and people came to expect from
a councillor what they got from Aisapo: strong, autocratic
leadership.

Other leadership roles developed in Kilenge in the
post-war period, and Aisapo, given his initially favourable
position, managed to control all offices of consequence.
Aisapo's occupation of all the major leadership roles masked
the structural fragmentation of leadership. By controlling
a variety of roles, Aisapo was able to manipulate the
resultant status and prestige so that the roles reinforced
one another, much as the natavolo/luluai had used his
roles in a complementary fashion.

The unstable nature of village leadership became
apparent after Aisapo's death. Those individuals in the
genealogical position to assume the mantle of traditional
leadership were the sons of the natavolo allegedly sorcerized
by Aisapo's agents. The young men were afraid to assert
themselves because they feared becoming the victims of sor-
cery. The structural fragmentation of roles manifested
itself when a number of men occupied the positions formerly
controlled by Aisapo: no individual was able to monopolize
a variety of roles and offices that could reinforce one

another. Additionally, the change in the basis of power
and support was clear. No longer did a representative of
the colonial administration appoint local leaders. The
populace directly elected councillors and other leaders.
The power of the vote gave villagers absolute discretion
as to who would lead them. Although the ideology of the
strong leader continued, it was offset by the reality of
elections and the necessity for popular support.

The memory of Aisapo is still fresh, and people
balk at the possibility of a strong leader, an autocrat.
The balance of power has shifted from the leader to the
villagers. That this is unsatisfactory to the villagers
is evident from their constant complaints and comments
about the state of the village and local leadership. But
they will not submit themselves to a dominating leader
again. The Kilenge are caught between conflicting demands
that are legacies of colonial rule. On the one hand, they
see the need for a strong leader to develop the village
economy, they want a man with entrepreneurial talents to
organize them for their progress 'forward' into modern life.
On the other hand, they are members of a democratic system
of government, and they control the primary tool of that
ideological system, the free vote. They are making another
adjustment to the changing conditions of their social
environment, but they have not yet resolved their dilemma.

In one sense, the experience of the Kilenge people

has been unique. They alone have had the particular
combination of events and personnel which has led to their
present state. Then again, their experiences are part of,
and indicative of, the general process of encapsulation
(see Bailey 1969) that has occurred throughout Papua New
Guinea, and indeed Melanesia as a whole. Earlier, I argued
that this process was not solely one of passive acceptance
of and acquiescence to administrative dictates from above.
Rather, the Kilenge and other groups have faced a series of
decisions and choices as to how they will adapt and adjust
to their changing social environment, to new factors intro-
duced by various administrations. "[T]he dynamics of change
are to be sought in the choices that people are led to
make as new opportunities and alternative courses of action
open up to them" (A.L. Epstein 1969:3). The process of
encapsulation is not a one-way street: there is input,
feedback, and choice by the members of the encapsulated
society. Although the causation goes both ways, Bailey
suggests that we treat the encapsulated political structure
as the dependent variable, and regard the environment (the
larger, encapsulating structure) as the independent
variable (1969:146-147). It would appear that he takes
this stance because the change that any individual encap-
sulated structure can effect on the dominant, encapsulating
structure is far more limited than the change an encapsulating
structure can impose on an encapsulated society. For purposes

of my analysis, and for consistency with the terminology
I have used throughout this work, the encapsulated society
is a social, not merely a political system.

The process of encapsulation on the New Guinea
mainland and islands occurred in different stages, under
different guiding philosophies, and at different times.
Initally, the German and Australian colonial administrations
achieved some minimal amount of administrative control at
the village level via the appointment of luluais, tultuls
and headmen (see Chapter III). Following the Second World
War, the administration began to promote the formation of
local government councils, bodies in which the representa-
tives ideally would respond to local needs (see Chapter VI).
These two stages of encapsulation introduced two significant
parameters of local leadership. The first parameter, with
the introduction of the offices of luluai and tultul, was
the necessity of relatively strong and developed local
leadership. A premium was put on organizational and
entrepreneurial skills, as a requisite for satisfying the
demands of the administration. It was not necessarily the
luluai who had to demonstrate these skills. Frequently,
established big men and local leaders saw to it that a
weak person was installed in the post. Thus they could
control the luluai's activities (see, e.g., Chowning n.d.;
Rowley 1966:84). This gave the leaders freedom from the
constraints and role conflicts that often resulted from
holding office (e.g., Morauta 1974). They were free to

pursue their own activities, while the _luluai_ would receive the brunt of administration criticism for activities that failed to achieve the desired goals (e.g., Maher 1967). Then again, given the proper circumstances, the _luluai_ or _tultul_ could build for himself a position of true leadership, exploiting the full potential of his office (e.g., Brown 1963; Hogbin 1963; Reay 1974).

The second parameter of local leadership introduced by the encapsulating administration was local elections. People elect their own representatives to the government, at its various levels. The electors implicitly assumed that not only were they selecting representatives, but also they were selecting local leaders. The notion was rapidly dispelled in many areas, particularly where several villages formed a ward and not every village could have its own elected leader. The subsequent spread of the status of _komiti_ as local representative in each village was due to more than the desire to spread the tedious work of councillor around: it was an attempt to give each village its own representative and local leader.

The various stages and parameters of encapsulation were more or less unitary phenomena: people throughout the Territories faced basically the same introduced social, political, economic, and ideological structures. But they responded differently to these changes in their environments (cf. Chapter III). Bailey poses an important question:

"Why do some environmental changes call for a reaction from the [encapsulated] political structure and others do not?" (1969:192). We can broaden the question by asking 'Why do similar environmental changes lead to different reactions by different societies?' The answer to the question lies in Bailey's response, that "[p]olitical structures survive because they need not be affected by every change in their environment...they are able to cope with disturbances in the environment without changing their own form" (Ibid.: 193). Some structural features of the society can insulate the unit from, or give it adaptive flexibility to, a change in the environment, i.e., an imposition of a new structure from the encapsulating society. The presence or absence of certain elements in the social structure may limit or direct local response to changing circumstances. This answer seems reasonable, but is it satisfactory? Does it allow us a greater understanding of the process of change, or does it obscure that process with an obvious, unarguable generalization? In order to examine the usefulness of the answer, I will consider changes in the patterns of leadership in several Papua New Guinea societies, focussing on the impact of the two imposed parameters on local leadership, and one particular structural feature, the leadership office.

The relationship between office and leadership in Melanesia deserves consideration. Early ethnographers in Papua and New Guinea, marching to the tune of their day,

saw leadership in terms of inherited offices, or chieftain-
ships. Malinowski (1922) provided us with what has come to
be accepted as the only irrefutable case of chieftainship
in the region (but see Singh Uberoi 1971). Other ethno-
graphers sought, somewhat unsuccessfully, similarly well-
defined offices. "Altogether chieftainship conforms to the
common Papuan pattern--the notion of an office and its
functions being rather vague, but some individual being
nevertheless recognized, by right of succession, as leader
and spokesman" (Williams 1977:207; original 1940-41).
Powdermaker, in attempting to describe leadership in Lesu,
confused traditional leadership with the office of luluai
(1933).

