

RESOLVING CONFLICT FOR *GUTPELA SINDAUN*:

**An analysis and evaluation of traditional and modern methods of
achieving peaceful intergroup relations among
the Enga of Papua New Guinea**

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*** Thesis' includes 'treatise', 'dissertation' and other similar productions.**

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ABSTRACT

This thesis presents the findings of a participatory action research project conducted in Enga Province, Papua New Guinea.

The advantages and disadvantages of participatory action research in Conflict Resolution are discussed, with special reference to their common basis in a contemporary philosophy of cognition and learning. The practical and ethical issues of cross-cultural training in Conflict Resolution are reviewed. The research process is described and particular research methods evaluated. Comparison with the methods and findings of earlier research is also presented. The issues are illustrated by means of case studies drawn from a period of field work (March 1992—April 1993, December 1993—February 1994, and August 1994).

The research involved the analysis and evaluation of both traditional and modern means of conflict resolution used by Enga people or by other agencies within Enga Province during the period of research. The outcome of resolved conflict is *gutpela sindaun* ("good sitting") a Tok Pisin (Melanesian Pidgin) phrase that translates the Enga phrases **auu pyoo katenge** and **auu pyoo petenge**¹ ("being or staying well," conceived from a masculine "standing" [**katenge**] or feminine "sitting" [**petenge**] perspective). These phrases are frequently used to describe peaceful intergroup relations.¹ In considering how this state might be brought about, special attention is paid to the preferred methods of the people themselves (cross-cutting alliances, exchange relationships, and violent self-help), government (the Village Court System, economic development, and punitive measures), and churches and religious movements (conversion, forgiveness, and reconciliation).

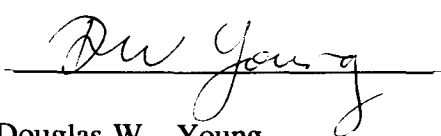
¹ As *Gutpela Sindaun* is used in a formal and technical sense throughout the thesis, it will not be italicised.

The special role of new religious movements as social movements for peace is highlighted. A comprehensive policy proposal is presented for further discussion by interested parties.

This information, its interpretation, application, and implementation are presently part of an ongoing participatory action research process sponsored by the Catholic Diocese of Wabag (Enga Province). This thesis therefore forms a summary of the data as of December 1994, which must in turn be evaluated by those whose practice it is intended to inform.

CERTIFICATE

I hereby certify that this work has not been submitted for a higher degree to any other
university or institution.


Douglas W. Young

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I am especially grateful to Akii Tumu and Polly Wiessner who made available draft chapters and genealogies from their forthcoming book on the oral history of Enga. This was an invaluable resource enabling me to place my own limited material into a larger context. Their insights have been very helpful. I am likewise grateful to Doctors Andrew Lakau and John Muke who graciously made available their doctoral theses. Lakau's work on land tenure among the Kaina Enga and Muke's study of Wahgi warfare provided corroborating evidence from the perspective of scholars from the Papua New Guinea Highlands.

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Research was aided by an Australian Postgraduate Research Award and by grants from the Catholic Commission for Justice, Peace, and Development, and by the generous hospitality of the Diocese of Wabag and members of the Society of the Divine Word in Papua New Guinea and Australia.

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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to Father Lawrence Kambao,

Ben Bali of Weta,

and the other Engan men and women

who have spent or given their lives

in the pursuit of Peace

in Enga.

ORTHOGRAPHY

Throughout this document I have used the following criteria for the spelling and orthography of Enga language and Tok Pisin (previously known as Melanesian Pidgin or, less accurately, "Pidgin English") words, phrases, and names:

1. Where possible I have used the spelling given by Paul Brennan (1977), Adrienne Lang in her dictionary of Enga (1973), and Francis Mihalic in his dictionary of Tok Pisin (Mihalic 1971).
2. When authors or informants use spelling that does not correspond with the agreed orthography of Enga, I have altered their spelling for greater consistency, except in the case of the titles of articles or books. In some cases there appears to be free variation both in pronunciation and spelling (e.g. **Sambeoko** and **Sambiyoko**). In these cases I have selected the spelling most commonly used by my informants and co-researchers.
3. In the case of proper names of persons and places, I have adopted the spelling preferred by the person or the inhabitants, even if this is not in agreement with the orthography. This usually means
 - a) the use of "r" instead of the phonemes "l" or "t";
 - b) a simple "g" or "d" medially instead of the phonemes "ng" or "nd";
 - c) the absence of the voiceless final vowel that should otherwise occur, but is often only needed when a suffix is added;
 - d) the occurrence of three consecutive vowels (vvv) that would otherwise include a consonant (vcv).

