

## **Varieties of local leadership in three peri-urban communities of Madang**

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### **Introduction**

When introducing the new policy framework for the Department of Community Development in Madang in July, Lady Carol Kidu first of all appealed to the memory of past structures of community service delivery. There was the kiap patrolling tirelessly for the administration of justice and good order in remote communities; there was the didiman (agricultural officer) who introduced coffee and cocoa and had a word to say on pigs and cattle; there was the Aid Post Orderly (APO) who lived in isolated localities to give villagers their first chance to tackle malaria and the infection of sores; and going further back there were the tultuls and luluais (leaders from German times with titles borrowed from the Tolai of Rabaul), who made the first efforts to bridge the gap between local and national laws. There were also the catechists, the barely trained teachers, and storekeepers with a “traim na save” (learn by attempting) accountancy. Although these early systems reeked of colonialism, a heavy dependency on following orders and even racism in the reputation of the kiaps, they were often effective in rendering basic service delivery. If these roles of the past have faded away today, then how will the rendering of social services take place? Lady Carol Kidu set out to embrace that task with the Community Development Department.

### **Local leadership**

This paper seeks an answer to the question of community service delivery in the varieties of local leadership as found in three communities around Madang township: Sisiak, Wagol and Malmal. In what ways do these communities find their needs for leaders fulfilled in their own local settings? I have had association with the Sisiak community over the past 26 years, for eighteen of which I served as an acting parish priest, or at least as the only priest who came around, visiting the fourteen settlement areas of Sisiak on a regular basis. Sisiak is composed mostly of people from the East and West Sepik Provinces, with a majority from the Sepik River villagers. Sisiak started as an official squatter settlement of Madang in the 1960s to accommodate the Sepik migrant workers who were living at Kerosin Island where the present end of the aerodrome is. There is electricity and a water supply available, with a bitumen road down the middle which is only a string of isolated patches in 2017, but the communities gather for the most part according to village belonging. I will be referring only to Sisiak 1 and 2, numbering 1,500 residents, who reflect this village congregation, and will not discuss Sisiak 3 since some housing there is from the National Housing Commission and this makes for a much more heterogeneous community. For the Wagol community I will be referring only to the settlers from Marap and Nangusap communities of the Pagwi area in ESP, since I have a long association with them and they caused me great pain in an initiation ceremony in 2000. With the Malmal Village community I have

had an association as Supply Priest over eight years, going regularly for Sunday mass and other occasional events during weekdays.

For this article I engaged in formal research over a couple of months. I asked the assistance of a number of DWU students from Arts (PNG Studies) and they helped me record interviews over a number of weeks, but the project failed to capture their imagination and I completed the project by myself. I will attribute the work of the students as it occurs. In this project I restrict myself to “from the bottom up” structures of leadership in the communities. I do not intend to evaluate the performance of elected leaders in Local Level Government (LLG) or as Members of Parliament, nor the work of Public Servants or more than subsistence business people. I listened to the stories of those who were essentially volunteers in the service of the community, even if there were some forms of remuneration or some official status given to them.

I found that there are a lot of volunteers in the communities, despite the known statement that “We are not used to volunteerism in PNG.” Many of these forms of service are maintained for many years. I accept the claim that the main motivation is to help the community, to know what is going on, and to receive acknowledgement as someone who can be a big man. Permit me two anecdotal explanations of these terms, “big man” and “know what is going on”. I was once walking through some bush villages where I was known but which were not actually part of my charge. Some older men greeted me heartily and playfully and called me “big man” in language<sup>1</sup>. I protested that this was too much, but they gave their definition, “You are a big man because you call out for people to come, and they come.” I thought I could live with that definition. On the other hand I was once talking with a young adult about going to dances in the villages and settlements, and I was led to reflect what he was saying, “It seems young people go to dances for sex.” He agreed with me. So I tried this understanding on another young man, who disagreed at once, “No, it is not sex. You go to a dance because everyone is there, and if something happens then you are there to find out what happened, otherwise it will take you weeks to piece together what might have occurred.” This political sense of knowing what goes on and why is very satisfying. The community leaders I am writing about are getting to be big men and women in the hope of keeping tabs on all that is happening in the communities and having a role to play in many lives.

