

Whitemen, the Ipili, and the City of Gold: A History of the Politics of Race and Development in Highlands New Guinea

Jerry K. Jacka, *North Carolina State University*

Abstract. Ipili speakers in the highlands of Papua New Guinea creatively use the category “whiteman” both to structure their longing for socioeconomic progress and development and to critique the very institutions associated with development that they desire. This article explores the history of Ipili-white interactions from first contact in the 1930s, through the rise of indigenous mining, and up to the present to trace how “whiteness” as a category has transformed Ipili understandings of whites and the West. Today the Ipili, as landowners associated with the Porgera gold mine, are intimately entangled with development and its benefits and ills, which have prompted debate over how to build a “modern” town in the highlands.

One day in 1999, I was sitting with Muyu Yakati, an elderly Ipili man from the highlands of Papua New Guinea (PNG), watching a piece of construction machinery plow a road through the rainforest near his hamlet.¹ As trees and shrubs fell before the excavator’s bucket, Muyu turned to me and asked, “Who made that thing—the whitemen or God?” “Man tasol [Just a man],” I replied in Tok Pisin (Melanesian Pidgin), the lingua franca of the country. While I used the Tok Pisin term *man*, Muyu and I knew we were not talking about all men. In the current discourse of people living in western Enga Province, there are really only two kinds of people, whites and blacks.² Specifically, we were talking about whites (*waitman*) and the sweeping changes that many Ipili feel the whites have brought to this region via colonialism, missionization, gold mining, and oil exploration.

Muyu’s question deftly captures the entanglements of development, race, and modernity that many Papua New Guineans, especially in the highlands, are currently experiencing. Moreover, by linking the cultural

category *waitman* with that of the Christian deity, Muyu's question illustrates the transformations that whiteness as a category of social thought and action has undergone since the Ipili were first contacted by the outside world in the 1930s. Whites, initially thought to be forest spirits, or in some cases returning deceased ancestors (Connolly and Anderson 1987; Schieffelin and Crittenden 1991), are today associated with development, Christianity, and a modern lifestyle to which many Papua New Guineans aspire (see Gewertz and Errington 1999). These attitudes stem in large part from the ease with which whites appear to exist from a Papua New Guinean's perspective. For example, one of Ira Bashkow's (2000: 318) Orokaiva research collaborators summed up this attitude neatly by noting that whites "don't have problems like we do. You whitemen are lucky people, blessed by God" (see also Robbins 1998, 2004).³

Bashkow (2000: 322) writes that "Orokaiva creatively employ a discourse built around self/other dichotomies to develop their own moral concerns and explore problems that trouble them in their own society." The Orokaiva use the black/white dichotomy as a mirror to reflect on their own society's problems in which whiteness is positively construed. The Urapmin of West Sepik Province also do this; Joel Robbins (2004: 171) relates that when they make comparisons between blacks and whites, "it is almost always to the detriment of the blacks." What makes the Ipili case interesting is that while they have positive connotations of whiteness, they also critique white culture as fixated on money and greed. While this notion of whites as both positive and negative seems to be less common in other Papua New Guinean societies, Jeffrey Clark (1989) has also found that while Wiru equate whites with social and economic progress, they also perceive that Western institutions can cause social, physical, and ecological decline (see also Jebens 2000: 175; Jacka 2001a; and Jacka 2007).⁴ This would certainly be the case for the Porgera Valley Ipili, who use the category of whiteness or *waitman* to critique contemporary social realities (cf. Basso 1979).

This perspective of whites has profound implications for the role that racial categories and perceived racial attributes play in economic development and social progress in PNG. In many instances, whiteness is synonymous with development and progress (for the Paiela Valley Ipili: Biersack 1991 and 1996; for other parts of PNG: Ballard 2000; Clark 1988, 1989, 1997; Jebens 2000; Kulick 1992; Lattas 1998; and Robbins 1998, 2004). Many highlands Papua New Guineans' initial associations with development came from whites, either through the Australian colonial administration or missionization. Christianity is part of the story of how Papua New Guineans understand development, but for the purposes of this article,

I focus only on the development of mining and will save the analysis of Christianity for later work. Development in PNG and other postcolonial settings has significant racial overtones to its implementation and can serve as a focal point from which to explore a history and politics of intercultural relations between indigenous peoples and whites. As well, conceptualizing whiteness as a cultural category also points to the saliency of examining people's engagements with whiteness in the context of theorizing culture change. In this article, I situate contemporary debates over development in terms of the complex relations between the Porgera Valley Ipili and whites from first contact to the present.

Development, Whitemen, and Culture Change

I use two terms throughout this article that require clarification: *development* and *whites*. The former I use to translate a number of Tok Pisin phrases, including *develapmen* (development), *gutpela sindaun* (good quality of life), *kamapim laip* (improving life), and *kisim sevises* (receive services). *Development* is used here to indicate social and cultural changes resulting from health and education initiatives, the intrusion of commodity exchange, Christianity, cash cropping, and primary-resource development (oil and mining), all of which are largely perceived by local agents as forms of social progress and betterment (see also Knauff 1999: 12–14; Knauff 2002; Kulick 1992). The PNG state has been notoriously inefficient at bringing government services (health, education, infrastructure) to the rural populace; as a result, many “white” institutions—churches and developers—have taken on some of the responsibility for development in the region.

But, what do Papua New Guineans mean by their racial category *white* and *whitemen* (*waitman* in Tok Pisin)?⁵ In rural PNG, the two racial categories, “white” and “black,” are not simple indicators of skin color difference; they also have the moral valuation of whiteness over blackness (Bashkow 2000; Biersack 1991, 2005; Clark 1988). By and large, “black” is used to refer to Papua New Guineans and, at least for the Ipili, “white” covers all other categories of ethnicity, including South Asians, East Asians, Europeans, Americans, and Australians. One South Asian businessman in the Porgera Valley was consistently called a whiteman by the Ipili, and my questioning revealed that despite his dark skin color, the fact that he was wealthy and a businessman meant he was white. Clark (1988: 52) has even documented Wiru highlanders calling a Christian businessman from Papua New Guinea a “black white man.” The concept of whiteness has as much to do with living in a manner distinctly different from most rural Papua New Guineans as it does with skin color. Bashkow (2000: 283–84) argues

that while the construction of whiteness by Orokaiva is marked by “whitemen [being] privileged within a naturalized order of racial inequality associated with ideas of ‘development,’” there is more at issue in that “whitemen within their [Orokaivan] vernacular culture [are constructed] as an other that is morally charged and ‘good to think with.’”

For the Ipili, the conception of privilege and moral righteousness associated with whiteness is indeed evident. At the same time, though, the category “white” is complicated by two factors: the decades-long development of alluvial mining in the valley and the more recent development of a large-scale gold mine, as well as the creation of a town called Paiam to service the mine. At the heart of the ambivalence toward whites is the Ipili’s feeling that alluvial mining held out a promise that the area would become developed, but that since the shift to large-scale mining the mining and township development companies either have been slow to bring development to the region or are withholding it altogether. There is thus a narrative in which whites are thought to be greedy and not participating in the equal exchange of goods, which has long been a hallmark of culture in the PNG highlands (M. Strathern 1988). *Greed* (*uyenda* in Ipili) and *gluttony* (*popasia* in Ipili) are words often used in reference to the contemporary mining situation in Porgera. *Uyenda* (greed, intense desire, unfulfilled craving) is both a manifestation of intense craving for something (i.e., greed) and a sickness caused when a person does not have that craving fulfilled (see Jacka 2001a). While the sickness *uyenda* can ultimately kill the afflicted person, the illness can also travel to the person who is causing the unfulfilled craving by not sharing whatever it is that the sufferer craves. The Ipili believe that they are sharing with the mining company by giving up their land and the right to mine the gold themselves. They do this expecting a return of development and increased government services, which many Ipili argue have not been forthcoming (however, see Imbun 1994). *Popasia* (glutton, gluttony) is a pet name for some of the largest pigs in the Porgera area and, likewise, is used to refer to the mining company’s actions, as the mining company “eats up” all of the gold and does not share the proceeds with the Ipili. The mining company is also called a *stilman* (thief in Tok Pisin) since its planes daily fly off with all of the gold that has been mined and processed and “take it to Cairns,” where it is believed to be used for developing this town, where the mining company’s headquarters is located. While the contemporary mining employs both whites and Papua New Guineans, we must recognize that it is the gold as wealth that the Ipili are upset over losing. Hence, even though other nationals are implicated in the mining, dissatisfactions over mining per se are aimed toward whites and white culture.