4. There are two tonemes in Enga that are relevant in distinguishing between a small number of words (Lang 1973:xvi-xvii). As the inclusion of these tonemes would add little to the reader's understanding, they have not been included.

This orthography was developed primarily by missionaries in need of standardisation for the purposes of Scripture translation (Brennan 1969). It should be acknowledged that not all Enga speakers are satisfied with it; hence the concessions to their preferences noted above. The first doctoral thesis by an Engan (Lakau 1994) ignores the orthography entirely.

Frequently used expressions in the Enga language and Tok Pisin (the lingua franca of the islands, Highlands, and north coast of Papua New Guinea), as well as unfamiliar English terms are listed in the glossary (page xvi). Enga terms are in bold face (as **tee**) and Tok Pisin terms are italicised (as *raskol*). Terms that appear in the glossary are marked when they appear in the text for the first time (^g). Otherwise a brief literal translation (in quotation marks) and, if necessary, an explanation is given in the place where the word or phrase occurs.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|---------------------|--|
| ANGAU | The Australian New Guinea Administrative Unit |
| ANU | Australian National University, Canberra ACT |
| ANZAAS | Australia and New Zealand Association for the Advancement of Science |
| BP | Years before the present |
| CS1:57 | Case study 1, line 57 (and following); colon as separator |
| CS4.3 | Case study 4, section 4.3; period as separator |
| ELC-PNG | The Evangelical Lutheran Church of Papua New Guinea |
| F | Female |
| ^g | Word or phrase can be found in glossary |
| GSK | Gutpela Sindaun <i>Komiti</i> ("Committee") |
| GSTT | Gutpela Sindaun Training Team |
| K | Kina ^g (the currency of Papua New Guinea) |
| M | Male |
| MP | Member of Parliament |
| <i>National</i> | The National (Newspaper) |
| NCD | National Capital District (Papua New Guinea) |
| NGLM | New Guinea Lutheran Mission (Missouri Synod) |
| OMS | Operation Mekim Save |
| PJV | Porgera Joint Venture |
| PLoo | (Enga) Provincial Law and Order Office |
| PMV | Public Motor Vehicle |
| PNG | Papua New Guinea |
| <i>Post-Courier</i> | Papua New Guinea Post-Courier |
| <i>Reuter</i> | Reuter Business Briefing |
| S.H.P. | Southern Highlands Province |
| <i>Times</i> | The Times of Papua New Guinea |
| <i>Wantok</i> | <i>Wantok, Niuspepa Bilong Papua Niugini Stret</i> (<i>wantok</i> = "one language," friend; "the newspaper of Papua New Guinea") |
| W.H.P. | Western Highlands Province |
| W.N.B. | West New Britain Province |
| † | Deceased |

GLOSSARY OF TERMS

Words and phrases are listed alphabetically with English terms in normal script, Tok Pisin terms in *italics*, and Enga language terms in **bold face**.

affine

A relative by marriage, but normally the spouse of a parent's sibling and the child of one's spouse's sibling are classified as consanguineous relatives, not affines. (See **wane** and **wanakali**.)

agnate

A person related by patrilineal descent. Males descended from a common male ancestor.

akaipu

Cordyline fruticosa. Also known as "tanget." Men's buttocks covering (e.g. plates 3.2, page 164, and 3.4, page 166) and boundary markers.

aiputi

A weakness affecting a group that reduces their ability to fight by destroying their unity and making them especially vulnerable to injury and death during a fight. See chapter four, page 196, for further discussion.

akali buingi

Reparative payments ("compensation") for deaths attributable to actions by others.

akalyanda

Akali = "man" + **anda** = "house", "House man," lineage. See discussion in chapter one, page 14.

allodial rights

The group's inalienable control of proprietary rights to land, which supersedes the rights of the individual who may be using the land.