For the better part of the past two decades,
anthropologists have accepted Sahlins' (1963) model of the
leader as big man, and the big man as leader, as the basic
working model of leadership in Melanesian societies.
Sahlins coalesced the various available ethnographic descrip-
tions of leadership, and came forth with his categorical
model of the Melanesian big man. The model stresses the
egalitarian nature of leadership; it emphasizes personal
power, not office--behaviour, not position. This model
has had great impact on the study of Melanesian societies,
studies which proliferated in the 1960s and 1970s as Melanesia
became identified as the last great ethnographic unknown.
The concept of big man, then, is embedded deeply in our

current assumptions about Melanesian societies. But the
concept has come under attack, both directly and
indirectly. Thoden van Velzen (1973) finds that the use
of the concept can lead to naively depicted political
systems as we concentrate on the leader to the exclusion
of examining the nature of followership and relations between
the followers. Empirically, several studies question the
universality of the big man system and its specific
features. Chowning, in her recent review of leadership in
Melanesia (1979), documents several systems of leadership
wherein ascription is important to succession to power,
usually in combination with 'big man' economic behaviour.
Similarly, Hallpike (1977) questions the hard and fast
dichotomy between big men and chiefs, showing that a
combination of ascription and achievement are necessary in
the making of a Tauade leader. Salisbury (1964) has shown
that the egalitarian assumptions about the big man system
do not necessarily reflect all Melanesian cultures. An
entrenched ruling elite (directors) manipulates, frustrates,
and controls would-be leaders (executives) among the Siane
and other groups where the egalitarian ethic is advocated,
but is actually operative only among second-level personnel,
the executives. Maher (1961a,1961b) shows that the Koriki,
like the Kilenge, have a clearly defined notion of office,
a named and recognized position of leadership that can only
be filled by people with the correct genealogical qualifica-

tions. The same is true for the Kove (Chowning, n.d.),
where a man without the proper genealogy is not taken
seriously as a leader. Although the behaviour of the office-
holder and his followers may be very similar to that of the
ideal big man, in that the office holder is an economic
entrepreneur who organizes feast exchanges and translates
the prestige gained from such activities into some form of
social and political power, there is a crucial difference.
The big man uses such mechanisms as a means to power, as a
way to establish himself as a candidate and win the social
competition for power. His power derives from his entre-
preneurial talents used to hold his followership together.
The office-holder, however, uses feast and exchange mechanisms
to <u>validate the position which he already holds by virtue</u>
<u>of other criteria of selection</u>. Entrepreneurial skills do
not launch a career, they enhance a career. People are not
bound to a leader in followership because of the leader's
largesse or distributive skills: they are his followers
because they are members of an organization which has an
office of leadership that must be occupied for the effec-
tive management of the unit. This does not imply that they
are absolutely bound to the leader--the Kilenge, for example,
have a system of cognatic descent which is sufficiently
flexible so that a man may change local groups whenever he
wishes. But the presence of the office is real: a leader
is a leader not simply by virtue of what he does, but because

of who he is. In systems where more than one leader is available per unit, competition between candidates will strongly resemble competition between big men as leaders vie to increase the prestige, and hence add substance to their titles. But they compete for a fixed office, an office which must be occupied for the maintenance of the unit.

In social systems where the notion of office is extant, recruitment for leadership is often on the basis of correct genealogical qualifications. Leadership, or the ability to compete for leadership, is a matter of succession. This implies some basic set of rules about succession. Although Sahlins has said that big men "do not succeed to, nor are they installed in, existing positions of leadership over political groups" (1963:289), rules of succession, often combined with the benefits of inheritance, are a recognized factor in the attainment of leadership in many societies regarded as strictly big man systems. Succession to leadership of families or lineages is often the right of the senior surviving member of the unit (Read 1959; Reay 1959; Williams 1977). The ability to trace one's connections back to a previously acknowledged big man or leader serves to validate one's claim to power: without such a traceable connection, people may see the actions of the aspiring leader as not quite legitimate (see Chowning, n.d.; Counts 1968). Finally, inheritance of wealth can serve as the

springboard from which to launch a career of leadership.

The first formal offices _per se_ in many Melanesian societies were those of the _luluai_ and _tultul_. They were part and parcel of the initial stage of encapsulation, a process that also included pacification, missionization, and the introduction of a cash economy via wage labour or cash cropping. We have already seen that encapsulated societies in Papua and New Guinea reacted differently to the same basic set of conditions, particularly in regard to leadership. After a period of adjustment as office-holders competed with indigenous leaders for power and position, several different patterns of adjustment emerged. Among the Koriki, where the idea of office was well-developed, the appointed officials competed on an equal footing with the traditional leaders for social standing and power. In many instances, traditional big men controlled the introduced offices, either occupying the office themselves or, more frequently, controlling the individual that they had appointed to occupy the position. This stratagem of "the power behind the throne" gave the big men control of the situation while at the same time freeing them from the onerous tasks that befell the _luluai_ and the criticisms which the _luluai_ faced from above and below. In a few isolated instances, the _luluai_ managed to assume despotic control of his area (Brown 1963; Hogbin 1951). Finally, as among the Kilenge, the offices of _luluai_ and _tultul_ became thoroughly

merged with the traditional leadership office. These

patterns of adjustment to encapsulation reflect the parti-

cular historical and structural features of each society.

The second stage of encapsulation was the post-

war period, which saw the widespread introduction of local

government councils and a more concerted effort on the part

of the administration to integrate the various local commu-

nities into a cash economy. The latter phases of this

stage saw the administration take over several functions

formerly dominated by the missions, e.g., education and

health care. The Australian administration was under

increasing pressure from the United Nations to raise the

level of services available in the Territories and to

prepare the inhabitants for self-government and eventual

independence (Brookfield 1972). To this end, and to give

the encapsulated people a voice in their own affairs, the

administration introduced local government councils and the

idea of democratic election of representatives to government.

Local government councils perpetuated the idea of

office, but with an important structural change in the flow

of responsibility and authority. Villagers frequently saw

the role of councillor or kaunsel as a continuation of the

luluai office, and they expected the office-holder to

behave as the luluai had. In addition to organizing public

works and relaying messages to and from the administration,

the kaunsel adjudicated disputes in the village. Although

the original ordinance establishing local government councils saw adjudication as an important function of the kaunsel, it never provided the statutory mechanisms necessary for effective adjudication. Councils did not have the power to make and enforce laws in the council areas. Councillors had no official standing as magistrates and no mandate to serve as adjudicators or mediators in local affairs. The basis of the office-holder's power had changed from the administration to the electorate. Power no longer came from above, it came from below, and the councillor, stripped of the sanctions and controls available to the luluai, frequently had to consolidate his position by traditional leadership behaviour. The parameters of encapsulation formed the basis for the ideology of the relatively strong leader (i.e., the entrepreneur with organizational ability who worked for 'development'), and cast it in the milieu of democratic selection of leaders by election. The office had to be occupied by a particular sort of man who came to power in a specific way.

The pattern of adjustment to these imposed pragmatic rules of political behaviour has been almost as varied as that of the adjustment to the offices of luluai and tultul. But despite the different courses that the responses take, most converge on one particular configuration of leadership, the self-made man. To understand why this is the case, I will examine four societies encapsulated within the polity

of Papua New Guinea. The case material reflects the geographical diversity of the country. I have chosen cases from Papua (Purari Delta), the New Guinea Highlands (Goroka), the New Guinea coast (Madang hinterlands), and the islands (Tolai). The sample contains a range of indigenous leadership structures whose principles of recruitment vary from purely achieved to ascriptive. Additionally, the societies chosen represent a fifty year differential in the beginnings of the process of encapsulation. In sum, they reflect the complex diversity of the country.

The first area I will consider is the Goroka region of the Highlands. The egalitarian ideology of big man leadership is widespread throughout the region, but Salisbury (1964) has pointed out that in Siane and other societies the reality did not precisely correspond with the ideology. He reported the existence of a two-tier system of leadership. On the lower level, one finds 'executives' who embody the principles of bigmanship and compete with one another for power and prestige through exchanges and feasts. On the higher level are the 'directors', people with near-despotic power who manipulate the situation and ensure the stability of their own positions by controlling the executives.[102] The introduction of luluais and tultuls in the 1930s served to reinforce the pattern. Where directors became luluais, their power increased and their

position was enhanced. Luluais who were not directors

formed a new class of relatively powerless executives.

Concurrently, the directors were able to further enhance

their positions by controlling the output of increased

horticultural productivity resulting from the introduction

of steel axes. The basic premises of economic transactions

changed: directors became the owners, rather than the

managers, of wealth, and with their new independent base

of power the arbitrariness of their actions increased

(Ibid.:231). Salisbury saw the concentration of power in

the hands of the directors continuing with the introduction

of local government councils. Finney (1968), however,

reported a different pattern for the same general area. He

noted the close correlation between economic accomplishment

and political leadership in traditional Gorokan society, and

felt this correlation and association was viable in the

contemporary situation. Modern business men are closely

analogous to traditional leaders in the indigenous economy.

The true business leader attempts to develop or help his

village while seeking personal eminence in the style of the

traditional big man (Ibid.:399ff.). Business men combine

traditional and non-traditional methods in their commercial

undertakings (Ibid.:401). The modern business leaders form

the core of political leaders, as did the traditional big

men who excelled in entrepreneurial activities. The man who

owns a store, a truck, or large coffee holdings is also likely

to be a man interested in holding political office, either
at the local or national level. There is a greater attrac-
tion to national politics than to local politics. A seat
in the House of Assembly (now the Parliament) is more
prestigious than the position of councillor, which is seen
as an onerous and powerless office. At the local level,
the office of President or Vice-President of the council
is a worthwile (i.e., prestigious) position.