How, then, can we theorize culture change through the category of whiteness, especially considering its ambiguous nature in Ipili society? One way that categories and relationships among them have been studied is through Marshall Sahlins's (1981, 1985, 1992) structuralist history. In a recent updating and refining of this approach, Robbins (2004: 6–11) explores three kinds of cultural change: assimilation, transformation, and adoption. Sahlins's earlier work (1981, 1985) examined the first two modes of change; for the sake of brevity I will not reproduce those arguments. However, since the concept of "adoption" (Robbins 2004: 9), what Sahlins (1992) calls "modernization," deals in part with highlands New Guinea, I would like to explore this term further. Sahlins argues that rather than development making "them" more like "us," the first impulse of indigenous peoples is not to become just like us, but more like themselves (13). Noting the enthusiasm that New Guinea highlanders have shown for their inclusion in the capitalist world system, he writes that "more pigs have been eaten and more pearl shells exchanged in these recent shindigs than was ever done in the good old days" (13). Sahlins refers to this process as "develop-man," development that "from the perspective of the people themselves [is] their own culture on a bigger and better scale than they ever had it" (13). Notwithstanding this process, Sahlins argues that the historical and structural contradictions of capitalism may prevent people from "realizing modernity in their own, post-Western way" (21), because ultimately they end up experiencing humiliation: to "learn to hate what they already have" (24). Humiliation in this formulation becomes "a necessary stage in the process of modernization" (23).

Robbins's (2004) contribution to this argument is his recognition that what Sahlins calls "modernization" need not occur in modern situations, and hence that *adoption* is a better word. In fact, what people do when they experience humiliation is adopt a different culture, in Sahlins's case, Western culture. Where Sahlins and Robbins differ is in where the stimulus for change lies. Sahlins (1992: 24) sees the institutions of Western culture (i.e., Christianity) as providing the "means of cultural debasement" such that people want to be more like "us" and less like their old selves. For Robbins (2004: 15–21), the stimulus of self-debasement must be located in traditional culture, or else there would be no desire to adopt a new culture. I think it is important to consider that cultural change need not be driven by a negative cultural perception. What the Ipili think of as humiliation would best be characterized by the term *yala* (shame). The primary source of shame in Ipili society is the inability to fulfill obligations toward kin and affines (i.e., reciprocity and sharing).⁶ In fact, I will argue from the Ipili context that a positive appreciation of white institutions, one not

dependent on a negative perception of their own culture, was initially a key motivating force for cultural change. Later dissatisfaction with white culture, as experienced today, prompted a reappreciation of Ipili culture and corresponding change, such that the Ipili felt humiliated not by what they were but by what they had become.

In the remainder of this article, I will explore the history of intercultural interactions between Ipili and whites to illustrate how the category of *whiteness/whitemen* has transformed with time. As I demonstrate, whites, initially thought of as spirits, became human through participating in reciprocal exchanges. After first contact, a number of Ipili became involved in gold mining, adopting particular institutions from the whites (such as labor practices and hoarding of wealth) that began to pressure traditional Ipili norms of generosity and reciprocity. With the involvement of multinational mining companies and the development, in the late 1980s, of one of the richest gold mines in the Western Pacific, the promised new township was expected to level some of the socioeconomic disparities in the region. However, intercultural misunderstandings have slowed down development, and in turn, whiteness, while still promising economic salvation, has also become a means for Ipili to critique recent changes in their society.

Initial Contacts

The narrative of first contact in many parts of the New Guinea highlands in the 1930s is basically one of gun-toting prospectors bent on making a personal fortune. Native New Guineans who met up with the prospectors often lost life and limb (see Connolly and Anderson 1987; Gammage 1998; Leahy 1991; Schieffelin and Crittenden 1991). Theoretically, New Guinea, as a territory mandated by the League of Nations, was supposed to be administered by Australia for the benefit of the indigenous population.⁷ Practically, however, prospectors often preceded government officers into areas that had never been contacted. In order to develop the people and country, the Australian colonial administration decided to slowly acculturate the recently contacted highland populations by barring nongovernmental personnel from much of the interior. Government workers who were allowed into the highlands were to follow a policy of acculturation under which government patrols were sent out under the direction of a colonial patrol officer, native police (who by and large were from coastal areas), and carriers recruited locally (see Gammage 1998; and Kituai 1998). These patrols were to make contact on a regular basis, pacify the often warring clans, and eventually introduce the highlanders to colonial rule and law.

Officially, the patrol officers were to impose colonial order nonviolently, yet in practice intimidation, humiliation, and even killing were often utilized in the pursuit of *pax Australiana* (see Gammage 1998; Kituai 2000).⁸

In the early twentieth century, a series of conflicts between white prospectors and coastal New Guineans highlighted the potential for violence between these two groups (Griffin, Nelson, and Firth 1979; Waiko 1980). As a result, for the 1930s highlands regions, prospectors were legally required to obtain permits to enter restricted zones not yet officially controlled by the colonial administration. In fact, however, few prospectors abided by these laws. Prior to World War II, the Ipili had two initial encounters that would structure their understanding of whites for years. The first was with the unauthorized expedition of two prospectors, Jack and Tom Fox; the second was one of the largest ever government-sponsored exploratory patrols, the Mt. Hagen to Sepik patrol, led by Jim Taylor and John Black.

The first whites to enter the western Enga region, the twin brothers Jack and Tom Fox, made an illegal prospecting foray into the restricted zone from 23 August to 15 December 1934, and came well armed for the trip (see fig. 1). While the Foxes claimed to have never killed anyone, oral historical research indicates that the brothers killed at least forty-five Huli in their trip across the Tari Basin back to Mt. Hagen (Golub 2001: 130; see also Allen and Frankel 1991: 97–100).⁹ Oral historical evidence from the Ipili indicates that they did not meet the Foxes, but word of the prospectors' passing (and the violent encounters) did reach the Ipili. The second contact that the Ipili had with whites was with the epic Mt. Hagen to Sepik patrol led by Jim Taylor and John Black in 1938 and 1939 (see Gammage 1998). Taylor and Black found gold in Porgera in 1939 and spent about a month prospecting all around the Porgera Valley. Elder Ipili still remember the first contacts they had with Taylor and Black. On the eastern edge of the Porgera Valley in Lese, Minala Nolapa recalled his experience of first contact for me:

We heard rumors that the whites were coming. We didn't know what they were as they had so many strange things and they were very smelly. We were afraid of them and wanted to kill them. The men who came with them as carriers took our women and slept with them and chased the men away who were trying to defend the women. We didn't want these whitemen and their carriers around so we tried to chase them away. They told us to stand in a line and then they shot into us. As they shot us, bones, stomachs, and intestines went everywhere and we thought these people were *yama* (forest spirits) because there were body parts everywhere.