auu pyoo katenge/pitipenge

"Staying well together," peace, (*gutpela sindaun* in Tok Pisin). See page vii.

beta pingi

Reparative payments for injuries ("compensation").

blok

Agricultural allotment. These allotments were either purchased from traditional owners by the national government and then leased to farmers, or obtained by the tenant from traditional owners on a negotiated basis (a combination of traditional ideas of usufruct^g and modern ideas of rent). Although the government saw them, in part, as a means to relieve supposed population pressures, in practice they provide an opportunity for more entrepreneurial men to evade kinship obligations.

clan

This is a term seldom used by Enga people, but commonly by anthropologists to describe the **tata** level of social organisation.

Properly speaking the clan is a unilineal descent group, patrilineal or matrilineal, within which the specific genealogical connections with the founding ancestor, real or putative, are unknown....[They] may be divided into sub-clans...[that]...may in turn be divided into lineages.

(Hogbin 1973:236)

For a full discussion see chapter one, page 15.

code

The representation of typical existential situations of a society, culture, or group. They function as encoded challenges that generate critical consciousness as they are decoded (Freire 1973:51).

cognate

A bilateral (consanguineous) kinsman or kinswoman. A person descended from a common ancestor as the subject.

compensation

In its strict sense, compensation is a form of recompense or counterbalance, with a sense of finality and closure. In Papua New Guinea the term is used in this way, but also in the sense of "reparation," intending to repair or restore an ongoing relationship. In Enga it is a generic term (when English is used or borrowed) that covers a variety of very distinct reparation payments from one group to another.

emic

A term coined by the linguist Kenneth Pike (from "phonemic") for the description of a social system or a stream of events in terms of the units that are relevant to the members of the society or the actors in the events. It may be contrasted with an etic description whereby the society or the behaviour is described in terms of the external perspective of an observer.

(after Keesing 1976:555)

enda auu pipae

"A good woman," good wife.

enda lakuingi

"Courting women," courtship ceremony.

enda watapae

"Bride following," return payment of bridewealth.

enda yole

"Payment for a wife," bridewealth.

etic

See "Emic."

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enda watapae

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enda yole

"Payment for a wife," bridewealth.

etic

See "Emic."

fission

The process by which a group generates two or more distinct coordinated groups, so that the original group loses its own identity.

frame

A metaphor commonly used in PAR as an alternative to "paradigm" (also a metaphor, from grammar) and in the sense of "a structure for admitting or enclosing something, ... form, constitution, or structure in general; system, order" (Macquarie Dictionary 1981).

functionalism

Modes of theoretical interpretation in social science that search for interconnections between social institutions—how they fit together and what they *do*—rather than seeking causal explanations. (Keesing 1976:556)

gutpela sindaun

"Good sitting," peace. See page vii.

inglingi

"Rumours," especially rumours about the supposed motives and intentions of an enemy.

isa

"Below," subclans living on lower slopes or valley floor.

kainakali

Kaina = middle + **akali** = man, "man in the middle," mediator, third party, innocent bystander, victim of two or more other persons' conflict.

kaita miningi akali

Kaita = road + **miningi** = holding (habitual), "holder of the way," **tee** exchange partner.

kamongo

"Big-man," leader, orator, fight leader, wealthy man.

kanata dii

Virulent weeds (*Desmodium* sp.) that are the scourge of subsistence gardeners in Enga. The generic term can include other plants such as elephant grass (*Pennisetum purpureum*) and *Tritonia crocosmiflora*, a flowering plant presumably introduced, or at least cultivated, by Europeans and called **anyene** by Engans because of its onionlike bulb.

kepa singi

Homicide reparation, paid in cooked pig quarters.

kina

Papua New Guinea currency. 100 toea = one kina (K). One kina was approximately equal to US\$0.9200 before mid-October 1994 when it was floated. After dropping to a low of US\$0.8170, it had risen to US\$0.8640 by 1 February 1995 (*Reuter*, 1 February 1995).

kisa

"Above," subclans living on higher slopes.

kongali pil

"Hidden talk (**kongali** = sign with special meaning + **pil** = speech)"; metaphor, analogy, proverb, parable. **Kongali**, in words, actions, or signs, can be used both to disguise and to illuminate meaning.