### **1. Leaders in Sisiak 1 & 2**

A resident of Sisiak 1 had a thought about being a candidate in the 2008 Local Level Government elections. He eventually did not run, but threw his support behind another candidate. In the course of this he drafted a list of leaders in the community, a practice beloved of village and settlement candidates. The basic idea of his group was that a community needed representatives for law and order, church, education, health, business, community, women, youth, culture and clan. They were not thinking of imposing these structures, but of contacting them for effective devolution of powers from the LLG level. This is reasonable as a checklist of varieties of local leadership in Sisiak, but I will give my list of leaders based more on the experience of their functioning in the settlement.

**(a) The magistrates**

To the question of “who is a leader in Sisiak?” the conversation quickly turned to dispute resolution and the magistrates. The village court magistrates were introduced to Sisiak in February 1989<sup>ii</sup>, as the village court of Ward 10. According to the regulations, there is an odd number of magistrates in the area, usually five when they come together, now including a woman magistrate. Over the more than twenty years since they were introduced, the magistrates have been part of most of the disturbing events of their communities. Their houses in the crowded settlements get more than the usual share of visitors as people come at all hours to air their complaints. Battered wives, people with outstanding debt, destruction by groups and boy-girl over-commitments all come quietly to the magistrate’s house to be advised on what steps they might take to fix up their concerns. The magistrates are not Rollo May counselors, nor are they well versed in the Law, but they do represent a first port of call for those who have troubles. The one virtue they can cling to is fairness. Something that comes from one side must be balanced with something from the other side. I see them overstepping their mark, or being weak and silent in the face of aggressive speakers, but they are willing to listen and they come together as a college once a week, once a fortnight, or at any time to let the process of discussion run its course. Despite the recent requests of the police not to accept compensation in the case of rape<sup>iii</sup>, which is a legal offence, the magistrates wryly admit that they regularly handle rape cases, which are known to be beyond their jurisdiction, and they settle the matter with compensation fines. This is done because the women and their families do not want to bring the matter down to the District Office; they want to settle it in the place where they are living. This is as Howley writes of it (2005a, 2005b) in accounts that reflect many realities shared between Eastern Highlands and Madang.

These magistrates are not so much active agents in doing justice, but an occasion provided to the community to handle disputes in an orderly fashion. One magistrate has a well cleared seating arrangement underneath his house and obstacle-free space around the house because the proceedings of justice at this level often evolve into running battles and punch-ups in the pursuit of peace. The magistrate is not so much the boss of his court but the ear of final appeal to whom every settlement has to be eventually pronounced. There is no difficulty counting these village court magistrates as volunteers. Although they have two editions of a Handbook to which they refer, they state that they have received no formal training whatsoever, apart from a general introduction and swearing in almost thirty years ago, and have received no in-service either. There was first a pay for them at the level of K120 for three months, but for eighteen months in 2005-2006 this was suspended and never given as back pay even after regular payments were resumed (compare Howley 2005b: 53). They are answerable to the District Office, and occasionally need to call in the regular police, but for the most part they are answerable only to the will of the people to have a person in the magistrate’s role. They know what a bribe is, and could not continue if they took bribes, but gifts after the judgement are more liberally considered. The examples I was given are that if someone is helped to collect on a long standing debt of K500, then the magistrate will

probably be rewarded with a K50 gift; if the magistrate settles a marriage battle, then there will be a gift of K20. The magistrates claim that they give receipts for court fines and could not possibly pocket that money because the receipt books are handed over to the District Office. The basic reward remains the opportunity to know what is going on in the community, just as everybody else in the settlement and in town runs to see what is happening in a disturbance whether there is any likelihood of their being involved or not.

**(b) The other leaders in Sisiak**

Let us now review the other leaders in Sisiak according to the plan given above by the LLG candidate. We follow this list below, with the exception of the Culture and Clan leaders who are called on for the needs of their own domestic and village communities.

