

HAIVARO FASU MODERNITY
EMBODYING, DISEMBODYING AND RE-EMBODYING RELATIONSHIPS

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ABSTRACT AND KEY WORDS

In this thesis, I analyse ways in which relations that build the lifeworld of Fasu people of Haivaro, in the northwest lowlands of the Gulf Province of Papua New Guinea, have been and continue to be renegotiated and reconfigured in the context of their engagement with multiple expressions of modernity, in particular with a logging company operating on their land. I show how these transformations entail processes of embodiment, disembodiment and re-embodiment of those relations.

The relationships that people develop with the human and non-human beings that populate their environment are diverse and context-dependent. They emerge and consolidate as people engage with that environment and where the latter changes – either abruptly or gradually – so too the relations that built their lifeworld also change.

In the years before 1996, several logging and oil companies operated in the Haivaro region. Fasu people engaged with these only sporadically. In 1996, however, a logging company established a base camp 3km northeast of Haivaro and remained there until 2016. This company was operated by the Malaysian Rimbunan Hijau group (RH). Timber extraction began on the land of Haivaro people and they engaged with this company more intensely than with any other.

Two kinds of influence were significant. On the one hand, Haivaro people became connected to the outside world in ways they had never previously experienced or contemplated and, on the other, their immediate physical environment underwent substantial transformations such that, in some ways, it became foreign to them. These changes have had – and continue to have – impacts on the ways Haivaro people understand their relationships to the land, to their human and non-human neighbours and to the wider world. These relationships are integral to the ways in which Haivaro Fasu construct their identity and, as these relationships are renegotiated, so too identity is reconfigured.

The relationships of fatherhood, brotherhood, conjugality, gender and otherness that are the focus of this study were deeply associated with the representations people at Haivaro had of bodily substances. In that sense, they were deeply embodied. In the modern context, a greater emphasis has been put on the performance of specific forms of reciprocity in creating and maintaining these relations. In some ways, they have been partly dis-embodied. Concurrently, new or modified forms of relations appeared that people at Haivaro attempted to integrate – to tame – by re-embodiment. In this thesis, I discuss such processes and their implications for ways in which Haivaro people now engage with the world.

Keywords: Fasu, Haivaro, Social change, Papua New Guinea, Logging, Modernity, Reciprocity, Relations, Body.

DECLARATION

This is to certify that:

- i. The thesis comprises only my original work towards the PhD,
- ii. Due acknowledgment has been made in the text to all other material used,
- iii. The thesis is fewer than 100 000 words in length, exclusive of tables, maps, bibliographies and appendices.

Je certifies que:

- i. Cette thèse comprend uniquement mon travail original pour l'obtention du Doctorat en Anthropologie Sociale et Ethnologie,
- ii. Tout autre travail utilisé dans cette thèse a été dûment référencé,
- iii. Cette thèse comporte moins de 100 000 mots, à l'exclusion des tableaux, cartes, bibliographie et annexes.

Signature

A handwritten signature in blue ink, consisting of several overlapping loops and a long horizontal stroke extending to the right.

Sandrine LEFORT

Date

15/05/2017

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INTRODUCTION

About the world and engagement

In this thesis, I analyse ways in which relations that build the lifeworld of Fasu people of Haivaro, in the northwest lowlands of the Gulf Province of Papua New Guinea, have been and continue to be renegotiated and reconfigured in the context of their engagement with multiple expressions of modernity, in particular with a logging company operating on their land. I show how these transformations entail processes of embodiment, disembodiment and re-embodiment of those relations.

The relationships that people develop with the human and non-human beings that populate their environment are diverse and context-dependent. They emerge and consolidate as people engage with that environment and where the latter changes – either abruptly or gradually – so too the relations that built their lifeworld also change.

In the years before 1996, several logging and oil companies operated in the Haivaro region. Fasu people engaged with these only sporadically. In 1996, however, a logging company established a base camp 3km northeast of Haivaro and remained there until 2016. This company was operated by the Malaysian Rimbunan Hijau group (RH), ‘the largest actor in PNG’s forest industry’ (Gabriel & Wood 2015: 322). Timber extraction began on the land of Haivaro people and they engaged with this company more intensely than with any other.

Two kinds of influence were significant. On the one hand, Haivaro people became connected to the outside world in ways they had never previously experienced or contemplated and, on the other, their immediate physical environment underwent substantial transformations such that, in some ways, it became foreign to them. These changes have had – and continue to have – impacts on the ways Haivaro people understand their relationships to the land, to their human and non-human neighbours and to the wider world. These relationships are integral to the ways in

which Haivaro Fasū construct their identity and, as these relationships are renegotiated, so too identity is reconfigured. Because the body plays a major role in incorporating and mediating these relationships, it is through their body that people at Haivaro both integrate and respond to the changes that affect them. In this thesis, I discuss the impacts of such changes and their implications for the ways in which Haivaro people now engage with the world.

About social change

Social change has been a central concern of much anthropological research for several decades. For anthropologists interested in social change, Papua New Guinea has proved particularly fruitful. In part, this has been because colonization and missionization have been relatively recent phenomena in Papua New Guinea, thus allowing anthropologists to study subsequent social changes ‘in the making’ (Barker 1992; Kulick & Stroud 1990; Robbins 2001, 2014; Robin 1980; Stewart & Strathern 1999; Whitehouse 1998). Additionally, the past few decades have witnessed a massive intrusion of resource extracting companies into the country and these have both accelerated and framed social change, and prompted much anthropological reflection (Bacalzo *et al.* 2014; Bainton 2009; Ballard & Banks 2003; Banks 2002, 2008, 2009; Biersack 1999; Dwyer & Minnegal 1998; Ernst 1999; Filer 1997; Gilberthorpe & Hilson 2014; Guddemi 1997; Halvaksz 2008; Hyndman 2005; Jorgensen 2007; West 2006; Imbun 2007). There are now numerous studies that focus on social change in Papua New Guinean societies, many of which place particular emphasis on the role played by ‘tradition’ in shaping contemporary lifeworlds (e.g. Carrier 1992; Errington & Gewertz 1996; Knauft 2002; Strathern & Stewart 2004; Thomas 1992; Timmer 2000). Since the late 1990’s some authors, working in Papua New Guinea, have attempted to understand what investigation of the outcomes of social change may reveal about the processes of change and, on the basis of this work, have proposed new perspectives on those processes (Dwyer & Minnegal 2010; LiPuma 2001; Robbins 2004a).

In its focus upon ways in which social change may be seen through people's ways of relating to human and non-human beings in their world, my research resonates with recent anthropological concerns with local ontologies and epistemologies and with ways in which these may alter (Bird-David & Naveh 2014; Brunois 2004; Clammer *et al.* 2004; Dwyer & Minnegal 2007; Peterson 2015; West 2005). There is now much theoretical literature and debate in this area (Benjamin 2015; Bird-David 1999, 2006; Blaser 2009; Descola 2004, 2005, 2012; Descola & Pálsson 1996; Dianteill 2015; Dwyer & Minnegal 1999a, 2007; Harrison 1995; Ingold 2000; Piette 2012; Santos 2015; Viveiros de Castro 1998, 2009). In this thesis, I show how five different relational forms that Haivaro people develop with each other, and with other human and non-human beings that populate their world, have changed in the last two decades and discuss how those changes can be understood within the frame of current theoretical approaches. In this way, my work resonates with current ethnographic concerns.

About relations

Analysing the relationships that build the lifeworld of Fasu people living at Haivaro, and how they may change in different contexts, requires 'no longer treating humans and non-humans as if they were entities a priori confined in distinct spheres, but as legitimate components of a single social and cosmological system' (Descola 2007: XIV, my translation). In their engagement with the world, Fasu people of Haivaro develop specific relational forms that include almost indifferently humans and non-humans. As will be shown, for example, a man can be the father to his children but also of land, trees, rivers and so forth. Or, again, a man may be someone's brother, but a kind of bamboo or a kind of bird may also be a brother. Human beings may develop reciprocal relations with each other, but also with domestic pigs, cassowaries or dogs. As elsewhere in the world, being a social subject embedded in social relations is far

from being the prerogative of humans alone (see Bird-David 1999; Brunois 2004, 2007; Descola 2005; Viveiros de Castro 1998, 2009).

At Haivaro, several relational forms that people develop and maintain with their environment and with its human and non-human inhabitants are metaphorised in terms of kinship relations. The importance of representations about, and transmission of, procreative and other bodily substances in defining and shaping kin relations has been given much attention in anthropological literature (Godelier 1982; Hérítier 1997; Kurita 1994; Weiner 1982). At Haivaro, shared substances do play a great role in defining one's identity and in assigning a particular position within kin relations. That representations about procreative substances are challenged in the modern context has received academic attention in recent decades (Lindenbaum 2008; Malbrancke 2016). In this thesis, I discuss how such challenges have emerged at Haivaro, and their implications for the role that shared substances now play for the people who live there.

However, as has been noted elsewhere (Bonnemère 1990; Carsten 1995; Weismantel 1995), kinship may be both a state of being and a process, in that people possess a certain flexibility, or leeway, in negotiating identities and positions that have been assigned to them from the basis of shared substances. At Haivaro, this flexibility is expressed through what might be understood as the performance of a specific relational form. As has been observed elsewhere (Bamford 2006, 2007; Carsten 2013; Miller 2007; Wilson 2016), using 'unembodied' substances (e.g. particular types of food) as substitutes for shared procreative substances is common, and acting – or not acting – in a certain way (e.g. sharing, helping, exchanging, protecting) can do or undo relationships, whether or not those relationships were originally assigned on the basis of shared substances. This processual aspect of kinship, made possible at Haivaro through the interplay between the respective role of substances and performance in defining and building kin relations, is considered and analysed throughout the present thesis, with particular attention directed to ways in which, depending on context, the people themselves give more or less emphasis to either substances or performance in building and maintaining relations or, to say it differently, embody, disembody and re-embody these relations.

Finally, as has been observed in other parts of Papua New Guinea (Bamford 2007), the construction of identities and social relations at Haivaro also emerges from people's engagement with and within the land. In a modern context that transforms the land and challenges this engagement, it will be readily understood that the whole edifice on which constructions of identity and social relations are based is being upset, with substantial implications for the latter. These implications are analysed and discussed throughout this thesis.

About natural resources extraction in Papua New Guinea

Changes that occur in the context of the increasing encompassment of local communities within a wider modern world have attracted the attention of anthropologists for several decades (Comaroff & Comaroff 1993; Knauft 2002; LiPuma 2001; Singer & Cohn 1968; Strathern & Stewart 2004). Within Papua New Guinea, studies that have focused on impacts of resource extraction projects have concerned mining (Bainton 2009; Ballard & Banks 2003; Banks 2002; Biersack 1999; Filer 1997; Golub 2014; Guddemi 1997; Halvaksz 2008; Hyndman 2005; Jacka 2015; Jorgensen 2007; Kirsch 2006; Imbun 2007), oil and gas projects (Ernst 1999; Gilberthorpe 2004, 2007, 2014) and logging (Bell 2006; Bell *et al.* 2015; Filer *et al.* 2009; Gabriel & Wood 2015; Kabutaulaka 2005; Petilani 2004; Sillitoe & Filer 2014; Wood 1998, 2013, 2014). Each of these kinds of projects possesses its own distinctive features. Mining, for instance, has first been described as a localized activity in which the physical impacts on landscape mostly affect the immediate vicinity of the mine (Ballard & Banks 2003), but more recently analyses have highlighted the fact that impacts on people may have a far greater reach (Golub 2014; Jacka 2015; Kirsch 2006). Oil and gas projects, though sourced from particular locations, are likely to be incorporated into larger productive landscapes as pipelines from different sites converge on common processing and export facilities. This extended scope has been well analysed in Africa and South America (Finer *et al.* 2008; Thibault & Blaney 2003) though studies addressing impacts

of oil and gas extraction in Papua New Guinea have tended to remain local in their emphases (Gilberthorpe 2004, 2007). While studies on mining, oil and gas extraction in Papua New Guinea have mainly focused on local environmental and social impacts, studies of logging have a broader reach in their concern with ecological, political and legal implications at national and international levels and with questions of the sustainable management of forest resources (Bell *et al.* 2015; Filer *et al.* 2009; Gabriel & Wood 2015; Kabutaulaka 2005; Petilani 2004; Sillitoe & Filer 2014; Wood 2014). Comparatively, direct impacts of logging operations on local communities have been under-analysed, although studies have been conducted in the area where my research is located, as the presence of the Wawoi-Guavi concession, which 'has long been a key case study for concerns about the legality of PNG's forestry sector' (Wood 2014: 4-5), and its impacts on local populations, have been analysed in details by both Brunois (2004) and Wood (1995; 1998; 2013; 2014). My research resonates with their findings, although Haivaro people's involvement with the company differs from that described for Kasua and Mubami by, respectively, Brunois and Wood. Indeed, Haivaro Fasu are engaged to a greater extent with logging companies, and have benefited from greater developments, relative to their Kasua neighbours but are less involved with logging than the groups studied by Wood.

More generally, my own research resonates with recent developments in the anthropology of resource extraction in Papua New Guinea. Like studies of mining and of oil and gas extraction in Papua New Guinea, the scope of my research is primarily local, although my analysis of changing relationships does extend to more distant places and beings. Like studies concerned with logging, I take into account political and legal considerations at the level of the nation and the globe, though my concern here is with ways in which they may shape Haivaro people's understandings of their relationships with each other and with their land and neighbours. Finally, although my analyses of social change are framed by the direct impacts of logging activities, they reach further to consider less direct impacts of logging, that is to say the 'derived products' that have become available to people at Haivaro since their engagement with the logging company: money; basic services such as school, aid post and roads; manufactured goods and industrial food; people from distant places with their

alternative ways of understanding and explaining the world; and so on. In all these ways, my research aims to contribute to ongoing anthropological conversations about natural resources extraction in Papua New Guinea, while providing an original perspective on a particular ethnographic case.

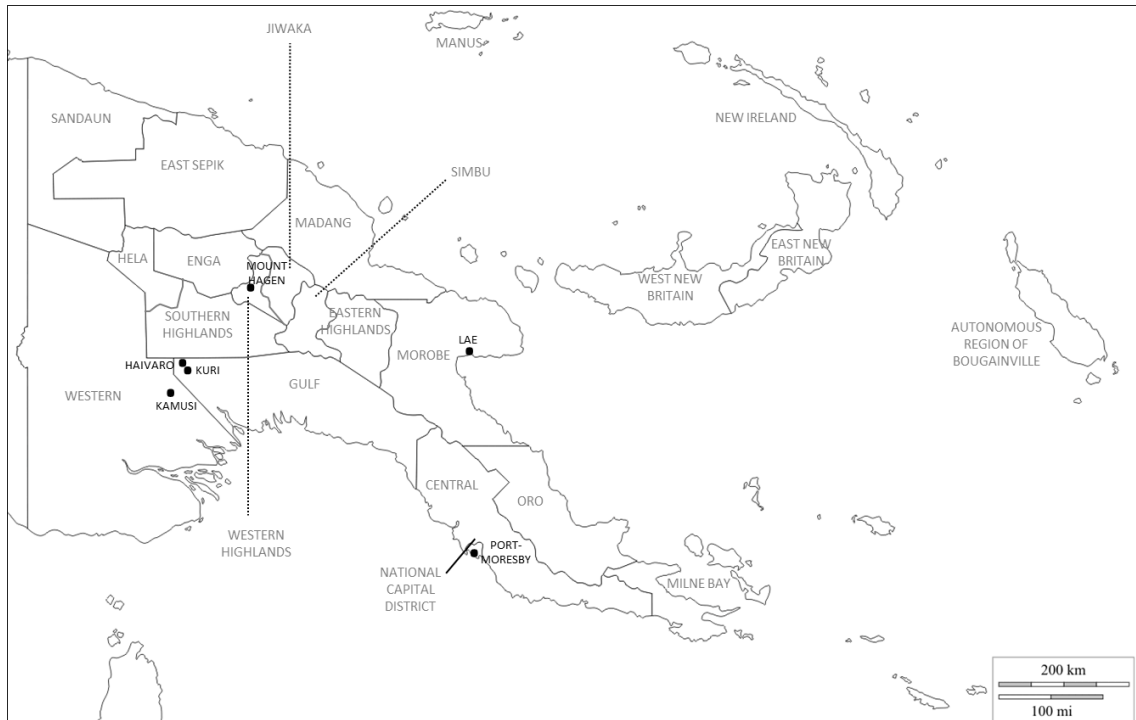
About the particular ethnographic case

I conducted fieldwork at the village of Haivaro for 20 months between March 2013 and March 2016. During that period, I visited Kuri village and the logging base-camps at both Kuri and Haivaro. Data were also collected during a few weeks spent in Port-Moresby, the capital of the country, where a few Haivaro residents lived temporarily for various purposes. Collection of data used ethnographic methods that included observation, mapping, interviews, surveys, discourse analysis of policy documents from state, and participation in a range of field settings and activities.

Haivaro village is located in lowland rainforest in the northwest of Gulf Province, Papua New Guinea (Figure 1). In 2013-2014, Haivaro was home to approximately 230 people, most of whom belonged to the language group known as Fasu in anthropological literature. This language group comprises 'approximately 1,100 people living in the rainforest fringe and sago swamp valleys south and south-east of Lake Kutubu' (Gilberthorpe 2014: 82). Haivaro is one of the southernmost Fasu villages on Fasu land¹ and people living there refer to themselves as *Namo aporo* (literally 'real men'), just as northern Fasu groups do (Gilberthorpe 2004). They also share with northern Fasu groups a common language that they call *Namo me* (literally 'real language') and which linguists consider to be affiliated with West Kutubuan stock and having affinities with Central and South New Guinea Stock to the west and East New Guinea Highlands Stock to the north (Franklin 1975). Their neighbours to the north and

¹ Kuri village, located about 40km southeast from Haivaro, is the southernmost village on Fasu land inhabited by Fasu speaking people.

southeast are other Fasu-speakers, to the northwest Kasua and to the southwest people who they name as Konomo².



(Source: http://www.d-maps.com/carte.php?num_car=28131&lang=en)

Figure 1: Map of Papua New Guinea showing location of Haivaro and nearby villages

Haivaro people were primarily hunter-horticulturalists relying upon sweet potato and bananas grown in small gardens, sago processed from wild and planted palms and the products of hunting and fishing. Since the 1990s, however, their diet has been greatly supplemented by purchased foods such as rice, noodles, tinned fish and wrapped chicken wings obtained from food stores that are owned and managed by the logging company operating in the region.

Sociality among Haivaro people entailed competitive exchanges³, payments of war compensation and transfers of women against bride wealth (Gilberthorpe 2004,

² Konomo is the name given by Haivaro residents to people living in the area surrounding and including the current Kamusi Village. Wood (2013:127) stated that ‘Gogodala, Bamu and Mubami speakers [make] up around three quarters of the total Kamusi population’ and it is not clear to me whether ‘Konomo’ refers to one or more of these groups.

2007). Social organisation is primarily based on patrilineal descent (Minnegal *et al.* 2015), open to external recruitment and structured around a social unit named *aporo ira* (literally ‘man tree’). An *aporo ira* is composed by men sharing patrilineal descent from a named ancestor, with their wives and children. There are six *aporo ira* in Haivaro: Hemyama, Kikiri, Yuria-Siriki, Kasua Rebeta, Kasere and Simayu. Residence pattern was and remains mainly virilocal with wives primarily associated with their husband’s *aporo ira*, although affiliation with their original *aporo ira* (that of their father) continues to be acknowledged.

Resettlement of widely dispersed longhouse communities into larger groups, encouraged by government and missionaries, has been underway since at least the 1950s (see Chapter 1). Initially, some patri-lineages relocated to form hamlets scattered in the surroundings of the current location of Haivaro. After completion of an airstrip in 1986 with the help from missionaries of the Evangelical Church of Papua New Guinea (ECPNG), these hamlets merged as a single village named Haivaro Swamp (*Haivaro fau* in *Namo me* language) that was about 3km north of the current location of the village. The presence of the airstrip progressively increased local access to exogenous goods such as steel axes, machetes, knives, matches, soap and salt. Expatriate missionaries left the area in the late 1980s though, since that time, people have remained aligned with either ECPNG or Seventh Day Adventist (SDA) missions, with Fasu men being local pastors.

When the missionaries departed, the airstrip at Haivaro was abandoned. In about 1990, Turama Forest Industries (TFI) established a base-camp at Kuri⁴. However, Kuri was located on the alluvial plain of the Turama River and both the airstrip and associated village were regularly flooded during the wet season. At these times it was impossible to land cargo planes and the logging company started to use the airstrip at Haivaro for transporting people, equipment and merchandise. In 1996, TFI opened a base-camp near Haivaro swamp. This provided them with easy access to local forest

³ Competitive exchanges among southern Fasu were at lesser scale, however, than equivalent exchanges among Highlands or northern Fasu-speaking groups.

