Social transformation and children of interethnic marriages in Dzifasing, Papua New Guinea

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1. Introduction

This ethnography is an account of children's place in social life affected by political and economic processes that are transforming the social relations among an unusually multiethnic population which occupies a village ethnonymically identified as Wampar, in Morobe Province, Papua New Guinea. It examines processes of differentiation, and the practices of inclusion and exclusion they provoke wrought by changing social and economic conditions. It is an exploration of the constraints and possibilities that shape outcomes for differentially situated inhabitants of the village under conditions decisively inflected by larger socio-economic forces. It is, accordingly, also a description of the shaping of categories and of relations in a locality undergoing transformative pressures on a day-by-day basis. It focuses on the village of Dzifasing in the Markham Valley and how children of intermarriages between Wampar and non-Wampar negotiate the effects of the transformations that have already informed the very formation of their sense of place and personhood.

My thesis charts the way cultural categories and the practices in which they are realized are used and/or transformed in deployment under circumstances that are subject to historical contingencies and dynamics of power relations. In particular, I examine how cultural definitions of ethnicity relate to marriage patterns and economic transformations. Recent socio-economic changes in Dzifasing had a major impact on social relations and changed perspectives for children growing up in Dzifasing. These changes, however, were not equally felt by all children, as the degree and impact of these transformations were shaped and patterned by the specificities of the children and their social network.

Ethnicity is a concept that is not very prevalent in discussions about social forms in Papua New Guinea. It is often mentioned that Papua New Guineans understand difference not through rigid ethnic categories, and that they instead always find ways of relating with each other. Marilyn Strathern (2010), going back to her analysis of Hagen migrants to Port Moresby in the 1970s, writes that they would classify people they encountered by their area of origin, but that this did not result in a pitting of collectivities against one another. These names were instead just used to "signify the order of connection with oneself" (Strathern 2011:95), as people always perceive each other as related with each other, inhabiting different, but morally analogous communities. Reed (2004), in his account of prisoners in Bomana prison in Port Moresby, likewise stresses that names of origin are used, and that they involve recognition of oneness and an obligation to support each other. But these terms are elastic (as the term *wantok* might be used for people of the same language group, but it might just as well be used for people coming from the same province or region), and there are competing solidarity groups, structured along the lines of church membership, cell block residence or gang membership, that might take precedence. In addition, the obligations connected to these solidarity groups are frequently criticized as burdensome, and prisoners attempt to make friends beyond these groups to escape these obligations.

Accounts of Melanesian relationality in different contexts also put an emphasis on differentiation, otherness, or the production of difference as a creative endeavor, and see it in a mostly positive light. Stasch (2009), for example, highlighted the importance of otherness in creating social bonds among the Korowai, and states that "otherness is basic to relations and . . . relations consist centrally of contradictory composites of distance or closeness" (2009: 266).

What often seems to be neglected in these deliberations is that there is also a negative side to these processes of distinction and differentiation, as they can result in exclusion. Furthermore, such processes of differentiation do not happen in a vacuum but are patterned and affected by power relations. In this thesis, I will show that under specific circumstances, namely an original population in control of desired resources, increasing immigration and interethnic marriages, and socio-economic pressures resulting from interactions with a capitalist economy, something akin to ethnic differentiation and ethnic identity can indeed arise in Papua New Guinea.

In 2009, I went to Papua New Guinea to do fieldwork in Dzifasing as part of a larger and collaborative project on interethnic relations and transcultural kinship among the Wampar.[1] In this project, my task was to examine childhood, and the socialization of children from interethnic marriages, to fill in a remaining gap in this still largely unstudied topic amid an already rich body of ethnography in Papua New Guinea, and in particular in studies of the Wampar that Hans Fischer has opened up since his first fieldwork in the Markham Valley in 1958.

The thematic focus on the lives of children of interethnic marriages in contexts of culture change and interculturality is well suited in the case of the Wampar. The Wampar territory is strategically located near the city of Lae, a major urban and trading center, it is a prime location for agricultural and commercial activities, and it has a relatively good infrastructure. The Wampar villages lie within the plains of the Markham Valley and the surrounding foothills, west of Lae. Lae is the second largest city of Papua New Guinea and an industrial hub with a major seaport for international trade. To reach Lae from the national capital of Port Moresby takes a 45-minute plane ride, landing at Nadzab Airport, which is built on Wampar territory. The Highlands Highway that connects Lae to the highlands region and to the northern coastal town of Madang passes through a number of Wampar villages, Dzifasing among them. Munun, the first village along the Highlands Highway, is just about 25km away from Lae, and Dzifasing 65 km (or 40 miles).

[1] The project was funded by the Swiss National Science Foundation and included three Wampar collaborative projects directed by Bettina Beer, through the universities of Lucerne and Hamburg. The two other sub-projects are Beer's "Transcultural kinship relations among the Wampar in the village of Gabsongkeg," and Hans Fischer's "Oral tradition and linguistic indicators of interethnic relations among the Wampar."

Various aspects of social, cultural and economic changes among the Wampar since the turn of the 20th century have already been studied in detail. Some of Hans Fischer's works offer a historical depth on social transformation among the Wampar with a description of the first encounters between the Wampar and German explorers, colonial officers and missionaries, and the early years of the Lutheran mission among the Wampar (Fischer 1992), as well as an account on the pre-colonial Wampar based on reports by German missionaries in the 1920s and 1930s (Fischer 1978). Prior to my fieldwork in 2009, there already was a body of work on Wampar religion (Fischer 1987, 1994, 2002); economy (Fischer 1996; Lütkes 1999, 2000); material culture (Fischer 1998, 2002); language and oral tradition (Fischer 1994, 2000, 2006); conflict settlement (Fischer 1975); the senses (Beer 2007); and settlement patterns and social structure (Fischer 1975, 1996; Lütkes 1997).

In-migration of men and women from the nearby city and from more distant rural communities to the Wampar territory, particularly through intermarriage, has also been well documented. The resulting marriage patterns and sociodemographic changes have been analyzed in at least three of the eight Wampar villages, namely in Gabantsidz (Kramp 1999), Gabsongkeg (Beer 2006a; Beer and Schroedter 2014; Fischer 1975; Schulze, Fischer & Lang 1997), and Ngasawapum (Lienert 1980). The implications of intermarriages on ethnic identity, interethnic relations, kinship, gender relations, and siblingship have been studied by Beer (2006a, 2006b, 2008, 2010a, 2010b, 2015) based on her work in the village of Gabsongkeg. There is a general trend towards increasing interethnic marriages in Papua New Guinea pushed by urbanization, social mobility, the inflation of bride price in many groups and a tendency towards elite endogamy (Marksbury 1993: 15, Rosi and Zimmer-Tamakoshi 1993: 194). What has not been accounted for in the literature on the Wampar and on other groups in Papua New Guinea, however, are the situation of the children of interethnic marriages and their perspectives and positionings in the context of changing socio-economic conditions, which I do for my study.[2]

Among the Wampar, Lütkes (1999) already described some views about children in general and their labor contribution in her study on notions of work and economic life in Tararan, another Wampar village. Elsewhere in Papua New Guinea, Florence Weiss (1981) applied a child-focused approach in an exceptional study among the Iatmul children on the Sepik and accounted for their views and participation in their local economy. Beer's (2006a, 2010b) study on interethnic marriages provides insights for my study on the complexity of social relations as she described the formation of networks of kin relations that extend across sociocultural boundaries. Beer (2010b: 146–151) refers to this as "transcultural kinship," a concept that I extend and detail in my dissertation. Following Lo Coco, Inguglia, and Pace (2005), I emphasize the role of the immediate network of social relationships in their particular sociocultural and historical context that shape children's attitudes, such as ethnic identification. I thus account for the views of children growing up in such a context of

[2] An exception is the M.A. thesis by Hermes (2014), who looked at urban youth and their sense of identity.

transcultural relations as they make sense of their cultural identity amid contestations and ambiguities.

In the course of my fieldwork in the village of Dzifasing, I pursued the task of examining the specific circumstances of children from interethnic marriages whose social inclusion among the Wampar is contested. What I saw in the village, and from my earliest conversations onwards, suggested significant changes to previous patterns of social differentiation and stratification, and a turn towards a much more ethnicized understanding of identity. I wanted to understand these patterns and their transformation as aspect of the conjuncture that villagers are themselves talking about.

Upon arriving in Dzifasing, I soon learnt from the villagers, both Wampar and non-Wampar, parents and children alike, of recent events that affected all of them and had a huge impact on their social, economic, and political relations. The mainstay of their local economy, the production and sale of betelnuts, had disappeared after a betel palm blight had destroyed their betel palm orchards in 2007. This was a dramatic change, as it happened in a relatively short period of time. The end of the betelnut economy was a topic that the villagers, including the children of interethnic marriages, continuously talked about when describing their current situation. The intensity and extent of the impact emanating from that dramatic change are however differentially distributed across the variously situated population of Dzifasing. After the end of the local betelnut economy, a shift took place towards more capital- and labor-intensive forms of economic activities that also require the use of a larger land area, mainly in the form of cacao and cattle farming. In this new economic context of production, power differentials and competing interests are articulated no longer just in terms of differences between those who may have more and those who may have less productive land, but more acutely between those who have rights to land and those who are excluded from using it. These rights are increasingly framed along ideas of descent and ethnicity, and it is now being argued that only "Wampar" could have rights to land. The questions on who is "Wampar," and thus who has undisputed rights to access and use land, increasingly defined as due to descent from a "Wampar" father, are now openly discussed in public.

Children of interethnic marriages are at the center of these contestations, specifically those whose father is non-Wampar. Many in Dzifasing spoke of chasing the *yaner* (the Wampar term for non-Wampar) away from the Wampar territory, as they are seen as a threat to the economic future, as competing for resources, especially land. Community leaders, meaning the male leaders of lineages and including those occupying official positions, held meetings where they discussed the threat of the increasing presence of non-Wampar men in their village. Among those community "rules" that they decided on were that they would no longer allow recently in-married non-Wampar men and their families to stay in the village. The prohibition effectively extended to preventing the non-Wampar from planting cacao. The rulings, however, have not been turned into what a local village official calls a

community "law" but remain "advisory." Nevertheless, such conditions have immediate effects on the ordering of social relations. Children of non-Wampar men are keenly aware of their unstable future in comparison to their "Wampar" counterparts. Falling into the categorization of non-Wampar has suddenly become a matter of importance affecting the children's life-trajectories.

The differentiation between those being considered "Wampar" and those that are not has become an urgent issue across a population that has long been enmeshed in polyethnic kin relations. While in the field, I realized that I had to adapt my original research plan and put added emphasis on the socio-economic forces of change that inform the processes of differentiation. As I was writing this thesis, I decided to turn to the work of Eric Wolf to provide the analytical lens I needed to situate relationships, the notions on "Wampar" identity, and the practices of inclusion and exclusion that I encountered in the field. In the frame of Eric Wolf, the term "Wampar" and other linked sets of cultural categories and repertoires are among those "perilous ideas" (1994) which I examine in situating identifications, differentiations, the exclusion, and the contest for inclusion. In the Wolfian analysis, terms and ideas on who and/or what is Wampar, are not to be taken for granted as "givens, integrated by some inner essence" (Wolf 1984: 396), but are linked to wider historical and contemporary relations of power with differential impact on people's lives, as with the children of interethnic marriages among the Wampar. Wolf cautions anthropologists on the danger of essentializing group identity wherein notions of "culture," "ethnicity," and "race" are taken as bounded and unchanging. To counter this, he emphasizes the need to look at processes of social organization, such as those involving social identification and differentiation, and their outcomes, instead of assuming a pre-existing, primordial identity that defines outcomes. Social relations are about processes of organizing relationships rather than about given and static sociocultural categories. Relationships are "possessing force" and they "subject human populations to their imperatives, drive people into social alignments, and impart a directionality to the alignments produced" (Wolf 1982: 386).

To Wolf, what is critical and what needs to be unraveled in the processes of ordering social and cultural life is the workings of power. The embeddedness of power in social relations and how it operates relationally within and between social groups, the state and other social institutions, in local and broader contexts through time, underline Wolf's concept of culture. Culture and other social categories of relations are not static labels but are historically constituted notions, formed through interconnected processes, because social relations are not removed from the "economic, political, and ideological contexts in which they are embedded" (Wolf 1982: 9).

Wolf builds on the mode of production concept of Karl Marx[3] in emphasizing the interrelated political and economic processes in the production and transformation of social relations. Wolf qualifies that mode of production is "a specific, historically occurring set of social relations through which labor is deployed to wrest energy from nature by means of tools, skills, organization, and knowledge" (1982: 75). He deploys the Marxian concept of "social labor"[4] as this "makes it possible to conceptualize the major ways in which human beings organize their production" (ibid.).

> The concept of mode of production aims, rather, at revealing the political and economic relationships that underlie, orient, and constrain interaction. . . . [It] calls attention to major variations in political and economic arrangements and allows us to visualize their effect. The use of the concept enables us, above all, to inquire into what happens in the encounters of differently constituted systems of interactions -- societies -- predicated upon different modes of production (Wolf 1982: 76-77).

Wolf (1982), without intending to be exhaustive, distinguishes three different modes of productions: a capitalist, a tributary and a kin-ordered mode of production. The capitalist mode of production is based on classes, some of which control the means of production and hire labor power, while others sell their labor power and produce surplus accorded to the owners of the means of production. In the tributary mode, a class of commoners supports a class of nobles through the paying of tribute extracted by power and domination, while the kin-ordered mode uses metaphors of kinship in order to mobilize social labor and distinguishes between those who "belong" and those who do not. For my own thesis, the kin-ordered and the capitalist mode of production are central, as the Wampar involvement with the colonial and post-colonial economy corresponds to an interaction between kin-ordered and capitalist modes of production.

Wolf thus expands Marxian concepts and methods in the anthropological analysis of social relations and culture change and showed the imperative for local and micro-level analysis of social, political, and economic processes in relation to the larger and global levels and vice-versa. Wolf's concept of culture as a "series of processes that construct, reconstruct, and dismantle cultural materials" (1982: 387) entails an "ethnography in the field and cultural analysis" with the lens of "historically-informed political economy and political economic history" (Wolf 1997: xxiv).

Wolf's (1984, 1999, 2001) approach on culture unravels the entanglement of asymmetrical power relations and shows that culture is a mutable process characterized by conflicts and

[3] Wolf clarifies that his adaptation of the Marxian concept is based on its "capacity to underline the strategic relationships involved in the deployment of social labor by organized human pluralities" (Wolf 1982: 76).

[4] Wolf follows Marx's distinction between "work" and "labor" with the latter as "always social, for it is always mobilized and deployed by an organized social plurality. . . . Work represents the activities of individuals, singly or in groups, expending energy to produce energy. But labor and the labor process for him are a social phenomenon, carried on by human beings bonded to one another in society" (1982: 74).

contradictions that in turn inform the organization of social life. Culture is about struggles of power played out in social relations. As Yengoyan (2001: x) put it, for Wolf "culture is fully embedded in power relations, nothing is neutral in modes of control, and, thus, social-structural relations are all marked by a differential defined by who controls what and who controls whom." Configurations of relations of power find symbolic expressions, as through language, discourses, and practices. Wolf (2001: 184) argues that "neither nations nor ethnic entities were primordial creations; both were constructed under historically definable social, economic, and political conditions." The deployment of ethnicity for differentiation is no accident of history when asymmetrical relations of power are enmeshed in the process (Cole and Wolf 1974; Wolf 1994, 1999, 2001).[5] On ethnicity, Wolf emphasizes that

> claims to ethnicity are not the same everywhere and at all times. They have a history, and that history -- differentially stressed in different situations and at different points of conjunction -- feeds back in various ways upon the ways in which people understand who they are and where they might be at any given historical point in time (Wolf 1994: 7).

As I show in this study, "Wampar" and other linked sociocultural categories for identification and differentiation are constructed and deployed in specific historical junctures of social relations. In describing entailed asymmetrical relations of power, the processes of differentiation and exclusion, and the variable constraints and possibilities for children of interethnic marriages, I draw upon Wolf's concept of power as enwoven in many aspects of social relations. Wolf draws his inspiration from Norbert Elias in framing power as "an aspects of all relations among people" (Wolf 1999:4).[6]

Power, according to Wolf, is distinguishable into four modalities (1990; 1999: 5). Wolf summarizes the first three modes -- which are on the level of the individual; interaction; and organization -- before elaborating the fourth mode, the structural power. For Wolf, the

[5] Wolf with John W. Cole (1974) also engages the theoretical approach of Fredrik Barth (1969) on processes of social boundaries to make the case on the indispensability of historical and wider contexts and the accounting of power differentials within and between social groups.

[6] Norbert Elias is a sociologist known for his book "The Civilizing Process" (1982) and his advancement for relational and processual sociology. For a summary on these concepts, see http://www.norberteliasfoundation.nl/network/concepts.php. Wolf (1999: 4) cited Elias' (1971) emphasis on the nature of human relations, as defined by interdependency and constituted by "more or less fluctuating balances of power."

dimension of structural power[7] is what has been critically missing in the analysis of human conditions and social relations.[8]

> One is power as the attribute of the person, as potency or capability. . . . Speaking of power in this sense draws attention to the endowment of persons in the play of power, but tells us little about the form and direction of that play. The second kind of power can be understood as the ability of an ego to impose its will on an *alter*, in social action, in interpersonal relations. This draws attention to the sequences of interactions and transactions among people, but it does not address the nature of the arena in which the interactions go forward. That comes into view more sharply when we focus on power in the third mode, as power that controls the settings in which people may show forth their potentialities and interact with others. . . . [It] calls attention to the instrumentalities of power and is useful for understanding how "operating units" circumscribe the actions of others within determinate settings. I call this third kind of power tactical or organizational power. But there is still a fourth mode of power, power that not only operates within settings or domains but that also organizes and orchestrates the settings themselves, and that specifies the distribution and direction of energy flows. . . . [It is the] power that structures the political economy. I will refer to this kind of power as structural power. This term rephrases the older notion of "the social relations of production," and is intended to emphasize power to deploy and allocate social labor. These governing relations do not come into view when you think of power primarily in interactional terms. Structural power shapes the social field of action so as to render some kinds of behavior possible, while making others less possible or impossible (Wolf 1990: 586-587).

It is through these modes of power that I describe the changing social relations in Dzifasing and the specificities of the circumstances of children of interethnic marriages as they negotiate the effects of the ensuing processes of differentiation for inclusion and exclusion.

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[7] Wolf draws on Marxian concept of social relations of production with a recognition of Foucault's concept of governmentality. "In Marxian terms, this refers to the power to deploy and allocate social labor. It is also the modality of power addressed by Michel Foucault when he spoke of 'governance,' to mean the exercise of 'action upon action'" (Wolf 1999: 5). See Gledhill (2005) on the relevance of Wolf's concept of structural power for understanding our modern world.

[8] Wolf challenges the "takes" of the human conditions that are devoid of the multi-level dynamics of power relations in his critical appraisal of the intellectual history of anthropology and other disciplines: "For some time I have thought that much good work in the human sciences falls short of its mark because it is unwilling or unable to come to grips with how social relations and cultural configurations intertwine with considerations of power. Anthropologists have relied heavily on notions that see cultural coherence as the working out of cultural-linguistic logics or aesthetics. As a result, they rarely have asked how power structures the contexts in which these promptings manifest themselves or how power is implicated in the reproduction of such patterns. . . . Yet if anthropologists have favored a view of culture without power, other social analysts have advanced a concept of 'ideology' without culture, taking it as ideas advanced by elites or ruling classes in defense of their dominance, without attention to the specificities of cultural configurations" (Wolf 1999: ix).

I deploy these interconnected modes of power with a nod to Wolf's emphasis on structural power for it "entails an ideology that assigns distinctions among people in terms of the positions they occupy in the mobilization of social labor" (Wolf 1999:15). Wolf defines ideology as "a complex of ideas selected to underwrite and represent a particular project of installing, maintaining, and aggrandizing power in social relationships" (ibid. 55).

Ideology in that sense can also include notions on what and/or who is Wampar, as such notions structure the processes of social identification and differentiation between "Wampar" and non-Wampar, those who have rights to land and none, who can plant cacao and not, and who can reside in the Wampar territory and not down the generations. It is in this same vein that I describe the variability of the children's positionings and notions on "cultural identity" or "ethnicity." I present the children's perspectives[9] in the way they make sense of their identity and negotiate constraints and possibilities for their future.

I use the terms "child" and "children" to mean social beings who are culturally historically structured and structuring subjects.[10] The social category "child" or its collective form, "children," and the concept of childhood are also potentially among those "perilous ideas" outlined by Wolf (1994). The perils, in the Wolfian sense, have registered in the post-modernist turn in the 1980s and 1990s that put emphasis on children as social actors with agency, and on their "voices" and participation in research. This trend is variably known as "new childhood studies," or the "new paradigm" in the sociology of childhood (James and Prout 1997; James, Jenks and Prout 1998).[11] With the push to correct a claimed topical neglect and partial framing of childhood in the Piagetian developmental model, this "new" approach has ironically failed to escape the dichotomous framing and essentializing loop it intended to avoid and thus was countered by critics, across disciplines, as not "new," and being theoretically and analytically wanting with its abstractions (Ba 2018, 2021; Ryan 2008; Spyrou et al. 2018; Tisdall and Punch 2012). Among other anthropologists, David Lancy (2012b) gives a scorching criticism on this "new paradigm" with the promotion of what he refers to as the "agency movement" in research that reverts to being ethnocentric, classist, hegemonic, and conflating advocacy with scholarship to the detriment of theory and

[9] Mayall (2008) prefers the term "knowledge" than "perspective" in highlighting what she qualifies as the temporality of understanding. I use the term, perspective, to account for the specificity and variability of understanding through social space and time.

[10] Bourdieu's theory of practice (1990) and concept of the habitus directed attention to the cultural production of identities and relationships. An action-oriented approach is one among other conceptual approaches on the questions of structure and agency. See Majmunder (2021) for an explication on the significance of the anthropological perspective in informing the theoretical debates on the relationship of these two concepts, where agency is seen to be "in a range of relationships with structure" (Ibid.:161).

[11] About a decade later, James (2007) concurred on the limitations and epistemological problems of the "new paradigm" in privileging authenticity of children's voices outside of social, political and economic contexts of social relations.

practice. Montgomery (2000) who also disputes the novelty of the new paradigm, joins Lancy (2012a) in pointing out the oversight by its proponents on the rich body of anthropological literature and ethnographic studies about children and childhood (Lancy 2008, 2016; LeVine 2007) and youth studies (Bucholtz 2002), since the beginning of anthropology as a discipline, including matters relating to children's agency.[12] Cross-cultural studies, as drawn on the anthropological holistic and integrative approach sensitive to contextual variations and complexity (Bock et al. 2008), destabilize ethnocentrism and the exclusionary white WEIRD[13] bias in social and behavioral studies (Clancy and Davis 2019, Henrich et al. 2010), including those about child development and socialization (Lancy 2010). Furthermore, the "new paradigm" created conflicting junctures between a universalizing frame on agency and voices of children as a condition to protecting their rights (e.g., as found in the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child) and questions of morality and vulnerability, as exemplified in cases of children's participation in war and being caught up in armed conflict (Rosen 2007, 2012), and those of children's learning and education, economic participation, and labour (Lancy 2018, Burr 2002).

The cultural configuration of a "child" is part of the interconnected social, economic and political processes of organizing relationships.[14] Thus, a "child" is defined by relationships in particular social and historical contexts. As a relational category, it is structured in specific cultural contexts. In my study, while the Wampar categorize a person through the life cycle, a child is not bound by age-based definitions associated with the Euro-American structure of relations and international conventions on children's rights that limits its classification to 18 years and under (UNCRC 1989), or as reflected in the PNG government adaptation of the term "youth" as between the ages of 12 and 25 years (Noble et al. 2011). As I would find out during fieldwork, the category of young people among the Wampar defies such age-bracketing norms. The range of ages of children of interethnic marriages in my case studies is wide and goes beyond the state and international governing norms. Individuals with whom I engaged in more in-depth biographical interviews are from their mid-teens to thirty-

[12] In response to Hirschfeld's (2002) claim on anthropology's aversion and neglect on children, and on their lives and agency, Lancy (2012a) levelled this critique with a schematic way of organizing the vast literature on childhood to give a fuller picture on the anthropology of childhood.

[13] WEIRD stands for "western, educated, industrialized, rich, democratic" (Henrich et al. 2010). Clancy and Davis (2019) contextualize this concept by highlighting the whiteness of the research environment and male dominance.

[14] The meanings and values attached to children are variable in a particular place and time, and likewise informed by political and economic processes, such as in capitalist social relations where forms and issues of inequality extend to children (Montgomery and Burr 2003; Qvutrop 2005, 2009). Studies on inequalities in childhood show links with the global political economy, with the forms of contemporary globalization (Penn 2005) and global capitalism (Katz 2004, Scheper-Hughes and Sargent 1998), and how social class shapes the qualitative difference in child-rearing practices of parents and the outcomes that are skewed against children in working class and poorer families compared to their middle-class counterparts (Lareau 2003).

years old. A child of a parent, no matter what age she or he is, will always be referred to as a child of that parent. Being a child of a non-Wampar father, however, has become a critical dimension of identity among other social categories of relations, such as kinship, ethnicity, gender, birth order, age and generation.[15]

These are among the social categories that figure in the process of differentiation and stratification. Wolf's approach to cultural analysis is apt in situating the varied experiences of children of various sociocultural backgrounds. It enables me to also unravel the internal differences among the generations of children in Dzifasing. Wolf's conceptualization of culture offers an incisive analytical frame towards understanding processes of social relations and transformation in the case of Dzifasing and it allows me to examine the interconnected processes of social differentiation, of inclusion and exclusion, by which children of interethnic marriages are entangled with.

1.1 Research Questions

In following Wolf's historically oriented political economy approach in describing the differentiated social situation and perspectives of children, I raise the following questions:

(a) What are the political and economic conditions and processes that transform social relations among the Wampar in Dzifasing?

(b) What are the effects of the changing socio-economic conditions on the variously situated population in Dzifasing in general, and in particular on children of interethnic marriages?

(c) What sociocultural categories of differentiation are being used for children of interethnic marriages and how do these categories figure in the processes of inclusion and exclusion?

[15] Generation is a key concept used by anthropologists in examining many aspects of socio-cultural life and is closely linked with the operationalization of culture in the process of transmission and social change, but, until recently, has "never taken a center stage in anthropological ethnography or theory" (Lamb 2015: 853). In linking generational analysis with childhood studies, Alanen (2001, 2003, 2009) argues that the concept of generation is likewise a social construction that is constituted by a relational and structuring process of social positions, such as those categorized as "children" in relation to "adults," and thereby cannot be separated from issues of power. In the sociological study of childhood, Mayall and Zeiher (2003) emphasize the importance of taking into account the kinds of interactions and interdependencies forming between children and adults in order to understand the children's perspectives and life situation. Kertzer (1983) also argues for a relational and historically-informed concept of generation, as he outlines its four commonly used meanings namely, as those based on descent in kinship, as cohort, as life stage, and as historical period which are simultaneously used or in combination of any of them.

(d) What are the constraining and enabling processes for these children, and how do they negotiate these constraints and opportunities for their inclusion, both among their Wampar and their non-Wampar kin network, and to pursue other aspirations in life?

1.2 Ethnographic Methods

I was in the field between June 2009 and January 2010 with Tobias Schwoerer, a fellow anthropologist. I had the advantage of already being conversant in Tok Pisin after having a previous fieldwork experience in Papua New Guinea three years earlier in the Eastern Highlands, when I accompanied and assisted Schwoerer for his dissertation fieldwork. The experience facilitated my quick immersion into everyday interaction with the people in Dzifasing. While in the field, I combined a range of basic ethnographic methods -- participating in the daily lives of people in the community, observing, interviewing, conducting a census and writing fieldnotes -- and adapted specific techniques for my young research interlocutors, as those who are of elementary school-age. I modified the methods to form part of an iterative process that I have also learned and used in my previous field research experiences in the Philippines and in the Eastern Highlands of Papua New Guinea.

To access the perspectives of younger children of varying social backgrounds I used mixed methods that also approximate the approach of doing research *with* children (Christensen and James 2008).[16] Doing research *with* children means that as a researcher, my interaction with the children forms part of the social context of the children's lives that I encounter during fieldwork. It entails reflexivity, recognizing that the children's social action is also influenced by the relationship that transpired between them and me. Gaining insights about the socio-cultural contexts of the children entailed conducting participant-observation in various social spaces and over a considerable period of time. There were, of course, many practical issues that I had to deal with, among them the considerable vastness of Dzifasing and the distances between several hamlets in the valley where children of various backgrounds reside. The supplementary methods that I deployed and adapted in the field included storytelling, picture-book reading, looking at photos, playing games, singing action songs, drawing, writing narratives, using worksheets, and group activities (Hill, Gallagher and Whiting 2009; O'Kane 2000; Punch 2002). These particular methods are intended to be "research-friendly" or "person-friendly" instead of the patronizing term "child-friendly" (Punch 2002: 337) with the caveat that "it is misleading to talk about 'child' and 'adult' research methods, since the suitability of particular methods depends as much on the research context as on the research subject's stage in the life course" (Ibid.: 338).

[16] This approach is a departure from a dominantly biological-centric developmental model, which means it views children as not passive, incompetent and in need to be still "socialized" to become enculturated adults. However, in adopting some of the ethnographic methods laid out from this approach, they are not deployed within the problematic analytical conceptualization on children's agency as discussed above.

Building rapport is an intuitive thing to do in any fieldwork, and so I consciously made sure that children of various ages see me as exceptionally friendly and approachable. I also wanted to make the interactions flow with ease and for them to enjoy the time spent not only with their cohorts but also with me. As a researcher from a different country, my presence in the field already made me an unusual person in their midst, which also attracted curiosity from many children. I began fieldwork with added apprehensions about possible constraints with the generational difference, which I have been fully aware of throughout my research. I related and interacted with my younger interlocutors without pretending that the multi-layered differences of our identities and social backgrounds did not matter, just as I did with the older and parent generations. I found and created opportunities to meet and interact with children and young people outside of their immediate home environment, when they were not surrounded by their parents and other adult kin members. This included walking with them on their way around the community, joining them wherever I saw them sitting around or playing, playing games with them, exchanging stories as I encouraged them to ask me anything they wanted to know, inviting them to visit me at our house, cooking with them, and walking closely with them while in the company of other older people like when going to the gardens.

I was fairly successful in gaining good contact with a number of children of various ages. When I contracted head lice, for example, my host family quickly commented that I must have gotten it from the small children. In fact, young children, mainly girls, did sometimes check my hair just as they did with each other. I remembered a few of them saying that at times they intentionally pass on the lice to their cohorts so they could de-louse each other, and that might have been what happened in my case too. Some tried to braid my hair, which they said was too slippery and would not hold firm like theirs. The rapport I developed with young and older children, boys and girls, calmed my early apprehensions, but I strove to maintain a constant awareness of what I am and what I may be to my young and older interlocutors in order to retain it. I nevertheless recognize the limits and possibilities of my approach.

I made a concentrated effort to also meet and speak to secondary school students who were attending boarding schools outside of the Wampar territory. They only came back to the village during school breaks and holidays. I initially met with some of them, who informed me of their other cohorts. I managed to make a short visit in two secondary schools where in one of them I get to observe a school event and aspects of their campus life, including their living arrangements. I also met some of the students' friends and schoolmates from other provinces. Together with my assistant and four other young people, we started planning about meeting with any interested secondary school students, and also with other young people in the community that no longer go to school. We decided to hold a group event during the next school break, which was in September, the last break before the end of the school year. My interest in getting to know more young people coincided with the interest of my assistant and the four cohorts to also do a "community youth"

gathering so they could take this opportunity to have a time together and talk among themselves about issues that concern them. We had more than a month to get the word around to reach as many young people as possible. In the end, more than 40 young women and men participated in a whole day group activity held in one of the churches with the approval of the church elders, and they were very interested in engaging with me and sharing their situation.

In addition to hanging out with children, I also visited the elementary and the primary school in the community, and the Sunday schools of the three larger churches. This gave me access to children who resided outside the circle of homes that I initially visited. Indeed, the number of children I interacted with snowballed through these moves. After having successfully gone through the protocols of introductions with key members of the school community board, administrators and teachers, I took the opportunity of being able to extend my field research in the school setting. While the school is governed by additional layers of state social structures, it is, however, tightly interwoven in the everyday cultural and political life of the local population. I made visits to the school when community events are also held there. In school, aside from doing focused observations of events and classes, I also have had many conversations with school officials and teachers, plus held semi-structured and informal interviews with them. It is here where I was able to interact with the children of various ages at different school grade levels. It is also here when I was able to meet some parents and access their perspectives on my research questions.

I began interacting and participating in some activities with the school children during recess periods and class hours with the permission of the teachers. Together with Schwoerer, we introduced ourselves by talking about our individual social background, which I initiated through a story-telling-cum-book-reading of two illustrated Swiss children's books, and the use of picture books and calendars with images from Switzerland and New York. I shared some action songs that I also introduced to children at the Sunday schools. I modified the style, the language, and manner of storytelling depending on the age groups and class levels. I expressed to the children that I wish to have an exchange of stories with them and encouraged them to tell their own to us and whatever topic they are keen to talk about. In the classroom setting, I also asked the children to draw and/or write about themselves, their life in Dzifasing and elsewhere that they might have been to or had come from. I provided sheets of papers, colored pens, crayons, pencils, and erasers for them to use. I designed a set of short forms with both open and closed questions, which I used in a series at different scheduled visits. The language in the form was either in English, Tok Pisin, or both, depending on class level, and allowed them to write in their chosen language. I did not expect all those forms to be completely filled in. Some children in the primary grades were eloquent writers. Some appeared to be less skilled in writing compared to others in the same class level. The returns of those forms were nevertheless useful as an additional window into the lives of children of different circumstances, and informative on what I could possibly pursue, topically, and for case studies.

I also followed up with some of the children I interacted with in school, meeting them again at their homes, at the yards where they might be playing, or in the Sunday schools. I was able to immediately and closely relate with girls and young women, but also younger boys in their early teens down to four-year olds. I relied on my research partner when warming up with the older boys to start chatting with them, or I left him to hang out with some younger and older men when they sat separately from the girls or women. We exchanged notes and stories at the end of the day.

Aside from picture books that we used at school, my research partner and I brought our own respective small family albums to show and introduce ourselves to most of the families and children that we interacted with. I also showed images from the Philippines and talked not only about my family and relatives, but also some cultural practices associated with events in the photos. The stories that people heard spread, so that it was eventually arranged by the church within our neighborhood for us to share our narratives with the photos at the end of the church service on one of those Sundays. Not every family had family photos, much less a photo album, but for those who had, it was a gateway for storytelling and an entry point to their biographies. On such instances, it facilitated an exchange through the same medium. I found the use of visual materials, such as albums, calendars, and photo-books, to have been very facilitative in warming up social interactions and opening the way for sharing stories.[17] I adapted a life-history approach (Langness and Frank 1981) for the case studies to gain further insights into the particularities of the children's lives and the different perspectives among their generations and between their parents and other kin members. Such an approach formed part of the ethnographic methods I deployed during fieldwork for an understanding of the children's life situation, their memories and experience of the changing social and economic life, their affective ties and relationships with their Wampar and non-Wampar kin, their genealogical knowledge, the growing up years and living or attending schools in Dzifasing and other places, and of their aspirations and outlook into the future.

Our identity, as a research couple who are "mixed" binational Swiss and Filipino-American, was also a medium of connecting with our own stories with the many interethnic couples in the village. Working as a couple in the field, from my perspective, gave us possibilities to interact more easily with other couples as well as children. It also allowed us to sometimes distribute the workload, so that my partner helped gathering census data, while I spent time hanging out, conversing and playing with the children, and conducting most of the interviews. It also enabled us to overcome a certain gender gap visible in Dzifasing social life, as it was much easier for my partner than for me to hang out with older boys and men. In community meetings and events where men and women congregated in their respective

[17] My latest experience of doing this in the Eastern Highlands, both with small and big groups, had further inspired me to do a similar thing in Dzifasing. Bettina Beer also shared her insights on the use of photos in eliciting stories and biographical information (personal communication).

social spaces, my partner would be with the men while I joined the women. In some of the interactions and interviews with males, my partner also posed questions, while he was not always present when I am with the girls or women.

While going around the village, we were either both or individually accompanied by at least one member of our host family. I was most of the time but not always with one of the grown-up daughters and my partner with one of the young men. I eventually asked one of the daughters to formally be my field assistant, although we both understood that her capacity was collectively supported. It was a propitious choice. She is a first-born in her father's lineage, and a local youth church leader. She was also very interested to take part in research in her own way to know more about the lives of her fellow-villagers. She wanted to reach out to other young people in the community. She was a fast learner and came up with her own suggestions on how we can go about contacting families that are not only accessible but also what she understood as interesting for me to know about.

With her and our extended host family's assistance, my partner and I conducted a village census. In the genealogical census of household units, we recorded birth and marriage dates, lineage membership and ethnicity, schooling levels, and location of subsistence garden plots. I began with families that I first got to know in a particular hamlet. We then gathered those that were in the immediate neighborhood of the family that I first visited, before covering all but two of the most distant of the remaining hamlets.

All in all, I interacted with and interviewed fifty families of different generations, in different stages of the domestic cycle, and with contrasting mixes of ethnic background. I also visited and interviewed other members of the family’s wider kin network, such as a sister or a brother of a Wampar parent. I chose about one third of these families to focus on for case studies. From this selection, I then followed closely the individual children, and conducted in-depth and biographical interviews with the older ones. My thesis presents a total of 17 numbered case studies chosen to illustrate the contrasts between the families and the children, their characteristics and their circumstances. The two thirds of families I either visited only once or talked with only in the first round of scoping still provided important background material on the entire range of socially significant circumstances. I have drawn my description of Wampar perspectives from a composite of several households and individuals constructed through participant observation, informal talks and interviews. This included interviews with women and men of different generations, with 12 lineage leaders outside of those interviewed in the family case studies, including local leaders with public and official state roles in the community. Information from these more structured data-gathering procedures is complemented by that gleaned from observations made during my participation in everyday interactions. These cases form the main basis for my comparison of the micro-level of social relations, which shows the particularities and internal differences within and between Wampar and non-Wampar families and their children.

This study is written in the "ethnographic present" (Sanjek 1991) and in the sense that Pina-Cabral (2000) refers to as the "ethnographic conjuncture."

1.3 Overview of chapters

Each of the following chapters uses the overall framework on the importance of power in social relations as developed by Wolf in focusing on children of interethnic marriages and describing their place in social life in Dzifasing.

Chapter two introduces selected narratives from children of various social circumstances about their notions of cultural identity, as they deploy them for themselves and project them onto other children. The focus is on children of interethnic marriages, and in particular on those categorized as non-Wampar through having a non-Wampar father. Their presence in Dzifasing and their access to land for livelihood is currently hotly debated, and there are tendencies of exclusion that affect them. By presenting their narratives, I show the subjective positioning, the conditionality of given meanings, and the ambiguity of sociocultural categories of cultural identity, starting off with "Wampar" in relation to the "non-Wampar" and those in-between. Such sociocultural categories are being negotiated, for reasons that are described in the following chapters.

Chapter three introduces the village of Dzifasing, the ethnographic site, to situate the long-term and recent processes of social transformation. I will present Dzifasing's long history of entanglement with global forces through colonization, missionization and the capitalist economy that have been shaping the current social and economic conditions. I will describe how the location of Dzifasing in the plains of the Markham Valley along the main transport corridor of Papua New Guinea has facilitated economic activities and social interaction enabling among others an increase in interethnic marriages.

Chapter four describes the increasing number of interethnic marriages and the implications this has on the process of differentiating identities and their entitlements among the Wampar. I will first give an overview of Wampar kin relations and detail the importance of kin groups in organizing access to land. I show how gender and ethnicity are constitutive elements when analyzing kinship and novel inequalities emerging among the Wampar in Dzifasing today. I then focus on a set of cultural practices that are characteristic of Wampar early childhood socialization and demonstrate how these can potentially shape the children’s self-identification.

Chapter five examines the transformation of economic life that reconfigures social boundaries and the differentiation of rights. It describes the changing practices of subsistence and cash-income generation after the end of the betelnut economy. I will examine how the transition to economic production in need of large tracts of land and capital, such as cacao and cattle farming, transform social lives in ways that differentially

affect the landless and those considered non-Wampar. I analyze how asymmetries are developing in this changing socio-economic context, document the effects on social relationships across different lineages, and relate these with the particularities of the situation of children of interethnic marriages. I demonstrate how inclusion becomes an urgent imperative for sons and daughters of interethnic marriages between a Wampar woman and a non-Wampar man.

Chapter six shows the salience of names and naming practices as a means for the inclusion of children. Choosing a name creates a relationship between namesakes in transcultural kinship which balances out dominance of any one side of the children's kin network and strengthens the social connections that can facilitate the accessing of economic resources and opportunities. I present different naming practices among the Wampar and show how children use names in the work of self-representation and positioning.

Chapter seven describes the language situation as an aspect of sociocultural change in Dzifasing. I present how a hierarchy of languages manifests itself in how people perceive and use the Wampar vernacular, Tok Pisin and English. I show how language as a cultural resource is deployed by the young and old alike, in different social contexts of interactions. In documenting who uses what language in which setting, I demonstrate how language is enlisted in the processes of differentiation and social positioning.

Chapter eight investigates schools as a site of articulations between Wampar and non-Wampar, between teachers, children and parents, and between the community and the state of Papua New Guinea. The schools in Dzifasing are sites where notions of sociocultural identity as both members of a local community and as national citizens are differentiated yet linked. Schools are institutions where children interact with cohorts regardless of their kin or ethnic affiliation. I will describe the schooling experience of children with different sociocultural background and show how they differentially perceive the need for education. I also show how the changing economic conditions had a dramatic impact on schooling experience, and how it changed the outlook among children and parents.

Chapter nine analyzes the dreams and aspirations of young people, who are charting the course of life that they want and should take in the new context of social relations. I look at their choices in terms of education and career, residence and marriage, and how these are differentiated by their specific social positions and circumstances. I show what conditions and relationships influence the limits and possibilities for attaining a life that they aspire for. I will demonstrate how the possibility for them to achieve their aspirations is linked to gender, ethnicity, birth order, kin connections and the access to land as a resource base.

Chapter ten will conclude this thesis by summarizing the main argument and pointing out the theoretical relevance of the thesis for children's studies, studies on social boundaries and ethnicity, and the study of social and economic transformations.

2. The children in Dzifasing and their notions on "being Wampar"

It was Sunday afternoon and many people in Dzifasing, young and old, had just finished attending their respective church services.[18] I was inside the house where I was temporarily staying when I heard chattering outside. I looked out of the window and saw a group of three girls and a boy walking into the front yard of the house. They were talking with Kenneth, one of the young men in his early twenties who is a member of the household that I was staying with. They were asking him if they could collect some fruits from the sugar palm tree that stands within the compound of the household. I got out of the house and went down the steep wooden staircase to meet the children. It was my first time to meet this group of children. I did not see them at the Sunday school or at the church service held earlier within the neighborhood of the hamlet where I was staying.

They were already sitting on the grass in the front yard near the palm tree by the time I joined them. I found out that they do not live in the same hamlet and that they go to a church different from the one that I went to earlier that day. All of them are attending school in the community, with the younger two in their elementary grades and the older two in the lower primary grades. The girls Lily, Dinah, and Amy and the boy, Fernand were between 10 and 13 years old. I also found out that they were related with each other and to Kenneth, who is their third cousin.[19] Lily's mother and Dinah's mother are sisters of Amy's father and Fernand's father. As I was getting to know them, Lily, described herself as *miks Buka* (mixed Buka) because her father is a "*Buka*" from Bougainville,[20] who married her mother who is from Dzifasing. Of her father, she said, "*Papa bilong mi, em long Buka*" (my father is from Buka). "*Em maritim mama bilong mi. Em meri long hia*" (He married my mother who is from here). Dinah said the same about herself. Fernand and Amy said that unlike their cousins Lily and Dinah, they are not *miks* because both of their respective parents are "Wampar" from Dzifasing.

2.1 Terms of differentiation

I decided to start writing the word "Wampar" in quotation marks, for early on during my stay in Dzifasing, I began hearing from different people a variety of descriptions and terms that are linked to it. What Lily, Dinah, Fernand and Amy said of themselves reminded me of

[18] Sunday is descriptively contrasted with the other days of the week in terms of "work," with Friday and Saturday specifically referred to in Wampar as *gom renan* ("mother of work") and *gom naron* ("little work") respectively.

[19] These children's and Kenneth's respective paternal grandfathers were parallel cousins.

[20] In Tok Pisin, the term *Buka* is used for all people from the Autonomous Region of Bougainville, and not just Buka Island (the smaller island immediately north of the main island of Bougainville).

what their cousins Kenneth and Irma had said before about themselves in comparison to other people and children in Dzifasing. Irma is also one of their third cousins, and Kenneth's first cousin, just a few years younger than him. Irma described herself as a "Wampar" in contrast to *yaner*, that is someone who is not "Wampar," or as I will alternately write from here on: "non-Wampar."[21] Irma said that she is an "*afi Wampar*" (a Wampar woman) but a "pure Wampar" at that, for both her parents are "Wampar" and not *yaner*. She differentiated herself this way from children of *ngaeng yaner* (a man who is non-Wampar). She added that she grew up in the "Wampar area," and that she is tall,[22] which she said is a distinctive physical trait of the Wampar, especially in comparison with those from the "*hailans*" (the highlands region).[23] Kenneth simply described himself as "Wampar" because his father is a "*ngaeng Wampar*" (a Wampar man), and even though his mother is an "*afi yaner*" (a woman who is non-Wampar), he does not consider himself a *ngaeng yaner*. His description thus places him not among those *yaner* that Irma refers to. Angela, Lily's elder sister who I met the next day, described herself as *miks* and also specifically as *miks Buka*, but at the same time "Wampar" because she said she was "born in Wampar" and that she knows certain "Wampar" practices, such as working in the garden or catching fish, and the observance of "*kastom marit*" (marriage with bridewealth exchange) and of the taboos surrounding the period when a woman gives birth to a child. Their elder brother, Ryan, who I met a few days later, described himself similarly as "Wampar" and *miks*. He also said that a

[21] My partner and I, who are categorically non-Wampar, were however not referred to as *yaner*. As foreigners doing research among the Wampar, we fall in a different category, that of *waitman*, literally, "white man." It is the Tok Pisin term first generally used for all non-black foreigners that has become part of the vocabulary of a contact language through the processes of colonization and missionization. As Beer (2006b: 110) notes, while the Wampar use *yaner* for non-Wampar Papua New Guineans, they also use specific terms, such as where the foreigner is from. More recently, the cultural category "*kongkong*" (Hong Kong) referring to Asians in general has become important with the recent influx of Mainland Chinese to Papua New Guinea. Its usage has gained a negative connotation, as the increased visibility of Chinese is associated with the flourishing of Chinese-owned businesses and shops in the cities, as well as mining operations, that have been the target of rioting in 2009. The term is also associated with objects of putative Chinese origin, as in "*taro kongkong*" (Chinese taro) or "*kabis kongkong*" (Chinese cabbage). These terms for other non-Papua New Guineans will not be part of my data analysis here.

[22] I am short in comparison to Irma and her Wampar kin, so that at times they referred to me in jest as "*afi a ngkoats*" (short woman). A tall man is "*ngaeng wante,*" as my tall partner was also occasionally called by them.

[23] The Tok Pisin term "*hailans*" is an umbrella term for all those coming from the region regardless of what province. How the Wampar in Dzifasing characterize people from the region is similar to what Beer (2006b) has observed among the Wampar in another village, in Gabsongkeg. One practice that the Wampar dislike about those from the *hailans* is polygyny, which they express in Tok Pisin as "*dobulim meri*" (having at least two wives) or euphemistically, "double plug." The Wampar also practiced polygyny until the German Lutheran Mission discouraged it at the turn of the 20th of century. Irma's paternal great-grandfather, for example, was among that generation of men who were converted by the mission and had to divorce his second wife in order to be baptized. According to Irma's father, her great-grandfather married the second wife so he could look after the woman and her children after her husband died.

unique thing about him is that he has a much darker skin compared to many other people in Dzifasing. People from the island of Bougainville, where his father was from, have a much darker skin than the rest of Papua New Guineans.

Kenneth and Irma when mentioning their cousins Lily, Angela, Dinah and Ryan, variably referred to them as "*em ol miks Buka*" (they are mixed Buka), "*miks pikinini*" (mixed children) or "*miks meri*" (mixed girl) and "*miks manki*" (mixed boy). The other general term for children of interethnic marriages that I heard they also used is "*hapkas*" (from "half-caste").[24] When referring to their cousins' father, they said, "*em man Buka*" (he is a Buka man), "*papa bilong ol*, *em man Buka"* (their father is a Buka), or "*em ngaeng yaner*" (he is a non-Wampar man). Other non-Wampar men or women in Dzifasing are referred to in similar categories, depending on their respective places of origin. The other commonly used term that I often heard when they referred to children with non-Wampar father is "*pikinini bilong ngaeng yaner*" (child of a non-Wampar man). Other Tok Pisin terms for all Wampar of different generations are "*man/meri as ples*" and "*as ples manki/meri*" (boy or man/girl or woman from his/her original place, as in Dzifasing) to contrast those who are not.

2.2 Self-ascription of identity

From what I was hearing from Irma and her cousins, the terms "Wampar" and "*yaner*" are two oppositional categories for sociocultural identification, with *miks* as the in-between of the two, which can be oriented towards the ethnicity of the father or the mother. Categories for differentiation between "Wampar" and "*yaner*" that include a sense of physical difference and culturally-formed behavior (Beer 2006b: 109–110) are thus further complicated with the emergence of categories for children of interethnic marriages. Where do they belong? Do they have more in common with their Wampar or with their *yaner* parent? The matter on what and/or who is "Wampar" has become open for interpretations, as suddenly the category of "Wampar" is no longer so clear-cut. Nevertheless, these interpretations take place in front of the backdrop of increased hostility towards *yaner* and the ascent of descent-based interpretations of belonging. While I mentioned in the introduction that the public discourse among adults and village leaders has clearly focused on descent through the patriline as the sole claim to land rights, and thus by extension full "Wampar" identity, children usually have a much wider definition of their identity and what it means to be "Wampar". Some seem blissfully unaware of the contention surrounding these identities, while others, especially the older ones, seem to be conscious of it and assert their "Wamparness" by referring to their descent from Wampar fathers, while others use different strategies of locating themselves within this contentious field. On the

[24] It is a term which has been associated with interracial marriages and having light skin, as those offspring of a Papua New Guinean and Australian couple. There was a case of this type of marriage in Dzifasing, and the descendants now already have children of their own.

individual and subjective level of identification, almost anyone can claim to be "Wampar" as Kenneth, Irma, and their cousins do. But that does not guarantee automatic inclusion and a right to stay and use the land. The following are a few more examples of self-identification from children of intra- and interethnic marriages in Dzifasing.[25]

Both parents are Wampar:

> I am Wampar because I was born in Wampar area. Other people from another province can see me and know that I am Wampar because I am tall. My father and my mother are not mixed. They are pure Wampar. -- Rene, Grade 6
>
> Yes, *mi pikinini Wampar because mi born long Zifasing. Mama na papa em ol bilong Zifasing. Not mix blood. Wampar stret.* (Yes, I am a Wampar child because I am born in Zifasing. Mother and father are from Zifasing. Not mixed blood. They are true Wampar). -- Mercy, out of school
>
> I am a Wampar kid and not a *mix blut* (mixed blood) or *yaner*. Whoever says that he or she is not a Wampar, then he is *mix blut* or *yaner*. -- Edward, Grade 10
>
> I consider myself as a Wampar because I am pure Wampar. I grew up in Wampar and I know much better [the] Wampar language. -- Mike, Grade 9
>
> I am Wampar because I can speak my own language, Wampar. -- Celine, Grade 9
>
> Yes, I consider myself as a Wampar because my parents and grandparents are pure Wampar, and I also can speak *tok ples Wampar* (the vernacular). -- Tim, Grade 9
>
> I am Wampar because my father is a Zifasing man and my mother is from Mare [another Wampar village]. Because Zifasing and Mare use the same language and culture, so I am Wamparian. -- Cesar, Grade 10
>
> To me, Wampar means that it separates me from the *yaner*, another group of people. It is having a separate language, called Wampar, from another group's language. As a Wampar, I must do my own traditional culture. It is with the way of doing things that people will know that I am a Wampar. I am happy as Wampar because it is a kind of a community where I belong. It separates us from another group of people with whom we live together, called *yaner*. -- Samuel, Grade 11

With Wampar father and non-Wampar mother:

> I consider myself as a Wampar because my father is from one of the small villages in the Wampar Local Level Government, and that's where all my ancestors come from, and that's why I classified myself into that group of people. If I am not considered one of them then I will not have any place to stay in the future. -- Bobby, Grade 11

[25] These are from narratives written by children mostly in English and some in Tok Pisin.

> The ways in which I consider myself as a Wampar is simply through some kinds of dressing, the way I walk, talk, laugh and play because I've been brought up here. When I am out elsewhere, like at my mother's place, I consider myself as a Wampar. -- Elissa, Grade 10
>
> I am Wampar. *Papa bilong me long* Wampar. (My father is from Wampar). -- Lina, Grade 6
>
> I am Wampar because I was born in Wampar and I know about our language and everything in Wampar. -- Belinda, Grade 6
> I know that I am Wampar because I was brought up in Wampar and I know the culture of the Wampar. -- Betsy, Grade 6

With non-Wampar father and Wampar mother:

> Personally, as an individual, I consider myself as a Wampar, though my father is not from Wampar. . . . Because I was born in a village called Dzifasing . . . to a local Wampar woman who is married to someone from outside Wampar. . . . I grew up in Wampar, I speak the Wampar language fluently, and I understand the cultures and traditions of the Wampar very well. Therefore, I see myself as an original Wampar. – Greg, Grade 12
>
> Wampar is a district of its own in Morobe province. It has its own culture and traditions. It is an identity. It is my identity when I am in another district or somewhere else. At this moment, I am a Wampar citizen. I am a Wampar citizen because I grew up in Wampar. -- Robert, Grade 12
>
> Wampar means that same languages/cultures that people speak/followed. I consider myself as Wampar child because I was born and brought up here at Wampar, (Dzivasing) that's why I consider myself as a Wampar child. -- Frani, Grade 10
>
> I consider myself as Wampar because I'm a mix parentage child, but I still know how to speak Wampar language, because I've [been] brought up in Wampar. -- Ellen, Grade 9
>
> I was born in Wampar so I know their culture and language, cooking, [and] dresses. -- Carol, Grade 6

These children draw on notions of parentage, descent, blood ties, purity, cultural practices and behavior, language, physical traits, birthplace, residence, and temporality as dimensions of their identity that they deploy in socially differentiating others and positioning themselves.

While I showed here a range of criteria that different children use for identification, differentiation, and sense of social inclusion, I would like to focus on the case of children with a non-Wampar father and describe their specificities among themselves and in comparison to other children of interethnic marriages with a Wampar father as well as

those whose parents are both Wampar, as it is their position that is currently most contested. Lacking the clear and unequivocal descent from a Wampar father that would grant them automatic status as Wampar among all Dzifasing residents, children with a non-Wampar father emphasize for example their knowledge of the Wampar language as a cultural marker, among other markers such as their connections to their Wampar mother, their place of birth, where they grew up, and their knowledge of the way of doing things. From their perspective, all these are aspects of being Wampar. While acknowledging their father as non-Wampar, they do not limit their definitions based on their connection to their father. However, for children whose mother is non-Wampar, but their father is Wampar, it is this agnatic connection that unquestionably categorizes them as Wampar.

While most of the children in the examples given above consider themselves as Wampar, I have to stress that not every child with a non-Wampar father, even when the mother is Wampar, appears to explicitly position her- or himself as Wampar. One such case is a 14-year-old boy in the seventh grade called Manu whose father is Tolai.[26] He said that he is not Wampar because his father is a man from another place, a Tolai, and not Wampar. He also said that he is a *miks manki* (mixed boy). Manu spoke of his father's place with fondness and said that it is his favorite place, but at the same time he likes staying in Dzifasing, as it is a spacious village where it is easy to access everything. Another young man, Jeremy, who has just finished his primary grades, also identifies himself primarily as "Sepik" although he said that he switches between being Sepik and Wampar, which he said depends on where he is.