kumanda pingi

Kumanda = "house cry," the house of a deceased person where mourners gather. The return of cooked pork to mourners (who brought food to the bereaved) after a burial.

kumu

(*Amaranthus* spp.) Leafy green vegetables.

kunai

(*Imperata* spp.) Reeds used for thatching roofs.

kungu

"Ridge." Kaina Enga people living along the ridge between the Lai and Ambum Rivers (Lakau 1994:xx).

lineage

A group of kin who trace descent from a common ancestor through known links.

lepe

Bog iris (*Acorus calmus*); ritual plant associated with the **sangai** bachelor cult, male health, physical development, and potency.

mali lingi

Singsing; traditional singing and dancing festival.

matrilateral (relative)

Relatives on mother's side.

mau

A marker placed in a garden or on a path to express the owner's desire that people not walk through his land, or trespass on or steal from his garden. It often has associations that the owner is a Big Man whose land should not be disturbed by less wealthy people.

nemongo

Sometimes rendered "**nemango**"; spells that "can be spoken by individuals unassisted by the **topoli** (see below), and are directed toward laws established by the creative sky forces, but more importantly, are enforced by those of the underworld" (Brennan 1977:45).

Operation Mekim Save

Mekim Save, a Tok Pisin expression meaning to punish in order to teach (i.e. "teach them a lesson"); Operation Mekim Save is an initiative of the Enga Provincial Government, which makes use of Village Court Magistrates and other leaders to mediate settlements of tribal fights. It is now more correctly called a Joint Village Court Sitting. See discussion in chapter three, page 221.

palu

"Family"; see discussion in chapter one, page 13.

panda pingi tee

Initiatory payment of live pigs as an invitation for homicide compensation.

phratry

A group of clans related by putative descent from a common ancestor; the largest named patrilineal descent group. See also "tribe."

prestation

Gift-giving that entails the establishment or maintenance of social relations.
(Hogbin 1973:239)

Provention

A term coined by John Burton, "to signify taking steps to remove sources of conflict, and more positively, to promote conditions in which collaborative and valued relationships control behaviors" (1990b:v).

pundu tange akali

The men (**akali**) who are at the root, base, or source (**tange**) of the quarrel, dispute, or trouble (**pundu**).

raskol

Primarily, a young member of a criminal gang. Individual criminals, such as pickpockets may also be described as *raskols*, and the word may also be used adjectivally to describe an unconventional item, e.g. an unregistered, unroadworthy vehicle might be described as a *raskol* car.

saandi tee

Initiatory payment of cooked or live pigs inviting a return gift.

sangai

Sometimes **sandalu** (Layapo); initiation ritual of bachelor's cult.

segmentation

The process of generating subordinate or coordinate groups from an original group that need not lose its own identity.

takange

"Father," head of household.

tata

Patrilineal descent group, named after the founder (or founder's mother). It is localised and exogamous. The word is usually translated as "clan." A subclan might be described as **tata yakane** ("small clan"); the grouping of several **tata** that trace descent from a common ancestor might be described as **tata andake** ("big clan"). See discussion in chapter one, page 15.

tee

(Pronounced *tay*.) The exchange system of the Enga. From "**tee lenge**" ("to ask for"). See discussion in chapter one, page 27.

tombema

Clans living on the northern side of the Ambum River and the Lai River below its confluence with the Ambum; clans living on the eastern side of the Wali River (also called Aimagi). Feil, at the request of his informants, used the term to describe a "cultural-linguistic" group living between the Sau and Lai rivers, and otherwise described as Sau (see map 1.3, page xxiv) (Feil 1984b:12, and note 2, page 36).

tribe

Properly speaking the tribe is a politically or socially coherent and autonomous group occupying or claiming a particular territory. (Hogbin 1973:240)

Engans use this term to describe any level of named group, from the **akalyanda** to the **tata**. It might also be used for a phratry, since the Enga language has no specific term for this level of social organisation. See discussion in chapter one, page 17.

usufruct

The right to enjoy the use or benefit of property without an absolute right of ownership to the property itself, as when a person plants and harvests crops on land belonging to another.

wanakali

Affines, especially men residing on their wife's natal land.

wane

"Boy," child, matrilineal relations, woman's descendants.