⁴ Haivaro people reported that logging in the area was started by Turama Forest Industries (TFI), which was followed, first, by New Guinea Industry Corporation (NIC) and, subsequently, by Rimbunan Hijau (RH). I could not access institutional data to confirm or contradict these statements.

resources, and people progressively relocated around the airstrip to form the current village. Here, people now live in nuclear family houses that are grouped by *aporo ira*. Roads, a community school and a community aid post have been provided by timber companies during the past twenty years. In addition, by means of an Annual Benefits Fund⁵, the company sponsored a 'community house' that was equipped with a radio connecting Haivaro with Mission Aviation Fellowship and paid tuition and transport fees for young people who attended private mission schools in Port Moresby. In 2013-2014, two new churches for SDA and ECPNG churchgoers, funded from the same source, were built. Since the company was now taking timber from the land of Haivaro residents, the people living there received royalties and premiums of between one and two million kina each year⁶. In addition, in the late 2000s, oil started to be extracted from the land of one Haivaro *aporo ira*. The amount of royalties and premiums that this *aporo ira* derives from oil extraction is unclear to me.

Through the past two decades the presence of logging companies on their land has connected the people of Haivaro to a wider world in many different ways. By Papua New Guinea rural standards it has provided a high per-person income. In November 2014, however, the logging camp at Haivaro departed and this change entailed a significant drop in financial income and a decrease in the diverse basic services that had been provided or facilitated by the logging company. Further changes may be expected in the lifeways of people who live at Haivaro, since it was expected that the logging camp at Kuri would also depart in 2017; indeed, it was rumoured that Rimbunan Hijau would be banned from Gulf Province from 2017.

⁵ The Annual Benefit Fund is an entitlement that was put in place when landowners signed a project agreement with the TFI logging company. It was intended to facilitate infrastructures that would benefit the whole community.

⁶ In 2013-14, one Papua New Guinea kina was equivalent to approximately 0.5 Australian cents, 0.31 euros.

About the proposed research

The choice of this particular ethnographic case is relevant in several respects. First, most anthropological inquiries concerned with Fasu-speakers have been conducted among northern Fasu groups (Gilberthorpe 2004, 2007, 2014; Kurita 1985, 1988, 1994, 1995; Williams 1940, 1941), and in this sense, a complementary study conducted among a southern group constitutes a relevant contribution to the ethnography of the region and of the Fasu language group more specifically.

In addition, the scope of my own research, focused on changes as they affect people's engagement and relations with the world, differs significantly from studies of change conducted among other Fasu groups. For instance, Kurita's work is centred on the articulation between local and global understandings of change. It offers an interesting historical, political and environmental perspective on Fasu people's progressive encompassment within a wider world. My own research is concerned, rather, with local understandings of change, providing an ethnography that accounts for cultural and social diversity within a single language group, and, in this sense, is complementary to Kurita's work.

Gilberthorpe's analyses also provide a useful basis for my own research as they are concerned with local modes of social adaptations to external forces of change among Fasu people. The particular relevance of her work to my own resides in the fact that although northern and southern Fasu groups are closely related culturally and linguistically, differences between them in both socio-ecological settings and histories of development may enable identification of variables that shape outcomes of change. Indeed, northern groups live in mountainous terrain in the vicinity of Lake Kutubu while Haivaro people live in lowland rainforest. These different environments will provide different constraints and opportunities regarding adaptation to change. Second, considering their respective locations, northern and southern groups are in interaction with different neighbouring groups, northern groups for instance having closer relations with Highlanders with whom they develop competitive exchanges to a greater extent than Haivaro people do. Haivaro people, on the other hand, have a

more intense history of engagement with southern coastal groups than with distant Highlanders. These different histories of engagement with neighbouring groups are likely to have influenced expressions of change. Finally, since 1990, northern Fasu groups have been engaged with an oil extraction project while Haivaro people are involved with logging extraction, which is likely to have influenced both the nature and intensity of forces of change. Although my research is not intended to be a comparative study of northern and southern Fasu groups and their respective ways of understanding and experiencing change, it nevertheless provides a basis for such comparative work in the future.

About the methodology

In this thesis, I have chosen to focus on only some of the relationships that build the Fasu lifeworld – fatherhood, brotherhood, conjugality, gender relations and relations to ‘others’. I regard these to be particularly salient in Haivaro people’s way of building and understanding themselves, their world and their place within it.

The prevalence of a male’s perspective, evident in the chapters devoted to fatherhood and brotherhood, but also apparent in those concerned with conjugality, gender relations and the construction of alterity, is not the result of a methodological bias decided *a priori*. Rather, it resulted from specific constraints encountered during my fieldwork. Indeed, Haivaro people understood my research as an opportunity for them to become more visible to the State and, more broadly, to the wider world. On some level, they perceived my work as being potentially able to have political repercussions at a larger scale by ‘exporting’ a ‘picture’ of them to the wider world. At Haivaro, both political concerns and relations with the outside world are predominantly male prerogatives. As a consequence, it was important for Haivaro men that their perspectives appear as predominant in my writings compared to the perspectives of women. Practically, it meant that only men were appointed to work with me, and that all data related to the understandings and experiences of women

were collected in more informal settings. As a result, and although I have integrated data collected from women in this thesis, most of the social and cultural features of Haivaro Fasu described in this work take a predominantly male-centred point of view. This might not, however, greatly distort ethnographic reality, as a great part of sociality at Haivaro is thought of and enunciated from a male perspective, thus revealing the patriarchal orientation of Haivaro Fasu society: rules are male-centred, and people do not feel any need to define rules for women.

The testimonies of men have, to some extent, been subject to a similar kind of bias. Indeed, I was informed throughout my fieldwork that some men were better qualified than others to work with me and that I should ignore the narratives of particular individuals or groups. For instance, it was often recommended that I should confirm with older men the information that I gathered from younger men and should confirm with 'clan leaders' information collected from men who did not have that status. In this thesis I have tried to consider everyone's perspective while respecting recommendations that were made to me. In other words, I have confirmed the various narratives with the people who were legitimately appointed to do so, but most contributions appear in their 'un-reviewed' form in this thesis. Where contradictory or conflicting perspectives arose, I have chosen to mention both and to discuss what these contradictions may reveal about internal politics at Haivaro.

The role played by both the gender and the marital status of anthropologists in facilitating or constraining access to particular data or realms of experience has been mentioned in many studies (see for instance Bamford 2007; Godelier 1982). At Haivaro, I consider that such bias did not deeply constrain my research. Although Haivaro women shared with me their experiences in delicate domains such as conjugality or former female initiations more readily than men, I progressively had opportunities to discuss such subjects with a few men who felt confident enough with me to address such relatively intimate questions. I admit that my own modesty prevented me from conducting interviews with men that were as detailed as those I had the opportunity to conduct with women. However, the scope of my research did not require that I access such details so that it should not have constituted a major bias in my interpretations. Some anthropologists (see for instance Malbrancke 2016) have

argued that doing fieldwork with their partner has facilitated access to data about conjugal relations. I conducted fieldwork alone, but once it became clear to my informants that I had former conjugal experience my single status ceased to represent a constraint for discussion about such issues.

In an article concerned with mining, Ballard and Banks (2003:290) argued that anthropologists should pay 'closer attention to the internal structure and politics' of corporations with respect to their 'complex, revealing and challenging' impacts on local communities. They acknowledged, however, the 'notorious reluctance [of corporations] to expose themselves directly to ethnographic scrutiny'. Despite the evident suspicion of the managers of the logging company operating on Haivaro people's land vis-à-vis my presence, I was able to conduct some interviews that focused on their perspectives with respect to Haivaro people, themselves and the activities they undertook in the area. The content of these interviews, together with direct observations made when invited to their premises, are integrated in the present work in an attempt to understand Haivaro people's relation with the logging company in terms of reciprocal, rather than unidirectional, influences. However, what I could achieve was necessarily limited because I was not 'embedded' in the community of loggers in the way I was 'embedded' in and engaged with the local Haivaro community.

With the exception of a few elders, everyone at Haivaro was fluent in Tok Pisin during the times I was present and conducting fieldwork. This facilitated communication. Although I had the opportunity to learn *Namo me* language, my competence was insufficient to conduct full interviews in that language. Most narratives used in this thesis were thus recorded in Tok Pisin, and those recorded in *Namo me* were translated to me in Tok Pisin. The translation from *Namo me* to Tok Pisin may have resulted in overshadowing some subtleties of the culture of people living at Haivaro, and in some approximations in the translation of specific concepts. However, the influence of this on my interpretation of the data collected will have been minor.

Most testimonies quoted throughout this thesis appear with the name of their author but when referring to delicate subjects or when people asked to remain anonymous names of authors are not mentioned.

Recorded botanical and zoological identifications were obtained in two ways. Many people at Haivaro were fluent in the Kasua language and were able to provide both Fasu and Kasua names for some plants and animals. In many cases, scientific identification of those species using the Kasua name was provided by Brunois (2007). In addition, I elicited Fasu names for plants and animals by using photographs in reference books. Both these methods are likely to have resulted in some misidentifications.

Research outline

My aims in this thesis are twofold. I shall show that the Fasu lifeworld is built upon relations that people develop with each other, with their land and with their human and non-human neighbours. And I shall show how diverse endogenous and exogenous influences impact on, and contribute to change in, all these kinds of relations, thus literally changing people's world. Among the exogenous influences experienced by people at Haivaro, the arrival of a logging company on their land in 1996 has played a major role. While taking other influences into account, this thesis focuses on changes associated with the arrival of the logging company.

The focus of Chapter 1 is with a relationship that not only connects people – and particularly men – with their land, but also shapes the identity of those people and their land through mutually constitutive engagement. I open the Chapter with a detailed account of the geographical, historical and social settings in which Haivaro people live. This serves to contextualize what follows. The next section focuses more specifically on the relationship that connects Haivaro people to their land. This relationship is understood by Haivaro people in terms of fatherhood, where

fatherhood is built primarily through the transference of substances (incorporated by children) or labour (incorporated by the land) and the act of taking care. As will be shown, this relation is not necessarily expected to be reciprocal. In a third section, I argue that the lifeworld of Haivaro Fasu, built through fatherhood, has been and continues to be endangered by the intrusion onto their land by a foreign logging company. The consequences of this intrusion for Haivaro people's relation to their land and its inhabitants are discussed in a fourth section. In a concluding section, I explore the extent to which the relation of fatherhood through which Haivaro people built, think, understand and interact with their land might be extendable to the now more distant and extensive spaces that have increasingly become accessible to them.

Chapter 2 explores another relationship that is highly salient for Haivaro Fasu people. This relationship is that of brotherhood. As will be demonstrated, brotherhood links together various humans in a specific way, but, in addition, connects humans to particular non-humans, integrating the latter to the collective as brothers. In an opening section, I introduce Fasu kinship as the general framework within which brotherhood can be initially understood. In the second and third sections of the Chapter, I show how kinship among Fasu is constituted and maintained through a constant interplay between understandings of bodily substances and the necessity to perform relations in specific ways. In a fourth section, I show that, just as brothers share substances, they also share whatever they have, whenever they have it, making this relationship characterized by *generalized reciprocity*. I then extend the understanding of brotherhood by showing that the integration of a set of non-humans within this relation highlights the specificities of brotherhood compared to other kinship ties. In a concluding section, I explore the particular properties of brotherhood that allow this kinship relation, more than others, to be extended to include initially un-related people.

Chapter 3 is concerned with a relation whose foundations appear to be particularly challenged in the modern context. This is the relation of conjugality, which I discuss within the broader framework of Haivaro Fasu understandings of gender relations. The Chapter opens with a discussion of alliance patterns and the boundaries of incest framed as normative rules that are enunciated by people. A second section

analyses the different forms of marriage recognized by Haivaro residents and what they reveal about people's understandings of conjugality. I show that just as spouses exchange substances to conceive a child, they exchange the products of their labour so that conjugal relations are characterized by complementarity and *balanced reciprocity*. A third section will show how representations associated with bodily substances have been and remain challenged in modern contexts and, through these challenges, allow alternative understandings of gender relations and conjugality. Sections four and five discuss the consequences of such shifts in alliance patterns, arguing that alliance is now subject to a double movement of narrowing and opening, a movement that betrays the simultaneous presence among Haivaro Fasu of various – and sometimes conflicting – understandings of gender relations and conjugality in the modern context.

Chapter 4 extends the analysis of gender relations to pre-marital relationships that are becoming more common among Haivaro Fasu, and argues that by transforming their bodies, men and women at Haivaro attempt to resolve the tensions entailed in the simultaneous presence of various understandings of gender relations in the modern context. An opening section shows the important role played by the skin in both integrating and reflecting concerns about gender relations at Haivaro. In a second section, I focus on alterations observed on young men's skin that reveal male's perceptions of, and responses to, the shifts that occur in gender relations. I discuss how, in modern contexts, former founding principles of masculinity are disembodied and new ones are re-embodied. A third section analyses alterations observed on young women's skin that betray female's concerns about such shifts. In a way, taken together, these two sections reflect the implicit dialogue between Haivaro males and females as both intend to integrate and respond to changes affecting gender relations.

Chapter 5 extends the scope of the study by exploring the relations that connect Haivaro people with 'Others'. As and when the modern context that now encompasses Haivaro residents brings more distant 'foreigners' into their relational universe, their understandings of 'alterity' and their ways of 'relating' are renegotiated. The Chapter opens by discussing Haivaro Fasu people's understandings of sociality in terms of a property of 'sameness' that was formerly shared by all human and non-human inhabitants of the village. It demonstrates the role played by

reciprocal relations in defining this property. A second section analyses the relations between Haivaro people and a specific group of close neighbours: Kasua people who live to the immediate west. Relations with this group have been and continue to be subject to constant renegotiations that influence the way in which Kasua people were and are now perceived by Haivaro Fasu, in relation to the extent to which reciprocal relations were and are now achieved with these people. Finally, a last section considers Haivaro Fasu's relations with 'others' in a historical perspective. I show that, just as substances were sometimes 'taken' from others, relations with them were – and continue to be – marked by *negative reciprocity* in which Fasu people take without giving in return. I also highlight that the entities encompassed by this particular relational form have shifted through time.

The concluding Chapter offers a summary of the main findings that emerged from this research. I highlight how a focus on relations, rather than on the entities connected through these relations, was relevant to understanding the changes that occurred in the lives of Haivaro Fasu people in the last decades. I put forth the centrality of the concept of reciprocity in Haivaro people's way of understanding and building relations, highlighting that different forms of reciprocal relations – non-reciprocal, generalized, balanced or negative – parallel the representations about transmitted, shared, exchanged and taken substances. The 'incorporated' dimension of change is then discussed to show how Haivaro Fasu use their body to both reproduce and contest a specific social order, in other words to integrate and orientate changes. I finally highlight how changes are locally perceived and the ambiguities that arise from processes of change, stressing the ability of Haivaro Fasu to express their own agency and orientate their trajectories of life.

BEING A WAFAYA

Building a world by taking care

Introduction

The role played by people's relations to land in creating and shaping identities and social relations has been observed in many parts of the world (Bamford 2007; Surralles & Garcia Hierro 2005; Turnbull 1961). For people at Haivaro, both the land and its human and non-human inhabitants are generated through actions of the men who produce, care for and protect them. Because caring and protecting are the main features characterizing, at Haivaro, the relationship between a father and his children, the relationship of protection connecting a man to his land and its inhabitants is metaphorised by Haivaro Fasu in terms of 'fatherhood'. Consequently, men who care for their lands become '*hauaka wafaya*': the fathers of these lands.

This relationship is mutually constitutive: as a man becomes a father only through production of and care for children, so he becomes *hauaka wafaya* only through producing and protecting the land and its inhabitants. As noted among some other groups in Papua New Guinea (Bamford 2007; Dwyer & Minnegal 1999a), people at Haivaro usually refer to a portion of land as being the land of a named person rather than being the land of a particular named '*aporo ira*'⁷. In this way, they emphasize the particular relation connecting a man with the portion of land he protects. The labour a man invests in caring for land is embodied in that land. Increasingly then, a man becomes associated with the land he cares for, in his understanding as well as in the understanding of others. At least in the past, as was the case elsewhere in Papua New Guinea (Dwyer & Minnegal 1999b), such embodiment and association conferred user-rights upon men who, as *hauaka wafaya*, cared for portions of land, irrespective of whether these areas were located on the land of their own or of someone else's *aporo*

⁷ References to land as associated with a whole '*aporo ira*', however, are deeply increasing in the modern context. This shift is discussed in detail in the chapter.

*ira*⁸. Considerations about ‘caring’ took precedence over considerations about ‘ownership’ and, considering the frequent migrations of groups and people throughout the land, it was not uncommon for portions of land to be cared for – and on some level temporarily owned – by successive men. Migration stories collected in Haivaro indeed suggest that portions of land associated with given individuals have varied over time, at the option of gifts, war episodes or migrations, and that one considered a portion of land being his own as long as he cared for it.

As will be developed in the chapter, people at Haivaro consider that the land itself, and its inhabitants, recognize the association, responding in some ways to their ‘father’. However, this is not *reciprocity* – the land cannot ‘repay’ a man’s investment in it, any more than a child can ‘repay’ its parents’ care, though it may be expected, or rather hoped, that both may pay tribute to their father by giving at some later time. In this sense, this relation is asymmetrical and the care invested contributes to build a man’s identity as a *hauaka wafaya*. What is at stake is identity – the people and places with which one identifies himself and is identified by others.

I begin this chapter by tracing the history of engagement – of care and protection – that underlies emergence of the particular collective that now identifies with and as Haivaro. In doing so, I draw on data collected at Haivaro and early patrol reports (Allen 1953; Ethell 1938; McGregor 1955; Phillips 1957-58; Robb 1948). I then show how this engagement reflects principles organising sociality among Haivaro Fasu, and how the land embodies this sociality.

I go on to discuss key features that shape the relation of protection which connects a man to his lands and to the various inhabitants of that land. I compare these features to characteristics that shape the relation that link a man to his children. In doing so, the underlying reasons for the relationship to land being metaphorised by Fasu in terms of ‘fatherhood’ will become evident.

⁸ References to land as associated with a whole ‘*aporo ira*’, in relation to considerations about ownership, however, are deeply increasing in the modern context. This shift is discussed in detail in the chapter.

In a third section, I trace how this relationship to land plays out in terms of rights and responsibilities, and show how the arrival of a logging company on Haivaro people's land provided the context for people to renegotiate former connections between 'fatherhood', 'caring' and 'ownership' in relation to land.

I then demonstrate how Haivaro people's confrontation with this modern context has, in a more general way, reduced the scope of the relation of protection that characterizes the relationship between a *wafaya*, his land and its various inhabitants. As has been observed in other parts of the world (see Morelli 2017 for an example in Amazonia, for instance), Haivaro people's relation to the land, understood in terms of fatherhood, is becoming more 'marginal' as and when different connections with other – and often more distant – places are developed.

Finally, I show how an inability to care for the 'new' places Haivaro people now encounter as they travel further afield renders identification with these places insecure. Identification was always mutable in the past, as people moved across the land, but this is changing. In these new places, people are consumers, not producers, and for this reason, Haivaro people's relationship to those places cannot be metaphorised in terms of 'fatherhood'.

Haivaro and its inhabitants: geographical and historical background

Located in the extreme northwest of the Gulf Province of Papua New Guinea, the land of Haivaro people occupies about 1900 km² between the Mount Bosavi to the northwest, the Darai Plateau to the northeast, and the Biwai Hills to the south (Figure 2).