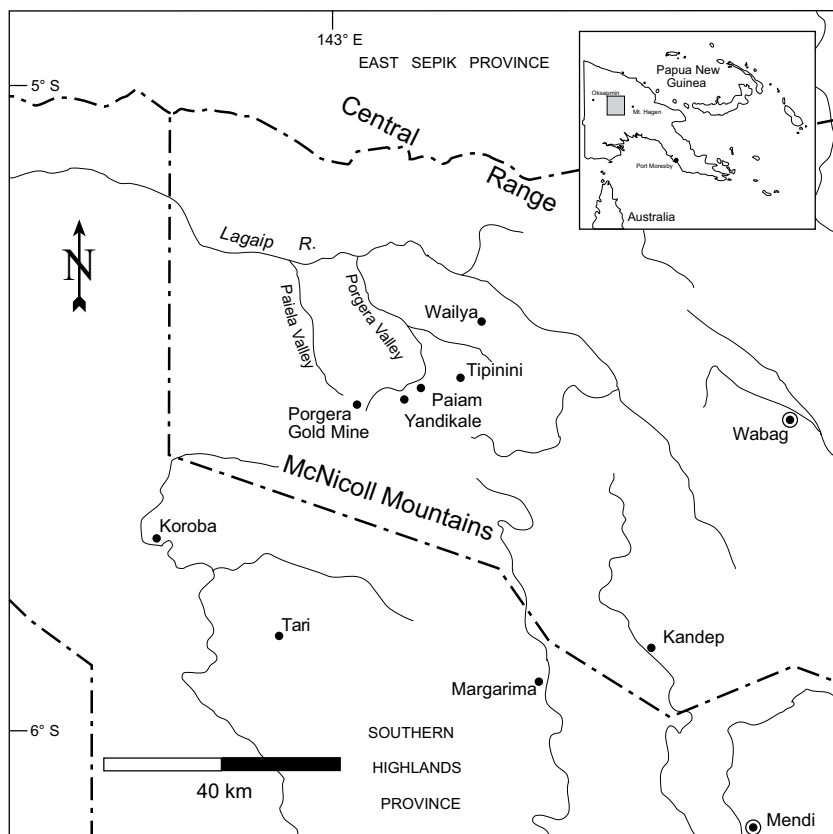


Figure 1. Western Enga province.

Pes Bope, who lives near Lese, told me this memory:

When I was a boy, my father told me that there were white men sleeping at Pakoandaka [Lese] so we went to go see them. Pakasia, Londe, Mipu, Katapene, and some of the Pakoa wanted to kill the whitemen. They dug a trench and put a barricade in front of it so that they could shoot the whitemen once they got near them. The Tokoyela [Pes's group] didn't want to kill the whitemen so we all left and hid in the forest with the women and pigs. Then we heard guns shooting, we didn't know what it was and we thought the world was ending. Then we found out that four men had been shot by the whitemen. Three of them died. Everyone was saying that the whites were yama with

powerful spears who were going to eat us. As the patrol climbed up Mt. Auwakome toward Wailya, they were mocking the cries of the mourners at Lese, saying “iiiyiiyiyii, iiiyiiyiyii.”

Each account depicts whites as *yama*. *Yama* generally refers to any spirit, but more specifically refers to malevolent forest spirits. One category of *yama*, sky people (*tawe wandakali*), however, are benevolent and believed to have wealth-bestowing powers. Several myths characterize sky beings as the progenitors of pigs and pearl shells, the most sought after items of traditional wealth (cf. Wiessner and Tumu 1998 for the Enga). The overall sense is that *yama* have great powers and should be treated with respect and wariness. As the Ipili became accustomed to Taylor and Black's presence in the valley, the whites were treated less as malevolent forest spirits and more as benevolent sky spirits, especially due to Taylor and Black's gifts of shells and axes. In the framework of the modes of cultural change discussed earlier, the category of whiteness was merely assimilated into categories of spirits that already existed. While the benevolent and wealth-bestowing sky people spirits were generally construed positively, they were still capable of violent retribution, particularly when certain taboos were broken in their high rainforest abode (Jacka 2003). Lightning, according to the Ipili, is the weapon of the sky men, and the thunder of the whites' guns was said to be like the thunder associated with the sky men's lightning strikes. As documented in a number of articles (Biersack 1996, 1998; Gibbs 1977; Jacka 2002; Meggitt 1973; Sharp 1990; Wiessner and Tumu 2001), following Taylor and Black's visits, a series of cults oriented toward the sky people and the sky world were initiated among the western Enga and Ipili. The post-Taylor and Black cults represent attempts to access this sky world and all the riches it entails. When elders discussed the cults, many of them stressed that their participation was generated by a desire to obtain “all of the good things” that the cult leaders promised would come to them, including metal tools such as those the Taylor and Black patrol used. In terms of any sense of humiliation generating the desire for change, there was never enough time or familiarity with white institutions for the Ipili to perceive their own culture negatively. In the next section, I detail the interactions by which the whites ceased to be seen as spirits and began to be considered human.

The Return of the Prospectors

Despite his discovering gold at Porgera, Taylor's official report on the Hagen-Sepik patrol claimed that there were no great goldfields in the western highlands region and downplayed the Porgera goldfield's potential

wealth.¹⁰ Other patrol officers and expatriates in the area were interested in discovering the apparently valueless gold streams for themselves. The outbreak of World War II and the Japanese occupation of New Guinea forced them to wait. In 1948, a former patrol officer named Joe Searson applied for a mining and water rights permit to allow him to remove alluvial gold in Porgera. His claim included five kilometers of river and the land on both banks for one hundred meters (Golub 2001: 195). Searson's interest in continuing to prospect led the colonial administration to establish a patrol post near the alluvial gold-bearing stream beds in Porgera to prevent problems from occurring between Searson and the Ipili (Wabag PR #3, 1947–48).¹¹ Supplying the patrol post would be difficult for the administration, so airdrops were arranged by parachute and “storepedoes” (parachute-less packages) on a regular basis. By mid-October 1948, the patrol officer in Porgera, C. Symons, reported that hundreds of Ipili had come to visit and see him. He noted that “they are quite used to Europeans by this time. They are very friendly, visit the station regularly and are rarely seen armed” (Wabag PR #3, 1948–49). The Ipili were especially willing to trade local foods for the parachute material from the airdrops, which they unraveled and then used for their net bags in place of plant fibers. Steel axes were also in great demand and people were quite willing to trade pigs for axe heads. “Now that much steel has been introduced into the area,” Symons wrote, “large tracts are being cleared and new gardens being prepared” (*ibid.*).

On 9 March 1949 the Porgera patrol post was officially closed. The administration had decided that airdrops were too costly to justify a patrol post looking after the sole European in the valley (Wabag PR #1, 1949–50). From 18 February 1948, when Searson first arrived as a patrol officer, until 9 March 1949, the Ipili had almost constant interaction with Europeans. In the twelve and a half months from February 1948 until March 1949, numerous airdrops delivering hundreds of storepedoes' worth of supplies were showered down on the whites. Today, people discuss building the drop sites and seeing the storepedoes in a matter-of-fact manner, noting that they were just the whites' supplies. But one officer's statement that the local people spent the entire night singing at one of the drop sites (*ibid.*) must surely have resonated with the cults that the Ipili had participated in just a few years prior and intensified the notion that the whites were like the benevolent sky people of myth. How then did the whites make the transition from spirit to human?

Much of the impetus for the transformations in Ipili conceptions of whites came through the daily interactions of white prospectors with Ipili laborers. Searson registered a second mining claim in 1949 that stretched

two kilometers along the Kaiya River with its junction with Kogai Creek (Golub 2001: 195). In June 1949, a patrol officer noted that Searson currently had seventy-eight workers mining alluvial gold and that they “expressed nought [*sic*] but satisfaction with the conditions afforded them,” nor were “complaints lodged” by any of them (Wabag PR #1, 1949–50). Searson stayed in Porgera until 1955, assisted by another European, Jim Brugh, who worked Searson’s claims until 1957. In 1957 Jim Taylor acquired Searson’s two leases and began mining on a tributary basis, with a Huli man named Tongope as his overseer. In 1999, Ipakali Ipara, who married one of Tongope’s daughters, recalled for me what working the alluvial claims for Tongope and Jim Taylor was like: “Jim Taylor was a big man, a fat man with a belly. He used to knock us around for not working fast enough. He was a mean man. He used to kick us and hit us for not working fast enough.”