wane tange

"Child's source," mother's clan.

wane laita

Funeral payments to the deceased person's mother's **tata**.

wakema

Clans living on the southern side of the Lai River; clans living on the western side of the Wali River (also called the Itayoko or Itapu).

wapu miningi

"Holding the broken, debris." Trouble that follows disharmony with agnatic and affinal relatives through failure to fulfil obligations, such as not reporting threats of attack on affines; also the ritual to dispel the trouble.

yanu pingi

"Make return payment," payback. The term is used to describe return payments in the **tee**, return bridewealth payments, return of a loan, revenge, and payback killings.

yanda pingi

"Fighting with bows." See discussion in chapter one, page 42. The habitual form of the verb (**pingi**) has a nominalising effect, so that the phrase means both, "they (or any subject) are always fighting," and "a fight" or "fights."

yumbange

Literally "grandfather," lineage; sometimes described as **tata yakane**, "small clan." Several **yumbange** constitute a **tata**. See discussion in chapter one, page 14.

yu daa injingi

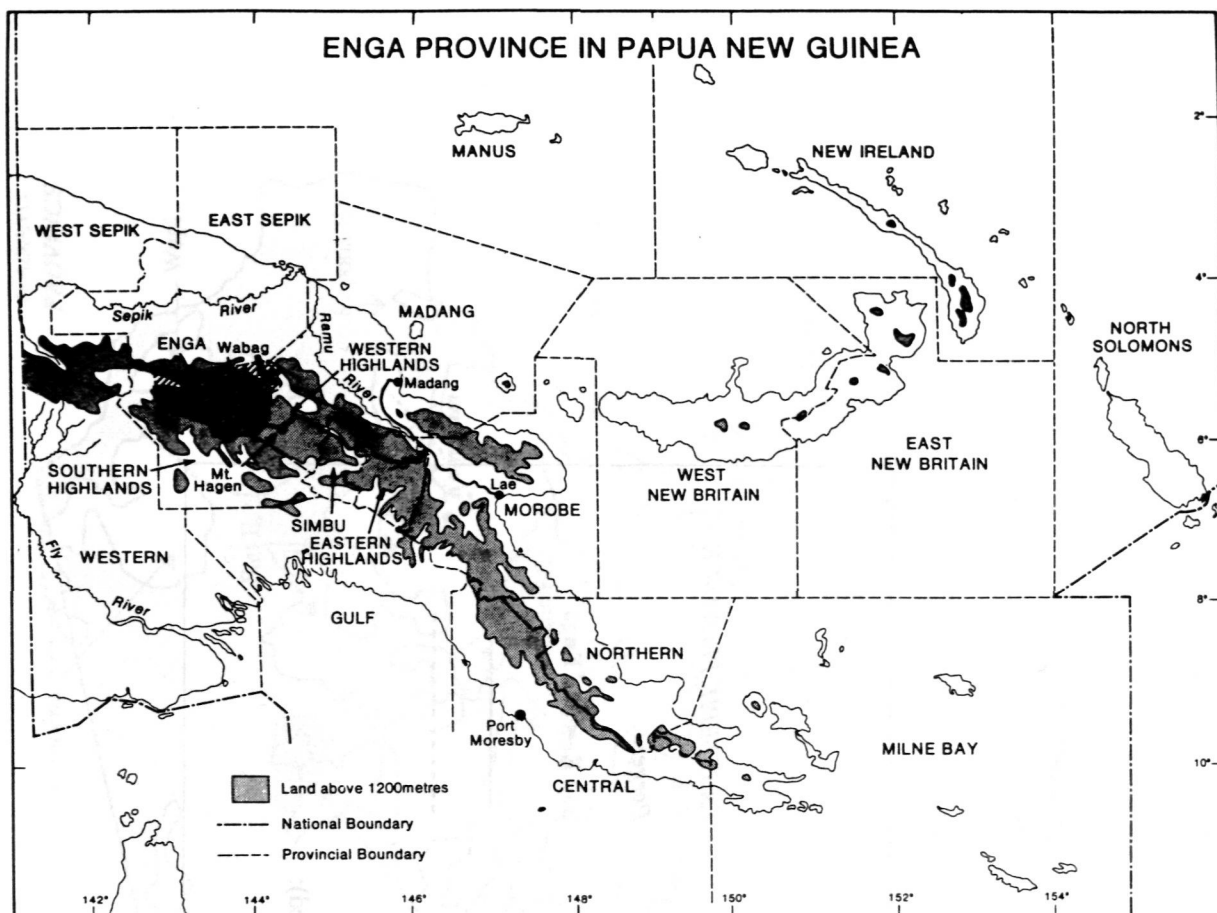
"Land-not-becoming, growing," land shortage.