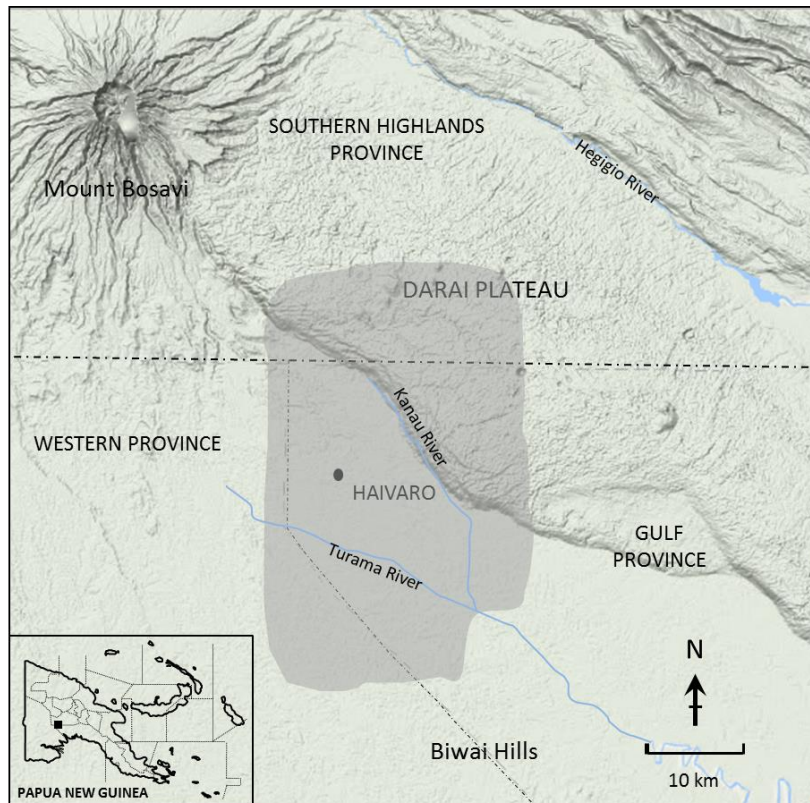


Figure 2: The land of Haivaro people (shaded)

This land is held by the members of six *aporo ira* whose primary residential base is currently Haivaro village. In *Namo me* language, *aporo ira* can be translated as ‘tree of men’ and corresponds to a segment of a patrilineage within a particular ‘clan’ whose male members can trace a connection to a common male ancestor, usually the paternal grand-father or great-grand-father of the oldest male living member of the *aporo ira*. This common male ancestor is metaphorically associated with the trunk of the tree, with his male descendants associated with the branches. The six *aporo ira* currently living in Haivaro are named Kasere, Simayu, Yuria Siriki, Kasua Rebeta, Hemyama and Kikiri⁹. They consist of groups of households each of which, ideally,

⁹ I was initially told that Hemyama and Kikiri originated when a clan named Nauma split. Later, I was told that Nauma had originally split into three sub-clans – Nauma, Hemyama and Kikiri – but Nauma no longer had living members. Members of both Hemyama and Kikiri often referred to themselves as Nauma, but members of Kikiri often said that they were the ‘true’ and ‘original’ Nauma. Underlying issues that may have led to these contradictory statements were not revealed to me and, in this thesis, I use the name Nauma only as it appears in migration stories and patrol reports. Otherwise, as requested by local people, I use the names Hemyama and Kikiri.

comprises a married couple, their children and sometimes a man's widowed mother¹⁰. Households within *aporo ira* are connected through patrification as sets of brothers and their married sons each of whom lives in his own family house. In 2013-2014, Kasere comprised six households (3 brothers, their 2 married sons and a migrant from Sepik, all of whom had wives and children); Simayu comprised six households (2 brothers, their 3 married sons and a migrant from Kaiam¹¹, all of whom had wives and children); Yuria Siriki comprised four households (1 older man and his 3 married sons, all with wives and children, and 1 widow); Kasua Rebeta comprised six households (3 brothers and their 3 married sons, all with wives and children, and one widow); Hemyama comprised seven households (3 brothers, their 2 married sons, and 2 migrants, all with wives and children, and one widow); finally, Kikiri comprised six households (2 brothers, their 3 married sons, and a migrant, all with wives and children, and one widow). Among the five migrants affiliated to Haivaro *aporo ira*, three originated from other parts of Papua New Guinea, used to work for the logging company on Haivaro people's land, married women from Haivaro and became affiliated to their wife's *aporo ira* as they chose to live in uxorilocal residence; one was the son of a Haivaro woman married to a worker of the logging company originating from Kerema village in Gulf Province; the couple used to live in the company's base camp and their son married a Haivaro woman, chose to live in uxorilocal residence in Haivaro and became affiliated to his wife's *aporo ira*, which was also the *aporo ira* of his own mother; the last migrant was a married pastor from Baimuru sent to Haivaro until a local pastor had been trained, who decided to stay with his wife and children; he is not affiliated to a Haivaro *aporo ira* but built his house near the households of Hemyama. The reasons for choosing this location are not known to me.

The current configuration and location of Haivaro village is the result of a long process of settlement since the 1940's that was encouraged by both Australian Patrols and missionaries. At first contact, people were widely dispersed as small groups who

¹⁰ In Haivaro, an unmarried female is associated with her father's *aporo ira* and then with her husband's *aporo ira* when married. At the death of her husband, she remains affiliated to his *aporo ira* through her sons, unless she re-marries and becomes affiliated to her new husband's *aporo ira*. In 2013-2014, all widowed women had sons; I was told that a widowed woman without sons would return to her original place with her female children and be re-affiliated to her father's or brother's *aporo ira*.

¹¹ Kaiam is a non-Fasu village located along the Turama River, about 100km to the southeast of Haivaro (See Busse *et al.* 1993: x-xi).

moved often in response to the maturation of sago palms, availability of other subsistence resources and dispute. Ethell's patrol report from 1938 mentions groups of people named Kasere living near the point of confluence of Turama and Kanau Rivers (Figure 3). Later, Robb (1948) reported a living place on the Darai Plateau that he named Nauma and that, according to him, included Nauma people from Hiukapari village which had been visited by Ethell in 1938¹². Robb's report suggests that Kikiri people also lived here and refers to a village named Faso, to the north of Nauma village, that was inhabited by people he called 'Yakora'¹³ and another, with no details of location, named Simayu. After a fight with Yakora people, a few Nauma migrated to a village called Yakimovi near the point of confluence of Turama and Kanau Rivers. In his report of 1953, Allen mentioned a village that he called Kasere located to the northeast of Nauma. He named its inhabitants Saware Kasere to differentiate them from the Kasere groups living to the South near Turama River. He also reported the presence of Kasua people in Nauma village (people of Rebeta clan, that Allen named 'Bebeta'). In 1955, for the first time, the former Nauma village is referred to as Haivaro and Macgregor (1955) stated that people living there spoke *Namo me* as well as Kairi¹⁴ and Kasua thus implying co-residence by members of Nauma, Kasere and Kasua Rebeta clans. In a report of 1957-58, Phillips mentions the migration of a few members of Nauma to a village called Sumakarimo, near the junction of Turama and Kanau rivers¹⁵.

¹² I found no reference to this village in the available parts of Ethell's 1938 report.

¹³ In Haivaro, *Yakora* was presented to me as a Fasu clan from Kutubu area.

¹⁴ In his report, Macgregor (1955) states that 'the Nauma word for Kairi is Kasere'.

¹⁵ A village called Sumakarimo is nowadays located along the Turama River, about 40km as the crow flies downstream of the current Haivaro village.

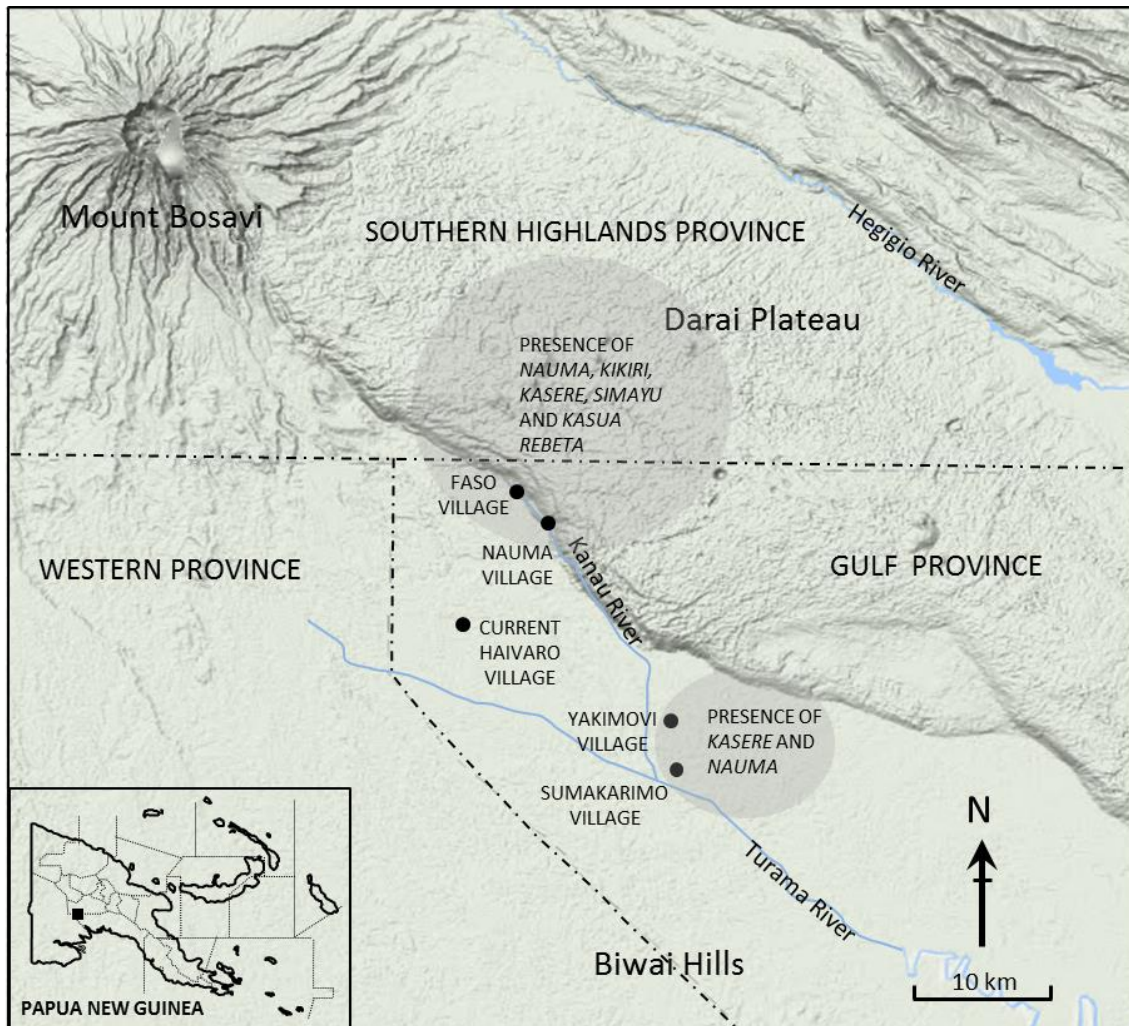


Figure 3: Location of villages and groups of people mentioned in patrol reports

Patrol reports provide information that is relevant to a reconstruction of the history of Haivaro people. However, that information must be treated with care. It is partial and incomplete. It seldom mentions the names of particular people and where it reports group names that, in current understandings, are the names of *aporo ira* it is never clear whether the people so-named represent all or merely a section of that *aporo ira*. In other cases, names that have currency at the present time – Yuria-Siriki for example – do not appear in patrol reports. It is necessary, therefore, to consider the accounts found in patrol reports in the light of present-day stories of migration. The following narrative reconstructs the migration history of Haivaro people from stories told in 2013-14 by members of each *aporo ira* living in Haivaro (Figure 4):

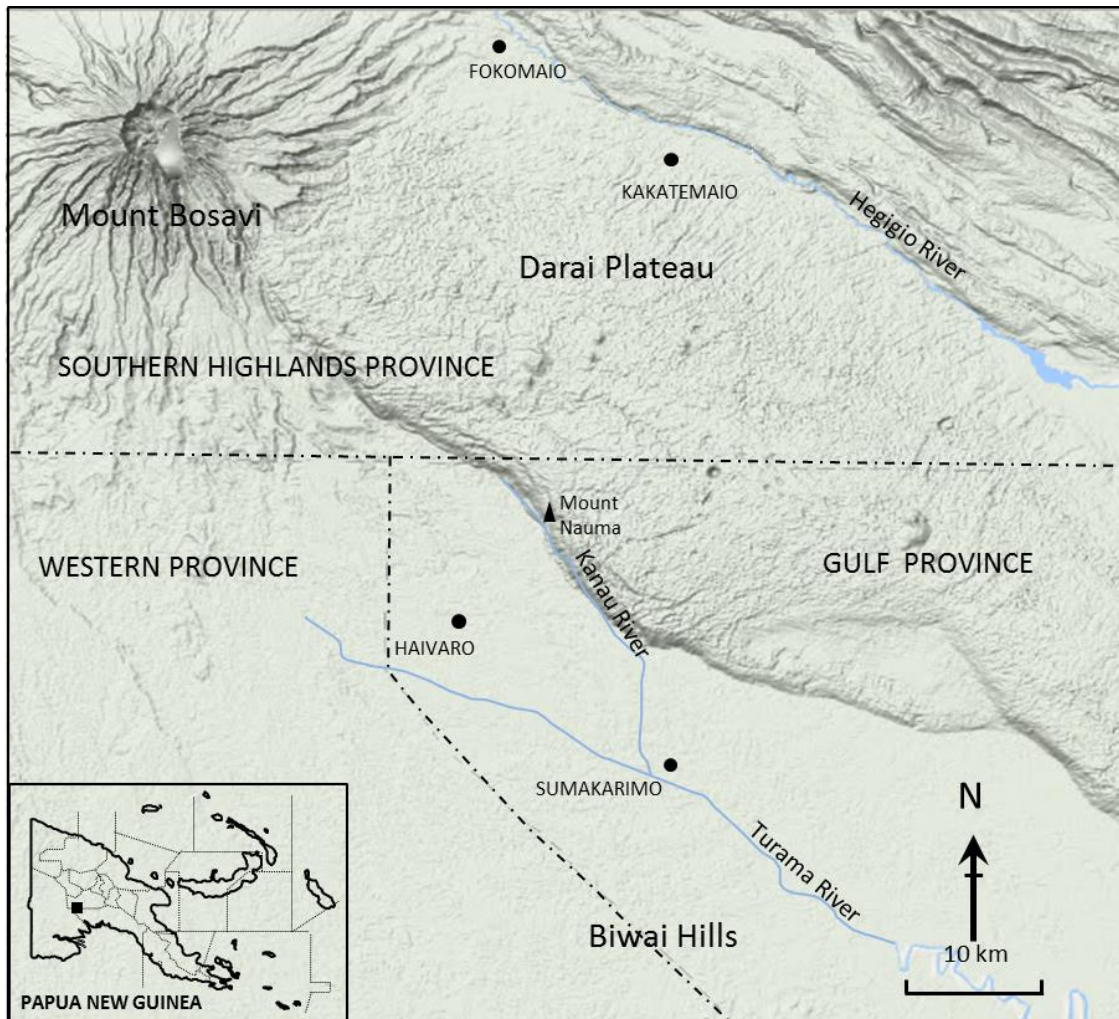


Figure 4: Locations mentioned in migration stories¹⁶.

During pre-colonial time, some members of Simayu lived as scattered groups on the northern slopes of Mount Bosavi. In searching for new sago swamps they slowly moved east, passing through Fokomaio to reach Kakatemaio. Some people decided to stay at Kakatemaio, others followed the Hegigio river to reach Baina, while yet others decided to continue to the south until they arrived at a place called Saripitiki. Here, a Simayu woman married an old man from Nauma. At this time, most Nauma people were living at the top of Mount Nauma where,

¹⁶ Saripitiki, Huanebo, and Wafere Karamayu are not shown because I did not have the opportunity to visit these former locations and record coordinates. Sumakarimo village is shown because, though it is not mentioned in migration stories, some Haivaro residents claim to have been born there, suggesting at least a temporary settlement of people at this place.

according to legend, they had originated from flying foxes and possums and where their neighbours, living at the foot of the mountain, were Kikiri people. In the *Namo me* language 'the foot of the mountain' is Urikikiripu and it is from this place name that Kikiri people take their name. At a later time, people of Kikiri and Nauma migrated together to the south toward the current site of Haivaro village. At this time too, some Kasere people, who had migrated from a small lake in the north called Patumayu¹⁷, lived near Saripitiki.

At Kakatemaio, the Simayu people were soon joined by some Siriki people who came from Waro in the Kutubu area. A Siriki man married a Simayu woman but after some years a dispute broke out when a Siriki man wanted to marry his own sister. Ashamed by the trouble they had now caused, the Siriki people decided to leave Kakatemaio and join other Simayu people at a new place called Huanebo. They were soon joined there by some Kasere people who relocated after a series of intra-clan disputes at Saripitiki.

During this time, the oldest Hemyama man lived in Saripitiki. One day while hunting, he met a Siriki man who suggested that he build his own village on a portion of the Siriki man's land. The old man agreed and several Hemyama and Siriki people migrated to this new place. There were many worms at this place and so they called it Wafere Karomayu (wounded worms). Because they had migrated together and now shared land together they referred to each other as brother aporo ira. In Wafere Karomayu, they were soon joined by some Simayu members.

Sometime later, Hemyama, Siriki and Simayu people who lived at Wafere Karomayu fought with against members of a Kasua clan called Temeta. During one fight, they killed an old man and kidnapped his three grand-children. One of those grandchildren, Parawi, was adopted by the members of Simayu. He matured, got married and formed his own aporo ira which he called Kasua Rebeta, a name

¹⁷ Weiner (1988: 19) states that Kasere people were called Kewa by their Foi neighbours and lived in the south of the Kikori River. Busse *et al.* (1993: 29) state that Kasere was the name that Ikobi people living along the upper reaches of the Kikori River gave to their own language. According to my informants in Haivaro, Kasere is the name given to them by Kasua people and derives from the Kasua name for a possum that Kasere people used to eat in great quantities. None of my informants could recall the name that they had used to identify themselves prior to the attribution of the name Kasere by Kasua people.

derived from his original Temeta clan¹⁸. For some years they continue to live at Wafere Karomayu. But one day, a dog defecated inside the longhouse. People tried to determine whether the dog belonged to Hemyama or Simayu. A dispute arose and Simayu people decided to leave Wafere Karomayu. They were accompanied by some Kasua Rebeta members and established a new settlement on land near the current site of Haivaro village. They named this place Wayakotiki and here they were joined by a Kasere man who married a Simayu woman and a Kasere woman who married a Kasua Rebeta man. After a few years, the Kasua Rebeta population became so numerous that they were asked to establish their own village a bit further away.

It was at this time that patrols of the Australian colonial government entered the area and encouraged the scattered communities to come together and live at a single place. This would facilitate censuses. Gradually, people drew closer to a sago swamp they called Haivaro swamp (*'Haivaro fau'* in *Namo me*). When missionaries arrived some years later, they encouraged local people to build an airstrip. This was completed in 1986 and it encouraged people to build living places nearby. The process of amalgamation and sedentarization was fully achieved in 1996 when a logging company established a base camp about 3km from the airstrip and commenced a phase of intense logging. At that time, the *aporo ira* at Haivaro were registered as Incorporated Land Groups¹⁹ (ILG) entitled to share the benefits derived from the extraction of timber on their land. Hemyama and Kikiri members united to form a single ILG called Nauma, an agreement that was ratified by the marriage of a Hemyama man and a Kikiri woman and the transfer of a portion of Hemyama land as part of the bride-price. The Siriki people living at Haivaro chose to rename themselves Yuria Siriki – Yuria being the name of a mountain on their land – to avoid any confusion with Siriki who lived at Kuri village and were also involved with the logging company.

¹⁸ His adoption by members of *Simayu* resulted in the current *Kasua Rebeta* members living in Haivaro referring to the concerned *Simayu aporo ira* as their *kepo*, their 'origin' in *Namo me* language, those they 'grew up from'.

¹⁹ 'In Papua New Guinea, legislation is in place that allows customary land groups to use their land in the formal economy. The main vehicle for this is a form of 'incorporation'. Incorporation is a legal term—in this case, for when a customary landowning group forms a body that has legal status under the formal legal system. This body, or corporation, can sue and be sued, hold assets in its name, hire agents, sign contracts and make rules governing its internal affairs' (Power 2008: 4).

When talking about past migrations Haivaro people spoke of the lineage segment or group of lineage segments that had moved. They did not refer to *aporo ira* in their entirety. Indeed, while in general conversation people were likely to state that they were members of 'such or such clan' (Kasere, Simayu, Rebeta, Siriki or Nauma and so forth), in discussions involving people who lived elsewhere they were likely to add names that differentiated within particular '*aporo ira*'. For example, Kasere people living at Haivaro identify themselves as Patumayu Kasere, identify Kasere people at Fokomaio as Sai Kasere and identify Kasere people living at Kakatemaio as Saware Kasere. Similarly, Simayu people living at Haivaro refer to themselves as Karo Simayu, by contrast with the Bunu Simayu who live at Kakatemaio. Rebeta people have, on the one hand, modified their name to differentiate it from the original Temeta clan and, on the other, self-refer as Kasua Rebeta when recalling their origin to other Haivaro residents. In a similar way, the former Nauma clan split into three *aporo ira* (Hemyama, Nauma and Kikiri), two of which now living in Haivaro. Finally, as noted above, Siriki people living in Haivaro differentiate themselves from other Siriki members by prefixing their name with Yuria. Thus, for Fasu people living in Haivaro expressions of affiliation may vary, depending on which people one wishes to distinguish oneself from (or identify with) at a given time. An individual may, in different contexts, claim affiliation to a lineage segment, a group of lineage segments, a clan, a village-based community, a whole language group or even, in discussions involving foreigners, as a Papua New Guinean.