> *Tingting blo mi, mi yet mi sa raun em mi sa ting olsem mi yet em man Sepik. Mi tingim olsem. Bikos mi ting olsem, papa bilong mi lo Sepik na mi tu lo Sepik. So ol Wampar, mi sa painim mi sai sindaun tasol mi tok, mi blo Sepik. Mi sai tok olsem.*
>
> What I think is that when I go around, I think of myself as a Sepik man. That's what I think. Why I think so is, my father is from the Sepik, so I am also from the Sepik. So, the Wampar, when I meet them and sit down with them, I tell them I am from the Sepik. That's what I say.

In school, with other schoolmates who do not know him, he said that he introduces himself as a Wampar boy. At his father's place, Jeremy said that his relatives there are calling him a boy from Markham. However, his self-identification as primarily a "Sepik" boy appears to have no bearing on his preference on where he would like to stay. He said that he prefers to stay in Dzifasing where his friends are.

A young woman in her secondary school, Janna, also identifies herself as "*meri Madang*" to associate herself with her non-Wampar father's place of origin, and not with her Wampar mother's. She said that even though she grew up in Dzifasing, she chose this social identity in accordance with who her father is, who is from Madang, a *ngaeng yaner*. She said, "*mi*

[26] Tolai is an ethnonym for a social group of people from the island of East New Britain.

bihainim papa," meaning she follows her patrilineage, because she knows that land is passed on through the male line. However, she said that when she is at her father's place, her father's kin refer to her as "*meri Markham,*" and that in Dzifasing, her Wampar cousins and friends refer to her as "*meri Madang*."

Elissa, who has a Wampar father and whose mother is from Finschhafen also expressed the same experience of being referred to by other people differently. She spent several years of her early childhood at her mother's place, in Finschhafen, and there she was called "*meri Markham*" but when she returned to Dzifasing she was called "*meri Finschhafen*." She said that when she started school in Dzifasing, other kids were also teasing her by calling her "Tolai" because of the color of her hair, which then had a yellowish tint.[27] However, she said that it was when she reached Grade 6 that it became clear to her that she is indeed a "*meri Markham*." Robert, who has a non-Wampar father, spoke of the same shifting process of identification. In his case, he said that it was not just expressed with the place name, Markham, but that his cousin brothers at this father's place of origin are calling him *rased*, which is the Wampar term for sibling or parallel cousins of the same sex. He said that his cousins picked up this term from him and that since they know him as from the Markham, they started addressing him in the Wampar term.

Children whose parents are both non-Wampar express their own sense of cultural identity by deploying similar terms of descriptions, such as their place of origin and where they were born. Many of these children are attending school in Dzifasing, but do not lay claim to a Wampar identity. However, I also encountered one case, where a young man from a different place positions himself with a Wampar identity. He comes from the Wantoat area,[28] and was staying with a Wampar household in Dzifasing while attending the local primary school. He is currently attending a secondary school in Lae, and I met him when he stayed with the same Wampar household during school break. He sees himself as Wampar even though he expressed a critical view about certain aspects of life in Dzifasing. Physically, he is a comparatively tall young man.

> In my own understanding, I consider "Wampar" as a place for the "tall people." I see them as the expensive people. It means, they like to stay with a high standard of living, because they mostly like store goods. They had forgotten most of their traditional lifestyle. . . . I come from a different culture (tribe) but I am tall enough to consider myself as a Wampar. My own people call me as a man from Markham, because all the people in Morobe know that Markham is the place for the "tall people." One of the proofs is that I know the Wampar language and when

[27] Tolai and other ethnic groups from the island provinces often have light, almost blond hair when they are children, that darkens as they get older. Beer (2006b) describes how such children are often derisively called "yellowtop" or "*kuskus*" (a marsupial with yellowish fur) in the neighboring village of Gabsongkeg.

[28] Wantoat is language group in the Finisterre Range of Morobe Province, northwest of Dzifasing.

> newcomers visit us, they consider me as a Wampar. I had spent most of my time in Chevasing village that's why I consider myself as a Wampar. -- Randy, Grade 10

Aside from the self-ascriptions of social identity, I also observed how children, young and old alike, use the same categories when they refer to a cohort of theirs during my interactions with them. Among the young children, I noticed that they were teasing each other with the term "Tolai" for those with yellowish hair or even when a girl was adorning her hair with flowers. I once met a group of girls on a path within the hamlet where I was staying and heard them calling one of them "Tolai." I did not see anyone with yellowish hair, so I was wondering if one of the girls might have a Tolai parent. I knew already some but not all of the girls in the group and I was always keen on meeting other children of interethnic marriages. The new faces were some girls from another hamlet who are classificatory sisters of some of the children in the neighborhood. I asked them "Who is Tolai? Who are you calling Tolai?" They all giggled and said that no one is but one of them had adorned her hair with hibiscus and some other yellow-colored flowers. The supposedly "Tolai" girl among them said that she is Wampar, and that both of her parents are Wampar.

2.3 Consequences of differentiation

As children in the examples given above express themselves in their own terms as either Wampar or otherwise, they also face an ambiguity with the shifting terms of sociocultural identity that are used for them, depending where or with whom they are, and thus who is calling them with what category. This ambiguity, however, gets to be rebuffed in an emerging political arena where categories for cultural identity are turned into organizing symbols for inclusion in kin groups and the allocation of rights among the Wampar. Ascribed categories for identification, whether by self or by others, then become open for contestations, as the ascriptions could have immediate and long-term consequences for those not considered to have rights to reside and make a living in Dzifasing, as I will show in the following chapters.

Returning back to the cousins I described at the beginning of this chapter, I also heard from them about how life had changed in Dzifasing in the last few years. It was in 2007 that they and practically everyone in the community lost a once lucrative economic activity. It was the growing and selling of betelnuts, that ended due to a palm blight that had spread across the Markham Valley. Kenneth, Irma, Ryan, and Angela said that since then, it was no longer as easy to earn cash as it was before. Among the changes that followed was a shift to planting cacao, as I will describe in chapter five. Ryan is one of the few sons of non-Wampar fathers who was able to plant cacao. Greg is also one of those who has planted cacao. Others, like Robert, are unable to or have not been allowed by their Wampar mother's father or brothers to do so. Kenneth is one of the few young men of his generation who have first planted cacao in Dzifasing. He said that it was a good thing that his father had already planted cacao before 2007. His father had allocated him a piece of land for his own cacao

trees. He and his father were already able to earn some cash from the sale of the cacao beans when there no longer was betelnut. Most other people in Dzifasing, he said, only planted later, with some just beginning to plant during my fieldwork. Meanwhile, Irma and Angela, as daughters, now have to consider a lot more things before they decide to marry compared to their parents' generation. Since 2007, male lineage leaders agreed that Dzifasing is to be closed off for additional non-Wampar men living among them. They said that Dzifasing could no longer afford to have more generations of children of *nqaenq yaner*.

2.4 Conclusion

In 2009, I got to know children of various ages and circumstances in Dzifasing. Many of them were related to each other, shared similar experiences of being born and growing up in Dzifasing, but are now confronted with a situation where to be categorically counted in as "Wampar" is crucial in shaping their immediate and future life. To be "Wampar" and not *yaner* is a crucial category for inclusion among the Wampar in Dzifasing. The terms "Wampar," *yaner*, and *miks* are being transformed in the current context of social relations, not as mere abstract or innocuous ideas, but as expressions of beliefs and ideas drawn upon and deployed in the organization of social life. As the *miks* children with non-Wampar father deploy the same term for inclusion as "Wampar" children, the narratives on what and/or who is "Wampar" are fraught with ambiguity and contestations.

The meaning of the term "Wampar" has become ambiguous with the emergence of children born out of interethnic marriages, and as with the sociocultural category *miks*, or *hapkas*, is undergoing further redefinitions in a context where to be a child of a non-Wampar father entails concrete effects in the structuring of social relations. It is no longer just about being categorized as "*miks*" but more about the opposition between "Wampar" and "*yaner*." For today's generation of children of non-Wampar fathers, their social positioning through deployment of more inclusive terms challenges other notions that operationalize rigid boundaries of sociocultural identity.

Who is "Wampar" and not in a politically charged climate thus matters a lot for those children who could potentially be excluded from meaningfully participating in the social and economic life among the Wampar in Dzifasing. Today's generations of children are experiencing a life that their older counterparts, both from inter- and intra-ethnic marriages, were not confronted with during their childhood and growing up years. The *yaner* had married in, had children, and lived with the Wampar in Dzifasing for as long as today's descendants could remember.

The question on what and whose meanings prevail in the organization of social relations becomes indispensable to unpack in order to understand what really is going on, and why. The social context of the deployment of sociocultural categories of identification has changed. The meaning attached to the categories is relative to who is saying what to whom

and why. In the Wolfian frame, ideas and their meanings cannot be removed from the context of power relations. In the following chapters, I situate the links between the social positioning of children and other processes of social transformation, and what the further implications are on the lives of children whose sociocultural differentiations are not mere abstract ideas but have concrete effects on their immediate and future life situation. I first present an overview about the Wampar in Dzifasing. From there I begin to examine their social life and situate why Dzifasing has historically been attractive for in-migration.

3. Ethnographic context: Dzifasing village

Dzifasing is a village within the Local Level Government (LLG) unit called "Wampar Rural" in the Huon Gulf District of Morobe Province. Unlike most other rural villages in many parts of Papua New Guinea, where state services and infrastructure are hard to access, Dzifasing is a village with good infrastructure, two schools, a police station and an aid post, two cell phone towers and a direct road link to a major city. Dzifasing is bustling with trade and commercial activities, both day and night. Its location relative to an urban center is just one dimension that may qualify Dzifasing as more peri-urban than rural. As Papua New Guinea is one the countries with the lowest urbanization rates, and as it is often considered as a thoroughly rural country, it is no wonder that most ethnographic monographies about Papua New Guinea focus on rural (and often hard to reach) communities. Studies of people living in Papua New Guinean cities are few and far between, and mostly follow migrants from the areas where ethnographers first conducted fieldwork into town (for example Gewertz & Errington 1991; May 1977; Strathern 1975). To focus on the city or the town as an area of ethnographic analysis has only recently become more fashionable (Goddard 2005; Hermes 2014; Hukula 2017; Rooney 2017; but see also Levine & Wolfzahn Levine 1979 for an earlier account of urbanization). While the city itself (and here almost exclusively the capital city Port Moresby) has thus seen at least some interest and has become well-defined as a new research area, the peri-urban village in contrast is mostly absent in ethnographic accounts and only nebulously defined (notable exceptions include Epstein 1969 and Martin 2013 on Matupit near Rabaul; Goddard 2005, ch. 7 on Pari near Port Moresby, and Lipset 2017 on Murik settlements in Wewak). This is somewhat perplexing, as I would argue with Beer (2017) that the peri-urban village is the ideal place to study the encompassment of local communities by global forces, and the effects this has on local social relations.

In this chapter, I will thus present a history of the processes of social, economic, and cultural change that have been turning Dzifasing into a relatively well-off peri-urban village connected to the rest of Papua New Guinea and even beyond, and present the ethnographic setting in which my research has been carried out.

3.1 A short history of the Wampar

The local history of Dzifasing is a good case for studying changing social relations. On the one side, my research setting is no different from most other places and other localities in the country. People of Papua New Guinea, as part of Melanesia,[1] have been involved in

[1] See for example Carrier 1992 and Knauft 1999 for a critical assessment of the Melanesian anthropology, encompassing issues of authenticity and essentialism in the politics of representation.

migration, maritime navigation, trade networks, and cultural exchange long before European exploration and colonization (Moore 2003).

There are numerous studies on the encompassment of local communities by outside forces in Papua New Guinea. Quite a few of them center on the Highland region (Brown 1995, Clark 2000, LiPuma 2001, Robbins 2004, Strathern 1984, Strathern and Stewart 2004), where these encompassing forces arrived relatively late. The "discovery" and exploration of the Papua New Guinea Highlands by missionaries, gold prospectors and government officials who undertook patrols into the previously uncontacted mountain valleys from the 1920s and 1930s onwards (Connolly and Anderson 1987, Gammage 1998, Radford 1987, Schieffelin and Crittenden 1991) paved the way for pacification, missionization and the incorporation into a capitalist economy. This often led to rapid cultural change that continues into the present.

In the coastal and islands region of Melanesia, in contrast, Pacific islanders met the first outsiders on the beaches, and there was a much longer period of occasional interaction and encounters with traders, whalers and labor recruiters throughout the 19th century, followed by encounters with missionaries from the 1870s onward, and government officials and planters from the 1880s onwards (Errington and Gewertz 1995, Neumann 1992, Rodman and Cooper 1979). This meant that the social transformation was more gradual, as it occurred over many generations. In the case of the Wampar, their particular history of encompassment is characterized by being among those earlier communities to have experienced direct European incursion and intervention, but they were spared the early phase of often-violent encounters with traders and recruiters (Moore 2003).

The history of the entanglement of the Wampar in Dzifasing with global forces begins with the arrival of missionaries at the beginning of the 20th century. During the later decades of the 19th century, the Wampar had migrated from the Watut River into the Markham Valley, forcefully displacing the Ahi groups previously residing there and expanding their territory towards the coast. At the end of the 19th century, they started raiding the coastal people of Labu and Lae for European goods (Willis 1974:27-31). In retaliation for these raids, German colonial officers and their troops undertook two rather unsuccessful punishment expeditions into the Markham Valley in 1905 and 1907. First documented peaceful contact with the Wampar took place in 1909, when the German explorer Richard Neuhauss and several Lutheran missionaries persuaded some Labu to paddle them up the Markham River in canoes, where they left some gifts for the Wampar. Contacts initiated with this expedition later led to a peace ceremony between the Labu and the Wampar, paving the way for the missionaries to set up a mission station among the Wampar (Fischer 1992: 17-36).

The German Lutheran Missionary Society of Neuendettelsau had established their first mission station in Papua New Guinea in 1886 in Finschhafen, on the northern part of the island then known as German New Guinea, and from there spread their influence along the coast and into the hinterland. In 1911, after peace had been made with the Wampar, they

established a mission station in Gabmadzung, near the village of Gabsongkeg (Fischer 1992). The Lutheran Mission quickly introduced a school at Gabmadzung that some of today's grandparent and older parent generation in Dzifasing attended. This generation refers to their school education through the mission as the "*baibel*" or "*tok ples*" (vernacular) school, held in Tok Pisin but earlier also in Yabim, the language on the Huon Peninsula in Morobe Province. Yabim was the language of instruction and conversion used by the Lutherans when they began their mission work in the coastal areas where Austronesian languages are spoken, such as in the Markham Valley. [2] The mission soon gained adherents, and in the 1920s, a large number of Wampar were baptized (Fischer 1992). The missionaries also forced the Wampar to give up their settlement structure of dispersed hamlets, and concentrated them in large, compact villages built around a central church (Fischer 1996:124).

At the same time, German and after World War I Australian colonial officers set up a colonial administration and measures for economic development (Fischer 1992: 50-88). After the brief but violent interlude of World War II (Wampar land became a drop-zone for American paratroopers in the liberation of Lae from the Japanese), the Wampar became accustomed to state presence, government services (e.g., health, school, police) and new economic developments (Fischer 2007:101f.). The Markham Valley was seen as an ideal setting for agriculture and the Australian colonial government bought large tracts of land from the Wampar to be leased to European farmers.[3] Missionaries, colonial administrators and European settlers introduced new forms of agricultural production, which were quickly taken up by the Wampar. Fischer (1996: 124-128) in his study of the Wampar village of Gabsongkeg noted how these new socio-economic activities – such as cash crop production, the establishment of cattle and chicken farms, or the markets along the Highlands Highway – facilitate the formation of new hamlets away from the central village.

The process of social transformation among the Wampar has thus been linked to the larger political and economic forces for generations. The location of Dzifasing and other Wampar villages in relatively close proximity to an urban center, the Nadzab airport, the presence of

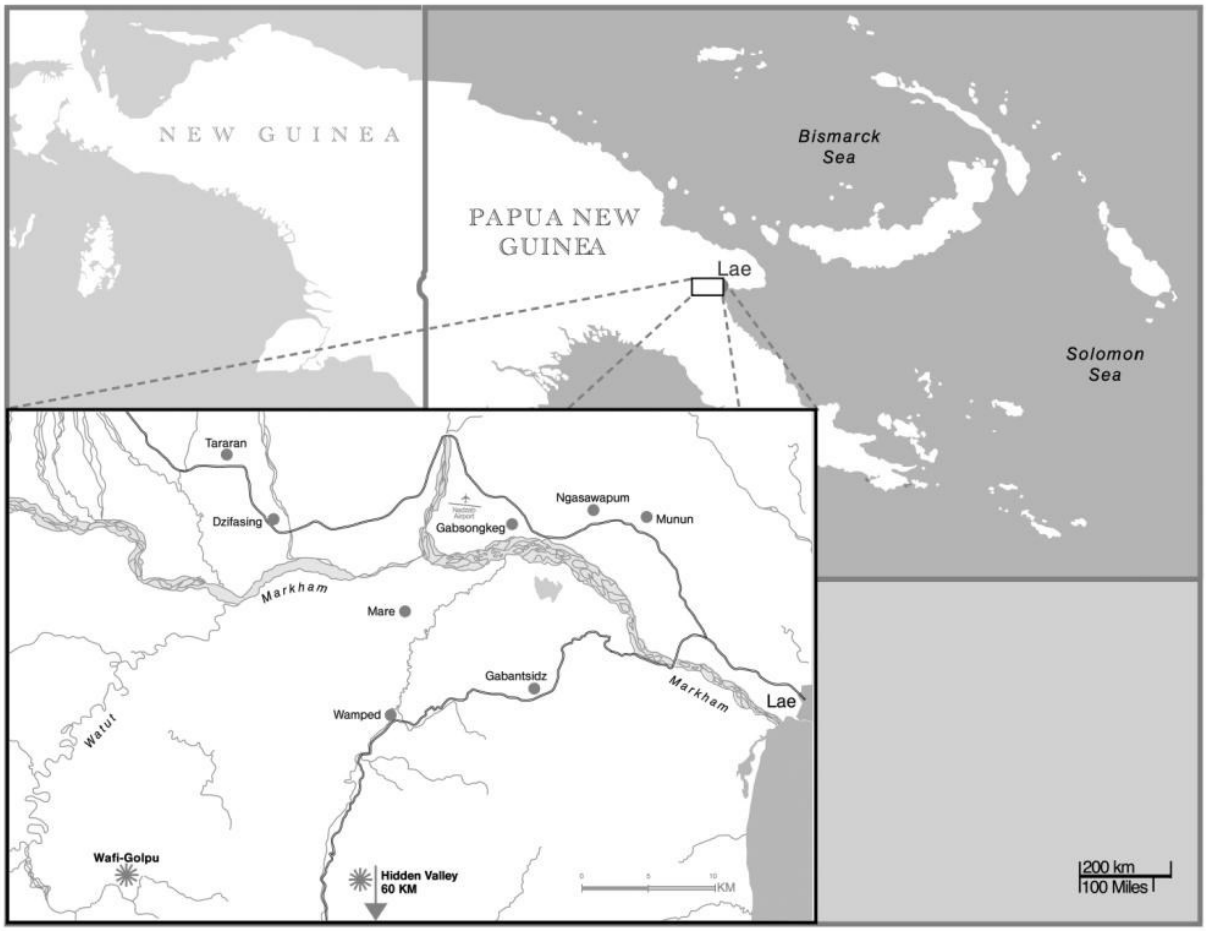
[2] Kâte was the other Lutheran church language used in non-Austronesian areas.

[3] The government scheme attracted some resistance among the Wampar. See for example Morobe Patrol Report No. 5 of 1954/55 according to which Dzifasing villagers refused to sell land to the colonial government despite efforts to explain that the sale would improve their "standard of living." The plan was to use the land for rice growing and settlement of the European farmers. According to the reports, the villagers simply refused without further explanation, but the Patrol Officer gathered a reason from "informal talks," that villagers saw that previously sold land was not utilized. The District Commissioner reported of "outside influence" by the German Lutheran Mission, and the "guilt" of the villagers for the killing of a Patrol Officer by the Japanese during WW2. This incident of the killing of a Patrol Officer was also narrated to me during fieldwork. Accordingly, the villagers of Dzifasing were crying over this officer's death due to betrayal by some men from Tararan, and yet many men from Dzifasing were rounded up by the police and sent to a labor camp near Kaiapit.

basic government-provided services such as on health and education, their accessibility by road, and the vast agricultural land made Wampar villages attractive to many migrants from all over Papua New Guinea, who intermarried with the Wampar and settled in the villages (Beer 2006a; 2010b; Beer and Schroedter 2014).

3.2 The spatial layout of Dzifasing

Dzifasing is one of eight Wampar villages in the Markham Valley, Morobe Province (see Map 3.1). It is located north of the wide, meandering Markham River, surrounded by flat and open savannah grassland, with some remnants of old-growth forest and shade trees.



Map 3.1 Papua New Guinea and the Wampar villages in the Markham Valley (H. Schnoor).

The name *Dzifasing* was translated to me in Tok Pisin as "*paia i lait*" (the fire has been lighted). *Dzif* means "fire" and *sing-eran* "to light a fire." According to older Wampar men in Dzifasing the term refers to the fighting spirit of the people who, before the advent of the missionaries, fought "like fire" against their Adzera[4] neighbors or other Wampar. Elderly

[4] The Adzera are the adjacent ethnic group living further up the Markham Valley, west of the Wampar. Their location is popularly identified with Kaiapit, the capital of the Markham District.

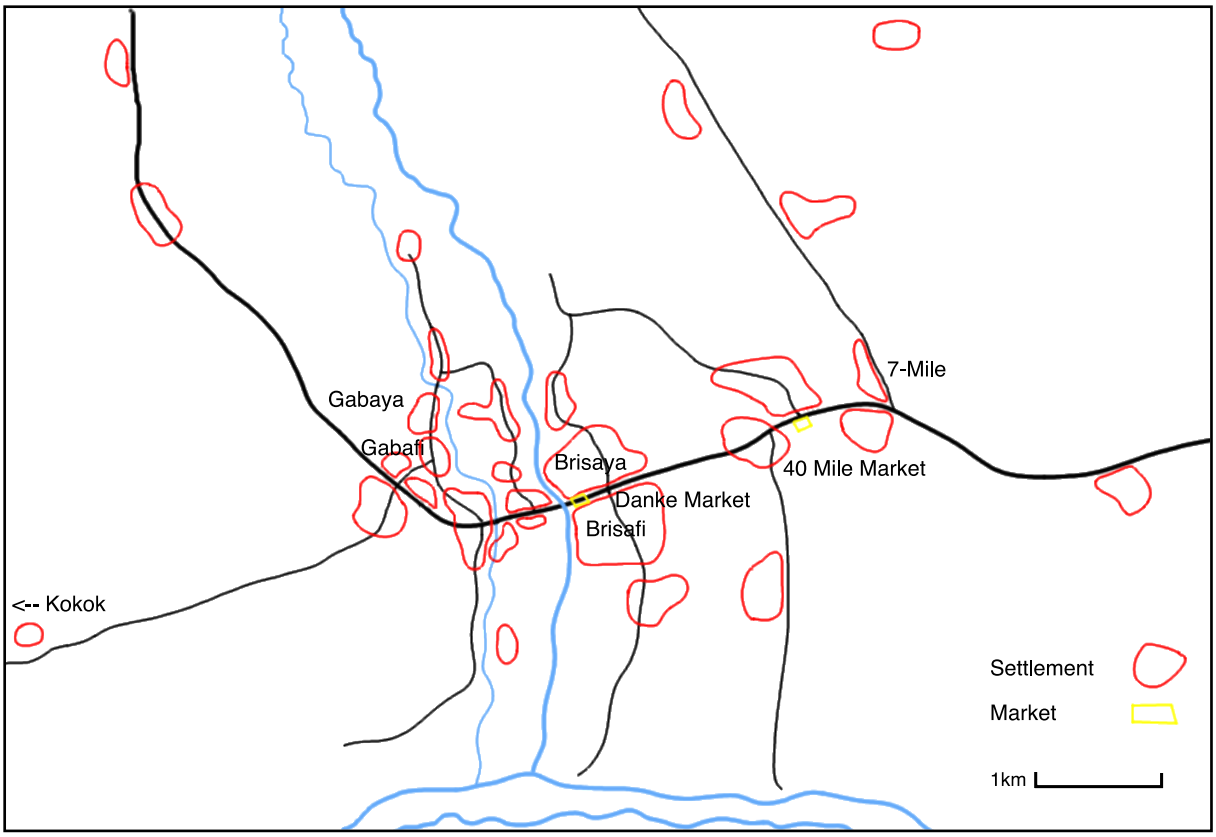
men said there were special magical practices known only to a certain lineage, which were used to kindle this fiery fighting spirit among warriors.

Today, the Wampar in Dzifasing refer to a settlement cluster in their community with the term *gab faring*, meaning "big village" or the "*big ples*" in Wampar. The term *gab faring* reflects the social history of Dzifasing, when the German Lutheran mission began to organize a center of settlement, in order to concentrate the previously dispersed hamlets in one central village. The Lutheran church stands in this part of Dzifasing to this day (See Photo 3.1).

Photo 3.1 The Lutheran church in *gab faring*.

The social and spatial orientation of today's Dzifasing residents is no longer centered on the *"big ples"* (*gab faring),* however. The centralizing role of the Lutheran church in Dzifasing at the beginning of missionization and during the colonial period has been challenged by the proliferation of other churches, the building of the Highlands Highway, and the many new economic activities that led to a proliferation of hamlets.

Within Dzifasing, there are 30 hamlets widely spread across the Markham plains. These have names, often in reference to the landscape and their location, that are in common usage and widely understood within Dzifasing (See Map 3.2). My partner and I stayed in a hamlet called *Gab a ya,* which means a village (*gab*) on the upstream (*a ya*). Below *Gab a ya* is the hamlet called *Gab a fi,* which is a place on the downstream (*a fi)*.



Map 3.2 Map of Dzifasing hamlets

Aside from place names in Wampar terms, people also refer to hamlets in terms of the mileage distance from the city of Lae, which is about 40 miles away from Dzifasing. Lae is the second-largest city in Papua New Guinea and is the country's industrial hub with a major cargo port. Thus, there are hamlets in Dzifasing referred to as "40 mile," "41 mile," or "42 mile." There is also an area referred to as "7 mile," which is the distance towards the Wawin National High School, north of Dzifasing. The area where a small rural health center and the police station are built is simply referred to as the "Station." These two state institutions are built next to each other and are immediately adjacent to the schools in the community.

People often use a mix of Tok Pisin and Wampar words to name hamlets, such as the two hamlets close to the highway bridge over a tributary that flows from the North down to the Markham River. The Tok Pisin term for bridge is *bris*. The hamlet that is upstream, to be north of the highway and close to the bridge is called *Bris a ya* (bridge on the upstream) and the one on the southern side of it is called *Bris a fi* (bridge on the downstream). Today, *Brisaya* and *Brisafi* are the two largest and most densely populated hamlets in Dzifasing, and they contain about one quarter of all Dzifasing households.

The naming of sub-clusters within a hamlet based on the place of origin of the migrant households is common. Thus, the Wampar in Dzifasing would, for example, refer to the "Sepik compound," or the "Labu compound". The area where the Sepik migrants established their crocodile-hunting campsite by the confluence of the Markham and Watut rivers is

referred to as the "Sepik camp." The Wampar in Dzifasing also locate the place by pointing to the "*maus* Watut,"—literally, at the "mouth of the Watut" river.

Based on a fieldwork census in 2009, there are at least 472 households in Dzifasing.[5] According to the 2000 census of the PNG National Statistics Office, Dzifasing has a population of 2,143 with 460 households, which makes Dzifasing the third largest Wampar community after Munun and Gabsongkeg.

3.3 Residential dispersal and the increase in hamlets

I have not determined when all of the different hamlets were formed, or when most households previously located in the *gab faring* started moving out to build their houses in other hamlets. This was a process over time, and today's residents in a hamlet are often the descendants of those who first moved out. Facilitating factors towards the formation of hamlets aside from agricultural and commercial activities are a combination of cultural practices, idiosyncrasies, and conflictive events.

Work in the garden,[6] the *gom*, is a factor that has commonly led to the proliferation of hamlets. To start a garden involves clearing previously unutilized grassland, forest, or bush, but also includes building a place to dwell in at any time throughout the cycle of land preparation, cultivation, and harvesting. This dwelling place is referred to in Tok Pisin as "*haus garden*" (garden house), or *tao gom* in Wampar. This garden house is a transient dwelling unit, as household members have their more permanent house in one of the hamlets. It can be dismantled or left to deteriorate after the garden is abandoned. For as long as there is a garden plot away from the main settlement area, it is common to have a garden house for those who use the land for gardening, whether it is for subsistence or for cash crops production (See photos 3.2 below).

In order to illustrate some of the specific mechanisms that led to the dispersal of people and the proliferation of hamlets in Dzifasing, I will give two examples of how people moved out from *gab faring* and formed the hamlets of Kokok and Brisafi.

[5] While my research partner and I were able to drive through some of the far and outlying hamlets, a census in those areas was not completed, and an estimate based on local accounts is included in the total.

[6] See Lütkes (1999) for an ethnographic analysis of what is considered work among the Wampar in Tararan, with food production for subsistence as indispensable.

Photos 3.2 Garden houses.

A rather distant and outlying hamlet called Kokok was started in the 1960s. It is located southwest of *qab faring*, about 4.5 miles from the highway. It can be reached by car on a narrow and unmaintained dirt road that for the most part resembles an overgrown trail more than a road. People moved out of *qab faring* after a fight between different lineages over a peanut production business. Such land related conflicts, between different lineages of the same village are not unusual.[7] The conflict resulted in some households moving away from the central settlement area of Dzifasing. When friends and relatives later asked them to move back into the central settlement area, they refused to leave Kokok because they already had cultivated gardens for subsistence and cash crops in the area. Other households from different lineages later moved there too. One of these households started to cultivate tomatoes for the market. Migrant men started coming to work in the tomato field and ended up marrying local Wampar women. A mini cluster within this hamlet of Kokok, the "Tauri compound," developed after a group of migrants from Tauri in the Gulf Province followed a local Wampar evangelist who in his younger years went to Tauri. In 2009, there were 38 households in Kokok, of which 42% are formed by interethnic marriages between Wampar and non-Wampar, and 21% by couples who are both non-Wampar.

Brisafi started as a hamlet in the mid- to late 1960s. This is based on the account of the man who first moved to *Brisafi*. He was born after WWII and moved there in his early twenties.

[7] See Fischer (1996: 177-180) for a case study on how peanut production is organized in Gabsongkeg, where income distribution or compensation for labor was also unclear.

The "big village," *gab faring* is located north of the highway, *Brisafi* south of it. On the side of *gab faring*, at least two tributaries (big and small) flow down to the Markham River. Flooding of these tributaries had destroyed the man's houses. His mother's elder brothers, who owned the land that now encompasses *Brisafi,* told his family that they could move there to build their new house. The land of his father's lineage is east and north of *gab faring* and would have been much further away. Moving to *Brisafi* would be still close to *gab faring*, just on the other side of the highway. Not long after, more households followed. When it all started, he took up a de facto role of "*bosim ples*" (as a supervising steward) conveying the message to the other in-moving households to respect the ownership of the land, and not to be troublemakers. There are currently 51 households in *Brisafi*, and interethnic marriages between Wampar and non-Wampar make up 62% of all marriages. The highly dense population in *Brisafi* is only second to the hamlet across the highway, *Brisaya*, which has 63 households, with an even slightly higher number of 67% interethnic marriages.

3.4 Housing style in Dzifasing

The climate in this part of the Markham Valley is mostly hot and humid. The temperature in the village by midday often goes above 30° Celsius. Even under the cooling shade of the many old mango trees, a temperature reading can at times reach up to 36° Celsius. Villagers feel this punishing heat most acutely while walking in the open savannah grassland surrounding the village. People can avoid the searing heat of the sun by walking in the gallery forest near watercourses and old garden sites, or under the trees dotting the village.

Houses are mostly built on stilts above the ground.[8] There is a wide variation in house-styles, mainly differentiated by the building materials used (see Photos 3.3 below). Socio-economic inequalities are readily observable by the quality of housing, ranging from houses constructed out of locally sourced materials to similar houses with corrugated iron roofs to prefabricated houses built with plywood and/or timber, all either brand-new or in various stages of disrepair. Before they were introduced to commercially sold house-building materials, Wampar in Dzifasing mainly used *kunai grass* for the roof, palm trunks, bamboo, and other trees that grow in their forests for making the walls, the flooring of the house, and the posts (Fischer 1996: 87-91). While a significant number of houses are still built of locally sourced materials, a particularly labor-intensive form of thatching (photo on bottom right) has mostly been abandoned in favor of a lighter grass roof.

[8] See Fischer (1996: 87-95) for a detailed description of a house-building process and materials used in Gabsongkeg.

Photos 3.3 Examples of houses in Dzifasing.

Many houses have a raised multi-purpose platform (*ntabantib)* usually built under a shading tree (see Photos 3.4). Some *ntabantib* have a roof made out of palm leaves or a corrugated iron sheet. It is common to use the *ntabantib* as a resting place during the day, or as a platform where people can sit and chat. It is also a working space for many activities such as food preparation, or as a place to wash and dry dishes, pots and pans. Its height varies depending on its primary purpose. Produce from the gardens, such as fruits and vegetables, are often placed on the *ntabantib*. It can also serve as a dining table. During my field research, the *ntabantib* is where I was "received" upon entering the yard of a household. For those with a relatively sturdy *ntabantib*, it is where I usually was invited to sit with my interlocutors, listening to stories, conducting a household census, drawing up kinship diagrams, or asking questions about family matters and relationships.

Photos 3.4 The *ntabantib* for various purposes.

3.5 Churches in Dzifasing

The Wampar in Dzifasing refer to the Lutheran church (Evangelical Lutheran Church, or ELC) as the "*mama church*" (mother church) to distinguish it from the other five churches in the village. Two of the other churches formed after splitting from the *mama church* and they still bear the name “Lutheran”: the Lutheran Renewal and the Lutheran Revival Church (which is also called the Joshua Church). People simply say "Renewal," "Revival" or "Joshua" to refer to these churches, as the unmarked term "Lutheran" is usually understood to be the "*mama church*." The non-Lutheran churches in Dzifasing are the Seventh Day Adventists (SDA), Christ for the Nation, and the Evangelical Brotherhood Church (EBC). The last is the most recent congregation in Dzifasing: the church was built in one of the hamlets along the highway in November 2009.

Each of the six churches follows its own institutional practices, such as when they hold services and organize all other church-related activities for their assembly. Among these churches, the Lutheran *mama church* continues to use Papua New Guinean cultural forms of expressions, such as the *singsing* – a festive celebration where people adorn themselves with ‘customary attire’ as they dance and sing, accompanied by the beating of the hand drum (*kundu*) (see Photos 3.5).


Photos 3.5 "*Singsing*" at the Lutheran church.

3.6 The Highlands Highway

The Highlands Highway is the major road link between the coastal and the highland provinces. It begins in Lae, and then passes Nadzab Airport, which is located on Wampar territory, before cutting through the village of Dzifasing and continuing up the Markham Valley, out of Wampar lands. From the Markham Valley, the highway forks to link with the Ramu-Madang Highway, which goes towards the north coast city of Madang. The Highlands Highway continues winding its way up Kassam Pass to the highland provinces. It passes through the Eastern Highlands Province and then continues through Simbu, Jiwaka and Western Highlands Province to reach Mount Hagen. After Mount Hagen, the Highlands Highway forks, one link going towards Enga Province ending at Porgera, the other turning into Southern Highlands and Hela Province, ending at Kopiago (see Map 3.3 below).

Map 3.3 Highlands Highway

Trucks of varying sizes transport agricultural and industrial goods between the cities, coastal towns, and the highlands on this highway. Heavy equipment and machineries for the mining, oil and natural gas industries operating in the highlands also make their way over this highway (see Photos 3.6 below). It is the single most important transport corridor in Papua New Guinea. The limited construction of roads in Papua New Guinea, and the concentration of the nation's population in the highland provinces underline the significance of the Highlands Highway. Global trade and the exploitation of the state's economic potentials crucially depend upon this road passing through Dzifasing.[9]

Photos 3.6 Cargo trucks and passenger buses on the highway and making stops at Dzifasing.

Naturally, the movement of people has also increased dramatically since the highway was asphalted in the 1970s. Passenger buses called Public Motor Vehicles (PMV) travel up and down the Highway, connecting the larger towns, and make stops in-between whenever somebody needs to get on or off. For the people of Dzifasing, this means that it is easy to get to Lae, as they only have to flag down one of the passing PMV's. The fare from Dzifasing to Lae is 3 to 5 Kina, and thus relatively affordable. A few villagers from Dzifasing own a PMV or a small truck and earn money by transporting people and/or produce to the city and the main market in Lae.

[9] See the World Bank (1970) for an appraisal on the Highlands Highway as a funded project for improving the transportation infrastructure in Papua New Guinea.

Through the constant movement of people, the highway also represents an important source of possible marriage partners from all over Papua New Guinea. Many of these couples have settled close to the highway. While today there are mixed marriages in all of the hamlets in Dzifasing, whether near or far from the highway, *Brisafi* and *Brisaya* are on top of the list.

3.7 The day and night local markets

The two marketplaces in the village are both located along the highway. One is the "day market" that operates during the day and closes when the sun goes down. The other is the "night market" which is at its busiest at night but is also open during the day. The "day market" is also called the 40 Mile market, after its mileage distance from Lae. There is a gas station at 40 Mile, the last one for more than 100 km for vehicles leaving Lae, and the market has sprung up around it. It is the usual final stop for traffic needing to fill up their gas tank and then continuing the long stretch towards the highlands or to Madang. The gas station owner also operates a small trade store.

Vendors from many places within the province, many from the Watut area, and even some from the highlands, congregate at the 40 Mile market to sell their agricultural products: mostly vegetables, tubers, root crops, fruits, and tobacco; some retail betelnut that wholesale traders bring in from other provinces, such as from Madang; others sell clothes, personal effects, and other household and commercial wares. A delivery van from a bakery in Lae comes once or twice a week.

Photo 3.7 The Day or 40 Mile market.


Photo 3.8 *Danke* Market by night.

The baker's van makes its next stop at the other market just one mile up the road, the *Danke* Market – the "night market". The name (which is also part of everyday usage in Wampar) is a legacy of the influence of the German Lutheran Mission, as "danke" means "thank you" in German. The *Danke* Market is the last stop for the PMVs and trucks, as well as private cars, for food and rest before the long drive towards the highlands or Madang. The peak time for this last stop begins around sunset. Most PMVs heading towards the Western Highlands leave Lae in the early evening and make a stop at *Danke* Market, which is always busy from around 5:30 in the afternoon until 8:00 pm. There are always large container cargo trucks heading for the highlands or coming down to Lae throughout the night, and it is not uncommon that some make a longer stop, to sleep before driving ahead. Smaller cargo trucks carrying highland produce start arriving a few hours after midnight and usually wait for three to four hours to reach the main market in Lae by 5:00 or 6:00 o'clock in the morning. Truckers driving in either direction tend to stop for a few minutes or a few hours before proceeding to their destination.

It may be at night that it is the busiest, but the market operates all day. The market stalls are permanently built in place and there are always a few stalls open at any time of the day. It is quietest on Sunday (when only members of the Seventh-Day Adventist Church have their stalls open), but by Sunday night the marketplace is back in full swing. As a village-initiated marketplace, the vendors are exclusively villagers from Dzifasing. While the 40 Mile market is open for any trader or vendor, including the street-sellers (*wokabout maket),* no outsiders are permitted at the *Danke* Market, according to rules that the community has put in place. If any person of the *wokabout maket* tries to sell their wares, they would immediately be stopped and asked to leave if they did not want to get into trouble. While women are mostly in the front of stalls, or sitting by the road next to the goods, men nevertheless are inside the stall, in the back or by the road, acting as de facto "guards" who can quickly engage any troublemaker.

In *Danke* Market, villagers sell cooked food from their gardens, mostly boiled or fried banana and cooked meat from home-raised chickens, but occasionally also wild pig with rice. They also sell store-bought food items, such as grilled sausages, cooked eggs, bread and biscuits, cooking oil, sugar, Maggi noodles and soft drinks; all of these are either bought

on trips to Lae or delivered from there by traders. A favorite among children are "cream buns": a type of bread with a sweet cream filling. Garden-grown vegetables are usually not sold in the *Danke* Market, but bananas, pineapple, watermelon, coconuts (both dry and for drinking), mangoes and other fruits are often on offer. Mangoes, peanuts, and betel nuts are mostly bought from traders and then sold in retail (See Photos 3.9 below).

Photo 3.9 Betel nuts and food items sold in *Danke* Market

Danke Market stalls are owned by a household or a set of related households from Dzifasing, and household members and related persons are able to use them. Whoever has initiated the building of a stall is recognized as the "owner." Those households living close to the highway were the first to set up market stalls, some in front of their homes. One relatively big stall, for example, belongs to a group of sisters, who share time selling their wares.

The stalls are simple wooden tables mostly covered with "*kunai grass*" roofs, which have to be repaired or rebuilt every so often.[10] Behind the tables are usually wide benches that serve as sleeping areas. People use these mostly during the night, so that the stalls called "*haus market*" serve a function that is similar to a "*haus garden*." When people are not at their houses in the hamlets or in the gardens during the day or night, there is a good chance

[10] In February 2016, a new communal market structure built with concrete and other permanent materials was inaugurated. This was a project funded through the office of the current MP for the district, who is of mixed Wampar descent.

that they are at the *haus market*. Parents or other caregivers take small children with them to sleep at the *haus market*.

Wampar often congregate at the *haus market* in *Danke* Market. It is not just a place for making business, interacting with all sorts of customers, but it is also a place where many discussions between household members, with friends and cohorts, or with visiting guests take place. Conflicts are also played out in the *Danke* Market through brawls and fights between the villagers. Land-related conflicts, for example, often find a stage in *Danke* Market.

Meetings of prospective sexual and/or marriage partners also happen in *Danke* Market. There are disdainful talks about "*pamuk meri*" (prostitutes). These talks are meant to discourage what may be possible in *Danke* Market, particularly with trucks and drivers stopping for a long time to "rest" or "sleep" at night. People who make friends through the mobile phone also choose the *Danke* Market as a meeting place. The *Danke* Market, in this respect, is a meeting point for all sorts of interactions.

The 40 Mile and the *Danke* Market are multi-faceted socioeconomic sites. They serve as an outlet for locally grown produce and allow the generation of a moderate income through petty trading, and have become a central hub for everyday interactions. They are only one among the various forms of the villager's economic life where sociocultural relations manifest.

3.8 Conclusion

Dzifasing generally shares a history with the rest of the Wampar villages in the Markham Valley through their entanglement with early missionization and colonization that eventually led to Christianization and the formation of more permanent and centralized settlements. Dzifasing also shares increasing forms of engagement with the market, particularly through the global capitalist economy. State modernization projects are highly evident in Dzifasing in the form of the national road infrastructure, the Highlands Highway, that facilitates the flow of goods for the national and global markets. As a peri-urban village, Dzifasing is in a relatively privileged position regarding access to government services and opportunities for trade and commerce. The two marketplaces along the highway are focal points for economic activities and social interactions that enable among others an increase in inter-ethnic marriages. All hamlets in Dzifasing contain households with interethnic marriages, albeit in varying numbers. What is obvious is that two of the largest hamlets with a high number of intermarriages are situated along the Highlands Highway, which is the axis along which the whole village is laid out. With this relatively high number of interethnic marriages, kin relations among the people of Dzifasing have become more complex, as I will show in the next chapter.

4. Interethnic marriage and children's polyethnic kin relations

Marriages between different ethnic groups in Papua New Guinea are nothing new or unusual (Salisbury 1956; Beer 2010b). The Wampar are no exception in this regard, but the extent of interethnic marriages has recently increased dramatically. And while marriage partners formerly came from nearby social groups, they now come from all parts of Papua New Guinea (Beer and Schroedter 2014). With this development, the Wampar are following a widespread trend of increased interethnic marriages due to urbanization, socio-economic development and increasing mobility. With young men and women continuing their education in the bigger towns and cities, they invariably encounter potential partners from different ethnic groups. There is also a trend among the well-educated to marry partners with a similar skillset, leading to elite endogamy that blurs ethnic lines (Rosi and Zimmer-Tamakoshi 1993). The offspring from these unions sometimes face challenges regarding their identity. When children of interethnic marriages themselves marry, they create polyethnic kindred for their offspring, bringing together people from different sociocultural backgrounds.

Wampar distinguish their fellows based on the ethnic identities of their parents and their parents' parents. Couples in interethnic marriages are subject to particular categorizations, as are their children. Socialization, as an ongoing process, is critical in relation to identity formation and a person's sense of belonging. The importance of belonging comes to the fore in the politics of differentiation where relationships based on kinship, ethnicity and gender are used to define who has rights to and who is excluded from accessing vital resources among the Wampar.

In this chapter I first describe the Wampar kinship system and kin terms, and the importance of kin groups in organizing access to land, before I turn to the scope and extent of interethnic marriages in Dzifasing, in order to provide the context for children's experiences. Based on the census of households, I will show some trends in the interethnic marriage rates and how these compare to the neighboring village of Gabsongkeg. I also show how identities and relationships are shaped by certain cultural practices, such as bridewealth payment and the postpartum taboo. I demonstrate how children deal with processes of inclusion and exclusion while the parents accommodate different cultural practices entailing socialization.

4.1 Kin terms and relations

The Wampar kinship system could be described as having aspects of both Iroquois and Hawaiian types. It is based on rules and the actual use of terminologies that change over time (Beer 2010a). In using relations of marriage and filiation as a focus for sociocultural

analysis, I first look at terms of relationships, which are not static concepts, but historically changing, as are the relationships themselves.

Anthropologists working among the Wampar (Fischer 1975, 1996, Beer 2006a, 2006b, 2008, 2010a, 2010b, 2012, 2015) have analyzed sociocultural changes and their impact on kinship, such as the changing socio-demographic profile and the increasing inter-ethnic marriages. Among the outcomes is a reconfiguration of relationships that Beer (2010b) refers to as "transcultural kinship", where the network of kin relations becomes broader and challenges definitions of boundaries and social organization. Thus, a nuanced understanding of the transformation of social relations among the Wampar in Dzifasing necessitates a grasp of relations based on marriage and filiation.

Kin relations – who is related in what way – are also intelligible through the kinship terminologies in use. Today, Wampar express kinship terminologies both in Wampar and in Tok Pisin. Male and female paternal and maternal grandparents are called with the same term, "*rompoq*," and their male or female grandchildren "*rompod*" (see Table 4.1). In Tok Pisin the equivalent term is "*bubu*" which both applies to the grandparents and grandchildren. When referring to a grandfather, the qualifying term "*ngaeng*" (male) is added. For the grandmother, it is "*afi*" (female). In Tok Pisin, the grandfather is "*bubu man*" and the grandmother is "*bubu meri.*" It is also common in Tok Pisin to simply add the name of the person after the term *bubu*, such as "*bubu Peter*" or "*bubu Maria*."

Collateral kin are more differentiated in comparison to the lineal kin. The father is called "*abanq*" and the mother "*anuq*." The FB and MZH are also called *abanq* and the MZ and FBW are also called *anuq*. The FZ and the MBW are called "*uqu*" while the MB and the FZH are called "*yasiq*." In Tok Pisin, these are all referred to as either "*anti*" (aunt) or "*ankol*" (uncle). In specific descriptive terms, it would be in Tok Pisin, "*sista bilong mama bilong mi*" (my MZ), "*brata bilong papa bilong mi*" (my FB). These are also expressed as "*narapela mama/papa bilong mi*" (another mother/father of mine). Within the ego's generation, all siblings, parallel and cross-cousins of the opposite sex are called "*nafod*." All siblings and parallel cousins of the same sex are called "*rased.*" Cross-cousins of the same sex are called "*nau*."[1] In Tok Pisin, these terms are "*brata*" (brother), "*sista*" or "*susa*"(sister)[2], or "*kasen*" (cousin) or more specifically, "*kasen sista*" (female cousin) or "*kasen brata*" (male cousin). Relatives from the mother's side, regardless of whether uncles, aunts, cousins or nephews and nieces, can also be called by the Tok Pisin term "*kandere.*"

The female ego's husband is called "*sud*" which in Tok Pisin translates to "*man bilong mi*" (my husband), while the male ego's wife is called "*moantod*" which in Tok Pisin translates to

[1] The term "*orog nau*" is also used to refer to cousins. For female cousins, "*orog afi*" and for the male, "*orog ngaeng*." Another term, "*fisin*" is also used for the cross-cousins.

[2] *Brata* or *sista* are terms that are also used to refer to a personal friend, of the same sex.

"*meri bilong mi*" (my wife). The ego's children, male or female are called "*narod*" which in Tok Pisin is "*pikinini*" (child) or more descriptively, "*pikinini bilong mi*" (my child), "*pikinini meri bilong mi*" (my daughter) or "*pikinini man bilong mi*" (my son). The ego's DH or SW are called *"bud*" which in Tok Pisin are "*man bilong pikinini meri bilong mi*" (my DH) or "*meri bilong pikinini man bilong mi*" (my SW), and the same term "*bud*" is also used for the ego's mother- and father-in-law. In Tok Pisin, the mother- and father-in-law are called "*tambu*, " or more specifically "tambu meri" (WM/HM) and "tambu man" (WF/HF). The brother-in-law for a male ego and the sister-in-law of a female ego are called "*monto*," and again "*tambu*" in Tok Pisin.

Relationship	Wampar 1. Pers. / 2. Pers. / 3. Pers.	Tok Pisin
Father: F	Abang / Ramum / Raman	Papa
Father's brother: FB Mother's sister's husband: MZH	Abang / Ramum / Raman	Ankol
Mother: M	Anug / Rinum / Renan	Mama
Mother's sister: MZ Father's brother's wife: FBW	Anug / Rinum / Renan	Anti
Grandparents: FF/FM/MF/MM	Rompog / Rompom / Rompon (ngaeng/afi)	Bubu (man/meri)
Son: S	Narod / Narom / Naron (ngaemaro)	Pikinini (man)
Daughter: D	Narod / Narom / Naron (afi)	Pikinini (meri)
Wife: W	Moantod / Moantom / Moanton	Meri (bilong mi)
Husband: H	Sud / Sum / Sun	Man (bilong mi)
Grandchildren: SS/SD/DS/DD	Rompod / Rompom / Rompon	Bubu
Father's sister: FZ Mother's brother's wife: MBW	Ugu / Up / Wats	Anti (Sista bilong mama) (Meri bilong brata bilong mama)
Mother's brother: MB Father's sister's husband: FZH	Yasig / Farangum / Farangan	Ankol (Brata bilong mama) (Man bilong sista bilong papa)
Male ego's brother: BB	Rased / Rasem / Rasen	Brata
Female ego's sister: ZZ	Rased / Rasem / Rasen	Sista
Parallel cousins, same sex:		
Female ego mother's sister's daughter: MZD Female ego father's brother's daughter FBD	Rased / Rasem / Rasen	Kasen (sista)
Male ego's mother's sister's son: MZS Male ego's father's brother's son: FBS	Rased / Rasem / Rasen	Kasen (brata)
Male ego's sister: BZ	Nafod / Nafom / Nafon	Sista
Female ego's brother: ZB	Nafod / Nafom / Nafon	Brata

Parallel cousins, opposite sex:		
Female ego's mother's sister's son: MZS Female ego's father's brother's son: FBS	Nafod / Nafom / Nafon	Kasen (brata)
Male ego's mother's sister's daughter: MZD Male ego's father's brother's daughter: FBD	Nafod / Nafom / Nafon	Kasen (sista)
Cross cousins, opposite sex:		
Male ego's mother's brother's daughter: MBD Male ego's father's sister's daughter: FZD	Nafod / Nafom / Nafon	Kasen (sista)
Female ego's mother's brother's son: MBS Female ego's father's sister's son: FZS	Nafod / Nafom / Nafon	Kasen (brata)
Cross cousins, same sex:		
Male ego's father's sister's son: FZS Male ego's mother's brother's son: MBS	Nau / Yaram / Yaran	Kasen (brata)
Female ego's mother's brother's daughter: MBD Female ego's father's sisters' daughter: FZD	Nau / Yaram / Yaran	Kasen (sista)

Table 4.1 Kinship terminology in Wampar and Tok Pisin

4.2 Wampar social groups and land tenure

All Wampar belong to large, overarching social groups called *saqaseq*, a Wampar term that today is often glossed in Tok Pisin as "*klen*," a derivative of the English word "clan." These clan-like social groups all have a name (e.g., *Dzeaq antson*, *Mos waranq*, *Tsuwaif*, *Owanq rompon*), and members of a *saqaseq* are often spread over different villages, sometimes using a different *saqaseq* name that is considered an equivalent. Wampar speak of *saqaseq* as patrilineal groupings, but the incorporation of non-agnates is a common occurrence, historically as well as today. Not all members of a *saqaseq* can trace genealogical connections to each other. Historical fission and fusion of *saqaseq* has resulted in about 30 different *saqaseq* names, some of which are said to be analogue names, while others are considered to be subsections of another *saqaseq* name by some informants. These allocations are not at all clear, and people often disagree about the relationships between different *saqaseq* (Fischer 1975: 161-188; 1996: 129-144). In Dzifasing, people belong to six of these *saqaseq*. Despite the trend that closely related kin generally reside together, members of each *saqaseq* can be found in different, non-contiguous parts of the village. And while some of the smaller hamlets are dominated by one or two *saqaseq*, only five

smaller hamlets out of a total of 30 hamlets are composed exclusively of members from one *saqaseq*, while the larger hamlets are composed of members from almost all *saqaseq*.

The importance of the *saqaseq* has already long been in decline in the 1970's when Fischer conducted his research on that topic, due to changes in the patterns of settlement, political organization and land tenure with the end of pre-colonial warfare and the abandoning of pre-colonial religious notions after Christianization. Marriages within the same *saqaseq* used to be subject to sanctions, but while these rules had already been given up and only vaguely remembered in the 1970's, they have become completely irrelevant by the 1990's, also because quite a number of younger people are unclear about their *saqaseq* membership (Fischer 1975: 172-179; 1996: 129-144; 1997a: 75-78; Beer, 2006a). The importance of the *saqaseq* has recently experienced a revival, however, with the possibility of mining nearby and the formation of Incorporated Land Groups (ILG) on the level of the *saqaseq* (Bacalzo et. al. 2014).

Children automatically become part of the *saqaseq* of the father. For political reasons, for example in order to participate in social and economic activities of their maternal kin, they sometimes also emphasize their connections to their mother's *saqaseq*. This practice finds further currency in the context of interethnic marriages, particularly for the children with non-Wampar fathers, who generally identify themselves as belonging to their mother's *saqaseq*.

Saqaseq are too large to act as corporate units, and *saqaseq* members are often distributed over different villages. The actual corporate social groups when it comes to a range of social and economic activities among the Wampar are localized lineages of varying depths. They are usually referred to as a specific male individual's *mpan*. For example, the lineage of the kin-related households whom I stayed with during fieldwork is identified by the name of the paternal grandfather of the children, as in Julius *mpan*. The Wampar term *mpan* can encompass multiple levels of social group identities and cohesion, however. The Wampar most often use *mpan* to refer to a man's household, the lineage, or the descendants of a specific person, but it can also be used for *saqaseq* or larger entities like ethnic groups or even nation states.

These social groups are closely connected with notions about land ownership and land use. Land forms the basis for local subsistence, and most, if not all villagers use it to establish subsistence gardens in which they plant the staple food (bananas) and a wide variety of fruits and vegetables. Land also forms the basis for a wide variety of cash crop production, and forests, grassland and rivers are exploited for their resources. Land remains the fundamental resource for the Wampar, as it is passed on from one generation to the next. Land is generally owned collectively, on the level of lineages (*mpan*), but used individually on the level of households. There are exceptions, however, as transfers of specific pieces of land can also be made to an individual, and land thus becomes the individual property of that person (and later his descendants). People do sometimes refer to the land of a specific

named *saqaseq* (e.g., the land of the *Dzeaq antson*), but they mostly use this as a shorthand description for the *saqaseq* membership of the lineage (*mpan*) that is the actual landowning unit.