Sisiak often has seven churches including the large Catholic parish with the Meiro Primary School. All of these churches have their own leadership structures, under the guidance of long-term personalities who have their say in community life, generally maintaining good relationships by mutual avoidance. The school has its Board of Management with representatives from different churches and sectors of the community, but which is mostly under the control of the Catholic priest and long-serving chairman who is able to take the initiative, but generally does not take much advice. Other members of the community provide security services for the school and the teachers' houses on a voluntary basis.

Some of the other forms of leadership grow out of the churches. There are various Youth Leaders for the broader community, as well as for the churches themselves. These Youth Leaders suffer the frustration of inaccessible funds, and of on-again and off-again project activities such as the visiting of the Hospitals or going away for retreats. There are the repeated stories of Youth funds being misused by those who were entrusted with them.

There is the Welfare Mama Group which is led by a woman of Sisiak 3. She provides something of a Safe House for women escaping domestic troubles. The woman magistrate spends time hearing domestic cases, often in the downtown household area of a former Member of Parliament. From her court some cases are taken to the town Welfare in the Headquarters.

Sisiak enjoys reasonable Health services, which like the school, are run by a staff of regularly paid Public Servants. The clinic, located in a central place, is staffed by two sisters and four community health workers who are available during business hours. Although their work depends on the availability of medicines from the Madang urban supply, they are found to be a dependable community resource.

When asking about business leaders, I was told that there was really only one trade store in Sisiak, although there are many PMVs operating. There is a small bakery which was operated by one of the magistrates since 2002, with very limited production. The only other projects to be identified as business are the

small live chicken enclosures which arise and fall on a basis of occasional need or interest.

Some further leaders exist according to various plans: there are Community representatives who are appointed to inspect roads and toilets. They are marked by the Councillor, but do not do anything, according to my reports. There are also four Peace Officers who have the paid jobs of assisting the magistrates by delivering court orders and warrants of arrest, but whose main function is to stand in the court and enforce good order, such as the ban on carrying knives into the court area. There is also the Village Court Clerk who is paid to write court orders, summons and notices of settlement. These officers follow the directions of the Village Court Chairman.

There is a further leader of some note in Sisiak who has risen through the ranks of the Scout Association of Papua New Guinea and is now Provincial Scout Commissioner. In years past he was a dedicated leader of the weekly meetings of his group of boys and girls and led them in a voluntary way to works of community service. However at the present he says he has no youths in Sisiak, and attends to meetings of those further away.

## **2. Wagol leaders**

Wagol River is the name of a small creek meandering through Sisiak and down to Madang Harbour. Although acknowledged to be rather polluted by the communities living along the course of the creek, it does provide a pleasant environment and even swimming place for the children. Amongst the various communities squatting along the creek, I have had extended contact with villagers from Marap and Nangusap of the Pagwi District just off the Sepik River. This Marap community of 250 people has its own identity, despite overlapping with Highlands peoples as a result of casual urban marriages. In the eviction of the squatter settlements in the larger Section 50 in 2003-2004, the Marap people went back to their home village in good numbers, but in the intervening years have restored themselves as the same community in the same locality.

The Marap / Wagol community is of interest to this paper on varieties of local leadership because they virtually form a branch of a traditional village given a new start and new possibilities in their urban environment, while they are little structured by any of the urban and national leadership forms. Many in Wagol community say regularly, “Mi no inap long vot long dispela eleksen. Ol memba i no mekim wanpela samting long mipela.” (I won’t be voting in this election. The representatives have not done anything for us.) This claim is largely true. Before each election a number of candidates will make regular appearances in Wagol for community discussions, but none of the hopes raised there have ever eventuated, and there is no electricity, no water supply, only a coconut tree as bridge across the creek, and a basic sense of instability that after the 2003 evictions—that there will yet be a “clean-up eviction” for these squatters living as “matter out of place”<sup>iv</sup>.