Taylor and Black were last in the valley in 1939, and during the late 1940s and early 1950s the Ipili view of whites started to transform. While the airplanes and storepedoes initially supported the notion of whites as something similar to sky people, long-term exchange and labor began to humanize the former spirits. During the early 1950s local participation in mining began with Ipili and other groups as laborers, and Searson married two Engan women (Golub 2001: 196). The whites, albeit still very powerful, were starting to be seen as men with desires and tempers like any other person.¹² In fact, Ipakali’s statement that Taylor was a “mean man” shows how much attitudes about whites had changed. These views would continue to change, especially as the Ipili themselves began to mine gold and adopt a number of Western institutions. As the next section illustrates, though, attitudes about whites began to diverge according to how much interaction the Ipili had with them, particularly in regard to mining. For the nonmining population, the whites’ humanization greatly reduced appreciation of white institutions. In the mining areas, ideas of law were more respected, since colonial law was the only means through which mining could be regulated and wealth restricted to a few people. Moreover, many of the whites’ attitudes about the Ipili became reinforced in this era: the Ipili were no longer thought of as shy and friendly but instead as a defiant, even violent people.

“A Greedy and Gold-Conscious People”

Sometime in 1956 or 1957, Puluku Poke, a former native medical orderly (NMO) in the Porgera, began mining along the lower Porgera River, just downstream from Taylor’s lease, becoming the first indigenous miner in the

region (Laiagam PR #2, 1959–60). Pauwi, the NMO stationed at Tipinini in the eastern Porgera Valley, started his own operation some six to eighteen months later, along the Kaiya River, a tributary of the Porgera (ibid.). At about the time that Puluku and Pauwi were given official leases (May 1959), two other Ipili men, Akiwa and Waliya, attempted to claim leases on land that had already been applied for by Puluku. As we will see, this would be the beginning of a long series of struggles by Porgerans to obtain lucrative alluvial mining lands (see Biersack 2006 for an overview).

Much of the tension over alluvial mining stemmed from conflicts over group versus individual ownership of resources. As one patrol officer wrote:

Another visit by a Mining Assistant appears to be a necessity and should be arranged as soon as possible. Many of the locals are interested in working gold but have been warned not to infringe upon the pegged claims. They, however, regard anything within their land boundaries as belonging to them and cannot see why gold recovered within those boundaries is not theirs. It is hoped that a mining assistant may be able to persuade one or two of the entrepreneurs [*sic*] to reduce the size of their claims to allow of others finding gold. (Ibid.)

By May 1960, this same officer reported that “the native mining situation was getting out of hand. . . . [It] has degenerated into a seething mess of intrigue in which there have been threats against the life of native miner Puruk [Puluku]” (Laiagam PR #4, 1959–60; see Golub 2001: 224–29).

As this patrol officer entered the alluvial mining area, he wrote that he was immediately “besieged” by requests from six men to be allowed to mine for alluvial gold also (Laiagam PR #4, 1959–60). One of the six was Kuala, who had left Porgera with Taylor and Black on the Hagen-Sepik patrol some twenty years earlier. The patrol officer wrote that the six men were only interested in mining on Puluku’s claim, since “Puruk’s recently acquired wealth is a source of very obvious jealousy, which combined with the local attitude that the landowners are in the right, has developed into an extremely unhealthy situation” (ibid.). Much of the resentment came from the fact that Puluku was mining on land that belonged to his wife’s clan and not his own.

To dispel some of the tensions among the Ipili miners, this patrol included an official from the Division of Mines, N. C. Robinson, whose mission was to stake more claims for some of the disenfranchised landowners (see fig. 2). Puluku’s original claim, which extended for 1,680 meters along the Porgera River, was broken up into four claims. The initial one had included lands far outside of even his wife’s clan, and Puluku had

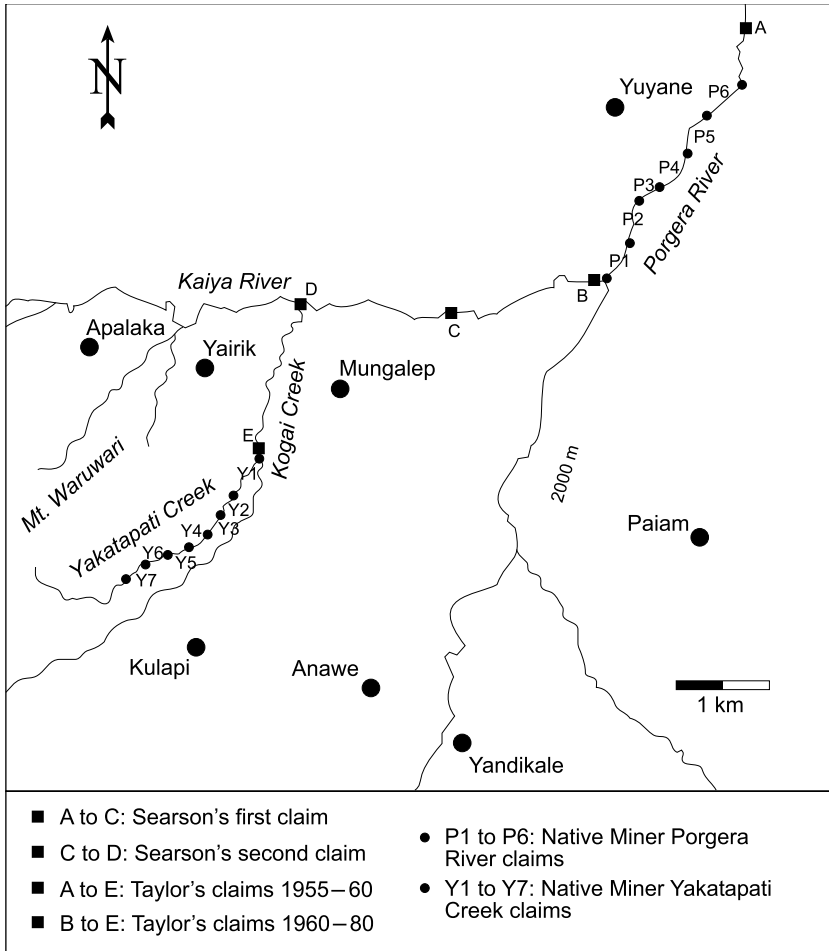


Figure 2. Porgera Valley mining claims.

been unable to prevent others from working gold on such a large area. The patrol officer wrote that the chief offender in regard to claim jumping

was without doubt the ex Administration Interpreter Kwela [Kuala]; a man taken out of the Porgera Pre-War to Rabaul and later employed for years by the Administration in various parts of the Highlands. Kwela openly admitted that he was the main instigator encouraging others to work their clan lands on Puruk's lease. Kwela's and

Puruk's clans are traditional enemies and part of the lease extended into Kwela's clan boundaries. Kwela, as the spokesman for his and other clans expressed the view that the people considered that the new found wealth was not being distributed evenly and that Puruk was winning gold from land that was not traditionally his. (Ibid.)

Robinson also staked out seven claims for landowners in the upper Porgera along Yakatobari (Yakatapati) Creek. Puluks and Kuala also wanted to have claims in the upper Porgera, but under the Mining Ordinance they were not allowed to do so. Given their experience with mining, however, Robinson let them have unofficial partnerships with two of the claimants in the Yakatapati area.

Despite the biannual patrols through the region, the colonial administration was increasingly concerned that the Ipili were developing very little regard for colonial laws and policies. One patrol officer wrote, "The only conclusion to be drawn from this report is that these people must be brought under much more effective control in the near future. The local inhabitants do not appear to be the type who can be brought under influence by passing patrols, however frequent" (ibid.). B. McBride, in the region in July 1960, concluded, "I consider that a GOLD CONSCIOUS IPILI people whom [*sic*] have little respect for any of our laws at present will [claim-jump other leases] whenever they think they can get away with it" (Laiagam PR #1, 1960-61).