It is clear from the foregoing that the emphasis Haivaro people accord to different groups or subgroups varies with context. The fluidity of social groups in Papua New Guinea at all scales and contexts and across time has been widely reported in the anthropological literature (Ernst 1999, Gilberthorpe 2007, Jorgensen 2007). Among Haivaro Fasu, too, group composition and relationships between groups have been subject to variation through time. And while this fluidity continues to be expressed in modern contexts there are some kinds of relations that appear to have high salience for Haivaro Fasu as a people. Of particular note in its contribution to building the Haivaro Fasu lifeworld is the relation of 'fatherhood' that people develop and maintain with their land and its human and non-human inhabitants.

***Wafaya*-ness as the emergence of a lifeworld**

I have shown that, in the past, the lifestyle of Haivaro was punctuated by frequent movements between temporary settlements within a moderately extensive area of land. These movements entailed much more than mere ‘travel’ from one place to another within an insignificant landscape. On the contrary, by wandering the land people came to know it and to incorporate that knowing into what it meant to be Haivaro Fasu. Among these people, as among others, analysing interactions between people and their land reveals something of the ways in which their lifeworld is built, known and understood (Bird-David 1999, 2006; Dwyer & Minnegal 1998, 1999a, 2007; Ingold 1993, 2000; Weiner 2001).

Although, in the time I lived with them, Haivaro Fasu did not wander the forest as often or as extensively as they had in the past – a matter that will be discussed later – small trips to areas near the village were made frequently to access sago palms and gardens, to hunt small game or to collect various forest resources. Two short trips to more distant locations, each of several days duration and by small groups of people, occurred during 2013-2014. For Haivaro Fasu, travelling between places or establishing temporary forest camps are never merely casual affairs. Wandering the land was always the occasion to check the growth and degree of maturation of particular trees, to locate specific trees such as *tikiasó* (*Camposperma brevipetiolata*) whose oily sap is used to perfume the costumes worn during traditional dances, to identify the trails followed by game animals, to set traps, or to clean and otherwise maintain the pathways themselves. It was also the occasion to visit the sites of previous settlements and to remember family members who had lived there or, perhaps, died there. To wander the land is to decipher and learn it and, for Haivaro people, all senses are engaged. When walking through the forest, people touch tree trunks and soil, they smell leaves, taste fruits, notice subtle changes and listen to the sounds that comprise the unique symphony of the forest. Walking through the forest is an intense activity, an activity of complete engagement. On one occasion, when working with a Haivaro resident to identify birds in a book that I had carried, he first imitated the song of the

bird and only then could give its name. Seeing only the picture was not sufficient for identification; the man needed to engage with at least a memory of his own experience. Moreover, he concluded the session by advising me to organize a forest sojourn to try to see the birds *in-situ*, in order to confirm the identification from pictures that, according to him, could only be partial and therefore uncertain. People apprehend their land as place and source of meaningful information they must learn to read. Knowing their land is to be able to receive and interpret the multiple sensory signals it gives. But in this process, they are not passive receivers. A 'reply' is often necessary to clarify or confirm information. They may imitate the song of a bird to initiate a conversation with it. They may clear a small place where the soil is of high quality and plant something there. They may mark their presence by sculpting a pattern that represents their own lineage on a tree trunk²⁰. Or they may sing an incantation to inform the land that they are visiting. In these and other ways they interact with the land and learn to know it²¹.

Interacting with the land in the ways described above is termed *hauaka rakiraka* (working the land) by Haivaro people. The verb *rakiraka* is used in very specific contexts. Transforming and painting the skin during initiations or ceremonial dances is *kau rakiraka* (working the skin). Planting and harvesting a garden is *hemo rakiraka* (working a garden). Building a house with bush materials is *ape rakiraka* (working a house). The verb *rakiraka* thus seems to imply 'bringing into existence' or 'bringing into life' through human action. Undifferentiated children, *hokosa*, become proper male and female individuals, *mano* and *masira*, through the working of their skin. Ordinary people become powerful dancers through the painting and adornment of their skin. An undifferentiated piece of land becomes an abundant garden through human work. Heterogeneous bush materials become home to a particular family through the work of kin. And, similarly, a portion of forest becomes meaningful land through the work of a man who, recursively, becomes acknowledged as its owner. Building a house, planting and harvesting a garden, processing sago, hunting or fishing

²⁰ See Appendix 1 for examples of such sculpted patterns.

²¹ For comparative literature on people's engagement with their environment from PNG and elsewhere, see, for instance, Bird-David 1993; Descola 2005; Ingold 2000; Surralles & Garcia Hierro 2005; Weiner 2001.

all transform portions of undifferentiated forest into meaningful spaces. All these actions literally produce places, they 'bring existential space into being: the space in which human intention inscribes itself upon the earth' (Weiner 2001: 15).

Dwelling in, and naming, particular places also contribute to the emergence of meaningful places. It is through human occupation and progressive transformation that undifferentiated portions of land come to have meaningful existence, an existence acknowledged by the attribution of a name. Thus, Taresese (literally 'damaged fingertip') evokes the injuries caused by a very long fight with bows and arrows between members of Hemyama and their enemies; Aiyatorea (Aiyato creeper is there) indicates the location, on the land of Kikiri members, of a powerful creeper necessary for the preparation of various potions; Wafere Karomayu (*Wafere* worm wound on itself) calls to mind that ancestors of Hemyama had to get rid of these worms before building their longhouse. For Haivaro people, giving a name to a place is attributing it a social identity linked to a particular group of people, a lineage in the above examples. People produce their land at the same time as they inscribe their own history onto it and, in this process, they emerge as a particular social group associated with a particular area of land. Throughout generations, but also in the course of their migrations, people become attached to, and identified with, different areas of land. Indeed, some elders in Haivaro know the names of former settlements and the events that occurred there, without themselves having been to those places and without being able to locate them precisely. But as older generations die, and younger generations do not engage with those places, so too these formerly meaningful places may progressively disappear from the collective memory, as places with more recent inscription become more salient.

When specifically talking about their land, Haivaro men are more likely to translate *rakiraka* as 'taking care of' or 'looking after' rather than as 'working'. In Haivaro, identification as owner is a male prerogative and portions of land are mainly transmitted agnatically²². While women can 'work' a garden or a sago swamp located on the land, male activities on the land are considered to be ways of 'looking after'

²² Land is usually transmitted by a father to his sons, but transmission to migrants was also common in the past.

rather than ‘working’²³. On some level, therefore, while women ‘produce’ something from the land, men ‘produce’ the land itself. The association of women with particular areas of land is more fluid than that of men, because particular women will first ‘work’ the land of their father and brothers and, subsequently, ‘work’ the land of their husband and sons. While women have user-rights on the portions of land that they ‘work’, men have both user and owner-rights on the area of land that they ‘look after’. This does not imply, however, that women do not develop relations with particular places in the land. Rather, my research focus was on interactions between people and the land as a whole, and the role of males in contributing to those interactions appeared to be greater than the role of females. Protecting land, and the relation that emerges from doing so, has the outcome that a man becomes a *hauaka wafaya*, a father of the land. There is no feminine equivalent to this expression in *Namo me* language.

‘When I take care, I become a wafaya’.

In Haivaro, the oldest male member of an *aporo ira* is recognized as the person responsible for the land as a whole, as the main *hauaka wafaya*. This man then entrusts portions of the land to his brothers and sons – and sometimes to male migrants in uxorilocal residence – to look after such that they become secondary *hauaka wafaya*. The oldest living male member of the *aporo ira* is considered to have the most complete knowledge of the land, of the myths, history, geographical boundaries and resources associated with it. As is the case elsewhere in Papua New Guinea (Bamford 2007: 35), this knowledge can be acquired only progressively through a life time of engagement. In entrusting portions of the land to his brothers and sons the main *hauaka wafaya* is beginning to transmit this knowledge, for when he dies one of them will replace him. It may happen – though it is rare – that the second oldest living member of the *aporo ira*, who would be expected to inherit the position of main *hauaka wafaya*, fails to demonstrate his worth and a younger brother is acknowledged as the next main *hauaka wafaya*. Even if the main *hauaka wafaya* fails to adequately

²³ When talking about their various activities associated with the land, women in Haivaro Haivaro always translated *rakiraka* by the pidgin verb ‘wokim’ (working) while men always translated it by ‘lukautim’ (looking after).

care for his land, it is not possible to deprive him of his rights; people can only hope that the man who replaces him after his death will perform his caring role more diligently. Being a *wafaya* is thus not an intrinsic or an inherited status. One is not born a *wafaya*. One becomes a *wafaya* through acts of taking care, thus revealing ‘the generative potential of the landscape’ (Bamford 2007: 38). And that is a responsibility which a man must show he has fulfilled through time. For Haivaro men, taking care of their land implies various kinds of activities, such as clearing a path, cleaning excessive vegetation around young sago palms, clearing spaces for their wives to make a garden, planting coconuts and sago palms for food and trees suitable for house building, setting up a favourable vegetal ‘niche’ by creating a mound of soil covered with a thick cluster of leaves for encouraging the *Koapono* (Yellow-legged brush turkey, *Talegalla fuscirostris*) to lay her eggs, which are a valued food, in specific places, and so on. In earlier times, some of these tasks took place far from the house where a man lived and, thus, required long-term forest sojourns and the establishment of temporary forest settlements. Nowadays, however, they usually occur close to the village and no longer require the establishment of temporary forest camps. Only when these tasks are accomplished regularly is a man acknowledged and referred to as the *hauaka wafaya* of a given portion of land. It is said of a few men in Haivaro that they do not care for their land in this way and, as a consequence, are not recognized by others as being real *hauaka wafaya*. In these cases, the portion of land that they are supposed to look after is considered to fall within the general responsibility of the main *hauaka wafaya*. Failure to take care of land may reduce a man’s legitimacy to influence decisions concerning the land. In the modern context, such failure may occur more often as people have increasing opportunities to travel and be absent from the village and the land, a point that will be developed further in this chapter.

‘If I am the wafaya of a tree or of a river for instance, then I have power and authority over them’.

Unlike the term *apa* – also translated as ‘father’ by *Namo me* speakers – which circumscribes a relationship that involves only humans, the term *wafaya* connotes a relation that reaches to non-humans. Indeed, a man can be the *wafaya* of his house (*ape wafaya*) and of the children (*hokosa wafaya*) and dogs (*kasa wafaya*) inhabiting it.

Similarly, he can be the *wafaya* of a portion of land (*hauaka wafaya*), and of the rivers (*he wafaya*), trees (*ira wafaya*), sago palms (*asipa wafaya*), game (*makata kakaiya wafaya*) and almost all resources present within it. Having ‘power’ and ‘authority’ over the beings and things that he cares for is understood to be a direct consequence of the responsibility a man assumes while becoming *hauaka wafaya*. By performing this responsibility appropriately through the act of taking care, men gain legitimacy with respect to the decisions they take regarding the things and beings for they are the *wafaya*. The oldest male member of the *aporo ira* is understood to be the main *hauaka wafaya* and as having the most power and authority over the land of that *aporo ira*. Secondary *hauaka wafaya* – or *hauaka wafaya* in the making – have power and authority over particular resources and places that they care for. Through their power and authority, they become the primary recipients of the rewards that may derive from their care. As a Haivaro man once explained:

If I take care of a tree, I become his *wafaya*. It means that if the tree produces fruits for example, I will be the one collecting them. I can share these fruits, but no one will take them without my permission because I am the one who helped them grow. If the tree does not produce fruits, because the weather is bad or the tree is sick, it does not mean that I didn’t take care of the tree appropriately, it just happens for many reasons, and I will still be the *wafaya* of this tree.

(Ruben Hoari. Haivaro Village. December 21, 2015)

The expression ‘I can share these fruits’ might suggest sharing as a potentiality, whereas in fact it is rather an obligation, lest the *wafaya* would lose his legitimacy. The quote presents what amounts to a ‘theoretical ideal’ when in practice, the close kin of a *wafaya* might sometimes collect the fruit or other resources, but as Ruben said, they will always ‘ask permission’. *Wafaya*-ness thus creates a specific connection between the *wafaya* and his ‘protected *relata*’ that orientates the direction of potential benefits from the latter to the former. *Wafaya*-ness is understood to be a privileged relation that entitles the *wafaya* to become the legitimate beneficiary of those rewards. In some cases there is an understanding that the directionality of the reward is a consequence of intentional acts on the part of that which was protected. The next two testimonies are illustrative:

There are two sacred sites on my land, called Tapura and Marakai. Only Kasere people can approach these sites. If someone else wants to go, then as the *hauaka wafaya*, I must go first and inform my land with specific songs that visitors will come. If I don't do that, or if people other than Kasere wander my land without my permission, then my land will injure or kill them. The land will make rivers and ponds overflow, it will trigger rains and storms and trees will fall down on intruders, these kinds of things.

(Robert Bosoraro. Haivaro Village. May 23, 2013)

On my land, there is a pond called Waekepo kafa ('the pond of the base of the *wae* tree'). My father told me that our ancestors used to bath in this pond. They told the pond the disease that affected them. Then they dipped their legs in the water and looked into the water. If they saw the red fish called *patanae* or *wanepo* come and eat their legs, then they knew they were dying. But if he just smelled their legs and left, then they knew they would recover from their disease. Sometimes another fish came, a fish called *kisi* that used to turn into a pig. If this fish drank the water around their legs, then they would recover, otherwise they would not. There is also another pond on my land. When its level increases it is informing people that a member of the *aporo ira* will die. All these ponds only work with us, Hemyama people, because we are the *hauaka wafaya* of this land. They do not work with other *aporo ira*.

(Mark Samoko. Translation: Ruben Hoari. Haivaro Village. July 28, 2014)

Being a *wafaya* implies a relation of protection that does not presage *a priori* the nature of the protected *relata*. The 'reward' that is potentially produced by the protected *relata* may be understood to have been granted by means of either an intentional or unintentional act. The emphasis here is on the relation itself rather than on the categories it may produce. To some extent, the 'power' and 'authority' a man gains when he cares for, when he invests labour, are the local understandings of ownership, in the sense that a man owns as long as he cares. As said in introduction, in the past, frequent migrations, episodes of warfare or gifts implied that throughout his lifetime, a man would have taken care of different portions of land and, therefore,

owned these portions for a given time. Ownership was fluid and deeply connected with caring. It was an ongoing process rather than a fixed concept.

'When you are a wafaya, you will say nomo [my]'.

If one is not the *wafaya* of everything of which he will say *nomo* (he talks about his clothes or his shoes as *nomo* without being their *wafaya*), he will however say *nomo* of everything of which he is the *wafaya*: *nomo hokosa* (my children), *nomo kasa* (my dog), *nomo hauaka* (my land), *nomo ape* (my house), *nomo asipa* (my sago palms), *nomo ira* (my tree) and so on. *Wafaya*-ness thus implies 'possession' or 'ownership' but it does not function as a distinctive criterion. The distinction is rather found in the idea of production. Indeed, a man has not produced his clothes or his shoes, so although he possesses them, he is not their *wafaya*. By saying 'my clothes' or 'my shoes', he only distinguishes them from someone else's clothing or shoes: the emphasis is on the entity owned. By contrast, a man 'produces' his children (*hokosa*) or his house (*ape*), so that when he says *nomo hokosa* or *nomo ape*, he distinguishes himself from other *wafaya* and, more broadly, from other people who are not *wafaya*. The emphasis is on the specific and oriented relation rather than on the entities owned. Saying *nomo* in the context of a relation of *wafaya*-ness also has something to do with utility. Indeed, if a man is nominally the *wafaya* of all trees located on his land, practically he only takes care and says '*nomo*' of those representing a resource (food or building materials for instance). Of the other trees, he will only say *ira ane* (this tree) if asked about them. On some level, the advent of a benefit confirms the *wafaya* in his role of creation and maintenance of the conditions of production and flourishing of the protected *relata*.

'I am the wafaya of everything I planted'.

The notion of production is crucial in the relation of protection entailed by *wafaya*-ness. Indeed, when talking about okari nut trees (*Terminalia kaernbachii*) or coconut palms for instance, Haivaro men will say 'I am their *wafaya* because I planted them'. Similarly, they will say that they are the *wafaya* of anything planted in their garden (*makata kare wafaya*). This is true even though, while men clear garden areas,

women do most of the planting²⁴. In this context, men use ‘planting’ metonymically to connote the more general act of creating conditions in which the protected *relata* (food plants) are produced. In a similar way, a man will say that he is the *wafaya* of his house (*ape wafaya*) because he cared for the piece of land where the bush materials that were used to build it grew up. The notion of production – or of creation of the conditions of production – is present in each case. It is manifest through the act of taking care. A man is the *wafaya* of his children because he first contributed to produce them and then looked after them; he is the *wafaya* of his garden products because he cleared an area that he judged to be suitable for crops. By taking care, a man creates and maintains the conditions necessary for production. Thus, a man may be the *wafaya* of a river because, though he did not literally produce it, he produced the conditions under which the river would yield fish by taking care of his land as a whole and by ensuring no one polluted the water. In all these ways, being a *wafaya* – protecting – builds a lifeworld through human intervention within the land that is aimed at renewing and improving the productivity of all protected *relata*. Haivaro men often say: ‘if I have many, then I am the *wafaya*’. *Wafaya*-ness implies a notion of abundance where abundance is itself evidence of the care that has been administered. The more prolific the land, the more acknowledged the *wafaya*.

‘If I raise a cassowary, a dog or a pig, I am their wafaya’.

The case of animals within *wafaya*-ness resembles that of trees, nevertheless with subtle but significant differences. While a man may be regarded as the *wafaya* of all the trees located on his land, in practice his status as *wafaya* tends to be restricted to the particular, useful trees that he looks after most carefully. With respect to animals, men will say ‘if there is a lot of game within my land, then I am their *wafaya*’ (*makata kakaiya wafaya*). Here again, therefore, there is a connection between *wafaya*-ness and abundance. But abundance does not apply in the case of domestic animals. People usually raise only one cassowary at a time, there is usually only one dog per household, and the testimonies of older residents suggested that, in the past,

²⁴ Between 2013 and 2016, I recorded only three men planting their own small garden near the village.

when people kept domestic pigs the number per person was low²⁵. In these cases, therefore, it seems that it is the quality of care evidenced by the growth and fatness of the pig or cassowary and the hunting prowess of the dog that is salient. The quality of the care given in diagnosing *wafaya*-ness is in these cases evidenced through a qualitative assessment rather than through a quantitative one. Thus a man is considered to be the *wafaya* of his children irrespective of the number of those children. What matters is that he performs the relation of protection and, through it, contributes to production. Indeed, it is not rare in Haivaro that a man who is reluctant to take care of his own child will entrust that child to another man who then becomes known as the child's father, *hokosa wafaya*. This may happen when the birth of the child was unexpected, and the biological father, feeling unable to fulfil required responsibilities, chooses to have the child adopted.

'I take care of it, so that it will help me in return'.

Though not strictly reciprocal, *wafaya*-ness nevertheless raises expectations of, or hopes for, potential reward. Planting and taking care of sago palms should result in enjoying good sago flour, looking after fruit trees should make them provide good fruits, taking care of the land should result in abundant game and fish, raising a dog should increase the number of game caught, caring for domesticated pigs should help to provide a bride price and so on. *Wafaya*-ness is symbiosis, a mutually beneficial relationship, as a man once illustrated:

On my land, there is a river where a white crocodile lives. Only the *hauaka wafaya* can see him. If he looks properly after the land, then the white crocodile will be happy and give many fish and turtles to him. He cannot take too many otherwise the white crocodile will be angry and there would be no fish next time. So in order to appease the white crocodile, the *hauaka wafaya* will always give back some fish to the white crocodile.

(Peter Wako. Haivaro Village. December 28, 2015)

²⁵ Haivaro people ceased pig husbandry in 1996, a point I will develop in detail later in this chapter.

Care dispensed to the land by the *wafaya* ensures its maintenance and capacity of renewing. In return, the *wafaya* benefits from the results – products – of this renewing. Failure to benefit from giving care may be interpreted in different ways. Sometimes, the failure may be attributed to external factors, such as weather, and the competence of the *wafaya* is not called into question. Most of the time, however, failure is attributed, not directly to the quality of the care given, but rather to misbehaviour occurring within the household of the *wafaya*. As one man explained, ‘if there is something wrong within my household, then I know there will be something wrong within my land, fruits will rot or no game will be caught in my traps’.

The following extract of myth collected in Haivaro is also perfectly clear in this regard:

A long time ago, a brother and a sister were living together in their house. The young man was a good hunter and the girl used to process sago. One day, the young man went out hunting on his land. He first saw a cassowary and tried to shoot it with his bow and arrows. Unfortunately, he failed. A little further, he saw a wild pig and tried to kill it, but again he missed his target. Then he heard a bird. Cocking his bow, he shot in its direction. Once again, the arrow did not reach the animal. Annoyed by these failures, the young man decided to catch fish. He approached the river where many fish were wriggling. He tried to spear some, without success. He understood that there was something wrong within his land, so that he suspected that there must be something wrong within his household.