Again it is the matter of dispute resolution which identifies the leaders in the Wagol community. The acknowledged leadership of this community can be viewed as that of a traditional village big man, Toby, together with two similar but more reticent big men. Toby is 75 years old and has lived in this squatter settlement most of the time over the last thirty years and many of his children were born there. Prior to that he was elected as Village Councillor in his home village of Nangusap,<sup>v</sup> following work as secretary and didiman of Wosera-Gawi LLG. In the course of this work he was sent by the LLG to investigate the work of the cargo cult type movement of Mathias Yaliwan in Yangoru ESP, and as a result of his meeting Mathias, no great following for the movement was found in Marap. He then left Sepik to spend ten years in Rabaul before coming to Wagol. He attributes his adult education to service with St John's Ambulance there. Now summarily he has had three wives and seven children and is a leader in his own right. He worked in cooperation with another man who had more English and more education to get things for the community. However he insists that as Councillor in the home village he knew it was his duty to talk out for the needs of the village in terms of schooling and health, and points to the present course of events back home as the same task that he originally took on. The other requirement is "stretim pipel" which can be taken to mean, supplying their needs including those of dispute resolution.

Toby sees his role in the Wagol community to take swift action when things go wrong – "katim tingting bilong ol hariap" (quickly stop ideas from taking hold). He points out that there have not been big crimes in the community as long as he has been there. When he strikes the bell, people come along to listen to what he has to say, and as a result the police will not descend on the community for no reason without getting advice from him. The police station is only about 700 metres away, and in my experience they pay frequent visits to this settlement to check on reports of marijuana offences and disturbance from the use of locally brewed alcohol called "steam".<sup>vi</sup> However my observation would be that the police try to walk a path between swooping on anti-social activities and giving the community time to sort out their own worries. Toby was happy to be known personally to the Provincial Police Commander. In a recent event in which a car used by the police tipped over nearby and guns and cartridges spilled out, the youth of the settlement took the chance to run off with the items. When recovery of these items was slow, Toby took the police to two houses including his own and said that, if any houses were to be burned in retaliation for this incident, it should be only those two as no one else was involved.

This big man's services are often required by the community to handle boy-girl troubles. When parents complain about what has taken place, Toby will get one of the other elders to come and sit with him to try to decide on these contestations. If the matter is too difficult or involves the nearby Angoram or Highlands communities, then a magistrate will be called for from the Angoram group and the assistance of the Community Assisting Police and Peace Officer and Clerk will be asked for. But generally these officers do not enter into the affairs of the Marap community.

The only other leaders in Wagol would be the Church leaders. For a small area this settlement is blessed with three churches. In addition we might count the occasional appearance of one or the other *glasman* (discernment people). These visitors are attributed with wonderful powers—melting into the floor in order to go and retrieve stolen money, and turning banknotes into newspaper cuttings and back again. The community is always assured that these men are working with the police, but there is usually a sense of urgency that you must pay their asking price now if you want your discernment process to bear fruit, because they are going elsewhere. Needless to say money disappears into their hands with no sign of outcome.

There are also a couple of women leaders in the community who perform with remarkable courage. One evening as I visited the settlement there was a large running fight outside on the highway with police guns firing into the air. Standing at the entrance to the settlement one of the older women was talking strongly and driving the young men back into the community, “It is no business of yours. Don’t bring these fights into our place.” It was a role you would have expected to find a man performing, but this mature Sepik woman was simply taking action on her convictions. There is also another older woman in the community who is attributed with the ability to stop angry youths and take the bushknives out of their hands without being challenged. When this woman was interviewed by DWU students<sup>vii</sup>, she had forthright opinions on all that had happened in the community since the years of the evictions. She claimed only a sewing and baking course with the United Church Women’s Group as her formal education, but was critical of the unfulfilled need for communication between leaders and their people, and wished that there were regular community meetings to get the leaders to do their jobs. In 2005 when police came into neighbouring settlements to burn down some houses, the young men of Marap believed they would be “cleaned up” next, so they fled their settlement leaving the mothers to themselves. The general understanding was that the police would not target the women, only the young men. I was left to help the women to decamp with their belongings to where they felt safe.