yu netesa; yuu puna

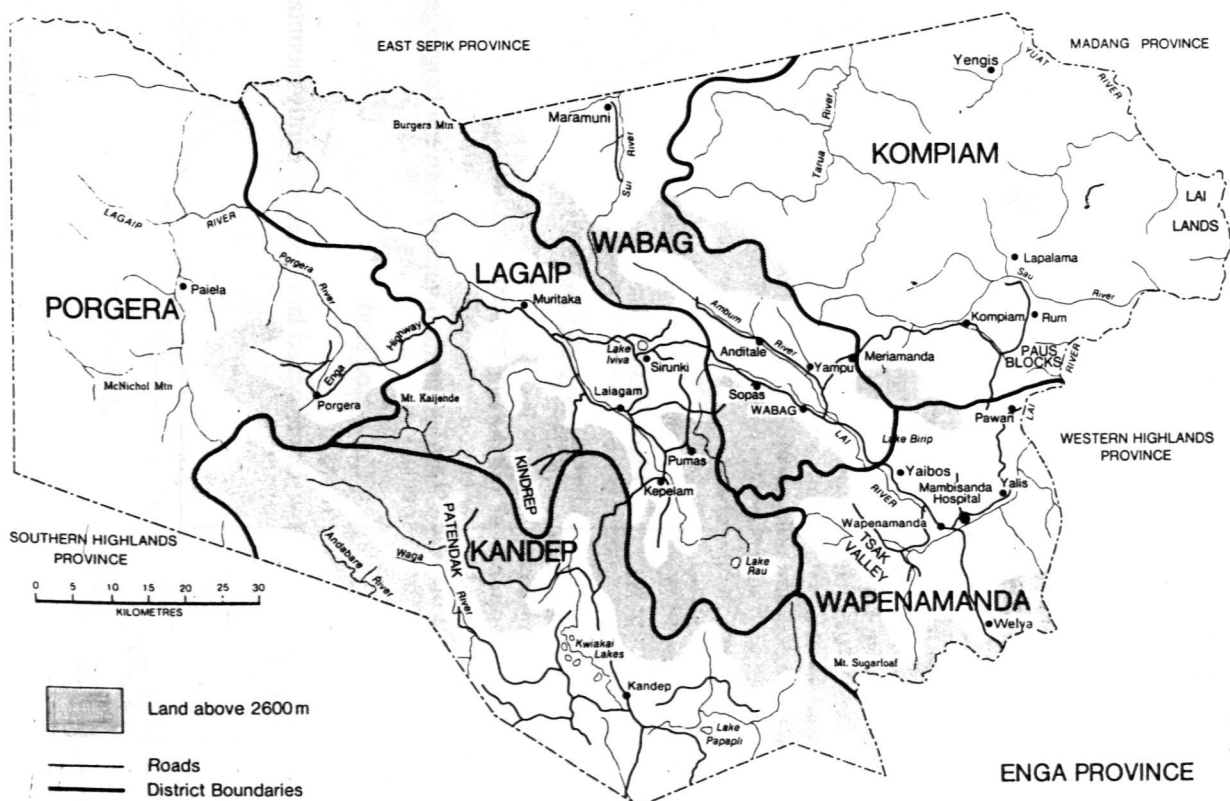
"Boundary land," "edge land."

yuunya pundu

"Trouble (**pundu**) about/concerning (**-nya**) land (**yu**)," land disputes.