(Narrative: Robert Bosoraro. Translation: Ruben Hoari. Haivaro Village. August 9, 2013)

Later in the myth, the young man learns that his sister had inappropriate relations with a snake. This myth advises that the relationships within the household have an influence on the relationships within the land, both being connected through their *wafaya*. As noted above the main *hauaka wafaya* entrusts portions of land to the younger married men of the *aporo ira* and, in this way, connects the *ape wafaya* (father of the household) to a specific portion of land. In fact, it is not until the birth of a man’s first child that the main *hauaka wafaya* entrusts a portion of land to the young father making it clear as he does so that the young man must fulfil the subsistence needs of his family. Thus, a man simultaneously becomes the *wafaya* of his own

household and children and of his land and its inhabitants. He becomes the cornerstone of a relational complex that is articulated around the performance of protection that creates and maintains optimal conditions for the production and renewing of all protected *relata*. Harmonious relations within the household, through the observance of taboos and rules regulating social life, ensure harmonious relations with the land and the protected *relata* inhabiting it. In turn, benefits provided by the protected land and its inhabitants ensure the longevity of the household. *Wafaya*-ness is thus expressed as a delicate symbiosis between the *wafaya* and the protected *relata* which creates, through protection, the conditions of production and renewing of Haivaro people specific lifeworld.

This delicate symbiosis, although still observable, has been overwhelmed in the past few decades as people in Haivaro became engaged with a logging company that settled on their land and appropriated their timber resources. The environmental transformations triggered by logging activities, combined with the appearance of new kinds of entities within the relational universe of Haivaro Fasu, have modified the immediate context within which *wafaya*-ness took place. As a consequence, people have had to renegotiate previous forms of relations, and rebuild their lifeworld, in order to integrate the imposed changes.

An endangered lifeworld...

As outlined earlier, the settlement process encouraged by colonial patrol officers and missionaries had the outcome that members of six *aporo ira* (Kasere, Hemyama, Kikiri, Yuria Siriki, Simayu and Kasua Rebeta) came together at Haivaro swamp, about 3km northeast of the current village of Haivaro. When the airstrip was completed in 1986, people began to assemble near it, establishing clusters of family houses, grouped by *aporo ira*, that were approximately 300m apart. In the 1990s, Turama Forest Industries (TFI) established a base-camp at Kuri, 35km to the southeast of Haivaro and started to use the airstrip at Haivaro to transport people, equipment

and merchandise. According to Haivaro people, TFI was replaced, first, by New Guinea Industry Corporation (NIC) and, later, by Rimbunan Hijau (RH). In 1996, RH established a camp near Haivaro and commenced logging operations on the land of Haivaro people. With the assistance of RH, people were registered as five Incorporated Land Groups (ILGs)²⁶, labelled 'clans' in official documents, and began to receive financial benefits from logging operations. Parts of these benefits were used to build two churches²⁷, a community school, an aid post and a community house that was equipped with a radio which connected Haivaro with Mission Aviation Fellowship (MAF). It is likely that the provision of these services encouraged people to progressively rebuilt houses closer to each other on one side of the airstrip. While houses were still grouped by *aporo ira*, the distance between clusters of houses was reduced to arrive at the configuration I found when I arrived in 2013 (Figure 5).

²⁶ These ILGs were named after the names of the different *aporo ira*, with the exception of Hemyama and Kikiri that were registered, as said earlier (p 36), as a single ILG called Nauma.

²⁷ People were aligned with either the Evangelical Church of Papua New Guinea (ECPNG) or Seventh Day Adventist (SDA). Each mission had a church in the village. The missions were overseen by local pastors who had trained in neighbouring towns. Affiliation to either ECPNG or SDA is not homogeneous within *aporo ira*. Males are said to be free to choose either one or the other affiliation; wives and children then align with their husband's or father's choice.

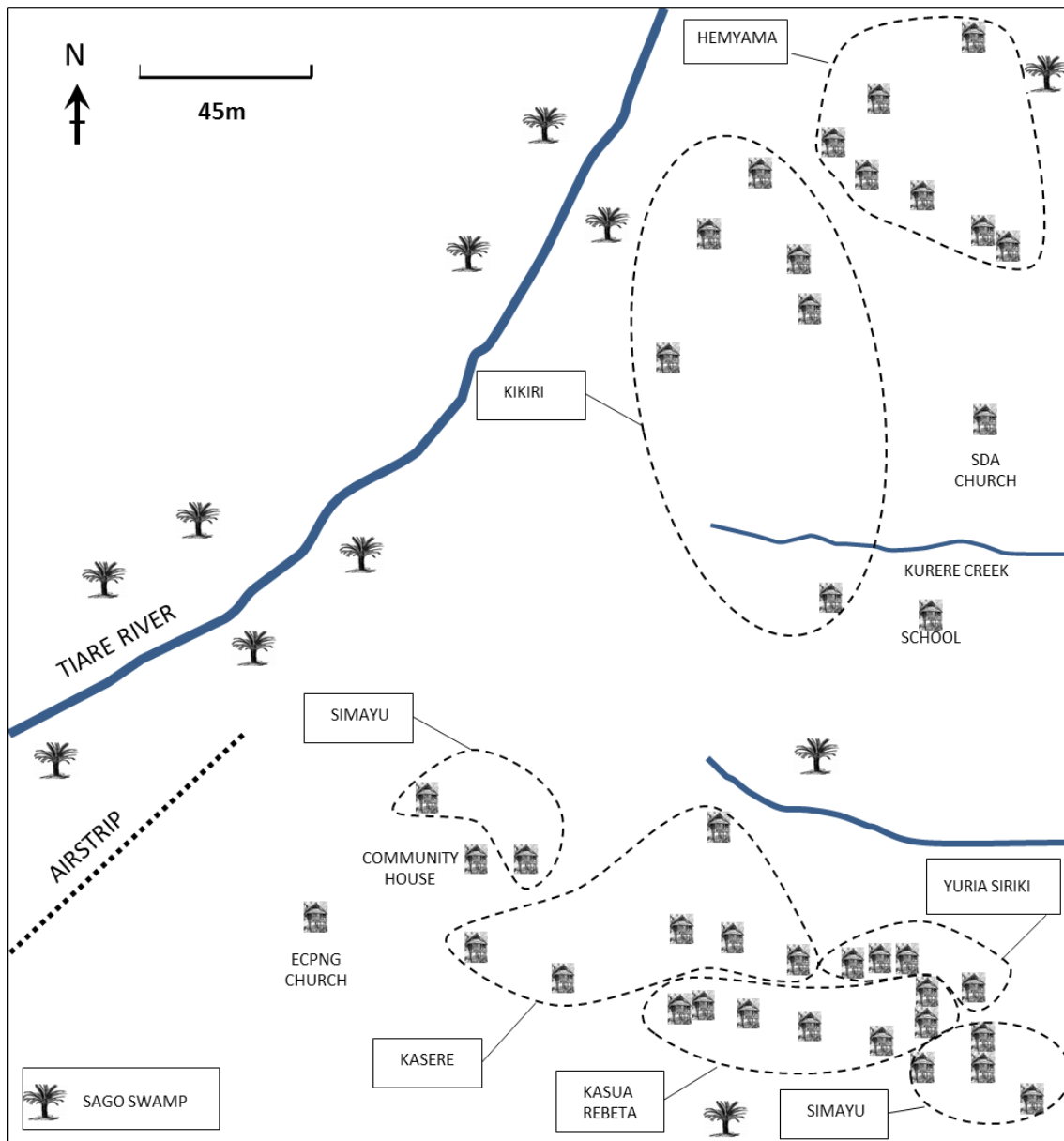


Figure 5: Haivaro Village in 2013-2014

The money received from logging operations made it possible for many Haivaro residents to pay carpenters to build houses using pre-sawn wooden planks and corrugated iron roofs²⁸. These houses were said to require less physical work to construct and to be more durable than traditional houses made of bush materials. Remembering that a man was considered the *wafaya* of his house partly because he

²⁸ Of the 36 houses recorded during my fieldwork in 2013-2014, 18 were built of traditional bush materials and 17 were 'modern' with sawn timber and corrugated sheet metal roof. One of the 35 households mentioned at the beginning of this chapter has two houses, a 'modern' one built about 15 years ago and a bush material one built in 2014.

built it using bush materials from land he himself looked after, this shift in house style reduced part of what used to build the connection between a *wafaya* and his house. The expression *ape wafaya* continued to be used to refer to the men who inhabited these new houses but now there was a shift in emphasis to a notion of *de facto* ownership that depended on ‘buying’ rather than on ‘taking care’, ‘building’, or ‘working’ (the notion of *rakiraka* in *Namo me* language). The owner of a house was now conceptualized as the person who paid for it rather than the person who built it. Being an *ape wafaya*, therefore, was no longer a process but rather a status that could be bought.

‘I cannot show you the old villages located on my land because they are too far and I don’t know the distant parts of my land’.

Establishing a map of migration routes by locating the old villages mentioned in migration stories was not possible in 2014. At Haivaro, most people confessed that they no longer visited or knew the distant parts of their own land. The process of settling at a single village has been accompanied by a decrease in people’s geographical knowledge. This shift in knowledge is particularly evident when people perform customary ceremonies of song and dance (*Karuba* and *Sosore*). Like the *Gisaro* of Kaluli people (Schiefflin 2005), *Karuba* and *Sosore* performances entail – among other things – expressing the names of places that constitute one’s land. This triggers intense emotions among audience members. As an elder once explained: ‘When I hear the name of places on my land where I used to live with my parents, the names of rivers where I used to bath and so on, then I feel sad and I cry’. According to the testimonies of Haivaro elders, in the past the entire land of each *aporo ira* was celebrated in the course of these singing performances. That celebration was made possible because people had been dispersed throughout the territory and moved frequently within it to hunt, make sago or visit and, in doing so, they acquired an extensive knowledge of both their own land and the land of those they visited. By contrast, performances held during 2013-2014 and in 2016 celebrated the immediate environment, the places near Haivaro that were now the places they were most likely to visit and to know. The rivers mentioned were those that ran beside or across the village, the mountains were those directly seen from the village, the sago swamps

were those surrounding the village, and even the logging camp now featured prominently in the songs. There was little mention of places at a distance. In this sense, *Karuba* and *Sosore* performances came to resemble the songs sung by women when they processed sago, songs that were always concerned with the immediate environment rather than with the land as a whole. If men are still the *wafaya* of their land and its resources, then that land is now a mere shadow of its former self. It is not known as it once was and it is not cared for as it once was.

'Before our ancestors used to wander their land a lot and to sleep in the bush for many days to take care of it. We don't do that anymore'.

In the previous section, I stressed that *wafaya*-ness was about protecting the land. It was a relation that entailed various activities, some of which required relatively long-term forest sojourns. The quotation above summarizes a feeling that, nowadays, is shared by most inhabitants of Haivaro, namely a reluctance to dwell in the forest for many days. From time to time, men might spend a night in the forest, close to the village, for nocturnal hunting, but it is very rare. Similarly, only two women at Haivaro maintained a bush garden on their husband's distant land that requires one or two nights in the forest to visit. Apart from these specific cases, during 16 months in 2013-2014, I recorded only two sojourns of longer than a night or two in the forest. On the first occasion, a family spent one week in the forest to hunt game animals that would contribute to a feast that celebrated construction of a new house that had been built in a traditional style. On the second occasion, a man with his married son, their wives and children, spent four days on their land in order to monitor the logging operations that were about to commence there, and to guide loggers to the sites suitable for extracting timber. The land is thus no longer visited as often, or looked after as intensely, as in the past. The *wafaya* now take care of their respective portions of land more casually and, in this sense, *wafaya*-ness now appears as episodic monitoring rather than being expressed through long-term engagement. A man once admitted that he no longer utilized the sago swamps that were located on his land because they were so far away that he and his family would have to dwell in the forest. He said that working in that way was too demanding when he now had access to sago swamps that

were closer to his house²⁹. Formerly, becoming a *hauaka wafaya* required progressive acquisition of the knowledge associated with the land: myths, boundaries and, as well, the ethological and botanical knowledge gained through observing and experiencing the land. Because forest sojourns are now few in number and short in duration – seldom more than a single day – the scope for accessing this knowledge has been drastically reduced. Men, however, are still considered to be the *hauaka wafaya* of their portion of land. Owning a portion of land was formerly an ongoing process related to the care given but, in the modern context, it is becoming an inherited status that is less and less connected with caring. Rights over the land are transmitted agnatically, and taking care of the land is becoming secondary for the maintenance of this status. Indeed, a *hauaka wafaya* who was absent from Haivaro for a long period, and did not care for his land through that time, would be still considered the owner of his land when he returned. During the course of my fieldwork, decisions concerning land were often postponed until all relevant *hauaka wafaya* had been contacted³⁰. In the context of logging extraction where land has become a source of financial incomes, the criteria on which the position of *hauaka wafaya* is based are now increasingly subject to competing renegotiations.

‘His father died so he is a hauaka wafaya now’.

This statement, made by some young married men about one of their unmarried age mates, contradicted earlier practice in which a man did not become a *hauaka wafaya* until the birth of his first child. A man’s newly acquired status as father was merged with the responsibility as *hauaka wafaya* to care for, and sustain, both his land and family. The quoted comment, however, reinforced an understanding that being a *hauaka wafaya* was now becoming an inherited status. In Haivaro, and in the context of commercial logging, being a *hauaka wafaya* has become synonymous with being a landowner. And to people at Haivaro, being a landowner provides legitimate entitlement to receive the financial benefits that may come from logging operations

²⁹ Haivaro village is now located on the land of a single *aporo ira*, with two other *aporo ira* having their land in the immediate surroundings. These three *aporo ira* gave access to some of their sago swamps to the three remaining *aporo ira* whose land is located much further away.

³⁰ At village meetings concerning land the comments and advice of *hauaka wafaya* who had remained in the village were often given more legitimacy than the comments and advice of *hauaka wafaya* who were absent for long period.

or, indeed, from any form of resource extraction on the owned land. In Haivaro, *aporo ira* have been registered as Incorporated Land Groups with the oldest living male member (the *hauaka wafaya*) appointed as the main recipient of royalty payments. These payments are distributed by the company to each *aporo ira* every three months in proportion to the volume of timber extracted from their respective lands. In addition, each household within an *aporo ira* receives, as a direct payment from the company, an equal share of the log export premiums that are made when timber from their land is exported. In this context, and only in this context, people at Haivaro refer to households as 'sub-clans'. Regarding the royalty payments, the oldest male living member of an *aporo ira* receives 100% of the royalty payments due to it. He keeps the greater part of the payment for himself³¹, and redistributes the remainder to the adult male members of the *aporo ira*. The amount allocated to each member decreases according to both his generational distance from the main *hauaka wafaya* and his responsibilities with respect to both family and land. In some circumstances, women and children may be included in the redistribution. Within this general pattern of redistribution however, intense negotiations between individuals occur as people try to claim for a greater share. At the death of the main *hauaka wafaya*, the next oldest living male member of the *aporo ira* (one of the *hauaka wafaya* 'in the making') will take his place and receive his share of the royalties. At the death of one of the *hauaka wafaya* 'in the making', that man's sons may try to renegotiate their position vis-à-vis the main *hauaka wafaya* to receive their father's share of royalties. This is what happened in the case of the young man mentioned earlier. Although unmarried, as the only son he became responsible for both his mother and his sister, the latter a single mother with five children. He sought, successfully, to be acknowledged as a *hauaka wafaya* 'in the making' in place of his father. His change of status and his eligibility to be a greater beneficiary of royalties and a direct beneficiary of log export premiums triggered some jealousy among both his married and unmarried age mates. During negotiations, his lack of knowledge about the land due to his youth and his long absences from the village when studying in distant towns and cities were mentioned by elders, but his social responsibilities vis-à-vis his mother, his sister and her children

³¹ At Haivaro, there are substantial differences between *aporo ira* in the proportion of royalty payments that is kept by its oldest living male member.

tipped the balance in his favour. Again, therefore, we see that *wafaya*-ness as associated with the land is, in the context of logging and financial benefits derived from the land, becoming a hierarchical and inherited status rather than a status gained through the performance of a relation of protection with the land.

'I have my free supermarket just around here. I planted sago, coconut palms, breadfruits trees and everything I need just near my house, so that I don't have to work hard to collect and carry everything'.

The ongoing withdrawal from close association with land, an association that was formerly built through *wafaya*-ness, is, in part, a consequence of intentional acts by the people themselves. Nearly all useful and necessary forest plant resources have been planted very close to the village of Haivaro. Coconut palms, breadfruit trees and trees suitable for house building – all *relata* protected by a *wafaya* – are now planted less than 2km from a person's house. It is the same for sago palms. Seven of the 15 most frequently processed sago groves were less than 500m from the village centre; four were between 500m and 1km away, one at 1.5km and three between 1.5km and 2km. Most gardens are now located less than 2km from the village, although women consider that bush gardens produce higher quality vegetables. Among the 40 gardens recorded in 2013-2014, three were less than 500m from the centre of the village, 17 were between 500m and 1km away, 17 between 1km and 1.5km, and three between 1.5km and 2km. As said earlier, only two women at Haivaro maintained a bush garden, which they visited once a month on average, on their husband's distant land. It implied either a single-day trip if car was made available by the logging company³² or a trip of two to three days if they had to walk. People mainly fish in the Tiare River that runs beside the village, and men go on hunting trips for a single day in the forest surrounding the village. More distant sites are sometimes accessed for these purposes, but only if a car is made available by the logging company to carry people for a round trip in the day. It seems, therefore, that the relation a man develops with land, and the care he gives to land and the resources on that land, is influenced by how close that

³² The supervisors of the logging company used to visit the different logging sites by pick-up truck and, sometimes, people at Haivaro negotiated with the driver to be carried out to these places to then reach by foot surrounding garden, hunting or fishing sites.

land is to the place where he now lives. Formerly, a man became a *wafaya* through the act of taking care and the progressive acquisition of the knowledge associated with his land. In turn, he became the owner of that land and of the various resources on it in the sense that he was responsible of them and consequently had ‘power’ and ‘authority’ over them. Nowadays, ‘taking care’ and ‘owning’ seem to work separately. On the one hand, a man is considered to legitimately own a piece of land and to have power and authority over it irrespective of whether he takes care of it. In this sense, ownership is inherited. On the other hand, a man may care for various resources that are located close to his village house and through that care he may qualify as *wafaya*, even though they are not on his own land and he may not necessarily own them.

‘I take care of these sago palms so I am their wafaya. But in fact, they belong to my wife’s mother’s brother because he is the one who planted them. And they are planted on someone else’s land’.

I have described earlier how, through acts of taking care, the *wafaya* came to own his land and the various resources within it that he planted or cared for. It is also often the case that a man cares for resources that, for example, he has planted close to his village house but on the land of a person of a different *aporo ira*. Ownership of such resources might be open to interpretation, but in most circumstances, it is accepted that the man who planted and cared for the resource is their *wafaya* and is, therefore, recognized as their owner. The quotation above highlights a more complex situation in which a man of one *aporo ira* cares for a resource that has been planted by a man from a second *aporo ira*³³ on the land of a man from a third *aporo ira*. When asked about the ownership of this resource, the informant said he was its *wafaya*, that it belonged to him. However, he recognized that the man who planted the resource might also claim ownership. Both ‘caring’ and ‘planting’ are thus constitutive of *wafaya*-ness and, when performed by two different men, might render ownership of a resource subject to interpretation and negotiation. It is likely that, in the past, frequent migrations and settlement changes through an extended territory had the outcomes that a man owned some resources, such as sago palms and nut trees, on the lands of

³³ This situation was rare at Haivaro in 2013-2014.

other people, and that several people owned resources on his land. The now two to three decades long, permanent settlement at Haivaro will have crystallized a unique configuration in which members of all six *aporo ira* own resources near the village, on the land of just one of those *aporo ira*. Although a few members of the primary *aporo ira* occasionally complained that the situation was unfair, in 2013-2014 it did not emerge as a major issue in discussions about land and landownership. In 2016, however, as people in Haivaro sought to register new Incorporated Land Groups, the situation did emerge as a greater concern.

'If the Simayu decide to sell their land to a company or to the State, what will happen with the sago palms I planted and of which I am the wafaya?'