### **3. Malmal leaders**

The third community in this reflection is a traditional village section 15km to the North of Madang. Malmal is part of Riwo Village which has a large population approaching 2,000. The Malmal section is some three kilometers further north along the coast from the Riwo centre and attracts the adherence of 400 people. They are not greatly influenced by their proximity to town and hold their own language in the Elementary School and the Primary School and in songs that appear in the Catholic worship. Although a number of men have jobs in the modern sector, many others do not, and the traditional initiation ceremony for boys is still held regularly. Electricity arrived in the village about ten years ago and this has made a difference to lifestyle and knowledge horizons for the future.

Malmal is a bastion of the Catholic Church, and only recently has taken delivery of an Assembly of God Church as rivals. The leadership in the Catholic Church has been drawn up in detail for youth, women, and the Legion

of Mary but only the latter is an effective organization. The Primary and Elementary School were built by the community, and the building project and various organizational needs attract various leaders to help out.

**(a) Sinai Sports Association and governance**

Apart from the faithful Church and school leaders within their outside-based organizations, the most conspicuous set of leaders are those who have undertaken the guidance of the Sinai Sports Association. Although such a sports association might be taken for granted in a large area of active youth, it is really a marvelous accomplishment. When the association begins its work at the start of the year and completes the grand finals at the end of the year, it appears to me as no less than a small miracle that an organization at village level has managed to complete what it set out to do. It is one of the few voluntary structures that work at village level.

The Sinai Sports Association (SSA) puts its starting date at 2003, when they started on their 80 metre field with soccer for the men. Only in 2007 was volleyball started for the women. The motivation for the organization was seeing the excessive use of marijuana and alcohol by the male youth on the weekends. There was a hold-up and rape by some of the boys on the highway three kilometers outside, which impressed the community with the sense of gathering a bad reputation for themselves. There had been a sports association in Alexishafen for some years, 15km to the north. It was felt that the local community of Kananam could not stand losing, and after a brawl in the finals where the referee got bashed, the association was disbanded. In 2001-2002 there was the Bel language Soccer Association covering all those from Madang to Alexishafen, and playing in Yomba Primary School. The local Member of Parliament, Alois Kingsley became involved and the clubs felt that the sport was hopelessly lost in politics. Malmal saw clearly the advantages of having the sports in their own backyard so that travel arrangements were minimized, and four leaders started the organization. I will follow the account given by the Secretary, Beno Sil, whose name is given to the By-Laws of the organization over the names of the others. It is a considerable effort to keep this village organization going, and the By-Laws make this clear since they consist of eight articles of which six are about combating offences that would stop the progress of the games: drugs, alcohol, swearing, fighting and disagreeing with the officials.

In 2008 the SSA embraced 12 clubs of soccer A and B grade teams for the men, with one team each of volleyball for the women. Beno recalls how long it took to ask the interest of the various localities around to participate in the association. The sports field was first a karanas pit providing materials for roadworks, with no more possibility of gardening. They were long waiting for promised help from RD Cannery to bulldoze the field properly. The police were invited to come and watch over disturbances, but in these days of mobile phones, a full time police presence is not felt to be necessary. Peace Officers of the court were invited to stand by, but they lost interest and now the burden of keeping order resides with the organizers. These men are sufficiently motivated



in their controlling activities by thinking that they have to keep going into the next year.

The organizers have no help from outside organizations: they are aware that they have had no coaching clinics or referee workshops. To run a game they take a player from a third party team to be referee, who must be agreed on by the captains, and if contestation arises then the three clubs involved must get together to sort things out. It happens that the referees are mostly the same people volunteering on a regular basis. The women also have a coordinator for each day of play, and for them too a referee is chosen from players of a third-party team. The SSA is aware that if they had money and better training, they could participate in higher level competitions. The RD Cannery has agreed to sponsor them at the national level if they ever reach so high.