Land is transferred mostly based on patrifiliation. Thus, kinship connection, through one's father, is a criterion used to differentiate between those who have rights to lineage land and those who have none. Fischer (1996) analyzed land distribution and use patterns in Gabsongkeg, where he describes rights linked to land and a range of possibilities of routes to inheritance:

> Rights to land as well as to trees and fishing rights in creeks and rivers are in principle transferred from the father explicitly to his sons. These rights -- partially unlimited, partially limited in their use to the cultivation of gardens or other specific economic enterprise -- can also be transferred to not closely related people, however, and demographic facts, the raising of children, and the availability of land all play a role in the actual transfer (Fischer 1996:136; translation by Tobias Schwörer).

Fischer's description similarly applies to the Wampar in Dzifasing. A father sometimes distributes land before his death to each of his sons, specifying where they can make their gardens in the future. If no such directive was given, the sons decide amongst themselves whether to split up the land amongst themselves, or to keep it whole and administer it collectively, specifying who can use which piece of land for what purpose. For collective enterprise, however, for example fencing a piece of land for cattle, or leasing it to a company or individuals, all descendants of the original owner should become involved. How many generations back this rule applies is a matter of permanent contention, however. If a man has no sons, the rights to his land are transferred to his daughters, and even if he has sons, he can still decide to transfer certain rights – usually usufruct rights for creating subsistence gardens – to his daughters, especially if her husband has little or no land (Fischer 1975: 245-257). This means that there are multiple options when it comes to the transfer of rights, but it also means that the main and uncontested path to inherit land is via the male line.

Political authority within the lineage is based on a principle of primogeniture, privileging the first-born male in a hierarchical ordering of siblings. He is expected to be the lineage spokesperson and steward of all lineage land. In Tok Pisin, this first-born and lineage spokesperson is descriptively referred to "*maus man"* or "*bikpela bilong ol mipela*," (the prominent one amongst us), or "*em i kam pas*" (the one who came first). In Wampar, the first-born child is referred to as "*gentag*" which applies to a son or a daughter. However, when it comes to the rules on land rights and inheritance, the *gentag* position for a daughter does not give her the same privilege as that of her brother. In practice, all sons are given rights to land, regardless of the birth order. The elder of them, however, is acknowledged as the *bikpela bilong ol* and the one who should lead in the decision-making process regarding the use of the lineage's land. In Tok Pisin he is said to "*bosim mipela*."

Daughters, regardless of their birth order, have usufruct rights to land. Their father or brothers (including classificatory ones) can apportion them garden plots, and also allow them to plant coconuts or betelnut trees. While daughters may not inherit land in the same principle as their brothers, their access to lineage land is not limited in absolute terms even after marriage, particularly if they married non-Wampar men.

To be incorporated into a lineage, whether normatively or in an exceptional situation, is crucial for a person's future outlook. As Beer makes clear (2006a: 32), "the kin group is central because economic activities and decisions take place within it, and it regulates access to land, which is the most important and contested resource."

4.3 Interethnic marriages

Dzifasing has a considerably large number of interethnic marriages.[3] In my census of 472 households, I counted a total of 269 marriages between a Wampar and a spouse of non-Wampar or mixed Wampar/non-Wampar ethnicity. Non-Wampar spouses come from all over Papua New Guinea: Almost all of the 22 provinces of Papua New Guinea are represented by at least one in-married spouse, the only exception being Hela Province in the highlands (see Map 4.1 below). The interethnic marriages of the Wampar in Dzifasing thus show a pattern that resembles the one identified by Beer (2006a: 25–30; Beer and Schroedter 2014) in her study of interethnic marriages in the Wampar village of Gabsongkeg. The trend towards a large number of interethnic marriages started mostly with marriages of Wampar men with women from the neighboring Adzera. There has been a long history of interethnic unions between Wampar and Adzera. According to the Wampar in Dzifasing today, during the time of precolonial warfare, Adzera[4] women were either brought to the Wampar as part of conflict settlement to end hostilities, or Adzera women were captured by Wampar warriors. Women from the Watut[5] also married into Wampar groups

[3] Among the Wampar, a marriage is usually considered to exist if the woman has moved into her partner's household. Church rituals to affirm the marriage or the legal registration of the marriage are rare events and often take place much later. As partners might move together and then separate again for various reasons and indeterminate lengths of time, the exact status of the relationship is not always clear. After a conflict, for example, one of the partners might move back to the parents, and it is not always clear whether this constitutes a divorce or only a temporary separation.

[4] The Wampar in Dzifasing say that they and the Adzera are culturally similar, so that intermarriage poses no real problem. Like the Wampar, the Adzera were evangelized at the beginning of the 20th century by the Lutheran missionaries. A mission station was established in Kaiapit, on Adzera land, not long after the mission was founded in Gabmadzung.

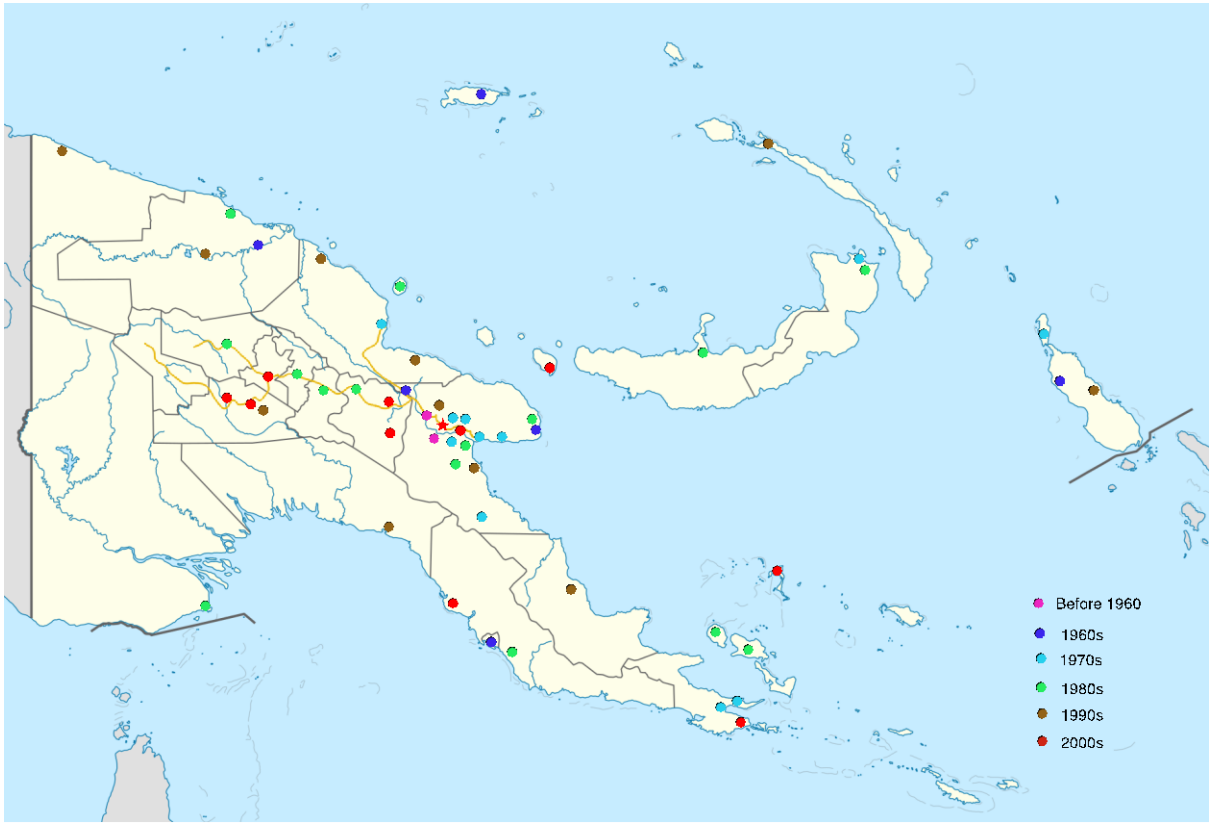
[5] The Watut live to the southwest of the Wampar. Canoes ferry people on the Watut River towards the Markham River to reach Lae. People get on and off the canoes by the bank of the Markham River closest to 40 mile.

at the turn of the 20th century, but less frequently than the Adzera, who remain the largest group of in-married non-Wampar in Dzifasing, just as they are in Gabsongkeg. Compared to Gabsongkeg, Adzera-Wampar intermarriages in Dzifasing make up a higher percentage of all interethnic marriages between Wampar and non-Wampar. In Dzifasing, I counted 61 Adzera women and 18 Adzera men out of a total of 269 marriages with non-Wampar, which corresponds to 29% of all marriages with non-Wampar, whereas the corresponding figures for Gabsongkeg are 71 Adzera women and 32 Adzera men out of a total of 538 marriages with non-Wampar, which is 19% (Beer and Schroedter 2014: 11). This might be because the Adzera are geographically closer to Dzifasing than to Gabsongkeg.

From the 1960s onwards, after the Highlands Highway was completed, also men from more distant island provinces, coastal and lowland areas married Wampar women. These men usually had a higher educational background, and marriages were thus hypergamous (see Beer 2006a). Women from these areas gradually followed, but mostly arrived three decades later. It was only in the 1980s that men and women from the Highlands started marrying in (See Annex 1 and Map 4.1 next page). Increasingly over the last 20 years, interethnic marriages occur not only between Wampar and non-Wampar from all over Papua New Guinea, but also between children of previous interethnic marriages, which I classified as "mixed". From the ethnographic census I conducted in Dzifasing, the first in-married non-Wampar woman who was of ethnically mixed descent was noted in the 1970s. However, I would not discount the possibility of such marriages before then. Nevertheless, it shows that marriages with partners who are offspring of interethnic marriages have since been increasing among the Wampar. Interethnic marriages can already take place in the third or fourth generation in sequence now — with the children of the initial interethnic marriages and these children's children marrying Wampar or other mixed Wampar.

The reasons for marriage and for settling in Dzifasing among the in-married non-Wampar in Dzifasing that I interviewed range from idealistic notions of love to the practical aspects of life. Both Wampar and non-Wampar spouses share a notion of romantic love and of physical attraction. Some non-Wampar men consider Markham Valley women to be especially beautiful and desirable.[6] The Wampar women, like their men, are known for their tall stature, for example, which is seen as desirable by many other PNG ethnic groups. This height also gives them a considerable advantage in volleyball, the favorite sport of Wampar women. Local teams often enjoy winning streaks in provincial and national competitions, and traveling to other parts of the country for these matches has resulted in some meetings that ended up in marriage.

[6] For the Wampar, Beer (2006b) shows that moral qualities and a healthy appearance are the most important qualities for selecting marriage partners, although today younger people increasingly look for "stylish" partners, which points to consumption patterns and possibilities. Physical beauty is not that emphasized, but there is a frequently expressed view that contrasts ‘beautiful Wampar’ with ‘ugly non-Wampar’, especially those from the highlands.



Map 4.1 Place of origin of in-married non-Wampar

Beyond the notion of romantic and physical attraction, the Markham Valley itself is considered to be a land of opportunity. In-marrying spouses recognize the advantage of Dzifasing being close to the city and being located on the Highlands Highway. Such conditions make it attractive to settle in Dzifasing, especially compared to the economic marginalization in other places (such as limited productive land, and lack of government services and infrastructure). From individual biographies it becomes clear, that "desire" is only one dimension of how people decided to migrate and settle elsewhere. A lot of decisions are also informed by the effects of larger social forces of change, and there are push-and-pull factors at work. Young people, for example, often migrate in search of jobs to the larger centers. Other sociocultural factors that lead to intermarriage and settling in Dzifasing include running away from an unwanted arranged marriage or an unsettled conflict at one's place of origin, including the associated threat from malevolent forces through acts of sorcery. There are cases when a simple social visit to a "*wantok*"[7] or relative already residing in Dzifasing led to marriage to a Wampar. Many Wampar of the parent generation claim, however, that the betelnut produced on Wampar land had ultimately

[7] *Wantok* is a Tok Pisin term that can generally refer to someone speaking the same language. Nanau (2011) presents it as a much more complex concept than how it may be generally understood as solely based on language, or kinship. Accordingly, the concept today in Melanesian contexts encompasses many new forms of group solidarity based on various sets of social networks for reciprocity and as sources of support.

attracted non-Wampar to move to Dzifasing. They said that many non-Wampar came for jobs in the city or adjacent commercial farms, but that they did not go back to their place of origin upon seeing the opportunities presented by marketing betelnut.

I conducted a detailed census of the two largest settlements in Dzifasing, *Brisaya* and *Brisafi*, with a total of 114 households combined (representing about 25% of all households in Dzifasing). This census includes 190 marriages plus short-term sexual relations that have resulted in children. In order to analyze the composition of marriages in Dzifasing itself, I excluded 30 marriages of couples that currently reside outside of Dzifasing (16%), such as in Lae, in other Wampar villages, or in other provinces. However, it is important to note that these married couples may commute between village and town, and/or move back in the future, even if temporarily, and desire to settle in Dzifasing when circumstances are less favorable in their current place of residence.[8] Of the remaining 160 marriages, 55 (34%) are marriages between Wampar, two between non-Wampar (1%), and 103 (64%) are interethnic marriages, meaning that one of the partners has at least one non-Wampar parent (see Table 4.2). Some of the in-married non-Wampar men and women are of ethnically mixed descent themselves, with parents of different ethnicity (for example with a Sepik father and a Manus mother).

Marriages between:	Wampar men	%	Non-Wampar men	%	Mixed men with Wampar mother	%	Mixed men with Wampar father	%	Total for women	
Wampar women	55	34%	24	15%	10	6%	5	3%	94	59%
Non-Wampar women	29	18%	2	1%	10	6%	3	2%	44	27%
Mixed women with Wampar mother	11	7%	6	4%	2	1%	0	0	19	12%
Mixed women with Wampar father	2	1%	1	1%	0	0	0	0	3	2%
Total for men	97	60%	33	21%	22	14%	8	5%		

Table 4.2 Types of marriages in *Brisaya* and *Brisafi*.

[8] Some examples of situations when couples (and particularly Wampar wives) would prefer to move to Dzifasing are epidemic outbreaks such as cholera in their current place of residence, the remoteness of a job assignment, violent fighting such as in the highlands, and when a Wampar woman would prefer to be close to her natal kin. It is also possible that a Wampar woman married to a non-Wampar is able to maintain her residence in Dzifasing, while the husband keeps their common residence in another place relatively close by, such as within the Markham Valley.

Table 4.2 above shows the marriages sorted by gender and ethnicity. Intra-ethnic Wampar marriages make up only 34% of all marriages. In the case of female marriage partners in the two largest settlements in Dzifasing, Wampar women comprise the most at 59%, followed by non-Wampar women at 27%, mixed women with Wampar mother at 12%, and mixed women with Wampar father at 2%. The male marriage partners consist of 60% Wampar men, 21% non-Wampar men, 14% mixed men with Wampar mother and 5% mixed men with Wampar father. There are more non-Wampar women (42) than men (33). In contrast, there are more mixed men (30) residing in the two settlements than mixed women (21).

Turning now to the interethnic marriages, the highest percentage represents those between Wampar men and non-Wampar women (18%). Next are those marriages between Wampar women and non-Wampar men (15%). On a lesser incidence are the marriages between Wampar men and mixed women with Wampar mother (7%), or those between men of mixed descent with Wampar mother, and Wampar or non-Wampar women, at 6% each.

For a comparison with the much larger dataset analyzed by Beer and Schroedter (2014: 8-12) for Gabsongkeg, I have analyzed the 190 marriages from the two hamlets, including the non-residents, to create a similar dataset.[9] The data is presented in tables 4.3 and 4.4 and directly compared with the percentages for Gabsongkeg in parentheses.

Marriages between:	Wampar men in Dzifasing (and Gabsongkeg)	Mixed men in Dzifasing (and Gabsongkeg)	Total for all men in Dzifasing (and Gabsongkeg)	n for D
Wampar women	D: 56% (G:56%)	D: 48% (G: 37%)	D: 54% (G: 55%)	79
Mixed women	D: 13% (G: 4%)	D: 6% (G: 8%)	D: 11% (G: 4%)	16
Non-Wampar women	D: 31% (G: 40%)	D: 46% (G: 55%)	D: 35% (G: 41%)	51

Table 4.3 Comparison between Dzifasing (D) and Gabsongkeg (G) in terms of marriage partners of Wampar and mixed Wampar men

[9] The data set of Beer and Schroedter (2014) is much larger, as it encompasses the whole village of Gabsongkeg, and it is genealogically deeper, as it is based on a regularly updated village census that was first conducted back in 1954. The first marriages recorded are therefore from the 1890s. I conducted the census for my sample in the settlements of Brisafi and Brisaya in 2009, and the first marriages recorded are from the 1950s. Beer and Schroedter (2014) also differ in the treatment of adopted children. While they recorded them as Wampar, I recorded them according to their natal ethnicity, because even though they are incorporated into lineages as full members, they self-identify and are identified by others according to their natal ethnicity.

Marriages between:	Wampar women in Dzifasing (and Gabsongkeg)	Mixed women in Dzifasing (and Gabsongkeg)	Total for all women in Dzifasing (and Gabsongkeg)	n for D
Wampar men	D: 58% (G: 63%)	D: 59% (G: 31%)	D: 58% (G: 63%)	67
Mixed men	D: 16% (G: 4%)	D: 9% (G: 6%)	D: 15% (G: 4%)	17
Non-Wampar men	D: 26% (G: 33%)	D: 32% (G: 63%)	D: 27% (G: 33%)	31

Table 4.4 Comparison between Dzifasing (D) and Gabsongkeg (G) in terms of marriage partners of Wampar and mixed Wampar women

While the number of Wampar marriage partners is similar, with 55% Wampar women and 63% Wampar men in Gabsongkeg, compared to 54% and 58% for Dzifasing, there are a slightly larger number of non-Wampar marriage partners in Gabsongkeg: 41% of all women and 33% of all men are non-Wampar (compared to 35% and 27% in the sample in Dzifasing). In contrast, mixed men and women make up a much larger percentage of marriage partners in the sample in Dzifasing than in Gabsongkeg, with 11% versus 4% among women and 15% versus 4% among men. This could be a result of the shallower genealogical depth of the census in Dzifasing, which could give the marriages of mixed children a more prominent status.

Beer and Schroedter (2014), in their analysis of marriages of Wampar and mixed Wampar men and women, see a trend that children of interethnic marriages are more likely to marry a *yaner* than a Wampar. My data for Dzifasing shows that this trend is not clear in the case of sons of interethnic marriages, and it is reversed for daughters of interethnic marriages. While ethnically mixed men in Dzifasing have married about the same number of Wampar and non-Wampar women (48% vs. 46%), ethnically mixed women have been clearly marrying more Wampar men than non-Wampar men (59% vs. 32%), and thus do not significantly deviate from the trend among Wampar women in general (58% vs. 26%) in Dzifasing. This may be an indicator that, at least for the time period in question, mixed women in Dzifasing were more concerned about being able to remain in Dzifasing near their parents by marrying a Wampar, than in Gabsongkeg. Another trend discovered by Beer and Schroedter (2014), that about roughly 30% of mixed children marry a partner from the province of their non-Wampar parent, is also present in Dzifasing, albeit in a much more attenuated form. Of 18 mixed men, 5 (27%) married partners from their non-Wampar parents' region or province, while the number for mixed women is 3 out of 17 (18%).

With the rise of interethnic marriages among the Wampar in Dzifasing, new sociocultural categories of identities and relationships emerge. As shown in chapter 2, children differentiate themselves based on overlapping social categories of ethnicity, gender, and descent, among other cultural categories, in which having a Wampar father is deployed as an important criterion. How children are differentiated could mean their inclusion in their

kin group, or their exclusion from it. Furthermore, the chances and pathways for inclusion among siblings are not necessarily the same.

4.4 Gender, ethnicity, and kinship

Among the Wampar, the cultural construction of hierarchies and asymmetries in relationships is also gendered and ethnicized. It is therefore important to look at both gender and ethnicity as constitutive elements when analyzing kinship and novel inequalities emerging among the Wampar in Dzifasing today.

I observed similar gender relations to what Lütkes (1999: 261-297) describes for the Wampar in Tararan:[10] The differentiation between females and males implicates notions of ideal social behavior, activities, and labor contributions. Men are associated with heights, women with the ground. Men are expected to engage in public life, run modern businesses like cash crops and cattle, and do work that requires physical strength, like felling trees, establishing subsistence gardens and building houses. Women are expected to do most of the garden work and all of the everyday household chores, from cooking, cleaning and washing, collecting water and firewood, to raising the children.

Gender relations do not only focus on the husband-wife bond, just as important are gendered relations between siblings. Brothers are expected to look after their sisters. This is a moral value that persists despite the changing socio-economic situation. The Wampar speak of this as part of their "*pasin*" (custom, or way of life; see Mihalic 1971). Young boys and girls, who are kin-related, are early on taught to care for each other in a reciprocal way. Boys are reminded to be good towards their (classificatory) sisters because it is they who will "feed" them, by producing food from the garden and cooking and serving them. This also points to the valued labor contribution of girls and women in the social reproduction of a lineage and the community.

Wampar gender relations are characterized by complementarity but not equality. Some Wampar question these notions, however, and strive for more equal relations between the sexes. Many younger and older women, Wampar and non-Wampar, see themselves as hardworking providers for the family and generous to their extended kin, but insist that men should equally be as hardworking as themselves. Women described by Lütkes (1999: 265-269), for example, often complained about their having to do the bulk of daily work and the laziness of men. Wampar women in Dzifasing also criticize their men in this manner; for their part, Wampar men have complementary criticisms of their women.[11]

[10] Tararan is a Wampar village that borders Dzifasing on the northeast.

[11] The marriage preferences of Wampar women and men are also informed by the increasingly contested gender division of labor and notions of ideal or undesirable traits of spouses (cf. Beer 2006a).

This critical lens is applied all the more readily to non-Wampar. Beer (2006b) analyzed how ethnic boundaries reflect a characterization of difference that highlights the positive traits and desirable physical features of the Wampar while attributing negative ones to non-Wampar. In Dzifasing, such stereotypical characterizations are also deployed in evaluating the in-married non-Wampar men and their children. The idealized hard work and moral diligence of the Wampar become important standards against which in-married Wampar and their children are measured.

The types of marriages, as described above, are implicated in the process of differentiating identities and their entitlements among the Wampar. Differentiations apply to several generations, from the parents down to the children and the children's children. With interethnic marriages, kinship, gender and ethnic relations are expressed in the way couples, male and female spouses, and their children are categorized in relation to the Wampar.

Because ethnic identity is tied to a descent system, rights associated with inclusion in such a descent system can also become ethnicized. To have a Wampar father who lives on Wampar land is the *undisputed* criterion for belonging among the Wampar, and patrilineal descent is the least contested pathway for inheriting rights to access lineage land. However, the rights of the children are asymmetrically distributed, based on gender and birth order, as I have demonstrated above. With the increase in interethnic marriages, along with the changing political economy, these orders of social relations are shifting. New relations of power now emerge that are further differentiated based on ethnicity, but also on the quality of relationships between Wampar and non-Wampar kin, as I will show in the next section.

4.5 Bridewealth, postpartum taboo and socialization

The early socialization experiences of children facilitate a sense of identity, as to be Wampar or not, or something in-between. While growing up, a child starts to make sense of the different social categories that she or he uses, or are being used by cohorts or grownups around them, either among the Wampar or non-Wampar kindred. As a child grows up in already existing configurations of social relations, the quality of these relationships is important for the relationships the child is able to establish itself. The observance of cultural practices like the payment of bridewealth or the postpartum taboo is one of the factors influencing such relationships.

Bridewealth among the Wampar is usually paid a few years after the woman has moved to the man’s household. The Wampar say that bridewealth should only be paid after the marriage has been stabilized through the birth of one or more children. Bridewealth among the Wampar is relatively low in comparison to other areas and ethnic groups of Papua New Guinea. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, it was barely more than a large pig, a sizeable number of coconut bundles, bananas, taro or sweet potatoes, and 20 Australian Dollars.

This is a sum that could be earned in a single day through the sale of betelnut at the Lae market, and thus economically not a significant burden (Fischer 1975:224-244). In 2009, bridewealth for marriages between Wampar was limited by an advisory rule of the Local Level Government to a maximum of 3000 Kina (about US$ 1000). For interethnic marriages, bridewealth can be higher, depending on ethnicity and income of the husband, but also the education of the wife. The payment of bridewealth is an important marker that the children now belong to the lineage of the father. In interethnic marriages, the Wampar kin often insist that bridewealth be paid before the husband takes the wife and children with him to live elsewhere. If bridewealth has not been paid, a mother can always take her children and return to her parents without repercussions. The payment of bridewealth thus determines up to a certain extent where exactly children will grow up and become socialized.

In Dzifasing, a significant time for the early socialization of children is during the observance of the postpartum taboo. Most Wampar still regard this practice as important and culturally distinctive. They refer to this practice as part of their "*pasin*". The Wampar in Dzifasing, even those who say that they no longer follow the taboo, describe it as a time when the husband is prohibited from cohabiting with the wife who has just given birth, and with the newly born. Interethnic couples are faced with the questions whether to observe the Wampar practice (which is difficult if the mother is from a faraway place) or not, or how to accommodate different beliefs and practices that each spouse brings into their relationship.

Among the Wampar, a woman who is about to give birth usually moves out of the household that she shares with her husband. She goes back to her mother's household where her kin will care for her and the newborn. As there is a tendency towards village endogamy among the Wampar, and as post-marital residence is usually patrilocal or neolocal,[12] this means that the woman just moves from one household within Dzifasing to another. This is a time when the mother's kin are able to establish a connection with the newborn. The newborn's siblings are in close contact with the mother's kin as well, because the mother usually takes small children along for this period of observance.

When giving birth in the village, a woman usually moves into her mother's house sometime in the last month of the pregnancy, when she expects the delivery to happen soon. Other arrangements are possible, such as in the case of a couple whose wife's mother's house is located where access to water is difficult. In that case, the mother instead came over to the couple's house, while the husband moved out and stayed with one of his cousins. If a woman gives birth in the hospital in Lae, her agnatic kin come afterwards to move her and the newborn back to the village with them. The husband who might have brought his wife

[12] Among the pre-colonial Wampar, post-marital residence was initially matrilocal, as the young husband had to perform bride service for his father-in-law for a few years. After the birth of the first child, the couple would then move to their own house (Fischer 1975:219-220). This practice has long since been discontinued.

to the hospital for the delivery is not supposed to be near her as soon as she is giving birth to their child.

The length of the postpartum taboo usually depends on the birth-order of the child. It is the longest for the first born, when it can last for up to one year. It will be shorter for the second born, when it may last for at most eight months. For the third and other following children, the period gets shorter and may be between five to six months, or even less. When I arrived in Dzifasing, for example, a Wampar woman in my neighborhood had just spent only about four months away from her husband with her two young children after the birth of her third son.

The beliefs surrounding this practice relate to the well-being of mother and child, but also to the well-being of the father, with discourse stressing the latter reason. The Wampar believe that in order for the man to keep his strength and his vigor, and thus avoid getting weak or age prematurely, he should refrain from having any direct contact, including sexual intercourse, with his wife after birth, and avoid being close to his wife and the newly-born.[13] Whatever message or things or food he wants to give to his wife and the child, he has to convey or hand them over through other women (usually his wife's kin). After the accepted period has elapsed, he can cohabit with his wife and the newborn child. The infant by this time is considered to have gained enough strength to sit up and crawl. The husband has to prepare a small feast and serve it to his wife's relatives to ritually mark the end of this period. The food is to reciprocate them for the care that they have extended to his wife and the newborn. For the first born, not only is the period longer but the food preparation also tends to be more elaborate and larger. In this case, the husband may slaughter a pig, and prepare it with staples such as banana or other food from the market, such as rice and canned food. The meals get simpler and smaller with the subsequent children, such as preparing a chicken instead of a pig.

Whether the in-married non-Wampar spouse observes this practice depends upon the particularities of the couple. For non-Wampar women, they could have the opportunity to either go back to their place of origin, stay with their kin elsewhere such as in Lae, or move in with their Wampar husband's mother and other kin if she is unable to leave the village. For the non-Wampar men, their observance of this practice is taken positively by the Wampar who still value it. For those who do not observe it, how the woman's Wampar kin react to this largely depends on whether the non-Wampar is well liked and respected, and whether bridewealth has already been paid or not.

Wampar kin who tolerate the non-observance by in-married non-Wampar men usually attribute it to the fact that they are *yaner* who do not share the practice, and say, "*kastom*

[13] For a comparative study on sex avoidance and its implication on notions of male "strength" in Melanesian and Amazonian contexts, see Roscoe (2001).

bilong ol yet" (literally, "That is their custom").[14] Such is the case of Eddie, a man from Madang, married to Ana (Case study #1). They have six biological and two adopted children, and Janna is one of their daughters.

Case study #1: Janna

Janna is a young woman of mixed descent, born to a Wampar mother who married a non-Wampar man. Her father, Eddie, is from Madang. He is a truck driver and was already working as such when he met Janna's mother, Ana, selling betelnut at the 40 Mile market.

Eddie has only finished elementary school, but he has been steadily employed as a truck driver. The Highlands Highway was not yet fully paved when he began driving the routes between Lae, Madang, or the highlands in the late 1970s. Eddie and Ana got married in 1979. They have six biological children, four sons and two daughters. Janna is one of them. Eddie and Ana also adopted two nephews from Madang.

After marriage, the couple first resided in Lae. Eddie operated his own small family-owned trucking business in Lae in partnership with one of his brothers. The business went bankrupt, however, and they then settled in Dzifasing in the 1980s. Eddie started working as a truck driver for other trucking companies, mainly delivering equipment and supplies to the mining operations in the highlands. While he has set up residence in Dzifasing, he said that he decided it was best to have "*wok mani,*" that is a salaried job, so that he has a regular source of cash income to support his family, especially for the children's school fees. Eddie continued to maintain strong ties with his kin at his place of origin in Madang, through his visits, either by himself or sometimes with Ana or any of their children. One of their sons, who no longer attends school, lives in Madang.

Janna's mother, Ana, is the fourth of 12 children of Wampar parents from Dzifasing. She is the only surviving daughter. All the land of Ana's patrilineage is dedicated to cattle farming, with her paternal grandfather as one of the original shareholding members representing their lineage in the Zifasing Cattle Ranch. While members of Ana's patrilineage do not have any land for other purposes, Ana is able to access land through her Wampar kin network from other lineages for "*garden kaikai*" (food or subsistence gardening), planting bananas and vegetables, but also coconut and betelnut palms.

To augment their household income, Eddie and Ana stressed the importance of Eddie being a "*wokman*" (employed with regular salary). They said that through Eddie's *wok mani* they were able to extend financial assistance to Ana's kindred in Dzifasing, with whom they enjoy a good relationship. They said that they could also rely on Ana's brothers when they needed cash, such as for their children's tertiary education school fees.

[14] See Keesing (1982: 297-301), Tonkinson (1982: 302-305) and Lindstrom (2008: 161-178) for an overview on the Melanesian notion and usage of the term *kastom* as a powerful cultural symbol for differentiating identities of social groups, that may also have a unifying dimension, subject to variations and transformation in local, national, and globalizing political economy contexts.

When Eddie married Ana, he followed the cultural practice of bridewealth exchange. He said that his father told him to do so, in accordance with his own *kastom*. They held the exchange ceremony in Madang. Ana's Wampar kin went to Eddie's village for the ceremony. Eddie also gave Ana's kin a pig on top of other food items for them to take back to Dzifasing. When it comes to children, Eddie said that he followed his own *kastom* from his place in Madang. For every son that is born, he gave a pig to Ana's brothers (their son's significant *kandere*). He has given four pigs for his four sons. He said that they do not do this for daughters.

In 2009, Janna finished secondary school and planned to enter university in 2010. Her parents had high hopes for Janna's future because she reached the university level of education. Her parents supported Janna and expected her to get a university degree, unlike her elder sister who did not finish secondary school, but got pregnant, married and started working with her husband. The eldest of Eddie and Ana's four sons finished primary school and pursued a vocational training in carpentry, while the second-eldest reached Grade 10. The second-youngest son has a tertiary education from the University of Papua New Guinea, and has started an administrative job in another province, while the youngest had just finished primary school in 2009. The older of the adopted daughters is aiming to finish primary school in Dzifasing and to also pursue higher education to become a nurse. The younger one is of pre-school age.

According to Eddie and Ana, their non-observance of the Wampar postpartum practice has not caused any difficulties. Eddie has good relations with his in-laws since his marriage to Ana. This was partly due to him paying elaborate bridewealth and giving his affines a pig after the birth of each of his sons, but also due to his reliability as a productive member of the lineage who shared some of his earnings in cases of need. After the birth of each of her children, Ana stayed in her Wampar parents' household after the birth of their children, but Eddie nevertheless visited, and soon took them back to their own household. He did this after the birth of each of his children. Ana's kin tolerated and accommodated Eddie's preferences.

However, non-observance of the postpartum taboo can become a source of tension between a non-Wampar man and his Wampar wife's kin if the relationship is already strained. Manu's father, Nelson (Case study #2), another non-Wampar, did not observe the Wampar practice and has been criticized for it.

Case study #2: Manu

Manu likes going to school. He attends Grade 7 at the primary school in Dzifasing. He lives in one of the outlying settlements, which is quite a distance from the Highlands Highway. He walks through the bush, rather than following the dirt road, as a shortcut on his way to school. He lives with his parents and siblings in a house located on the boundary between

the land of his Wampar mother's patrilineage and her matrilateral kin. It was a pragmatic arrangement so his family can access land on both sides through Manu's mother's kin.

Manu's father, Nelson, is a non-Wampar (Tolai) from a coastal village between Rabaul and Kokopo. He ran away from New Britain to escape an unwanted marriage prospect in the early 1990s. The traditions of his home stipulate that land is inherited through the female line, so he cannot pass on any of his mother's lineage's land to his sons. His mother's lineage's land was also affected by the volcanic eruptions near Rabaul in 1994. He met Jacinta, Manu's mother, while visiting a relative in Wawin, a few miles north of Dzifasing. He said that he was looking for a job as a carpenter, for which he had been trained.

Jacinta's marriage was not unanimously approved by her half-brothers. She was born of her father's second marriage, while her half-brothers are from the first marriage. Some of the half-brothers said that she was pressured by one of her elder brothers who was keen to receive her bridewealth, which Nelson has not yet paid. Jacinta says that it was her full brother, now deceased, who preferred that no one ask Nelson for bridewealth; it was her brother's way of ensuring that Nelson would not take her and her children away from Dzifasing. The half-brothers, who are not fond of Nelson, say that he likes to drink and fight and often gets into trouble. The disapproving half-brothers are aware that Nelson had no job when he first came to Dzifasing, but now, through Jacinta's maternal kin, he works for a company owned by an influential cousin of hers, who is a businessman and a politician.

Manu is called *yasiq* by Jacinta's half-brothers. They say that he belongs to them through these kinship ties. However, Manu, who is in his early teens, is more inclined to associate himself with his non-Wampar father's cultural background, taking pride in his Tolai heritage. He even understands a bit of Kuanua, his father's language, although he does not speak it. His Wampar social ties appear to be more mediated through Jacinta's mother's kin network than through Jacinta's patrilineage. Manu has visited Rabaul when he was 6 years old and spent some time there with his Tolai relatives. He fondly remembers his father's younger brother, who bought things for him and took him to see Rabaul town. Manu wants to join the army when he is older, as he is fascinated by movies with soldiers, and admired them in their uniform when they were on parade in Lae.

Nelson asserts his sense of modernity and his rejection of the postpartum taboo by contrasting the cohabitating Christian holy family of Joseph, Mary, and Jesus, with what he considers a "*pipia*" (rubbish) practice of the Wampar. He said that he told his Wampar in-laws that he does not approve of their practice. Jacinta said that she simply followed Nelson's wishes, being his wife. Nelson said that he threatened Jacinta's kin by saying that should they stop him from seeing Jacinta and his children, he could always turn to other women. This is how he said he got his way to ignore the Wampar practice of the postpartum taboo. He was not well liked from the start by most of Jacinta's half-brothers. They consider him a "*drip man*" (vagabond). Nelson is aware that people use this term. Jacinta had one full brother who she said got along well with Nelson. Her brother, according to her, did not want to ask for bridewealth from Nelson, which their half-brothers were negotiating among

themselves. Her brother, however, has passed away and Jacinta is left with her half-brothers.

Non-observance of the postpartum taboo is sometimes initiated by the Wampar spouse rather than the in-married non-Wampar. For example, Isaac, a *ngaeng Wampar* is married to Lucy, an *afi yaner*. Their elder daughter is Elissa (Case study #3).

Case study #3: Elissa

Elissa is the eldest daughter of a Wampar man who is the eldest of his generation in his patrilineage. Elissa and her three younger siblings are all in school. She is in Grade 10 at a secondary school in Lae, while the others are in primary and elementary school. Elissa aspires to become a doctor, to improve the health situation in Papua New Guinea. Her mother is from Finschhafen. Both of her parents are church leaders. They met at a major church gathering in 1989, fell in love, and married soon after.

Her father, Isaac, is the lineage spokesperson, the "*maus man*." He said that he has a huge responsibility on his hands. His father married four times and produced many children. He represents his patrilineage on the board of the Zifasing Cattle Ranch. He actively contributes to the management of the ranch. He also remains active in the Lutheran Revival Church, of which he is one of the local founders. Elissa and her siblings have grown up in this church. Isaac could not attend school and grew up not knowing how to read and write. He learned Tok Pisin through the Lutheran Church's literacy education program. He learnt some English through self-study and the help of his wife, who finished elementary school. He also turns to Elissa and his eldest son for help with translation because they are in secondary school.

Lucy has brothers working in Lae. They visit her in Dzifasing occasionally, as do other kin from Finschhafen. A male cousin comes relatively often and has helped Isaac and Lucy build their house, and a "*haus boi*" (young men's house) for Lucy's two sons, in the Finschhafen style. Elissa is the only one of the children to have spent a long time at their mother's place in Finschhafen.

Isaac and Lucy observed the postpartum taboo for their first two children and did not follow it with the latter two. As children with a non-Wampar mother and a Wampar father they are all considered "*miks pikinini*," but their being Wampar is not disputed. Their elder daughter, Elissa, however, has a different sense of who she was as a young girl compared to her younger siblings. Elissa was first raised in Finschhafen, at Lucy's place of origin, by Lucy's sister, and has spent more time there than any of her siblings who were mainly raised in Dzifasing. She grew up first speaking Yabim and only later learned Tok Pisin when she began school in Dzifasing. She said that when she started school in Dzifasing, she thought of herself as a girl from Finschhafen. Not long after, she began to wonder about her identity.

When Lucy was pregnant with Elissa and soon expecting to give birth, she moved to stay with one of her elder sisters living in Lae. Soon after Elissa was born in the hospital in Lae, another of Lucy's sisters came to Lae to take her and Elissa to Finschhafen. There they would stay for more than half a year before Isaac came to see them in Finschhafen and then they all went back together to Dzifasing. During this time, according to Isaac, Lucy's kin were wondering why he did not come earlier for her and the child. According to Lucy, people in Finschhafen do not observe a postpartum taboo as the Wampar do. When Isaac finally came to see them in Finschhafen, he said that her kin told him that they were starting to think that he might have divorced her. They were already thinking of adopting Elissa and finding a new husband for Lucy. Lucy's sister, who fetched them from Lae after she gave birth to Elissa, wanted to keep Elissa with her. Soon after Lucy and Elissa were back in Dzifasing, this same sister came to Dzifasing to take Elissa back to Finschhafen to live with her. Elissa would spend at least three more years in Finschhafen living with her mother's sister whom she grew up believing to be her mother.

Elissa has good memories of growing up as a small girl in Finschhafen. She fondly recalls eating taro and an assortment of fish and shellfish while living near the coast. She remembers speaking Yabim as her first language. She returned to Dzifasing to be enrolled in school when she was around six years old. She said that when her mother's sister left her in Dzifasing, she cried a lot. Her parents tried to pacify her by buying her food from the local stores so she would stay with them and not run after her mother's sister.

When Elissa started her elementary school in Dzifasing, she already had one younger brother. Lucy gave birth to him in Dzifasing. They also observed the Wampar postpartum taboo, but only haphazardly. She said, "*mipela bihainim liklik dispela pasin*" (we observed this practice just a bit). Lucy with her second born child stayed with one of Isaac's relatives of another ***sagaseg***.[15] However, after two months, she and the newborn went with her brother, who had come for her, to Lae, where she stayed for another month before returning to Isaac. Isaac did not prepare any food to mark the end of the period of separation. Elissa, meanwhile, was already back in Finschhafen, again staying with her mother's sister. When Lucy gave birth to their next two children, both she and Isaac decided not to follow Wampar practice. "*Mipela lusim pasin kastom*. *Mipela bihainim tok bilong Bikpela*" (We decided to no longer follow the tradition. We are following the words of God.) Isaac has since been actively engaged in a revival movement that eventually led to a breakaway group from the Lutheran *mama church*. He was the prominent local leader who was instrumental in the formation of what would later be called the Lutheran Revival Church. Isaac explains his motive in breaking away from tradition:

[15] This kin nominally belongs to a ***sagaseg*** different from the one from which Isaac descended, but Isaac has been part of this particular lineage's kin network because his father's mother had remarried into this lineage.

Pasin bilong tumbuna i no wan kain bilong tok bilong Bikpela. Tok bilong Bikpela, em winim olgeta pasin. Mi statim brukim pasin, sampela kastom. Em wok bilong meri, wasim pot na plate. Mi kukim kaikai, mi fidim meri blo mi. Em i ken malolo na mi ken kuk na givim em. Kastom blo mipela, man i no inap kuk. Na taim mi wok long brukim na mama i karim [third child], mi yet mi karim wara, mi boilim hot wara, mama wasim em. Mi karim firewood. Ol susa lukim mi nau. Ol i go longwe long mi, bikos mi wok long brukim ol kastom. Ol man long hia, ol i go toktok long sait, sait. Mi harim tasol, mi pasim tingting tasol.

Our ancestor's way of life is different from the word of God. God's word is better than all customary ways. I started breaking away from our ancestor's way of life. For example, washing pots and plates and cooking are women's work, but I cooked and fed my wife. She can rest and I can cook and give food to her. Our custom here is that a man is not supposed to cook. When I broke this custom, and my wife gave birth to our third child, I fetched water, prepared hot water and the mother washed the child. I carried firewood. All my sisters saw me doing these things. They distanced themselves from me for breaking our customs. All the men from here, they were talking and gossiping about it. I only listened and kept my thoughts.

Elissa's siblings, in contrast to her, were raised and grew up mainly in Dzifasing. She was the only one who learned to speak Yabim as a young girl, and who thought of herself as from Finschhafen rather than the Markham Valley. She learned Tok Pisin after she started school in Dzifasing. She now says that it took years before she developed a sense that she is also a Wampar, a girl from the Markham Valley and not solely from Finschhafen, as she felt different from her siblings and schoolmates. When she reached the sixth grade, she said that it was through her interaction with another schoolgirl, a Wampar classmate of hers with whom she became friends, that she started picking up ideas about what Wampar means and began defining herself as one among them. She said that that was when she was first asking herself, "*Mi em meri wanem?*" (What kind of girl am I?). When she started school in Dzifasing, she remembered being referred to by other children as "*meri Finschhafen*" for she was speaking Yabim to them. As years went by, and with her continued stay in Dzifasing, people would still refer to her as *miks meri* but a daughter of a Wampar.

4.6 Living with Wampar or non-Wampar kin

The early socialization of Elissa's siblings, as it turned out, was more similar to those children with Wampar mothers who stayed in Dzifasing. They spent their first, or in some cases all of their early years surrounded by their Wampar kin. While Elissa's mother has maintained contact and good relations with her natal kin in Finschhafen and Lae, she stayed with her husband in their own household in Dzifasing after giving birth to Elissa's younger siblings, reportedly on the basis of the religious beliefs she shares with Isaac.

However, the case of Elissa's socialization at her mother's place of origin also happens for children with non-Wampar father. This depends on the nature of the social relations and material conditions at the father's place of origin. For non-Wampar men who have maintained active connections and get to travel back to their place of origin, it is more likely that the children will be born or partly raised there. An example is Rufus (Case study #4), a man from the East Sepik Province, whose second son, Benny, was born at his village.

Case study #4: Benny

Benny is a young teenage boy with three brothers. They are sons of Rufus, a non-Wampar man from the East Sepik Province, and Tsongof, a Wampar woman from Dzifasing. Rufus speaks proudly of his Sepik cultural identity, which he says he is instilling in his sons.

Rufus and Tsongof met in Lae, at the hospital. Tsongof was accompanying a cousin whose son was sick. Rufus later kept following and watching volleyball tournaments where Tsongof played. Rufus was working for a security company in Lae. After their marriage in 1992, they first lived in Lae and a few years later moved to Dzifasing. Tsongof preferred to stay in the village where she can grow food in her garden. She said that in the village she does not have to wait for a fortnightly wage before she has something to eat. Tsongof has three brothers and three sisters. She belongs to a lineage with available land, such as for cacao orchards.

Benny and his siblings have frequent contact with Rufus' kin from the Sepik and those who are based in Lae. Rufus' parents (biological and adoptive) and some of his siblings visit them in Dzifasing. Rufus' elder brother wanted to take Benny back with him to the Sepik. He wanted to adopt him during his first marriage to a woman who did not bear him a child, but he soon after divorced his first wife, so that adoption never took place.

Tsongof, Rufus' Wampar wife, followed "the Sepik way" of the postpartum taboo, which, according to her, is similar to Wampar practice. While she and Rufus slept separately, he could see her and the infant. After they moved back to Dzifasing, Tsongof decided to follow this modified practice for all their children who were born in Dzifasing. Before they had their own house in Dzifasing, they stayed in her parents' household, where Rufus slept in a different quarter to maintain distance between them. Through this practice, Rufus said that he is able to assert his preference, which he declares as part of his Sepik identity, and thus differentiates himself from the Wampar. He continues to remind his children of their Sepik connections. This is reinforced when Rufus' kin from the Sepik visit them in Dzifasing and are able to maintain contact with his children. When Benny's elder brother was born in Dzifasing, one of Rufus' elder sisters stayed with them to help out. A year later, Rufus' parents came for twelve months. Rufus and Tsongof then spent some time at the Sepik, and Benny was born there. When Benny was still an infant and brought back to Dzifasing, Rufus' mother followed and stayed for some time. In 2009, two of Rufus' brothers were visiting

Dzifasing. The last time that Rufus and Tsongof visited the Sepik was in 2005. It was the first time that Benny and all his siblings got to travel together with their parents.

Rufus has paid 1000 Kina (about US$ 350) as bridewealth after the birth of the third child. To pay bridewealth at a more advanced stage of the marriage, after the birth of several children, is the norm among Wampar marriages. As bridewealth had been given, Tsongof and her sons, in principle, could move out of Dzifasing to live with Rufus and his kin at his place of origin. With the new "rule," Rufus who is not well liked by his Wampar brothers-in-law has been told to move out of Dzifasing. Rufus presented himself to me as a non-Wampar with viable options to go back to his place of origin in the Sepik and make a life there with his wife and children. Tsongof, who said that she is not averse to the idea of eventually moving to the Sepik with Rufus, said that she wanted to stay in Dzifasing and care for her aging parents while they are still alive, as she is the eldest daughter. In 2009, Tsongof, Rufus and their children have been living in the house of Tsongof's parents, although they have maintained separate hearths. Tsongof's mother said that she would never want to travel to the Sepik and was glad to have Tsongof around.

4.7 Conclusion

Dzifasing, like other Wampar villages along the Highlands Highway, has been a magnet for migrants, with many marrying Wampar spouses and permanently settling there. It is a remarkably multiethnic community, encompassing people from almost all provinces of Papua New Guinea. In the larger hamlets, the majority of marriages are between a Wampar and a spouse with a non-Wampar background. With a large number of children born out of these interethnic marriages, kin relations have become correspondingly complex and contested. New sociocultural categories of differentiation emerge that categorize children from these interethnic marriages and shape processes of inclusion and exclusion from kin groups that remain central in organizing access to land.

While the father's ethnicity or place of origin may be a basis for children's socio-cultural identity, the circumstances of how the parents observe the postpartum taboo can significantly mediate the early experience of children's ethnic identity. If the postpartum taboo is followed, for example, infants and small children are surrounded by a network of their mother's kin. This experience may form part of their memory and continue to inform their emotional attachment or affective ties. Children's early childhood socialization becomes more differentiated with issues about whose practice and preferences – those of the Wampar or the non-Wampar spouse – get to be observed. The non-observance of postpartum practices is an example of the effect of the historical transformation of social concepts such as gender and personhood, and relationships between men and women that impact on social reproduction and child-rearing. The notion of modernity, primarily as mediated by the Christian religious belief, also informs how the people in Dzifasing modify

or abandon practices. Nevertheless, the expectations remain and the extent of the observance of practices like the payment of bridewealth or the postpartum taboo affects the quality of relationships between the non-Wampar and his or her Wampar in-laws.

However, social relations, identities, and practices started to be more acutely challenged and re-ordered with the changing economic conditions that are intrinsic to issues of land use and rights. In such contexts, ethnicized and gendered processes of differentiation become decisive for the individual's life-chances. Power relations embedded in kinship, gender, and ethnicity are thus changing with both immediate and long-term impacts on the lives of some children and their parents. I describe what brought on this dramatic shift within a few years in the next chapter. It begins with the betelnut and the situation that followed after local production and marketing has dwindled and ceased to be a major source of cash income.

5. From *buai* to cacao: production and the conditions for a politics of social differentiation and exclusion

Prior to 2007, the Markham Valley had been a thriving site for the growing and selling of the Areca palm nut or betelnut (*buai*). The Wampar were proud of their locally grown betelnut (*Markham buai*). The Wampar in Dzifasing referred to its quality as "*namba wan*" – claiming that it surpassed all betelnut from elsewhere in Papua New Guinea. Wampar women married to non-Wampar men who have land in their place of origin, such as Madang, had transplanted not only their local variety of banana but also the *Markham buai*. Nevertheless, people in Dzifasing think that even those betelnut on transplanted palms in Madang do not have the same quality as those they produce in the Markham Valley.[1]

Chewing betelnut is a cultural feature of Wampar social relations, as in other coastal and lowland provinces in Papua New Guinea,[2] and betelnut are considered as:

> . . . an essential ingredient in intercourse between both individuals and groups. Sharing betel, like sharing food, signals amity, goodwill, a desire to cooperate; it is a clear sign of friendship and hospitality. (Marshall 1987: 21)

In Dzifasing, chewing and sharing betelnut is a routine feature of everyday social interaction, except among strict members of the Seventh Day Adventists (SDA) and the Evangelical Brotherhood Church (EBC), which ban the chewing of betelnut. When people meet, it is common that they share betelnut and chew it together with betel pepper and slaked lime. Men and women of all ages regularly chew betelnut, even children who are introduced to it before they are of school age. I have seen four-year-old children asking for a piece to chew and parents giving them a portion.

Betelnut is grown not only for everyday consumption but also for sale. While betelnut production is mainly for the Papua New Guinea market, it has seen a phenomenal increase in demand facilitated by economic change. The push for upgrading the Highlands Highway, as mentioned in Chapter 3, was part of a modernizing project to facilitate the flow of agricultural produce, timber, minerals, and other important commodities. Some people in the highland provinces profited from the better access to markets for their cash crops, especially coffee, and the influx of cash allowed them to buy newly available consumer

[1] This may be attributed to ethnocentrism and/or to variations in soil, climate and other conditions.

[2] For an overview of the betelnut production and trading routes in Papua New Guinea, see Allen et. al. (2009) and Sharp (2013, 2016, 2019). For a historical account of the origin and spread of betelnut chewing, including earlier anthropological literature about its use in Oceania, see Marshall (1987). On a cultural account of the meaning of betelnut production, consumption and exchange such as among the Keakolo, see Iamo (1987).

goods. One of these consumer goods, the betelnut, found new markets for consumption, as the betel palm does not grow in the highlands.

Accordingly, demand for the *Markham buai* also started to pick up when the Highlands Highway was built, and it grew again after the road was upgraded and the 40 Mile market was opened in the 1970s. Highlanders were the main buyers of betelnut, and highlands *buai* traders flocked to the 40 Mile market to buy betelnut in bulk, transport it to the highlands and then sell it on to retail sellers (see Sharp 2019). In the early years before the establishment of the 40 Mile market, betelnut had been sold along the Highway at a junction near the "big village" (*gab faring)*. Everybody produced betelnut, and everyone had betelnut to sell, so all households – Wampar and interethnic couples alike – had easy access to cash, sometimes earning relatively large amounts. Since 2006/2007, however, an unidentified blight has devastated the areca palms, rendering them barren.

In this chapter, I examine how the end of the Wampar betelnut economy has transformed not just the economic activities but also the relations of power among Dzifasing residents: kinship, ethnicity and social identities have become arenas of contest. These transformations are linked to new forms and scales of economic enterprise: cattle for the national and international market, and cacao, which is grown solely for a competitive global market dependent on worldwide trends of chocolate consumption in places far removed from the daily lives of the Wampar.

The local community in Dzifasing has thus become more engaged and entangled with the global market by moving from *buai* to cacao production, cattle farming, and other opportunities for cash income generation.[3] As this transition alters economic activities, previously unimportant social relations become critical to ensuring access to Wampar land. The transition has generated new levels of tension and conflict between and within households and lineages. Households headed by a non-Wampar male migrant feel this tension most acutely.

The end of the marketing of betelnut, once a major economic preoccupation, has also had a dramatic impact on everyone's life in the village. In this chapter, I examine how its impact is differentiated, on one hand, by ethnicity, gender, kinship, and generation, and on the other, by the availability of lineage land. In particular, I examine the lives of children with non-Wampar fathers, what the changing situation means for them, and the implications for the ordering of social relations among the Wampar.

[3] This includes the Wampar engagement with a prospective large-scale gold mine, an oil palm plantation scheme, and a planned industrial tree plantation for biomass energy, which is beyond the scope of this study and the focus of another collaborative research project among the Wampar.

5.1 Everybody had and lost *buai*

In order to grow and later sell betelnut or *buai,* a household needed access to land to plant areca palms. Prior to 2007, every household, whether Wampar or ethnically mixed, was able to do this without major conflicts over land, because betelnut palms were interplanted with bananas and other staples in subsistence gardens. In fact, a lot of old garden sites are marked by the stands of tall betel palms that still provided an annual harvest of *buai* long after the garden has ceased to be used for other crops. Anyone could establish subsistence gardens on unused land belonging to other lineages, provided that the leaders of the landowning lineages did not object. Thus, betelnut was a widely accessible cash crop. Fischer's observations in Gabsongkeg were also true for Dzifasing: "Even households whose members belong to kinship groups that have hardly any land rights around Gabsongkeg and can therefore not pursue many of the new business projects always have one possibility for cash income: the sale of betelnut" (Fischer 1996: 147, translation Tobias Schwörer). This was also due to the fact that betel palms did not need a large plot of land, as they could be planted relatively close to each other.

Betelnut's demise as a major and common source of cash income for all households has tested values, ideas, and practices regarding the use and control over land. The end of the betelnut economy heightened social divisions and conflicts over land. While some households might have had more areca palms than others, because they invested more work to clear gardens and plant more palms, everyone had access to enough money to cover basic needs. Some might have been able to invest more in buying a car, building a house with permanent materials, or operating a trade store, but everyone had enough cash for buying food from trade stores, paying school fees, or for personal enjoyment such as drinking beer by men. People's main concern at the time was when someone else furtively harvested their betelnut, especially during the seasonal cycle when it was scarce. Conflicts thus arose from the theft of the produce itself, and not over land, as it was common practice that others can plant their areca palms as part of their gardens on some other lineages' land.

Cultivating areca palms neither required huge tracts of land, nor significant labor and capital. The betelnut palm is similar to the coconut in this regard, another commonly long-valued cash crop. Men and women, old and young, including children, could plant their own areca palms and claim ownership of its produce. A child of about 5 years could plant his or her own areca palm with the help of parents or kin who give them a seedling and help them to plant the palm. By the time the palm started to produce betelnut, the child would be old enough to climb it. Betel palms have a yearly cycle of low and high production. Production reached a peak between the months of December and May, and the market was flooded with betelnut. During the off-season, especially between June and August, people described that only about one in five trees still produced a few single ropes of betelnut. Fischer's (1996: 136, 140–144) analysis of rights to trees among the Wampar emphasizes that an

individual who plants a tree retains ownership over it and its produce, and can transmit these rights to the next generation, but that this does not translate to exclusive rights to the land where the tree grows. Thus, a child who has planted an areca palm or coconut has rights over them throughout their adulthood and must be compensated for the loss of the palm if members of the landowning lineage decide to fell it, for instance when they need the land for other purposes. Rights to trees and their produce apply not just across generations but also to in-married non-Wampar. Non-Wampar who have no land rights in Dzifasing could have rights over betelnut or coconut palms they plant.