Finney distinguishes between two levels of men
involved in commercial enterprises, a distinction which
closely parallels Salisbury's division of leaders into
directors and executives. The true business leader (<u>bikpela
man bilong bisnis</u>) is a world apart from the ordinary
business man (<u>bisnis man</u>). The <u>bikpela man bilong bisnis</u>
is the director, the man of wide concerns who tries to
excel in the new political situation.

Throughout his analysis Finney emphasizes the
importance of outside factors (related to coffee production)
which influence the course of Gorokan development and adapta-
tion to the new political realities, but he also acknowledges
the significance of traditional political behaviour in this
adjustment. The ability of men to attain positions of
prestige and power through economic activities, and the
favourable conditions for entrepreneurial activities in the
cash economy, have contributed to a continuation of the
traditional pattern of leadership in the modern situation.

Offices go to those who prove themselves capable of organiz-
ing and leading.

The Tolai of East New Britain had a system of
egalitarian bigmanship similar to the Gorokan model (but
see Salisbury 1964:226ff. for a discussion of autocratic
tendencies in the area). The Tolai leadership was charac-
terized by achieved socio-political status, personal
entrepreneurs, egalitarianism, the absence of established
political offices, a balance of thrift and generosity,
and the personal and parochial power of the big man (T.S.
Epstein n.d.:4-7; see also, A.L. Epstein, 1969; Salisbury
1970). The position of _lualua_, head of a matrilineage sec-
tion, usually went to the genealogically senior male in the
section. The _lualua_ controlled the matrilineage section's
land, and also served as the group's banker by looking after
accumulated stores of _tambu_ (shell money). The _lualua_ was
not a political office-holder or big man _per se_, but could
use his control of resources to launch himself into a career
of bigmanship (T.S. Epstein 1964:55-56).

The Tolai area was well-favoured for development
and exploitation. In the late 1800s German and other
planters purchased plots of land for coconut plantations
from the big men and _lualua_. Weapons constituted part of
the payment for the ground and also for coconuts that the
Tolai sold to the planters and traders. Some big men used
the firearms to dominate local trade, to increase their base

of power, and to attack non-indigenous personnel living in the area. To counteract the increasing native power, in 1897 the Germans introduced the appointed offices of luluai and tultul. "For the first time in Tolai history authority in villages was sanctioned from above, rather than achieved on the basis of personal performance" (T.S. Epstein n.d.: 9). Although the Germans generally appointed local leaders as their representatives, they did not always adhere to this policy with the Tolai. But, by World War One, the roles of luluai and big man merged into the same functionary and individual in most Tolai areas (Ibid.: 10). The big men, and hence the luluais, used their abilities to further enhance their positions by becoming the first Tolai entrepreneurs and innovators in the cash economy. Indigenous economic concepts aided these men, as did the emphasis in the Tolai prestige economy on accumulation, as well as distribution of wealth.

In the 1930s, with the worldwide drop in the price of copra and with the big men and luluais well entrenched, younger Tolai men began to express their dissatisfaction with the status quo. They felt that the big men and luluais failed in their public welfare duties, and so the younger men formed associations called kivungs to take over village welfare activities. The Second World War interrupted the kivung movement.

Following the war, the administration introduced

local government councils, first implemented in 1950 in the Gazelle Peninsula. The councils carried two concepts new to Tolai political thinking: (1) the idea of the election of leaders; and (2) the notion that leadership and political organization were to be pan-village.[103] In some areas like Matupit, where land was in short supply and stocks of shell money had been destroyed during the war, i.e., where the essential bases of traditional leadership had been dissipated, the councils formed an important new political arena (A.L. Epstein 1969).[104] In other places where the big men still held sway, the leaders were too busy with their commercial enterprises to participate actively in the council, so they had men in their thirties and forties elected as their mouthpieces. The big men were the powers behind the throne. Councillors spoke at meetings, but control of village politics remained in the hands of the big men.

By the 1960s, there were at least three categories of leaders among the Tolai: the traditional big men, the young, educated elite, and the councillors. The formation of the Tolai Multi-Racial Council, and its takeover of the Tolai Cocoa Project (with assets of nearly A$1,000,000), served to define the positions and relationship of the leadership categories. The local government councils and councillors were discredited and virtually powerless; the takover of Tolai assets by whites was seen as the final corruption. Resistance to the move by the young, educated

elite coalesced in the Mataungan Association, which rapidly received massive public support. The younger men saw the big men, those who traditionally had been entrepreneurs and innovators, as retarding progress and development. The big man system of economic activity could not adjust sufficiently, and "[c]ertain features of the traditional big man system began to pose obstacles to further [economic] expansion" (T.S. Epstein n.d.:25). The impediments to development are egalitarianism which militates against the formation of the necessary business hierarchy, the tendency towards generosity which is an obstacle to the accumulation of assets, the limited parochial power of the big man which impedes the establishment of a necessary wider power base, and the personal nature of big man power which results in the dissipation of economic enterprises after the big man's death (Ibid.:25-6). When the Epsteins left the field, Tolai adjustment and adaptation to a changing social environment was at a critical point, with the outcome far from certain.

The Koriki of the Purari Delta (Maher 1961a, 1961b, 1967, 1974) provide a clear example of traditional hereditary leadership. They had two distinct lines of ascribed status positions, one focusing mainly on the organization of ceremonial life and the other on organizing cannibal raids, work projects, and other public activities. Central to the idea of hereditary leadership, and to the complex of warfare, cannibalism and ceremonies on which such leadership focused, was the notion of imunu, or mana. Certain descent

lines had more _imunu_ than others, and it was from these
lines that the occupants of offices came. Each of the
two statuses had its own hierarchical structure within and
between villages, although intervillage 'secular' leadership
was open to competition. As among the Kilenge, mere
occupation of office by right of ascription was not suffi-
cient for effective leadership. "[T]o make the authority
of his office come fully alive, the hereditary _amua_ or _mari_
had to become involved to a considerable extent in 'big
man' politics" (1967:316). The accumulation and distribu-
tion of bridewealth was the primary mechanism for validation
of office. Such validation led to recognition of the office-
holder as a 'man of consequence'. Office-holders also
benefited financially from their positions, as they
received payments for services that only they could render.

The process of encapsulation by the Australian
administration led to far-ranging changes in patterns of
Koriki leadership. The first stage of the process,
pacification and the suppression of cannibalism, seriously
weakened the position of both types of hereditary leaders.
The secular chiefs no longer organized war expeditions and,
with the threat of raids removed, villages broke up into
dispersed hamlets, thus making effective control of the
population a more difficult task. The status of ritual
leader suffered as the various ceremonies connected with
cannibalism ceased.

At roughly the same time, two further influences affected the Koriki. As the area was pacified, labour recruiters, traders and saw mill operators moved in. The Koriki signed on for wage labour in large numbers, and a period of one or two years away from the village became a normal part of the socialization of young men (see Grant and Zelenietz, in press). Older Koriki men preferred to stay at home and use the traders and saw mill operators as a source of cash, by selling them copra and logs. Soon the older men started marketing their own copra and cut logs. The Koriki had become enamoured with things European, from tools to houses, and pursued several different strategies to obtain cash. Concurrently, the administration introduced the position of village constable. At first, local leaders were appointed to these positions, but as time went on less care was taken in deciding upon the appointees. Also, traditional leaders did not all want to become constables. Experience showed that the constables were particularly vulnerable to administration law, and many leaders did not want such exposure. Constables found that, in order to be effective at the local level, they had to establish themselves in the traditional fashion by giving gifts and organizing bridewealth payments. Not surprisingly, because of their position and behaviour, they were frequently incorporated into the traditional status system by being given a low level title. Although the bestowal of titles

incorporated the constables into the ideological scheme of things, it failed to answer an important question--to whom was the constable responsible, to the villagers or to the administration?