The settling of disputes is done in a traditional manner. When the Bulu Waves of Malmal disgraced themselves before the 2007 finals, they were threatened with suspension as a team for the following year. They had to produce K100 as *bel kol moni* (peace in the first instance) and provide *koniak*<sup>viii</sup> drink for all the officials.

Of course things do not go smoothly for the village organization. Although the rules are that the clubs must produce Master Lists of players at the beginning of the year with 11 players and six reserves, by the time the finals were approaching, Bulu Waves found themselves with few A grade players, and the weary B grade players were forced to appear again to play another highly competitive 90 minute game. They were cross and although they were the home team, there was soon fighting and throwing of stones.

The team that does win the yearly competition summons the officials of the SSA for a party. The officials are apologetic about the fact that they must attend and have a few drinks in case the Association will fall apart. RD Cannery donated cartons of tin fish to strengthen players for the Independence Day sports rounds, but unfortunately these dissolved into fighting.

The clubs have to build up commitment to the extent that they pay K250 per club for soccer registration, to which the players contribute or do fund-raising. The money is collected in three exercises and is entrusted to an organization, Youthlink, under the direction of a young businessman and political candidate in Madang town, Brian Kramer. The SSA acknowledges that this method has not defaulted, and they will get money to pay for trophies and do small excursions to play other associations. To find this money the clubs do "Youth Work" whereby a large group of youth might work in your garden for a very reasonable K20 for a whole day's work. Or else the clubs have "happy hours" with *koniak* in the village. Town teams pay insurance for player injuries. In the SSA a youth broke his leg last year. This was fixed up with suitable talk in the village, the paying of public hospital fees and *kastam kaikai* (a meal observing tradition). They remind people that they are not a business.

The SSA is able to exercise sufficient discipline on the players to keep the association going. In anticipation of the year following 2008, two teams had been barred because the captains and players of the teams had not been able to keep themselves together. As the finals approach for this year, the SSA will organize referees to come from town, and they will approach Youthlink to hand over their money for the trophies at the end of the season. Given the number of community organizations that lose their money to one of the organizers, the SSA is doing very well to continue for six years with no loss of funds.

There are two other leadership areas that deserve comment in Malmal: the woman magistrate and the big man.

**(b) The woman magistrate**

A woman from Malmal was appointed in 2007 to the Bel Court Sitting<sup>ix</sup>. Her background was in work as a nursing aid and a Community Health Worker in Modilon Hospital for ten years. After that she took up a position as Women's group President in the Alexishafen Catholic Parish and was a member of various activities involving that role, such as a Women Empowering Women program. As village court magistrate she cares for six wards and deals with cases concerning customary land disputes and violence in the family and village. She is a strongly outspoken young woman who believes it is time for women to be heard on matters of culture, personality and identity. Sometimes she advises that the nature of the matter requires traditional methods in the exchange of food or money. More troublesome cases are sent to the Madang District Court.

**(c) Traditional leadership and Sanguma**

One of the big men in Malmal unashamedly recommends the virtues of sorcery and sanguma<sup>x</sup> (witchcraft). As it was observed in former times, a repeat offender would be summoned to the gathering of men in the ceremonial house and asked if he had any intention of ending his offensive behaviour. If the elders found the answer to this question to be in the negative, then the offender's leavings would be gathered up and brought into the ceremonial house and given to a known sorcery expert. These items could be suspended above a fire or thrown into a stream where crocodiles or fish would eat them. The offender was thus given a month of suffering as a warning to repent. The big man was confident that this was an effective way of bringing justice into the community. If it was resolved that the offender was to die, a team of men would go to the mountain places in the bush and bring down a sanguma. These men would take the victim and remove his spirit, replacing his insides with rubbish and small spears that traveled to his heart. After a further warning, the offender would die by drowning or snake-bite. If repentance was possible, the community would gather around the sick man and, while holding a bamboo containing water, he could speak out about disputes and apologize for offences where possible. Finally the sick person is washed with the water for restoration. The big man felt that this was still an effective set of measures in the community, but the actions of sorcery and sanguma were hidden.