Children's participation in the betelnut economy was important. Children climbed areca palms to harvest the nuts, and then had them sold through a parent or adult kin for cash in return. Adults actually depended on children to climb the thinner palms because most grown-ups are too heavy and might break them. Betelnut palms are slender and grow to several meters high, and they are usually planted close to each other (see Photo 5.1).

Photo 5.1 Areca palms in a subsistence garden plot. Some palms have no crown, while others still have a few fronds left.

Girls and boys especially good at climbing palms were at times referred to as "*meri/manki bilong kalap long buai*". Girls and women find climbing betelnut palms much easier than coconut palm trees, while older boys and young men swung from one palm to the next

instead of climbing up and down on each palm. Accidents sometimes happened, in which young or older climbers fell and injured themselves.[4]

Children and young people recalled that after each day of selling betelnut, they used to have 20 or 50 Kina (about US$7–17) as pocket money to go to school with when the betelnut economy was still in full swing. They talked about those days when earning cash was easier and they could buy food by themselves from local stores or vendors. They also often went to Lae and bought luxury items, such as cosmetics for girls, or beer for teenage boys. Households of interethnic couples with a non-Wampar husband had access to land for subsistence gardens where they grew areca palms and harvested their nuts. Most Wampar women, after marriage with a non-Wampar, continued to use lineage land either through their Wampar father or mother depending on the availability of land. Often, some land was specifically allocated for her use for subsistence gardens where she could also plant areca palms.

In 2007, an unknown pest or blight completely devastated the betelnut palms in Dzifasing. Villagers said that it started in the Kaiapit area a few years earlier.[5] By 2006, when the pest had already hit many of the betelnut palms, villagers said that they were more careful climbing the remaining ones, no longer swinging from one palm tree to another because the trunks became brittle and broke more easily. With the blight, a lot of trees lost their crown of palm fronds and died, and the rest has remained barren.

In 2007, the year when there was no longer any betelnut to sell, the people of Dzifasing opened a new night market called *Danke* Market next to the Highway bridge over a tributary of the Markham River. This night market is located closer to the more densely populated parts of the village than the long-established 40 Mile market, which continued to operate during the day. Marketing and establishing a marketplace were among the many forms of economic activities and enterprises that villagers have explored, returned to, or intensified following the end of their once booming *buai* trade.

The loss of the buai trade was experienced not only as a great economic, but also as a cultural shock. It marked a turning point in the wealth and welfare of the Wampar, and when I was in the field, people often reminisced about the time when they had more money, when all the trade stores in the village were well-stocked and operating, and when some of them ate rice and tinned fish every day. The men reported of legendary beer binges

[4] Deaths from directly falling off while climbing betelnut palms appeared to be rare. Villagers only cited one case of a man from Kaiapit who died after falling onto a sharp object on the ground that pierced his body.

[5] It did not hit them immediately after neighboring Kaiapit. The pest first went towards the Watut area and then down to Lae, and from there the pest entered the Wampar area, starting in Munun (the first Wampar village from Lae) and reaching Dzifasing last.

that lasted the whole weekend, from Friday evening until Sunday evening, with beer bottles littering the ground. Life was easy when they had buai and money, everybody said.

Some of the people interpreted the blight as a curse from God, for their sinful way of life before buai. Church attendance rose quite considerably, at least according to some of the more frequent churchgoers, and this was interpreted as a positive outcome of the blight. Others pointed out that at least now the village is cleaner, as during the time of buai, there was betel spittle, trash and beer bottles lying around wherever you stepped. People told us that during the time of buai, ripe mangoes fell from the trees and were rotting on the ground, the pigs feasting on them, whereas now they all get collected and sold at the market. The same with coconuts: nobody cared then about their hardly used coconut palm orchards, whereas now, many young and mature coconuts are collected and sold at the market, and suspicions are increasing about stolen coconuts that intensify and create new conflicts.

As villagers initiated their own alternatives after the collapse of the betelnut economy, those with undisputed land rights started to plant cacao. Prior to 2007, only a few Wampar had started planting cacao, primarily to counterbalance increasing supply in the betelnut market that brought prices down. Aside from cacao, some villagers also tried vanilla or taro, although these did not fare well and were abandoned. Others intensified the farming of already established agricultural products for local markets, like peanuts and watermelons. Annual crops like peanuts or watermelon can be planted on land belonging to other lineages, as long as the landowners agree. They need a significant investment in labor and accompanying costs, from land preparation to harvesting, to be borne by the household(s) willing to plant these crops. This usually entails agreements between different participants in the production process (planters, landowners, household labor or hired laborers, and tractor owners and operators if the field was to be mechanically plowed); otherwise landowners or laborers feel that their expectations of compensation or shares of the produce were not satisfied. The betelnut, in contrast, does not require elaborate organization and investment to produce. It was a cash crop that was more "egalitarian" as far as making it easier for many to access at least some cash income with little labor, land or capital input.

5.2 Cacao for the global market

Cacao is one of the major agricultural exports of Papua New Guinea (after palm oil and coffee), and the third most important source of village income after coffee and fresh food (Allen et. al. 2009). Cacao as a cash crop has been mostly grown in island provinces such as in East New Britain or Bougainville but is now gradually being cultivated in other parts of the country, including Morobe Province. Since 2007, Bris Kanda, an NGO that was supported by the New Zealand Foreign Aid, promoted the growing of cacao in Dzifasing, and the

marketing of its fermented and dried beans. The Wampar have since then become heavily involved in the production of cacao. The beans are processed in village-level fermenteries and driers and then sold as dry beans to middlemen or private exporters in Lae, as they are destined for the global market. A government agency, the PNG Cocoa Board regulates this crop's production, processing and marketing. This means that smallholder cacao farmers, such as those in Dzifasing, must abide by officially stipulated procedures from growing to harvesting, the processing and the selling of the beans.

In 2009, only four extended families in Dzifasing owned and operated a cacao fermentery and drier to process cacao beans. The processing of beans, once they are harvested and removed from the pod, begins with draining the water out and fermentation in a fermenting box for six days (See photos 5.2). After this period, the beans are laid out to dry in the sun for about three days before they are completely dried in a drier heated with firewood. Establishing a cacao fermentery and drier is costly – one needs at least 10,000 Kina (about US$3,000) to buy a ready-made drier. According to government regulations, only cacao growers with a minimum of 3,000 cacao trees can apply for a permit to operate a fermentery and drier, and the license to sell dry beans. A household would need to have enough land, a reliable social network of labor force, sources of information and skills, and not the least, cash for the startup and maintenance, to achieve these requirements. All sorts of "capital" are necessary, but first, there has to be available land where cacao will have to be planted.

Photo 5.2 Cacao production. On the upper right is a fermentery box, on the lower right a cacao fermentery and drier.

Cacao growers are required to sell their wet beans to the licensed fermentery operators, who then ferment and dry them before selling to an exporter. Fermentery operators pay between K 1.20 to 1.50 per kilo for wet beans, while the price they get from exporters for dried beans ranged between K 5.25 to 5.70 per kilo in 2009. The price difference reflects an accounting model developed by the PNG Cocoa Board that seeks to ensure that fermentery owners remain commercially viable. Smallholder cacao farmers who do not have their own fermentery and drier complain about the huge difference in the pricing of wet and dry beans, often neglecting to account for the weight loss that occurs in the processing from wet to dry beans. They believe that fermentery owners are unduly advantaged by current regulations.

Fermentery owners can compete by offering better prices for wet beans, but this has not yet offset the large price difference between wet and dry beans. Large cocoa growers without their own fermentery have become innovative in reaching better terms. One had used the drier of a friend to process his own cocoa by paying him a "rental fee" instead of selling his coffee as wet bean, but also suspected him of stealing some of his processed cacao. For as long as mutual arrangements are reached, breaches and conflict may be overcome among themselves without resorting to official or institutional interventions. This competition between fermentery owners has recently turned unpleasant, however, when another fermentery owner started reporting the friend to the PNG Cocoa Board for alleged violations of rules. Relations that once were amicable among smallholders or between fermentery owners have become antagonistic, according to villagers who grow cacao, because it is common knowledge that not everyone strictly adheres to the regulations, including those who reported others for alleged violations. A fermentery owner who has reported violations, for example, is said to have cheated when he applied for a license by claiming other people’s cacao trees as his own, in order to reach the number of trees necessary.

Producing cacao, a global cash crop, entails that villagers need to engage in novel ways of doing *bisnis* that have repercussions on their social relations (see Finney 1973 for the case of coffee and Grossman 1984 for the case of cattle). Compared with the petty production of agricultural products for local markets, in which households tend to have control over production and to some extent pricing, cacao is driven and governed by the global industry and a hierarchy of state and non-government agencies. International pricing, and institutional interventions by the PNG Cocoa Board or the directing NGO, tend to divide the interests of local growers and prompt a reorganization of the villagers' ways of relating to one another. Prevailing norms of reciprocity are put to the test by the competition for cash and the production requirements of cacao. In the context of the villagers' engagement with commercial cacao production, the authority and the legitimacy of regulations and regulators are contested. Cacao production and marketing has transformed social relations among the Wampar in Dzifasing by reconfiguring local knowledge and forms of trust, as differentially

situated social actors seek to accumulate monetary wealth. At the same time, it has exacerbated already existing hierarchies and income differentials, as some Dzifasing residents do not have the rights to plant cacao, while others plant large tracts and are able to make additional money by processing cacao in their own fermentery. Cacao growing is thus an economic enterprise that divides those who have land from those who have not among the Wampar.

5.3 Cattle for the national and international market

Cattle-farming is another prominent and relatively enduring form of agricultural production in Dzifasing. There are a number of small-scale cattle-farms in Dzifasing, each of them owned and operated by a lineage as a cooperative business, and one large-scale farm, the Zifasing Cattle Ranch. The Zifasing Cattle Ranch was established in 1979 as a village-based project with local shareholders, in which 13 lineages pooled their land. Of the five cattle projects that the PNG government initiated in different provinces in the mid to late 1970s, Dzifasing is the only one that continues to operate. Financial and stock management difficulties plagued all of these projects, which ceased to operate by the 1980s, but Dzifasing was able to overcome them and remained viable (Bourke et. al. 2009: 175-176).

Photo 5.3 Cattle in Dzifasing

The Zifasing Cattle Ranch was founded by 13 shareholders who, as representatives of their respective lineages, provided their lineage land for grazing cattle. These 13 lineages were from different *saqaseq*, and not all lineages in each *saqaseq* participated in this endeavor.

The current shareholders are mostly the first-born male descendants of the original founders, and are acknowledged by the respective lineage members as their leader and representative. These shareholders are in charge of distributing earnings from the cattle-farm to all household heads within the lineage. They form an association with elected board members from among the shareholders, and they also appoint the cattle ranch manager.

The Zifasing Cattle Ranch has had its ups and downs in its management, but it has not ceased to operate even when one lineage opted out in 2009 and withdrew their share and grazing land. This, however, was considered by the remaining shareholders as a favorable move as they were at the same time upgrading their management to recuperate from losses in problematic years, characterized by the slaughtering of cows that were not being accounted for and land conflicts between shareholders.

The production of beef in PNG is no longer just for domestic consumption but also for the international market. The outlook extends to the potential of live cattle export, especially to Asia (Bourke et. al. 2009: 178). Cattle production is also pushed by state authorities seeking to keep pace with the market as a profitable source of income. In 2009, the Zifasing Cattle Ranch received 2.3 million Kina (about US$800,000) from the local Member of Parliament (MP for the Huon Gulf District) through the District Services Improvement Program, with the aim of increasing the size of the herd. According to the MP, it is likely that there will be an increase in demand for beef, associated with the growing operations of PNG's mining, oil and gas industries. To engage in the international market, the shareholders have applied for an export license, which board members expected to receive (but which has not occurred until today). Considering that they are a local company operated by landowning lineages in contrast to the foreign-owned companies that have been in the business of exporting live cattle and beef, they feel confident that they will be supported by a state propagating local ownership of businesses. The monetary input received from the MP is also intended to support the start-up of prospective small-holder cattle growers who will raise ranch-owned cows on their own lineage's land.

The cattle-ranch shareholders started upgrading and revamping their operations, and with the money, they bought a new tractor, a four-wheel drive car, and a six-wheel truck. They appointed a new manager from Dzifasing who they trust will oversee the operations to improve the productivity of the farm. The previously poor financial performance of the ranch has mainly been attributed to cow theft and the shareholders' slaughtering of cows for special occasions, without compensating the farm. However, misappropriation of funds by the previous managers has also been alleged. Even one of the shareholding lineages has been accused of stealing cows. Stolen cows are slaughtered and then sold on the black market, particularly to buyers from the highlands, for about 1,000 Kina (about US$300), locally significant sums.

Some of the cattle ranch shareholders have devoted most, if not all, of their available productive land to this cattle ranch. With the end of the betelnut market, a number of other

lineages have fenced land in order to establish own cattle farms, or to earn cash from agistment payments offered by the large Zifasing Cattle Ranch. That the ranch needs more grazing land and is willing to pay for it is also due to the neglect of their own grazing lands, which have partially been overgrown by weeds, shrubs, and trees. Fencing land and establishing a cattle ranch not only need large tracts of grassland, but also significant inputs of labour and capital for the fencing material and the livestock.

5.4 Not everyone has cacao or cattle

As some Wampar with land for cacao started planting, and others fenced their lands for cattle, Wampar with no spare land found themselves in a similar economic situation to those non-Wampar who either have no land rights in Dzifasing or are not allowed to plant cacao on the land they currently are allowed to use for subsistence. Those who do not have enough lineage land or are unable to access more land are talking of "buying land."[6] Some Wampar lineages with claims to certain pieces of land start to get worried about other lineages attempting to claim these pieces as their own or disputing the boundaries. Conflicts surrounding the various forms of economic enterprises are getting more pronounced. Fighting within and between *saqaseq* and lineages centered on land claims and boundaries, on who can plant cacao and sell dry cacao beans, who has rights to cows in the ranch and the distribution of monthly agistment payments are on the increase. A Wampar father told me that he has started to ensure that all his sons are allocated their respective portion of land, so each of them could plant cacao and to avoid conflict between them.

According to the villagers, the theft of cows, coconuts, garden produce and other marketable goods has become more commonplace since the betelnut production collapsed. Women in particular attribute this tendency to people who have neglected their subsistence gardens and thus just steal other people's crops. The *yaner,* however, are more often than not implicated as instigators of theft, particularly those from the *hailans* who are seen as prone to act in this way as part of their *pasin*.

Land-related conflicts tend to be more intense since the decline of betelnut. Now Wampar say they feel the difficulties and pressure for earning cash. People are coming to terms with a relatively low-income lifestyle. Households with children of school age feel most acutely the burden of finding substantial sums of money to pay the school fees, particularly for secondary school. In general, labor demand is increasing not only for adults but also for children. Gender inequality is also on the rise. There is greater pressure on girls and women

[6] The selling of land to outsiders is not allowed by the landholding lineages. During fieldwork, lineage leaders in one of the hamlets prevented a man from the highlands from buying a block of land. The man was offering 6000 Kina but was rebuffed and told that he should just hold on to his money and leave Dzifasing. See Martin (2007:39-56) for an example on the complexity of land transaction that challenges notions of "customary" and "non-customary" relations and processes elsewhere in Papua New Guinea.

to intensify garden work for subsistence and the marketing of surplus produce, to help in maintaining cacao orchards, and harvesting cocoa together with men. Young men are also valued for their labor input in cacao or cattle farms, but their participation gives them more control over cash derived from the sale of cacao, as well as access to a salary income in cattle farming. At the same time, there is a discursive change of opinion regarding the importance of attaining higher education, to be skilled and knowledgeable in engaging with the new economic context, or to earn money with a good paying job as a more reliable means to attain a better life.

5.5 Asymmetries and conditions for land rights

While the conflicts between Wampar is mostly about land (with some cases reaching the District Court), all Wampar are strongly driven to protect what they see as Wampar land from being usurped by *yaner*. Many see *yaner* as a threat to dwindling land resources. With steady population growth and the large number of children of interethnic marriages, the Wampar start to get worried about the economic livelihood for future generations. The *ngaeng yaner* and his children are now viewed as competitors for land, a resource that people deem is getting scarcer (cf. Beer 2006a: 35). To contain the perceived threat, the Wampar in Dzifasing came up with ideas to control access to land in public meetings attended by lineage leaders and village officials. These ideas were akin to "rules," which ultimately rest on the lineage leaders to use and apply. They were not drafted as official community laws, but more as advisory guidelines that everyone could agree with. One of these rules limits the rights to plant cacao primarily to Wampar and their patrilineal descendants, or those non-Wampar men and their children who have long been incorporated to a lineage and who are given land rights without contestation.

It seems then, that Meggitt's hypothesis about the relationship between pressure on land and agnatic descent seems to fit the case of the Wampar:

> Where the members of a homogeneous society of horticulturalists distinguish in any consistent fashion between agnates and other relatives, the degree to which social groups are structured in terms of agnatic descent and patrilocality varies with the pressure on available land (Meggitt 1965: 266).

In the case of the Wampar, this is a development over time. It is with the increasing pressure on available land after the end of the betelnut economy that agnatic descent becomes more important and is now emphasized in structuring access to and use of lineage land.

Thus, for most affinal non-Wampar men and their children, it is of utmost importance that they explicitly receive permission to plant cacao even in their subsistence garden to avoid problems. The relationship between the relevant lineage leader and the *yaner* and his children is a critical dimension in the application of this new "rule" on cacao growing.

Lineage leaders sometimes give a *yaner* and his children land rights, sometimes they simply ignore them, or explicitly prevent them from planting cacao at all. Another dimension is the availability of land within a lineage, the need for labor, and the presence or absence of conflict between its male members. Such conditions can differentiate the economic situation for the many *yaner* and their children among the Wampar. The individual characteristics of the children also play a considerable role in whether they are allocated land for cash crop production or not. Some enjoy rights while others do not. Some have to fight for rights on land that they have inherited according to customary practices. Below are examples of the differentiated status among some *yaner* and their children.

5.5.1 Unchallenged rights

Ariel (Case study #5) is a son of a *yaner* whose mother belongs to a lineage with considerable landholdings in Dzifasing.

Case study #5: Ariel and Mari

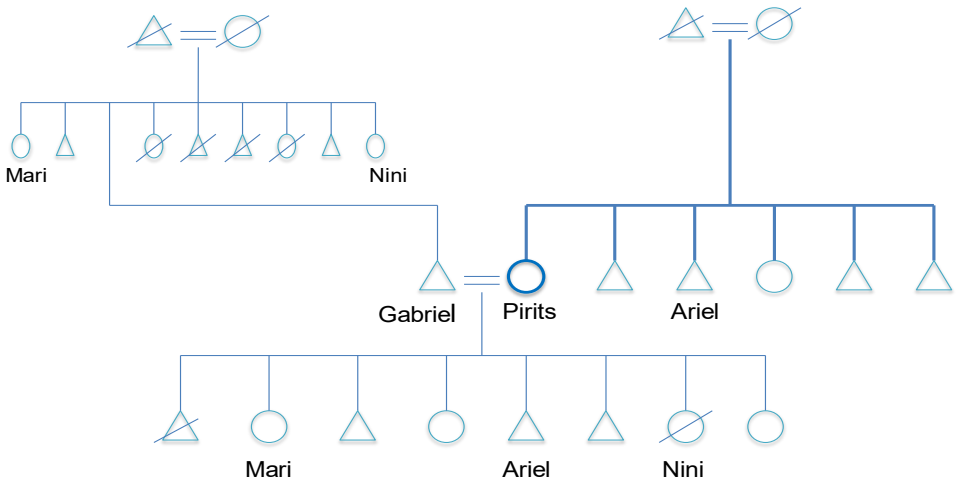
Ariel is the fifth among eight siblings. One of his two elder brothers died as a toddler and the second is said to be mentally ill due to marijuana addiction. He has a younger brother who is studying to be a missionary and is not currently living in the village. Ariel also has two elder sisters. One moved out of Dzifasing after her marriage to a non-Wampar man from the highlands. The eldest sister, Mari, is unmarried and lives in the village.

Gabriel, Ariel's and Mari's father, is from Milne Bay. He was working in Lae for a merchandizing company in the late 1960s and early 1970s. He met Pirits, Ariel's and Mari's mother, during a social visit at the house of a man in Lae whose mother is a Wampar from Dzifasing. Pirits belongs to a lineage with available land. After their marriage in 1976, they first lived in Lae. The couple moved to Dzifasing in the late 1970s, after the death of their first-born child, the elder brother that Ariel never got to see.

Gabriel has not gone back to Milne Bay since his marriage with Pirits. He said that he left his village to avoid a marriage that was being arranged for him, because he felt too young to marry. He has maintained social contact with his siblings, two of whom have also married out. They were government employees (in the police and the armed forces) assigned to different provinces. Ariel is well connected to these two. Mari does not know them as well as Ariel.

Mari knows her father's relatives still in Milne Bay better, for she once visited them in 1998, together with a younger brother, and stayed for three years. One of Mari’s younger sisters, Nini, was already there, having travelled with her older namesake, who is Gabriel's youngest sister. Mari and her younger brother travelled with one of Gabriel's younger brothers. During that visit, Mari met her namesake from her father's side. Finally, the visitors had to return to Dzifasing because Nini, the younger sister, fell ill. They managed to return to Dzifasing just before Nini died, 12 years old. It was because of this event that Mari's

Wampar grandfather prohibited her or any of her siblings from returning to Milne Bay. It was suspected that Nini was a victim of sorcery there. This all happened when Mari was around 20 years old. She still wants to be able to go back to Milne Bay one day and hopes that her Wampar classificatory fathers and brothers would eventually allow her when she finally gets the means to travel.



Ariel has been allocated a piece of land in Dzifasing where he can plant his own cacao. He may be the son of a *ngaeng yaner*, or a "*miks manki,*" but he has been incorporated into his Wampar mother's lineage and is treated similarly to his Wampar mother's brother's sons, who have uncontested land rights. His mother's brother, who is also his namesake, and a lineage leader, has given him these rights. The choice of a namesake, as I show in the next chapter, creates and is an expression of a special relationship.

Giving Ariel the right to plant cacao is a way to keep the lineage land utilized and ensure ownership of the land, protecting it from the possibility of being claimed by others. Ariel's mother's lineage has several comparatively large tracts of land, and they had been involved in boundary disputes with other lineages. As these disputes could at times turn violent, a young man like Ariel is a welcome addition to the male strength in defending the land. Just one month before our arrival, Ariel's namesake, one of the two brothers who act as the spokesmen for Ariel's mother's lineage, was beaten up during a meeting about the possible location for a cell phone tower. The piece of land on which the tower was to be erected was disputed between four lineages, and the cell phone company wanted all of the four lineage leaders to sign an agreement giving permission for the tower to be built. When Ariel's namesake wanted to first discuss the terms, and urged for caution against agreeing too quickly to such a deal, he was attacked and beaten up by a leader from a different lineage.

In retaliation, some cousins of Ariel later confronted the other lineage leader at the *Danke* Market and beat him up in turn.

Young men are generally liked for their potential as laborers, especially on cattle farms as cowboys, but also in planting and tending cacao trees. Sometimes, a son of a non-Wampar father also has some particular skills that make him an asset to his mother's brothers, like his knowledge of digital cameras and computers that become important in documenting and registering claims to land. While daughters also have a potential as laborers, they are generally not accorded the same rights as their brothers. Ariel's sisters for example are only given garden plots and not land for cacao. They access these plots through their Wampar mother. With the growing of cacao, gendered rights are getting more pronounced in favor of male ownership over cacao as the planting is linked to the rights of male members of a lineage to inherit land. Another son of a *yaner*, Greg (Case study #6), has been given similar rights by his mother's brothers, who are the lineage leaders.

Case study #6: Greg

Greg is one of the few young men in Dzifasing who is finishing secondary school in 2009. He owes his success in staying in school to his parents' motivation, particularly that of his non-Wampar father, Edison, who is originally from West New Britain Province. Greg has three siblings, two sisters and a brother. He is the eldest son, but he has an elder unmarried sister. His younger sister just started secondary school, while his younger brother is still in primary school.

Greg's father, Edison is well educated, and has a college degree in agricultural science, specializing in cattle farming. His job at the Erap Agriculture Station in the Markham Valley brought him to Morobe Province. Greg's mother, Sheri, is a local Wampar woman. Sheri and Edison met at the 40 Mile market and married in 1984. When Sheri married Edison, her brothers were dubious about the outcome. Sheri did not consult her brothers, who after the death of their father took over the leadership of their lineage. Her brothers maintain that when it comes to choosing a marriage partner, it is desirable for a woman or a man to seek the approval of her or his kindred. In Sheri's case, her brothers took a 'wait and see' attitude, but they were concerned about their sister's future with a *ngaeng yaner* husband whom they hardly knew.

After Sheri gave birth to their first child, Edison went back to his island province, where he worked with an oil palm company. This way the couple observed the postpartum practice. It was Sheri's brother's intercession that convinced Edison to settle back in Dzifasing. His Wampar brothers-in-law were concerned about the welfare of Sheri and their then two young children. They told him that Dzifasing is a better place for them to live than his village of origin. Aside from the growing of oil palm, there appeared to be few economic opportunities in West New Britain. Edison also admits that government services, such as schools, are not as easily accessible at his place compared to Dzifasing. Sheri was granted two garden plots for her to use by her brothers, one belonged to her ailing sister who died without having children. It is this piece of land that Edison was told to look after for his

children. Acting as a responsible *tambu* (in-law), Edison said that he acted accordingly to keep a good relationship with his Wampar wife's kin and did not return to his place of origin. He said that he stayed in Dzifasing so he could look after the children's schooling. Sheri's brothers appreciated his decision. They said that Edison turned out to be a good husband and father, as he is a hardworking man without vices, and did not neglect their sister and their nieces and nephews.

Greg is currently in Grade 12 of a high school further up the Markham Valley. He intends to apply for an agricultural college and study agricultural science, focusing on cattle farming. He is thus following in his father's footsteps and considers his science and his agriculture teachers as his mentors. He is concerned about the increasing conflicts around land in Dzifasing, though, and is unsure whether he could stay here in the future.

Unlike Ariel, Greg expresses feelings of being insecure, as a son of a non-Wampar. While he thinks that he would be able to continue using the Wampar land from his mother's lineage, he remains cautious. He would only feel secure about his rights as long as no member from his mother's lineage contests them, which is something he does not know for sure in the future. Although he knows that there are no disputes within his mother's lineage, he is aware of conflicts between other households and lineages in Dzifasing. Although his father is well-liked by his mother's brothers, he knows that his father has no land rights in Dzifasing despite what his mother's brothers say about giving their sister, Greg's mother, the right to use the land which Greg and his siblings can continue to rightfully use.

Greg is well liked by his mother's brothers, due to his character and good comportment. One of his mother's brothers explained: "*Greg em i feverit. Em i man i sindaun isi, em i bihainim tok bilong mipela, em i save harim gut tok bilong mamapapa, em i no save dring bia.. . . Greg, em i olsem uncle tru bilong mi, mi lukim olsem, em i stap klostu long mi. Em kolim mi yasiq. Em yasiq tru long mitupela* [referring to his brother sitting nearby]." (Greg is our favorite. He is a polite man, he listens to us and obeys his parents, and he does not drink beer . . . . Greg is like a real nephew to us, I see, that he is close to me. He calls me yasig. He is our true yasig.)

Yasiq is a self-reciprocal Wampar term of address for mother's brother/ sister's son (and father's sister's husband/wife's brother's son). When Greg's mother's brothers use the term *yasiq*, it connotes close kinship. One of his uncles continued, "*Greg, mi bin putim em long skul, mi baim skulfi long em i go, na mi lukim em i wanpela bilong mi stret*." (I put Greg through school. I am still paying his school fees, and I consider him as truly belonging to me). As to Greg's mother and siblings, his mother's brother expressed an assurance: "*Na taim ol pikinin born, ol i kisim blut blo mama, na mama em i gat nem long disla graun tu. Olsem, na pikinin tu ol i ken stap. Ol ken stap long disla graun*." (When the children were born, they got their mother's blood. Their mother also has rights to this land. In this way, the children can also stay. All can stay on this land.)

The use of the term "blood" here by Greg's uncle emphasizes biological relations to qualify his sister's and his sister's children's rights. It is a statement that differs from the Wampar notion recorded by Fischer (1975: 125), according to which children receive their blood only from the father, while they are carried and shaped in the mother's uterus. It might be an indication that these ideas have undergone change and have been adapted to reflect the political reality by which brothers feel compelled to care for their sister (and her children) if she marries a non-Wampar.

Cases of children of non-Wampar fathers like Ariel and Greg, whose rights are (so far) not being contested, appear to be rare, however.

5.5.2 Contested rights

Saul (Case study # 7) is defending his right to access a piece of land that is being contested. He had to fight for it at the District Court in Lae.

Case study #7: Saul

Saul is the son of an Adzera man from Kaiapit who died just before the betelnut crisis. His mother, Hilda, is Wampar. Just as in the case of Janna's mother's lineage (case study #1), the land of Hilda's patrilineage is mainly used for the cattle ranch. Saul's father, Bartolome, upon marrying Hilda in the mid-1960s, had to start a new garden plot on uncultivated land belonging to a different *sagaseg* in order to feed his family. At the time, this practice was normal and uncontested.

Saul has two brothers and five sisters. Four of them, three sisters and a brother, have married an Adzera spouse from their father's place of origin and settled there. Another sister married a man from Manus and is living in West New Britain. Another sister is married to a Wampar. A younger brother married a non-Wampar woman and is living with her in Dzifasing.

Saul married Patricia, a non-Wampar woman who is also of mixed descent, in 1993. They have two daughters and three sons. Three are of school age, attending the elementary and primary schools in Dzifasing. Their future in Dzifasing is precarious. Saul has been in conflict with a Wampar man who openly declares his opposition to the continued stay of *ngaeng yaner* on Wampar land.

The contested land consists of garden plots that Saul's father Bartolome had started using when he moved to Dzifasing after marrying a local Wampar woman in the 1960s. It was then grassland. He transformed it to be used for subsistence. When a Wampar man contested Saul's right to use the land his father had cultivated, Saul went to the court to defend his position. The court decided in favor of Saul as it recognized Wampar custom whereby a

person who clears a tract of grassland or forest for subsistence gains the prerogative to use it for as long as the land is actively utilized as a garden and can transfer this right to the next generation. Saul's Wampar mother's lineage land is mostly used for the Zifasing Cattle Ranch and his mother's father was one of the original shareholders, whose rights are now held by his mother's brother's sons. The Wampar man who contested Saul's rights to the land is of another *saqaseq*, also one of the original shareholders in the cattle ranch. This man is involved not only in the case against Saul but also in several other land disputes with other lineages, including those who have shares in the cattle ranch.

Saul may have won the decision in the District Court, but the dispute continues. His opponent now uses public forums like the village meetings to speak against the idea that *yaner* and the *pikinini bilong ngaeng yaner* might have rights to stay on Wampar land. When, after the court decision, Saul started planting cacao in the contested garden plot, the conflict became worse: the Wampar man cut down the cacao that Saul had planted, and, according to Saul, even his bananas.

Saul's situation is complicated by the fact that his Wampar mother's lineage does not have much spare land to distribute among different members and generations within the lineage. In the current context of new forms of land use, Saul's continuous claim over the garden land that his *ngaeng yaner* father had established cannot be assured. The court decision might have prevented his immediate eviction, but how long he can stay and use the land remains uncertain. With the current demand for more land for cattle grazing, it is possible for the landholding lineage to fence the whole tract of land in which Saul has his garden plots, which would ultimately mean he could no longer use them. According to some lineage leaders who I asked about the possibility of it happening, the opinion was that in this case Saul would only receive compensation for the loss of garden produce being grown in the garden that might be destroyed by the cows. Ultimately, it is up to a lineage to either allow and respect such customary rights or disregard them and claim the land back for its own use. Clearly, there has been no amicable relationship between Saul and this Wampar lineage leader who wanted all *yaner* out.

Saul's situation also contrasts with that of other descendants of *ngaeng yaner* in Dzifasing, for example Frani (Case Study #8), the granddaughter and adopted daughter of Simeon, a man from the Sepik.

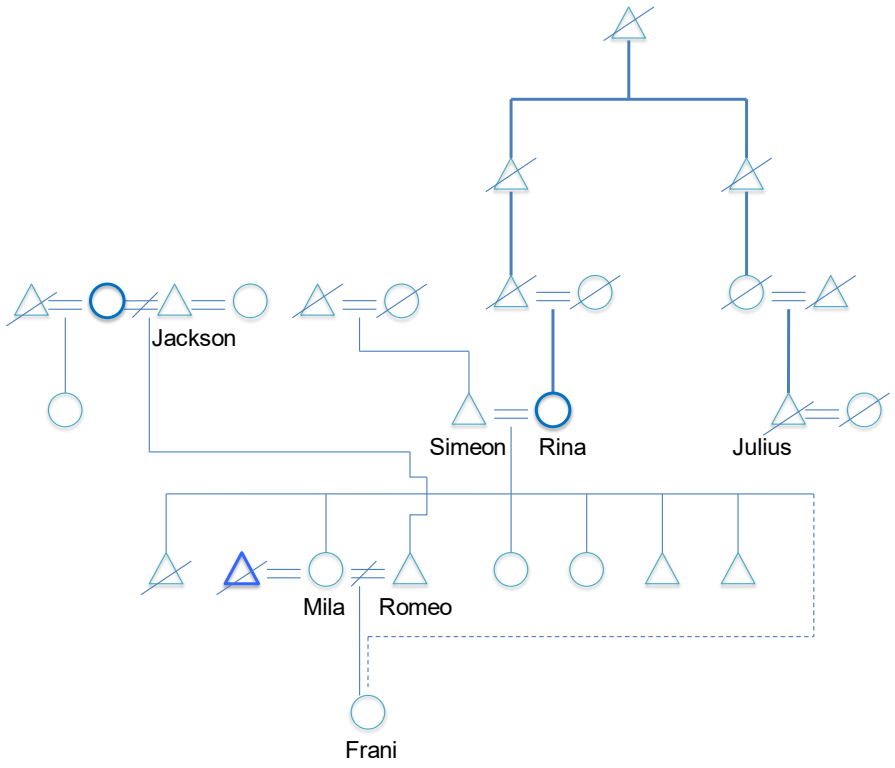
Case study #8: Frani

Frani attends a secondary school in Lae. Frani's MF, Simeon, is a non-Wampar man from the Sepik who married Rina, a local Wampar woman in the 1960s. Frani grew up believing Simeon to be her father and Rina her mother, not her maternal grandparents, as they had adopted her when she was a toddler. Frani is the natal daughter of Romeo, a man who is himself of mixed descent, and Mila, Simeon and Rina's daughter. Frani's FF, Jackson, is from the Central Province, while her FM is a Wampar woman from Dzifasing.

Romeo and Mila eloped together as teenagers when they were still only in secondary school. Not long after Frani was born, Mila decided to end her marriage with Romeo, and Simeon and Rina raised Frani as their own child. Mila soon remarried, this time a local Wampar man. It was only when Frani was in primary school that she came to realize who her biological parents are. Her maternal grandparents, who adopted her, confirmed to her what she was hearing from the other villagers.

Simeon was one of the first Sepik men to marry a Wampar woman of Dzifasing. He came to the Markham Valley to hunt crocodiles in the 1960s and was known for his skills, which he taught to a few local Wampar men of his generation. Rina said that it was through Simeon that they learned to eat crocodile meat. In his younger days, aside from hunting crocodiles, Simeon operated his own PMV, but had to stop after an accident. Since his marriage to Rina, he has not returned to his place of origin. Rina, after her marriage to Simeon, was apportioned land for their use by a classificatory brother who was the sole male heir of land of his patrilineage.

Frani's interaction with her father's mother and her father's half-sister are limited, as she did not grow up with them. Her interaction with Jackson, her paternal grandfather, and his relatives has started only recently and likewise remains limited. They all live in Central Province and in Port Moresby. Jackson wanted her to move with him to Port Moresby. He offered support for her secondary and possibly tertiary level of school education. Frani is tempted by this prospect, and wants to become an accountant, as she is good in mathematics. She imagines working at a bank in Port Moresby, or starting a business on the land of her paternal grandfather's lineage.



Simeon, as a *ŋgaeŋ* *yaner* might have no land rights, but Rina, his Wampar wife, was given rights to use land by Julius, her FFBDS. They call each other *nafod* in Wampar. The piece of land, which he gave her upon her marriage to Simeon, belongs to Julius' patrilineage. Rina and Simeon have continued to use the land for subsistence and cash crop production, including cacao. Julius, who gave the rights to the land, died in 2007, but his sons and grandsons continue to respect the rights given to Rina, which her children can also continue to use. Julius's grandsons say that they respect this decision made by their grandfather. They also continue to have good relations with one another. They particularly appreciate the "*gutpela pasin*" (good behavior) of Simeon, who they say respects the Wampar "*pasin*," looks after his wife and children, works hard and causes no trouble. Simeon, from his side, also speaks highly of his children's "*kandere*," the Tok Pisin term he uses for his wife's' relatives. He said that he observed the Wampar "*kastom*" such as the postpartum taboo or the wrapping of bananas for ripening them. Simeon is one of those in-married *yaner* who is highly appreciated for their willingness to share skills and knowledge (cf. Beer 2006a on hyper-and hypogamous marriages among the Wampar).

The good relationship existing between Simeon and his children's "*kandere*" is also due to the availability of lineage land, as the sons and grandsons of his wife's *nafod* have relatively more available land than other lineages. The generally amicable relations that Julius' descendants have had with other lineages are changing, however, and they have become more guarded and suspicious of one another. Several lineage leaders stated that lineages often treat each other as competitors, and land conflicts, provoked by current economic opportunities, are increasing.

5.5.3 Without land rights

While Ariel, Greg, or Saul have some land rights, even if they are open for contestation, their sisters' chances of accessing their Wampar lineage's land is ultimately tied to the Wampar lineage leaders who are their mother's brothers. For being daughters, they share a similar position to all female Wampar. As a Wampar father explained, "*Meri, i no gat nem*. *Man i go pas*" which literally translates to "Women have no names. Men go first." Men are first in line to inherit land rights, while women have no such automatic rights. Another Wampar father compares sons to posts stuck in the ground that do not move, while daughters are like leaves on the tree that once mature fall to the ground and are blown away by the wind. Daughters normally do not inherit land in the same way as a son does. There are exceptions, such as those noted by Fischer (1996) in Gabsongkeg if there are no male heirs, or the example of Greg (Case study #6), who received rights from his mother's brothers, Greg's *yasiŋ*, who all wanted to keep them in Dzifasing, or the rights received by Simeon's Wampar wife from her *nafod*.

In the current context of land use and social relations, the exclusionary tendencies are skewed even more against daughters of *ngaeng yaner*. While the discourse on the rule of inheritance similarly affects all daughters, the incorporation into a Wampar lineage of those born with a non-Wampar father is something that is not a given and can be contested. They share this fundamental difference with their brothers. However, while their brothers might have a chance of being given similar rights as male Wampar, usually through their Wampar mother's connection, they, as daughters are being presented with a narrower window of opportunities for their future, that directly links marriage and land issues. They can choose to stay unmarried to continue residing and accessing their Wampar mother's lineage land for subsistence gardening, for watermelon or peanut production, but not for cacao. Or they can marry a local, a *ngaeng Wampar,* to have access to a Wampar husband's lineage land. Even in the case of Greg's uncles who were incorporating him and his sisters to their lineage, they themselves limit Greg's sisters' rights, as they have to stay unmarried to access use of their lineage land. The extension of rights to land through Greg's mother does not follow for his sisters, in the next generation. A daughter who marries a *ngaeng yaner* today is expected to move out of Dzifasing with her husband. Greg's uncle clarified:

> *Dispela toktok em i kamap long taim bilong mipela. Long wanem. Long taim bilong papa, i no planti bin maretim ngaeng yaner. Nau i kam long mipela, em planti tumas maretim ngaeng yaner. Taim bilong ol papa no gat. Wanwan tasol. Ol ngaeng Adzera. Planti afi Adzera. Nau long mipela planti kainkain ngaeng yaner. Planti, planti tumas. Dis'la tingting kamap olsem. Ol kam na bai sindaun kamapim pikinini maret long en, pulap-pulap bai yumi no gat. Ol lain bilong yumi bai painim graoun, o ol bai pait wantaim ol bihain. Olsem ol favoretim disla tingting. Yu maretim narapela ngaeng yaner gen, yu go, go long ples bilong man na yu stap.*
>
> This talk started in our time. Why? During my father's time, not many married a *ngaeng yaner*. And in our time, too many married *ngaeng yaner*. Not during my father's time. Only a few. Some Adzera men. A lot of Adzera women. And during our time, a lot and all kinds of *ngaeng yaner*. A lot, too many. And this idea started. They will come and stay here and give birth to children from their marriage, it will fill up [the land] and we won't exist anymore. Our lineage will have to find land, or they will have to fight with them in the future. And that's why they favor this idea. If you marry another *ngaeng yaner* again, you will go, go to the place of your husband and you stay there.

This idea as the "rule" of the day is consistently talked about in Dzifasing. The pressure on whom to marry (a Wampar or a non-Wampar) is felt more by daughters. Thus, marriage options and strategies for women are limited by this gendered construction of kinship and rights to land. Compared to sons, all daughters in Dzifasing are subjected to an either/or option, to marry in, not to marry or to marry out. If the choice is the latter, she must leave, or make (unstable) arrangements with her brothers regarding her access to land. For daughters of interethnic marriages with non-Wampar fathers, these limitations are compounded, as they would have to make arrangements not with their own brothers, but

with their mother's brothers or cross-cousins. One of Greg's female cousins, whose father is also a *yaner*, married another *yaner*. They can visit Dzifasing but not settle there. Greg's sisters are well informed of the conditions attached to their gender: While one of them is still in school and has no immediate perspective on marriage, the other sister who has long left school has remained unmarried.

5.6 Conclusion

Following the end of the betelnut economy in Dzifasing, people turned to cacao and cattle farming as alternative sources of income. The more "egalitarian" crop has been replaced by forms of enterprises that tend to produce economic hierarchies, where those who have more available land are at an advantage. This also introduces new gender inequalities. Cacao trees are owned by the men that plant them, just as is the land where the cattle graze. Betel and coconut palms, however, were planted by both men and women, and women were able to control the income derived from their own trees. Once land is planted with cacao, which is a permanent crop with a productive span of at least 25 years, land is alienated for a long period of time. It is a new order of relations of production where men are in the forefront of dealing with a more regulated crop for the global market, and to an increasingly promoted export of livestock and meat.

Since large tracts of land are required to grow cacao and graze cattle, land came into focus as the main source of long-term wealth. This has generated more divisions and tensions not only between men and women, and between Wampar households or lineages, but even more so between those who have uncontested rights to Wampar land and those who are deemed to have no rights at all. With the changing socio-economic conditions, a new exclusionary discourse began to emerge in Dzifasing, focusing on male foreigners, or *ngaeng yaner*, and their children, and this discourse has turned more hostile. The presence of *yaner* and their descendants have become part of a commentary on land shortage.

Lineage leaders and local Wampar officials started discussing and announcing during public community meetings who has rights to access land and stay on Wampar territory. A more rigid meaning of who is "Wampar" and who is not is being constructed that emphasizes kinship, ethnicity, and gender, as they are linked to issues of land rights. In this context, when the term "*yaner*" is used, it is about economic and political exclusion and not merely social or cultural identification. As the criteria on who has rights to land are being narrowed to a notion of who is "Wampar" and not "*yaner*," the children of non-Wampar fathers find themselves at a disadvantage relative to many of their relatives and friends. Accordingly, they tend to tell their own counter-narratives about being a person who "belongs" to Dzifasing, as could be seen in the narratives presented in chapter 2.

This general discourse about the *yaner* is, however, at times in conflict with the realities of particular, concrete relationships. To be meaningfully incorporated into a lineage and to be

considered as "Wampar" makes a significant difference to one's chances of being able to stay and access land in Dzifasing. For children of interethnic marriages with non-Wampar fathers, the political and economic dimensions of being counted in and to enjoy similar rights to residence and land for income generation as children with Wampar fathers are mediated by the social, cultural and material aspects of relations with their Wampar kin. A hardworking disposition and observing valued comportments are recognized with appreciation. Maintaining good relations with the Wampar kin, be they mother's brothers (including classificatory ones), maternal grandparents or cross-cousins, matters in tilting the balance amidst the exclusionary politics and the increasing disputes over land. Other factors, such as the availability of sufficient lineage land, the presence or absence of conflicts, the need to defend land against other lineages, or a demand for labor can also influence lineage leaders to retain nephews and grant them land for cash crop production.

The chances of inclusion for daughters with non-Wampar fathers in their Wampar mother's lineage are much more limited, and they are much more restricted in their choice of marriage partners. However, they always have the option to marry a Wampar man, and the new "rule" that limits their right of residence in Dzifasing depending on their choice of marriage partner again may be the dominant discourse, but the actual or unequivocal implementation of this rule remains in the hands of her Wampar kin, especially the lineage leaders.

In the following chapters, I describe how children of interethnic marriages make sense of their cultural identity, negotiate the processes of differentiation, and thus position themselves in the current context of social relations among the Wampar. I show how cultural identity, place, locality, and kinship (such as based on descent) and rights to resources are intertwined. Naming is a practice through which negotiations along some of these axes occur, especially in the choice of a namesake, as I will show in the next chapter.

6. Naming practices and the quest for inclusion[1]

Names and naming practices continue to be salient in the ethnography of social relations and identities (e.g., Martin 2009; Vom Bruck and Bodenhorn 2006; Yangwen and MacDonald 2010). In the context of social and economic transformations among the Wampar in Dzifasing, naming practices form part of a political arena (McGlynn and Tuden 1991; Swartz et. al. 1966). I consider the act of choosing a name as an important aspect in the politics of social differentiation where relations of exclusion and inclusion are being negotiated.

In this chapter, I show how names are passed on through sharing one's names or acquiring namesakes. I demonstrate how such practices become important in the social positioning of parents and children. As discussed in the previous chapter, non-Wampar men and their children are socially differentiated with economic consequences, limiting their rights to land and place among the Wampar. Through the naming of children, those negotiating for inclusion can deploy names as part of their strategic positioning. This is especially important for the children of non-Wampar fathers whose rights to access land for cash crops are being questioned after the end of the local betelnut economy. Through the choice of names and namesakes, parents and children find avenues for negotiating belonging, identity, and the rights that are linked with them. I will thus concentrate on contemporary naming practices among the Wampar and non-Wampar in Dzifasing and show how these are mediated by the changing social relations, just as differentially situated actors shape them in the process.

6.1 Names and naming

Among the Wampar, a person bears not one but several names. The names may include old pre-mission Wampar names, Christian or biblical names, English or European names, or new forms of names and nicknames (Fischer 2000: 41-111). Some of the Christian and biblical names are in Wampar or Yabim. The orthography also varies with the tendency to Anglicize the way a name is spoken or written. While the transfer of a living person's name(s) to a child is common, names of deceased ancestors or other kin members (e.g., great-grandparents or grandparents, parents, cousins) are also given to newborns. This way, the person is remembered, accordingly.

The practice of having a "*nemsek*" (namesake) is common. This is how a child usually gets to have a set of names, as it will receive all the names of the namesake. Fischer (1978: 77) reported in the 1970s and earlier that the mother had a right to name her children, and that she often chose a name from her lineage, often from one of her (classificatory) brothers. While it is still mostly the mother that decides on a name, albeit today more in discussions with her husband, it is no longer necessarily a name from her immediate kin. A person who

[1] Parts of this chapter are published in Tsantsa (Bacalzo 2011), and Pacific Studies (Bacalzo 2016).

wants to give his or her name(s) to a child must try to win over the mother's favor by showering her with gifts (like food, or clothes in preparation for the baby). The mother is usually approached by the name-giver since she, conventionally, makes decisions about her child's name. Intense competition can arise if a mother receives several offers. However, a namesake could also be a last-minute choice by the mother after giving birth, as in the case for example of someone volunteering to bring a mother in labor in time to the hospital.

Gender	**Pre-mission name**	**Biblical/Christian name**	**Other names (modern, English, European)**
Female	Matzia or Matsea	Tamaris	Erica
	Furif Gentsean or Gentsian	Etao (Wampar=she/he sees)	Gabi
	Eborontang Wawin		Ebo, Ebbo, or Eboni,
	Nampang	Miti (Yabim= Gospel; Good News)	
Male	Bampa Ngaroko	Nathan or Nathanael	
	Dzeag or Jeag	Hosea or Josiah	William, Bill
	Ngereng	Nathanael	Morris
	Purumpir	Gideon	Moxi

Table 6.1 Examples of names among the Wampar

Fischer (2000:55) in an analysis of census data from the 1950s to the 1990s observed that there appears to be an ideal form of name transmission of male names from mother's brother to sister's son, and of female names from father's sister to brother's daughter (see Fig. 6.1)

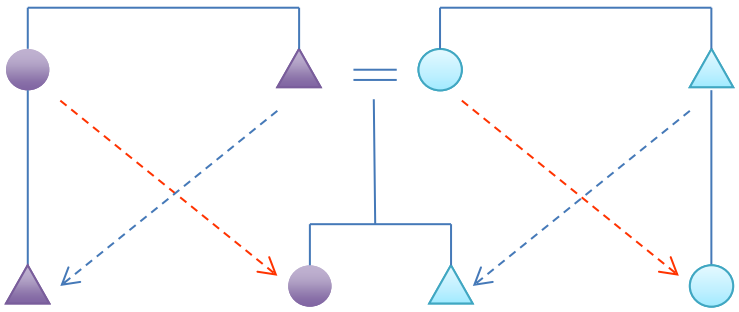


Figure 6.1 MB to ZS and FZ to BD name exchange

This includes classificatory brothers or sisters. When this ideal is practiced, classificatory siblings of opposite sex exchange names through their children. This name exchange, "*bekim nem*" in Tok Pisin, is described by Isaac, a Wampar father (Case study #3):

> *Pasin bilong mipela long hia, taim mi kisim pikinini na mi kolim nem bilong yu o nem bilong Tobias, okay, bihain nau, Tobias bai kam-apim pikinini nau, em bai kolim nem bilong mi. Em olsem pasin; pasin bilong mipela long hia.*

> It is our custom here that when I have a child and I name it with your or Tobias' name, okay, then later, when Tobias has a child, he will name it with my name. That is like custom, our custom here.

This name exchange has far-reaching implications, as it creates a special bond, not only between the namesakes, but also between both name-givers. Fischer (1975:198) noted that a marriage was seen as improper if namesake relations existed between the family of the man and the woman.

The Wampar ideals in naming, however, are not strictly followed, as naming is also a matter of individual preferences. Names can come from or be generated by any name-provider or name-giver, be they kin, friends or unrelated people, or events. Names can be shared, acquired from other sources, or simply created. Names circulate freely and are accessible for anyone to use and to pass on. Choosing a namesake, however, entails existing social relationships, whether through kinship or friendship.

In interethnic marriages, reciprocal relations through naming are extended to a wider network of kin, involving both Wampar and non-Wampar. The naming of children today is in most instances carried out by both parents and their respective kin and is no longer solely the prerogative of the mother. The forms and processes of naming and name exchange in transcultural kinship are also emerging out of specific social, economic and political conditions and relations that may be held to be important. Choosing a namesake is a political arena in which social relationships can be emphasized.

6.2 Negotiating relations through names

As I show below in cases of this common practice, names can be deployed to strengthen connections to access land and other possible forms of support. Names can be conduits for inclusion, social mobility and destratification, or buffers to exclusionary tendencies. Naming practices among the Wampar foster a more inclusive social environment, and counteract the exclusionary discourses brought on by the current economic transformations.

In Dzifasing, this appears to be not a surprising tendency in the absence of a strict hierarchical social organization. However, exclusions, rising with the shift to cacao and establishment of new cattle pastures, can be counterbalanced by building on social relationships, such as through the act of naming. The use of names, and the practice of name-sharing forms part of the social process of constituting meaningful relationships that are characteristically fluid. In cases when names and land rights are tied together, accommodations of culturally specific naming practices form part of the negotiations by Wampar and the non-Wampar, such as in the case of Tsongof (Case study #4), a Wampar woman married to Rufus, a man from the Sepik. They gave their children names that signify

links to both their Wampar and non-Wampar cultural background. It is by way of names that social relations on both sides are negotiated.

All sons of Rufus and Tsongof have Sepik and Wampar names, which were acquired in different ways. Tsongof observed what appears to be the Wampar ideal of naming the children, except for the last-born. Her first three sons were named after her classificatory brothers. So far, she has fulfilled an exchange of names with one of them who had a daughter who was named after her. Tsongof's last born, however, was not named according to the Wampar ideal of name exchange. He was named by Tsongof's mother, who gave him a name associated with a national holiday, which was the day he was born. However, not long after, a man of mixed descent, residing outside of Dzifasing but with links through his Wampar mother from a ***saqaseq*** different from Tsongof's parents, offered his name so that he would become her son's namesake. His name happens to sound similar to the name that Tsongof's mother has chosen for him.

Rufus gave his sons Sepik names that connect them to his place of origin. Being a non-Wampar, Rufus has no land of his own in Dzifasing. Tsongof's right of use to land from her Wampar kin does not automatically transfer to her sons. However, Tsongof's brothers like to keep their nephews in Dzifasing and have allowed her sons to access some lineage land to plant cacao. As discussed in chapter 5, the planting of cacao, a permanent cash crop, in the post-betelnut economy, has become a conditional right that can only be enjoyed with the permission of the Wampar male lineage leaders and in the absence of contestations. Her sons are enjoying a similar relationship with their mother's brothers, as Greg (Case study #6) and Ariel (Case study #5) described in the previous chapters. While Greg and Ariel have started planting cacao on their designated land plots, Tsongof's sons have so far not done so because their non-Wampar father, Rufus, discourages them. He understands that while his sons are able to enjoy usufruct rights in Dzifasing through their link with their mother, he deems this to be an unstable situation and no guarantee to secure his sons' future. Rufus also uses his sons as bargaining chips for his continued residence, as Rufus has let it be known that should he be forced to leave Dzifasing, he would take his sons with him. The conflicting interests between Rufus and Tsongof's brothers are thus further expressed when it comes to who can influence the boys about their future. Rufus further reminds them that they also have cacao in his Sepik place of origin. He has continued to keep strong connections with his kin from his place of origin. This is how he also insists on giving his sons Sepik names from his clan that correspond to names of pieces of his clan's land. He said that giving his sons Sepik names secures not only his sons' connection to his clan but also the rights of having land in his place of origin.

This sentiment is shared by Alex, another non-Wampar father (Case study #9), also from the Sepik, who asserts that giving his children, like his son Philip, Sepik names, connects them not only to the place but also with their kindred.

Case study #9: Philip

Philip's father, Alex, is from the Sepik. He married Mamug, a local Wampar woman, in 1987. Philip has four brothers and a sister. He is attending Grade 7 of the Dzifasing primary school while his two elder brothers are of secondary school age, but temporarily out of school. One of them, Jeremy, has failed his exams, but would like to continue his education by attending another school. The other is waiting until their parents can raise the necessary money for his school fees. Philip's schooling is assisted by one of his Wampar mother's classificatory brothers, who is his namesake. Meanwhile, the elder of his younger brothers is also going to primary school, while his two younger siblings are still not of school age.

Alex came to Dzifasing in the mid-1980s through members of his Sepik social network who had already settled among the Wampar. He stayed with Simeon (Case study #8). He keeps contact with his kin on the Sepik by regular visits. At times, he takes some of the children with him. He recently started planting cacao on his lineage land on the Sepik. He relies on his natal kindred for support, particularly for the children's school fees. It is a support that he and his wife, Mamug, wish that they could also get from her Wampar kin.

Mamug, Philip's mother, has two brothers and one surviving sister. The eldest brother leads in the handling of their lineage land. According to Mamug and Philip, her brother entered into an agreement with a businessman to use their lineage land for cattle farming. However, they said that whatever cash return Mamug's brother has received from the transaction, they did not receive any share of it, not even for supporting their children's schooling. The daughter of Mamug's brother, one of Philip's classificatory sisters, also complained of not being supported by her father, as she wanted to continue her studies in the secondary school but failed to convince her father.