My interlocutor wanted to know whether a legal framework existed that could rule clearly on the issue raised by the possible disjunction between ownership and protection in *wafaya*-ness. He was disappointed to learn that national law said nothing about this matter and that the problem would have to be managed locally on a case by case basis. The quoted statement was made in 2016, after people at Haivaro had asked me to help them register new Incorporated Land Groups³⁴. This was necessary because the Land Group Incorporating (Amendment) Act of 2009, which came into effect in 2012, was about to render their previously registered ILGs obsolete. During discussions about how best to proceed, the point was made that new ILGs would make it possible for landowners to manage their land in whatever ways they wanted and, if they wished, to derive financial benefits from land by selling it. The potential for this possibility triggered anxiety and many questions, not so much with regard to a person's own land but, rather, with regard to resources that had been planted and cared for on someone else's land. In 2013-2014, the fact that the six *aporo ira* living at Haivaro all had resources on the land of a single *aporo ira* was not a major issue. In 2016, however, an increasing number of members of the primary *aporo ira* expressed concern by saying, for example, 'Everyone uses my land now, they plant sago, coconut palms, breadfruit trees there, they hunt and fish on my land, they build their houses here and I don't receive compensations for that'. Therefore, although caring for and

³⁴ See Appendix 3 for the summary of the process of registration of ILGs under the Land Groups Incorporating (Amendment) Act of 2009 that I used to help Haivaro people register new ILGs.

owning resources on someone else's land had posed no major problems in daily life, the revamped ILG process brought the disjunction to the surface, making it an issue that had to be solved.

By planting and using resources close to the village on the land of just one *aporo ira*, people living at Haivaro reduced costs of travel to and from their own lands. In addition, however, there is an emerging sense that the village constitutes a social unit that, in some contexts, transcends distinctions between *aporo ira*. To many people the surroundings of Haivaro village where most needed resources are now located is considered to belong to all village residents. Indeed, when asked whether having so many of their resources located on someone else's land might be an issue, some Haivaro people often said, for example, that *'it does not matter because the village in a single big family so this piece of land belongs to everyone'*. The emergence of the village, the community and the surrounding 'common' piece of land as an integrated operational unit has been implicitly but nevertheless deeply triggered by people engagement with the logging company: 'We are all Haivaro landowners' people say. Irrespective of the manner in which royalties and premiums are distributed within the community, documents related to the logging concession that also encompasses several non-Fasu groups in the area usually refer to Haivaro Fasu as 'Haivaro landowners', and not to the different *aporo ira* (Wood 2014: 8). In addition, Haivaro as a single community receives payments from the logging company in the form of the Annual Benefits Fund (ABF), which aims to financially support 'community projects' that benefit the community as a whole. The new application forms associated with the ILG process tend to reinforce this shift, because they often treat 'clan' and 'village' as alternatives with equivalent legal status³⁵. Through the process, people were thus expected to re-orientate their attention toward the community as a village-based unit transcending 'clans' and 'lineages' and being the relevant unit for implementation of services. The position of village councillor is itself particularly representative of the emergence of the community as a permanent social unit. Initially set up under colonial

³⁵ 'The qualification for Membership of the Land Group is that a person recognizes himself or herself and is recognized in accordance with custom by other legitimate customary members from Clan/Village as being a member of the group seeking incorporation' and further 'Notice given under paragraph (a) must be sufficient to allow the members of the land group resident in Clan/Village to attend the meeting' (Land Group Incorporation (Amendment) Act 2009, Sec 5(2) (b): 1-4).

influence, the position of Councillor of the village gained greater responsibilities and legitimacy in the context of logging operations. Indeed, the councillor, appointed by a community vote occurring every 5 years, is the person who ultimately endorse projects implemented under the ABF framework. He is the privileged interlocutor with the managers of the logging company as well as with the members of the Papua New Guinea Forest Authority (PNGFA) who, when coming to the village, are always hosted in the councillor's house. While *aporo ira* have not lost their relevance concerning matters related to the financial benefits that are directly derived from logging operations, the councillor is the person who both gathers, and then expresses, concerns of the community as a whole. His role as a mediator is no longer limited to relations with 'outsiders', since he is regularly asked to arbitrate personal conflicts that arise in the village, with the penalty he imposes always respected. If Fasu people have always gathered in villages in the past, the permanence of the current village has, without doubt, placed greater emphasis on the village-based community as a new, relevant, and legitimate operational unit in various contexts, and especially those involving 'outsiders'.

'I don't dwell in the forest for many days because I miss the village life and all the things we have there: rice, tinned-fish, coffee, doctor, airplanes...'

In the 1990s many facilities were established at Haivaro: a school offering courses from preparatory school to grade 4, medical aid post, two churches and a radio. In addition, canteen stores operated by the logging company provided access to manufactured goods and industrially-produced food. And since the company started to use Haivaro airstrip for the transport of people, equipment and merchandises, aircrafts landing became an attraction people did not want to miss. All these things encouraged people to remain at the village most of the time, lest they miss opportunities to make use of these services. Reduction of the scope of *wafaya*-ness thus went hand in hand with a greater emphasis put on village life.

'We are all Haivaro Bush Kanaka'.

'We are all primitives of the bush around Haivaro' a resident once stated with pride when addressing a meeting aiming at deciding community projects that would be

financially supported by the ABF. Usually expressed as 'HBK', this label crystallizes emergence of the village-based community as a new operational unit. The reference to '*kanaka*' as something to be proud of attracted my curiosity, as it is usually taken to refer to 'a sense of economic and political marginalization, and a continued identification with tradition' as well as embodying the figure of the 'school leaver' (MacLean 2004). In short, it is usually pejorative. This positive use of 'bush *kanaka*' was particularly striking because a few days earlier the speaker had told me his life story and had used the expression to describe his ancestors. They were, he had said, '*kanaka* living in the forest like animals'. How then could *kanaka* connote shamefulness on one occasion and honourableness on another? Understanding this contrast requires that we think of '*kanaka*-ness' as a human condition from which both individual and collective trajectories of life emerge. 'Victory without risk brings triumph without glory' the adage says. In Haivaro, *kanaka*-ness emphasises a crippling initial condition that people have to overcome in order to become successful. In this sense, Haivaro people consider that their success in becoming modern is more meritorious than that of people who grew up in towns and who, therefore, did not have to overcome a similar handicap. In integrating successfully with the 'outside world', Haivaro residents are considered to enhance the prestige of the community as a whole, regardless of their membership to a particular *aporo ira*. In the past, *aporo ira* gained prestige through the charisma of their 'leader', the *aporo unihī* (man head eye), usually the oldest male living member. Nowadays, Fasu encounters with the modern world reveal a condition that is common to the village-based community as a whole – that of being *kanaka* – which, when successfully overcome, transcends membership to particular *aporo ira* to reinforce ties at the broader level of the village-based community.

... with endangered beings

'We no longer raise pigs because they were damaging our airstrip' several Haivaro residents told me when faced with my amazement at seeing no pig in the

village. Other cases of abandonment of pig husbandry have been reported in Papua New Guinea (Boyd 2001). There is no published information on past pig keeping practices among southern Fasu. Comparative data from neighbouring language groups – Kasua, Kaluli, Onabasulu, Foi and Kewa – suggest that the ratio of pigs to people would have been low relative to ratios found among Highlanders to the north (0.4 to 0.67 pigs per person in the lowland and mid-altitude societies versus 1.08 to 2.17 pigs per person among Huli groups; Hide 2003: 39-47; see also Gilberthorpe 2004: 35). As reported by Gilberthorpe (2004: 48) for northern Fasu, and confirmed by me, all domestic male pigs were castrated as piglets and domestic sows were mated with wild boars. This is the pig breeding system that Dwyer (1996: 487-88) labelled 'female breeding'. Domestic pigs were co-owned by a husband and his wife but females had greater responsibility for care than did males and were often accompanied by young pigs when they worked at gardens or sago processing sites. This encouraged development of a relatively close bond between a carer and her pigs (Dwyer & Minnegal 2005). In addition, owners had specific ways in which they cut the ears and tail of pigs to mark them as their own and, as elsewhere in Papua New Guinea, gave their pigs personal names (Jorgensen 1990: 17). When a domestic pig was killed it was not uncommon that the female carer would weep. Thus, the association between people – owners and carers – and domestic pigs was relatively intimate and the animals were probably considered as 'quasi-people' rather than 'quasi-things' (Jorgensen 1990: 20).

When asked when they had abandoned pig husbandry, all residents agreed that it was in 1996, when the logging company opened a base camp nearby and started to intensely use Haivaro airstrip. People gathered around the airstrip, killed all their domesticated pigs and, nowadays, justify their decision by talking of the damage that the pigs caused to their airstrip. For several reasons, this rationale seemed unsatisfactory. First, the airstrip was built in 1984, about ten years before people chose to cease caring for domestic pigs. Second, different management practices – keeping pigs in fenced enclosures or under care at distant forest houses (Dwyer 1996) – could have easily solved the asserted problem. Elsewhere in Papua New Guinea (Boissière & Brutti 2002), a variety of factors have been causally implicated in the

reduction of pig husbandry. In Haivaro, these include dietary prohibitions associated with the Seventh-Day Adventist Church, considerations of hygiene invoked by government and a reduced emphasis on ceremonial exchanges. Then, the arrival of the logging company has created the particular context in which husbandry has been entirely ceased. Indeed, the increased availability of new 'modern' items and the massive introduction of cash money through royalty payments led Haivaro people to revalue their world in monetary terms. In this process they developed a sense that some of their past practices were antithetical to their desire to be 'modern' (Lefort 2017).

More detailed interviews conducted regarding the abandonment of pig husbandry revealed that Haivaro people associate pig husbandry with 'being a *kanaka*'. As emphasized in the previous section, people's engagement with the logging company has given them a sense of 'being modern' which, in their understanding, goes hand in hand with the necessity to overcome their '*kanaka-ness*'. Domesticated pigs have borne the brunt of this vision of the past as being antithetical to modernity. The assertion that pig husbandry was abandoned because pigs were damaging the airstrip could be taken literally. But regarding Haivaro people understandings of modernity, it would be better interpreted as a rationale or metaphor that betrays their feeling that their past is an obstacle to the kind of 'modernity' they fantasize about and desire. From this perspective, the arrival of the logging company and people's associated encompassment within a wider world have erased from the Haivaro Fasua relational universe some beings that were formerly an integral and crucial part of it. This, in turn, has affected people's relations with each other for, at Haivaro as elsewhere in Papua New Guinea, pigs formerly featured in transactions such as marriages, funerals, ceremonial exchanges, compensation payments and so forth (Brown 1978; Lemonnier 1991, 1993; Strathern & Strathern 1971). Although a substitute to pigs has been found through cash money, there remain some contexts in which payment of money is not considered appropriate. Resolution of cases of adultery, for instance, illustrates some dissatisfaction with the use of money, rather than pigs. In earlier practice, the fat and blood from a pig were used as an ointment to remove 'shame from the skin' of members of the *aporo ira* involved and pork was offered to the offended *aporo ira* as

compensation. Now, as an elder explained, the adulterous man – in all cases, the man is considered to be responsible for the trouble – pays K1,000 but nothing is done to erase the ‘shame on the skin’. Because money cannot be divided into multiple parts – fat, blood, meat – to ‘solve’ the different consequences of a particular issue it is unable to function as a proper substitute for pigs. It may be that future adjustments will be called for, perhaps even, as Shoffner (1976: 157) has reported, a reappearance of pig husbandry.

But while it has been people who chose to remove domestic pigs from their own experienced relational – and geographical – universe, other non-human beings are said to have decided to leave of their own accord. This is the case for *Yateteka makata*, a half cassowary, half human being that lives in the deep, lowland rainforest and is known to kidnap people:

One day, my father and his *aporo ira* went to sleep near Turama River. They had their own pathway toward the forest to go there. They used to catch crocodiles to trade their skin. One Friday, my father went alone to the dense forest to hunt, and the *Yateteka makata* saw him, because dense forest is his home. As soon as the *Yateteka makata* saw my father, my father lost his memory, and lost himself within the forest. He was lost for one week. Everyone tried to find him in vain. They shouted his name but the *Yateteka makata* had put leaves in his ears so that he couldn’t hear. After one week wandering the forest without knowing where he was going, he finally found himself by chance on the edge of Turama River. Then, his memory suddenly came back, and he found his way back to the village. He had become mute so people burned his skin to make sure he was no longer inhabited by the spirit of the *Yateteka makata*. The *Yateteka makata* lives in the deep forest so he is very strong. If you can see him first, you can escape, but if he sees you first, you’re lost. Sometimes, you can see each other at the same time, and then you will fight. If you’re strong enough, he will give up and give you his power. Then you will become very strong.

(Ruben Hoari. Haivaro Village. May 15, 2014)

But Haivaro residents now say that *Yateteka makata* have gone away to more hospitable lands, as their habitat has been excessively disturbed by logging operations.

Impacts of logging extraction, and modernity in general, on non-human beings have been described among other neighbouring groups (Brunois 2004, 2013; Wood 1998). At Haivaro, an elder once described them as follows:

Today, we no longer see *Yateteka makata*. The dense forest has been logged so that they moved further in the deep forest where we never go. But we can still hear their song sometimes’.

(Mark Samoko. Haivaro Village. August 13, 2013)

For Haivaro Fasu, the *Yateteka makata* can live only in dense forest. The progressive disappearance of such habitat due to logging operations has caused these beings to seek suitable places further away. However, people can still hear their song; so though *Yateteka makata* are now too far to be seen, they are still close enough to be heard. I stressed in a previous section how people’s engagement with and knowledge about their land required engagement of all senses. The fact that *Yateteka makata* may now be perceived through only some senses reveals that people’s detachment from environment is understood through the prism of a reduced sensorial experience. This allows for the possibility that if circumstances changed, then those beings could be reincorporated into a world of enlarged experience.

Such reconfigurations of Haivaro Fasu relational universe did not occur only in response to the arrival of the logging company. The influence of Christianity had similar outcomes. Indeed, some Haivaro residents state that some spirits that, in the past, were implicated in healing or death have been muzzled by the Word of God. As one man explained:

Before, we believed that mountains, ponds and spirits living in the forest were able to give us signs. They were able to tell us if someone will die or will recover from sickness for instance. As an example, Babe Mountain used to turn white when someone was about to die. But the missionaries came and explained to us that our beliefs were not true, so that nowadays, mountains, ponds and spirits no longer give us signs.

(Ruben Hoari. Haivaro Village. August 17, 2013)

This statement was immediately contradicted by another resident who said:

I think you're wrong. Before, there were a lot of spirits in the forest, in trees, animals, plants, mountains and so on. But the Word of God has closed our eyes. The spirits are still giving us signs, but we are no longer able to see them.

(Georges Mara. Haivaro Village. August 17, 2013)

In Papua New Guinea, Christian influence has been often considered to 'discourage and eliminate traditional ceremonies, dance, dress, art forms, means of emotional expression, child-rearing practices, locations of residence, exchange systems, and even horticultural methods' (Robin 1980: 277)³⁶. The emphasis has been with Christian influence on categories of practices. More recent works, however, highlighted Christian influence on relations between beings (Kulick & Stroud 1990; Robbins 2001, 2004a, 2004b, 2014; Whitehouse 1998). The above testimonies illustrate this concern. The first suggests that some non-human beings ceased sending 'signs' to humans. The second suggests that humans are no longer able to perceive these signs. In both statements, however, the importance of 'dialogue', of interacting with the land and its inhabitants is stressed. People at Haivaro interpret Christian influence as having interrupted this dialogue, either by muzzling non-humans or by altering human's sensorial acuteness which had, previously, allowed them to perceive the messages conveyed.

Haivaro people's engagement with exogenous forces, and particularly with the logging company and a wider modern world, has had the outcomes that the village itself has become more attractive to them and they have decreased time spent in the forest and the distances that they formerly travelled within it. The scope of *wafaya*-ness has been consequently reduced. At the same time there has been a growing sense that modernity was incompatible with the past. The forest, and relations that were developed with it and its inhabitants, came to be seen as reflecting a 'primitive past' while the village and the wider world came to be seen as reflecting a 'modern future'. This dichotomy has been reinforced by the fact that arrival of the logging company made it possible for people to travel far beyond the boundaries of their

³⁶ for more recent work on Christian influence, see also)

territory. Indeed, part of the financial benefits derived from logging operations used to pay flights towards the main towns and cities of the country, essentially Port-Moresby, Mount Hagen and Goroka. In these places, by encountering and exploring land they neither owned nor protected, they had to negotiate different forms of relations with different environments and different inhabitants.

Beyond *wafaya*-ness: wandering urban environments

Some of the money that Haivaro people have derived from logging operations since the 1990s has been spent on air travel with either the charter operator ‘Tropicair’ or the not-for-profit Mission Aviation Fellowship (MAF). Tropicair services the logging company and provides travel for Haivaro people to and from Kamusi in Western Province or Port Moresby in the Capital District. MAF provides transport and emergency services between many remote villages of Papua New Guinea and provides travel for Haivaro people to the highland town of Mount Hagen³⁷. By 2014, almost every adult resident of Haivaro had, at least once, travelled to one of these destinations. Through these journeys people experienced spaces that were quite different to those they had known before. In this section, I contrast the long-term close engagement with land and its inhabitants that was implicated in relations of protection with the predominantly short-term, distanced engagement experienced in urban areas. I then discuss implications of the difference with respect to *wafaya*-ness.

‘You cannot know and remember just by watching’.

Haivaro people traverse their own land or visit neighbouring communities most often by foot and sometimes with canoe. They reach towns and cities by plane. To Haivaro people this difference in mode of travel is far more than mere technological detail. As said earlier, walking through the forest is always a complete sensorial engagement that entails emission, reception and interpretation of various messages

³⁷ Between 2013 and 2016, the cost for a return flight from Haivaro to Mount Hagen was K1,200 (about AU\$490)

between both human and non-human inhabitants populating the land. The network of pathways connects numerous meaningful places and in this way contributes to building an integrated lifeworld. Wandering the paths on one's own land, or between communities, constantly enhances the empirical knowledge that is associated with the land. By contrast, travelling by plane constrains people to be more passive. There is no environment to engage with. Several people at Haivaro said that they slept in planes because they 'could not do anything else'. When I suggested that, when flying, it was possible to enjoy the landscape from above and have a broader idea of one's own land and of the country as a whole, one person responded by saying 'I always ask other passengers the names of the places we fly over, but I never recognize them the next trip because you cannot know and remember just by watching'. This comment is further evidence that for Haivaro Fasu, as for other people in Papua New Guinea (Telban 2014), knowing requires complete physical engagement with the environment, one that involves all the senses. In planes, people are physically disconnected from the land. By not physically engaging with the places they pass through, they cannot 'know' them so that they're not brought into existence, and therefore remain impossible to memorize.

Forest paths are also socially differentiated: some that lead to birthing huts are traversed only by women, some hunting paths are traversed only by men, some garden paths 'belong' to a particular lineage segment while paths that lead to sago swamps are used by a broader kin group³⁸. Paths and their different modalities of access thus reflect distinctions that operate between various social groups within the community. But they may also reflect distinctions that operate between various social groups at a broader level. For instance, in his patrol report, Macgregor (1955) noticed that the path between Nauma village and the village of Iwatubu inhabited by members of Kasua tribe was larger and cleaner than paths between Nauma village and other

³⁸ It is possible that, in the past, travel by canoe may also have differentiated people in some ways. However, by 2013, no one at Haivaro owned a canoe and it seemed that people had ceased making canoes in the early 1990s. Only one man in his 50s at Haivaro still possesses the knowledge needed to make a canoe, and made one on my demand during my fieldwork. After a short trip together with this canoe, he sold it to people at Kuri.

communities. According to him, this was evidence that relations between these communities were more frequent than relations with other communities. The network of paths that crisscross the territory thus reflects the many levels of sociality that structures Fasu life. In a sense, access to aerial routes also reflects distinctions between people but these concern differential access to the money that makes travel possible. At Haivaro, for example, men travel more often than women because, as the primary recipients of the benefits derived from logging, they have greater access to money. But these differentials operated at other scales as well because both the quality and quantity of timber varied between the lands of *aporo ira* and, hence, different *aporo ira* received different monetary benefits from logging. In consequence, members of some *aporo ira* travelled by air much more often than members of other *aporo ira*. Indeed, out of 37 trips by plane recorded in Haivaro in 2013-2014, 43% were by Kasua Rebeta, 22% by Kasere, 13% by Simayu, 11% by Yuria Siriki, 8% by Hemyama and 3% by Kikiri. This difference sometimes triggered jealousy, envy or feelings of unfairness. Individuals and *aporo ira* were sometimes judged by others on the basis of their financial status and, at Haivaro, people implemented a variety of strategies (such as marriage arrangements) aimed at balancing the differential. New means of transport, and the modern life to which they gave access, thus progressively encouraged people to renegotiate both intra and inter-clanic sociality.

Table 1 summarizes records of Haivaro residents' travels to towns and cities by plane for a 15 months period (23/06/2013 to 17/09/14). Absences by people who attended distant schools in the Highlands or Port Moresby are excluded from this table but are discussed in the next chapter.