## Conclusion

The three communities we have chosen for a survey on leadership have diverse needs and find themselves in differing stages of development. Malmal is a traditional village and relies on the presence of traditional big men, but they gather liveliness and cohesion in these modern times by an active group of sports leaders. Wagol is an insecure floating population based on a home village in the Sepik and is much in need of the services of some traditional big men, but these men rely heavily on frequent reporting to the police for intervention. Sisiak is a transitional set of village-based communities who allow little place to traditional big men, but who focus on dispute resolution through a small college of magistrates whose role is less to administer the law than to provide a forum where settlements can be worked out and announced.

Discounting the small pay for village court officials, I find it remarkable that all of these leaders are volunteers, and that most of them have been faithful to their tasks over many years. They do seek rewards and talk of the necessity of feeding their children, but these rewards are unstructured and unpredictable as gifts. In other areas, such as with the Community Assisting Police in Nuigo, Wewak, the volunteer nature of the work was useful and was sustained for a long time, but it was not held to be a good long term plan.

Is this a pattern to be recommended to Lady Carol Kidu for service delivery in the whole range of Community Development needs? On the one hand nobody will claim that payment of public servants guarantees service delivery at this time in PNG's history. But quality of service, the stimulation to activity in those places where nothing is happening, and a measure of control when good policy is to be implemented—all of these indicate the need for planned rewards and checks and balances. Certainly leadership is not something that can be made to happen simply by paying money. But communities produce their leaders and do take care of their own needs when given a chance.<sup>xi</sup> Does this speak to Democratic Governance? These volunteers are leaders who are highly responsive to their communities.

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<sup>i</sup> *Saientuo* in Yangoru language, meaning something like “foundational spirit man”.

<sup>ii</sup> According to Hubert Suke, magistrate of Sisiak 2.

<sup>iii</sup> “Say no to rape compo: Police. The Royal Papua New Guinea Constabulary is firm on prosecuting those who commit crimes of rape.” *The National* 2<sup>nd</sup> October 2008, p.1.

<sup>iv</sup> This is the term used by Mary Douglas as a definition of “dirt”.

<sup>v</sup> Nangusap is an easy one hour walk down from Marap Village along the Pangan River running into the Sepik River.

<sup>vi</sup> In earlier times big men in Sisiak would state simply that they were “police informers”. Although this seemed like a dangerous admission to my ears, what was meant was an indication that they brought the community’s troubles to the attention of the police. Nevertheless the accepted Tok Pisin title for such people was the “five bucks man”—those who received blood money for putting troublesome youth into the hands of police. In these days of mobile phones, such an identity is more diffuse.

<sup>vii</sup> Schola Chapok and Joyce Maragas interviewed her on 18<sup>th</sup> August 2008.

<sup>viii</sup> *Koniak* is local Tok Pisin for the Pacific drink, *kava*, squeezed out of roots and drunk as a mild soporific. I can only agree with Governor Albert Hahl who found in Pohnpei that it tasted poorly and had little effect on those outside the culture circle.

<sup>ix</sup> Information from interview by Schola Chapok and Joyce Maragas with Francesca Duadak at Malmal, 26<sup>th</sup> August 2008.

<sup>x</sup> Some of this material was reported by Albert Arijah from interviews in Malmal 4<sup>th</sup> August 2008.

<sup>xi</sup> Rhoda Metraux investigated Sepik River leadership in the 1930s. Her findings on traditional ways shed some light on the modern urban ways for Sepik peoples. “Whatever a man chooses to be or do, he must prove himself in the eyes of his elders and his peers. Even the man who inherits the right to a position of authority has to win it before he acquires power. In this sense there is a continual balancing of symmetry and complementarity, as the idea was worked out by Bateson. It is important to bear in mind that there are two paths to eminence in this society. They are complementary to each other insofar as men are born to walk on the one path, while the other is taken by men who choose to develop a talent that is highly valued.”

### **Author**

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