Philip is good in sports, and dreams of becoming a professional soccer player. He also said that he wants to become an engineer, as he is fascinated with machines, and thinks that this would be a good job for him. He would rather like to live in a rural area, where food and water are plentiful.

Alex told me that he no longer wanted his Wampar in-laws to give Wampar names to his children. He feels that otherwise, his children's Wampar identity would become too dominant. He named them all with Sepik names, so that they would not forget their Sepik identity, and as an expression of his resistance against the dominance of Wampar influence. Through the naming of children with both Wampar and Sepik names, Rufus and Alex are not only accommodating the practice for the advantage of having social connections for their children in both places, but also securing their claims on the land on the Sepik that they intend to pass on to their sons.

Benny, one of Rufus's sons, knows that he has several names after having been given Sepik and Wampar names (Case study #4; See Figure 6.2). He bears four names: two are from his

Wampar namesake, one is a pre-mission Sepik name, one a modern name from Rufus's sister's husband, also from the Sepik. Benny's pre-mission Sepik name was given by Rufus' older brother, Dante. He named Benny, "Sawar," which refers to a piece of land belonging to their clan. This, he said, signifies Benny's rights to own this land.

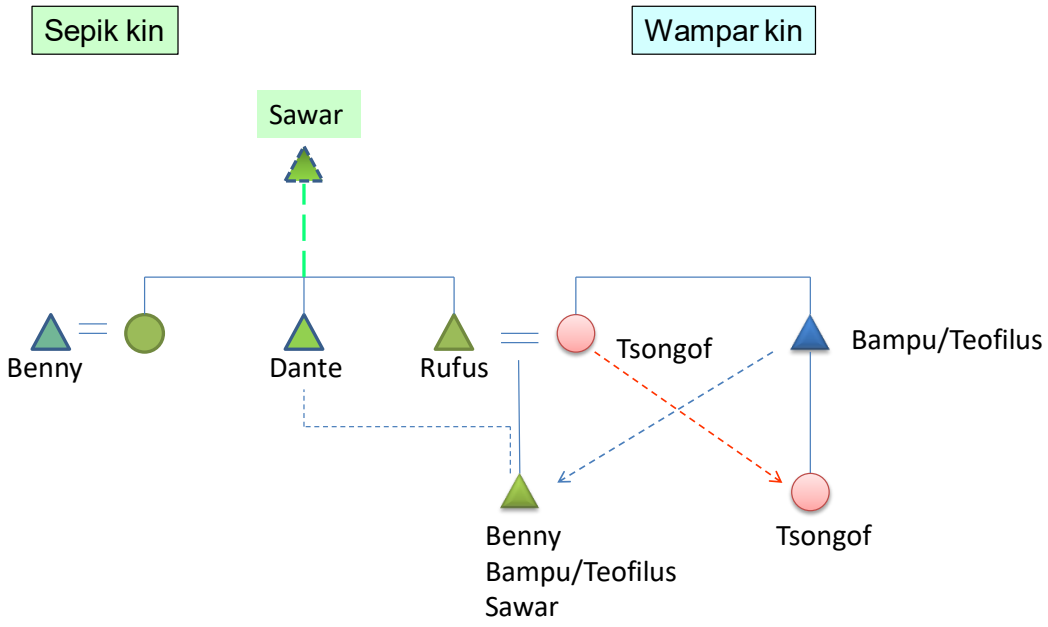


Figure 6.2 Namesakes of a son with non-Wampar father and Wampar mother

Among many Sepik ethnic groups, the name is tied to the land, and so one clan is not supposed to use names from another clan; otherwise, it is as good as stealing the land of other clans (see e.g., Harrison 1990; Silverman 1996, 1997). In contrast to the Sepik, personal names among contemporary Wampar are not directly associated with land or a specific *sagaseg*. Fischer (2000: 59–70), in his description of the etymology of personal names in Gabsongkeg, recorded only a few cases in which the name of a clan is given as a personal name to women. However, I did not find a similar case in Dzifasing.

In noting the differences in the naming practices between Wampar and the Sepik, Tsongof opines that it is for this reason that there are many land disputes between families and lineages in Dzifasing. Tsongof's opinion is indicative of her recognition of the significance of names as markers of land rights on the Sepik, which she acknowledges is absent among the Wampar. While names may be shared and firm up kin relations, the rights to land are not passed on through names. Except for names from the Sepik that are tied to land or categorizing one's group membership, names are passed on between Wampar and non-Wampar alike. Since personal names are not tied to land, nomination is not disputed. It is however, through the choice of names or namesakes that social and structural aspects of relationships can be negotiated. This is what Tsongof, Rufus and their respective kin are effecting through the naming of their sons.

Through the ideal that allows Tsongof, as a mother, to choose names from her side, she is able to balance out the patrilineal principle of belonging to a lineage and a *saqaseq*. In the case of the naming of her sons after her (classificatory) brothers, their names manifest the relations or link from her side. For Rufus and his kin, to give his sons Sepik names allows them to balance Wampar dominance, especially when they, as *yaner*, are considered outsiders, without land rights on the Wampar territory. In making those links, through names, it is not only kinship but also the ethnic identifications that are facilitated. This extends to being able to access and negotiate rights to land through Tsongof's usufruct rights and rights of inheritance through Rufus. These multifaceted aspects of their sons' social relationships and identities become part of their sense of personhood.[2]

6.3 Namesake relations

As names are given, a relationship built on care is expected. Isaac (Case study #3) described to me how these namesake relations are acted out:

> *Nemsek bilong Tobias mi kolim long hia, em bai sampela taim bai i go stap wantaim em na mekim sampela wok wantaim, helpim wok long en, mekim wok bilong en. Em i go bek long nemsek bilong en yet. Nau, nemsek bilong en nau, bai – olsem bikpela Tobias nau – bai sampela taim long Christmas nau em bai bayim trousers, olsem Christmas present, bai givim em o painim present long en, o i go raun long painim abus, patrol, painim abus na kisim i go long wannem bilong en. … Dispela pasin em i gro bikpela namel long mipela. Bifo yet long Tumbuna na kam inap nau.*
>
> If Tobias had a namesake here, this namesake would some time go and stay with him [older Tobias], and will work with him, help his work, make his work. He will go back to his namesake. Then, his namesake, the [older] Tobias, will buy him a pair of pants at Christmas, as a Christmas present, he will give him or find him a gift, or he will go hunt for meat, patrol, find some meat and give it to his namesake. . . . This custom has grown big among us. From the time of our ancestors, it has come until now.

Wampar namesakes are expected to act on the relationship by caring for the child who bears their names. As described above, this relationship begins once the child is born and receives one's name(s) and it is considered ideal that this nurturing relationship continues throughout one's life. It is further expressed at the marriage of the namesake where the older male and female namesake's roles are differentiated. At the time of marriage, while a

[2] LiPuma's (1998) proposition on the study of personhood in Melanesia acknowledges both the dividual and the individual aspects of the person, which he maintains are also present in the West. More recent studies are going beyond the binary opposition, or dualism, in the conceptualization of the person and seek concurrence and collaboration with other disciplinal concepts and approaches, with models such as the "dialogical self" (van Meijl 2008), the "porous subject" (Smith 2012), and the seemingly simple but complex word "blob," to bring together the related multiple terms and processes to "describe what it is to be oneself or somebody else, in this or that place" (Bloch 2011).

male namesake is expected to help and contribute to the bridewealth, the female namesake expects to receive a share of the bridewealth.[3] However, if the female namesake is considered neglectful or disinterested with her younger namesake, there is no guarantee that she will receive her share. This norm, accordingly, applies to any namesake, regardless of whether one is genealogically related or not.

These days, the namesake can also take on the role of a Christian Godparent during baptism and gives gifts to the child on Christmas or birthdays. In everyday life, an ideal namesake treats the child like he or she is one's own child by giving her or him food to eat, clothes, or some pocket money and helping out with school fees. A namesake of one of Tsongof's sons (Case study #4), however, had never visited the child. He works as a professional in a faraway island province and spends most of his time there. Tsongof nevertheless expected that on her son's marriage, he would contribute to the bridewealth. Otherwise, she said, they were not supposed to exchange names. Tsongof – and parents who think that their children's namesakes are neglectful of their role – take a 'wait-and-see' attitude. When namesakes are considered neglectful, the relationship is expressed as "*nem nating*" (literally, "*name nothing*") or "*nem tasol*" (in name only). The "name" that was shared loses its sociocultural currency when the relationship is not acted upon.

Namesake relations with both the Wampar and the non-Wampar kin are similarly important for parents and children. It paves children's sociocultural connections, which can facilitate a sense of belonging, either way. For children with Wampar fathers who face no issues of exclusion among the Wampar, having a Wampar name is not as important as it is for children with non-Wampar fathers. Having a Wampar namesake makes the Wampar

[3] On the varying practices of bridewealth transaction and distribution among the Wampar, see Beer (2015:215-216) and Fischer (1975: 224-244). The distribution of the bridewealth, particularly the cash form today, can indeed be contested. It also appears to be significantly informed by the relationship as a social process than just on given structural connection or position, such as being a namesake, a mother or a father. There is a moral evaluation on who has the right to receive a share of the bridewealth based on the nature of the relationship between the receiver and the woman who marries. The connection between "receiver" and the marrying woman is not simply a direct correspondence between individual persons but accounts for the set of relationships that represent the entity (e.g., kin members). For example, a girl was named after the deceased daughter of a couple who took care of the girl's grandmother when she (the grandmother) needed refuge after being beaten by a brother. Upon the girl's marriage (and she still is not married), her deceased namesake's mother claims that her son will be the rightful recipient of the girl's bridewealth in place of her husband who has passed away. While this girl's grandmother and mother have also passed away, she and her other siblings continue to have a good relationship with the household that took care of their grandmother and mother. They partly grew up living within the compound of this household since their grandmother sought refuge with them. This household's lineage is now under the leadership of the son. Also, the one who named a child after a deceased kin would do the gift-giving for the namesake. Such is the case of a young Wampar woman who said that her bridewealth (upon her marriage) would be received by the father of her deceased namesake since it has been him who has been giving her gifts.

connections more publicly visible. It can also be an enabling factor for social mobility, as in the case of Philip (Case study #9, see Figure 6.3).

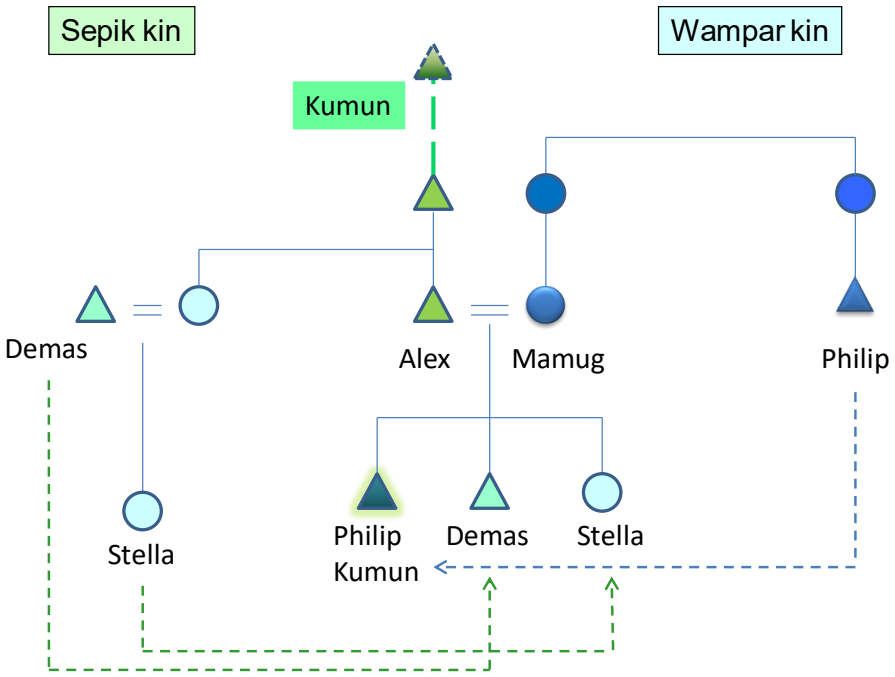


Figure 6.3 Strengthening kin connection and accessing support through namesakes

Philip, one of Alex's sons (Case study #9), has Wampar and Sepik names. He has received an ancestral name, Kumun, from his father's Sepik village. His Wampar namesake is his mother's classificatory brother. He had been supporting his schooling, paid school fees and closely monitored his activities in the village to ensure that he stays in school. His namesake has his own self-operated public minivan and employs Philip and his older brother occasionally as bus conductors (*bosskru* in Tok Pisin). Through the namesake, Philip has not only a meaningful social connection but also an economic advantage that transcends any normative patrilineal rules that may restrict him from acquiring important resources for subsistence, such as land. Although he is aware of himself having a Sepik name, he continues using his Wampar namesake's name. It is the name that he has gotten used to since childhood and therefore prefers it. Philip's siblings were given names from their father's kin network. Alex, their father, named them after his sister's husband and their daughter. He said that they both have been supportive to them as relatives that he can rely on whenever his household needs financial assistance, including the payment of the children's school fees.

6.4 Addressing relationships by name

Names among the Wampar can freely circulate, but who uses what name to address one or what one uses for oneself at a particular place and time indicate relationships that are being played out.

Benny (Case study #4, Fig. 6.2), for example, is called differently by different persons. Tsongof calls him alternating with his modern and his Wampar name. Dante, Rufus's brother who had given Benny a Sepik name, never calls him by his Wampar name, but only by his Sepik name. Benny, however, prefers to use his modern name, as he thinks that it is a nice name. This way, he expresses a sense of his individuality, by being able to choose which name to use. While Benny dropped out of school, other kids who knew him in school also continue to call him by his modern name. Outside school, he is called mostly by his Wampar name, especially by his Wampar kin. Being aware of his contested social position in Dzifasing and how he and his brothers are socially categorized, Benny nevertheless echoes his Sepik connection by acknowledging his Sepik name and his possible eventual move to the Sepik. His awareness of his names' symbolic links and their social, economic, and political implications has been shaped through the transcultural socialization experiences he encounters, not only through his parents but also from his Sepik and Wampar kin and the interactions with them and his immediate social milieu in Dzifasing. Besides Rufus's declaration of his sons' Sepik identity, as suggested by the Sepik names they bear, the visits of their Sepik kin to Dzifasing further remind the children of their connection. When Benny was ten years old, he was able to see, for the first time, the land that bears his name in East Sepik Province.

Another boy with a Wampar father is also called with different names by different people (See Figure 6.4 below). In Dzifasing, his Wampar kin call him Yasi (Case study #10).

Case study #10: Yasi

Yasi is a 9-year-old boy in second grade of elementary school in Dzifasing. He has an elder sister, Febe, who is in fifth grade at the primary school. Yasi and Febe's mother, Wanda, is a non-Wampar of mixed descent who grew up in the Eastern Highlands Province (EHP). Their father, Jacob, is Wampar.

Wanda and Jacob met in 1990 in Goroka, the capital city of EHP, while Jacob was working there as a carpenter. Wanda was then babysitting for her eldest sister's children. Her sister was married to a former MP in Goroka. She said that this is the reason why she did not continue school and dropped out after the first grade of elementary school. Wanda has five other elder sisters and a brother. She is the youngest of them all. Wanda's parents are also a mixed couple: her father is from near Bulolo in Morobe Province but followed a white missionary to Goroka while he was still a boy, while her mother is from the EHP, from a village that is about half an hour away from Goroka.

Yasi and Febe know their mother's kindred. They went to school at Wanda's place of origin. Febe has done her preparatory and two elementary grades of school there. In 2009, Yasi just got back to Dzifasing after a year of going to school there. Yasi and Febe stayed with Eunice, one of Wanda's sisters. Eunice has only one son, who is already grown up and married. Yasi and Febe call Eunice in Tok Pisin "*mama*."

Yasi and Febe's father, Jacob, is a son of a local Wampar man descending from a ***saqaseq*** that is considered the smallest ***saqaseq*** in Dzifasing. Jacob said that his patrilineage does not have much land compared to other lineages. Jacob went to secondary school but reached only tenth grade. He expressed a feeling of regret for not continuing to finish higher grades.

When Yasi is at his mother's place, in the Eastern Highlands, he is called Ronald, after a namesake who is his mother's elder sister's son. In Dzifasing, Yasi is also called Jonas, but only by one person. Jonas is the name given to him by the church pastor during his baptism, and so only the widow of this pastor ever calls him Jonas. Yasi, who is nine years old, knows all his names, as his Wampar and non-Wampar kin, as well as the church pastor's wife, call him by their respectively chosen name of address for him.

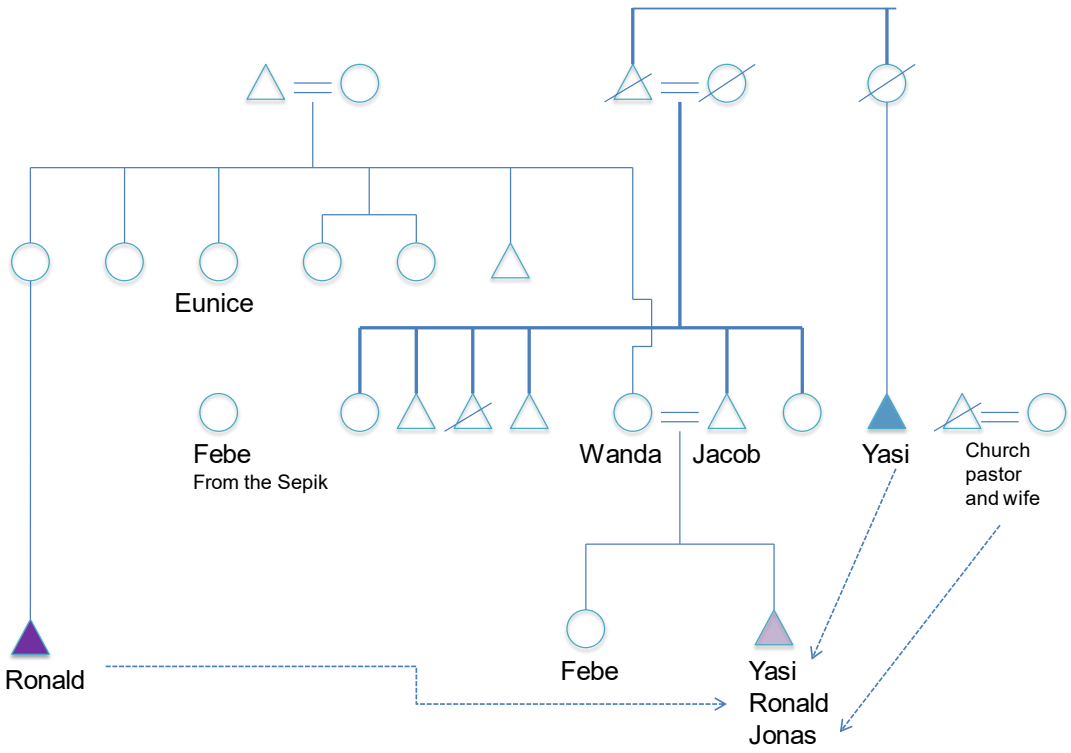


Figure 6.4 Yasi's names and relationships

6.5 Self-naming

Being aware of the salience of names in their lives, children of interethnic marriages sometimes resort to self-naming and name-switching. Children thus not only can have multiple names, and be called by multiple names, but these names can also change, and new names can be added over time. As there are no rituals and life stages that govern name changes, except baptism, this is often an uncomplicated process. However, the encompassment by forces of colonization and missionization, and the institutionalization of a naming system, has since mediated these practices to an extent. Children in Dzifasing have a registered name once they are baptized or when they start school. From this point on, in public or official situations, their names are written with one personal name followed by another name that is usually (but not exclusively) the name of the child's father. I refer to the latter as the "public name." The basis for preferring the use of this term, as opposed to "family name," is that this latter category implies a certain structured order of names associated with an element of permanency or continuity as it is observed in each succeeding generation. While it is common practice to use the child's father's personal name, this name is only sometimes passed on to the next generation. It is far more common that children of the next generation will again have a registered name derived from their own father's name, not their paternal grandfather's name. Moreover, the father's name is not always used, as there are other possible name sources from the kin network.[4] It is thus possible that not every sibling in the same family is necessarily using the same name at the same time. At marriage, women usually take on their husband's first name as their public name. Therefore, "inherited surnames," "family names," or " inherited patronyms" are inappropriate concepts to describe the naming system among the Wampar.[5] I have not noticed any case of female names being used as a public name.

A public name is usually registered either at baptism in church, on entry to school, or at census taking by the state. Scott (1998) refers to this naming process as making individuals legible to the state. Thus, this "public name" qualifies as an "official name" in the sense of it becoming legible to governing institutions or state agencies and their bureaucracy.

An example of how public names get assigned and can change over time is the case of three siblings (Case study #11) who changed their names as they negotiated their growing-up years between their Wampar mother and Mount Hagen father (See Figure 6.5).

[4] Fischer (2000: 86) observed cases when the name is taken from (well-known and respected) paternal or maternal grandparents.

[5] Reid (2010:22) refers to the "inherited family names on the male side" as the entrenchment of a patriarchal pattern of naming in Southeast Asian countries linked with the global processes of capitalism. Scott (2010: vii–ix) qualifies the difference between "vernacular" and "official" state-created names with the latter type turned into "permanent patronyms" as "a reliable proxy for the degree of state presence" (Scott et. al. 2002:14).

Case study #11: Delia, Mara and Sam

Delia is 20 years old and the youngest among three siblings whose father is non-Wampar. She has a brother, Sam, and a sister, Mara. Their father, Reuben, is a man from a village near Mount Hagen. Their mother, Judith, a local Wampar woman, met Reuben in Lae. Judith was 16 years old when she married Reuben in the early 1980s. After their marriage, they set up residence first in Lae, as Reuben was then working in the city. After he quit his job, they later moved to Mt. Hagen. Delia, Mara, and Sam were all born in Dzifasing, however. Judith would always return to the village to give birth. She was observing the Wampar practice of the postpartum taboo, avoiding cohabitation with Reuben soon after giving birth to a child.

When they were in Mt. Hagen, Reuben started getting involved in violent conflicts between his village of origin and other social groups in the highlands. It put a strain on their marriage. Judith decided to leave Reuben and took Delia, Mara, and Sam back to Dzifasing. Reuben, who remained in Mt. Hagen, married a local woman from there as his second wife. In Dzifasing, Judith resided with her children within the compound of a classificatory brother who is married to Mildred, a Wampar woman with whom they enjoy what Delia describes as a very caring relationship. Judith did not go to her own brother, who did not approve of her marriage with Reuben. Judith's mother, Mara, who is the namesake of Delia's sister, had a strong bond with Mildred and her husband.

Mara (Delia's MM) stayed with them when she had to flee from the beatings of her own brother. The brother was beating Mara (Delia's MM) when he discovered her involvement with a local Wampar man who was then still married with another Wampar woman. Judith was thus returning to the household that she knew would be supportive of her. Delia is named after the deceased daughter of Mildred.

Judith passed away in 2004. She was said to have suffered from TB and lung cancer. Delia and her sister believe that this was caused by sorcery. After their mother's death, they all moved back to Mt. Hagen. They continue to visit Dzifasing during school and holiday breaks.

Names from Wampar	Name from Mt.Hagen	Public Name
Rudy Elijah	Sam	Sam Michael Sam Reuben
Maranasap/Mara		Mara Michael Mara Reuben
Ngangkoa Delia		Delia Francis Delia Reuben

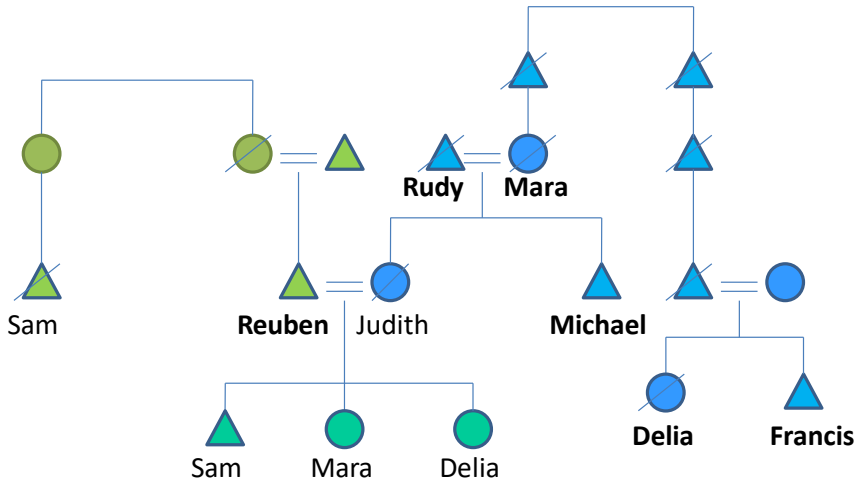


Figure 6.5 Switching names by siblings

Reuben, the Mount Hagen father of Sam, Mara and Delia, did not take up residence in Dzifasing. The two older siblings, Sam and Mara, adopted their mother's brother's name as their public name because he was the one present during their baptism rites. However, they later changed it to their father's name when both moved to Mount Hagen to continue high school and college there. When Delia, the youngest sibling, began school in Dzifasing, she registered herself with a public name that was neither that of her Mount Hagen father nor that of her mother's brother. It was the name of the son of the woman who took care of them during difficult times when their father was absent. However, when Delia reached third grade, the local teacher insisted that she used the name of her Mount Hagen father. She also later moved to Mount Hagen, where she continued using her Mount Hagen father's name, and had since then taken pride in her Mount Hagen identity.

By assigning themselves a public name, children of interethnic marriages are able to express their preferred representation and the linkages that it entails. Thus, Mari (Case study #5), a daughter of an interethnic couple, decided while she was in her primary grades to change her public name from her father's name to that of her paternal grandfather's name (See Figure 6.6).

Wampar Name	Milne Bay Name	Public Name
Ase	Marihena/Mari	Mari Gabriel Mari Tahedi

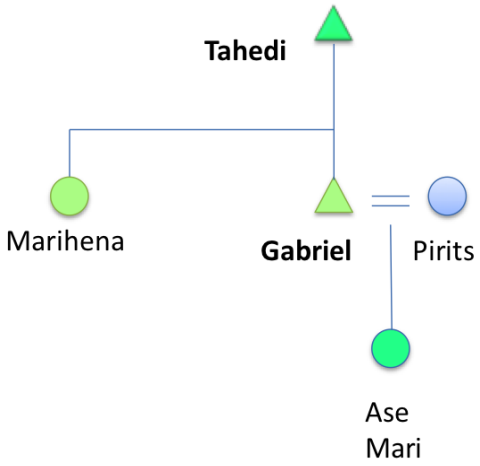


Figure 6.6 Self-naming with switching of public names

She said that by doing this, it would connect her identity directly to her father's place of origin. She assumed people would recognize her paternal grandfather's name Tahedi as a name from Milne Bay Province, unlike her father's name Gabriel, which is a common modern/biblical name. Mari saw it as a way that would further strengthen her connections to her father's place through the recognition of the name as being from there. She wanted to be able to go back to her father's place of origin and keep active connections with her relatives from there and explore economic opportunities. She drew on the strength of the link and of her (personal) name, on top of changing her public name, in attaining all these possibilities at her father's place. She was named after her father's sister and has maintained good relations with her namesake. Her father comes from a place where the transmission of land rights is through the matriline. She sees the strength of her connections not only by being the namesake of her father's elder sister but also by having a good relationship with other kin in Milne Bay. While her chosen public name is not necessarily traceable in her father's matrilineage or that of her namesake's, the name could emphasize her identification to Milne Bay. She balanced out her Wampar biography through names in making recognizable links with her non-Wampar kin.

The influence of schoolteachers on the forms of a child's registered name manifests not only in the form on which public name is accepted, but also in the choice of the personal name, among the set of several names, and not the least in the orthography. Names on a school registration sheet often differ from how school children would at times represent themselves, or how adult kin members would refer to them.

Children are not passive recipients of names, but also actively name themselves. Many children in Dzifasing prefer to have new names or nicknames. They are creative in coming up with their own terms. In school, as children socialize with their cohorts, they generate nicknames in imaginative ways for themselves or their classmates and friends. Some examples allude to ethnicity, as found written on classroom walls among other graffiti: *mix blood*, *Mixe Blood Mary*, *mangi 128 raun tasol* (literally translates as "boy one-two-eight just going around" whereby the sequence of numbers is an onomatopoetic way of referring to the Wantoat ethnic group), *Bob mangi Gamor* (Bob, a boy from Gamor hamlet within Dzifasing), *JURJ 217 Crew* (where 217 stands for Dzifasing because the number symbols are associated with letters that closely resemble them, as in 2 is to letter Z, 1 is to letter I, and 7 is to letter F), *Tochii island boy*, or *Peter pikinini pukpuk* ("Peter, the crocodile child" referring to Peter as a child from the Sepik since the Sepik migrants are known to be crocodile hunters).

While nicknaming or "name-calling" may hint at a child's ethnicity, it also offers an opportunity for children of interethnic marriages to represent themselves in a unique way, just like other children in the village. Preference for one's own nickname can be based on how the name sounds and whether it is common or "cool" or based on images that they would like to associate themselves with, such as celebrities or characters in the entertainment world. Their notions of modernity are likewise expressed through these borrowings and adaptations of names. They express a sense of their individuality by generating or adapting names from celebrities that they would see in magazines, on television, or in movies or even hear from other people and that they consider unique or fashionable. This is not a recent trend: Fischer (2000: 72) already noted how boys in Gabsongkeg who no longer know their old Wampar names have given themselves nicknames, such as "Sixpack," referring to beer; "Blacky," for wearing black clothes; "Bruce Lee;" or "Anolt," referring to Arnold Schwarzenegger.

In the list of name examples in Table 6.1, nicknames are part of new forms of names, both in the way they are spoken and written – and may also be derived from a pre-mission Wampar name (e.g., Ebbo or Eboni from Eborontang), or from a Wampar term (e.g., Moxi from *Moswarang*). I also found a case of a young man who takes pride in using an old Wampar name, Sagim, that he traces back to one of his ancestors, a name associated with being a warrior.

6.6 Conclusion

As the act of naming can create relationships, it is an important aspect in negotiating the politics of social relations. While names among the Wampar do not have the deep metaphysical significance as in the Sepik area (Harrison 1990; Silverman 1996, 1997), it is in the way they are transmitted and used that they can become powerful tools. In the context

of heightened exclusionary tendencies in the post-betelnut economy, the act of naming has a transformative potential for inclusion or for balancing out asymmetric relations, as when it is harnessed by the families and children of interethnic marriages.

In polyethnic kin relations, the prominence of names and naming practices play out in the process of asserting identities or belonging, resisting dominance, or claiming certain rights, particularly the access, use, and inheritance of land. Parents, the children of interethnic marriages, and their transcultural kindred are all drawn into a political arena where names and their use have become important resources in attaining desired relationships or strategic social positions and representations. How a child is named, addressed, or referred to according to the context of the relationship facilitates inclusion, as it also allows for fluid identity boundaries that accommodate multiplicity and flexibility. The quest for inclusion (whether by the non-Wampar father or his children) not only among the Wampar but also in the non-Wampar father's place of origin implies being able to enjoy rights to use the land in either locations or, in the case of sons, the right to inherit land rights through their non-Wampar father's lineage. Naming can facilitate these important goals to secure the future. While names are not tied to land among the Wampar, compared to other ethnic groups, such as among the Sepik groups, they are nevertheless used to either firming up social relations and sometimes to express a modern notion of individuality.

The Wampar practice of having several names provides a normative back-drop for children of interethnic marriages to be able to switch and change names, allowing them to stress a chosen affiliation or an important social relationship. It also allows the culturally differentiated kindred to address the child by the name that they choose to identify or relate the child with. Naming practices become part of the process of negotiating multiple ethnicities, rights or obligations, and kinship relations. Names can signify land rights, clan affiliation, kin, or personal connections. They are significant identifiers and means both for the formation of the children's multiple identities and for the rights that are entailed by them.

Namesakes firm up kin relations just as they facilitate relatedness with non-kin. Namesake relations entail a reciprocity that goes beyond the exchanging of names, with the attached expectations of care for the well-being of the child who receives one's name(s). It is a connection that may serve as a marker of genealogical link but, more important, as a connotation of social rights, interests, and obligations. Namesake relations become meaningful when acted upon, showing the dimension of relationships as a social process. The individual namesake relations are at the same time mediated by the collective nature of the social relationship. The practice of sharing one's name extends the network of people who would have rights over the bridewealth just as the obligations in providing for it. Namesakes come with gendered social obligations. While a namesake is expected to care for the child who receives one's name, which is the same for either a girl or a boy, it is at the time of marriage that the obligation and rights are differentiated.

The naming process is intensified when practices from different ethnic groups are asserted either as a form of resistance against Wampar dominance or as an insistence for recognition of their own cultural identities and values, while at the same time they are adapted toward reinforcing meaningful connections. The naming of children from interethnic marriages can be an expression of competing interests that are accommodated, such as children having namesakes from both sides of their parents' kindred, and/or asserted, such as when non-Wampar fathers in particular give their sons names that are symbolic of land rights and connections to their place of origin.

The use of names allows for code-switching and flexibility in the process of self-identification. Adults and children in polyethnic kin relations adapt names according to social situations, their own interests, aspirations, and the relations that they build around them. It allows the child to transcend limitations that may be dictated by the structural power of rules of inheritance and kinship. The adoption of a public name, when based on a patrilineal norm, might reinforce the children's lineage and clan membership. A similar strategy can be deployed not just to identify with a parent's place of origin using a normatively matrilineal system of inheritance but also to exhibit strong connections that may transcend rules toward a possible incorporation.

Ethnic identifications among children of interethnic marriages are facilitated by names that are given to them, used by specific kin, or selected by the children themselves. The use of names for and by the children who are socially differentiated is part of the negotiations in challenging any strict setting of ethnic boundaries. Thus, naming as practice is integral in the process of social positioning, which has become more important for children born out of interethnic marriages.

In the next chapter, I relate another central dimension in the negotiations of social relations and identity. I describe what informs these and other social transformations in relation to notions of what language(s) can do in the process of social positioning of the differentially situated social actors, particularly in the rapidly changing socioeconomic conditions, with the end of the local betelnut economy.

7. Language and its uses in a multiethnic environment

The language situation in Dzifasing has not just been shaped by its long historical entanglement with missionization and colonization, [1] or by the post-colonial processes of nation-building and state-making. It is also very much informed by an increasingly ethnically diverse population with generations of children whose first language is not necessarily the same as that of their father or mother. It is in the wider social, political and economic context depicted in the previous chapters that I describe the language situation in the village. I situate multilingualism and language choice in particular social settings by both Wampar and non-Wampar in Dzifasing. In particular, I explore how children with a non-Wampar parent position themselves in relation to the Wampar language (*dzob Wampar*).

In unraveling the language situation, I account for the "contextual role of power in language use" (Wolf 1999:54). Ideas, attitudes and beliefs about language, and how language is used in the communicative process, such as who uses what language in what social contexts, with and for whom and why, are aspects of social relations where relations of power figure in and are conceptually referred to by other anthropologists as "language ideology" (Gal 1989; Irvine 1989; Irvine and Gal 2000; Kroskrity 2000, Woolard and Schieffelin 1994).[2]

As I have discussed in the previous chapters, kin terms and sociocultural categories of identities and relationships, as they are used either in Wampar or in Tok Pisin, serve the purpose of organizing social boundaries and identities that position those who are Wampar and those who are not and the implicated rights, such as access to land. Language knowledge is an important aspect of these distinctions. To be Wampar, for example, also means to be able to speak *dzob Wampar*. Thus, language is ideological, imbued with politics, as it is about the power of meanings used in practice in the construction of social order with "legitimate language" (Bourdieu 1991).

7.1 A hierarchy of languages: English, Tok Pisin, and Wampar

Armed with the knowledge of Tok Pisin I intended to learn Wampar while doing fieldwork in Dzifasing. I had the Wampar-English dictionary by Hans Fischer to help me in this task, while

[1] See Makihara and Schieffelin (2007) on the impact of missionization and encounters with colonial and postcolonial governments on the intertwined processes of language and culture change in the Pacific.

[2] Irvine (1989: 255) defines language ideology as "the cultural (or subcultural) system of ideas about social and linguistic relationships, together with their loading of moral and political interest." Gal (1989) emphasizes the links between language use, practices, and unequal relations of power with local, state, and global political economic processes. Duranti (2011) supports the notion on language as a non-neutral medium, whether it is for purposes of representation, social organization, or differentiation, in which the last process is "capable of reproducing inequality and discrimination" (ibid: 46).

I already could interact with the villagers in Tok Pisin. One of the first things my partner and I expressed to our host family was our interest to learn Wampar, which they accommodated. They answered our questions regarding many things, including aspects of Wampar grammar, and they voluntarily introduced terms and explained them to us in actual situations or through stories. I imagined that I could learn Wampar not just with the grownups but also among small children, but that proved to be difficult.

Within the households of our Wampar host families, one of the first things I noticed regarding language use was that adults were talking with each other in Wampar, while they talked in Tok Pisin to the four-year old boy, who answered in Tok Pisin. I wondered if the boy knew any Wampar at all. While I considered the fact that the boy spoke Tok Pisin as an advantage, because I could interact with him in the language that we both know, the question in the back of my mind was why Wampar adults talk to him in Tok Pisin, and not in Wampar. This question became more pressing when I heard young children in our immediate neighborhood, including those who were not yet in school, talk mainly in Tok Pisin among themselves, and not in Wampar.

I arrived in the village with an assumption regarding the first language of children[3] in ethnically mixed and ethnically homogenous families that proved to be incorrect. I assumed that children growing up in households with Wampar parents would most likely have Wampar as their first language, which would not necessarily be the case for households of interethnic marriages, where Tok Pisin would predominate (Beer 2006a: 35). Studies from urban areas have shown that children often grow up learning only Tok Pisin in multilingual households (Romaine 1992: 5-8; Smith 2002). I also assumed that children with Wampar parents would be in a more advantageous position compared to children of interethnic marriages in navigating their social world because of the possibility that Wampar could be the dominant language. As I gained more observations in different households and social settings and was able to ask questions in the process of interactions, I had to give up those assumptions. While in the field, I would eventually grasp how language is viewed and used by the villagers of different generations and cultural backgrounds in different situations.

What became clear was that Tok Pisin is widely used in *all* households in the village. Tok Pisin is used in different social settings, and there is a widely shared evaluation among parents that children should learn it as their first language. They have their own reasons for intentionally speaking Tok Pisin to small children, like the four-year old boy in our Wampar household. This is due to a hierarchy of languages with English at the apex in relation to Tok Pisin and the vernacular.

[3] See Schieffelin and Ochs (1986) and Ochs (1993) on the definition of language socialization as a process that is interactional and contextual which looks into how language is used to socialize children and how children learn to meaningfully use language.

7.1.1 Tok Pisin: children's first language

Tok Pisin is one of the three official languages of the state of Papua New Guinea.[4] When Papua New Guinea became independent in 1975, it was a challenge to form a new nation out of a heterogeneous society with over 800 language groups, speaking a variety of Papuan and Austronesian languages. Part of the political process of nation-making was to officially recognize three national languages. The colonial languages of English and Tok Pisin, along with the capital region's dominant language and also the police language in the Papua region, Hiri Motu,[5] were inscribed in the constitution as official national languages.

Tok Pisin is the main contact language between many Papua New Guineans. Tok Pisin developed in the context of trading, commercial whaling, and plantation economies in the 19th century that also involved indentured labor and blackbirding in Queensland, Australia (Mortensen 2000; Wurm and Mühlhäusler 1985; Siegel and Smith 2013). Through interethnic marriages, socioeconomic mobility, and the growth of urban centers, Tok Pisin has by now become a creole, in that an increasing number of children learn it as their first and sometimes only language (Mugler and Lynch 1996: 4). The national census in 2000 established that 44% of the population in Papua New Guinea was literate in Tok Pisin, and 39% was literate in English. This indicates a high amount of Tok Pisin/English bilingualism. As the census did not ask about language competence, but only language literacy, the percentage of the population with a knowledge of Tok Pisin is much higher, and it has significantly grown in the previous two decades (Paliwala 2012).

The Wampar, who have a long history of contact with Europeans from the time of early Lutheran missionization, are accustomed to the use of contact languages. Yabim, a coastal language the Lutheran mission used to spread the gospel, was learned by a number of members of the older generation (see Paris 2012 for the missionaries' impact on language, including among the Wampar). Today Tok Pisin, the language used by the colonial administration, has superseded Yabim as the main contact language. It remains the main contact language of the Wampar in Dzifasing in interacting with other Papua New Guineans, as exemplified in their daily contact and transactions with non-Wampar in the two marketplaces in their village.

Most children in Dzifasing today learn Tok Pisin as their first language. A few cases of children who spent their first years outside Dzifasing are the exceptions (e.g., Elissa, Case study #3). Wampar, however, is the first and Tok Pisin the second language for the Wampar

[4] Tok Pisin is also known with its alternate names as Melanesian English, Neomelanesian, New Guinea Pidgin English, Pidgin, or Pisin (Lewis 2009).

[5] Hiri Motu, however, is not as widely used as Tok Pisin, which is the more predominant lingua franca. Tok Pisin is often alternately used with English, especially in the cities, in official state activities, or by the media.

parent and grandparent generations. Both Wampar and non-Wampar parents perceive Tok Pisin as a vehicle to learn English more quickly. They intentionally speak with their small children in Tok Pisin because they believe that this would prepare the children to do better once they enter school. The final goal is to be competent with the prestigious language, English. English was and is the language of the *waitman* (whitemen). Today, it no longer is just the "whitemen's" language but also the language of the political and economic elite of Papua New Guinea and has become the language of upward socioeconomic mobility.

Parents give also further pragmatic reasons for teaching their children Tok Pisin first. They say that it is to the children's advantage to be linguistically equipped with Tok Pisin when in contact with other Papua New Guineans. The idea is that young children early on would know how to interact with the broader social world, as exemplified by the intensive contact with many Papua New Guineans at the two marketplaces in Dzifasing. One Wampar father said that it is not good if young children do not soon learn Tok Pisin, for they might later get outsmarted, as when they might be tricked by the many *yaner* that they will get into contact with.

7.1.2 Learning Wampar

Wampar (*dzob Wampar*) is an Austronesian language that belongs to the Markham language family. It has also been referred to as Laewamba, Laewomba, or Laiwomba (Ethnologue 2016). The Markham language family consists of four subgroups, and Wampar together with Musom, Duwet, Nafi, Yalu and Aribwatsa form the Lower Markham language network (Holzknecht 1988:48). Wampar is also categorized in reference to its location, as "*Nambawan Markham"* (Markham number 1) in contrast to the neighboring Adzera referred to as "*Nambatu Markham"* (Markham number 2). Villagers in Dzifasing also refer to the Wampar language as "*tok ples Markham*" (vernacular language of the place, Markham) to differentiate it from other languages.

Parents in Dzifasing seldom speak with their children in Wampar when they are small, but generally use Tok Pisin. This is in contrast to the neighboring village of Gabsongkeg, where some parents intentionally speak Wampar with their children in order to teach it properly and to perpetuate the use of the language (Beer, personal communication). Parents in Dzifasing asserted that since the children grow up in the *ples* (in the village), they would learn Wampar by themselves as they get older. This is mostly correct, as attested by the children's narratives how they acquired Wampar. Some smaller and most of the older children learn it eventually, but unevenly. When I asked school children of different ages in their primary and secondary grades on how they assess their knowledge of Wampar, they came up with a range of categories from the lowest to the highest level: "*hap-hap tasol*" (very little knowledge, understand only a bit); "*harim tasol*," "*no inap long bekim*," "*hat long toktok*" (can understand but having difficulty to speak or to reply), and "*save gut long*

toktok" (knows well the language and can speak it). I also observed in some cases how these children sound unsure about their competency with Wampar and similarly with English, both of which they often place between *save gut* and *harim tasol*. I suspect that the hesitation might have to do more with fluency in speaking than in understanding, as when I would ask them to say something in Wampar, not all of them were able to respond quickly and confidently. This never occurs in the case of Tok Pisin, which they speak and write with confidence.

Language socialization in Dzifasing is quite similar to Gapun, a village in the East Sepik Province studied by Kulick (1992). Among the inhabitants of Gapun, parents say that children themselves choose to speak Tok Pisin rather than their vernacular language, Taiap Mer. This results in a language shift that is fast turning Taiap Mer into a dying language. The villagers attribute this unwillingness to speak Taiap Mer to the nature of the children's emotional disposition, that they are being stubborn (*bikhed*), while it is also the parents' evaluation of Taiap Mer as a language associated with backwardness and Tok Pisin as a language associated with knowledge that is an important underlying factor. Kulick (1992) shows that a dualistic concept of *hed* (autonomy, personal will, but also selfishness) and *save* (knowledge, appropriate social behavior) came to be associated with the two languages of Taiap Mer and Tok Pisin. As *save* is a desired trait in children, they were in fact encouraged to speak in Tok Pisin to demonstrate their acquisition of knowledge. In Dzifasing, parents more consciously and actively choose Tok Pisin. At the same time, parents are not concerned about a possible language shift and continue to express confidence about the children's capability to eventually learn Wampar on their own, as long as children live in the village. Wampar parents in Dzifasing still rely on the notion of *ples* – a village as a community of Wampar speakers.

An opportunity for the children to learn Wampar is when they stay with their Wampar grandparents. This usually happens when couples observe the postpartum taboo practice as described in chapter 4. Children often cite their grandparents as primary sources of Wampar language acquisition. Other people frequently mentioned are their Wampar elementary school teachers. This would be the children who are now at least in fifth or sixth grade, as some local elementary teachers used to teach in Wampar until about 2003. Children of this generation, including those who are now in the secondary grades, also said that they learn from their cohorts and young adults when they play together.

I have observed and played some games with the children. "*Tini bobo*"[6] is a game that they played during the latter half of fieldwork[7] where boys and girls of different ages and young adults would play together. While Tok Pisin is the predominant language of interaction, older ones who already know *dzob Wampar* would use it occasionally among themselves, such as when directing each other what to do or where to go during the game. The very few Wampar words I recognized myself in the midst of this fast-paced game (as it involves a lot of running with the competing players screaming at the top of their voices) are for example, *ongopwangop* (hurry) or *kani* (here).

Parents said that they start talking to their children in Wampar only as children get older, usually around the time they reach school age. Parents said that their children might not yet speak Wampar, but that they slowly comprehend it. They commonly expressed this assessment with the term "*Ol i harim*" (they understand). When I asked children if and how they learn Wampar through their parents, they said that their Wampar parent would indeed talk to them in Wampar sometimes. Girls reported mothers using it when doing household chores, such as food preparation or washing dishes. They said that if they did not understand what their parents were saying in Wampar, their parents would explain things to them in Tok Pisin. Frani (Case study #8) recalled how her Wampar maternal grandmother who reared her as an adopted daughter would occasionally talk with her in Wampar although still mostly in Tok Pisin when she was about five years old. She started responding with a few Wampar words by the time she started school. She nevertheless interacted in Tok Pisin with her younger half-siblings who were in primary school. A 14-year-old Wampar daughter also recalled how her parents mostly talked with her in Tok Pisin when she had been still small and that she learned Wampar mainly from her Wampar grandmother. She said that this is why she began mixing Tok Pisin and Wampar.

I have often observed children mixing Tok Pisin and Wampar. For example, I observed a six-year-old girl who talked mostly in Tok Pisin. She and some women were preparing bananas for cooking, and I asked if I could capture the activity on video. They were all excited to let

[6] In this game, empty tin fish or meat cans are piled up in a pyramid in the middle of an open playing field. There are two teams, one that attacks the pyramid of cans with a ball, and one that defends it. Players determine among themselves how many members each team can have and how far they can position themselves from the pyramid of cans. The aim is to outpace the other team: the offensive team will keep on toppling down the pyramid of cans by hitting the cans with the ball as many times as possible, while the defensive team will try to keep the pyramid of cans standing by diverting the ball thrown by the offensive team. The defensive team is not allowed to use their hands to touch the ball, and uses small paddles to block the ball from hitting the cans and hit the ball as far away as possible from reaching the hands of the offensive team. The defensive team must also avoid being hit by the ball thrown by the offensive team. Otherwise, whoever is hit will be out. A variation of this game is called "*Tinitini.*"

[7] Games appear to be generally played according to current fashion. I have observed games at the beginning of my stay in the village (e.g., "*Jingle-Jangle*" which is known elsewhere as Chinese Garter or the Chinese Jump Rope) that were then no longer played after a few weeks as children began playing other games (e.g., hopscotch). Games also appear to be generationally shifting. Members of the parent generations described and illustrated games to me that they used to play in their younger days. The current generation of children and young people said that they do not know and have not played these games.

me document their way of food preparation. It involved the use of a pig bone as a paring knife called *ntib* to peel bananas before cooking them. When I replayed the recording, the little girl came up behind me (as we were all sitting on top of the *ntabantib*) and saw the moving image on the screen of the handy cam and blurted out, "*Pari gaen* i *stap!*" (The paring of banana is there!), mixing Wampar and Tok Pisin. I also observed how the little boy in our host families whose first language is Tok Pisin began picking up Wampar words when all his elder kin started talking to him in Wampar soon after my partner and I asked them why they were not talking Wampar to the boy. His mother's siblings, who were also looking after him, were no longer just talking Tok Pisin with him but more frequently in Wampar. On one occasion when my partner and I joined them weeding their watermelon orchard with spades and bush knives, the boy said to one of his classificatory mothers, "*No ken apopor!*"[8] (Do not dig it out!), again mixing Tok Pisin and Wampar. Another time he joined us under a mango tree to rake the dry mango tree leaves on the ground and commented "*Edza rekim ram*" (I rake the thing). Another example took place in an elementary classroom, where pupils were drawing images of fruits and one of them said to another classmate, "*Kani-e, rausim dispela*" (This, erase this).

Not only small children mix Wampar and Tok Pisin. Young adults and parents themselves do this occasionally. I began to recognize some of the mixing towards the later part of my fieldwork, like when I was visiting some families or would hang out with some young people on a *ntabantib*. Other times, I was able to ask my field assistant to help me write down the mixing, as I would not know whether the Wampar phonemes I hear stand for a word or a set of words. For instance, when I was invited to eat with a family, the woman said to me, "*Oburi na kaikai lo hia*" (Sit down and eat here). Another interlocutor once asked me, "*Stori kain efa kana*" (What kind of story?). Another interlocutor excused herself for mixing Tok Pisin and Wampar only to immediately follow by saying, "*Edza faul*" (I am wrong). We all had a laugh as my interlocutor realized that she did it again.

Language socialization practices appear to be quite different between Wampar villages in the Markham Valley. Young children in Dzifasing are not as competent in Wampar as the children of the same age in Gabsongkeg and even less so than those in Mare. When my partner and I were visiting Mare, I immediately noticed that small children were exclusively speaking in Wampar amongst themselves. On the occasion of a bridewealth exchange in Dzifasing, some kin members from Gabsongkeg came over. At one point, I was standing next to a group of small children. I was not aware that there were children from Gabsongkeg in that group. I would soon find out, however, when one of the children from Gabsongkeg saw a bird of prey, called *mpunqumping* (a hawk), and told the other children about it. They were not able to follow what she was talking about for she was speaking in *dzob Wampar*. It

[8] The word that the boy used here *apopor* is in the first person form although he was supposed to use the second form, *opopor*.

was not until another older child explained it in Tok Pisin, that the younger children from Dzifasing finally understood what the child from Gabsongkeg was saying to them.

7.2 Language use in different contexts

While children and their parents similarly mix Wampar and Tok Pisin in their everyday interactions in their community, there is a choice on which language takes precedent in particular contexts. I describe in the following sections the language situation in households, in public meetings, in the marketplaces, in the church and Sunday schools, and in the schools.

7.2.1 Households of interethnic marriages

Tok Pisin is the main language of interaction between most Wampar and non-Wampar spouses. It also is the language of interaction of the in-married non-Wampar with affines, even when the latter sometimes interact with them in Wampar. For interethnic couples, Tok Pisin is the language of communication between them and therefore used pre-dominantly in the household. In most cases, couples used this contact language when they met, and it has become their household language and the language they use with their children. They said that when they talk Wampar to their small children, "*ol bai longlong,*" to mean that children get confused. These parents are not worried that small children do not learn Wampar as their first language. For the children of interethnic marriages, on the other hand, understanding and speaking Wampar can become a source of empowerment, as it can provide a sense of inclusion in the Wampar social world. As I presented in chapter 2, children with non-Wampar fathers often refer to their knowledge of *dzob Wampar* as an important element in considering themselves as Wampar.

A few non-Wampar parents said that they tried to use their vernacular with their children. Daisy (Case study #12) said that by the time she started doing so, her small children who were already speaking in Tok Pisin, were laughing at her for she sounded funny to them, therefore she did not pursue teaching them her vernacular.

Case study #12: Elmer

Elmer goes to elementary school and is the middle child of Jeremiah, a Wampar, and Daisy, a non-Wampar. Elmer has four siblings, two sisters and two brothers, but his younger brother was adopted as a baby by his mother's brother, and lives with them in Lae. Daisy is from a coastal region of Morobe Province. This is where Jeremiah met Daisy when he was campaigning for a political candidate running to become an MP for the Huon Gulf District. They had met again in Lae before they got married around 1990. Since then, they have lived in the same location in a hamlet in Dzifasing.

Elmer and his siblings are well acquainted with Daisy's extended kindred from her biological and adoptive parents. Daisy is of mixed descent: her father was from Morobe, and her mother was from Mt. Hagen. Her mother died after giving birth to Daisy. Daisy was immediately adopted by her FBS and his wife. Elmer's two older siblings both spent a year of schooling in Daisy's place of origin, where they stayed with one of Daisy's brothers from her adoptive parents. They also spend holidays with Daisy's biological siblings; most often with her eldest brother who owns a "*kai bar*" (fast food restaurant) in Lae. Elmer's older sister, Wendy, worked at this store in 2009 while she was out of school. Wendy, however, still wants to go back to school. After her primary grades, she did not continue attending school as she said that she was only accepted to a high school in a remote part of Morobe Province, too far away from her parents. She has plans to continue studying, which Jeremiah and Daisy are supporting.

Lucy (Case study #3) said that while she is mainly interacting in Tok Pisin with all her children, she occasionally speaks in her vernacular primarily to Elissa whose first language is the same as hers. She said that she was also using a few words, every now and then, from her vernacular with Elissa's siblings. Learning a few words through the non-Wampar parent appears to be the level that some children achieve, but mostly by overhearing them when the parent speaks with his or her *wantok*, whether kin or non-kin. Greg (Case study #6) or Frani (Case study #8) for example picked up a few words in this manner. Children with an Adzera parent are those having most likely active knowledge of their non-Wampar parent's language, as their respective languages are quite similar. Adzera territory is relatively close to Dzifasing, and children have more contacts with their Adzera kin.

Most in-married non-Wampar said that through time, they gained a limited and passive knowledge of Wampar, expressed in Tok Pisin as "*hap-hap*" or "*mi harim*." However, they would prefer to talk in Tok Pisin. Some non-Wampar women say that they are hesitant to speak Wampar, feeling *sem* (shame) to make mistakes. The fear of making mistakes and how the Wampar may receive these appears not to be without basis. The *yaner* are increasingly seen not only as competitors to resources in the Wampar territory but also as a threat to the *pasin* of the Wampar. This extends to the perception of some Wampar that it is due to the *yaner* that their language is losing its grammatical correctness. Some Wampar expressed this as, "*Ol i bagarapim tok ples*" (They ruin our vernacular language).

The Wampar grammar in the way that the older generations have learned and are still using it is no longer consistently followed. My Wampar field assistant explained that *yaner* are making up words that are not correct Wampar and how this messes up their language. Her sibling confirmed that a lot of people in their village today are no longer saying words in the right grammatical form and sometimes invent their own word forms. My assistant presented the case on the usage of the word "leg" in Wampar. According to her, what has been happening is that the third person form *fan* is used even in the first or second person. An example of this common error is the usage of the third person form "*edza fan*" when it

should be "*faud*." Accordingly, it should be as follows: *edza faud* (my leg); *yai faum* (your leg); *gea fan* (his or her leg). When I asked why this is happening, she came up with a long-winded explanatory narrative, which she acknowledged is one among many possible factors. It begins with a Wampar practice on addressing affines, the lack of knowledge on this Wampar cultural practice, and the incompetence of the *yaner* who do not know Wampar, and from this, how for example, the third person form of *fan* gets to be erroneously used.