Table 1: Air travels recorded in Haivaro from 23/06/2013 to 17/09/14.

Males, females and Children are coded as, respectively, M1, M2, etc. F1, F2, etc. and C1, C2, etc.

LENGTH OF STAY	TRAVELLERS	DESTINATION	MEANS OF TRANSPORT ³⁹	EXPRESSED REASON FOR TRAVEL
15 days	M1	Mount Hagen	MAF Plane	Buying goods for trade store
18 days	M2	Kerema, Goroka, Port Moresby	Car, Canoe and Tropicair Plane	Political meetings for councillors
25 days	M3	Port Moresby	Tropicair Plane	Health care
5 days	F1, F2, F3	Mount Hagen	MAF Plane	Holiday and shopping
14 days	M4	Mount Hagen	MAF Plane	Holiday and shopping
4 days	M5, M6	Kamusi	Tropicair Plane	Review of the Timber Permit for the area
11 days	M7	Waro, Mount Hagen	MAF Plane	Buying goods for trade store
15 days	M8, F4	Port Moresby	Tropicair Plane	Health care for M8, accompanied by his daughter
21 days	F1, F5	Port Moresby	Tropicair Plane	Child birth for F5 accompanied by her relative
15 days	M1	Port Moresby	Tropicair Plane	Holiday and shopping
16 days	M7	Mount Hagen	MAF Plane	Buying goods for trade store
34 days	F2, F6, F7, C1	Mount Hagen, Goroka	MAF Plane and Bus	Health care for C1 accompanied by his mother and 2 relatives
4 days	M9	Port Moresby	Tropicair Plane	Sale of eagle wood
15 days	M7	Mount Hagen	MAF Plane	Buying goods for trade store
21 days	M2	Port Moresby	Tropicair Plane	Review of the Timber Permit for the area
14 days	F8	Port Moresby	Tropicair Plane	Health care
61 days	F9	Port Moresby	Tropicair Plane	Health care
30 days	M10, M11	Port Moresby	Tropicair Plane	Review of the Timber Permit for the area
7 days	M12	Kamusi	Tropicair Plane	Religious meeting
35 days	M13	Port Moresby	Tropicair Plane	Holiday and shopping
24 days	F10, C2	Port Moresby	Tropicair Plane	Health care for C2 accompanied by her mother
92 days	F11	Port Moresby	Tropicair Plane	Health care
122 days	F12, F13	Port Moresby	Tropicair Plane	Health care for F12 accompanied by her daughter
15 days	M5, M14, M15	Kamusi	Tropicair Plane	Holiday and shopping

³⁹ Cost of travels with Tropicair is directly withdrawn from royalty payments due to each *aporo ira*. Cost of travels with MAF is individually paid by people with the cash money received as premium or with personal funds, for instance those derived from a person's trade store.

During the 15 months period, 28 adults (15 males and 13 females) were absent from Haivaro for a combined total of 933 days, with approximately 709 days spent in Port Moresby, 190 days in Highlands towns (Mount Hagen, Goroka) and most of the remainder at less distant communities (Kamusi and Kerema). Absences by females tended to be of longer duration than absences by males (16.2 days on average for 20 absences by males; 40.6 days on average for 15 absences by females). The primary stated motive for about two thirds of the absences was health, but only 40 of 634 days of absences attributed to health were by males. At Haivaro, women did not appear to fall ill more often or more seriously than their male counterparts. However, hospital visits to Port Moresby were recommended more often for women than for men and, to some extent, a need for medical care provided the only legitimate reason for a woman to travel. For instance, although F8 had requested travel for health purposes, she did so only after expressing concern regarding her absent husband's fidelity (M2) and her desire to join him in Port Moresby. By contrast, men had multiple opportunities to legitimize travel, as for example, duties as councillor, pastor or chairman of such and such 'institution'. When women travelled on the grounds that they needed medical care it was common, as evident in Table 1, that their absence was extended well beyond the time needed for that initial purpose. Women also frequently accompanied sick people to Port Moresby, on an understanding that the sick person would need someone to cook his or her food and assist him or her in other ways, tasks that are usually done by women. Indeed, more than one female relative would usually try to be part of the trip. The reasons for absences stated by males were 'holiday and shopping', 'buying goods for trade store', 'reviewing the timber permit of the area' and, in one case, for a period of seven days, to attend meetings associated with the Christian Mission. In one case, a widow with her daughter and daughter-in-law went to Mount Hagen for 'holiday and shopping'. This woman manages her own trade store with sufficient success that her profits cover the cost of air travel and she does not need to resort to the excuse of 'health'.

'I'm staying with a relative'.

Unlike other language groups in Papua New Guinea (see Gustafsson, 1999, for M'buke people and Strathern, A. M., 1975, for Melpa people), Fasu people are not

permanently ‘implanted’ in Port Moresby or anywhere else. That is to say that, at least for Haivaro people, no one has sufficient funds from logging, or found a paid job, that would make it possible to become established on a long-term basis in a town or a city. When asked where they would stay during their absence people would always reply ‘with a relative’. Schram (2015) analysed how being a *wantok* in Papua New Guinea was a way to develop relationships that were outside kinship ties, and highlighted how this was particularly important in towns and cities where people who were not kin, and were without a common ethnic origin, interacted with each other on a long-term basis. With no kin in towns and cities, Haivaro people have had to develop a *wantok* network to help them satisfy needs of accommodation and food. In customary practice, Haivaro people usually express close kin connections through an appropriate existing kinship term rather than through lineal genealogical connections. For instance, a man will not say ‘she is my mother’s brother’s daughter’ but, rather, ‘she is my *masira ama*’. If a man needs to mention someone for whom no specific kinship term exists but *kauwa*⁴⁰, he might build a connection out from a primary kinship term, saying, for instance, ‘he is the brother of my *asa*’, and not ‘he is my father’s mother’s brother’. According to the census and genealogies recorded at Haivaro, this logic is sufficient for any Haivaro resident to mention everyone in the village in relation to him or her. By contrast, when asked about the connections they established in distant towns and cities, their replies were more complex: ‘My father’s father took care of a child [usually from a non-Fasu language group] many years ago. This child had a brother and his brother got married with a woman. This woman adopted a child who grew up and got married in his turn. They got a child, and this child is now grown up and he is the relative with whom I stay in Port Moresby’. The rationale for connection greatly exceeds the conventional short links between self and kin and, in addition, is often impossible to verify because most of the protagonists referred to have often already died. Sometimes, Haivaro residents may try to simplify such connections by then arranging marriages with the group of people now bonded as *wantoks* (see Chapter 3 for further discussion). In these ways, *wantok* connections seek to apply more conventional accounts of relatedness to a broader field of relations that has been made possible, or rendered necessary, by the

⁴⁰ *Kauwa* may be translated by ‘distant relative’ and applies to people genealogically or socially distant from ego within his kin.

new spaces that have become available to Haivaro people in the recent context of a resident logging company and the correlated provision of opportunities to travel.

'When I travel in cities, I feel a bit uncomfortable because I'm living on someone else's land'.

Statements of this sort were made very often at Haivaro. The ideal pattern of residence for Haivaro people was to live on their own land and to make visits to the lands of others, particularly that of affines⁴¹. A few men expressed some discomfort with the fact that they were now living permanently in a village that was on the land of another *aporo ira*⁴². But this discomfort is somehow attenuated by the fact that members of the said *aporo ira* are kin, whereas this is not the case in urban areas, where Haivaro people do not even know on whose land they are staying. The embarrassment entailed is intimately linked with the sense of 'responsibility, power and authority' over land that emerges from *wafaya*-ness. By protecting his land, the *wafaya* gains the legitimacy to dwell in it and to enjoy its resources. This legitimacy cannot be extended to urban areas because people do not contribute to the protection and production of that land, and consequently, do not feel the right to dwell in it. *Wafaya*-ness is about developing a mutually constitutive relation with the land. In urban areas, this relation is truncated because, from the outset, it is impossible for people to protect, and then produce, the land. In consequence, it is impossible for them to feel legitimate in benefiting from that land, in one way or another.

'In cities, I have to buy my food and everything I need because I cannot plant sago palms or clear a garden on the land of someone I don't know'.

The feeling that they do not have a legitimate right to occupy the land in towns or cities is, to some extent, ameliorated through the mediation of money. Buying allows people to access and enjoy resources (food, accommodation) that they have not produced and, in this sense, life in towns and cities enables a shift from production

⁴¹ This is mostly true for men as the residence pattern is virilocal but, as will be developed in Chapter 2, the preferred pattern of marriage for a man with MBD means that a wife may not live at a great distance from the land of her natal *aporo ira*.

⁴² Women did not express concerns about living on a land belonging to another *aporo ira*. In fact, during their lifetime, women only have user-rights on land, either through birth or marriage, so that they never live on 'their own land' as men do.

to consumption in relation to the land. As long as a man has and gives money, he can stay in a city. His legitimacy thus depends on his financial capacity rather than on his ability to take care. Being hosted by a *wantok* does not lessen costs because people usually pay rent to this person and buy most of their own food. The difference between living on their own land and living in cities is often expressed in temporal terms by Haivaro residents, by statements such as: 'By protecting my land, I help everything to grow well, again and again, so that I can stay forever on it, I will never miss a thing. But in towns, once all my money has been spent, I have to leave'. *Wafaya*-ness entails a constant regeneration of resources through the care brought by the *wafaya*. And though there are few constraints on a man's ability to take care, there are many entailed in renewing and maintaining monetary capital. Consequently, people's sojourns in urban areas are marked by their brevity. Indeed, 31 of the 35 absences by adults (88%) recorded in Table 1 were for less than 36 days⁴³. Financial considerations are implicated in the brevity of stays but other factors are also important.

'I don't stay very long when I travel in cities because I miss my land and my family'.

I heard this statement many times during interviews conducted in Haivaro and, mostly, from males. There are several reasons why women are less likely to express such nostalgia. First, women have fewer opportunities for travel and, hence, are often enthusiastic about the time that they can see other places. Second, unlike men who often travel individually, women usually travel in groups of two or three to join male kin (a father, husband or brother) who had departed earlier. In this sense, they are less likely to feel lonely than are men who mainly travel alone and stay with people who they do not know well. Finally, women are not *wafaya* so they might not have the sense of responsibility to care for land as men have. As a man once confessed:

I like to spin in towns, there are a lot of interesting things to do and it's funny. I can make phone calls and access internet. Everything is available. However, when I stay too long, I feel a bit lonely and I feel that I miss my place and my land,

⁴³ The four absences for more than 61 days were all associated with severe illness that required long periods of hospitalisation.

because I was born here, and my parents were born in the surroundings, and my ancestors came from that land, and my family lives here so that I feel home. There is no such thing in towns, and after a while, I think of my land and my family and I just cry for them.

(Parawi Meate. Haivaro Village. May 13, 2014)

For Haivaro people, 'feeling at home' seems to be intensely linked with deep family connections to the land. A young Haivaro resident who was sent to school in Port Moresby used the opportunity available to him there to write, sing and record a few songs. One of these emphasized this social and familial disconnection:

<i>Aiano Apa Huā kopepeapo</i>	I'm searching for my father and my mother
<i>Himu ano Pom city po</i>	My heart is in Pom city
<i>Pom city haua soko a fasekeno</i>	But they are not on the ground of Pom city
<i>Ya ano himu nekea rekenapo</i>	So that my heart is crying
<i>Aiano Mae Papa kopepeapo</i>	I'm searching for my brother and my sister
<i>Himu ano Pom city po</i>	My heart is in Pom city
<i>Pom city haua soko a fasekeno</i>	But they are not on the ground of Pom city
<i>Ya ano himu nekea rekenapo</i>	So that my heart is crying

This song has almost become the anthem of the Haivaro community. Everyone listens to it and sings it. They often cry when it finishes as it reminds men of feelings of loneliness they have experienced in towns and cities, and provokes in women a feeling of empathy for the deep loneliness felt by their father, husband or sons. Ironically, these expressions of loneliness when referring to living in the city contrast with statements they make in other contexts to the effect that Haivaro is presented as a 'remote and isolated area' and cities are 'connected to the world'. In Haivaro, people feel 'disconnected from the world'⁴⁴ but connected together while in cities they are

⁴⁴ At the time of my last fieldwork in 2015-2016, the area was still not connected to cell phone networks, and the only ways of reaching the outside was either through the radio connecting them to MAF or through satellite phones. In 2016, three of the residents had a satellite phone bought a few

connected with the world but disconnected from each other. In a sense, their frequent going and coming to towns and cities betrays an ambiguous feeling toward the modern world: it can be both attractive and repulsive in its different aspects. So too, however, can be Haivaro and, by constantly navigating between the two worlds, people may try to enjoy the benefits from both while minimizing their disadvantages.

One of the most attractive aspects of the modern world for Haivaro people seems to be the novelty. A Haivaro woman once explained to me:

Before, when we had money, I used to travel in Hagen, Waro or Port Moresby. I just went for a walk, to do shopping, to see new faces, to eat different food. Today, I don't have money anymore, so I stay in Haivaro. But life here is boring. Every morning I wake up, I work all the day, I see the same faces, and then I go to my bed and sleep. And the following day, the same journey begins again. Nothing changes. That's boring. As soon as I will have money again, I will leave Haivaro to experience new things. When I will be bored of those new things, I will come back to Haivaro.

(Lafame Sapa. Haivaro village. July 12, 2014)

The boring and predictable aspects of village life are here contrasted with the novelty and change made possible by urban life, which this woman perceives as highly enjoyable since she has not been able to travel for a long time. Haivaro residents are fond of new experiences which divert them from the sometimes tedious daily routines of village life, and travels to cities provide a great opportunity for change. But as the woman says, once the amazement of novelty has passed, the modern world becomes boring too and life in the village once again becomes attractive. It seems that it is the possibility of moving back and forth between the two worlds that is appreciated by these people. For male residents, travel to urban areas is often described as providing a well-deserved break from the village life and its associated constraints. As one male resident explained:

years ago through the managers of the logging company. They could buy pre-paid recharges to the managers of either Haivaro or Kuri logging camps.

I like to travel alone for a few days in Port Moresby to enjoy holidays. When I'm in the village, I have to work hard to take care of my family and my land, I have to fulfil many obligations, so that I need some holidays to get a rest from that. I don't forget my family when I'm there, and I often bring presents for them. But it is nice to take some distance from that for a while.

(Ruben Hoari. Haivaro Village. December 19, 2015)

Taking care of family and land – being a *wafaya* – requires constant investment. It is sometimes felt to be a duty so the possibility of some release is thought to be liberating. Relations developed by males in towns and cities, whether with people or land, are far less intense than those implied by *wafaya*-ness. Towns and cities are merely 'consumed', they are not 'produced'. For males, travels to towns and cities represent a voluntary detachment from *wafaya*-ness and the responsibilities it entails. To some extent, in towns and cities males build relations to land and people in opposition to those at play within *wafaya*-ness: they contrast 'holidays' in cities with the 'work' entailed by *wafaya*-ness; they contrast what they 'take' from cities (presents, food) with what they 'give' to family and land; they contrast 'freedom to spin' in cities with social obligations entailed by *wafaya*-ness. To some extent, the relational universe built by men in cities is constructed as an anti-*wafayaness*.

Concluding comments

In this chapter, I have shown that the relation Haivaro men develop with their land is one of producing, caring and protecting. In doing so, the land comes to embody human labour and emerges as a meaningful space identified with its carer, in a relation that is mutually constitutive.

I have shown, too, that this relationship is conceptualized by Haivaro Fasu in terms of fatherhood: as a man becomes a father only through production and protection of children, so too he becomes *hauaka wafaya* (father of the land) only through producing and caring for his land and its various inhabitants.

For a long time, land for Haivaro people was thus a matter of individual and social identity rather than ownership. However, occupation and use of their land by a resident logging company has, in various ways, modified that order. The greater mobility of people has reduced the intensity and frequency of the labour invested in the land. The imposition of exogenous categories differentiating both people and land, such as 'clan', 'landowner', 'Incorporated Land Group' or 'land boundaries', have weakened the particular relationship that formerly linked a *hauaka wafaya* with his own land and put a greater emphasis on ownership, rather than protection, production and care, in defining this relationship.

Haivaro men have decided to stop caring for domestic pigs, and because of the upheaval of their habitat by the ongoing logging operations and the decreasing protection brought by their *hauaka wafaya*, many non-human beings have chosen to leave the land. Concomitantly, people at Haivaro have become more 'village-focused'. All together, these trends have reduced the scope of *wafaya*-ness, both quantitatively and qualitatively.

Simultaneously, new or modified forms of relations have been made possible, or rendered necessary, by the new spaces that have become available through the provision of opportunities to travel in urban areas. Although Haivaro men are not, and cannot be, the *wafaya* of the new places that they now wander, their ways of relating both in and with these new spaces may be understood through the prism of *wafaya*-ness, as being detached from and opposed to it. The *wafaya* both produces and is produced by his land in a mutually generative process. In towns and cities, males merely 'consume' people and land.

Haivaro men, thus, metaphorize their relation to land in terms of fatherhood. But in some circumstances, both men and women may also conceptualize relations with the land and its inhabitants in terms of brotherhood.

In other parts of Papua New Guinea, it has been observed that social relationships 'eventuate from the ties that people form with the land' rather than from 'genealogical' or 'physical connections' (Bamford 2007: 6). At Haivaro, both play a great role in defining and shaping social relationships.

As will be developed in the next chapter, shared substances and performance are equally valued as connecting people with each other and with several non-human beings. In particular, sharing substances and performing *generalized reciprocity* constitute the basis from which brotherhood emerges. Because people at Haivaro understand their relations with several non-human beings in terms of shared substances, these beings are integrated to the collective as 'brothers'.

The next chapter discusses such understandings and their implications for relationships Haivaro people might develop beyond kinship ties, with people encountered in distant urban areas.

BEING A BROTHER

Brotherhood within kinship ties

Introduction

By analysing how people at Haivaro construct and experience 'fatherhood', I underlined in Chapter 1 how specific forms of social relatedness might result, not only from ideas about procreative process and genealogical ties, but also from people's relation to the land and its human and non-human inhabitants. Because caring for his land and its inhabitants is analogous to caring for his household and his children, a man is constructed as, and thought to be, the father of both. This argument resonates with research conducted among other groups in Papua New Guinea (Bamford 2007) and elsewhere (Bird-David 1993).

In this chapter, I argue that ideas about the procreative process, and the role of male and female bodily substances in defining kinship ties, are not the only modality that people at Haivaro employ to create and maintain kin relationships. As elsewhere in Papua New Guinea, ideas about procreative substances do assign particular positions within kin and do contribute to the construction of one's identity as a social subject (Bonnemère 1990; Godelier 1982; Godelier & Panoff 1998; Heritier 1997; Weiner 1982).

In addition, however, 'performing' a relation that is initially assigned on the basis of shared substances is crucial to consolidate that relationship. At Haivaro, a relation that is not performed accordingly to the standards that define it might simply vanish. From this perspective, kinship among Haivaro Fasu is a process, an 'arena of flexibility, negotiation and experience' (Miller 2007: 536) rather than a fixed normative system. In this chapter, I analyse this process by taking into account both that which contributes to building kin relations among Haivaro Fasu and that which may contribute to weakening or disintegrating them (Carsten 2013).

Among Haivaro Fasu, as has been emphasized elsewhere in Papua New Guinea (Carsten 1995), siblingship ties, and more specifically brotherhood ties, are particularly important. As will be developed in the chapter, the prominence accorded to the performance of *generalized reciprocity* makes this relation particularly flexible and, to some extent, applicable to non-kin. On some level, brotherhood is more about sharing – substances, experience, food... – than about what is shared. For this reason, brotherhood is often used by people at Haivaro as the framework from and through which they make sense of their relations with the non-Fasu people they encounter in distant places.

In this chapter, I start by introducing Fasu kinship terminology as the general frame within which brotherhood ties take place. I provide an overview of the role played by both substances and performance in shaping kinship ties that are of particular relevance in an individual's life.

Then, I focus more specifically on brotherhood ties. Because sharing is more central in brotherhood than what is shared, this relation can be extended beyond humans to embrace some non-human beings as brothers.

I show further that the performance of brotherhood is less constrained than that of fatherhood for while the latter unfolds only within a bounded land, the former may free itself from such strong attachment to a particular land and, thereby, be extended to a wider set of humans, particularly to non-Fasu people encountered in distant urban areas.