The administration continued to promote indigenous mining, however, in the expectation that it would bring the Ipili into the "civilized" world and teach them to respect colonial laws and policies. In August 1960, nine Ipili men were taken on a tour of Goroka, Kainantu, Wau, Bulolo, and Lae. The purpose of the trip "was to enlighten these primitive people and allow them to observe mining activities practised by both Europeans and Natives in other centres, and also to show the economic development that can be attained by individual enterprise" (Robinson 1960: 1). The immediate impact of the tour on the nine Ipili men was uncertain, but in one man's case it was noted that a "remarkable change" had occurred in him and that he was now intent on beginning mining in earnest, while another man "had no sooner stepped from the aircraft when he seriously assaulted his '*meri*' [Tok Pisin: wife, woman] with a piece of timber and was sentenced to two months prison detention" (3).

The cash that Ipili miners earned was put into bank accounts, which led one patrol officer to note "the strange situation of natives classified as 'uncontrolled' possessing bank books with sizeable amounts in them" (Porgera PR #6, 1963-64). The fact that more people now had access to mining also led one patrol officer to claim:

Since the majority of the people have had access to gold work and since we have commenced to build the airstrip the peoples' attitude towards the Administration has changed considerably. The people have become co-operative and have now volunteered to work a week of each month on the airstrip. They just were not interested before. Income from gold and the need to get supplies into the spot have of course had much to do with this change in attitude. However, the place would probably 'explode' if we withdrew direct supervision now. They are a greedy people and gold will make them more greedy. (Ibid.)

The idea that the Ipili were rebellious and unwilling to submit to colonial authority was becoming widespread among the patrol officers who regularly came through the Porgera patrol post. One noted that nowhere in all of his service in PNG was theft from his goods as much a problem as it was among the Ipili. Once caught, the perpetrators were unaware that this behavior was supposed to "constitute a social disgrace and loss of privileges"; instead, they thought that "a prison sentence constitutes food and lodging from the administration in exchange for cutting grass" (Porgera PR #6, 1963-64). Development, in colonial discourse, however, was believed to be the cure for troublesome natives, and several other projects began in the early 1960s, such as the construction of a "Native Club" for policemen to "raise morale" among the police and other station personnel, the application for a liquor license, and the construction of playing fields (ibid.). "It is hoped that a recreation centre such as the Club and its associate amenities will be the nucleus of further social development spreading from the station to the menfolk of the valley" (ibid.). With these developments and the cessation of tribal fighting in the area, the patrol officer hoped that "by next year when life at Porgera has settled into the normal routine common to outstations that soccer, cricket, or basketball matches could be arranged against other neighbouring centres such as Laiagam and Wabag" (ibid.).

The patrol reports written about the Ipili from the late 1940s to the early 1960s show a considerable transformation in attitude. From wary, yet friendly natives perpetually poised to run off and hide in the rainforest at the first approach of whites, the Ipili become a greedy and openly defiant people. One of the first patrol officers writing in 1948 noted, "I would recommend that the Police Post be kept manned for some time yet, even if mining activity should cease, as I think the people of this area could be brought under complete control with very little difficulty." But by 1960, Patrol Officer McBride, who had spent several months among the Ipili, concluded that

these people without doubt know our main laws and are familiar with our ways. They are by no means newly contacted primitives but killings and clan skirmishes appear to be the order of the day; my impressions are that the native situation has deteriorated instead of improved over the past years. Other officers have reported, and I agree, that familiarity with our law has brought contempt and disregard instead of respect (Laiagam PR #1, 1960-61).

McBride was also the same patrol officer who characterized the Ipili as a “greedy” and “gold conscious” people. The greed that McBride comments on would perhaps be better described as the intense negotiating skills that the Ipili developed in exchange practices. And the institutionalized violence in traditional Ipili society, an important factor in generating exchanges, was understood by colonial officers as disrespect for the laws of the administration. As one patrol officer noted, “It has been said that the natives of the Porgera Valley had economic development before they had law and order” (Porgera PR #6, 1963-64). Even today, there are constant concerns about “law and order” in the Porgera Valley, which has contributed to the lack of development initiatives sponsored by the mining company, as I will discuss later.

Ipili involvement with mining reproduced the same kinds of hierarchical labor practices that took place under the whites. Laborers earned less than overseers, who earned less than the person who owned the mining claim. These practices heralded the consolidation of wealth into a few hands (see Nita 2001) and unlike traditional forms of wealth, this new wealth as money was hoarded in bank accounts and not spread throughout the society. As discussed in the next section, these forms of social differentiation were partly responsible for the expectation that whites, although competitors from the miners’ perspectives, would bring development and progress to the nonmining population.

Social Differentiation and the Desire for the Kampani

The geological peculiarities that resulted in the gold deposits in the upper Porgera Valley disrupted traditional power relations and set the stage for future conflicts (Biersack 2006). Numerous patrol reports indicate that prior to mining, the upper Porgera was scarcely populated and had the poorest soils in the region. Traditionally, the Paiela and lower Porgera valleys were much more densely populated and served as refuge zones for the Ipili from the upper Porgera during the frequent famines brought about by garden-destroying frosts. Even today, people recognize the difficult decisions between living near the gold mine and its development,

where crops do not produce very well, and living in the undeveloped lower regions where food is nevertheless plentiful. As one lower Porgeran man complained to me, “We were the bread basket of the Porgera valley. Those people [upper Porgerans] were just rubbish people who had to come beg food and pigs from us.” Gold, and the accompanying agents of colonization who came seeking it, quickly reversed the roles between the upper Porgera Ipili and their neighbors, though.

The lower Porgerans, with their alluvial mining and greater productivity of pigs and gardens, were economically and politically dominant in the valley until the late 1980s, although there was great variability in income even among lower Porgerans. As one patrol officer noted, “There is no doubt that cash incomes in the Porgera Valley do have great diversification of value, ranging from literally nothing to several thousands of dollars each year, as enjoyed by the highest paid goldminer, Tongopi [Tongope]” (Porgera PR #1, 1969–70).

However, with the commercial exploration and alluvial mining in the late 1960s and early 1970s by multinational corporations such as Rio Tinto, Anaconda, and Bulolo Gold Dredging, the upper Porgerans began to gain prominence as it was realized that the source of Porgera’s gold lay in the upper Porgera in the heart of Mt. Waruwari.¹³ Occupation fees paid by these companies for exploration, drilling, and alluvial mining contributed significantly to the upper Porgeran economy. After one such payout of four thousand Australian dollars in 1970, the patrol officer in Porgera was besieged with complaints by Paiela Valley Ipili that the money was not equitably distributed (Lagaip PR #2, 1970–71). An analysis of 225 bank accounts from 1972 shows that only four had between five hundred and fifteen hundred dollars; the average for the rest of the accounts was around twenty dollars; as would be expected, the majority of the accounts were from the gold mining areas (Porgera PR #7, 1972–73).

With independence in 1975, the rich chronicle of patrol reports ceased. In Porgera, as in many parts of the highlands, independence was not wholeheartedly embraced. As the Australian flag was lowered for the final time at Porgera Station and the PNG flag raised, several Ipili rushed the flag pole and tried to reraise the Australian banner (Aletta Biersack, pers. comm., 2001). As one Ipili man explained to me in 1999, “You whitemen left too soon. You had just started to give us all the knowledge (Tok Pisin: *save*) we needed to become developed, but then you left.” He then asked me if it were still possible that the United States would recolonize Papua New Guinea to finish giving the *save* to New Guineans. Much of the desire for whites to stay in (or recolonize) PNG stemmed from the unequal distribution of wealth in the region. Nearly all of the men who discussed this with me were largely disenfranchised from the mining scene.

It is in the context of the unfinished project of modernization and development that Ipili ideas about the *kampani* (Tok Pisin: company) must be understood. I retain the Tok Pisin term, which Ipili use in their vernacular language also, to indicate the importance of this discursive device in contemporary settings. For most of the Ipili who do not have direct experience with the various multinational companies involved in mining, there has always been *one* company, or *kampani*, seeking the gold. As Ipilis signify it, *kampani* is partially imagined, partially real. It embodies the hopes and dreams for development and modernity that people expect to follow the penetration of capitalist institutions into this area. *Kampanis* are associated with whites, and I was often asked to bring a *kampani*, any *kampani*, to Porgera, so people could work, earn salaries, and participate in the world of money and commodities that is in such demand there. The notion of *kampani* is deeply intertwined with Ipili ideas about whites. The first companies to enter Porgera were mining companies and were run by whites. The whites whom the Ipili had intimate knowledge of, such as the patrol officers, often worked for the mining companies that operated in the valley. The first trade stores in the area were set up by white missionaries to help usher in markets and monetization for the Ipili.