Among the Wampar, one is not supposed to call out the personal name of their in-laws. One possibility to get around this taboo is to change the sound of an affine's personal name. In the case of *Faum*, a common Wampar female name, the in-law would instead call her *Fan*. When outsiders who do not know the Wampar taboo on addressing the in-law hear the word *fan* repeatedly used in this way, she said that this is when the word for "leg" gets to be taken as just this one term *fan* for all forms. This model of an explanation showcases that learning a language is more than just learning about grammar but also about knowing the cultural context of the language. At the same time, it is clear that grammar is often simplified by non-native speakers, and that this fact in itself would be sufficient to explain the improper use of certain Wampar words.

7.2.2 Public meetings

Numerous public meetings took place while I lived in Dzifasing. In those meetings, people discuss events and make decisions using both Wampar and Tok Pisin, but in easily distinguishable patterns. Whenever outside guests are invited to these meetings or arrange the meeting, as when the local Member of Parliament and another time the Provincial Governor visited the village, the whole official proceedings take place in Tok Pisin. Local leaders and the visiting dignitaries usually pepper their Tok Pisin with English words and sentences in their display of sophistication, of their education, and their belonging to the political elite of the country. In such events, *dzob Wampar*, as the villager's vernacular is mobilized by the Wampar speakers when they evaluate among themselves the messages from the non-Wampar state officials. They are also aware that there is a contingent of outsiders in the crowd who come with the state officials. *Dzob Wampar* is used also as a language of subversion in these large public meetings. As I was sitting in the back among the crowd, I could hear some Wampar men around me making critical comments about the events in *dzob Wampar*. One of the words I picked up in the way the Wampar describe the politicians was *ngaeng dzankom,* literally "corn man," a creatively minted Wampar term, referring to the word "conman" which sounds similar to "corn man."

In meetings where only the people of Dzifasing are present, the speeches and discussions usually take place in both Wampar and Tok Pisin, depending on the content of the talk. The official councilor often switches to Tok Pisin in his role as a state official. The smaller the meeting, the more often Wampar is used. Wampar also appears as the default language

when it comes to deliberating matters that pertain to land, which are discussed with urgency and seriousness in the community. Foremost are disputes on land boundaries between different lineages and territorial claims by other ethnic groups. One example was a gathering of the main *saqaseq* leaders and the LLG councilor to discuss a letter received from a neighboring Adzera village addressed to one of the *saqaseq* leaders in Dzifasing. The letter was in Tok Pisin, citing a historical connection to this one *saqaseq* through which they claim a portion of land, and asked the *saqaseq* leader to support them in their case against a neighboring village. It was soon decided that all of the Dzifasing *saqaseq* should deal with this territorial issue together. They deliberated among themselves that it is about the Wampar land in Dzifasing, and not just of one *saqaseq*. All of the discussions that went for almost half a day were conducted in Wampar, and only the response letter was drafted in Tok Pisin.

Another recent site of intensive discussions is the perceived environmental impact of the Hidden Valley gold mine run by Morobe Mining Joint Venture (MMJV) affecting the Wampar territory. They discussed this issue while at the same time organizing themselves for the formation of land group associations to benefit from the planned Wafi-Golpu mine developed by the same company. Lineage leaders and male members held their discussions around these topics exclusively in Wampar. An exception was when the male offspring of an interethnic marriage with knowledge in organizing these Land Groups, who could not speak but understand Wampar, addressed the lineage leaders and members in Tok Pisin. While each lineage group held their respective meetings to define and document their "membership", at times with overlapping and contested claims on a male or a female kin's membership, there was no ambiguity regarding those that lineage leaders consider outsiders and a threat.[9] In these settings of deliberations about land, to speak Wampar conveys one's identity and belonging to a *saqaseq*, to the collective social group, and to a distinct cultural entity engaged in politics.

7.2.3 Marketplace

The two markets along the Highlands Highway are probably the most important sites of interaction between Wampar and people from all over Papua New Guinea. It is in these everyday exchanges centered around the selling of goods that the Wampar would skillfully draw on their linguistic competency in both Tok Pisin and Wampar. Tok Pisin is used as the "open" language of transaction with the travelers, while Wampar is used as a " *tok hait* " (secret language) among Wampar sellers.

[9] See Bacalzo, Beer and Schwörer (2014) for the sociocultural context of the variability of criteria for inclusion in the lineages' land group associations.

When visiting Lae, Wampar is also used as a secret language, here mostly to warn each other when danger seems to be lurking. My Wampar companions during such trips to the city explained to me that as pickpocketing, theft and other forms of petty crime are quite frequent it is seen as beneficial to have a language that can be used to warn fellow Wampar without alerting possible thieves.

7.2.4 The church

Today, Tok Pisin is the main language of interaction during church services and events in all of the churches in the village. The congregations are comprised of Wampar and non-Wampar and the offspring of interethnic marriages. Wampar, however, is not completely out of the picture. For example, the regular pastor of the Lutheran *mama church* is an Adzera man, but the elders, particularly the male church leaders referred to as *ngaeng tsaru*, are Wampar. While their pastor interacts mainly in Tok Pisin, the Wampar church leaders occasionally switch to Wampar, such as when they are making announcements about upcoming church events and organizing tasks for church members. In the ELC church service, while a few church songs are in Tok Pisin, quite a number of songs are sung in Wampar. There are two kinds of Wampar songs: one older type that is sung with harmonies that resembles the ones from mourning songs (*med a dzon*), and a newer type with more modern melodies and harmonies. Only people aged about over fifty join in the singing of the older type Wampar songs and even a few songs in Yabim. They are the only ones who know the melodies and understand Yabim, while the newer type of songs is sung by the whole congregation, accompanied by a live band.

Within my immediate neighborhood in *gab faring*, there are two Sunday School sessions with the Lutheran *mama church*. One is held by a Wampar woman, and the other by a non-Wampar woman married to a Wampar. While the former uses Wampar occasionally, the latter conducts all her instructions and interactions with the children in Tok Pisin. Older children in their early teens said that they comprehend (*harim)* Wampar better than those who are younger. The children recite their assigned bible verses and lessons in Tok Pisin. Some of the church songs are sung in Wampar, and it was one of the few instances where I heard some of the young children in our neighborhood appearing fluent in Wampar, but only by singing. I have similarly observed other Sunday Schools in two churches, where Tok Pisin is also the language of instruction and interaction, while some church songs are sung in Wampar.

7.2.5 Elementary and primary school

The parents' choice of Tok Pisin as the first language to socialize their children fits in the school setting in the village where the language of instruction for the elementary grade pupils is Tok Pisin. Wampar is no longer used in the elementary school in Dzifasing, despite

this being the case at least until 2003. The head teacher of the Dzifasing elementary school explained that they have been teaching in Tok Pisin because many children do not understand or speak Wampar. This is confirmed by one of the Wampar elementary teachers. She had the longest teaching experience (more than ten years) amongst her colleagues in the elementary school. She said that she wanted children learn Wampar systematically, but she explained that she had to stop teaching in Wampar because of the changing socio-demographic population of the pupils attending the elementary school. Besides the children of Wampar parents and those of interethnic marriages in Dzifasing, there are also children of non-Wampar teachers, of the police, and other migrants who she said do not speak Wampar. She explained: "*Mi yet mi wokim tokples. I go, i go nau, planti manki yaner. I go nau, mi wok nau tisim Tok Pisin, em olsem dispela class Grade Tu nau, mi tisim ol long Tok Pisin.*" (I myself was teaching in the vernacular language [Wampar], but then as time went by, we started having more non-Wampar pupils. This is why I am now teaching in Tok Pisin just like in this Grade Two class. I teach them all in Tok Pisin.)

She described how they used to have two separate classes: one for all Wampar children and those of interethnic marriages, and another for all *yaner* children. She took the Wampar children and those of interethnic marriages in her class and taught in Wampar and Tok Pisin. She used both languages since she observed that not all of the children know Wampar, particularly, she said, the children of interethnic marriages, but that she thought that they were good enough to pick up the language. She used this style of teaching until 2003 and shifted to teaching mostly in Tok Pisin after that year until the present. She explained why she shifted to solely teaching in Tok Pisin in 2004.

> *Wampar maus, mi lusim nau na mi tisim Tok Pisin tasol. Mi tisim Wampar ya, em ol asples manki em i no planti, five or four tasol bai go insaid long class. Na majority em ol hapkas na yaner. Number bilong ol pikinini Wampar i no planti. Na number bilong ol mix Wampar na yaner, planti tru. . . . Ol miks Dzifasing na yaner na papamama bilong ol save Tok Pisin tasol. Na taim ol kam na mi wokim tisim ol long dzob Wampar, ol bai sindaun na ol bai lukluk long mi, olsem sterim. Olsem mi painim hat. Mi askim ol papamama bilong ol, mi tok, "Yupela save spikim wanem language long home bilong yupela?" Na ol tok, "Tok Pisin." Na olsem mi harim dispela na mi olsem belhat bikos mi laikim ol mas save long tok ples bifo long kam long skul na lainim tok ples long skul.*
>
> I stopped teaching in Wampar and began teaching only in Tok Pisin. When I taught in Wampar, only very few Wampar children, like only five or four, would come to class. The majority were mixed Wampar and non-Wampar children. The number of Wampar children is very small, while the number of mixed Wampar and non-Wampar is very large . . . . The mixed Wampar and non-Wampar children and their parents, they only know Tok Pisin. So, when the children are in school and I teach in Wampar, they sit there with a blank look, just staring at me. I find this difficult. I asked their parents what language they use at home, and they said, Tok Pisin. When

> I heard this, it was upsetting for me because I wanted the children to know some Wampar before going to school so they continue learning it in school.

This teacher who is in her thirties, said that she grew up during her time learning Wampar at home. She recognized the changing practice which she herself takes part in. She started teaching as a young and unmarried woman and when four years ago she became a parent herself with a non-Wampar partner, she became one of those parents that she used to complain about. She has been speaking Tok Pisin with her young child although she, her siblings, and their mother, speak Wampar among themselves. In her teaching, she said that she accommodated the demands of the changing social realities and the eventual formalization of Tok Pisin as the language of instruction in the elementary school following the parents' preference.

A study conducted in the Simbu and the Eastern Highlands Province has shown similar trends. A majority of research participants, both teachers and students in rural and urban elementary schools, prefer Tok Pisin as the language of instruction. Most teachers in rural areas reported that they did attempt to use the vernacular, but due to poor understanding by the students they often reverted to Tok Pisin (Gerry 2010). While Gerry (2010) sees benefits of using Tok Pisin for bridging to English as the language of instruction in the primary school, provided that linguistic aspects of both languages are properly taught, the teachers in Dzifasing are more critical. They see the outcomes of solely teaching in Tok Pisin in the elementary school as problematic. The primary school teachers were complaining that elementary pupils are not learning English systematically. They see the poor performance of the children in English literacy. They said that Tok Pisin is not helping but only confusing the children, slowing down the learning process all the way up to the primary grades. They cited how pupils are using Tok Pisin instead of English grammar and spelling rules. I have similarly observed what the teachers said about the poor and uneven English literacy of pupils across classes and grade levels. Instead of teaching in vernacular first and then switching to English, however, the Wampar elementary teacher's ultimate choice is for them to go back to teaching English from the first day of school, the way their generation was schooled. I will discuss the school education system in more detail in the next chapter.

7.3 Conclusion

In a context of social and economic changes characterized by an increasingly multiethnic environment and the intensification of the politics of differentiation, language understanding, choice, and use among the Wampar in Dzifasing form part of the processes of inclusion and exclusion. The increasingly perceived notion about a hierarchy of language, as practiced and manifesting in various social settings of interaction, is part of the context in which children are growing up. As Tok Pisin is the first language of children, regardless of whether they are children of Wampar marriages or interethnic marriages, it is an equalizing medium of interaction. All children are on an equal footing in this regard, as they are

confident in Tok Pisin, the major national language in Papua New Guinea. They all aim to be empowered further by gaining proficiency in English, the language of the economic and political elite in Papua New Guinea, as this is seen as a possibility for upward socioeconomic mobility. This is a notion shared by Wampar and non-Wampar alike, as it is informed by the larger system of power relations that affect them both. Both local and larger social processes thus shape language socialization practices.

Although Tok Pisin is widely used and privileged over *dzob Wampar* by the belief that the former will facilitate the learning of English, which is the more prestigious language, Wampar remains a constant source for empowerment, whether for the children of Wampar or non-Wampar men. Code-switching and using different languages in different contexts are the norm, and most children are at least passively bilingual by the time they reach their teens.

While lines are being drawn to tighten the meaning of "Wampar" on one side, others attempt to transform these boundaries towards a more inclusive concept. In this struggle, contradicting perspectives both focus on the importance of *dzob Wampar*. Many children in chapter 2 refer to their knowledge of *dzob Wampar* as an important aspect of their identity. As these notions and practices are being mediated by the changing socioeconomic conditions, *dzob Wampar* will not necessarily "die out," although it may be changing, as with the increasing admixture of Tok Pisin. The politics of social relations is further reflected in the way the non-Wampar (the *yaner*) are seen by the Wampar as not just a threat to their economic resources and way of life, but also as purveyors of the distortion of *dzob Wampar*.

The valuation of the *dzob Wampar* as a strategic cultural resource is empowering for the Wampar, as it serves as their secret language and the language that is integral to their continuity concretized in their relations to land. In this view, *dzob Wampar* is not dying out but continues to be valued and defended. Children with non-Wampar father could possibly provide a push for its continuous use by embracing Wampar as their way of creating a sense of belonging. Language is harnessed and negotiated at the same time, because relations of power are embedded in it. The relations between power and language, among other aspects of social relations, are further articulated in the school setting in Dzifasing, which I will describe in the following chapter.

8. Schools as sites of articulation

Early morning on schooldays, many girls and boys of various ages, mostly from seven years old into the late teens, walk along the highway to school. Most of the younger ones are attending their very first year of elementary schooling, while some are already into their primary grades. While walking to school, in their respective classrooms, during school programs, and at recess, boys and girls of various sociocultural backgrounds interact with each other and are treated by the teachers according to certain ideals of all being Papua New Guinean. That schools are sites in which social relations are negotiated, and where social inequalities are reproduced, has been long known and investigated when it comes to categories of gender, race, and class (e.g., Apple 1982; Bourdieu and Passeron 1990; Foley 1990; Leacock 1969; McDermott and Raley 2011; Willis 1977; and Young 1971).[1] For my study, I thus saw the importance of looking into the school setting in Dzifasing in order to further situate the lives and experiences of children who are entangled in local political tensions with the changing social and economic conditions. Among those tensions that I have observed are power struggles between lineages, but also between Wampar and non-Wampar, in which social relations between children suddenly become inflected by the local politics of kinship and ethnic relations. An example is a set of interconnected events surrounding the fights between schoolboys that happened towards the end of the school year in 2009.

A few days before the graduation day, while I was interviewing a senior female teacher in the primary school, we were alerted to a commotion in one of the classrooms. The teacher and I rushed to that classroom which was just next to the head teacher's office. In the room was the head teacher, a number of boys mostly from the seventh and eighth grade, and a local school board member who happened to be already in the school for a meeting on graduation day preparations. They were scolding all the students for fighting on the school grounds and interrogated them to know what started the fight. It transpired that the conflict started a week ago when Fred, a boy from the seventh grade, caught Brando, a boy from the eighth grade, insulting Marina, a young local woman, after she turned down his romantic proposal. Fred has a non-Wampar father and a Wampar mother, through which he is related to Marina. He attacked Brando for insulting her. At this point, their fight was interrupted by one of the teachers, who I was later able to ask for verification. This teacher said that at that time, the two boys apologized to each other. The next day and the following, Brando and his cohort of eighth graders claimed that Fred and his cohort of friends have uttered warnings towards them, that the seventh graders will beat them up. This was how the eighth graders explained their act of retaliation.

[1] For an overview on sociological and anthropological approaches and contemporary challenges on studies of educational processes and schools, see for example Collins (2009), and Lauder et. al. (2009).

These two antagonistic cohorts of seventh and eighth graders were bound together by friendship and not necessarily by kinship or ethnicity. There were Wampar, *yaner* and ethnically mixed boys on both sides, and it was their grade affiliation that appeared to have first differentiated each group. On the day I was made aware of the conflict, however, several boys from the eighth grade had just beaten up a teenage fifth grade boy, another *yaner* pupil who always hung out with the seventh graders. The eighth graders admitted attacking the boy to settle scores, or as they said in Tok Pisin, "*pinisim belhat bilong mipela*" (end their anger). They defended their action with their claim that they are also tough guys, specifically expressing it as "*mipela man tu*" (we too are men), and that they had a right to get angry at the threats from the seventh graders. The teachers and the local board member then put pressure on the seventh and eighth grade boys to reconcile and threatened the boys that they would be held responsible for the consequences of their actions to the community. In this process, the two teachers were scolding all the boys similarly and focused on the possibility of the graduation ceremony being cancelled. Meanwhile, the local board member brought up broader concerns that related to the community. He pointed out how the boys were giving him shame if they continue to fight, especially that the graduation day was coming. He also specifically brought up the problem of attacking a student who is not from Dzifasing (the *yaner* schoolboy who was singled out by the eighth graders) as this he said could bring trouble into the community. He also particularly scolded one boy, the eighth grader with Wampar father for trying to run away to get some help from his father and brothers. He said that such behavior could destroy the school as it could turn into an all-out community fight on the school premises, making the teachers run away in fear for their lives. After this admonishment from him, the teachers asked the boys again whether they wanted the graduation to go ahead, they agreed and shook hands. However, it did not really end here as this fight morphed into another level of conflict.

On the day of the graduation ceremony, Fred ran into a group of boys with Brando, who was drinking beer behind one of the classrooms. They grabbed Fred and threatened to beat him up. According to Fred, Ricky, a Tolai cousin of Brando who is a secondary school student residing in Lae and had come to Dzifasing to attend Brando's graduation, suddenly pulled a knife, pointed it at him and when he raised his arms in defense, Ricky slashed the back of his hand. Fred at this stage said that he struggled free and escaped, and immediately informed his older maternal Wampar cousins about the incident. Meanwhile, the graduation ceremony was going on as this skirmish occurred. The honorary guests had just given out the academic awards, followed by a number of dance performances. Afterwards, the live band continued playing music to the entertainment of the community. Three young men then started dancing. One was holding a bottle of beer while dancing. It seemed everyone around them were watching with amusement, with some laughing at their dance movements. One of these dancing men was Ricky. Suddenly there was a commotion. Fred's Wampar cousins pulled Ricky aside and confronted him for injuring Fred. There was pushing and shoving. One of the Wampar boys' older classificatory sisters tried to hold them back

while Brando's Tolai kin were pulling him away with them so they could flee with their car that was parked inside the school compound. But then Fred's Wampar cousins chased Ricky, tackled him and started kicking him while he lay on the ground. Several bystanders cheered them on, others just watched. Some young Wampar men joined in attacking Ricky, who said that they wanted to teach the *yaner* a lesson. The brawl ended when Ricky was looking already heavily beaten up and his kin managed to put him on the back of their pickup truck and left in a hurry. Other young Wampar men, however, continued throwing stones and beer bottles after the departing car.

The local leaders did not stop this fight, in contrast to another fight I observed before which involved only Wampar men. When I asked one of the Wampar men afterwards why they did not stop the Wampar boys from beating up the Tolai boy, he answered that Ricky is a *yaner* who was swearing at them, in their own village, and he said that he was actually telling to the Wampar boys: "*Yu papagraun. Em yaner. Kilim em."* (*You are the owners of the land. He is a yaner. Injure/Kill him!*). The whole fight had thus turned from a fight between schoolboys to a conflict between Wampar and *yaner*. This conflict that started among cohorts of male pupils escalated and mutated into a larger collective fight as the Wampar asserted themselves to keep their dominance over outsiders. It was a fight that went beyond the power of the schoolteachers and administrators to stop. This fight that started in the school thus shows some of the tensions and power struggles that constitute social life in Dzifasing. It shows the interplay of gender, kinship, and ethnic identity – the performed masculinity of the boys ("*mipela man tu*"), the struggle over the control over women (as initiated after a rejected romantic proposal), the power of the kin network, the power over "others," and the importance of "owning" the place. The fight was shaped by male-dominance, by kinship, ethnic politics, and territoriality. Boundaries were being drawn.

Having witnessed this fight between cohorts of schoolboys that spiraled into expressions of local political tensions, I wanted to know how school experiences may make a difference in the current context of local processes of exclusion and inclusion. I explored the manifold articulations that occur in the school between Wampar and non-Wampar children, between teachers, children and parents, and between the community and the state, in order to study the implications of these articulations for the children of non-Wampar fathers. By articulation, I mean the way by which different and competing interests converge, connect, and interact in schools.

Specifically, I describe the schooling experience of children of different sociocultural backgrounds and focus on children of interethnic marriages whose circumstances are more acutely entangled with the changing material conditions and relations of production. I look into what school life may mean for these children whose life circumstances may be constrained or enabled by the particular social relations they experience in their kin network and among the Wampar. I analyze the implications of schooling for the cultural production

of social relations, if it points towards an inclusion or the furthering of divisions and hierarchy, or the generation of other forms of exclusive relations.

I will also describe the local particularities of the schools in Dzifasing as institutions of education that are part of the modernizing project of the nation-state. As I show in this chapter, schools in Dzifasing are influencing the community just as they are at the same time being influenced by the dynamics of local sociocultural, economic and political relations in the community and larger outside forces.

Without claiming to be exhaustive, I draw my analysis from interviews and case studies on students and teachers, and some examples of school events and activities. I describe the schools' setting and organization, the curriculum, and the structure it gives to the life of the children. I present the sociocultural and demographic profile of teachers and students as well as the teachers' perception of the parents and their community. I look into discourses and practices of state education officials, school administrators, community leaders, teachers, parents, and the children in school. This is to show how local conditions, competing interests, and differentiated views and practices of schooling shape the actual education that takes place in Dzifasing, just as it is informed by state and global agencies of formal education.

I further present the narratives of school children, the teachers, and the parents regarding their shared and differentiated views and attitudes toward school education and the school as an institution. I base all this in my inquiry of the elementary and the primary schools in Dzifasing, which represent the two levels of the basic education system in Papua New Guinea. I first describe the two schools and the general system of education as mandated by the state policy in 2009. This is to situate the linkage of the macro-structural dimension of the state education system to the local schools in Dzifasing.

8.1 The elementary and primary schools in Dzifasing

The elementary and primary schools share a compound in Dzifasing located right next to the highway. It is fenced and thus forms an enclave in the middle of Dzifasing. At the entrance stands a signboard with the name "Zifasing[2] Primary School", which does not indicate that there are two different levels of schooling with separate management.

[2] While the signboard bears the name "Zifasing," the primary school in its written materials actually uses the spelling variety "Chevasing." It is the elementary school that officially uses the name "Zifasing."

Photo 8.1 The compound for both elementary and primary schools with the signboard "Zifasing Primary School."

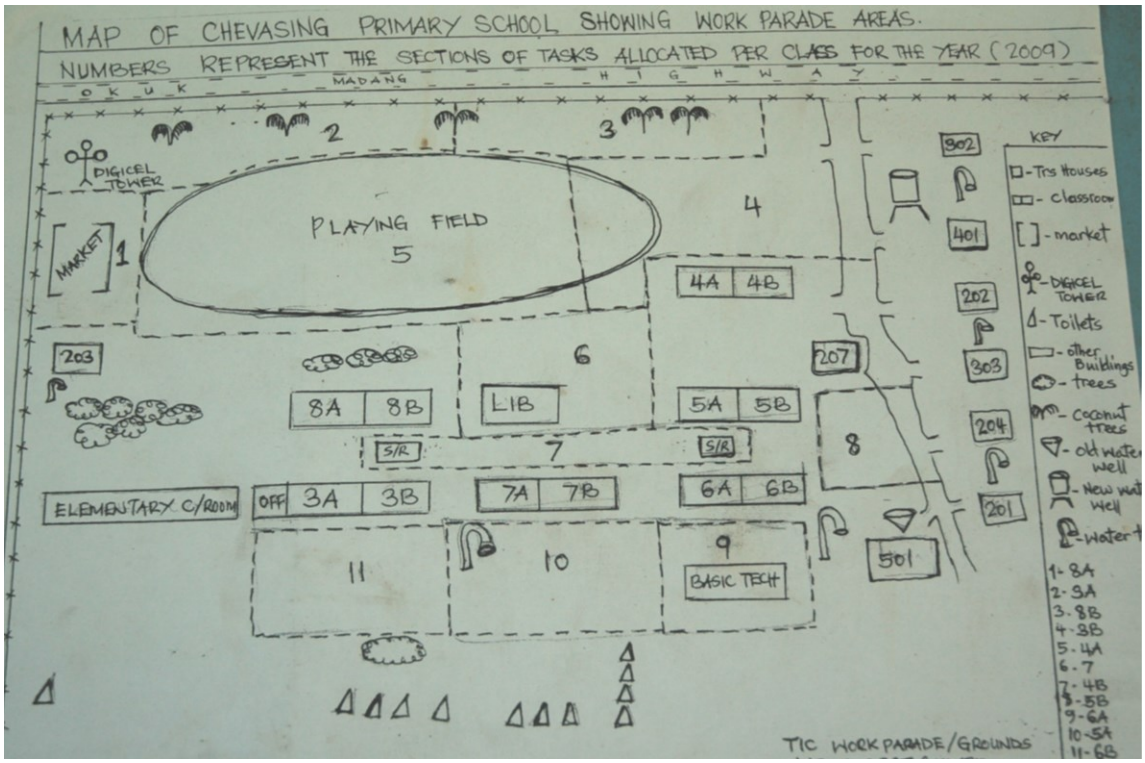


Photo 8.2 Map of the school compound as drawn by a primary school teacher. The Elementary School area is on the lower left-hand corner.

The elementary school has three grades: Elementary Preparatory (Prep), Elementary 1 (E-1), and 2 (E-2). The primary school has the lower primary grades of 3, 4, and 5; and the upper primary grades of 6, 7, and 8. In 2009, there were a total of six classes for the elementary school, with two sections for each grade level. In the primary school, there were eleven classes, with two sections per grade level, with the exception of Grade 7, which was held only in one class due to the low number of students at this level.

In the primary school only one out of twelve teachers is Wampar (from Dzifasing). The rest are either from other parts of Morobe Province or from other provinces. Most teachers prefer not to be appointed to very remote places, where access to amenities is difficult. This makes Dzifasing an attractive place for teachers. At the same time, there is a lack of qualified local Wampar primary school teachers. Primary school teachers are provided with housing in the school compound. All of them, with the exception of the sole Wampar teacher, live in these houses. The situation in the elementary school is different in that the teachers are all locals incorporated among the Wampar either through descent or marriage. Of the six teachers, only one of them is "pure Wampar" by their own categorization. Of the other five teachers, one is a non-Wampar married to a fellow teacher of ethnically mixed descent whose mother is Wampar. The rest are of ethnically mixed descent, with the mother or the mother's mother being Wampar. Just like the sole Wampar teacher in the primary school, they all live in their respective houses in the community.

Schools open in Papua New Guinea in the month of February and are organized into four terms to end in December, before the Christmas holiday. This corresponds to about ten months of schooling per year. There are breaks between terms of one or two weeks, and a long break at the end of the school year. School hours for elementary and primary schools begin at 8:00 o'clock in the morning with an assembly period for about half an hour. On Tuesdays, in lieu of the assembly in the primary school, the first period is used for Christian religious studies, such as the showing of the life of Jesus on video in English.[3] Classes for the elementary pupils end at 12 noon, but when there was no teacher in sight, they went home early, after the morning recess. Classes of the primary school end at 3:00 o'clock in the afternoon. They have two breaks: a half-hour break in the morning and then a one-hour break for lunch at 12:00 noon. This is the state stipulated schedule of the school program, which would ideally translate into 20 hours per week for the elementary school students and up to 35 hours for the primary school students.

Wearing a school uniform is part of the new regime that children learn to observe once they begin their elementary grades. The colors of the uniform are different for each school level: yellow for the elementary, green for the lower primary, and blue for the upper primary. The uniform consists of a pairing of the light and dark shades of the color: lighter for the blouses and shirts and darker for skirts or pants. In policy, children are required to wear their

[3] The video in this case had Chinese subtitles.

uniforms three times a week: on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday. In practice, not every child comes in their color-graded uniforms on these days, although many do so, and some just come with the recommended colored blouse or shirt without the matching color for the skirt or pants, or vice versa. Teachers sometimes remind them of wearing school uniforms on the designated days. School uniforms are additional costs and parents are expected to provide them for their children.[4]

In the elementary school, children sit on plastic sheets or sacks placed on the bare ground. There are no desks or chairs for the children. Currently, the elementary school has only four classrooms. The head teacher explained that they plan to build two more the following year. The classrooms are constructed with thin plywood walls that separate each room and that reach up halfway on the sides leaving the upper half open serving as windows. (See photos 8.3) The classrooms in the primary school are built with wooden or concrete floors, with most windows covered with wire mesh screens, and there are desks for the students. Two students were usually sharing a desk, but I also noticed a few desks shared by three students. Girls and boys sat separately. It is not unusual that classes are combined, both in elementary as well as in primary school, such as when a teacher is absent, or the number of pupils' attendance is low.

Photo 8.3 Classrooms of the Elementary school (view from outside and inside)

Schools in Dzifasing are directly under the governance of local members of the community. This is in the form of two separate Board of Managements (BOM) that have a mandate to govern and administer the operations of each school: one for the elementary and another

[4] A schoolgirl once expressed to me her feelings of sadness about her schooling situation, particularly for what she saw as lack of support from her family. She said that her mother (who is non-Wampar but adopted by the Wampar stepmother) and stepfather (who is himself ethnically mixed, with non-Wampar father and Wampar mother) do not care much about her interests. She was also specific about not having enough and decent clothes to wear to school. She said that when she does not wear that one set of school uniform that she has, she felt forced to wear clothes that are frayed. This did not stop her from wanting to go to school. She said that she felt happier when she is in school for it is when she could be with her friends. Her class teacher had taken pity on her and bought her some clothes. This class teacher, a non-Wampar woman, had some training in guidance counseling.

one for the primary school. The state has issued an official handbook describing the duties and responsibilities of the BOM that addresses matters of accountability in relation to the governance and management of schools. The handbook also prescribes the kind of working relations between the BOM and the Parents' and Citizens' Association (P&CA).[5] In 2009, the elementary school BOM had four members, all of them men,[6] comprising of the chair, the head teacher, a secretary and a treasurer. The BOM for the primary school is comprised of eight men and two women: a Chairperson, a Board Secretary (which is an ex-officio position for the school headmaster), a Treasurer, plus seven members that include a representative from the teachers, the chair for the Discipline committee, a Project Officer, three representatives for the Parent and Citizenship (P&C) association that include their chairperson, and the Local Level Government (LLG) Ward councilor.

As a consequence of this governance structure, the school is susceptible to contestations, competitions for resources, and processes of stratification happening in the community. There is a significant amount of political wrangling going on between BOM members and the teachers. Members of the ***sagaseg*** that originally owned the land on which the schools were built for example often feel a certain entitlement over the school ground and try to influence the operations and the management. The only Wampar teacher is a member of that ***sagaseg***. When a company donated ten water containers to the school for use in the nine teacher's houses, one member of the BOM quickly demanded that one of the tanks should be given to the Wampar teacher, citing her ancestral rights to the land. Local BOM members also squabbled about who gets to distribute money that was set aside for erecting a stage for the graduation, each eager to employ their own kin for this purpose.

These political struggles did have serious consequences in the first half of the school year, just before our arrival. In the second quarter of 2009, the primary school's new headmaster had to report to the provincial education office that the financial resources to run the school were used up, such as for the procurement of school supplies, teaching resource materials, and maintenance of teachers' houses. The BOM cited the delay in state subsidies and the tardiness of parents to pay school fees (in addition to the difficult economic situation after the end of betelnut sales) as the main reasons for this financial impasse. Schools receive a financial subsidy from the state, but the "community and parents" are at the same time expected to ensure that school fees are paid, and funds used for the operations and maintenance of the school. As a consequence, the school had to close, and stayed closed for

[5] BOM is "a school governing body which is established according to law by the education agency that conducts the school and is approved by the Provincial Education Board," and the P&CA are "the parents, guardian [sic] of children and other interested community members of the school" (Department of Education and Department for Community Development 2010: ix, 2).

[6] Gender equity is a principle that also underlines the education policy, which recommends female representation in the school board, set between 30% to 50% of the membership (Department of Education and Department for Community Development 2010:5).

six weeks, until it was reopened after a 5,000 Kina (almost US$2,000) donation from a BOM member and prominent businessman, who at the time was already preparing his (eventually successful) bid to become a National Member of Parliament (MP) in 2012. Teachers told me that the problem had to do more with misappropriation of funds by key officials in the BOM and not just with the non-payment of school fees by many parents. Most teachers do not dare to speak up about such corrupt practices, and one expressed her problems to me in the following way:

> It is very difficult for the teachers. We cannot say anything because we are just teachers. We are in this community. It is the board who are the owners of the school. If they are irresponsible, what is going to take place? Nothing. If we talk too, we too are thinking what will happen to us.

The BOM has recommendatory powers regarding teaching positions. They send to the provincial board of education a list of those teachers they would want to continue to employ the next year. Accusing influential members of the BOM of corruption could thus cause problems for teachers who would want to stay on.

8.2 The school curriculum as link between state and community

The schools in Dzifasing follow the state's national curriculum program, which is designed to provide a universal basic education for all Papua New Guineans. It is framed to respond to current national and global conditions:

> The Education Reform and the National Education Plan have been developed to produce an education system that meets Papua New Guinea's needs, in today's challenging world and in the future. . . . The foundation of the reform is the promotion of culture, values, attitudes, knowledge and a range of skills appropriate for Papua New Guinean society along with the need for international competitiveness. . . . After nine years of basic education, girls and boys will be equipped with the basic skills to help them adjust back to their communities or continue to further education. (Department of Education 2003:3)

The structural and curriculum reforms in the 1990s introduced the "Outcome-Based Education" policy or OBE.[7] It claims to provide teachers with general curriculum guidelines

[7] Since 2013, with Peter O'Neil as Prime Minister, OBE has been abolished and changed to "Standard Based Education" reflecting a change in curriculum, referred to as Standard Basic Curriculum or SBC. According to a curriculum officer, it is a return to the objective-based curriculum with content modifications (Nkui 2015). OBE is associated with William Spady, an American sociologist and educator who advocates school reforms worldwide. Spady (1994:1) defined OBE as "clearly focusing and organizing everything in an educational system around what is essential for all students to be able to do successfully at the end of their learning experiences. This means starting with a clear picture of what is important for students to be able to do, then organizing curriculum, instruction, and assessment to make sure this learning ultimately happens." See

for developing lessons that are culturally relevant to the community while at the same time preparing students to be engaged in the competitive global economy. For the first three years of elementary education, this means the use of the vernacular as language of instruction for the transmission of "local and indigenous knowledge". Teachers of various sociocultural backgrounds and experiences translate these state-issued educational modules through their individual practices. This also means that despite the goal of the OBE to be sensitive to "local" knowledge, it is in schools where children are systematically exposed to concepts about the nation state and a multitude of ideas on identity, relationships, and belonging as state citizens and modern individuals. This is best exemplified through lessons that impart knowledge about family and kinship, culture, community and the locality.

In the elementary school, I observed how the theme of *femeli* (family) was taught within the modules "Culture and Community" and "Language." The lesson looked at examples of lineal and collateral kin terms, which the teacher all wrote on the blackboard in Tok Pisin. In the table below, I supplied the English translation enclosed in parentheses.

Femeli (Family)	*Rid na Rait* (Reading and Writing)	*Kalsa na Kominiti* (Culture and Community)
Wanem em femeli? (What is a family?) *Femeli em papa, mama na ol pikinini.* (Family comprises the father, the mother and the children.)	*Femeli* *fe -- fens* *me -- meme* *li -- Lina*	*bubu man* (grandfather) *bubu meri* (grandmother) *papa* (father) *mama* (mother) *sista* (sister) *brata* (brother) *kasen sista* (female cousin) *kasen brata* (male cousin) *anti* (aunt) *ankol* (uncle)

In this example, the term *femeli* (family) is defined as comprising only the father, the mother and the children. In the Wampar kinship system and practice, children use the terms for "father" or "mother" beyond the so defined nuclear family even when talking in Tok Pisin. I am not sure how the teaching of such linguistic categorization of kin relations may impact the school children's view of social relations. Since Tok Pisin is the first language for most children, as discussed in the previous chapter, the terms are familiar as they use them in their everyday social interactions. The concept of *femeli* that appears to be presented as a nuclear model, however, in effect introduces a system of social relations where "family" is no longer encompassing extended kin relations that the Wampar actually still hold and observe. Thus, when kin terms in Tok Pisin are in use today, such as *kasen*, it is not

Thomas (2013) on the range of Spady's work on OBE, and for a biographical review, Hader (2011). See Agigo (2010) and Kekeya (2013) for a critical review of OBE in Papua New Guinea, and in Australia and elsewhere, Donnelly (2007).

immediately clear whether this refers to the parallel or a cross-cousin, and whether it refers to a male or female. This stands in contrast to *dzob Wampar*, where some of these distinctions are terminologically clear. As taught in the elementary school, the terms *sista* and *brata* imply an exclusive usage for one's sibling from the same father and mother, which again is not the same in Wampar terms or when children use Tok Pisin.

Another example I observed is on the theme of "Leaders" as taught in the graduating class of the elementary, or the E2, under the subject of "Language." The teacher wrote the following English text on the blackboard along with a few words of Tok Pisin.

Who is our councilor? Waya *What is his work? Bring services.* *Why do we have leaders? Because they will look after me and my community.* *Role of leaders (Wok bilong lida):* • *leading meeting* • *bring services* • *solve problem in the community* • *welcoming visitors* • *going out to meetings*	Note: The named person was the actual LLG councilor at this time. The roles are those that are associated with his official capacity in the local level of governance.

The aim is to get the school children to understand "simple English" in the form of Questions and Answers. In this example, the teacher is imparting to the children certain ideals and values about the state. In one of the classrooms, the OBE syllabus for the elementary grades was pasted on the wall. Under the module of "Cultural Mathematics," pupils are to learn how to "Make and solve money problems" under the theme "Resources for basic human needs and wants." Pupils should learn how to "Identify and sequence events that occurred at different times" under the theme "Events and Celebrations." Another poster on the wall was a "Cultural Calendar" reflecting the local season and economic activities. It was prepared prior to the end of the local betelnut economy and when *dzob Wampar* was still used as a language of instruction. This calendar has a year date that was started in the early 2000s, but I noticed that the last digit has been wiped out each year to write over the current year, as it shows 2009 to make it current. In this calendar, the wet and dry season were written in Wampar, namely, *yadzof* and *manaman* respectively. It further shows culturally- and economically-linked specific activities in Dzifasing such as the time for the "planting of the betel nut" during the wet season in the first quarter of the year. Except for the "betel nut seasons" which no longer reflected the present economy, the planting of banana for subsistence and for marketing, as well as watermelon are still done today. What is missing in this calendar is cacao, which reflects the time when it was not yet an important cash crop.

In both elementary and primary schools, teachers juxtapose Tok Pisin with English. Teachers ultimately expressed that English is their desired language of instruction, based on their own schooling experience. English literacy is a measure of achievement both by teachers and

parents. The process that already begins at home when parents are socializing the children in Tok Pisin is formally institutionalized in schools. While this is the case for children out of interethnic marriages between Wampar and non-Wampar where Tok Pisin is the couple's common language, children with Wampar parents are also learning Tok Pisin at home even as *dzob Wampar* is spoken between their Wampar parents and adult kin in their households. In this respect, the school is an extension of a realization of a preferred language, as I discussed in the previous chapter. The parents' preference for Tok Pisin is formally established in the local elementary school system.

This is in contrast to what Delpit (1995:84-90) described in the 1980s in Buka and Buin in what is today the Autonomous Region of Bougainville, where villagers preferred the teaching of the vernacular rather than Tok Pisin to their preschool children. The school is referred to as the "*Vilis Tokples Pre-skul*."[8] In the Buka and Buin case, parents and the school board considered the vernacular as facilitative in the enculturation of local knowledge and values, making children think better and more easily learning the English language. While parents considered Tok Pisin as a practical language in interacting with Papua New Guineans, they considered it as a language that cannot adequately convey what they could communicate through their vernacular (ibid: 85). The Arapesh on the Sepik have similarly embraced a vernacular preschool program with enthusiasm. It has ultimately failed, however, due to outsiders' insensitivity to local meanings of empowerment framed on relationships of reciprocity. Outsiders assumed that the vernacular school needs to be able to operate without outside assistance to be successful, while villagers saw ongoing outside assistance as a critical component of the project to overcome their own sense of marginality and powerlessness (Dobrin 2008).

That the Elementary School in Dzifasing is teaching Tok Pisin and English instead of the vernacular is made possible by the state education policy in designing the OBE curriculum along with decentralization that gave more powers to the local level of government. The community has the mandate to govern most aspects of the local school, including the choice of language.

> The community will decide, in consultation with the teachers, which language to be used in the Elementary school. It is important that students use the language they speak for real life purposes rather than just learn the rules of language or rote learn facts about topics. They need to use vernacular effectively in real life problem solving and thinking situations. This means that students will learn to speak and write first in their own languages as they communicate ideas to others, as they learn to read and listen to other people's ideas. (Department of Education 2003: 13)

[8] Village vernacular schools existed prior to the school reforms that restructured early education with the use of the vernacular in elementary schools.

Teaching in Tok Pisin is legitimized even if teachers are critical of its impact on how children will learn English. Tok Pisin is not the only the lingua franca of the children's generation who attends the school in Dzifasing, but often their primary language, the "language they speak for real life purposes" (ibid.). Thus, the language of instruction is also informed by the changing sociocultural makeup of the community. The politics of language in school is a process that is not only informed by the state policy but also by local sociocultural processes in Dzifasing. Both teachers and parents see that the socio-demographic trend in Dzifasing is characterized by an increasing non-Wampar population whether through intermarriages or labor migration, with the school in Dzifasing being strategically accessible to many non-Wampar. Working professionals around the Markham Valley also turn to Dzifasing to send their children to school.

However, beyond this shared recognition of the socio-demographic profile of the community, parents and teachers do not share the same view about Tok Pisin's role in learning English. While parents view Tok Pisin as facilitative to learning English, the teachers see it in the opposite way. For the teachers, it complicates the learning process, in comprehension, or in reading and writing. While parents in Dzifasing see that Tok Pisin is the practical language to first learn in dealing with their everyday life to get ahead in today's world, elementary and primary school teachers – who see it from their perspective as agents for learning – prefer to start teaching straight away in English rather than in Tok Pisin to be effective. An elementary teacher explains that they are only implementing the policy and that they have to get the go ahead signal from the "top," referring to the state education department, in order to teach in English from the start.[9]

The role of Tok Pisin in school socialization and enculturation processes is intensified when most of the teachers are non-Wampar. In practice, the bridging of Tok Pisin to English continues all the way up to primary school, starting in Grade 3. In 2009, both Grade 3 teachers were non-Wampar.[10] In the teacher's guide for the lower primary school that was issued by the Department of Education, the secretary states that, "A bilingual approach is used at Lower Primary. It incorporates bridging to English processes in Grades 3, 4 and 5. This approach helps students to know who they are by building on their knowledge about their culture and first language" (Department of Education 2004: v). Furthermore, the official guide emphasizes the importance of the vernacular in relation to identity and culture: "Bridging to English is the gradual change from vernacular to English instruction during Grades 3 to 5. Bridging, while maintaining vernacular language, helps students retain their identity, culture, self-confidence and self-esteem" (Department of Education 2004: 2).

[9] Prior to the education reform, this teacher was teaching in English starting in Grade 1.

[10] In one Grade 3 class, the teacher was explaining to the pupils in Tok Pisin how to read and write the time in English such as, "It is half past six" and other fractions of an hour. He was explaining the fractions several times in Tok Pisin and would then have the pupils repeat it also several times in English, after him.

This official statement that emphasizes the use of vernacular language does not reflect the local realities in Dzifasing. This dissonance is overcome through the power of local governance when Tok Pisin was decided as the language of instruction in Dzifasing. The teaching in Tok Pisin in the elementary school has found congruence in the primary school with mostly non-Wampar teachers who supplement their teaching in English with Tok Pisin.

In all the primary grades, teachers write their lessons on the blackboard or on posters pasted on the walls in English. However, they still turn to using Tok Pisin to explain the texts when the level of comprehension among the pupils is poor. A lower primary school teacher described her class situation and the style that she adapted in teaching in English as language of instruction at the lower primary level:

> I want to speak more of the English. They don't understand. I can't keep on going. I have to come back to Pidgin. So, in a real situation . . . I'm teaching more of the Pidgin and less of the English. And then writing, *ol go hard nau* (everyone finds it hard) -- writing so many mistakes on spellings, structure of the sentence, the grammar.

The English language competency is not only poor for some students in each class, but it is uneven, going all the way up to the eighth grade. I have observed this when I was giving out some forms to the primary grade students to write something about themselves. In the first batch of the forms I used for the higher grades, I wrote the instructions in English. I would later modify them for the different classes, add Tok Pisin translations, or go to the extent of individually explaining them to some students.

The choice of Tok Pisin has the effect that teaching and learning in the schools in Dzifasing are more inclusive. All pupils who attend schools in Dzifasing are taught in a language that is common to everyone. The use of Tok Pisin facilitates a *tendency* towards a homogenization of culture. It facilitates a unifying notion of identity as citizens of Papua New Guinea, as has been illustrated by the lessons observed in the elementary grades.

The curriculum has counterbalancing tendencies to this homogenizing trend, in that teachers are not simply charged with implementing a state-mandated curriculum but are also expected to adapt the lessons to fit different local cultural contexts which are constitutive of the state of Papua New Guinea. Nowhere is this more evident than in the attempts to impart on the school children a sense of their own "culture" and "*kastom*. " As almost all primary school teachers in Dzifasing are non-Wampar, this has some interesting effects.

During the fourth term of the school year, one of the lessons in the lower primary was on the theme of "Traditional Arts Display." All of the third graders were asked to come to school in their chosen customary attire, announce the name of their "clan," and perform a "traditional song" and "traditional dance." (See Photo 8.4 below.)

Photo 8.4: Children of the lower primary performing a "traditional dance."

While most of the children did come wearing attires fitting for the event, with girls wearing grass skirts and boys with loin bark cloth or *laplap* (waistcloth), some did not. The non-Wampar teacher had a grading sheet for each pupil, on which she wrote down the name of the "clan" and a title of a song that was reported by the student. One of the ethnically mixed girls with a *yaner* father and Wampar mother for example reported a traditional song with the title "*Afi dompa some*"[11] which the teacher wrote on the sheet. While most students orally presented the name of their family's "clan," not one of them performed the song. The teachers later explained to me that the pupils really do not know any “traditional songs”. They said that they just assigned pupils to ask their parents and to report back in class titles of "traditional songs" along with the name of their "clan." In terms of dance, the Grade 3 teacher organized two group dances: one she taught herself, and the Grade 4 teacher from New Ireland taught the other. Each of them introduced dance movements performed with the music of well-known Papua New Guinean artists from the Central Province and New Ireland. The latter teacher also said that the dance she taught is, in her own words, a mix of traditional New Ireland and new creative movements that her son has added and performed before in his school.

While the retrieval of "clan" names and traditional song titles may make children aware of ideas about kinship and traditional music, the teachers, being non-Wampar, have

[11] This is Wampar and means, "the women split the material for aprons" which Fischer (1997b:44) documented and translated. The phrase is documented by Fischer in this form: *Afi edompoa some*.

themselves no detailed knowledge about these Wampar-specific concepts, apart from the belief that all Papua New Guineans must have "clans." Unable to teach the school children "Wampar culture" (Wampar do have their own dances and songs),[12] they are content to resort to the transmission of an amalgamated and folklorized "Papua New Guinea Culture." In this instance, children on the one side experience everyday life in the community, and on the other, they experience the amalgamations of dominant discourses and particular practices of teachers in school.

8.3 Discourses about the importance of schooling

Children often hear in official gatherings that school is important for their future. Some examples are the Independence Day Celebrations and the Graduation Ceremony. The Graduation Day in 2009 in Dzifasing was a whole day event, filled with speeches from state education officials, local leaders, and community representatives who were recognized by their achievements in reaching higher education and pursuing a professional career. The prevailing message was about the links between school education and money in today's political economy. The non-Wampar speakers, who were the primary school headmaster and a Huon Gulf District education official, focused on the state of the local schools, the need for more children to attend school, and the plan on education reforms and funds coming from the provincial government for the development of the schools' infrastructure. Wampar leaders and community representatives were more specific with their messages on what a school education could mean for the prestige, but more importantly for the income of the community. They stressed the need for schooling in order not to be left behind in economic mobility in relation to other places and provinces in Papua New Guinea, where resource development projects are underway. The Exxon Mobil liquefied natural gas (LNG) project with a pipeline of over 700 kilometers going through the Southern Highlands, Hela, Western, Gulf, and Central provinces was singled out as the most recent example. One of the local Wampar speakers entreated the people in Dzifasing to access school education since they are not living in these LNG project regions where people "*kisim mani nating tru*" (earning money for doing nothing). Another Wampar speaker situated Dzifasing's political economy in terms of its strategic location in the Markham Valley, that has been touted by the press to be the "fruit bowl" of Papua New Guinea, and along the Highlands Highway, where he said "billions of Kina" are travelling up and down the highway. In order not to lose out amidst the opportunity that this situation offers, the Wampar speaker encouraged the people in Dzifasing to get a good school education in order to gain skills and know-how in creating wealth.

[12] Examples of this are *med-a-tir*, war songs, which are still performed by some men of the parent generation during church-related festivities with the Lutheran *mama church*.

Despite this public pronouncement about the need for school education, the high rate of school leavers among Wampar children is an indication that they take school less seriously than mixed or *yaner* children. Several children with non-Wampar father who are now in their secondary grades said that if it were not for their parent's urging for them to stay in school and reach higher education, they would have behaved like other children who ended up not going to school anymore. Frani (Case study #8) said of her own generation and of her own schooling experiences:

> *Long Grade 8, mipela mas 40 samting. Mipela ol nainpela girls tasol. Asples stret, em wanpela meri. Yaner stret, em fopela yaner. Na ol hapkas, mipela em tripela: mi, Elissa Isaac, wanpela girl. . . . Ol boys ya planti liklik. Ol yaner planti. Em ol yaner tasol em ol go. Olgeta Wampar em ol kam bek. Ol go na skul, tasol ol kam bek. Ol no pinisim Grade 9. . . . Na olgeta yaner em ol go continue. . . . Disla taim, planti yaner sa kam lo skul. Disla taim, taim lo buai. Na ol Wampar, ol sa no inap bikos ol sa go na maket. Sampela sa go market, na kain olsem, taim blo buai stap yet. Ol bai lusim skul i mas tri o tupela days na bai ol kam lo skul gen. Ol sa wok olsem. Na inside lo classroom, bai yu lukluk, planti yaner bai sindaun na skul. Na ol Wampar, no inap bisi lo skul, ol sa bisi lo go na maket. Na even sampela ol gat mani bai ol kam lo skul, nogat mani em ol stap, ol sa wok olsem.*
>
> In Grade 8, we must have been about 40. We were only nine girls. Pure Wampar, only one girl. *Yaner* there were four. And the mixed, we were three: me, Elissa Isaac [Case study #4] and another girl. . . . The boys were a bit more. A lot of them *yaner*. And only the *yaner* went on [to higher schooling]. The Wampar came back. They went to school, but they all came back. They did not finish Grade 9. And all the *yaner* continued. . . . At this time, many *yaner* came to school. This time was the time of the *buai*. And the Wampar, they did not, because they usually went to sell [*buai*]. Some of them used to go and market, or so, at the time when there was still *buai*. They left school for three or two days and afterwards they would come back again. They usually did it like that. And inside the classroom, you would see a lot of *yaner* sitting there and learn. And the Wampar, they were not busy about school, they were busy about going to the market. And even if some had money, they would come to school, and if they did not have money, they stayed away.

Frani refers here to the time of the betelnut economy, when Wampar children were lured away from school by the fast and easy access to cash to be made from climbing trees and selling betel nuts. Consequently, they missed a lot of classes and eventually dropped out of school. The ethnically mixed children who continued with schooling explicitly compared themselves to Wampar children or those who rely on having Wampar land.

From the perspective of the ethnically mixed children who continued schooling, having easy access to money lures children to lose interest in school education. One of the Non-Wampar primary school teachers who witnessed the boom in the *buai* trade also talked of a kind of affluence that children in Dzifasing enjoyed, and that they consequently did not bother with getting a proper education. She stressed the contrast between the lifestyle of school

children in Dzifasing and those of her own children when it comes to access and use of money. She said that in the morning, school children in the primary school would show up in their classes, but many were not coming back in the afternoon as they were preoccupied with climbing betelnut trees to sell *buai* the next day. Since classes for the primary school continue in the afternoon, unlike in the elementary school that end at noon, primary school students missing classes in the afternoon was a usual occurrence. Elementary and primary school students would go to school in the morning with "*skul mani*" for snacks, but not come back in the afternoon:

> They come with 20 Kina, 50 Kina. They come*. Ol i save kam na luslus market olsem*, (They come and spend the money easily on the market), eeh, they spend the money like hell*. Mi lukluk, eeh, ol pikinini bilong mi, mi no save givim 20 Kina, 50 Kina nabaut* (I see, eeh, I don't give my children 20 Kina or 50 Kina). These Dzifasing kids, they came early in the morning, they will get into the teachers' house just to buy *iceblock* [a kind of popsicle]. And they will eat flour balls [a kind of doughnut], and by recess time, all flour balls are gone*. Em ol iceblock gone* (All popsicles are sold out). And then after lunch, they go to their plantation to collect betelnut for the next day*.* Because they see that the market is still there, and they will come. You see. I will teach only 5 or 10 students in a class. At the end of the day*, ol pikinini results bilong ol, i no gutpela. Bikos, ol i no lainim ol samting.* (At the end of the day, children's school performance is not good, as they end up not learning something.)

With the changing economy, the experience of easy access to cash is gone. This does not directly translate into a more regular school attendance, however. Money for school fees has also become more difficult to come by, and without school fees, children won't be able to attend school. The lack of *skul mani* (pocket money to school) or "lunch money" is also a factor. The Wampar elementary teacher said that children report to her that they missed school because their parents have no money to buy food and that they do not have *skul mani* to buy food for themselves in school, and so they would go hungry for the large part of the day. By "food" at home, this means rice, which has to be bought from the market. Rice has become a ubiquitous staple food among the Wampar, which my interlocutors said was easily affordable when there was *buai* to sell.

> *Mi bin askim, ol i tok. . . . 'O, mama i no gat money lo baim bag rice bilong mipela long kaikai long morning na kam.' . . . Ol tok, 'Mipela nogat coins long baim sampela samting skul kaikai ' . . . Dispela em bikos buai bagarap nau. Dispela affecting ol . . . . long ol manki long holim dispela. Manki i nogat coins long kam long skul nau. Em ol bai stap. Ol bai lusim skul na stap. . . .*
>
> I was asking and they say, 'Oh, mother has no money to buy a bag of rice for us to eat in the morning so we can come here [to school].' They say, 'We don't have any coins to buy food in school.' This situation is due to the end of the *buai*. This affects everyone -- all children who are affected by this. Children don't have some coins to

> take with them to school. They will stay home. They stop going to school and just stay at home. . . .

When I brought to this teacher's attention the fact that there were still cash sources for families actively engaged in selling food, such as coconuts or watermelon, and other items on the market, she said that she was aware of this and parents would nevertheless say that cash had been hard to earn since the end of the betelnut economy and so they did not give children any pocket money or that they just didn't send them to school. I also consistently heard from the parents and children alike that paying school fees is a problem, as accessing money had become harder. This teacher also pointed out differences between some families in regard to cash income generation before and after the *buai*. She said that it is especially hard now for families who have no cacao to sell. In a lot of families, children were also engaged increasingly more, in her words "full time," in garden work, marketing, tending the cacao groves or the peanut gardens. Thus, she said, children missed a lot of days in school.