No definite pattern of leadership emerged from this period. Some leaders combined both traditional and introduced offices. In some areas the traditional hereditary leaders dominated the constables; in other areas the constables became the effective leaders; in still other villages the two types of leaders co-existed. There was no longer any certainty of leadership and succession to leader-ship, and Maher sees a general movement towards the ambiguity and transitoriness of big man politics.

Following World War II, a local man who had spent much time in contact with Europeans came back to the Delta and began a broad enterprise aimed at sweeping social, political, and economic changes for the Koriki and their neighbours. The particulars of Tommy Kabu and his "New Men" are too complex to be dealt with here, but certain aspects of the movement warrant our attention. Kabu envisioned radical change in Koriki leadership and organiza-tion. His followers relocated several villages, and Kabu instituted a hierarchical form of pan-village and pan-region leadership, controlled from the movement's headquarters in Rabia Camp, near Port Moresby. Village leaders either participated eagerly in the movement because they saw it as

a means to attain more European goods and money, or went
along with the sentiments of fellow villagers in favour of
the enterprise. The New Men attempted social and economic
transformations including a ban on the remaining ceremonies,
the destruction of men's houses, and pre-empting the power
of traditional leaders. They formed the 'Kompani', a coopera-
tive movement for marketing sago and copra. The Kompani
failed because of a lack of specific knowledge and tech-
niques with which to achieve and implement the general goals
of the movement. In its wake it left a series of small
village- and family-based cooperative units.

The effects of the Tommy Kabu period on leadership
are clear. In the wake of the movement, leadership was in
a greater state of flux than it had been before the war.

> The old sovereignty and prestige system
> was no longer in effect, and it was
> natural...to turn outward to the European
> culture as a guide to new things which
> might be important. Becoming a 'business-
> man' had a great appeal as an activity
> which could bring both status and material
> rewards (1961b:65).

No clear pattern of leadership emerged. A few traditional
leaders exerted themselves and became established as local
authorities. Some village constables followed the same path,
with similar results. In other cases, business entrepreneurs
asserted themselves to become community leaders. From a
system where ascription was the means of recruitment, and
proper distributive and organizational behaviour the way to

validate that recruitment, the Koriki had come to mirror

the political systems of most societies in Papua New Guinea

where men achieved leadership through big man behaviour.

Adaptation and adjustment to the forces of change led to an

emphasis on personal ability in leadership to the exclusion

of other factors.

The people of the Madang hinterland (Morauta 1974)

had a leadership system comprised of three elements: formal

leadership roles, positions of informal leadership, and

decision-making by consensus of clan members. There were

two types of ascriptive formal leadership positions. Land

leaders were the senior active members of their clans:

they controlled land use and distribution. Magic leaders

inherited their magic and had to prove themselves adept at

using their powers. There were several specialized kinds

of magic, and hence several different types of magic leaders.

The informal leadership came from the man of influence, the

big man. Big men were persons influential in village affairs

because of their personalities and generosity, very similar

to Read's (1959) "autonomous" man. The status of big man

was not a permanent office like that of land leader or

magician. It was a public recognition of a man's accomplish-

ments. Because there was no office of big man, some villages

lacked big men entirely, while others had several. "Where

they existed, Big Men did have significance as politicians,

but only as politicians acting within the framework of

consensus" (Morauta 1974:22). Consensus was achieved during meetings of clan members who would decide the course of action for the group.

Little information is available about the Madang adjustment to the imposition of luluais and tultuls. Lawrence (1971:43) does mention that the initial luluais were older, cooperative men appointed by the Germans as aides to organize labour for public works and plantations. The people of the Madang area expressed their reaction to Europeans and their institutions in a series of cargo cults (see Lawrence 1971 for a full review of the topic). Although particular cults were widespread, and had titular or actual heads residing in the region, village leadership of the cults was usually independent of cult headquarters. Former native catechists and church functionaries, both Lutheran and Catholic, composed local cult leadership. Following the Second World War, the tendency towards local control of regional cults again became obvious as different local leaders manipulated the ideas of and about the new major cult figure in the region, Yali. Yali was not so much the leader of the cult (if one unified cult existed at all) as he was the symbol of it, a symbol to be interpreted according to the aims and goals of the local cult leadership (the lo bos). Unlike cultists in some other areas of Papua New Guinea (Counts 1971, 1972; Schwartz 1962), followers of the Yali cult did not leave their dwelling places and create new

villages. Both cultists and Christians lived in the same villages, and had their separate leadership roles. In opposition to the lo bos of the cult were the local church elders and leaders, known as headmen. On matters affecting the village as a whole (in opposition to other units), the two groups and their leaders would unite, but in matters of ideological or religious dispute the village would be torn in two.

The administration introduced local government council into the area in 1956. The idea that one man could represent several villages united in an administrative ward was unacceptable to the villagers, and they soon elected local komiti for each village. People elected councillors, for the most part, on the basis of past and proven performance in public affairs: thus they elected mainly former luluais and tultuls. The councillors proved to be the economic leaders, the entrepreneurs of the community. But not all entrepreneurs became councillors. Some men stayed away from politics entirely to look after their commercial enterprises. Others had already occupied public office and were tired of the work. Some men felt that the position of councillor was too weak: the councillor did not have the authority and sanctions available to the luluai. However, official position and authority worked to increase a big man's renown in extra-village affairs, and public office was the path to upward regional mobility.

With the introduction of the role of councillor, there were at least three discrete formal, and one informal, leadership positions available in each community. The lo bos ran the affairs of the cult and cultists, the headman did the same for church members, and the councillor was the representative of the government. Additionally, there was the traditional big man who, because of his behaviour, had high social rank, but was not always involved in public affairs. With the abundance of public offices and leadership roles, one would expect some conflict between the various leaders over jurisdiction of authority. However, for the people of Madang, leadership is a functionally specific activity, and the clash between councillors and other local leaders was minimal. "As in traditional Madang every official has his own sphere of operation, this being defined in the present situation by the institutional framework within which he operates" (Ibid.:135). Each leader answered to a different, formally discrete authority structure. The structure of traditional leadership, characterized by consensus, a plurality of officials, and the optional presence of big men, has proved sufficiently flexible and durable to be adapted to a changing social environment.

This small sample of Papua New Guinea societies indicates that the two parameters of leadership of the encapsulating society, i.e., the need for a strong entre-

preneurial leader and the later imposition of democratic elections, are not necessarily mutually contradictory. For the societies with a fairly well-established notion of big man leadership, where the leader is a self-made man, the parameters do not conflict. They are, in fact, modifications or continuations of indigenous patterns which stressed a man's ability to rise to his position and then maintain it by satisfying a group of followers. Instead of switching his allegiance by altering his exchange patterns, a follower now aligns himself with a new leader through the ballot box. People frequently vote for local offices in public, with no secret ballot, with the result that a leader can identify his supporters. As the leaders follow traditional behaviour they reinforce their support and tie themselves to their followers through economic activity in either or both the new commercial sector or the traditional prestige-exchange sector. The means of adaptation to these particular changes (but not all changes) in the social environment lie within the structure of the societies.

Where formally discrete authority structures of the past have disappeared or been modified (e.g., Madang), the pattern of different leaders for different structures can still hold true. The role of the big man as an optional feature in local politics has been maintained, and big men seek office to increase their prestige and reputation in the region. Economic leadership comes from those who hold

multiple (formal and informal) leadership roles. Duly
elected councillors supply both political and economic
leadership to their constituents; as the councillors have
been chosen on the basis of past performance in leadership
positions, it is evident that the parameters of strong
leadership and election can reinforce one another rather
than conflict.

Pressures of encapsulation initiated radical changes
in Koriki leadership. The co-existence of two authority
structures (traditional and imposed) led to a situation
wherein the formal requirements for holding office were
minimized, and the competitive big man aspects of leadership
attainment were emphasized. This tendency, coupled with a
Koriki preoccupation with European artifacts and institutions,
was the background for the rise of the Tommy Kabu movement,
whose goals swiftly focused on economic changes. In the
wake of the movement, personal ability (most evident in
commercial activities) became the basis of leadership.

Members of Papua New Guinea societies have responded
to the pressures of encapsulation with a relatively uniform
interim product: an emphasis on the personal abilities of
the (intended) office-holder, with those abilities manifest
most often in economic activities such as cash cropping or
store ownership. The parameters of strong leadership and
democratic elections seem to be non-contradictory, if not
mutually reinforcing. But this is not true for the Kilenge.