Who is the company/*kampani*, then? In 1979, with the development of a large-scale mine appearing feasible, three mining companies and the Papua New Guinea state started the Porgera Joint Venture (PJV), each company holding a 30 percent interest, while the state held 10 percent.¹⁴ With the 1983 discovery of an ultra-high grade ore zone in the heart of Mt. Waruwari, development plans started in earnest. The Porgera gold mine began operations in late 1990, with Placer as the company in charge. Today, the terms *PJV*, *Placer*, and *kampani* all signify for Porgerans those responsible for bringing development to the Ipili people. As such, these terms are interchangeable, and when people complain about the lack of progress in developing the valley, they say that *PJV*, *Placer*, or the *kampani* needs to be held accountable.

The City of Gold: Paiam

The development of the Porgera gold mine occurred in the shadow of two other mining projects in PNG, the Panguna mine on the island of Bougainville and the Ok Tedi mine in Western Province. Both of these projects took huge environmental tolls on the surrounding watersheds and forests and had profound social impacts as well. The Panguna mine is infamous for precipitating a ten-year civil war in which the Bougainville Republican Army attempted to secede from the PNG state (Ballard and Banks 2003;

Denoon 2000; May and Spriggs 1990). Likewise, Ok Tedi's environmental destruction resulted in intense landowner dissatisfaction and a 1996 settlement in which the mine operator agreed to pay landowners five hundred million U.S. dollars (Kirsch 2001). Porgera, as such, offered an opportunity to level landowner dissatisfaction and led to the drafting of the Porgera Development Agreements (Derkley 1989). Although the agreements detailed royalties, compensation, preferred contracts, and other business matters, the centerpiece for many Ipili was the stipulation that a town would be built at Paiam. It would be home to the mine workers and provide business and service opportunities for the Ipili.

In 1998 and early 1999, Porgerans described Paiam in the most hopeful terms. There was to be a high school, a grocery store, a hospital, an international school, electrification and telecommunications, a market, a rugby arena, and paved roads. Many people stressed that once the town was completed it would house the hundreds of white expatriate workers from the mine, with Porgera Valley Ipili running the businesses that would cater to the mineworker families. Blacks would intermarry with whites and a new era of racial harmony and prosperous business development would ensue (see Jacka 2001a, 2001b). Hanging on the walls of various government buildings in Porgera was a glossy color poster that was touted by the mine as depicting what Paiam would look like in the future. In the poster, tree-shaded boulevards wind past homes roofed with red tile; at the base of Mt. Paiam a golf course sits comfortably next to a freshly planted Ipili sweet potato garden. Paiam thus serves as an arena in which intercultural interactions between Ipili and white expatriates get enacted. Discussions about Paiam and the cross-cultural engagements that occur in Paiam are the result of the long history of real and imagined attributes that Ipili see in the whites. I now want to examine the tenor of these interactions in the struggle over the development of Paiam to highlight the link between the town's delayed development and the Ipili's cultural categories of whiteness.

Even though the mine opened in 1990, the development of Paiam has been considerably delayed. When I arrived in late 1998, only the high school and hospital had been built (the hospital had just opened and the supermarket was under construction). At the writing of this article, the market and rugby field had been completed as had the sealing of the roads. The town's development has been slowed largely by PJV's reluctance to house expatriate employees there due to a perceived law and order problem in the valley. By 1999, though, several houses had been built in Paiam for some of the mine workers. Many Ipili complain that PJV is far more interested in developing Cairns.

Cairns comes up in many Ipili conversations about the lack of development in the Porgera Valley. While few Ipili have ever visited Cairns, nearly all know it is the headquarters of PJV. There is a common belief that the constant flights of helicopters in and out of the valley are smuggling gold bars to Cairns. Thus Cairns is all that Paiam is not, and it is developed with gold stolen from Porgera, according to many Ipili. In several discussions I had with Ipili people, the notions of greed and trickery were central to their perception of Paiam's development, or lack thereof. One man who had worked at the Panguna mine on Bougainville claimed that the houses built in Paiam for mine workers were flimsy (*i no strongpela* in Tok Pisin) compared to the mine workers' houses on Bougainville. Many people said that they had been tricked by the whites and the mine since they had no conception of what a white town and white houses really looked like. No one I spoke to recognized that the houses were for the white mine workers and not for the Ipili. However, the concern that they were cheaply and poorly built expressed the Ipili's belief that the development of Paiam was, by extension, also second rate compared to a place like Cairns.

By the time I left Porgera in late January 2000, the state-of-the-art hospital was in danger of closing because there was no money to keep it running. People spoke with both exasperation and hope about Paiam. They still held on to the promise that whites would come and "development" would ensue, but as far as the present services the town had to offer, no one had the money to enjoy them. I heard Paiam referred to in Tok Pisin as *ples bilong ol landona* (the landowners' town), because only the wealthy Ipili involved in mining could afford the services there. Disappointment notwithstanding, Paiam is still a focus of people's dreams for a better future.

As we saw in the last section, *kampani* and *whites* are nearly synonymous for the Ipili. Since the *kampani*, PJV, is stealing Porgera's gold and instead developing Cairns, the *kampani* is greedy, and so by extension are whites. The nonlandowners whom I lived among often noted that visiting Ipili landowners was like visiting whites (or at least their perception of what it would be like). Instead of sharing food with a visitor, the landowners would allegedly say, "There's the saucepan, there's the plate; go buy yourself some rice and enjoy your meal." When we discussed my life back in the United States, many people would ask me how much my parents charged me for room and board while I was growing up. When I told them that no American parents I knew of charged their children for food and rent, they seemed incredulous. As I was constantly told, "White culture is a money culture, while PNG is a free culture." Among the Ipili who were devout Christians there was also the sense that white culture was

morally corrupt, a charge largely based on the movies that were shown around the mining communities. As a representative of whiteness among the Ipili, I furthered their ideas about the moral corruption of whites in that while I attended church services, the Ipili were aware that I was not a fervent Christian. As Ipili morality is structured around an ethos of reciprocal exchange among affines and allies and sharing among kin, breaches of the moral code, such as the delayed development of Paiam, figure prominently in the recent categorization of whiteness as immoral.

Conclusions

The Porgera case demonstrates that serious consideration should be given to the implications of race and development in the far-flung corners of the world system. The analysis of whiteness in Ipili discourse indicates that notions of difference not only apply to the actual and imagined differences between Ipili and whites but also highlight socioeconomic discrepancies in Ipili life, and provide a window onto Ipili concerns about modernity and social life. Robbins (2004: 171) writes that “the opposition of black and white skin is now as important as organizing thought as are those other classically Melanesian dichotomies, male/female, kin/affine, and friend/enemy.” The concept of reciprocity and its relationship to success is central for an understanding of Ipili attitudes about whiteness. In Ipili society, success is generated by one’s ability to cultivate and maintain reciprocal relations with other powerful individuals in one’s realm of influence. From an Ipili perspective (and perhaps from that of most Papua New Guineans [see Gewertz and Errington 1999]), the cultivation and maintenance of reciprocal relations is antithetical to whites in general. Whites acquire goods and money by hoarding and not sharing, or in other words by being greedy. Greed (*uyenda* in Ipili), as I have noted, is one of the central underpinnings of malaise in Ipili culture. It is believed that greed negatively impacts all parties involved, not just the person who refuses to share reciprocally, and is to be avoided at all costs.