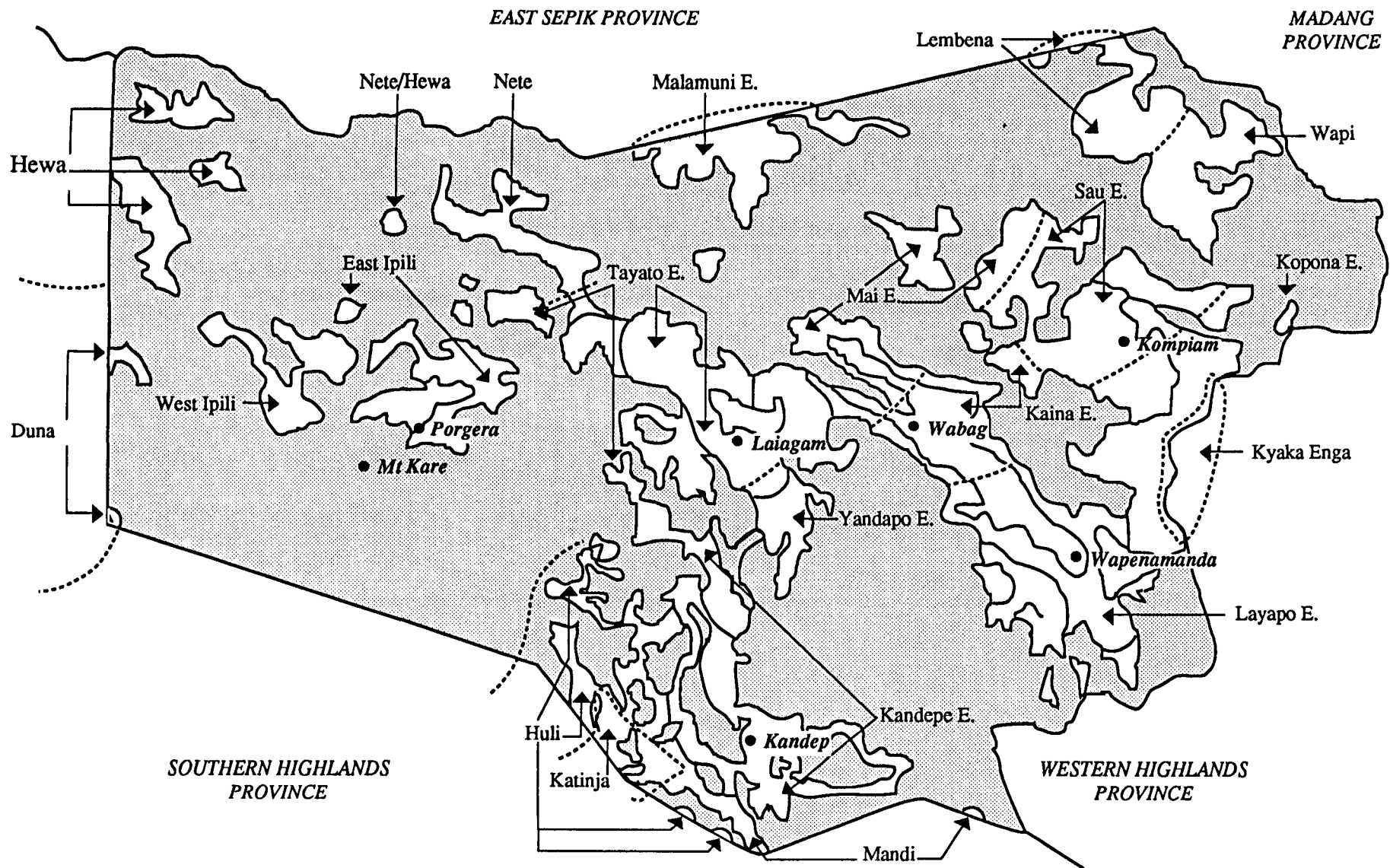
Map 1.1 The location of Enga Province and other provinces of Papua New Guinea (Carrad et al. 1982:3)



Map 1.2 The districts, main roads, and some places within Enga Province (Carrad et al. 1982:5)

Legend

| | |
|---|---|
| Province: | <i>EAST SEPIK PROVINCE</i> |
| Place Name: | <i>Porgera</i> |
| Language and Dialect: | Sau E. = Sau Enga |
| Boundary between provinces: |  |
| Approximate boundary between languages/dialects: |  |
| Cultivated land: |  |
| Uncultivated land (predominantly mountainous and forested): |  |