In the preceding chapter we saw that local entrepreneurs
or business men in Kilenge provide little or no effective
leadership in activities outside of commerce, and that they
are relatively ineffective even within their chosen field.
Why have the Kilenge, faced with the same pressures and
environmental changes as other Papua New Guinea societies,
adjusted to those pressures and changes in such a different
way?

The notion of office of leadership, and the idea of
acquisition of this office through inheritance, are still
deeply rooted in Kilenge culture and belief. Demonstration
of the correct genealogical connections is necessary to claim
the indigenous leadership office of natavolo, traditionally
a functionally diffuse position of generalized leadership
within the hamlet and later within the village. Even the
autocrat Aisapo, with his external power base, tried to
demonstrate some claim (albeit weak) to natavolo status,
and took the appropriate actions to reinforce that claim.
In Kilenge, a leader is born a leader. Only those born with
the proper status can attempt to validate or legitimize their
positions through the organization of exchanges and distri-
butions of food and wealth items. The position of natavolo
is not open to general competition. Big man behaviour
does not make a leader: it reinforces and operationalizes
the leadership of those who have demonstrated proper genea-
logical claims. Such behaviour affords those men who are not

natavolo a chance to play the 'generous' man and gives them
additional status in the community, but it does not entitle
them to leadership office. The case of Naniu, the man who
tried to be leader, shows that while some people are trying
to change the system and open leadership to recruitment
through achievement, the vast majority of the Kilenge still
hold to recruitment through ascription. Retention of the
principle of ascription to office, rather than achievement,
effectively removes all local entrepreneurs and business men
from competition for positions of leadership. Unlike the
situation in most societies in Papua New Guinea, commerical
or entrepreneurial activities do not provide a way to increase
local prestige and influence, particularly in local political
action.

The pressures of strong leadership and elections
came into conflict following Aisapo's death. People faced
a choice. They could elect strong individuals who would
continue in Aisapo's footsteps and possibly replicate the
oppressive tendencies of his regime, or they could ensure
personal freedom by voting to select weak ineffective leaders
whom they would be able to keep in check. Given the nature
of Asiapo's rule, the Kilenge choice of the latter course
of action is not too surprising. At the same time, though,
the Kilenge still accept the ideology of strong leadership
and value highly the benefits from such leadership. There
is, however, no one to provide such strong leadership. The

threat of sorcery effectively handcuffs traditional leaders.

They are the leaders, they have the offices, but they can do

nothing with them. Councillors also have offices, but

several problems hinder them. The office itself is relatively

weak, with few sanctions to enforce decisions at the local

level. Unless he is also a natavolo, the councillor does

not have access to those few traditional sanctions and

controls which remain effective. If the councillor is a

natavolo, he probably does not exercise those sanctions.

The non-natavolo councillor is reluctant to invoke the

introduced sanctions available to him because he fears

alienating his constituency and losing his office; councillors

who have tried to play the strong leader have lost their seats

in subsequent elections. Finally, businessmen cannot at

present become leaders. The idea of the self-made leader is

a concept alien to the Kilenge.

Since the death of Aisapo, the Kilenge have faced a

situation of structurally fragmented leadership roles.

Aisapo occupied several offices and controlled a number of

enterprises, but at his death these positions opened and

were taken by a number of people. No one man is in a posi-

tion to attain several of these offices, and thereby use the

prestige and status from one to reinforce another. Although

people recognize the profusion of leadership offices, they

fail to see its implications. Villagers still think of

leadership as a functionally diffuse, rather than functionally

specific, activity and they look to the natavolo and/or councillor to provide such diffuse leadership.

The Kilenge are still in the process of adjusting to changes in their social environment. The Kilenge's initial situation of ascribed leadership is rare in Papua New Guinea, but it is not unique. Nor were the pressures of encapsulation. However, the historical circumstances of Aisapo and his rule, and the continued adherence to the notion of ascriptive leadership, have placed the Kilenge on the horns of a dilemma and have led to a locally unsatisfactory interim solution to the problem. Local leadership will undoubtedly change in the future as people confront yet more changes in their social and political environment.

The continuing process of adjustment is evident throughout Papua New Guinea as a nation-state. Today, the government of Papua New Guinea faces the consequences of 'big man' politics on the national level. In late 1978, Prime Minister Michael Somare introduced a piece of legislation known as the Leadership Code. The Code, in effect, would require Members of Parliament to divest themselves of their business and commercial interests, to remove the possibility of conflict of interests in passing legislation. The Leadership Code provoked sharp reaction, as one would expect in a system where many Members of Parliament, if not most, had risen first to local and then regional and

national prominence on the basis of local entrepreneurship. There ensued a governmental crisis and realignment, with one party leaving the coalition and members of another, divided party, joining the government. Somare and the Pangu Party are vacillating on reintroducting the Leadership Code in 1979. Passage of the Code could radically change the environment of political action and leadership recruitment. Business and entrepreneurial activities would be undermined as a basis of power, and would-be leaders will have to find a new manner and a new arena in which they can rise to the top, and assume the mantle of leadership.

POSTSCRIPT

There have been several changes in Kilenge leader-
ship in the time since I conducted my research, and even
since I wrote the early drafts of this dissertation. The
changes have been structural, with new leadership offices
being introduced, and personal, with new people coming to
occupy the offices.

In the 1979 local government council elections,
both the incumbent councillors were turned out of office.
The man who replaced Masa in the Ongaia-Portne seat is a
Portne man who was becoming active on the leadership scene
during our research. He has captained the mission's motor
launch for years, and derived a certain amount of prestige
from this activity. He has sponsored a long-term ceremonial
cycle, and also the building of large, group-owned canoes.
In addition, the new councillor has been active in the
affairs of a Portne-based business group.

Tamtatea, the young man I mentioned as possibly
being the prototypical new leader, has achieved further
success pursuing his political career away from the village.
He now holds a high office.

I have heard of structural changes in village

leadership in all the Kilenge villages. According to a recent letter, there are now kiaps in each of the three villages, and each kiap has his own policeman to enforce his rulings. A later letter from another Ongaian clarified the matter. In line with national policy, Village Courts were established in Kilenge and each village now has its own local magistrate, magisterial advisors, and civil peace officers. I cannot even begin to speculate on the impact of yet more offices and positions of power and responsibility in the Kilenge villages.

Both the structural and personnel changes in Kilenge leadership demonstrate that the Kilenge are still in the process of searching for a viable mode of leadership. They still seek the solution to their leadership problems of the post-Aisapo era.

The national political scene in Papua New Guinea grows more complex and convoluted. Somare's government shelved the Leadership Code legislation. In fact, members of the Somare government have faced charges of trying to manipulate and influence the judicial process (see, e.g., Smales 1979), activities at which the Leadership Code was aimed. In March 1980 the Somare government fell to a no-confidence motion and Julias Chan of the People's Progress Party formed the new coalition government. Like the Kilenge, Papua New Guinea still searches for relief from its problems of leadership.

1. In the ultimate sense, any solution is an interim one, as tomorrow or next year will bring new factors that must be handled. This does not remove the immediacy or reality of problems that are facing us in the here-and-now.

2. Our house was not raised high enough off the ground to comfortably allow us to work underneath it.

3. My United States citizenship undoubtedly contributed something to the success of the research, as the Kilenge still have fond memories of the Americans and their generosity during the war. Many times I was made to recount the exploits of my father and his brother during the war, and I'm afraid I was a far less colourful informant on such subjects than were the Kilenge.

4. In order to preserve confidentiality, I have substituted pseudonyms for the names of people who were alive while we were in the field. For the ethnographic record, we have supplied the real names of deceased individuals.

5. Kurvok is optional, sometimes being included with Portne.

6. For example, within the last sixty years the Kilenge have acquired new ceremonial cycles from other West New Britain communities, and large fishing nets from the Arawe (south coast).

7. The following material is adapted from a paper entitled "Food and Its Social Context in Kilenge, W.N.B.," prepared by the author and Ms. Grant for an upcoming volume on food in New Guinea, edited by D. Lancy and A. Strathern.

8. The term 'role' is used in this dissertation to mean "any position differentiated in terms of a given social structure whether the position be institutionalized or not" (Levy 1952:159). Thus, "a given role is the classification of the social position given to the individual who performs an activity differentiated in terms of the social structure" (Ibid.). I take 'status' to mean social standing. The term 'status role' denotes a particular named position or role to which inheres a degree of positive social standing.