When whites first entered the Porgera Valley, their seeming benevolence put them in a category of yama spirit akin to a sky person. Many elder Ipili men who first interacted with whites could not believe that whites would trade an axe head for just one pig. From the Ipili perspective, this was nearly indicative of actions that were overgenerous. Likewise, the death and injury visited on the Ipili by the whites during this period was akin to the destruction meted out by other kinds of yama spirits the Ipili believed in. After World War II, when the first prospectors arrived in Porgera, the category of whites as spirits was transformed into whites as

humans through reciprocal exchanges of Ipili garden products and labor for items of Western manufacture.

However, when the Ipili themselves began to mine for gold, fundamental relations between whites and Ipili and among the Ipili themselves became transformed. Ipili and whites viewed each other as competitors for the limited amounts of gold that could be mined alluvially. As the Ipili laborers became more aware of the purchasing power of the mined gold, they began to realize that what they had perceived of as reciprocity was far from equal. Axe heads were not all that expensive, while a vast amount of time and labor went into the raising of a pig. Former laborers became bosses, producing elites who were taken on civilizing tours around New Guinea and who controlled relatively large amounts of money in bank accounts. As these new bosses brought in other local people as laborers, stratification in Ipili society began to intensify.

The development of the Porgera gold mine and the unequal distribution of mining-derived benefits led to further stratification, although the balance of power and wealth now shifted to the upper part of the Porgera Valley. The building of the town at Paiam should have helped to alleviate some of the socioeconomic tensions in the valley, but the slow pace of township development increasingly estranged most of the Ipili from the mining company. The white management of the mine was frequently accused of stealing the gold and sending it to Cairns, to aid in that city's development at the expense of Paiam.

As I indicated, however, this is not a simple story of white greed and the broken promises of development. For the Ipili continue to maintain two cultural logics (Robbins 2004) regarding whites: one in which whites will bring *kampanis*, knowledge, and development to better Ipili lives, and one in which whites will bring companies, greed, and partial development to better a few Ipili lives. Only by approaching the engagements that Ipili have had with whites historically can we understand the nature of these two logics and the Ipili's ability to maintain them.

Returning to the topic of humiliation and culture change that I discussed in the beginning of the article, I believe the examples presented herein strongly indicate that culture change does not need to be generated out of a sense of cultural humiliation—that white culture is somehow better than Ipili culture (see Biersack 2005). Ipili have adopted large parts of white culture, but there has remained a notion that aspects of white culture offered little for the Ipili to emulate or respect. Moreover, even in the desire for development, businesses, and job opportunities that the building of Paiam promises, the Ipili are able to recognize the negative features of these, such as the breakdown of reciprocal obligations, greed, and moral decline. Recognizing the positive and negative attributes of modernity, Ipili

categories of whiteness express both a desire for and a critique of the modern world (cf. Knauff's 2002 theory of "locally modern"). There is ample scope in future analyses of race, development, and culture change to study how racial categories have been historically deployed by indigeneous peoples, and how the discourses surrounding whiteness can signal not only humiliation with "their" own culture or a wholesale desire for "our" culture, but a simultaneous acceptance and critique of recent cultural transformations.

Notes

Funding for research conducted between December 1998 and February 2000 was provided by the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research (Gr. 6389) and the Porgera Development Authority. In-country research affiliation was provided by the National Research Institute. I thank these institutions for their support. My greatest appreciation goes to the people mentioned in the text who talked to me about these events. Peter Muyu and Ben Penale were my constant companions, research assistants, and best friends, and this research would have been much more difficult to conduct without their assistance. Aletta Biersack provided advice and comments on some of the ideas contained herein. I also thank Paige West for her extensive comments on this essay, which was initially presented at the 2004 meetings of the Association for Social Anthropology in Oceania. The institutions comments from the two anonymous reviewers helped make this a much better article.

- 1 I received notice of Muyu Yakati's death while I was working on revisions for this article. I dedicate this article to his memory.
- 2 The Ipili live in two river valley systems, the Paiela and the Porgera. While the bulk of this essay deals with the Porgera Valley Ipili, I also conducted research among western Enga speakers. Some Ipili recognize that there are people they refer to in Tok Pisin as *konkon*. This is from Hong Kong, meaning people of Asian descent, but generally all Asians are also called *waitman* (whitemen).
- 3 Joel Robbins (2004: 169–70), in particular, argues that Urapmin (Papua New Guinean) enthusiasm over Christianity is in some part associated with the fact that for the Urapmin, Christianity is precisely the means to break down the split between a developed white world and an underdeveloped black world, since the religion spans the racial/geographic divide.
- 4 The Ipili's negative views of whiteness may very well be tied to their familiarity with whites and white institutions. Examples of Papua New Guineans attributing positive characteristics to whites have not occurred in regions where there has been mining for close to sixty years.
- 5 The majority of "whites" that Papua New Guineans encounter are men. This is evidenced by the Tok Pisin term *waitman* (white man), which refers to whites of both genders. People often talk about Western institutions as *samting bilong ol waitman* (a thing/something of the whites); e.g., Christianity is *samting bilong ol waitman*, stinginess is *samting bilong ol waitman*, clothing is *samting bilong ol waitman*.
- 6 This point was forcefully illustrated to me after attending several exchanges

- with my research assistant, who was ashamed (*yala*) that he was not making any contributions of pigs or money.
- 7 *New Guinea* refers to the pre-1975 territories of Papua and New Guinea. *Papua New Guinea* refers to the state that achieved independence in 1975.
 - 8 One of the bitter ironies of postcolonial employment practices is that many former patrol officers have been hired by mining companies to work in their community relations departments.
 - 9 Unlike the encounters between the Fox brothers and the Enga and Huli, their experiences among the Duna, who live west of the Ipili and Enga and north of the Huli, were apparently peaceful (see Stewart and Strathern 2002: 12–16).
 - 10 Taylor in fact wrote, “Black had examined the rivers where he found gold, very closely, but they were nearly valueless and would not be worth developing in the future” (Hagen-Sepik Patrol Report 1938–39: 353). See n. 11.
 - 11 The PR citations are of patrol reports written by colonial patrol officers. They indicate patrol posts (Wabag, Laiagam, Porgera), report numbers, and years. All patrol reports are housed in the Melanesian Archives at the University of California, San Diego, Library.
 - 12 Also altering Ipili ideas about whites in the 1950s were the large numbers of Ipilis who began to be tried and incarcerated in administrative centers (such as Wabag, Mt. Hagen, and Wewak). Many of these men learned Tok Pisin and gained familiarity with colonial administration procedures, becoming interpreters and later leaders when they returned to the Porgera Valley.
 - 13 In the 1960s all of these companies were engaged in exploration or alluvial mining in Porgera.
 - 14 In February 1993 the three companies each gave 5 percent of their equity to the PNG state, raising its equity to 25 percent. The state had accused the companies of withholding information on the true worth of the Porgera mine (see Jackson and Banks 2002: 186–98).

References

- Allen, Bryant, and Stephen Frankel
 1991 Across the Tari Furoro. In *Like People You See in a Dream: First Contact in Six Papuan Societies*. E. Schieffelin and R. Crittenden, eds. Pp. 88–124. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Ballard, Chris
 2000 The Fire Next Time: The Conversion of the Huli Apocalypse. *Ethnohistory* 47: 205–26.
- Ballard, Chris, and Glenn Banks
 2003 Resource Wars: The Anthropology of Mining. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 32: 287–313.
- Bashkow, Ira
 2000 “Whitemen” Are Good to Think With: How Orokaiva Morality Is Reflected on Whitemen’s Skin. *Identities* 7: 281–332.
- Basso, Keith
 1979 *Portraits of “The Whiteman”: Linguistic Play and Cultural Symbols among the Western Apache*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Biersack, Aletta
 1991 Prisoners of Time: Millenarian Praxis in a Melanesian Valley. In *Clio in*