I also asked teachers about academic performance, and who among their pupils in their assessment were particularly doing good or not. Their description of and differentiation between *as ples pikinini*, *miks pikinini* and *yaner* is clearly apparent. One Wampar elementary school teacher said that in her current class, the ethnically mixed and *yaner* children are performing much better than the Wampar children. In the previous years, she said that everyone, pure Wampar, ethnically mixed, or *yaner* were about the same. However, one non-Wampar female primary teacher added that although overall many *as ples pikinini* are not doing so good compared to the "outsider" and "mixed" children, there are always exceptions on an individual basis of "typical Dzifasing" children who she said are "brilliant." On this contrasting performance of most *as ples pikinini*, she simultaneously attributed it to the nature of the place, the "system" and the "blood," by which she meant mostly the role and attitude of parents, who she said do not show up for school meetings. She also referred to the problem of poor attendance and "school leavers" and the payment of school fees as enduring issues, whether it was during or after the betelnut-boom period.

> I think it is an attitude problem. Because if they have a lot of money, they will want to come to school. But then they do not show it that way. Even though they have money. Some of them did not come to school. . . . Although they had a lot of money during the *buai* time, and now that we don't have money, they are still doing it. Okay, even though they have a lot of money, their academic performance is still low. And now it is still low, although, they do not have money. -- Grade 6 Teacher

Other non-Wampar teachers shared the same view. They said that they see families engaged in the marketing of goods in *Danke* Market, and so they believe that parents must be earning some cash and should be able to pay school fees for the children. While the schoolteachers were sensitive to economic hardship, they also think that attitude and values of the parents matter, and that this affects the motivation of children to come to school.

They thought that many Wampar parents just do not value school education enough and therefore lack a supportive attitude towards school.

Another male teacher recounted the answers he got from parents when he asked them why the children are not attending classes. "*Narapela mi askim ol, em ol i tok, 'Em les blong ol yet.' That's what they talked olsem*." ("I asked them, and they said, 'The children themselves are not interested.' That's what the parents say.") However, a female teacher insisted that even if the children show disinterest in school, she thought it is up to the parents to get them motivated.

> *Bikos sapos em concerned . . . pikinini les, bai yu ken paitim em na bringim em kam inside ya, na forcim long mama, sindaun long tok, 'Yu go long skul. Tisa stap pinis, ol narapela kisim save i stap.' Mi tingim olsem,* parents don't care*. Ol i no laikim. 'Larim ol stap na helpim mipela na stap.' So, education i no kamap olsem priority long parents bilong ol – long salim ol i kam.* – a female teacher
>
> If the parents are concerned. . . . if the children are unwilling, you can hit them and bring them to come to school. Mothers can force them by telling them: 'You go to school. The teachers are already there, all the other [children] are already getting educated'. I think that parents don't care. They don't like it. They say: 'Let the children stay [away from school] so they can instead help us [with work]'. So, education does not become a priority for their parents – to send them to school.

Teachers cited the critical role of parents in relation to the low turnout of students, and the fact that they want the children to work for the household instead of sending them to school. They linked it with the parents' lack of interest in the school and thus in the children's education. They commonly spoke of parents not showing up to fulfill their duties and responsibilities such as during Work Parade or for the P&C meetings.

> They don't come. Very few used to come. Especially, those church groups, they come. But otherwise, most of them are very busy doing their marketing and going to town. They are really not that concerned about the education of their kids. I think they are just ignorant. That's what I think. Yeah, I would just say that they are ignorant. They don't care about this, the education of the children. Because with the children too, most of them come to school and they go back home. They stay for how many weeks. They come back. They have this attitude. Parents, they don't talk to the kids. It is only the teachers who are doing everything for the kids. But parents, they don't do their part. If they do their part, you will see the attendance in the school. [The] enrollment will be very nice. [It] will be very high. -- a female teacher

Another female teacher gave the following opinion regarding the difference between children of Wampar and non-Wampar parents, where the former tend to be more motivated than the latter. She thought that those children with non-Wampar parents must be seeing their different situation in comparison to those with Wampar parents who have land to rely upon.

So ol i pilim, husat i mas skul gutpela na wok mani bai helpim mamapapa bilong ol. Na pure, em ol papagraun na mamagraun, who cares? 'We have money, and we have everything here*. We tumbuna mekim na* pass it to the next generation. I can do that and stay.'

So, they must be feeling that who does well in school and can work and earn money, will be able to help their parents. And the Wampar children, they are all landowners, so who cares? [They will say] "We have money, and we have everything here. This is where our ancestors made it and passed it on to the next generation. I can do that and stay."

Views and perspectives about school education are thus mediated by multiple social and economic factors. Abundance of land or the opportunity to sell things on the market can be a safety net for children who are not doing well in school or are disinterested in school, and parents therefore don't push them so hard to stay in school. At the same time, children, and especially girls, are important sources of labor for the household after the end of the betelnut economy. This is mostly the case for Wampar children, in contrast to children with non-Wampar father. There are always exceptions, however.

Jacob (Case study #10) is such an exception. He is a Wampar father married to Wanda, a non-Wampar woman whose family members have all attained higher education. Jacob spoke about his feelings about school education and his aspiration for his son and daughter. He belongs to a lineage among the Wampar with only small landholdings, and he is acutely aware of his children having a lesser chance of inheriting sufficient land following the Wampar norms of inheritance. He is not a first-born, and his elder brother who is their *saqaseq's* spokesperson happens to have several children, five of them males. He said that he decided to have only two children knowing that their lineage has not enough land. He has a son and a daughter who are both in school. His wife's kin are supportive of their schooling.

Mi wan wok long toktok strong long tupela manki long skul na pinisim skul bilong ol. Mi yet, mi bin skul i go na inap long disla bighet tasol mi no sa stadi, na mekim olsem na mi rigret. . . . Long hia, pikinini man sa go pas long graun. Tasol, mi third-born lo femili. . . . Nogat graun, o yu no kisim wanpela kain share blong graun, wanpela rot lo yu ken sindaun gut, though you nogat graun, but wanpla rot em education tasol. Sapos yu nogat graun, yu wok moni na yu ken baim graun tu, sapos yu gat moni.

I myself always tell my two children strongly, that they have to go to school and finish their schooling. I myself went to school, until out of my own stubbornness I did not study, and I always regret this. . . . Here, the sons go first in inheriting land. But I am the third-born [son] in the family. . . .You have no land, or you did not get a share of the land, one way to a good life, even though you have no land, one way is education. If you have no land, but you work for money, then you can also buy land, if you have money. -- (Jacob)

Another Wampar father, Jeremiah, who is also married to a non-Wampar woman, has a more lenient attitude towards the schooling of his children, Elmer among them (Case study #12). Jeremiah appears to fit those types of parents that teachers talked about as not pushing children to school. While Jeremiah belongs to the same small ***saqqaseq*** as Jacob, he belongs to a different lineage. Jeremiah has inherited sufficient land from his patrilineage, and he is now using it for their subsistence and cash crop production, including the growing of cacao. His sons, he said, would all be inheriting the land from him. When he and his wife work in their garden plots for subsistence and for marketing, they sleep over at their garden house and take their small children with them, including Elmer who is in his elementary grades. Their garden plots are far from the school and Jeremiah said he would rather that Elmer stays with them than walk for hours to go to school. Their other son Denis, who is already in the lower primary grades, dropped out of school after the six-week-long school suspension. Since he dropped out, he started hanging out more often with older and unmarried young male kin and sleeping with them at their "*haus boi.*" Jeremiah was more immediately concerned about this situation rather than him being out of school. He did not want him to pick up undesirable practices from the older boys such as smoking, especially not the locally produced marijuana joints. When I once asked Elmer why he is not in school, he simply answered: "*Mi les,*" which can be translated as "I am tired of it," or "I am not interested." When he answered this way in front of his mother and father, they did not show any overt sign of displeasure. They simply said: "*Bihain, em bai go bek long skul*," that that he would later go back to school. Elmer at least said that he learned something in his occasional school attendances. He said he liked drawing things, like flowers, and learned a few letters of the alphabet.

The leniency of parents towards children can be differentiated by gender in relations to land rights. While most of the parents favor the education of their sons more than their daughters, Veronica's has a gendered approach in disciplining her adopted children that is quite unusual (Case study #13): She pressures the girl, Carla, to stay and do better in school, more than she does with the boys. She said that the boys will have security through their land, whereas Carla, who does not have the same secured rights, would have to carve her own economic niche in the future, which she said is only possible with a good education.

Case Study #13: Carla and Manny

Carla and her brother Manny are living with Veronica. She is not their mother but their aunt, their Wampar mother's unmarried sister. Veronica decided that it was best that she looks after their well-being, having seen how Emma, their mother, is having difficulties in sending them to school due to a failed marriage. Their non-Wampar father Dominic is from an urbanized village right next to Lae. Emma and Dominic married in the mid-1980s, and first lived in his place near Lae, until the marriage deteriorated, and Emma moved back to Dzifasing around the year 2000. Dominic was said to be often absent afterwards, spending his time away from Dzifasing, and that he had a well-paying job. Accordingly, he spent most

of his time at his place of origin, where he died recently, likely of AIDS, as everyone was suspecting. Most of Emma's siblings and their mother thought her marriage was doomed from the start. They often wondered about Dominic's absence and suspected him of philandering.

Carla and Manny are respectively in grade 6 and grade 8 of the Dzifasing primary school. Veronica started helping Emma in paying their school fees even before Dominic died. Emma since remarried another non-Wampar and moved in with him at a different hamlet in the village, away from where most of her siblings are. Veronica has since been shouldering the responsibility of seeing that Carla and Manny are in school. Carla first lived with her parents near Lae but has since then been living with Veronica since she was about 8 years old. Brando, Carla's older brother, does not live with them but decided to stay at their father's place of origin where he has land rights, and where he could more easily commute to his job at the Lae wharf. Manny would also have land rights there, but so far preferred to stay in Dzifasing, where he grew up.

Carla dreams of becoming a singer and a dancer, like the ones she sees on TV. She also created a nickname for herself, based on the name of a fashion model she admired in a magazine. And while she really likes the place of origin of her father, where her grandparents still live, with the urban amenities, the schools and factories, and the closeness to the beach, she realizes that there is more space to make subsistence gardens in Dzifasing.

Damian, a Wampar father who has two daughters with his non-Wampar wife Leticia, is more lenient towards his girls when they miss school (Case study #14). His general attitude is that they will eventually get married, which means that they would either move out of Dzifasing or be working on the land of their potential Wampar husband's kin. Leticia appears to agree with her husband on this. When I asked her why Jasmine, the older girl who is now in Grade 2 has not gone back to school, she said that they have to take their daughters with them to work in their gardens and when they help out her husband's kin in their cash crop gardens.

Case study #14: Jasmine

Jasmine is in Grade 2 in the elementary school in Dzifasing. Her younger sister, Melanie is not yet in school, but is expected to start attending the following year. Their Wampar father, Damian, married Leticia, a non-Wampar woman of mixed East New Britain – New Ireland descent in 1996. Leticia was adopted by Victor, a Wampar man with a government job, during his first marriage with Bernadette, Leticia's mother's sister. Leticia grew up in Lae where she lived with her adoptive parents. She spent a lot of time in Dzifasing, however, such as during weekends and holidays, helping in garden work with Bernadette.

Before Damian married Leticia, he had married and soon after divorced Pauline, a Wampar woman from another Wampar village, who bore him a son, Hansel. Pauline had remarried back at her village, but Damian recognizes his son with her and another son from an affair. Damian wanted his sons to one day live with them in Dzifasing. He said that his sons will one day inherit his land while his two daughters will be marrying out of his lineage. Jasmine has met Hansel whom she calls her brother. Leticia has also long recognized and accepted the relationship of her daughters with Hansel. It remains unclear what will happen with the other son.

The lack of security based on land affecting both Wampar and non-Wampar families can shape the parents' attitude toward school education. Among interethnic families with non-Wampar father, the attitude toward their children's schooling is however differentiated not just by the lack of security based on land among the Wampar, but also in their place of origin. The social and educational background of the non-Wampar father also informs how they tend to pass on the value for higher education to their children.

The relationship that Dzifasing parents have with the state might have an additional influence on their willingness to invest in their children through the payment of school fees. This becomes clear when comparing the notions of Wampar parents with those of the Mandak in central New Ireland researched by Sykes (2001). Among the Mandak, the payment of school fees is an obligation that parents, especially the fathers, took as a form of political engagement with the state through what Sykes (2001) referred to as "critical citizenship" in the context of the Mandak's ethos of exchange relations. The way the Mandak actively performed their obligations stands in clear contrast to the apathy that the schoolteachers and officials complain about with the parents in Dzifasing.

In Dzifasing, where villagers have known relative affluence through their once booming betelnut economy, school education had no immediate relevance for those who rely on their productive relations with their own land and the local market. As school and local community officials appeal for parents to fulfill their obligations, the post-betelnut local economy might have shifted the focus on the importance of school education, but not necessarily the relations with the state. The continuing contestation between schoolteachers and some members of the board on the use of school funds (whether from school fees or from state subsidies) neither portend a common nor unified stance from which the rest of the parents can draw upon. For parents in Dzifasing, the paying of school fees has been more of a burden that they would rather be freed from, especially since they fear that school fees are just ending up in the pockets of the teachers or the board of management through corrupt practices in school. Dzifasing parents thus see their relations with the state not as a relationship of exchange (in contrast to Sykes' Mandak) but as an unequal power relation, which the Wampar have long experienced and become accustomed

to in their engagement with the varied agencies of hierarchical relations, as with the colonial and post-colonial state.

8.4 Conclusion

As I have shown, the two schools in Dzifasing are sites of articulation between state and community, between teachers, students and parents, and between Wampar and non-Wampar in general. The political economy of Dzifasing, with the changing socio-economic conditions, the social differentiation effecting stratification, and the exclusionary tendencies towards *yaner,* is also articulated in the schools as extensions of local politics of social relations. The school as a state institution creates a feeling of citizenship among all students, regardless of whether one is Wampar or non-Wampar. The dominant state discourses on identity, culture, and citizenship that are designed through the curriculum and official education programs, and that are mediated through the teachers' own understanding, become an important element for the socialization of the school children.

The school offers a space for children to interact with age-mates regardless of their kin or ethnic affiliation. The use of Tok Pisin as main language of instruction for children of various sociocultural backgrounds may also present a sense of inclusiveness, even if it is only pushed by practicalities by both teachers and parents (although for different reasons). A sense of equalization and inclusiveness may be filtering through these avenues in the schools, even when actual social relations do not foster such mutuality or equality. The political economy of Dzifasing, with the changing socio-economic conditions, the social differentiation leading to stratification, and the exclusionary tendencies towards *yaner,* is also articulated in the schools as extensions of local politics of social relations.

Non-Wampar and children with a non-Wampar father embrace the opportunities that a school offers and the difference it can make to their lives. Based on the teacher's assessment of their pupils, non-Wampar children tend to stay in school and perform better than Wampar children. Children who are less secure among the Wampar, namely those with non-Wampar father, see the school as a possible way out of their difficult situation. There is also still a gender gap in schools: less girls than boys are attend classes, a trend that starts in the elementary and continues up to the secondary school, and is connected to prevalent notions about gender roles, and the fact that girls generally contribute more work to the household than boys.

The changing economic conditions instigated by the rise and fall of the betelnut economy had a profound impact on the social life and school experience in Dzifasing. Easy access to money was luring children away from school, and losing that access appears to have made it harder for those who have known a certain lifestyle afforded by it to go back to school. The basic consumption patterns appear not to have substantially changed during and after the betelnut economy, such as the preference for rice and other commodities from trade stores.

The more obvious change is on the investment side, where the schooling of children through payment of school fees has become acutely problematic. Wampar and non-Wampar adult and young people alike agree on the difficulties of earning money since the end of the betelnut economy, and this impacts the paying of school fees.

The importance of school education in the changing local political economy of Dzifasing is at the same time heralded by school officials and community leaders as the new path to earning money. The importance of the school appears to be a commonly agreed idea, at least between the schoolteachers, the officials and local community leaders, and as far as the general notion of getting a better chance in economic life is concerned. That the school does not represent the new means for everyone's socioeconomic mobility is clear, as not everyone is academically gifted enough to continue with school. If school does offer potential upward mobility, it is a question of the particularities that make the mobility feasible or not and for whom. The *buai* before was everyone's security – Wampar or non-Wampar alike. With its loss, land became the prime and contested resource. Those without land or undisputed access to it are those who tend to be more receptive to the value of school education as the new form of security. This situation relates not only to the non-Wampar, but also to the Wampar who have no guarantee of having their own viable piece of land within their lineage.

Whether parents consider the payment of school fees as an act of investment or an unnecessary expense, and whether children aspire for a school education or not, are all relative to the particularities of the situation of an individual child, his or her household and social network. This is what I will show in the next chapter when I describe the aspirations of children and young people in Dzifasing. The differences in their social relations can likewise impact on their aspirations for the future.

9. Aspirations and future outlook

The changing economic situation and the politics of exclusion do not only affect the children in Dzifasing in the present, but also significantly shape their outlook towards the future. As I have shown in the previous chapters, the social inclusion of children among the Wampar is differentiated by their specific social position and the kind of relationships that they have with their Wampar kin group. In the previous chapter, I also showed how the children's schooling experience is differentiated by the particular social relations that they negotiate. I described how recent social and economic transformations were influencing their views about schooling. The importance of school education as the new path to creating wealth, which is a state discourse aimed at shaping a national value, is being embraced by many (although not all), and likewise expressed as a local value in the post-betelnut economy. It is a discourse on what should be aspired to and how.

In this chapter, I show how conditions in the post-betelnut economy are expressed through the young people's plans and choices for the future. Differentially-situated young people and their kindred are making plans as relations of inclusion and exclusion are being redefined in response to the changing economic conditions. The most important choices that young people in Dzifasing have to face when charting their life revolve not only around educational aspirations and occupation but also around questions of residence and marriage. As I will show in this chapter, these four topics are often correlated and correspond with each other, while some options are already precluded for some children from the outset by the current political and economic situation. Through the case studies, I highlight the importance of sociocultural specificities as they relate with the broader social situation in Dzifasing. Aside from ethnicity, I show here how gender, birth order, the material conditions and relationships of both the Wampar and non-Wampar kin, and particular life experiences all influence the way young people aspire and make choices for the future.

There is also a clear difference regarding age. When I asked younger children, as those in their primary grades, about what they want to be in their future, their responses appear to be informed mostly by imaginaries influenced by ideas of a successful and modern Papua New Guinea. These ideas are not only introduced in the school but also through TV, films and magazines, and likely also infused by those stories that my partner and I have shared about Switzerland and the US. At this age level, there is hardly a difference between Wampar children and those children with a non-Wampar parent. Whether they dream of becoming a singer or dancer, like Carla (Case study #13), a professional soccer player, like Philip (Case study #9), or a soldier like Manu (Case study #2), their dreams and imaginations remain somewhat removed from the reality and the context they grow up in.

Older children in comparison to their younger cohorts were generally relating their social and economic circumstances with their plans and aspirations, and here, a differentiation

between children with Wampar fathers and those with non-Wampar fathers is much more evident. This is neatly demonstrated in the case of the set of siblings and cousins I first described in chapter 2, as the particularities of their views about their future are starkly differentiated not only by their personal characteristics as individuals but also by the particularities of social and economic relations that each find themselves enmeshed in.

Case Study #15: Kenneth and Irma, Ryan, Angela and Lily

Kenneth is young man in his early twenties, the son of a Wampar man and an Adzera woman. He is the oldest of three brothers and sees himself as the future leader of his lineage. Irma is a teenager and the youngest daughter of a Wampar couple with four children. Kenneth and Irma's fathers are brothers, and both are the main spokespersons for a lineage with considerable landholdings.

Ryan, Angela and Lily are siblings, and the children of a Wampar woman who married a man from Bougainville, who died only a few years ago. While Ryan had dropped out of secondary school after the first year, his two sisters Angela and Lily are still in primary school. Their Wampar mother's lineage is in the same *sagaseg* as Kenneth's and Irma's fathers' lineage and similarly has a large piece of land. Ryan's MFF and Kenneth's and Irma's FFF are brothers. This makes Ryan and his sisters, and Kenneth and Irma closely related in Wampar terms.

While their respective Wampar lineages look after their immediate concerns regarding the distribution of land within the lineage, they also work together as larger corporate group when being confronted with land disputes by other Wampar groups from other *sagaseg*. They also undertake other common efforts, for example the propagation and distribution of cacao seedlings, which are relatively hard to access in Dzifasing. Kenneth's father has established a considerably large nursery for cacao seedlings. Kenneth and one of his younger brothers have already planted their own cacao orchards before 2007 and the end of the buai economy, as has Irma’s brother. Ryan, even though he has a non-Wampar father, has also been allocated some land by his MB, and thus been given similar rights to Kenneth and his brothers. He has just recently received some cacao seedlings and planted them on this piece of land. Irma, however, as a woman, was not given any land to plant permanent crops, and her two older sisters also can only use the lineage land for subsistence gardens and non-permanent crops, like peanuts or watermelon.

Kenneth, in comparison to his female cousin, Irma, has long dropped out of school and has since been focused on the economic production activities in his father's lineage and is keen on protecting their lineage land from being claimed by others. He is a first-born son in his father's lineage. Irma, meanwhile, is keen on staying in school as long as possible, which she admitted also depends on how she does in her academic performance. She said that she is not thinking of marriage yet, while Kenneth spoke of having girlfriends. Irma has an older sister whose relationships with men has been a source of tension within their lineage,

something that Irma would not want to happen in her case. Her sister has been involved with non-Wampar men which their Wampar brothers were all against. Marrying a *ngaeng yaner* is not encouraged by them. For Kenneth and his other brothers and male cousins who are considered Wampar, it is acceptable to marry a non-Wampar woman for as long as she is considered to be an ideal daughter- and sister-in-law, which means someone who is hardworking and looking after their in-laws.

Ryan, Kenneth's and Irma's cousin with non-Wampar father, was out of school in 2009, but he nevertheless wanted to pursue schooling as he personally wanted to get a skilled job. He said that after they no longer had *buai* to sell like they used to do, it is no longer easy to have a cash income. He has stopped schooling since he has been unable to completely pay his school fees. His mother, Priscilla, said that she hoped that Ryan would just be temporarily out of school. Ryan has only recently planted cacao, so there is no money to earn from it yet. Ryan is personally interested in learning skills in sound engineering as he is active in his church band. However, Ryan also knows that he needs first to raise enough money to afford his secondary schooling and to help pay the school fees for his younger siblings, Angela and Lily. Their difficulties since the death of their father was compounded by the end of the betelnut economy. While their mother's brothers have allocated land for them, for their subsistence and for him to plant cacao, Ryan is also pulled by the actions of his non-Wampar kin in Bougainville who wanted him to reside with them and to marry a local woman. This way, Ryan could be incorporated among them in Bougainville where land is passed on through the matriline. Just before Christmas in 2009, Ryan went to Bougainville at the bidding of his father's brothers. It was not the first time for Ryan to be in Bougainville. When his father was still alive, they used to spend some of their Christmas holidays there. They also continue to be in contact with two of his father's brothers even after the death of their father. One lives in Lae and the other has lived with them before in Dzifasing. Priscilla, Ryan's mother, said that he is only going to Bougainville just for the holiday and that he would come back as she explicitly told her in-laws that she wanted him back in Dzifasing. Priscilla's brothers are supportive of them. While she was glad for their support, she knew that she is dependent on them, and so are her children, in order to continue residing in Dzifasing. Ryan knew of his contested position among the Wampar even if he is being incorporated into his mother's lineage. One of them specifically expressed that since their lineage has enough land, his nephew could live with them, and that for Angela and Lily, he said that when their time for marriage comes, it would be good if they marry a Wampar so they could also continue staying in Dzifasing. Angela and Lily at their age were not thinking of marriage, as they appeared to be more interested in an imagined life of modernity, like becoming a professional, as a medical doctor or a teacher, to have a "nice" house like they see in magazines or in video films, to travel to "America," live in "big cities" and afford a lifestyle in such places.

As mentioned before, Angela's and Lily's views are not so different from many other younger school children who dream of becoming a successful professional, to travel, to live

in other countries where they imagine it to be better than where they are now, to have cars and big houses, and as expressed by a girl, to live a life different from their parents'. They imagined a village life with a "brighter future" than what they have been experiencing. I understood what they meant when they talked about wanting "greater change" in the village. For example, safe drinking water is hard to access for many people in Dzifasing. I have seen them several times fetching water from a considerable distance from their house, at times digging holes near the riverbanks, like other girls and women do. Fetching water is a female's task among the Wampar. However, despite how certain aspects of village life appear to be discouraging, some school children see village life as a better option than living in a city like Lae. This is especially expressed by both younger and older children in the primary and secondary grades who have experience living or spending considerable time in Lae with their kin. They said that life in Dzifasing is better since they do not have to depend on cash to get food since they have their gardens, and that they feel safer in the village than in the city.

Older children, especially those already in secondary school, have a more grounded outlook. They already have an understanding of land as a crucial resource that can define one's future, including being able to exploit the land for any business or cash-generating opportunity, or to continue to stay and reside among the Wampar without contestation. As discussed in chapters 4 and 5, to be incorporated into the Wampar kin-group is important for accessing land.

As shown in chapters 6, 7 and 8, children of non-Wampar fathers, who already understand their unstable situation, were negotiating their position by making use of their kin connections and the quality of relationship that they have with their transcultural kindred, with their namesakes, deploying knowledge of the vernacular, and tapping on their school experience. Among the older children, who already are in their secondary grades, I asked both the general question of what they hope for, and specific questions on what they would want to continue studying about, and what kind of occupation they like to achieve. What I noticed was how dreams are a function not only of gender but also of other linked social and economic relations.

The following are more examples of the differentiated perspectives in terms of education, career or work, engagement with the market economy, residency and marriage. Through these additional examples, I show the specificities of a son and daughter, whether with Wampar or non-Wampar father, that shape the way plans and choices are being made. First, I describe two more cases of young men, one with non-Wampar father and another whose parents are both Wampar. I then describe the particular cases of other daughters both with non-Wampar and Wampar father. In the case of the young men, I introduce Robert who like Ryan is well-connected with his non-Wampar kin. However, Robert has not been allocated land by his mother's lineage for him to plant cacao unlike in Ryan's case. I

also describe Robert's situation in comparison to his younger siblings. I then contrast Robert's case with Samuel who like Kenneth has uncontested rights in Dzifasing.

9.1 Young men's plans and privileges

Robert (Case study #16), an eldest son who has a non-Wampar father, expressed his intention to establish his future life outside of Dzifasing.

Case study #16: Robert

Robert is often referred to in his family as a young man who is occupied with school life. He is only seen around the village during school holidays as he usually stays in a dormitory within the prestigious National high school compound a few miles away from Dzifasing. Harry and Lani, Robert's younger siblings are still in their primary grades. Their non-Wampar father, Nestor, and Wampar mother, Helen, said that they are mainly responsible for their children's school fees.

Helen said that none of her Wampar kin help them out to raise money for their children's school fees. She said that everyone is just looking out for their own. She used the word "selfish" in explaining the reason for lack of support. She compared the situation at Nestor's village where she said that, in contrast to Dzifasing, people are not hiding things, and everyone gets to eat at every house.

Nestor and Helen met in Madang, close to where Nestor was from, in 1986. It was during the high time of *buai*. Helen used to have several *buai* gardens of her own and would bring some sacks of *buai* to sell there. When her father learned of her relationship with Nestor, he disapproved and hit her as a punishment. She then ran away to stay with Nestor in Madang, and later also in his village, and only came back to Dzifasing in 1992 as a married woman, Nestor following soon after. After all their children were born, Nestor and his kin fulfilled their duty for the bridewealth exchange, preparing food and the demanded amount of money. Nestor said that since he already paid the bridewealth, he could actually take everyone back with him to his place of origin, but it was Helen who wanted that they stay in Dzifasing. Helen said that she wanted to be close to her aging parents. Helen is the second of the two elder sisters in their family of nine surviving siblings. The first sister is residing with her Wampar husband from another village.

Robert is in the last year of secondary school. He has spent his growing up years both in his father's place in Madang and in his mother's place among the Wampar in Dzifasing. He was sent to his father's place to do some of his primary and secondary school education because his parents thought that he would do better there in focusing on his studies. They wanted him away from what they considered the bad influence of other Dzifasing youth who do not finish school. Robert acknowledged that his stay at his father's place made a difference in his schooling experience. He said that his kin there were an important disciplining factor as they watched over him to stay focused on his studies.

Robert elaborated on his plans after he finishes Grade 12:

> *Mi putim business. First choice blo mi, mi putim lo POM Business College. Second em lo, Kokopo Business College in Rabaul. Third, em Goroka Business College. … Mi laikim business olsem, na mi putim. . . . Lo ples bilong papa bilong mi i gat ol liklik ol business. Daddy ol wok lo mekim ol corporation nabaut. … Ol bayim copra. Bihain mi go long College, wanem ya nau, accounting o kain olsem, bai mi go long femili bisness. Mipela ol family tasol. Olsem klen. . . . Hia* [in Dzifasing] *no gat chance lo wokim disla. Planti ol kros, pul-ap nau, kros pasin nau. Olsem. Yea, ol femili, said blo graun tu, disla kain. Tasol na mi go bek lo hap* [his father's place].
>
> I selected business. My first choice is to go to Port Moresby Business College. My second choice is to go to Kokopo Business College in Rabaul. Third is Goroka Business Collage. … I like business, so that's what I selected. … At my father's place, there are those small businesses. My father and uncles are putting together a corporation. … They are buying copra. After I go to college to study accounting, I will join this family business. It is a family business of our clan. … Here in Dzifasing, there would be no chance to do this. There are too many disputes, too many. Like that. Yes, within the family about land, this kind of dispute. But I will go back to my father's place.

He recently completed the Grade 12 exams and started applying to business schools and colleges in Port Moresby, Kokopo and Goroka for a two-year diploma in business administration. He said that after this, he would also have a prospect of continuing on to university in Port Moresby to get a bachelor's degree in Business management. He wants to work as an accountant for his paternal family's copra harvesting and trading business in his father's place of origin. His father's brother already works in a copra company, and he has been influential in shaping Robert's aspirations. He looks up to him as a model to build his future career on in business.

Robert, who identifies himself as being Wampar, would nevertheless choose to move to his father's place of origin. This is how Robert imagined his future. He said that there are better prospects for doing business at his father's place of origin than in Dzifasing, because he has land rights there through his father. In Dzifasing, in contrast, he is aware that there are too many conflicts about land, and he knows he is in a disadvantaged position, as he cannot assert any land rights through his mother. Robert's desire to return to his father's place is also based on his knowledge that he is the oldest and genealogically most senior of his agnatic male cousins, and he believes that he would therefore be able to assume a position of leadership in his father's kin group. He said that being the oldest and first-born male child in his father's lineage, he could become the "big man" if he stays there.

The desire to do well in school and make a life in his father's place of origin is supported by the rule of inheritance in his father's place of origin, which negates his exclusion from inheriting land in Dzifasing. For Robert, being able to access land makes it viable for him to

engage in agricultural business. This possibility is strengthened by the kin support that he gets from his father's place of origin. His experience of having spent more than half of his 12 years of schooling in his father's place of origin also renders the idea of moving there attractive. However, it is not an idea that appeals to his younger brother.

Harry, Robert's younger brother, took a different path. He had been out of school for a year and had not finished his 8th grade. Unlike his elder brother, he attended all of his elementary and primary grades in Dzifasing. His parents wanted him to continue his schooling, but not in Dzifasing. Harry, though, said that he does not want to move to his father's place of origin for he is not interested in going back to school. Both his mother and father thought that he is being influenced by his Dzifasing friends who are uninterested in school. Harry, in contrast to Robert, discounted his parents' wish as he preferred to follow the example of the Wampar husband of one of his mother's sisters whom he called ***abanq*** (my father). This man wanted Harry to work with him on a cattle farm belonging to an affluent businessman of mixed descent whose mother is Wampar. Harry told his parents that he wants to work as a cowboy and that he was told that the farm owner will send him to Australia to train as a cowboy. Harry's mother believed that the influence of his MZH has confused her son. She thought that he is being misled, but one of her sisters disagreed with her and said that Harry's actions reflect his own personal desire and choices.

While Harry, as a son, would normatively also have land rights at his father's place, he does not enjoy a position as Robert's who can claim and represent himself as a "first-born" male in his father's lineage. In addition, Harry spent most of his time growing up in Dzifasing and not in his father's place of origin, which has also shaped his perspective on his future. The close friendship of his MZH who encourages him to stay in Dzifasing and work as a cowboy, leads him to prefer to take this opportunity rather than move to his father's place of origin. Harry's affective ties among his Wampar kin is stronger than with his non-Wampar kin. Meanwhile, his parents were very concerned about Harry's inclination to discontinue school, for he has no land rights in Dzifasing. They hoped that he will eventually come to his senses and move to his father's place of origin to continue his schooling. Robert meanwhile is confident that once he has moved to Madang, Harry would eventually follow him there. Robert speaks of this eventuality as an elder brother who draws on the culturally enabling position as a "first-born" male among his father's kin who would carry on social responsibilities over land and land-based projects, and as someone who could also look after his younger siblings. Robert, unlike Harry, is also able to draw on his closer ties to their father's kin which helps facilitate his idea of moving and making a living in their father's place of origin appealing. Such affective connection is missing in Harry's case.

Their non-Wampar father said that his efforts to persuade all his children to do their studies at his place of origin was not only for him to feel confident that they would be able do better in school there but also because he wanted to avoid problems not only for himself but also for his children. Being aware of his position among the Wampar, he has always

maintained active ties with his place of origin and has done so energetically since the demise of the betelnut economy. Thus, he was acting to secure the continuity of his land claims in his place of origin, as he does not want his children to have an uncertain future. He said that he would not want to appear as someone who is competing for the land resource in the Wampar territory.

For Samuel (Case study #17) whose parents are both Wampar, the motivation to pursue higher education is for him to become a lawyer to protect his lineage's land from claims by other lineages and to keep the non-Wampar from settling in Dzifasing. Samuel is in his 11th Grade and like Robert, also is an eldest son.

> *Future bilong mi yet, mi laik kamap lawyer. Olsem, nau olsem mi lukim tumas stat long klemim ol graun bilong narapela man nating nating. . . . Olsem mi laik kamap lawyer, olsem mi bai defendim graun bilong mipela yet. Tu, long community, ol outsiders ol stat long klemim ol graun insait long Dzifasing, o long Wampar area. O baim ol graun bilong hia. Olsem, mi bai rausim ol go long kot ples i go. . . . Na, ol Dzifasing tasol bai stap. . . . Mi laik rausim ol, nau olsem graun em i stat long pul-ap. Ol kain kain man kam na olsem pasin, ol go mekim kain kain pasin nabaut. . . . Planti i stap. . . . Ngaeng yaner, pul-ap. Pul-ap.*
>
> For my future, I want to become a lawyer. Today I see that too many people start to unjustifiably claim someone else's land. . . . This is why I like to become a lawyer so I can defend our own land. Also in the community, outsiders start to claim land in Dzifasing, or in the Wampar area. Or they buy land here. So, I will send them to court to chase them away. . . . And only the Dzifasing people will stay. . . . I like to chase them all away, as the land [here] has started to be filled [with people]. All kinds of people come with their different ways of life, and they misbehave. . . . Many of them are here. . . . [The place is] full of ngaeng yaner. It is so full of them.

Case study #17: Samuel and Randy

Samuel is the eldest son of Wilma and Nicholas, who are both Wampar. Samuel visits a boarding high school in Lae, and is currently in 11th grade, preparing to study law after graduation from high school. Nicholas's father was a teacher in a bible school. Nicholas and Wilma take pride in their hard work in sending their children to school. Except for their eldest daughter, all the rest are still in school. They said that they push them all to stay in school. Their adopted daughter, Beatrice, had reached the university level at Lae Technical University before she got married in early 2009, to a Malaysian man. She has since moved with him to Australia.

Wilma reached 6th grade while Nicholas only went to school up to 3rd grade. He said that it was still during the "Australian time" when he went to school. Nicholas is the eldest son in his father's lineage. His three younger siblings, two brothers and a sister, from his father's first marriage all died at birth. His mother died while giving birth to his last sibling. His father remarried and now he has four half-siblings, two of them sons who are much younger than

him. Samuel as his first-born son thus directly follows Nicholas in the line of leadership in their lineage.

Nicholas and Wilma also look after Randy, an unrelated young man from the Wantoat region in the Finisterre Range of Morobe Province. His father left Randy in the care of Nicholas and Wilma, so he could go to primary school in Dzifasing. He is currently in Grade 10 of a boarding high school outside of Lae, but on school holidays, he visits his foster parents Nicholas and Wilma. Randy said that his father is protecting him from sorcery that has already killed his other siblings and more recently his mother. He said that people in his home village in the mountains were after their land. Randy's father supports his school needs, but he also receives some pocket money from Nicholas and Wilma. Randy also helps in the garden work, including in the cacao orchard. He said that he does it voluntarily as he is not forced by any of them.

Robert's and Samuel's narratives refer to the same conditions at work in Dzifasing today: the increase in non-Wampar residents and its threat to the Wampar economic future, and a proliferation of land conflicts. As disputes over land are complicated by current socioeconomic conditions, Samuel's aspiration draws on the Wampar cultural norm and stresses the exclusionary discourse against the *yaner*. Samuel as the son of a Wampar man has land rights in Dzifasing, which he intends to defend. In contrast, Robert has no land to speak of in Dzifasing. Robert is aware of his unstable situation among the Wampar with contested land rights. For his future, he depends on land rights at his father's place of origin, not in Dzifasing. He plans to move away from Dzifasing, where he said it would be difficult for him to pursue his dreams. He said that even if there were land disputes at his father's place of origin, he would be more confident about his and his father’s land rights there. Samuel and Robert share the commonality of both being sons and the eldest in their respective father's lineage. Their similar capacity to claiming land rights is shaped by the construction of rights by descent which is attached to gender and birth order. However, their differentiated constraints are also based on descent linked to ethnicity. It is an articulated differentiation informed by the changing socio-economic conditions, whereby the rule on inheritance of land that passes through sons via patrifiliation is emphasized along with an ethnic identification process in the organization of social relations. Samuel and Robert both see their education as their path to achieving their respective dream occupation, as lawyer and businessman, anchored in a future secured with having land and an undisputed access to it.

As disputes over land are complicated with the current socioeconomic conditions, Samuel forms his aspiration by drawing on the Wampar cultural rule on land inheritance and stresses the exclusionary discourse that paints the *yaner* as economic competitors and thus a threat for the present and next generations of Wampar. His Wampar parents take pride in supporting all their children, including their fostered and adopted children who are non-Wampar, but whom they have incorporated as members of their household. One of them is

Randy, a young man who is also in his secondary grades. Randy comes from a remote part of the Finisterre Range, from a family with a lot of land. While he is a *yaner*, he is practically treated as part of the family, like a younger brother of Samuel. He is not among those *yaner* that Samuel is directing his contempt at. Nicholas and Wilma said that Randy can stay with them for as long as he likes. Randy feels that he could always stay in Dzifasing with them. He said that even if he is aware that the Wampar are against the *yaner*, he is not bothered by this, for he has his own dreams of getting a degree in the natural sciences where he said he is doing very well. It is part of his dream to be able to go back and work at his father's place, where he said they have enough land. As far as supporting the schooling costs for Samuel and all their other children, Nicholas and Wilma said that they have managed to do so both during and after the betelnut economy. It helps that they are able to access land for subsistence and cash crop production not only from Nicholas's lineage but also from Wilma's. Randy is clearly not a *yaner* who is considered a threat by Samuel's lineage. His social and economic background, that of having land at his father's place, his educational status, and agreeable comportment, all make a difference on how he is treated in Samuel's lineage. He is not an economic burden but a potential supporter to their own projects.

While Harry is being induced to drop out of school by a Wampar relative and work as a cowboy, his possibility to move beyond that status is narrow compared to sons with land rights. I know of two other young Wampar, who are keen on pursuing studies in animal husbandry, in order to operate and manage cattle farms. They want to establish their own family-owned cattle farm. The aspirations of these two other young men reflect their access to a resource Harry does not have. Samuel's dream of becoming a lawyer reflects the politics of exclusion in the new socioeconomic context of relations. Being male and having land rights among the Wampar can significantly shape a future outlook that is oriented towards enhancing what material resources they already have in Dzifasing.

For sons with a non-Wampar father, like Robert, access to land through their father at their father’s place of origin might be a better option. This option is not necessarily realistic, however, if the conditions of the place of origin of the non-Wampar father do not offer any better alternatives, if the father does not have any land rights (due to him coming from a matrilineal society), or when connections with kin are not actively maintained. An example is Greg (Case study #6) who has not been at this father's place and hardly knows his father's kin, for his father has not gone back to the place for a long time for pragmatic reasons.

Access to land through the Wampar mother might nevertheless be a potentially enabling factor for drafting their future, as it would make it possible for them to at least reside in Dzifasing. However, the general exclusionary discourses and specific practices, such as the prohibition on the planting of cacao, affect the future outlook for sons with a non-Wampar father. In the case of Robert's family, they might have access to land for subsistence and non-permanent cash crops, but planting cacao is a lot more serious matter. They did not plant cacao in order to avoid problems with their Wampar kin. They said that they will only

plant once they are told or allowed to do so. Their situation stands in stark contrast with that of another family headed by a non-Wampar man, whose sons are able to plant cacao in Dzifasing. This is the case of Greg, who intends to continue his studies and make it his pathway to achieving a secure future.

Greg aspires to achieve a tertiary degree and a professional career. He wants to attend an agricultural university where he can specialize in farming. His father is also an agricultural professional by training who once worked at the government's department of agriculture and livestock at Erap station, which brought him to the Markham Valley, where he eventually met Greg's mother. For Greg, becoming an agricultural professional makes sense in a place like the Markham Valley. This way he could also support the family agricultural projects in Dzifasing. Once he finishes the four-year degree at the agricultural university in Rabaul, where he hopes to be accepted, he intends to go back to Dzifasing. He would then later consider going somewhere else, wherever his job might take him if the opportunity presents itself.

Greg has started planting cacao on the land of his Wampar mother's lineage, together with his non-Wampar father. As described in chapter 5, Greg's mother's brothers allocated them land to plant cacao. Greg and his siblings as well as their non-Wampar father have a good relationship with his mother's kin, especially her brothers who are the lineage leaders. In the beginning of Greg's mother's marriage to his non-Wampar father, Greg's uncles deliberated on bridewealth, but they eventually did not ask for it and no longer bother bringing up the matter with him because they said he is a good man. He has not kept an active connection with his place of origin. He said that he decided to stay permanently in Dzifasing for the sake of the children who can get a better education where they are now than at his place of origin.

In the examples above, young men's access to land, whether in Dzifasing or at the non-Wampar father's place of origin, frame the possibilities for pursuing professional careers as lawyers, ranchers or farmers. The case of Samuel's aspiration directly relates to securing land from being appropriated by the *yaner* or by Wampar households making claims on other's lineage's land. A career as a lawyer entails staying in the city, such as in Lae or in Port Moresby, where the judicial courts are. In the case of Robert, the aspiration is directly connected to the place, where the access to land is possible. For sons with uncontested rights, a common form of engagement in the capitalist market economy is through cattle or cacao farming, and other cash crops. The envisioned goal is to reach an executive level of leadership, such as becoming a manager and not just to be a farm worker or smallholder. It is not only a prestigious position but also associated with a salary and thus a higher income. Such aspired roles go in line with having control and decision-making power over the use of land, access to cash and the distribution of earnings or profits. As lawyers, farm managers and other professional careers, they hope to generate a cash income, or "*wok mani*", that is through possibly being employed by the state or private companies. These forms of career

choices can thus further facilitate the socioeconomic mobility of men, including travels around Papua New Guinea and abroad such as in Australia. In the case of Harry, the younger brother of Robert, the lure of being sent to Australia to be trained as a "cowboy" leads him to want to stay in Dzifasing, where he could be employed at one of the cattle farms there. Among other possible privileges that are enabled with broader socioeconomic mobility for men is the meeting of young women and possible marriage partners from different places. The young generation of Wampar men today expresses an inclination not to marry a Wampar woman. These young men say that today's young Wampar women are "*bikhet*" (stubborn). What differentiates young men from women aside from matters of future career plans are the possibilities and limits on the choice of a marriage partner. I will describe this below.

9.2 Young women's choices and restrictions

This next set of examples are young women whose future by being female is not in the same way tied to the same question of land rights as the young men. The trajectory of their future is more "grounded" on marriage than inheriting land. While children of non-Wampar men are by default discursively excluded from gaining full rights to land, daughters become a threat when they choose to marry a non-Wampar. Against this backdrop, children of non-Wampar men shape their future based on possibilities within their capabilities. They evaluate their choices and their capacity through their specific sociocultural context of opportunities and constraints that they negotiate.

Robert and Harry have a sister, Lani, who is in her early teens. Both know that their parents plan to send Lani to their father's place of origin for her to continue school there. Lani, like Harry, has grown up and been attending school in Dzifasing. She is in the lower primary grade but has stopped for the rest of the school year during my fieldwork. She said that she will continue her schooling at her father's place of origin, which is in accordance with her parents' plans. For the moment, Lani spends most of her time with her mother, helping her work in the garden and in selling goods at *Danke* Market in the village. When I asked Robert for his views on Lani's future, he said that where she lives would depend on whom she marries.

Marriage decisions and choices for young women are similarly conditioned by the current socioeconomic context of relations. Among the important conditions that young women weigh upon is their sense of freedom, and of having control over their decisions when to marry, their choice of marriage partner, and the place of residence, that do not necessarily inhibit them from pursuing a career. Their aspirations and plans are simultaneously informed by constraints and yet also by the possibilities to overcome limiting conditions. A main pathway is to pursue higher education, a professional career and a job. The possibilities for daughters, however, whether in career or marriage and place of residence,

are still limited compared to their brothers. Young women's choices are being restricted by virtue of their gender, regardless of birth order. Their choices and plans become further complicated when there are competing interests not just among their Wampar relatives but also with the non-Wampar side of their kin relations.

Frani (Case study #8), a daughter whose aspirations are shaped by the different interests of her Wampar and non-Wampar kindred is such a case, as she is caught in a tug-of-war between competing interests of her different kin network. Frani is halfway through the four years of secondary schooling. She aspires to reach higher education to have a professional career. She sees herself as having two options for the future. Her first choice is to be an accountant. Her second option is to be a teacher.

> *Ambition bilong mi olsem, mi sai gat tupela op. . . . Olsem bilong first op blo mi, mi laik olsem mi mas kamap accountant. Na second, olsem second op blo mi, sapos course bilong mi long go long accountant i no go gut, bai mi kamap tisa, olsem praimeri tisa.*
>
> My ambition is like that, I have two options. . . . So, my first option is that I become an accountant. And my second option, if my course to go towards an accountant does not go well, I will become a teacher, like a primary school teacher.

Her first option would mean that she will have to move out of Dzifasing and join her paternal kin in Port Moresby (POM), in the capital city of Papua New Guinea. Frani acknowledged that this option attracts her as she said that her paternal grandfather, Jackson, told her that she would have a good future if she joined him in POM. He is working in a technical school in POM, but Frani said that he has land nearby, so that the idea of running a family business together with him is a prospect. It was him who encouraged her to study as an accountant. He has started sending money for her school fees for her secondary school in Lae.

Jackson never lived in Dzifasing. He met Frani's paternal grandmother while he was working on the road construction of the Highlands Highway in Morobe Province, in the early 1970s. He left soon after his job was done and he eventually married another woman, a Bukawa (from the Huon Gulf coast) who moved with him to Port Moresby. Frani's paternal Wampar grandmother who gave birth to Frani's father, Romeo, later married another non-Wampar man and continued to reside in Dzifasing. When Frani's mother, Mila, married Romeo, the parents were unhappy. They said that he was taking drugs. When Mila gave birth to Frani, she observed the Wampar practice of moving into her parent's household. When she went back to her household with Romeo, it was when she said that she became convinced that it was not a good marriage. Mila said that Romeo is mentally ill because of a drug addiction; that he was smoking marijuana from the highlands sold at the 40 Mile market.

> *Mi stap, mi gat bel Frani, mi stap i go, mi karim nau, mi kam stap wantaim parents bilong mi. Mipela sa stap bihainim kastom ya. Nine months, o ten, eleven months.*

Okay, ol salim mi go bek. … Mi go stap tri wiks o fo wiks nabaut. Tasol tingting bilong en i no gutpela long lukautim mipela. Em wok long kros pait. Em sa pait long mi. Sampela taim em bai kisim sap samting nau na putim long nek bilong mi. Naif o sap waia. Na mi skelim dispela, em tripela taim. Nau mi lusim em nau na mi ranawe na stap wantaim perents bilong mi long maus Watut. Bihain mi kam bek, mi sa tingim em i stap orait nau. Nogat. Mi kam, ol samting bilong mi i stap long haus ya, ol em bagarapim ol. Em kaikai buai, spetim ol klos bilong mi, na em smuk, em i wokim hul long samting bilong mi. Na mi kam lukim ol samting bilong me baragap nau, mi lusim em nau.

I was pregnant with Frani, and then I gave birth, then I came and stayed with my parents. We followed the custom. Nine months, or ten, eleven months. Then they send me back. . . . I stayed about 3 or 4 weeks [with him]. But his thoughts were not about looking after us well. He was arguing with me, hitting me. Sometimes he would get something sharp and put it on my neck. A knife or a sharp wire. And I thought this over, and he did it three times. Then I left him and ran away and stayed with my parents at the Watut junction. Afterwards, I went back, because I thought he would be all right again. But no. I came, and all my things that I left in the house were ruined. He was spitting buai on all my clothes and he smoked and burnt holes in them with his cigarettes. And when I saw that all my things were ruined, I left him for good after that.

After she left him, Mila moved back into her parents' household. They were then staying at their garden house in the settlement at the confluence of the Markham and Watut rivers. She did not stay for a long time. Her parents looked after Frani. Staying in this settlement area limited her social contacts with other people in Dzifasing. She stayed with her mother's sister who was married to a local Wampar man. They live in the main village of Dzifasing, close to the highway. She soon remarried and this time to a local Wampar man. She has two children with him, a son and a daughter. However, he got sick and was diagnosed with TB of the bone. He did not live long. She has not remarried again and has rejoined the household of her parents.

Frani was already attending the secondary school when she met Jackson, her paternal grandfather. That was when he came to Lae to visit his first-born daughter from his Bukawa wife who was working there as a secondary school teacher. Since then, Jackson started supporting Frani’s schooling by sending money for her tuition fees. Frani also met this daughter in Lae, who then in turn stressed her other side of relatives. Frani said that she started calling her "auntie" and her three children cousins. This sudden reconnection to Frani’s paternal kin has kindled in her the idea of going to Port Moresby to join her paternal grandfather and his kin and to study to become an accountant.

Frani's maternal grandparents, Simeon and Rina, are adamantly opposed to this plan of hers. They insist that Frani should stay with them in Dzifasing because they are the ones who nurtured her. Rina, her maternal grandmother, explained how the idea of taking Frani away from them has completely surprised them. "*Dispela tok, em kirapim mipela nogut*."

They are skeptical about the real reason behind what they see as a sudden and keen interest in Frani, now that she is a young woman of marriageable age. They think that it is not unlikely that Jackson just wanted to marry her off in Port Moresby, and collect the bridewealth. They are all aware of stories of bridewealth starting at no less than 20,000 Kina around Port Moresby, and that it can go much higher.

Rina in particular demands that should Jackson and Frani's Papuan kin persist in taking her with them, they should give her their kind of bridewealth amount in advance. She also noted down the amount of money that Jackson has been sending for the payment of Frani's school fees. She said this way she could reimburse them should they want the money back. The only way that she and her husband would allow Frani to go to Port Moresby is when Frani gets to be accepted at a university or college there. *"Mipela i tok, sapos, em i winim skul na skul i salim em, gavman i salim, i go long hand bilong hap nau, em bai inap. Em bai i go. Na long tumbuna i kisim, em bai nogat."* (We said, that if she excels in school, and the school sends her, the government sends her, to go to this place there, that would be okay. She will go. But that the grandfather will get her, that won't be.)

Rina and Simeon are suspicious that Jackson is only luring Frani to Port Moresby to keep her there. They are afraid that they would lose contact with her and not know of her whereabouts. They are not allowing her to go to Port Moresby even for a short time, like during school breaks or holidays. Rina and Simeon had both been to Port Moresby selling *buai* and know that it is a big city. They said, "*No gut na ol giaman na kisim olgeta na bikpela city tumas.*" (It would be bad if they lie, then get her altogether, as it is too big a city).

Frani's mother Mila meanwhile has an opposing view and would like to see her move to Port Moresby. She is upset that her parents are preventing Frani from going to Port Moresby and pursuing an accounting job there. Mila said that if Frani is with her Papuan kin, this would make it easy for her daughter to get a job and help spare her from a life of hard work in the village. Mila would also be unburdened from having to contribute to school fees, not just for Frani, but also for her children from her second marriage, as Frani could then support them. She did not give up on Frani's possible future as an accountant.

> *Em Grade 10. Mi wok long toktok strong long em, em mas skul strong. Mi laikim em mas mekim sampela olsem bikpela wok. Wok mani o disla kain. Mi les long en kam stap lo ples na mekim ol kain hatwok blo ples. Olsem na olgeta taim, mi sai toktok strong long em, "Mi laikim yu mas wok strong, skul strong na yu bai mekim sampela bikpela wok." Tingting blo mi, mi laikim em mas kamap wanpela accounting, disla kain. Em sai wanpela isipla wok tru, said blo kisim mani.*
>
> She is now in Grade 10. I keep insisting and telling her that she must do well in school. I like her to have a good job. A salaried job, or so. I don't want her to just come stay here in the village and do all kinds of hard work. This is why I tell her insistently every time, "I want you to work hard, do well in school, so you will get a

good job." My thoughts are that I like her to become an accountant, or something like this. It is an easy work in terms of earning money.

Frani keeps both options open depending on possibilities and outcomes of her grades and her negotiations with both maternal and paternal kindred. It becomes clear that her first option is being made possible yet also constrained by the interests of her competing kindred. Frani is aware of the tensions between members of her maternal kin in Dzifasing regarding the first option. Amidst these contrasting views from her maternal kin, Frani qualified the possibility of her first option based on her assessment of her academic performance and what her Papuan paternal grandfather offered her. Her second option is a backup should she be unable to pursue an accounting career. The second option is to become a schoolteacher and teach in Dzifasing.

> *Sait bilong mets, wok bilong mi em i gutpela. Mi yet lukim, na tisa tok mi gutpela liklik long mets. Mi mas putim course bilong mi i go long accountant, bikos accountant ol sa dil wantaim mets. … Mi no inap stap long Morobe, mi laik mi mas go long narapela provins na wok. Mi sa laik go long Mosbi. Mi laik kamap wanpela acountent long benk. Mi mas go long Mosbi bikos ol lain long daddy planti wok long hap. Jackson tu, em sa gat graoun long hap, long Papua. Em yet sa tokim mi mi mas skul strong. Mi wok strong na mi wok long Mosbi, mi bai wokim sampela bisnis long ples we em i stap. Em i gat graun stap, na em laik wokim ol farms, o cattle range nabaut. Mi no go long Mosbi yet. Mi laik go long holide tasol na kam bek. Mi laik go but Simeon na Rina ol tok yu no inap go, yu stap liklik yet. Ol passim mi na mi stap. Ol tok mipela poret ya, nogut yu go na ol bai wokim warawara nabout na i no inap kam bek. … Sapos accountant i no wok, mi laik mi mas tis long ples bilong mi yet. Helpim komuniti bilong mi yet. Mi laik kamap tisa na stap long hia, bai mi givim ol advice long yupela mas skul strong.*
>
> Concerning math, my classes are fine. So, I see that, and the teacher told me I was quite good in math. That I must get a course in accounting, because accountants deal a lot with math.. . . I won't stay in Morobe, like to work in another province. I like to go to Port Moresby and become an accountant in a bank. I must go to Port Moresby because my father's relatives are there and many work there. My grandfather Jackson also has land there, in Papua. He has been encouraging me to excel in school. If I work hard and work in Port Moresby, I will do some kind of business in the place where he lives. He has land there, and he would like to make a farm or a cattle range. I did not go to Port Moresby yet. I wanted to just go there for the holidays and then return. I wanted to go but Simeon and Rina told me that I could not go, that I was still too young. They would not allow me, and I stayed. They said they are afraid that if I went, I might get ensorcelled and won't be able come back. . . . Should the option to be an accountant not work for me, I would want to teach at my place here. To help my own community. I would like to become a teacher here [in Dzifasing], so I can advise the kids here to keep going to school.