9. A men's house may be built with either one or two
    central support posts. The latter is the common style.
    The former is known as the 'Namor' style, referring to
    the central Kilenge culture hero. Because he built
    his naulum without assistance, he was able to raise
    only one pole.

10. Usually acceptance of a claim of descent matters.
    Kilenge genealogies today tend to be very shallow and
    fragmentary above the second or third ascending
    generation, making it difficult for people to demon-
    strate common descent. If two people know that their
    fathers or grandfathers called each other 'brother',
    that is sufficient reason for the two people to call
    themselves 'brothers' now.

11. A food handler is a genealogically and chronologically
    senior person in the naulum group. The food handler
    may be the natavolo or naɣarara of the naulum group, or
    someone who is likely to succeed to these positions:
    the distribution of food is considered good training
    for succession to traditional leadership.

    Food for a ceremony is given directly to a food handler,
    or sent to his house by the people distributing the
    food. It is the food handler's responsibility to
    parcel out the food for all of the families of his
    naulum or naulum kuria.

12. The practice of uniting and sharing garden land
    apparently started in the distant past with the two
    naulum Sugapua and Polpolpua. Members say that these
    two groups have long been linked, and used to share
    their garden land. The uniting of all the Ongaia
    naulum to use one common section of ground began after
    the Second World War. The practice was instituted by
    the paramount luluai Aisapo. People say Aisapo did
    this because his own naulum, Saumoi, was short of land.

13. I use ramage here in the sense defined by Hanson (1970:
    see immediately below), not in the sense of a "nonexo-
    gamous, internally stratified, unilineal...descent group"
    (Sahlins 1958:140; see also Firth 1936:328).

14. Although this building is called a naulum, it serves
    only as a sleeping place for the boys. The building
    contains no ritual objects, nor is it a naulum in any
    or all of the senses noted above.

15. Children's wailing is most definitely patterned. We
    could tell by the tone, intensity and pattern which
    child was crying in the area around our house, and for
    what reasons.

16. Parents overlook the fact that anyone coming back from high school is usually branded a 'bikhet' (Tokpisin, "obstinate", "conceited") regardless of his behaviour. Adult men and women will not listen to the suggestions made by younger people at village meetings. The attitude of the returnees is "With a situation like this, why bother even trying? They'll just mock us and insult us."

17. We were told that the two steps for male initiation were separated in time so that it wouldn't hurt too much. The weight of financial obligations on the person sponsoring the initiation was probably another factor for the delay: mustering all the resources necessary for both steps of initiation took time.

18. Inheritance is especially important with the more durable tools, like adzes for canoe making. Several Ongaians have and use adzes that their fathers or grandfathers received as payment while working for the Germans.

19. Apparently no one had argued with Aisapo when he ordered the planting. People feared both his physical strength and his ties with Lolo sorcerers.

20. The owner of the pig had promised the pig for a Nausang ceremony. He feared that if he could not provide the particular pig he promised, sorcery would be worked against him. Some informants also implied that Nausang would take direct action and kill the man.

21. For a more precise reconstruction of what could be a similar case, see Maher 1961a and 1961b.

22. Dark (1973:51) sees the Kilenge and Lolo languages as having separate origins, and now in the process of converging into one language. This is the opposite process noted by the Kilenge themselves: divergence from a common language into regional dialects.

23. Vunom is seven generations removed from the informant, a man in his mid-fifties. Vunom is now the name of a naulum group in Portne that fissioned off from the naulum Male'u.

24. The Male'u term for sweet potato, /naserembat/, is the only major food item term that is cognate with the Siassi Islands (/serembat/) (Freedman 1967:385).

25. The equation is "the more land a naulum controls, the earlier the settlement date." The membership of a naulum which was established early on would have had a longer opportunity to clear garden lands. Later naulum would not have had this history of land clearing, nor would there be that much land left for them to clear. The hidden assumption in this reasoning is that naulum in historical times were the same approximate size, and therefore had equivalent work forces for garden clearing.

26. I use sibling group here in an extended sense, encompassing many classificatory siblings.

27. But observations of contemporary food distributions show that the person(s) dividing the food take into account the size of naulum membership. A naulum with many members gets a large portion, and a naulum with fewer members gets a smaller portion.

28. Delivered at the annual meeting of the Association for Social Anthropology in Oceania, Clearwater, Florida, March 1979.

29. The following hypothetical case illustrates the ways in which the lines of succession can be crossed and muddled. A natavolo who is first-born, and effective manager of his group, marries a naʋarara who is also first-born. The couple resides virilocally, and effective management of the naʋarara's naulum goes to her younger brother, who uses the title natavolo (his birth-right) and demonstrates his skill at organization and leadership. In time, the couple has two children, both sons, and they mature. Both demonstrate their abilities at effective management: they organize trading expeditions, arrange marriages, sponsor ceremonial cycles, and so forth. The senior of the two assumes (or will assume) the leadership of his father's hamlet. The younger brother, equally qualified and competent, can legitimately claim that the position of manager of his mother's natal naulum group should be his. However, his mother's brother or mother's brother's son holds the position, claiming the right of leadership on a de facto basis: he manages the group's affairs. Although the ideology states that the senior of the two should get the position, I would venture to guess that, in a case such as this, the outcome actually depends on outperformance of one's opponent, demonstration that one is clearly the superior organizer and manager (see Reay 1959:114-116,119 for succession problems among the Kuma).

30. Information on warfare, and most other activities of the past, is extremely sketchy. Informants simply don't know what happened or how things were done, and freely acknowledge speculating in trying to answer some of our questions.

31. Informants maintain that revenge was the sole reason for warfare. Land, for example, was never at issue, and we have no information of feuds or wars resulting in a change of land ownership.

32. There was a large repertoire of weapons. People said their ancestors used powerful and accurate slings. Romilly noticed the slings of western New Britain, and attested to their effectiveness when he said "I would far sooner let a native of New Britain have a shot at me with a trade musket than with a sling" (1887:21). Curiously, though, no one mentioned the use of slings when recalling old fights. Spears were the primary weapons, the ones informants dwelt on. Fighters also used two types of clubs: plain (called bau) and decorated (narava). Bau and narava differed in shape, but both were used for fighting. Narava were also used for ceremonial dancing and as an element of brideprice, but now are not. Men notched bau after each kill, in much the same way as the revolvers of the Old West. Kilenge imported shields from the south coast, but used them only in connection with a particular ceremonial cycle. They also imported bows and arrows in connection with the Siassi trade, but did not use them for fighting--they traded them off again to the bush Lolo.

33. Dorothy Counts records a similar practice in Kalai, where a maroni (big man) could stop fights by waving his wife's grass skirt in the air (1968:167). Chowning (n.d.) notes the nudity allowed the daughter of a mahoni (big man) in Kove.

34. Polygyny is a thing of the past--the Church has effectively banned it.

35. To this day, an important criterion when judging the behaviour of a wife is "How does she treat visitors? Does she look after them properly?"

36. There are a number of different cycles, autochthonous and imported. It is possible that, in the past, different cycles were used for different events, such as they are in Vitu (Blythe, personal communication), but today any cycle can be used for mortuary honour and/or initiation of children, provided the sponsor can show that he is entitled to use the cycle.

37. The people of Ongaia say that their ancestors <u>had</u> to
    be powerful, of necessity, because the Ongaia garden
    ground was harder and stronger than that of neighbour-
    ing villages. The men had to be strong to break the
    ground for planting, and women who wanted to marry
    into the village were always asked by their parents,
    "Are you a hard worker? Are you strong enough to
    conquer the Ongaia ground?" Now, so the story goes,
    the strength isn't needed, because the ground has
    been used so often and has loosened up.

38. For example, coconuts or specific portions of the
    reef or sea. See Todd (1934:209; 1936:426ff.) for
    a similar agent on the south coast of New Britain.

39. Both Chowning (n.d.) and Hogbin (1947) note that
    shame is also an effective social control, manipulated
    by those in power. Shame is also an important element
    of social control today, and comparative material
    (Todd 1934) suggests that it might have been operative
    in the past. Also suggestive is the ideology of
    suicide. In general, though, there is little
    information on its use in the past.