- Oceania: Toward a Historical Anthropology*. A. Biersack, ed. Pp. 231–96. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press.
- 1996 Word Made Flesh: Religion, the Economy, and the Body in the Papua New Guinea Highlands. *History of Religions* 36: 85–111.
- 1998 Sacrifice and Regeneration among Ipilis: The View from Tipinini. In *Fluid Ontologies: Myth, Ritual, and Philosophy in the Highlands of Papua New Guinea*. L. R. Goldman and C. Ballard, eds. Pp. 43–66. Westport, CT: Bergin and Garvey.
- 2005 On the Life and Times of the Ipili Imagination. In *The Making of Global and Local Modernities in Melanesia: Humiliation, Transformation, and the Nature of Cultural Change*. Joel Robbins and Holly Wardlow, eds. Pp. 135–62. Burlington, VT: Ashgate.
- 2006 Red River, Green War: The Politics of Place along the Porgera River. In *Reimagining Political Ecology*. Aletta Biersack and James Greenberg, eds. Pp. 233–80. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Clark, Jeffrey
- 1988 *Kaun and Kogono: Cargo Cults and Development in Karavar and Pangia*. *Oceania* 59: 40–57.
- 1989 The Incredible Shrinking Men: Male Ideology and Development in a Southern Highlands Society. *Canberra Anthropology* 12: 120–43.
- 1997 Imagining the State, or Tribalism and the Arts of Memory in the Highlands of Papua New Guinea. In *Narratives of Nation in the South Pacific*. T. Otto and N. Thomas, eds. Pp. 65–90. Amsterdam: Harwood Academic.
- Connolly, Bob, and Robin Anderson
- 1987 *First Contact: New Guinea's Highlanders Encounter the Outside World*. New York: Viking.
- Denoon, Donald
- 2000 *Getting under the Skin: The Bougainville Copper Agreement and the Creation of the Panguna Mine*. Carlton South, Australia: Melbourne University Press.
- Derkley, Harry, ed.
- 1989 *The Porgera Agreements*. Madang, Papua New Guinea: Enga Provincial Government.
- Gammage, Bill
- 1998 *The Sky Travellers: Journeys in New Guinea, 1938–1939*. Victoria, Australia: Melbourne University Press.
- Gewertz, Deborah, and Frederick Errington
- 1999 *Emerging Class in Papua New Guinea: The Telling of Difference*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Gibbs, Philip
- 1977 The Cult from Lyeimi and the Ipili. *Oceania* 48: 1–25.
- Golub, Alex
- 2001 *Gold Positive: A Short History of Porgera, 1930–1997*. Mt. Hagen: Porgera Development Authority, in association with Kristen Press, Madang, Papua New Guinea.
- Griffin, James, Hank Nelson, and Stewart Firth
- 1979 *Papua New Guinea: A Political History*. Richmond: Heinemann Educational Australia.

- Hagen-Sepik Patrol Report
1938-39 MSS 443, Mandeville Special Collections Library, University of California, San Diego.
- Imbun, Ben
1994 Who Said Mining Companies Take and Do Not Give? The Mining Companies' Role of Social Responsibility in Papua New Guinea. *Taim-Lain: A Journal of Contemporary Melanesian Studies* 2: 27-42.
- Jacka, Jerry
2001a On the Outside Looking In: Attitudes and Responses of Non-landowners towards Mining at Porgera. In *Mining in Papua New Guinea: Analysis and Policy Implications*. B. Imbun and P. McGavin, eds. Pp. 45-62. Port Moresby: University of Papua New Guinea Press.
2001b Coca-Cola and Kolo: Land, Ancestors, and Development. *Anthropology Today* 17: 3-8.
2002 Cults and Christianity among the Enga and Ipili. *Oceania* 72: 196-214.
2003 God, Gold, and the Ground: Place-Based Political Ecology in a New Guinea Borderlands. PhD diss., University of Oregon.
2007 "Our Skins Are Weak": Ipili Modernity and the Demise of Discipline. In *Embodying Modernity and Postmodernity: Ritual, Praxis, and Social Change in Melanesia*. S. Bamford, ed. Pp. 39-67. Durham, NC: Carolina Academic.
- Jackson, Richard, and Glenn Banks
2002 In Search of the Serpent's Skin: The Story of the Porgera Gold Project. Port Moresby, Papua New Guinea: Placer Niugini.
- Jebens, Holger
2000 Signs of the Second Coming: On Eschatological Expectation and Disappointment in Highland and Seaboard Papua New Guinea. *Ethnohistory* 47: 171-204.
- Kirsch, Stuart
2001 Lost Worlds: Environmental Disaster, "Culture Loss," and the Law. *Current Anthropology* 42: 167-98.
- Kituai, August
1998 *My Gun, My Brother: The World of the Papua New Guinea Colonial Police, 1920-1960*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
2000 Deaths on the Mountain: An Account of Police Violence in the Highlands of Papua New Guinea. In *Remembrance of Pacific Pasts*. R. Borofsky, ed. Pp. 212-28. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Knauff, Bruce
1999 From Primitive to Postcolonial in Melanesia and Anthropology. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
2002 *Exchanging the Past: A Rainforest World of Before and After*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Kulick, Don
1992 Coming Up in Gapun: Conceptions of Development and Their Effect on Language in a Papua New Guinea Village. In *Kam-ap or Take-off: Local Notions of Development*. G. Dahl and A. Rabo, eds. Pp. 10-34. Uppsala, Sweden: Stockholm Studies in Social Anthropology.

- Lattas, Andrew
 1998 *Cultures of Secrecy: Reinventing Race in Bush Kaliai Cargo Cults*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Leahy, Michael
 1991 *Explorations into Highland New Guinea, 1930–1935*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press.
- May, R. J., and Matthew Spriggs, eds.
 1990 *The Bougainville Crisis*. Bathurst, Australia: Crawford House.
- Meggitt, Mervyn J.
 1973 The Sun and the Shakers: A Millenarian Cult and Its Transformations in the New Guinea Highlands. *Oceania* 44: 1–56.
- Nita, Albert
 2001 New Power Structures and Environmental Management: Evidence from Porgera Gold Mine. In *Mining in Papua New Guinea: Analysis and Policy Implications*. B. Imbun and P. McGavin, eds. Pp. 157–72. Waigani: University of Papua New Guinea Press.
- Robbins, Joel
 1998 On Reading “World News”: Apocalyptic Narrative, Negative Nationalism, and Transnational Christianity in a Papua New Guinea Society. *Social Analysis* 42: 103–30.
 2004 *Becoming Sinners: Christianity and Moral Torment in a Papua New Guinea Society*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Robinson, N. C.
 1960 Report of Extended Patrol in the Native Mining Area of the Porgera River Western Highlands, August–October 1960. Unpublished manuscript.
- Sahlins, Marshall
 1981 *Historical Metaphors and Mythical Realities: Structure in the Early History of the Sandwich Islands*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
 1985 *Islands of History*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
 1992 The Economics of Develop-man in the Pacific. *Res* 21: 12–25.
- Schieffelin, Edward L., and Robert Crittenden, eds.
 1991 *Like People You See in a Dream: First Contact in Six Papuan Societies*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Sharp, Peter
 1990 The Searching Sun: The Lyeime Movement—Crisis, Tragic Events, and Folie à Deux in the Papua New Guinea Highlands. *Papua New Guinea Medical Journal* 33: 111–20.
- Stewart, Pamela, and Andrew Strathern
 2002 *Remaking the World: Myth, Mining, and Ritual Change among the Duna of Papua New Guinea*. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press.
- Strathern, Marilyn
 1988 *The Gender of the Gift: Problems with Women and Problems with Society in Melanesia*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Waiko, John
 1980 *Komge Oro: Land and Culture or Nothing*. In *Voices of Independence: New Black Writing from Papua New Guinea*. U. Beier, ed. Pp. 224–29. St. Lucia, Australia: University of Queensland Press.

Wiessner, Polly, and Akii Tumu

1998 *Historical Vines: Enga Networks of Exchange, Ritual, and Warfare in Papua New Guinea*. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press.

2001 Averting the Bush Fire Day: Ain's Cult Revisited. In *Ecology and the Sacred: Engaging the Anthropology of Roy A. Rappaport*. E. Messer and M. Lambek, eds. Pp. 300-323. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.