Her second option is not as controversial as the first. As Frani expressed her options, she did so in consideration of the contestations about her future and said that she will stay an obedient daughter. Preparing for a second option keeps her looking into the future should the first option fail. She weighed over her career and marriage options as they are connected with the conditions that come with the first option and the overall life situation in Dzifasing.

Frani's mother Mila also advised her regarding marriage which is connected with the idea of her possible move to Port Moresby.

> *Long marit laif bilong em, mi bin tokim em, mi tok, 'Asples, mi les yu maritim asples. Wampar mi les. Em bai yu hatwok tru lo mekim wok. Yu mas painim wanpela wok man. Em ol miks race man nabaut, o asples blo yu. Papua yet.' Disla. Long plen blo mi, sai plenim em, mi tok ol disla. Na lo marit nabaut, nogat. Buka, Tolai, o wanem hap, em mi les, mi tokim em olsem. Hailans, mi no klia. Hailans o sai dobel dobel na mi les. Nogut kisim narapela na em blong ol stap. Asples blo papa, em orait. Long braidprais blong ol, ol sa bayim bikpela moni. Mi bin lukim long niuspepa ya, sampela bayimi handred tausend, fifty, sixty tausend braidprais.*
>
> About her marriage life, I told her, 'I don't want you to marry somebody from here. I don't like Wampar. You will have a really hard life working. You must find a salaried worker. These are all mix-race men, or from your "*as ples*", from Papua. These.' About my plan, I plan this, I say all this. 'Not just to marry anyone. No. Buka, Tolai, or from elsewhere, I don't want it,' I told her. Highlanders, I am not sure. The Highlanders often marry several women, and I don't want that. It wouldn't be good if her husband gets another one and she stays with them. From the place of her father, that would be okay. Their bridewealth amount is big. I saw in the newspapers some pay 100'000 Kina, or 50,000, 60'000 Kina bridewealth.

Although Frani said that marriage is still far from her mind, her preference for a marriage partner resonates with what her mother wants for her. She also reflects on it in relation to her life experience in Dzifasing, including the changing situation since the demise of *buai*.

> *Mi laikim ngaeng yaner. Mi no go long manki long as ples ngaeng yaner. Mama Mila tokim mi no ken bisi long asples nabout. 'Yu tu mas lukim ol man long wok bilong en, na wok strong i go na wok wantaim, bai isi long em tu lukautim femili bilong yu. Nau ya, em ol Wampar, sindaun bilong yumi no gutpela bikos buai i go na, sapos yu marit ol Wampar bai yu wokim planti wok tumas long lukautim femili bilong yu. Yu luk long ngaeng yaner na maret bai isi yupela long wok mani na lukaitim femili bilong yupela.' Mi no inap stap, mi les. Mi laikim ples bikos mi manki yet stap, na mi kam bikpela. Mi laikim ples bikos mi sa stap gut raun wantaim ol friends na olsem mi no sa painim ol sampela bagarap o kain olsem. Mi stap gut, kaikai gut, mi stap fri. Mi sa samting long laik bilong me. Bihain taim, buai tu em go pinis. My thoughts, future taim mi no inap stap lo hia, bai mi go lo narapela hap. … Mi luk olsem. Laif bilong ples hat tumas. Longpela taim buai i stap, em bin isi long kisim mani na lukautim ol femili. Nau em hat stret. Sampela painim hat stret. Ol pikinini bilong ol tu i no go long skul, kam bek na stap lo ples. Sait long kaikai tu i no gutpela tumas. Sampela ol sa laikim*

rais, na sampela ol plainim kokonas. Na planti liklik i gat isi bikos i go kisim, na maket na painim ol suga na disla. Na sampela we ol i go long buai tasol na buai bruk, na nogat kokonas, trangu long ol painim salt liklik.

I prefer a *ngaeng yaner*. But I will not go with a *ngaeng yaner* from Dzifasing. My mother Mila told me not to be interested with the local men. 'You must look at a man's work, and when he works hard, and works with you, then it will be easy for him to look after your family. Now, the life of us Wampar is no longer good, because the buai is gone, and if you marry a Wampar, you will end up doing a lot of hard work to look after your family. You look for a *ngaeng yaner*, and the marriage will be easy in terms of having a job and looking after your family.' I won't stay here [in Dzifasing]. I like the place since I grew up here. I like the place, because I could go around with my friends here, and I was never harmed. I lived well, I ate well, I was free. I could do whatever I wanted. But afterwards, the buai disappeared. My thoughts, in the future, I won't stay here, I will go elsewhere. . . . I see that the life in the village is too hard. For a long time when there was buai, it was easy to get money and look after the family. Now it is really hard. Some find it really hard. Their children no longer go to school and came back to the village. Regarding food too, it is not too good. Some like rice, and some planted coconuts. And quite a few have it easy, because they can get them, sell them and then buy sugar and other goods. But some only went into buai, and now that the buai is destroyed, they don't have any coconuts, and they are too poor to even get a little salt.

One thing that Frani's mother and grandparents agree on is on the choice of a marriage partner. They said that it is better for her to marry a man with a job, a man who is not from the village, not an "*as ples*" man. Her Wampar grandmother Rina explained that this is what she tells Frani,

Yu mas go skul strong i go na yu go wok pastaim. Yu wok mani pastaim na bihain yu lukim wanem man i wok, em bai yu marit. Yutupela i gat laik, em marit. Man i wok, yu wok. Em bai yutupela sindaun gut. Mani bai kamap olsem. . . . Mi les long rabis man, ol pipia lain long ples ya. Mi no laik as ples man. Ol i stap nating. Ol i no wok hat. Wan wan tasol. Sampela i go long haiskul, tasol i no wokim – go stap long ples.

You must excel in school and first get a job. First you get a job, and when you see a man that has a job, you can get married. If you like him, then marry him. The man has a job, you have a job. That way you two will have a good life. This will produce a lot of money. . . . I am tired of these rubbish men, these rubbish families from this place. I don't like the local men. They just stay without a job. They do not work hard. Only some. Some of them go to high school, but if it does not work out – they go and stay at the village.

While Frani's reckoning on what possible future she might be able to pursue is clearly influenced by constraints and opportunities from her competing kindred, I next show a case of another young woman who faces less pressure towards attaining her aspiration, including matters of marriage. This is Janna (Case study #1), also a daughter of a non-Wampar man. Apart from this commonality with Frani, her life situation and relationships with her

Wampar and non-Wampar kin network informs and orients her aspiration in ways that appear more realizable than it would be in comparison to Frani's.

Janna's Wampar mother, Ana, is keen on seeing all her children attain higher education. As a young girl, Ana wanted to go to school and attended the first elementary grade but was not able to finish or continue further. She is the first daughter to survive in a brood of 12 children. As the first surviving daughter in their household, she said that her father told her to help their mother at home and work in the garden instead of going to school. She and her non-Wampar husband, Eddie, share the same interest to put all their children through school. Eddie has finished Grade six in his place of origin in Madang. He has been working as a truck driver, first with his family-owned small trucking business and then as an employed driver for a private company catering to the mining companies in the highlands. He said that he preferred to have an employment rather than stay in the village, even at the height of the *buai* economy, so he can ensure that he can pay the school fees of all his children. For him it was not enough to rely solely on the selling of betelnut. Through his income from his job, he has also been able to reciprocate Ana's brothers who helped them raise enough money when one of Janna's older brothers entered the university. He finished a degree and had since been working in another province. Janna has an older sister, but she did not pursue higher education. She was in her secondary school when she decided to marry in secret. Ana wanted to fetch her and take her back to the village, but Eddie stopped her to let their daughter do as she wished. The man that their older daughter married is also from Madang, the same province from where Eddie comes from, but from a different community. Ana and Eddie were at least glad that both their daughter and her husband are working in the administration department of a major trading store chain in Lae. Janna is now the daughter who is continuing into higher education.

Janna is the only female among the four young people from Dzifasing who are in Grade 12. Robert and Samuel are two of the other three males who were in this grade in 2009. Janna aspires to be a politician. She specifically wanted to become a member of parliament (MP) to represent the Markham Valley. She said she is inspired by what she has seen in the career of an affinal kin from the nearby Adzera group who has been an MP for the neighboring district.[1] She is keen in pursuing this path as a female politician to be able to do something to improve the living conditions in the Huon Gulf District that encompasses Dzifasing. Specifically, she wants to make sure that there is an easy access to water supply. She grew up seeing girls and women having to rely on digging up a hole to collect water near a tributary that flows down to the Markham River. For their household, they have dug and maintained a well for their own use within their compound. The task of collecting water is left for girls and women to do. She also is concerned about domestic violence against women. She said that it is usual for men to physically abuse women. "*Em pasin bilong*

[1] There are nine districts in Morobe Province. Dzifasing is within the Huon Gulf District. Prior to 2009, the last election was in 2007.

Markham Valley." (It is a way of life in the Markham Valley). She is also concerned with what she considers as neglect about the teacher's living and working condition in Dzifasing, with teachers' houses and the school buildings rundown and unmaintained. Janna gave these social issues as examples of her concerns and thinks that by becoming an MP, she would be able to make changes and improvements. She is aware that the first female provincial government leader[2] was a Wampar. Janna feels that she would be as capable as any man to be in the race for a political office in the government.[3] Her desire to be a politician was not dampened by the news that she received from UPNG, that she had not been admitted in her first choice of subjects, political science, but only in her second choice, social work. She said that she will use the time to nevertheless prepare herself by eventually working and earning money until she gets a chance to join in the race for a political office in the country.

While Janna's parents are giving her freedom to choose what she aspires for, her Wampar mother Ana said that having a lawyer in the family would be very helpful. Their Wampar lineage has been involved in a land dispute with another Wampar lineage, which costs them money in lawyer's fees. While Janna is not keen on becoming a lawyer, she agrees that it is a good idea. What matters most for Janna's parents is that she gets educated or "*i gat save*," have a commensurate job, and find a marriage partner of good character or with "*gutpela pasin*." While they said that it is up to Janna who she wants to marry, they remind her to choose a husband who would also have a good job and who does not beat his wife. They would prefer, if possible, that she marries someone who does not live far from them, so that should problems arise in their marriage, their daughter can quickly seek help from her kin.

For Janna marriage is still far from her mind as she is more focused on getting into university and to study to prepare herself to one day go into politics. Frani and Janna, who are both daughters with a non-Wampar father, are not so much differentiated from daughters with a Wampar father when it comes to cultural constructs and expectations on what is possible or considered best for them. Elissa's non-Wampar mother and Wampar father (Case study #3), for example, were also keen about supporting her and her other siblings to go to school. Elissa, Frani, and Janna are from the same generation of young women of ethnically mixed descent, as *miks meri.* For these parents, school education is important so that their children can attain a better life than what they have now. However, Elissa wanted more from her parents than just support for getting her through school. Elissa wanted to be treated as an "equal" in relation to her brothers. She knew that her brothers are the ones who will inherit the land rights from their father. She thought that a parcel of land should also be reserved

[2] Enny Moaitz is one of the few women in the male-dominated provincial assembly and the national parliament of Papua New Guinea. She was the Premier of Morobe Province between 1987-1991 (Worldwide Guide to Women in Leadership 2012).

[3] In the elections of 2012, only three women won a seat in the 111-seat parliament.

for her, as it would be for her brothers. She said that she has recently been bringing this issue up with her father now that she is a grown up. She said that she argues for her case as a first born, who should have the same rights as her younger brothers despite her being female. She also thought that her brothers receive more favors from their father than she, such as pocket money or gifts the boys asked for. The older of her two brothers is about to begin his secondary school, while the other is still in the primary school. In the end, her approach is to present herself as an elder and a first-born sibling regardless of her gender. However, she said that this is how she would be told of her place in their household, "*Yu mas save, yu em pikinini meri. Yu bai go out. Yu no inap i kam, bosim mipela lo hia*." (You should know that you are a daughter. You will leave us. You cannot take over our role to direct and control our lives here).

Elissa's parents view themselves as "modern" in the context of their Christian religious beliefs. While her father, Isaac, expressed a notion of treating women and daughters as "friends" and "companions," this does not go so far as to change the relations with land and the rule of inheritance. It remains clear that Elissa's brothers will stay in Dzifasing, to carry on their father's lineage rights and have control over land, while she moves out when she marries.

Having been presented with the constraints that she has to deal with, Elissa said that she started considering things, reached an understanding on why she as a daughter must move out upon marriage and what marriage partner she would like to have. She said that once she marries, it would indeed not be good when her husband would move in and stay with her and her brothers. She could foresee that this could create a conflict between her brothers and her husband. Thus, she accepts the principle that a daughter like her should move out upon marriage to join the household of the husband. This she understands as the way things are in Dzifasing now, but that at the same time she could not imagine seeing herself married to a Wampar from the village. She said,

> *Mi save i tingting, tingting i go, but sampela samting mi save i tingim, ol Markham [boi] hia, planti bilong ol i no gat gut education. Ol laif, bai wanem kain sindaun? Nau tasol mi mekim decision. Mi no inap marit long Markham. Mi bai marit outside. Mi tingim tasol.*
>
> I have been thinking a lot, but something I often think about is that the boys from the Markham [Valley] here, many of them do not have a good education. What kind of life would that be then? So, I just made a decision. I will not marry someone from the Markham [Valley]. I will marry someone from outside. These are just my thoughts.

Elissa aspires to becoming a doctor, as she reports, she is concerned with the poor health conditions that she sees around the valley. She thinks that this situation has a lot to do with poverty, that people don't have enough food. She said that this is why she thinks so many are stealing crops from other people's gardens nowadays. This situation, she said, makes her

even more convinced not to marry a local. For her it does not matter where the man is from as long as he has land of his own and can do something with his land, works hard, and has a good education. She would prefer a *wok man* (employed). He needs to respect his in-laws and welcome them to his house. Not the least, she said, it must be someone who will not marry several wives and who does not beat a woman (*paitim meri*). While she knows that polygamy is associated with men from the highlands, she said that it does not matter if the man she marries is from the highlands, as long as he is of good character.

Regarding marriage, both Elissa's parents said that they would only allow her to marry after she has completed her higher education and got a job. They said that they apply this condition to both their daughters and sons. They said that they tell them that they should all strive to get a job and earn money (*wok mani*) so that they would not see the insecurity of not having money at all times, such as when they no longer had *buai* to sell. They are very specific about not wanting a son- or daughter-in-law from the highlands. Elissa's father Isaac in particular spoke of the situation of two of his sisters who each married a man from the highlands. Both of his sisters eventually left their respective husbands and he had to deal with the problems, being the elder brother of them all. These sisters are now deceased. Isaac explained,

> *Mi klia pinis. Mipela kisim bikpela pen tru. Bikpela susa na narapela liklik susa ol i marit long hailans. Ol lain bilong mekim planti stilim pasin. Mi save, brukim ol bank na stilim mani. Brukim car long road. Mipela ol lain long hia, long Morobe, mipela i no inap dabolim meri. Hailans em ston het. Ol i no save long Bikpela tumas. Mi lukim ol hailans, maritim planti meri na kamapim ol pikinini nabout-nabout. Na mi tokim ol pikinini, nogat wanpela bai i go bek olsem long hailans. Yu go bek long hailans, yu lukim olsem han bilong mi kam inside na holim em.*
>
> This is clear to me. We suffered a lot. The older sister and a younger one both married a man from the highlands. They [the highlander] are notorious for stealing. I know, they break into banks and steal money. They do carjacking. We, who are from Morobe, we do not practice polygamy. The highlanders are stone heads [meaning: hardened in their ways and are unlikely to change]. They don't know much about God. I have seen the highlanders, how they marry many women and father many children here and there. And I told all the children, not one of you will go back to a highlander. If you go back to a highlander, you will see my hand will come and grip him.

On why he also does not approve of a daughter in-law from the highlands, he said that it is their undesirable way of life, which is in their blood ("*pasin stap long laif, blut bilong ol*"). He said that he is wary of the possibility that a woman from the highlands would just later leave the children with them to marry another man.

When it comes to career choice, Elissa's parents have a particular wish for each of their children. For Elissa, they want her to study business and for their eldest son, to be a lawyer. They said that it would be good to have a lawyer in their family considering their own

experience of having to settle land disputes in courts that costs them money. Their wish for their son to become a lawyer is also tied to the rule of inheritance, for their son, who together with his younger brother will carry on the rights to their lineage land in Dzifasing. As sons, Isaac said that they will stay in Dzifasing, whereas daughters once they marry are to move out and join their husband's household, wherever it may be. Meanwhile Isaac and Lucy envision Elissa supporting them in the management of whatever future business projects they would have on their land.

Elissa, as described above, has a different perspective in terms of her choice for a career. Eventually, what degree she might be able to pursue also depends on how she will do overall in secondary school and to what college or university she might get accepted once she achieves the qualifying grades. Like Janna above, who made the cut for university admission, the negotiations towards achieving their personal aspirations are also affected by the state's educational system and its capacity to absorb many applicants with qualifying grades. As Elissa's father said that he is intent on raising funds to get his children to reach higher education, he said that should Elissa fail the first time to get a qualifying grade to the university, he said that he would get her to take courses to raise her grades. At this point, it is more likely that Elissa might have to reconsider which career is more realizable for her and would most likely be supported by her father, which is to get her to pursue studies based on his own preference, business.

9.3 Conclusion

Aspirations, in the new context of socioeconomic conditions, are significantly shaped by how rights and access to land are being restricted with the changing patterns of land use and market engagement for cash income. It is in this new context of social relations and boundaries that the primacy of patrilineal descent in Dzifasing is emphasized. The effects of deploying the categories of gender and the ethnicity of the father in the exclusionary politics extend to how young people form their aspirations and their plans to achieve them. How they eventually make their choices is informed by the enabling or constraining conditions particular to their relationships among their Wampar and non-Wampar kin group. The influence of their transcultural kindred, particularly from the children's non-Wampar father and father's brothers where land is passed through the patriline, or the children's non-Wampar mother's brothers where land is passed through the matriline, is also crucial as they might offer opportunities for inheritance of land elsewhere. These conditions pertain to all the important choices that young people must face: the choice of which education and which career to pursue, where to live, and whom to marry if and when they marry. As children get older, they begin to be more aware of and relate with these constraints which differentiate their outlook and aspirations compared to the younger ones. It is thus only over time that a differentiation in this regard between children with a Wampar and a non-

Wampar father become evident. It is especially in the upper secondary school, when choices regarding education, marriage and residence are becoming more acute.

In terms of education, job and career, most parents and children favor law, business and modern agriculture. All these are highly desired to meet current and urgent issues, particularly land and economic security, but are also seen as guaranteeing a high income, and therefore access to consumer goods and a certain lifestyle. For the Wampar parents, they look forward to seeing highly skilled or educated children to help them out with current or new economic projects, such as with cattle or cacao farming and other forms of cash-generating business, and to provide for them in old age. Law is seen as an especially useful education, as quite a few lineages have been involved in the costly settlement of land boundary disputes, as households and lineages are fencing land or claiming areas as demand for land for cacao and cattle farming increases as described in chapter 5. Wampar sons, such as Samuel who is getting close to finishing his secondary school, are picking up the significance of studying to become a lawyer. Isaac, meanwhile, is pinning his hope on his first son to study well to enter the secondary school and later become a lawyer. Ana, Janna's mother, still wishes to have a lawyer in their family. The aspiration to become a lawyer is something I have not heard expressed by the relatively fewer young women who are in secondary school. They know that it is not them who will inherit and have control over land, unlike their brothers. Their immediate concern is to gain their own sense of "ownership" over their future, whether it is through marriage, work, or career.

Pursuing higher education and a career also delays marriage for women, whether she is a Wampar or a non-Wampar daughter. A daughter's choice to delay marriage by focusing on her studies and career plans, like Irma, Elissa, Frani, or Janna, affords her freedom to a certain extent for as long as she conforms to her parents' wishes. For daughters like Irma and Elissa, considering their father's or brother's wishes are strategic because their continued support could help them delay marriage. The labeling of Wampar women as "*bikhet*" is but the daughters' confidence of making it without a husband when they know they could depend on their brothers. The brother's support also extends to their sisters' children even if they are married to a non-Wampar, as in the case of Ryan's or Greg's mother. In Elissa's case, for example, for as long as she abides by her father's wishes, she could be guaranteed support from him and later by her brothers who need her skills for their business projects on their lineage land. As Isaac, Elissa's father, put it, the land will be passed on to his sons and they are the ones to stay in Dzifasing, on their lineage land, and they would need all the necessary skilled knowledge to productively use and defend it. However, for a son like Robert, who has no land rights in Dzifasing, his best shot in his view is to study business and pursue a project on his father's land or work elsewhere. The same is true for Frani, whose career prospect to become an accountant is pushed by her paternal grandfather for the possibility of supporting him in running a business on his land. Greg in his case knows that through his chosen career, he can lend valuable support to his mother's lineage's business projects. It is important to him to keep the good relationship that he has

established with them. Ryan is pulled by two competing interests by his Wampar and non-Wampar kin groups who were acting similarly towards his inclusion among them. Nevertheless, Ryan, like his mother, knows the importance of keeping good relations with his mother's brothers to enjoy the rights that they were extending him in Dzifasing. If he marries a woman from Bougainville, it would mean a choice to live away from his Wampar mother and relatives, but at a place where his incorporation would not be contested, just like how a non-Wampar woman marrying a Wampar man is getting incorporated into her husband's lineage.

Parents who support their children toward attaining higher education, see education and career as enabling pathways to overcoming current economic tensions, whether it is about securing land or about landlessness. Those children who do not have uncontested land rights in Dzifasing or whose lineage has little available land are in a much more precarious situation. They can either aspire for a salaried job that allows them to become independent of the need to make a living off the land, or go for an education that could benefit their land-owning lineage. Through enhancing their skills, some children of non-Wampar fathers hope that they will become an asset for their kin, facilitating incorporation into the Wampar lineage of their mother. Greg is planning to pursue an education as an agriculturalist that could potentially open up both options. Frani's second option as a primary school teacher and the dream of Janna to become a politician to improve services in the Markham valley are examples for the option to be of service to the community at large, also possibly ensuring their continued residence in Dzifasing. If the young men from interethnic marriages have an assurance to be able to generate a living at their non-Wampar parent's place of origin, they might reorient their life towards this place, like Robert. As the case of Harry shows, however, this is an option that does not appeal to everyone, as it would mean having to leave the place where they grew up and where not only their friends but also their much more immediate kin still live.

Another enabling factor besides the availability of land are connections to kin who have an important position or can offer assistance in the search for a career or job. These kin often become role models in the lives of the children. Robert is influenced and inspired by his paternal uncle who is a manager in a copra business, just as Harry looks up to his mother's sisters' husband and helps him on his cattle ranch. These relatives often actively invest in the education of their younger kin, and plan to use their skills and talents in their own endeavors, just as Jackson has plans for Frani and steers her towards accounting.

On marriage, for daughters like Frani, Janna, or Elissa, whose particular circumstances differ in terms of descent (having a Wampar father or not), the question of residence is tied to their choice of marriage partner, if and when they marry at all. For the parents, the basic concern for a daughter's well-being upon her marriage is that it is with a husband who would be able to take care of her and not hurt her. Parents generally prefer their daughters to marry someone from an easily accessible place not too far from Dzifasing, and definitely

not from the highlands with their associated undesirable way of life. Most of the daughters on the other hand do not want to marry someone from Dzifasing, and instead dream of marrying a *ngaeng yaner*, one with a steady job so that he could provide for the family, and ideally from an ethnic group that has a more equal take on gender relations. Some of the young women I spoke with positively commented on men from Milne Bay who help their women in everyday household chores like cooking or washing the plates. For those who are enabled with unconstrained opportunities or with gaining higher levels of education, there is a tendency to avoid a marriage with a local Wampar who is not well-educated. It is in a sense a declaration of their desire not to be hampered with emerging restrictive rules affecting them.

Parents and children might at times have different visions on what studies to pursue; they all nevertheless share a perspective that life has been more difficult since the end of the betelnut economy. It is a condition that makes them aspire to pursue a path towards realizing their shared or particular notions of a better life in the new context of socioeconomic relations. The notion and capacity to attain their aspirations in a post-betelnut economy is differentially conditioned by their particular relations informed by kinship, ethnicity, gender, birth order, their social network, and material resources in ways that can be more constraining or enabling for some than others. An individual's aspiration is not alone, isolated, or a given notion but is contextual and relational to many social, cultural and material conditions and processes. They are an expression of historically-informed ideas, such as from staying to be producers of betelnut to keeping or wanting more land now with the view on the specific advantage of having lawyers or business managers and accountants.

10. Conclusion

What then are the processes by which children in Dzifasing are socially differentiated, and how can anthropology account for the fact that cultural categories of differentiation have suddenly become a subject of further controversy straining social relationships that distinctively affect children of interethnic marriages? What drives people in Dzifasing to act in ways that include and exclude some children more than others? How are ideas on social differentiation shaping and being shaped by the organization, continuity, and transformation of social life? How do children negotiate the processes of differentiation and transformation?

In the inaugural Sydney W. Mintz lecture in 1992, Eric Wolf presented a categorical challenge to the use of what he refers to as "perilous ideas" – analytical concepts that today remain central and relevant in anthropological inquiry. He referred to ideas on "culture," "race," and "ethnicity" or simply "peoplehood." He made a defining distinction between approaches that clarify how and why such ideas and consequent situations arise and those that do not. On identifications and social relations, he commented,

> To quote an older anthropologist, "men make their own history, but they do not make it just as they please." There is too much talk about agency and resistance and too little attention to how groups mobilize, shape, and reshape cultural repertoires and are shaped by them in turn,- how groups shape and reshape their self-images to elicit participation and commitment and are themselves shaped by these representations; how groups mobilize and deploy resources but do not do this "just as they please," either in the course of mobilization or in the wake of the effects they so create. (Wolf 1994:6)

I decided to take up this call when I sought to explain the social transformations among the Wampar in Dzifasing. I centered my research on the children of interethnic marriages who are directly affected by the effects of the ongoing processes of transformation. I explored the processes of differentiation, the constraints, and possibilities for children whose diverse social backgrounds, relationships, and circumstances influence the outcomes of their negotiations for inclusion and integration. What I found in Dzifasing was that the current emphasis on patrilineal descent, foremost biologically-framed, arose out of the socio-demographic and economic pressures after the end of the local betelnut economy. I therefore deployed a Wolfian analytical approach in my ethnographic study to unravel the embeddedness of power in social relations and to show that the recent intensification of exclusionary politics is historically linked, not just with local processes, but also with the wider contexts of regional and global relations. Being aware of these linked processes of transformation, I then analyzed the cultural means and resources that the children employ to mobilize, shape and reshape their identifications and relationships as they position themselves in the changing social relations in Dzifasing.

In this conclusion, I will present my argument by first recapitulating the political and economic situation that has shaped social life in Dzifasing, and how recent changes therein have led to differentiations between the children of Dzifasing that engendered new practices of social inclusion and exclusion. I show that processes of inclusion and exclusion affect the children differently, based on the specific conditions pertaining to their Wampar lineage (availability of land, need for labor and additional male members for increased negotiating power, absence or presence of conflicts), the individual characteristics of the children (in terms of gender, ethnicity, birth order, education, skills), and the quality of relations they have with their Wampar and non-Wampar kin. I conclude by pointing out how a Wolfian approach on power can elucidate these processes.

10.1 Political and economic situation in Dzifasing

Social relations in Dzifasing are informed by the interplay of long-term local and global processes, as with the increasing interethnic marriages and the demographic weight of children, and short-term events, as with the betelnut blight and the turn to cacao and cattle farming. The Wampar in Dzifasing have experienced a long history of encompassment by outside forces that have significantly shaped their current social and economic conditions. The colonial and post-colonial states have rendered them first subjects and later citizens of a (nation-)state, the Lutheran missionaries have converted them to Christianity, and their means of livelihood are transforming with the integration into local and global markets. In these new economic and political contexts, social relations are also changing. However, the kin-ordered mode of production has persisted among the Wampar throughout their long history of contact and engagement with the capitalist mode of production, which has recently become even more pronounced after the end of the betelnut economy. Through the switch from betelnut to cacao and cattle, Wampar are directly getting tied to the vagaries of the world market for their cash income. At the same time, competition over land has become more pronounced. Kinship continues to play a pivotal role in the negotiations of social relations in the sense that access to means of production such as land is still regulated by membership in kin groups, social labor is still mostly mobilized along lines of kinship, and decisions regarding land use within these kin groups are taken by male lineage leaders.

Empirically, I examined the locations and pathways of power in multiple interconnected relations. There are hierarchies among the Wampar in the organization of social life, most visibly along the lines of gender and generation. There are also socioeconomic differences between lineages and households. The political authority within a lineage lies primarily in the hand of the male lineage leaders who have authority regarding the distribution and use of land, and the privileged position of effecting whether to meaningfully incorporate a child of a non-Wampar father into a lineage or not. In effect, they continue to assert their control over the productive and reproductive resources and potentials through deployment of cultural ideas on *pasin* or *kastom*, for example by referring to ancestral stories in justifying

land ownership and inheritance. The recognition and acknowledgment of the lineage leaders' power manifests also in the responses of the in-married non-Wampar fathers and their sons and daughters. Responses vary, however, as they are contingent on the particular social and economic circumstances of the lineages. Relations of reciprocity and sociable ways of behavior that are valued by the Wampar in-laws, especially the men, counterbalance these hierarchies up to a certain extent for as long as there are no contestations from other members of the Wampar lineage.

Between lineages there are organizationally no relations of domination, but there is an ongoing contest over land. The need for securing land is expressed through setting up fences, registering land, and advancing claims that dispute boundaries. There have always been conflicts about land boundaries between lineages, but the dimension and scale of them have changed in the new context of social relations. Lineage leaders are now more on guard about protecting their land, not just from the *yaner* but even more so from other lineages. Land disputes that reach the state judicial court system necessitate a lot of financial, technical and social support. When a lineage gets entangled in such costly contestations, the impact extends downwards to every member of the lineage, and all of them are expected to lend their full support. Organizing support for such struggles can include the strategic incorporation of non-Wampar kin and their children to help defend the land against other lineages.

The influx of in-married non-Wampar who decided to stay in Dzifasing is one of the most significant processes that have changed social relations in Dzifasing. The wider context is necessary to understand why Wampar villages, Dzifasing among them, have become so attractive to migrants. In comparison to other communities in Papua New Guinea, the particularity of the place and the history of the Wampar facilitated conditions that made Dzifasing an attractive place for migrants. It is a lowland village that has been reached by the German Lutheran Mission early in the 20th century. It is located in the plains of the Markham Valley, with vast, flat and fertile lands primed for agricultural development and other modernization projects of the state. It is close to the second largest and most industrialized city of Papua New Guinea. To this day the "remoteness" of a village in Papua New Guinea is not simply a function of the geographic location relative to urban centers, but more due to the uneven access to desired services and limited possibilities for education and work in an increasingly capitalist global political economy. The presence or absence of reliable roads alone is a defining condition, for it can be an enabling factor to access with more ease and speed the flow of resources between centers of economic activities. As Dzifasing is situated right on the main transport corridor, the Highlands Highway, all these factors are met. Migrants have thus been attracted by the accessibility to town, the availability of government services, a sense of safety compared to their own places of origin, and the economic opportunities available to them before 2007 through the growing and selling of betelnut. But even now without the betelnut, the strategic location of Dzifasing along the Highlands Highway remains an attraction. It is a site for robust and potentially

more intensive agricultural production of marketable goods for local and global consumption. Engaging in trading is also a viable option, due to Dzifasing's relative proximity to the city and its reputation as a convenient stopping point along a busy highway.

10.2 Casting the *yaner* as threats to social and economic life

Interethnic marriages have increased since the 1960s in extent and scope, and have resulted in a substantial demographic presence of children with interethnic kin relations. While there has always been a certain undercurrent of suspicion towards non-Wampar, most of the older generation of in-married non-Wampar were integrated into Wampar social life and were accepted as socially valued affinal kin, as long as they observed Wampar notions of courtesy and reciprocity. The sudden impact of the betel palm blight transformed and raised the initial suspicions about *yaner* to a new level, galvanizing already existing sentiments and perceived threats. With the shift of economic production to more capital- and land-intensive forms of production like cacao and cattle, the non-Wampar increasingly became to be seen as competitors for land. This situation fueled fears about future land shortage and more land disputes, due to population growth and the large number of children from non-Wampar living among them. The threat is further magnified when seeing it through the lens of economic security for future generations. The once latent threat is now vocalized in the open, and aggressively at times, at community meetings of lineage and local leaders, culminating in a new "rule" that would prevent non-Wampar to settle on Dzifasing land and to engage in permanent cash crop production. This antagonism is also played out in centers of social interactions like in the marketplaces and the schools. School children and teachers witness and themselves get entangled in these articulations of power struggles.

Structural power is manifest in the mobilization of "ideas" as new "rules" that organize social relations and set up basic distinctions between those considered "Wampar" and those considered as "*yaner*." The Wampar term *yaner*, as has been observed by Beer in Gabsongkeg (2006b), is used to set apart the non-Wampar unfavorably through focusing on differing and negatively valued physical traits and behavior. Following the end of the betelnut economy, the term gained a further negative connotation. It has since been deployed to mark a clear and immediate threat. Male lineage leaders who are the direct power holders when it comes to land distribution were at the forefront of coming up with new "rules" to limit access to land for the non-Wampar among them, using the term *yaner* to single out those seen as a threat. The use of the term is thus an ideological deployment to justify power relations. It refers to the non-Wampar living among them, who married in, became affinal kin and bore children who are the male lineage leaders' nephews and nieces, and sometimes namesakes, but which after the end of the betelnut economy are now cast as a threat. The term *yaner* is infused with ideas about differences in physical traits and culturally-informed behavior, and has also become part of an ideology for social and

economic exclusion; to "protect" the Wampar from losing their position of power relative to those considered outsiders and interlopers.

These distinctions on an ideological level have real-life implications: constricting access to land for non-Wampar men and their children, narrowing the criteria for those who are allowed to plant cacao and to reside and settle in Dzifasing, and further regulation on women's marriage options and future residence. Wampar and non-Wampar alike acknowledge these new rules, although their implementation in practice is left to the decisions of the male lineage leaders. However, not all lineage leaders are refusing to give access to land to their in-laws and nephews for planting cacao. This means that the general discourse and ideology against *yaner* is at times in conflict with concrete, specific relationships, and it needs to be established which factors lead to integration and inclusion, and which towards exclusion.

10.3 Differentiations of children for inclusion and exclusion

Cultural categories for differentiation are being transformed in new contexts of social, economic and political relations. The social categories ascribed to children of interethnic marriages and particularly to those with non-Wampar father are now deployed with essentialized meanings by those who call themselves "true Wampar." Terms such as "Wampar" and "*yaner*" become contested concepts among the children as well, as they are used to define rights, such as the right to stay in Dzifasing and the right to access resources, especially land. There are tensions as children of intra- and interethnic marriages contrast their interpretations of what being Wampar means while using analogous terms of reference but with deviating meanings. Wampar children and mixed children with Wampar father focus on descent, on having a Wampar father as the defining criteria, while children with non-Wampar father use other aspects such as birthplace, growing up in the same place, having a Wampar mother, familiarity with language and culture, and good relations with Wampar kin as important aspects of being Wampar. Such contestations present ambiguities regarding the concept of ethnic identity, on what and who is Wampar. Rhetorically and discursively, there is on the one side a tendency to rigidify the concept, with emphasis on difference, and on the other side a trend towards flexibility, with emphasis on similarity. "Wampar" is a very differentiated concept in that "*yaner*" may be used in opposition to it, but that this by no means encompasses the full range of meanings and practices that are linked to it.

There is no neat equation between certain categories of children and their specification as "Wampar" or "*yaner*" when actual relations are informed by a multitude of social and economic conditions. Locating "Wampar" and the "*yaner*" is complex, as they are embedded in social relations, and there are differences between what people say about these terms of differentiation and what they actually do in specific contexts of relationships. Children of

interethnic marriages are caught up in these social relations, and their inclusion becomes questioned and contested. Some of them identify as Wampar, others acknowledge their status as in-between, *as miks* or *hapkas*, and some assert their identification as non-Wampar. As "culture" is fluid, changing and contested, identification and categories for social inclusion are constructed as part of a political process. It becomes clear that notions of cultural identity and their deployment cannot be ignored for they have effects and consequences. It is necessary to observe which discourse is dominating -- which notions, values, codes for inclusion are discussed, and whose notions and practices are dominant.

Processes of inclusion and exclusion also work differently depending on the specificities of the children in question. This becomes most evident when these processes are linked to gender. Sons of non-Wampar fathers can be directly juxtaposed with Wampar sons who have undisputed land rights. Since sons of non-Wampar fathers according to the prevailing notions have no rights to land, their only possibility of incorporation and continued residence among the Wampar is to get the approval of their mother's brothers, who are the lineage leaders. The daughters of non-Wampar fathers on the other hand, are more similar to Wampar daughters, in the sense that their future is mostly dependent on their choice of marriage partner (or their choice not to marry). A daughter of a non-Wampar father has the option of marrying a son of a Wampar father, thus gaining a right to stay in Dzifasing and to become incorporated into her Wampar husband's lineage without disputes. Her brother who marries a Wampar woman would nevertheless be left without guaranteed incorporation. Marriage can also be a limiting factor for a daughter of a non-Wampar father, however, as when she decides to marry a *yaner* she might be pressured more to leave Dzifasing than a Wampar daughter would. If she marries a man with a Wampar mother and non-Wampar father, then she would be in a similarly uncertain situation as her brother. All of this introduces stark inequalities between siblings and cousins, as it restricts the ability for some to shape their own future.

10.4 Enabling and constraining conditions for inclusion

The constraining processes for children of interethnic marriages are centered on the new rules regarding rights of residency and the rights to access land for subsistence and income generation, coupled with the long-standing issue of how to generate sufficient income in a rapidly changing economic situation with fears of land shortage. However, the particular social and economic conditions within a lineage shape how Wampar male lineage leaders act upon the "new rules." The kind of relationships that the non-Wampar may have with their Wampar kin network can either be an enabling or constraining dimension in the process of inclusion and exclusion among the Wampar. Children of non-Wampar fathers who already understand their unstable position among their Wampar kin also seek alternatives to inclusion among the Wampar by strengthening their kin ties to their father’s place of origin, or by striving towards a "modern" and more independent life.

10.4.1 Land availability, labor demand and absence of conflict within the lineage

The decisions of lineage leaders whether to allow an in-married non-Wampar man and his children to stay in Dzifasing or not are informed by multiple and interrelated social and economic factors. Land availability and absence of conflict over land distribution within a lineage significantly sway the possibilities for the non-Wampar men and their children to enjoy similar rights as their Wampar kin. If there is sufficient lineage land, lineage leaders can afford to be generous to their non-Wampar in-laws and their children. Lineage leaders with an abundance of land are more likely to incorporate children of intermarriages with non-Wampar fathers. Lineage leaders who feel the need to strengthen their negotiating power in competition with other lineages realize that keeping their nephews in Dzifasing could be an advantage. A large number of young men that can be mobilized in case of violent conflict and used in converting unused land into cattle pasture or for growing cacao are possible ways to protect land from being claimed by other lineages. Lineage leaders with extensive business projects also need men and women for labor and for broadening social networks, and to gain access to social skills and knowledge that the children of interethnic marriages can possibly provide. Lineage leaders from large lineages with little available land on the other hand, are more likely to refuse to grant any rights to children of non-Wampar fathers. The existence of conflicts within lineages is a problem for children with non-Wampar fathers, as it precludes the possibility of them being allocated land. Also, even if they were able to use a certain piece of land, there is no guarantee that they could continue using it when challenged by other lineage members.

10.4.2 Maintaining good relations with Wampar kin

Whether the new "rules" are adopted or not also depends on whether children of non-Wampar fathers and their parents have nurtured long-term socially established relationships, as kin and affines, with the current lineage leaders. Such relationships have the potential to soften the exclusionary tendencies in Dzifasing. After all, in-married non-Wampar men and their children are not just *yaner*, they also are someone's *monto* (brother-in-law), someone's *bud* (son-in-law), someone's *wat* and *farangad* (sisters' children) or someone's *rompod* (grandchild). It is easier to say that all non-Wampar, being *yaner*, should leave the village, but it becomes complicated when a specific non-Wampar is a son- or brother-in-law, a nephew, a niece or a cousin. Forcing a specific non-Wampar man and his Wampar wife to leave Dzifasing is akin to severing ties, and contradicts valued relations between siblings or between parents and children. Also, daughters often look after their aging parents, a reason that women with non-Wampar husband also bring up for choosing to stay in Dzifasing. Likewise, parents express concerns if their daughters live far away from them, as they worry about their daughter's well-being such as when the husband turns abusive and neglectful. Lineage leaders who are the brothers of women with non-Wampar

husbands express similar concerns and are weighing upon their particular relations with their sisters.

The lineage leaders' decisions can be positively influenced by the agreeable comportment of the non-Wampar father towards the Wampar in-laws, which usually is the openly expressed reason for not considering them as a threat. For the non-Wampar, maintaining culturally accepted and appreciated behavior towards their Wampar kin lifts the pressure on possibly being disfavored. This is exemplified in the case of Greg and his father, Edison (case study #6): they are both described by their in-laws as "obedient," for not causing trouble and supporting the lineage. While Edison said that he could in theory make a life back at this place of origin with his children, he admitted that the conditions there were not as good as in Dzifasing. So far, there are no contestations within his Wampar wife's lineage regarding the distribution of land, and Greg was given permission to plant his own cacao. Edison and Greg have so far succeeded in maintaining amicable relations with their Wampar in-laws and maternal uncles. Even in cases when the non-Wampar father is not well liked, the quality of the Wampar mother's relationship with both her parents and brothers can soften the social and economic threats, even after bridewealth has been paid. The cases of Tsongof (Case study #4) and Helen (Case study #16) are such examples, as both women are on good terms with their parents. As good daughters, both have chosen to stay to look after their aging parents, even if their husbands have at times brought up the possibility of leaving Dzifasing.

10.4.3 Naming practices and namesake relations

Names and naming practices are cultural expressions not just for a sense of personal identity and representation but also a means for building relationships, especially for social inclusion. Naming as practice is integral in the process of social positioning, which has become more important for children born out of interethnic marriages. Bearing names that symbolically connect a child's name to land, as in the Sepik, and having namesakes in transcultural kin relations or with non-kin, provide possibilities for accessing economic resources and opportunities.

10.4.4 Language use

Social transformation in Dzifasing is also characterized by multilingualism, wherein Tok Pisin, Wampar and English are used in particular social settings of interactions among and between Wampar and non-Wampar. Knowledge of the Wampar language remains among those cultural resources that are deployed as markers for cultural differentiation, which children of interethnic marriages deploy for claims of inclusion. However, since there is a shared ideology regarding the importance of English as the language of business and politics, Tok Pisin is being taught at home as the children's first language, by both Wampar

and non-Wampar parents. The use of Tok Pisin not only at home but also in school in early education serves as an equalizing medium of interaction for children of various backgrounds. In this aspect, children with a non-Wampar parent are not disadvantaged in comparison with children with both Wampar parents. Nevertheless, the cultural significance of the Wampar language is reinforced in conveying meanings of rootedness, of continuity, and position of power in relation to the non-Wampar.

10.4.5 School and education

As children spend a significant time in school, the influence of teachers and the state's education policy and curriculum can contribute greatly to their forming of aspirations. Ideas of a common national identity, individual freedom, and equal relations and gender rights are propagated by teachers , even if they do not always find concrete expression in everyday and real-life situations. Schools are not independent of the social relations of the communities they are based in, as is evident when tensions and power struggles are played out in schools.

Reaching a high level of schooling could possibly overcome exclusion in multiple ways: the added skills and knowledge make children with higher education a valuable asset to their mother’s brothers, who might want to retain them with their potential for aiding in various business projects in Dzifasing. At the same time, school can also be an alternative to inclusion among the Wampar, as it could open a pathway to a job in the city or elsewhere in Papua New Guinea, and thus the opportunity to leave Dzifasing and fulfill aspirations of modernity. The fact that children of interethnic marriages with a non-Wampar father are overrepresented in the higher classes and usually more academically successful than their Wampar peers is an indication that they give importance to schooling as a viable option for improving their social condition. With the changing economy, this disposition starts to be more widely spread across the population in Dzifasing.

10.4.6 Transcultural kinship

Having a broader network of kin relations offer possibilities for alternatives to inclusion among the Wampar and for attaining other aspirations. Thus, children's options are not limited to Dzifasing as they have connections to other places within Papua New Guinea through their non-Wampar parent. With the end of the betelnut economy, some of these other places have become more attractive for them or were given more attention, as the non-Wampar father and their children old enough to understand the uncertainty of their continued residence in Dzifasing deliberate whether to move away from Dzifasing and start a new life elsewhere.

There are non-Wampar fathers, such as Rufus (case study #4), Alex (case study #9), or Nelson (case study #2), who resist the dominance of the Wampar over them. They present themselves as not cowed by the new "rules", for they were able to maintain strong connections to their place of origin, where they could always access land rights and all kinds of support through their kin. These are structural resources for countering dominance that enable the non-Wampar father and children to cultivate and draw upon. In addition, they often emphasize and take pride in their own cultural identity, using it to counter the negative stereotyping as "*yaner*." Even in cases when the non-Wampar, such as Nelson, is not well-liked by most of his Wampar wife's paternal brothers, his sense of pride as a non-Wampar is not without material basis. An immediately empowering factor in this case is the access to employment opportunities from his Wampar wife's maternal kin network, from people who are in a position of economic and political power, as they are successfully engaged in business and politics in Papua New Guinea. In-married non-Wampar men and their children thus actively engage and draw on all their available kin networks, both on Wampar and non-Wampar sides, when encountering the exclusionary tendencies in Dzifasing.

10.5 The place of power in social relations

The constraints and possibilities for children, on the one hand, hinge on the social and economic realities in both the respective places of the children's parents' origin, and on the other, on their own capacity to negotiate and influence outcomes. Taking up Wolf's distinction of how power operates differently on different levels, the following picture emerges: on the level of individual, it is clear that children as individuals and personalities have their subjective positioning that is up to a certain degree influenced by their different capacities and capabilities. They have agency, but that agency can be constrained by power differentials on the other levels. The level of interactions points to the fact that the quality of relationship between children with non-Wampar father and their mother's brothers and cross-cousins are significant for the possibility of their continued residence and usage of lineage land in Dzifasing. It is important for children to foster amicable relationships with their mother's brothers for ensuring continued residence and also with their cross-cousins, who eventually will take over as lineage leaders. Overall relationships, and the limits and possibilities for children of interethnic marriages are impacted by the level of organizational power, such as decisions taken by the lineage leaders for incorporation in the kin group. The overall change from a more inclusive to a more restrictive regime of incorporation, with the deployment of ideas of non-Wampar as a threat, are themselves due to wider shift in the political economy of the Wampar from betelnut to cacao and cattle. This shift transformed social and economic relations, due to different land needs and labour regimes. The ideology of differentiation is used to justify the current distribution and use of land, and the exclusion of those that despite having lived all their lives in Dzifasing, are not considered to belong there.

10.6 Theoretical relevance of the thesis

In today's contemporary studies on social boundaries and ethnicity, I argue for the indispensability of the dimension of power in the Wolfian sense to emphasize historical and contextual specificity of relationships. This is necessary in order to go beyond the level of individual agency and identity studies framed around the concept of hybridity that may mask the mechanisms of hegemonic control on the one hand, and on the other, the complexity of processes and outcomes that are locally obtained, if the interconnected multiple levels and domains of power are not accounted for. For my study, I have chosen to account for the importance of power relations that constrain individual agency, and the interconnected historical processes of social transformations as expressed through a repertoire of cultural and social categories that are pronounced but not limited to that of ethnicity, kinship, gender, language, generation, age, and birth order. Doing the study "with" and not simply about children of interethnic marriages, I was able to generate a rich and encompassing understanding on the politics and processes of social relations. I chose the Wolfian approach for its holistic take on anthropological inquiry, as empirically grounded, without getting blinded by the "perilous idea" that social categories are fixed and exist in a timeless vacuum. On the other hand, I am equally wary of accounts by some Melanesianists that relations are fluid and ever-changing, and that social categories are thus ephemeral or can be manipulated at will. It is only by focusing on the political economy that it becomes evident that agency of "individuals" in a rapidly changing economic and social environment is constrained and enabled by structural and organizational power. This is not a blanket process in Dzifasing: in some families due to particular social and economic relations this process can lead to different outcomes. While there is a community-wide acknowledged idea about the threat of the non-Wampar in general, these ideas are inflected not only by wider circles (state, region), but also by the differentials existing between lineages.

In multiethnic social settings that are increasingly entangled in the globalizing political economy, as in the case of Dzifasing, it is important to study processes of transformation and social change without losing sight of the structural power. With the recent increase in interethnic marriages in Papua New Guinea, my study is highly pertinent, as it highlights exclusionary processes and the specificities that could lead to the emergence of a class of landless people in a society often characterized as deeply grounded in relations to land. It also shows that with increasing pressure on land and changes in the social organization of labour, there is a tendency to reframe identities in ethnicized terms, and act accordingly. At the same time, this study shows persisting modes of relations that could still be offering alternatives to inequalities inherent in capitalist relations tied to the vagaries of the global market, because despite the exclusionary tendencies of the kin-ordered mode of production, relationships can be negotiated through cultural practices that are still valued and can have bearings on the direction of outcomes. Furthermore, notions on what makes a

kin desirable are a medium through which children of interethnic marriages similarly draw on and act upon. The children's social and affective ties, in both their Wampar and non-Wampar kin network, also significantly influence their outlook and desires. The constraints and possibilities are informed at the different levels of the modalities of power.

I started with some cautionary words from Wolf. I close it with his other reminder that the "search for explanation in anthropology can be cumulative; that knowledge and insights gained in the past can generate new questions, and that new departures can incorporate the accomplishments of the past" (Wolf 1990: 587). The questions I have set forth in this study are just the beginning towards understanding the dynamic processes of transformations and their consequences. As this ethnography explored the shaping of categories of relations, where differentiation tends to be ethnicized, another key "perilous" idea that is similarly implicated in the processes of social and economic transformation is what may be referred to as "transcultural personhood" that engages theorization on the dividual person (Strathern 1988) under an increasing entanglement in the capitalist economy and neoliberal concepts of person and individual agency. Prospectively, there remains more to be investigated. Other directions of investigation could include the following: The effects of aging on these processes would be a valuable addition to this study, as already now there are non-Wampar who lived the majority of their lives in Dzifasing, and a large number of children of non-Wampar fathers that will soon reach middle age. Another possible line of investigation is to look closer at intergenerational differences, and how people reflect on these differences. The long-term trajectories and effects of the social transformations with the advent of new large-scale resource extraction projects in the form of a gold- and copper-mine and industrial-scale eucalyptus and oil palm plantations will form another line of investigation that I am currently undertaking.

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Appendix 1 Dzifasing interethnic marriages from the early 1900s until 2010.

	1st generation Wampar and Non-Wampar marriages		Subsequent generations Mixed Wampar offspring marriages** D - daughter; S - Son
	Non-Wampar Men	Non-Wampar Women	
1910s		Adzera (Morobe prov.) Watut (Morobe prov.)	
1920 - 30s	Adzera	Adzera Watut	
1940s		Adzera	Wampar/Adzera* D
1950s	Adzera	Adzera	Wampar/Adzera D
1960s	Adzera Australian Buka (Bougainville) Finschhafen (Morobe prov./coast) Gusap (Morobe prov.) Manus Papua (Central prov.) Sepik	Adzera	Wampar/Adzera D Wampar/Watut D
1970s	Alotau (Milne Bay) Buka Bukawa (Morobe coast) Gusap Madang Milne Bay Rabaul (East New Britain)	Adzera Adzera/Minj Boana (Morobe prov./mountain) Erap (Morobe prov./mountain) Garaina (Morobe prov./mountain) Manus Mumeng (Morobe prov./mountain)	Wampar/Waing D (from Tararan) Adzera/Wampar D
1980s	Adzera Buka Butibam (Lae) Central prov. Chimbu Daru (Western prov.) Ferguson Island (Milne Bay) Goodenough Island (Milne Bay)	Adzera Boana Bulolo Finschhafen Goroka/Benabena (Eastern Highlands prov.) Minj (Jiwaka prov.) Rumu (Morobe prov.) Erap (Morobe prov.)	Manus/Wampar D Central prov./Wampar S Bukawa/Wampar S (from Tararan)

	Karkar Island (Madang) Kimbe (West New Britain) Labu (Morobe prov./coast) Rabaul Sepik Wabag (Enga prov.)	Wawin (Morobe prov.)	
1990s	Adzera Buka Butibam Port Moresby Central prov. Finschhafen Garaina Kerema Madang Pangia (Southern Highlands prov.) Rabaul Rai Coast (Madang) Sepik (East Sepik) Vanimo (West Sepik) Wantoat Watut	Adzera Bogia (Madang prov.) Buang (Morobe prov./mountain) Bukawa (Morobe prov./coast) Bulolo/Madang Chimbu Daru/Adzera Erap Finschhafen Kavieng (New Ireland prov.) Madang/Goroka Manus/Sepik Popondetta (Oro prov.) Rabaul Sepik Salamaua (Morobe prov./coast) Salamaua/Bukawa Salamaua/Hagen Waing (Morobe prov./mountain)/Goroka Wantoat	Adzera/Wampar D Adzera/Wampar S Bukawa/Wampar D Buka Wampar S Central prov./Wampar S Finschhafen/Wampar D Finschhafen/Wampar S Finschhafen/Wampar S and Adzera/Wampar D Gusap/Wampar D Madang/Wampar S Madang/Wampar D Milne Bay/Wampar D Milne Bay/Wampar S Sepik/Wampar D Waing/Wampar D (from Tararan) Waing/Wampar S (from Tararan) Wampar/Adzera S
2000s >	Adzera Central prov. Finschhafen Goodenough/Trobrian Is. (Milne Bay) Goroka Hagen Ialibu (Southern Highlands prov.) Kerema Lae Madang	Adzera Boana Buang Buka Bukawa Chimbu Chimbu: Lae Daru Erap Finschhafen/Salamaua: Lae	Adzera/Wampar D Adzera/Wampar S Adzera/Wampar-Madang D Central prov./Wampar D Buka/Wampar S Buka/Wampar D Bukawa/Wampar D Central prov./Wampar D Central prov./Wampar S and Rabaul/Wampar D Central prov./Wampar S and Central prov.-Wampar/Kimbe D

	Manus Mendi/Hagen Popondetta Rabaul Salamaua Samarai (Milne Bay)/Finschhafen Sepik Siassi Wantoat	Garaina: Lae Goroka Hagen/Adzera Kainantu (Eastern Highlands prov.) Karkar Madang Madang/Garaina: Lae Mendi (Southern Highlands prov.) Mumeng Obura (Eastern Highlands prov.) Popondetta Rabaul Salamaua Sepik Sepik/Goroka: Lae Sepik/Kerema (Gulf prov.) Siassi (Morobe prov./island) Wantoat (Morobe prov./mountain) Yalu (Morobe prov.)	Finschhafen/Wampar D Finschhafen/Wampar D and Sepik/Wampar S Finschhafen/Wampar S Labu/Wampar S Madang/Wampar D Madang/Wampar S Milne Bay-Adzera/Wampar S Milne Bay/Wampar S Sepik/Wampar D Sepik/Wampar S Sepik/Wampar S and Madang/Wampar D Simbu/Wampar D Simbu/Wampar S Wampar/Adzera D Wampar/Adzera D and Wampar/Finschhafen S Wampar/Adzera S Wampar/Adzera S and Sepik/Wampar D Wampar/Adzera/Minj S Wampar-Adzera/Wampar S Wampar/Adzera-Wampar S (Wampar/Adzera/Wampar-Adzera D Wampar/Boana S Wampar/Erap D Wampar/Madang D (from Tararan) Wampar/Minj D and Wampar/Boana S

*Entries on ethnicity or place of origin with a forward slash, e.g., Wampar/Adzera means that the individual is of mixed descent (Wampar father and Adzera mother).

**In the list of marriages of subsequent generations (at least down to the 4th generation), the ethnicity of the father is written first before the mother's, e.g., Wampar-Adzera/Minj for Wampar father and mixed Adzera-Minj mother. Marriages in these children's generations are to Wampar. Those that are between mixed Wampar men and women are indicated with "and" between them. There are cases of subsequent generations' marriages to non-Wampar (not residing in Dzifasing) which are not included in this list.