40. Why the fusion did not occur is hard to say. We must
    examine each case to determine the factors involved
    (see Chapter VII). I have noted some possible
    factors here in the discussion of various responses.

41. But it is likely that the Kilenge had seen sailing
    ships or steamers passing through the Dampier Straits.

42. On one or two occasions, informants gave Ngaloa as
    Avel's son. Other leadership genealogies, and a
    cross-check with other general genealogies, lead us to
    accept Ngaloa as Avel's younger brother.

43. People always attribute the decisions of who was to
    occupy the office of <u>luluai</u> and <u>tultul</u> to the senior
    men, unless the predecessor named a specific person
    to take over the office.

44. For months and months, we tried to get specific infor-
    mation about their work from Tea (L.3) and Pange (T.3).
    They kept saying that they never did anything in rela-
    tion to the administration, and that there were no
    specific cases. Finally, we got case material from
    Pange in the following way. He was discussing spells
    used to control people's speech, and mentioned that he
    had used some in dealing with the <u>kiap</u>. For the next
    several days, we couldn't get Pange to <u>stop</u> talking

about the specific incidents that supposedly never
existed in the first place. Praise the Lord for
exotica!

45. Some of this material has appeared as Zelenietz 1979b;
Zelenietz n.d.a., n.d.b., n.d.c.

46. In general, when I say sorcery I refer to homicidal
sorcery, i.e., sorcery practiced with the express
intent of killing the victim. I will note in the
text where I use sorcery to refer to other types of
sorcery. The term 'sorcery' is defined at length in
the text.

47. According to the Kilenge, the Lolo have not given up their
sorcery practices. When in the presence of Lolo people, one
should take care in disposing of personal refuse--it may be
found by a Lolo sorcerer and used in a sorcery attack.

48. There is the belief that once an individual learns
sorcery, established sorcerers in the area will try to
kill him, to gauge the effectiveness of his sorcery.
Once it became known in Ongaia that I had received an
invitation to learn homicidal sorcery, villagers made
sure that I knew how other sorcerers would react.
Although Marwick feels that sorcery and witchcraft
attacks are "imaginary events" (1967:240), in the field
I did not share his sentiments and did not wish to
expose myself to any unnecessary danger. Furthermore,
Ms. Grant and I agreed that if I were to learn such
techniques, it could possibly strain our otherwise
friendly relationship with the people of Ongaia: I
may have been held in some suspicion and fear.

49. Once in the area, imported sorcery seems to be handled
in the same way as traditional sorcery: a father will
teach it to his natal or classificatory son. It is
impossible to determine if sorcery was traditionally
purchased by "outsiders" (i.e., non-sons). However, if
we regard navorau tame (sorcery master) as a status to
be handled in the way that other statuses were and are,
e.g., natavolo or namos tame (see Zelenietz and Grant,
in press), then in all likelihood the status of master
sorcerer was something inherited from one's father, and
subsequently proven by one's own ability.

50. Identification was probably made easier by the fact
that each sorcerer knew only one type of sorcery with
specific diagnostic symptoms. Identify the symptoms,
and you restrict the range of sorcerers. Today, each
sorcerer knows several types of sorcery, with different

symptoms, and this complicates identification.

51. They now stand in a different relationship with the Lolo sorcerers--see below.

52. This information was made available during an accusation over a threat of sorcery. In order to clarify matters, some people involved went to a Lolo sorcerer some 35 km. distant, and asked him to prepare a statement for the proceedings. They taped his message, the gist of which was that in the old time, the Lolo didn't know Kilenge gardens, i.e., the Lolo only rarely came down to the beach and had no personal grudges against the Kilenge. The Lolo only sorcerized other Lolo. Likewise, the Kilenge only sorcerized Kilenge.

53. Until their elder brother became ill, we heard no one attribute their disease to sorcery. Only after sorcery was suspected in one case was it retrospectively applied as an explanation and rationalization of the other cases.

54. I lack systematic statistical data on the incidence of sorcery deaths and their causes. One goal of future research in Kilenge will be to compile such data, a la Marwick.

55. Once again, lack of quantitative data on the incidence of sorcery accusation, illnesses and deaths is a problem.

56. While there is a hint that the rate of sorcery deaths is decreasing, inclusion of all known causes of death (garnered from genealogies) would undoubtedly give a rate higher than is found today.

57. I assume this would have been a sorcerer from another village, or a villager "misusing" his sorcery or with no justification for knowing sorcery. Surely the position of navorau tame (master sorcerer) was an institutionalized role, and the sorcerer for each naulum/hamlet was under the control of his natavolo. The presence of such a man would have been a group asset rather than liability for the protection he offered from other sorcerers and his own ability to kill enemies at long range.

58. Some say that he was adopted into Kilenge as part of a mortuary compensation. Others implied that he fled some kind of trouble in Kove.

59. Aisapo is constantly described as a man with no formal education, but one who has learned a lot from life.

60. As will be seen immediately below, they actually appointed two paramount _luluais_ for the area described.

61. To this day, the actions of the paramount _luluai_ are not described in abstract or normative terms: the office was what Aisapo made of it.

62. Paradoxically, such an action would also reinforce the Kilenge belief that the Lolo had, in fact, been sorcerers: if they weren't, what would they have to get rid of?

63. "Kandal" refers to the wooden matches used by the American troops, which would be struck and flare up.

64. The question of motivation here is crucial, and yet unanswerable with Aisapo dead. Did he expose the masks as an altruistic move, so the Kilenge could be free of their fears and become integrated into the modern world? Or did he do it so that he could replace these sanctions and controls with his own, and thus redefine what was "incorrect" behaviour? The question of motivation is discussed in more detail below.

65. Several incidents gave rise to this observation. In the first, a Portne man carved a Nausang mask for an anthropologist dwelling in Kilenge proper. The mask was delivered late at night, wrapped in mats, and was given with the injunction that it should not be unwrapped and exposed until the recipient was far from Kilenge. Our own attempts to have a Nausang mask carved for us met with failure. A man who had promised a pig for the co-sponsoring of a Nausang dance to be held in mid-1978 was put in great fear when he thought the pig had been killed while raiding gardens. His fear was that if he could not meet his obligations, the power inherent in Nausang would kill him.

66. Genealogically, though, Aisapo had relatively clear entitlement to Niavogea ground. An intriguing question, which perforce must remain unanswered, is why Aisapo chose to associate with Saumoi, rather than Niavogea. It is possible that, at the time, Aisapo could not have validated a claim to being the most senior person there, although informants today insisted that he could trace descent from the senior line.

67. According to informants, the people of Kilenge proper did not participate, as they already had their own trade store. Examination of the initial membership list confirmed the lack of Kilenge participation.

68. Aisapo did the same thing when the mission paid for use of the present station site at Virau. People say that Aisapo received the payment in their name, kept the money for his own use, and never distributed it to the people entitled to it. They are now demanding another payment from the mission to rectify the situation.

69. The above figures are from the membership register, Talave Business Group (formerly Ongaia Native Society, Ltd., and Ongaia Cooperative Society, Ltd.). Patrol reports note that the patrol officers told the Lolo that "with regard to [Aumo and other Lolo] villages joining the Ongaia Society, I explained that they need only invest one share per village to obtain the benefits of the society and that no further shares should be obtained till the position of an outlet for the Copra was regularized" (Besaparis 1962). Membership figures indicate that this advice was too late in coming for some villages, but heeded in others.

70. These issues will be discussed more fully in a planned paper on attitudes towards business and money in Kilenge.

71. An inordinately high figure, perhaps a mistake.

72. Figures for production during the Northwest Monsoons might be misleading, as this is a time of decreased copra production. We found that most people sun-dried their copra, and this can be done only from April to October.

73. The last two known cases of genuine polygamy (as opposed to mission-defined polygamy, where a man resides with another woman without divorcing his first wife) in Ongaia involved appointed officials--Aisapo, and the old luluai, Tea.