Map 1.3 Main languages and dialects (culture groups) of Enga Province (after Allen et al. 1995; Wurm & Hattori 1981; Brennan 1982:200)

Legend

Major Towns:

WABAG

Place Name:

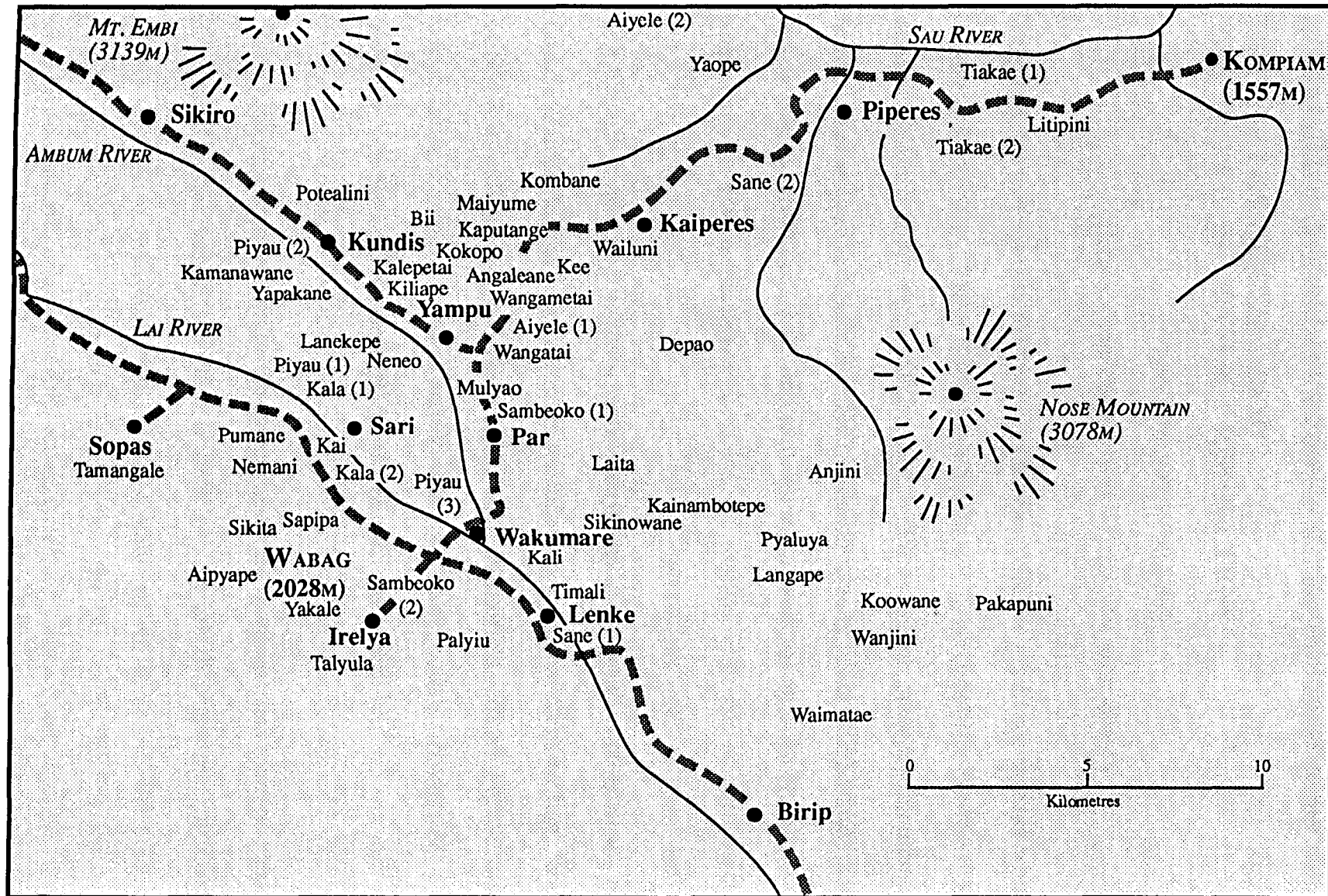
Par

Geographical Features:

AMBUM RIVER

Clan Names:

Sambeoko



Map 1.4 Area of field research showing location of places and clans mentioned in case studies and genealogies (after Lacey 1989:90)