74. As indicated above, former appointee-officials would seldom discuss their careers, except when it came to incidents involving Aisapo. Pange, the former tultul and primary informant for the above story, insisted that while Aisapo was the paramount luluai, Pange himself actually did all the work in the village. He supervised the planting of coconuts. Later he served

as Aisapo's messenger and man-on-the-spot when the paramount <u>luluai</u> ordered him to the Lolo villages to duplicate the planting feat. He not only stood up to Aisapo when the 'free love' proposal was put forward, but he also spoke up for the villagers when, as a group, they were punished for having their houses in disrepair. The punishment consisted of road work and cleaning the airstrip; the <u>tultul</u> claimed that he publicly berated Aisapo for letting the entire village be humiliated. The former <u>luluai</u> Tea said that Aisapo never yelled at the people when he was present, because Aisapo knew that Tea would go complain to the <u>kiap</u> about such mistreatment of villagers. However, data from other informants indicate that much of this "heroism" demonstrated towards Aisapo's dictates is largely an after-the-fact product of the appointees' imaginations. Patrol reports since 1959, and court records since 1971, show that no one brought charges or complaints against Aisapo.

75. Chronologically, this may or may not have been the first instance of a return to sorcery. Kilenge are notoriously poor in describing history in a chronologically coherent time framework; emphasis in history is on place, not time (see Hanson 1970). World War II is a convenient time marker, but when a man says something happened after the war, he can be referring to 1946 or 1966. Overall, however, the return to sorcery seems to date back to the early 1960s, and the furor over Avel's death is, analytically, an excellent starting point.

76. The ginger root procedure is a traditional way of assuring success and strength in dancing.

77. There were a couple of subsequent changes in the ward boundaries: for a time, Ongaia and Kilenge formed one ward, and Portne another. Then Ongaia and Portne were joined and Kilenge proper was the second ward. Initially all three formed one ward.

78. It is not known how much of a hand, if any, the <u>kiap</u> had in this election; whether he influenced the councillors to vote for Aisapo, or whether the choice was theirs.

79. Aisapo's sole election failure was his candidacy for the House of Assembly in 1972, a year before his death. He didn't go to the other areas of West New Britain to campaign, and only the Kilenge voted for him.

80. The lack of general support for Aisapo's cargo cult
    is mirrored by the attitude of the Kilenge today.
    They are, in a sense, pragmatic people. They scoff at
    the idea of cargo cults, because "how can you get
    something for nothing? It's lies, it's bullshit."
    At the inquiry where the cult's box was opened, the
    Kilenge laughed at their Lolo nieghbours for being so
    foolish as to believe such a ludicrous story.
    Villagers greet other accounts of cargo cults through-
    out Papua New Guinea with a cynicism directed at the
    people who would believe such phony nonsense.

81. Since we are well-acquainted with the Ongaia case, and
    have only sketchy information on the Portne case, we
    will concentrate on the former.

82. Different informants named different punishments.
    The phrase 'siks-tu-siks', which in Kilenge means
    forced labour as a penalty for wrong doing, originated
    at this time.

83. The story seems garbled, because Aisapo died a year
    before the ordination. Once again, chronological
    accuracy notwithstanding, this is what people believe,
    and hence act on.

84. There was sporadic but adequate rainfall during this
    season in 1977. Mission personnel report that for at
    least the past seven years, July and August have been
    absolutely rainless, with vegetation drying out and
    turning brown. In a letter dated 1 September, 1978,
    a villager reports that "there has not been a drop of
    rain since July." But Aisapo did not exert complete
    control over the weather. Freedman (1967:174) notes
    that in 1966, people from Mandok carried one ton of
    sago to drought-stricken Kilenge.

85. Aisapo probably died of old age and disease--he had
    been wasting away and weakening for some time.

86. The government saw Aisapo as perhaps a little too
    capable at times, as indicated by the Stevens letter,
    when Aisapo overstepped the bounds of what the
    administration considered proper behaviour.

87. E.g., low copra production levels, chronic indebtedness
    of the Society store, and the resulting lack of support
    for these and other projects in the village.

88. The Kove did not decide to join a local government
    council until 1977, a decade after their other
    coastal neighbours had joined. However, not all
    resistance to the councils was predicated solely on
    the notion of a 'tradition' of luluai and tultul.
    Resistance usually stemmed from a fear or dislike of
    taxations (e.g., Ogan 1972). Nor was 'tradition'
    the only Kove reason for not joining.

89. Aisapo had no true sons, so none of his natural children
    are trying to inherit his position. However, a few
    of his classificatory sons are competing for the
    position of natavolo of Aisapo's naulum. The competitors
    do not use genealogical claims incorporating Aisapo:
    they use other links which they feel are more accept-
    able. They do, however, use claims of Aisapo's dying
    wish(es) to validate their positions.

90. Although the trend in Kilenge is towards marriage of
    choice, a forceful natavolo could still, at this
    stage, assert his own desires and control marriages.
    Whether this possibility will exist in another decade
    is hard to tell; the pattern of marriage by choice,
    allowed by weak leaders, may become fully entrenched
    and accepted.

91. Basing my judgment on what we saw, and the prohibitions
    still hedging the handling and use of Nausang masks,
    I would conclude that Nausang masks could still be
    used with great effect by a person who felt strong
    and confident enough to engage in such an undertaking.

92. If pressure on land becomes accute, as well could
    happen within twenty-five years, the natavolo position
    could once again become important. Natavolo will have
    final say on the use and distribution of land.

93. As events turned out, this tactic failed and the
    marital difficulties continued. The kiap and consta-
    bulary were involved in other cases in Ongaia during
    our stay, but they were not called in by the kaunsel.

94. Formal, in the sense used here, denotes the statutory
    criteria and qualifications for the office.

95. The practical objections to fencing the pigs were:
    it would make for more work because food would have to
    be carried to the enclosure; the pigs would become
    diseased; and pigs would still raid gardens as owners
    sneaked them out to let them wander (as happened the
    last time the pigs were fenced).

96. Counts (1968) records a similar attempt among the Kaliai to change personal habits by election to, and exposure in, office.

97. It is considered disrespectful and a prelude to an open dispute, to directly contradict someone to his face, no matter how outlandish his pronouncements. Perhaps the best example we have of this is the following incident. One day, while sitting on the beach in Portne watching men carve a canoe, one informant began to tell us that the Kilenge were a strictly patrilineal people: descent, residence, inheritance, and group membership all came through the father exclusively. Several other mature men were sitting with us and listening, the very men who had told us time and again about the cognatic nature of the Kilenge way of doing things. The men all nodded agreement with the speaker, not contradicting him. Later, back in Ongaia, a few of the men told us not to bother writing down or remembering what the informant had said. They insisted he knew nothing: he was born and raised in the Siassi Islands, spoke Male'u with a funny accent, and was notorious as a 'maus wara nating', a man who speaks a lot and says very little. Only in dispute situations, when tempers flare, do people openly contradict one another.

98. There could possibly be more people with leadership aspirations who are biding their time and maintaining low profiles.

99. The Society's books are incomprehensible. I went through them, and it was obvious that at least half the entries which should have been made never were. There is no idea of balanced books, cash flow, or other business concepts.

100. There are other issues, grievances, and misunderstandings too numerous to mention. Their net effect is local resentment of the priest, which further isolates him from the villagers.

101. Each net and naulum has its traditional place along the hunt perimeter, but some naulum failed to show.

102. As Andrew Strathern (1966) notes, we are never told how the directors became what they are. This is the major failing of Salisbury's scheme, as he never posits a path to power for the elite. He implies that the directors do not come to power through the "system" (Salisbury 1964:238-239) as do the executives, and we are left to assume the existence of some mystical process and pathway to the top. Could it be that the directorships are inherited or ascribed positions?

103. There is the possibility that large-scale leadership
     was developing among the Tolai in the late 1800s, as
     certain leaders used access to European traders and
     trade goods (guns and axes) to expand their circle
     of power (see Zelenietz 1979a).

104. Although neither of the Epsteins acknowledge it, there
     is the suggestion of a much more pronounced reliance
     on inheritance and hereditary rights for leadership
     than one is led to believe. Land and shell money were
     the two resources controlled by the lualua, who were
     able to use these resources to establish their reputa-
     tions as big men. With the shortage of resources
     after the war, some lualua were unable to establish
     themselves as big men, and so the introduction of a
     new political arena (the local government councils)
     provided an outlet for political competition. It is
     unclear whether traditional big men came from the ranks
     of non-lualua, but what is written suggests that this
     hereditary position was crucial in the formation of
     the career of the 'egalitarian' big man.

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