Fasu kinship

'Children belong to their father' Haivaro people say. Among Haivaro Fasu, filiation is patrilineal, with children recruited to their father's *aporo ira*. Fasu procreative theory implies that mother's menstrual blood (*meyasi*) contributes to the creation of the child's skin (*kau*), flesh (*maiya*) and blood (*kau haku*). In addition,

father's semen (*kore*) is thought to create the child's teeth (*mére*), finger and toe nails (*kitafené*) and bones (*kiki*). Skin, flesh and blood are body parts that dissipate after death while teeth, nails and bones remain⁴⁵. Female are thus associated with ideas of weakness and ephemerality while males are more closely associated with ideas of strength and durability. In addition to creating teeth, finger and toe nails and bones, father's semen is also thought to transmit a highly valued substance called *himu*, which may be briefly described as an animating principle transmitted at the time of conception and, in the past, reinforced in male children through insemination during initiations. A detailed description and analysis of this particular substance will be provided in the next section. For now, it is only necessary to point out that *himu* is a substance particularly – although not only – associated with males, that embodies the patrification at work among Haivaro Fasu.

Among Haivaro Fasu, residence pattern is patri-virilocal with wives recruited to their husband's *aporo ira*. The kinship system differentiates parallel cousins assimilated to siblings from cross-cousins. Patrification, together with patri-virilocal residence and the distinction between parallel and cross cousins, identify Fasu kinship with what, in anthropological literature, is termed an Omaha system. Figure 6 summarizes Fasu kinship terminology.

⁴⁵ Prior to missionary influence and the incentive to bury corpses, the bodies of dead people were exposed for 35 days (the base of the traditional counting system) on a funeral platform (*tapura*) and, once skin, flesh and blood dissipated, bones and teeth were collected and left in a mortuary cave specific to each *aporo ira*.

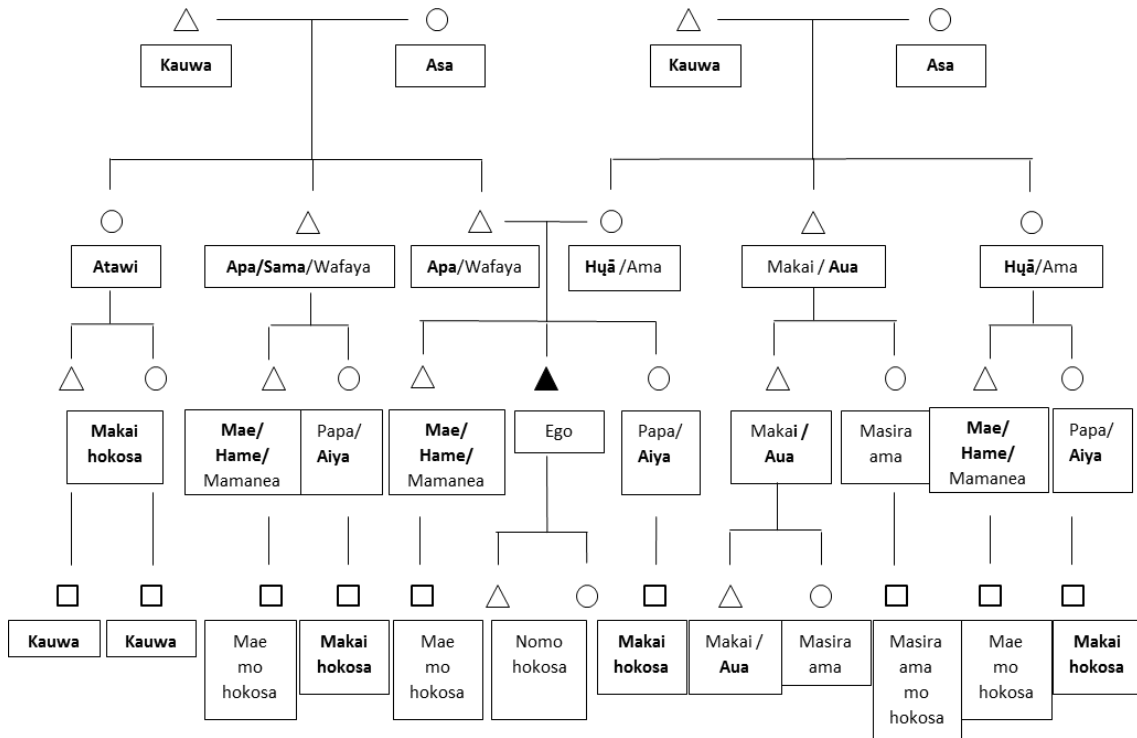


Figure 6: Fasu kinship terminology

(All terms are terms of reference. Bold terms are those also used as terms of address. Individuals in categories for which no term of address is mentioned are called by their name)

As apparent in Figure 6, father's brothers are called 'father' and mother's sisters are called 'mother'. Consequently, their children are considered siblings. Father's sisters are distinguished as *atawi*, while mother's brothers are distinguished as *aua*. Male children of *atawi* constitute preferred marriage partners for a female ego (who will refer to them as *apia hokosa* or man child), while female children of *aua* (*masira ama* or 'girl mother') are preferred marriage partners for a male ego. At Haivaro, only one male within a sibling set is expected to follow the preferred pattern of marriage with MBD, thus reinforcing ties created by his father's marriage. Other siblings – male or female – are free to choose a different partner, thus creating new alliance ties. Detailed analysis of alliance patterns and flexibility in alliance will be discussed in Chapter 3. Sister's children and father's sister's children are called *makai hokosa*, which can be translated by 'uncle child', as they will all call ego 'uncle' (*aua* or *makai*). Similarly, brother's children are described as *mae mo hokosa*, 'children of my brother' but are usually called by their name as they are assimilated to *ego*'s own

children. Ego's closest kin are those that share both substance and daily relations. Most people who are separated from ego by two or more generations are *kauwa*, which may be translated as 'distant relative'. Because lifespan is short among Haivaro Fasu, ego is unlikely to have much personal knowledge of people classed as *kauwa*. Note, however, that the grandchildren of *atawi* are also considered to be *kauwa* although they are generationally close to ego. According to the pattern of preferential marriage with FZS for a female, *atawi* will give birth to children belonging to an *aporo ira* that is different from the respective *aporo ira* of the father and the mother of ego. To some extent, they are therefore more distant socially from ego than members of the respective *aporo ira* of his father and mother. It follows that their children will be more closely related to the members of their parent's respective *aporo ira* than to ego, and this social distance is reflected in the use of the term *kauwa*. However, as mentioned above, male children of *atawi* constitute privileged partners for ego's sister, so that if the preferential pattern is respected, their children will become ego's *makai hokosa* and not *kauwa*. Similarly, female children of *atawi* are privileged partners for ego's *aua*, so that if the preferential pattern is respected, their children will become ego's *aua* and *masira ama*, and not *kauwa*. In other words, it is only when preferred patterns are 'rejected' that the grandchildren of *atawi* fall within the category *kauwa*. Note, finally, that ego's grandmothers are not *kauwa* as ego's grandfathers, but *asa*, which has been translated to me as 'other mother'. At Haivaro, the incentive to marry MBD is often formulated as the incentive to take wife in the mother's *aporo ira*. When, for any reason, marriage is not possible with MBD (*masira ama*), ego can marry either FMBSD or MMZSD, called *masira asa*. Indeed, when preferential patterns of marriage have been respected, it follows that both FMBSD and MMZSD belong to the *aporo ira* of ego's mother.

The Fasu terminological distinction between close and more distant kin is also reflected in terms of the substances shared with ego, and in the nature and frequency of relations he or she develops in the course of daily social interactions. Substances and relations also introduce distinctions – degrees of closeness – among those who are ego's close kin. In what follows, I discuss proximity in terms of substances and relations in consecutive sections.

The role of shared substances in defining kinship

In Haivaro, people may draw kin connections to others by stating that they have the same blood. But the reality alluded to is more complex than this apparently simple and straightforward assertion suggests. Indeed, there are many ways of 'having the same blood'. Indeed, Haivaro Fasus consider blood to be the vehicle of a highly valued substance called *himu*. This substance is transmitted at the time of conception through both father's semen and mother's menstrual blood. *Himu* is considered to be the source of qualities such as strength, bravery and rectitude. Indeed, an honest and good person is said to have *himu ereketae* (literally the right *himu*). *Himu ha* is breath, as evidence, the very possibility of life itself. Of someone dead, people say *himu rukupusuapo*: his *himu* has gone. Confident people are said to have *himu mapiraraka*, an 'unafraid *himu*'. Someone courageous and brave is said to be *himu paroaka reke* ('a strong *himu* is there'). Conversely, a coward is said to be *himu fa*, without *himu*. Of a person whose behaviour is socially unacceptable, it will be said that his *himu* got lost (*himu keteketesa*), or that he has a bad *himu* (*himu watikisa*). A hypocritical person is said to have two *himu* (*himu teta*), while someone angry is said to have a hot *himu* (*himu sisipu*). The range of qualities and emotions depending on the *himu* is too broad to mention them all here, but the few examples offered are sufficient to show that *himu* is considered an animating and vital principle from which many human qualities, both positive and negative, derive.

Although *himu* is transmitted by both the father and the mother to their male and female children, distinctions emerge between males and females in relation to *himu*. Indeed, *himu* transmitted through men is considered to be of 'greater quality' than *himu* transmitted through women. This is due to the fact that the gender of the body that receives and transmits *himu* affects its future expression. Indeed, women's body is said to contain menstrual blood (*meyasi*), a substance that is considered to have depletive effects on *himu*. The negative value attributed to menstrual blood derives from the fact that it is 'spontaneously' rejected by the body, in the same way as faeces, urine and sweat. For this reason, menstruating women were formerly

secluded in menstrual huts (*wake ape*) located on the margins of the village where they were brought food only by their female relatives. Similarly, child birth occurred in birth huts (*meyasi ape*) that were built in the forest; women who had given birth remained secluded 35 days. Men avoided visiting either *wake ape* or *meyasi ape*, whatever the circumstances, for fear that the contaminating power of menstrual blood would deplete their strength. Intercourse with menstruating women was strictly avoided, and menstruating women were not allowed to cook for men or to touch any male belongings.

That menstrual blood weakens *himu* becomes clear in the light of the following testimony that explains *himu* transmission:

Himu, this is my heart. But this is also my strength, my force, the one that helps me when I have to work hard, or during warfare for my ancestors. I got this power from my father. This is the *himu* of my *aporo ira*. But I also have in my blood the power of my *aua* (maternal uncle), of his *aporo ira*. But it is less powerful than my father's because I got it through my mother. My children, yes, I will give these *himu* to them. They will have my *himu* first, my father's one, this is the strongest one. Then they will have their *aua's* one through their mother. And after that, they will also have my own *aua's himu*, but not too much because my mother comes in the middle of the road, so that this power will not really work after my children because it is too weak.

It appears, from this, that at least three different *himu*⁴⁶ are transmitted to a child, which differ in power according to the path along which each has travelled. 'I got this power from my father. This is the *himu* of my *aporo ira*' the man said. Then he explains '[My children] will have my *himu* first, my father's one, this is the strongest one'. This *himu* is transmitted agnatically through semen and embodies the patri-filiation at work among Haivaro Fasu. An individual is identified with his father's lineage thanks to this specific substance that has been transmitted to him.

'I also have in my blood the power of my aua (maternal uncle), of his aporo ira. But it is less powerful than my father's because I got it through my mother' the man

⁴⁶ As I will show below, there is a fourth logical variant of *himu* that is not always acknowledged.

continues. A second *himu*, it seems, is transmitted through ego's maternal line. But note that this *himu* is not said to be the mother's; it is her brother that is specified. The distinction is important because it recognizes *himu* as being originally or primarily masculine, although transmissible through women. This *himu* is considered 'less powerful' because it has been depleted within the mother's body by her menstrual blood.

'And after that, they will also have my own aua's himu, but not too much because my mother comes in the middle of the road, so that this power will not really work after my children because it is too weak' my informant finally said. It seems, therefore, that after the *himu* respectively transmitted by the father and the mother, a third *himu* is transmitted from the father's mother. It is said to be the weakest *himu* because a woman's body (the body of ego's father's mother) has weakened this *himu* one generation earlier than the *himu* transmitted by ego's mother. The strength of *himu* is progressively and ineluctably depleted, it seems, by any encounter with menstrual blood and it follows, therefore, that the more women are implicated in the path of transmission, or the earlier women intervene in the sequence of transmission, the less powerful the transmitted *himu* is.

From the decomposition and analysis of the above testimony, therefore, it becomes possible to understand the different valences attributed to the different *himu* transmitted to an individual. It becomes also possible to deduce the logical existence of a fourth variant of *himu*, that Fasu people explicitly acknowledge only in a specific context. Figure 7 illustrates the inner composition of an individual in terms of *himu*, differentiated by the paths through which it has been transmitted.

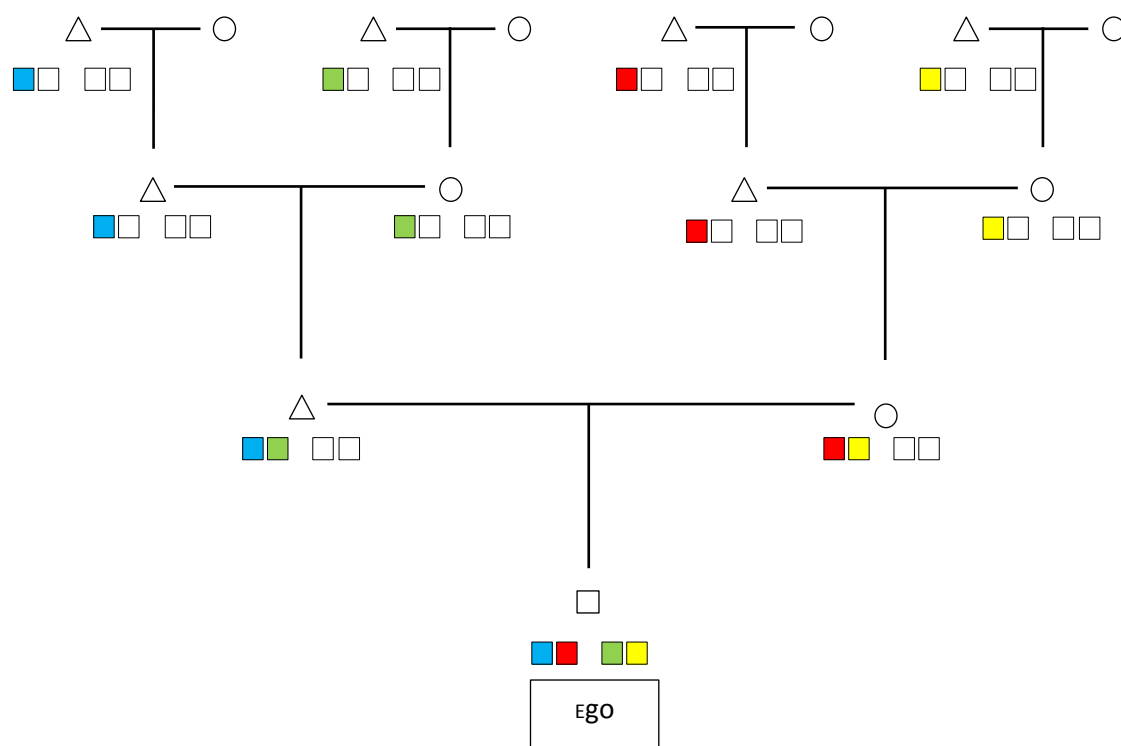


Figure 7: Transmission of the various *himu* and individual constitution
 (Relative strength of *himu* influence in ego decreases from left (blue) to right (yellow))

As apparent in the figure, the *himu* received through a purely agnatical line (in blue in the figure) comes from FFF and is the mark of the patri-lineage that defines patri-filiation structuring Fasu sociality. It remains the strongest one in the body as it has not been ‘filtered’ by a female body and depleted by her menstrual blood. The *himu* received from the mother (in red in the figure), that my informant described as ‘*aua*’s *himu*’ (the power of the maternal uncle lineage), comes from MFF and is less powerful as it has been depleted by ego’s mother’s body. Thus, part of an individual’s strength and personal qualities comes from his maternal kin. Though no one at Haivaro said this, it is my sense that payments made by a father to the maternal kin at birth and throughout the early life of each of his children are a compensation for this *himu*. As my informant explained, a man also transmits to his children the *himu* he received from his mother or, as expressed by my informant, from his own maternal uncle (in green in the figure). This *himu* thus comes from FMF and is said to be less powerful than the two previous ones because a woman was ‘on the road’ and depleted it two

generations before ego. Although it is not explicitly mentioned in my informant's narrative, but since he did not discriminate between transmission to male and to female children, the logic of his description suggests that ego's mother also received *himu* from her *aua* through her mother's blood, which she then transmits to her children (in yellow in the figure). This *himu* comes from MMF and is thus the least powerful as it has been depleted through the body of two women. The fact that it was not mentioned in the above narrative – or in interviews conducted with other residents on the same subject – suggests either that it is merely not transmitted or, more likely, that being 'filtered' by two successive generations of women has rendered it so weak that it is no longer considered significant by Haivaro people.

However, there is one situation – about which Haivaro people nowadays have only patchy knowledge – where this fourth *himu* seems to have been significant. Former male initiations entailed the insemination of male children by older but unmarried men, a practice called *Sisipu Keraka* (literally 'transmission of heat/power/strength'). Kurita (1994:67 in Gilberthorpe 2004) mentioned that the inseminator 'should not be a close relative, that is, a clan mate, a classificatory MB, FMB, or MMB of the boy to be inseminated', information that has been confirmed by data collected in Haivaro. According to the mode of transmission of *himu* described above and modelled in Figure 6, it follows that the boy could not receive semen from a man sharing any of the four *himu* composing his body. A more general rule can be derived from this peculiarity, formulated as the prohibition against bringing into contact, through sexual relations, *himu* derived from the same source⁴⁷. In ceremonial *Karuba* dancing performances, where pairs of men hold hands while dancing, this prohibition even extends to external physical contacts: members of the same patri-lineage – who therefore share the same dominant *himu* – avoid holding each other's hands, as they are said to be '*so close that they could not have such proximity without becoming sick*'. Such contacts are not prohibited in everyday life, and it is likely that ceremonial contexts are considered as intensifying to some extent the power attributed to substances: hence the extension of the prohibition.

⁴⁷ Very specific cases of abrogating this rule apply in alliance patterns, and will be discussed in detail in Chapter 3.

‘Having the same blood’ thus recovers a relatively complex reality for Haivaro Fasu, due to the fact that blood is composed of *himu* from four different sources, which are more or less dominant within an individual’s body. As a result, an individual has the exact same blood (the same four *himu* all with the same valences) as his biological siblings. With his broader kin, he may have all or only some *himu* in common, and these *himu* in common may differ to a greater or lesser extent in the balance of influence each has. ‘Having the same blood’ thus connects an individual to his kin, but does so in various ways.

Yet, when talking about kin connections, Haivaro Fasu rarely refer to shared substances. As Schiefflin (2005) noted among Kaluli people, Haivaro Fasu primarily trace kin connections by drawing analogies from a close relation, as explained in Chapter 1 (p 72). For instance, instead of saying ‘he is my father’s brother’s son’, they will say ‘our fathers were brothers so we are brothers’. It is my understanding that while people have a clear sense of sharing substances, and hence *himu*, with very close kin there is no immediate sense of the exact *himu* constitution of more distantly related individuals. Tracing distant connections by reference to those to whom one is closest may guide estimation of kinship in terms of shared substances.

If shared substances assign a position within kin relations then such estimation provides a basis for performing a particular relation that consolidates, or fails to consolidate, the original consubstantiality. But if consubstantiality, as explained, varies in degrees, it may also vary in ‘nature’. Indeed, there are several ways of being consubstantial for Haivaro Fasu. For example, an individual is consubstantial with his parents because he received substances directly from them. He is, in addition, consubstantial with his siblings because they all share substances derived from the same parental sources. As I will argue, the ‘nature’ of consubstantiality – whether it is received or shared – influences the form of the relation as it should be performed by individuals.

The role of relational performance in maintaining kinship

Kinship ties as pre-defined by consubstantiality connect an individual to an extended net of kin from the moment he or she is born. However, consubstantiality alone is not enough to maintain these ties throughout life. Rather, kinship ties entail a range of social obligations that, if not met, could endanger the relation itself and require the implementation of compensation mechanisms. The social obligations entailed differ subtly from one relation to another: being a son, for example, does not entail the same obligations as being a brother or a father. In this section I discuss different kin relations with particular references to what an individual may expect from the various people composing his kin. In doing so, I emphasize the role of consubstantiality in shaping the form of the relation. I show, also, how sago can be used to reinforce or create consubstantiality. Having demonstrated the importance of performing a relation in the maintenance of kinship ties, I turn to particular cases where those ties have been endangered, and to the compensation mechanisms that have been implemented to restore them, successfully or not.

In Chapter 1, I argued that being a *wafaya*, a father, is predicated on, and entails, a relation of protection. Father and children are consubstantial because the latter have inherited substances from the former: *himu* has been transferred – given – to them. This unilaterality of consubstantiality is reflected in the unilaterality of the relation between father and children. The *wafaya* produces, protects and gives to his children without expecting a return. This is not a reciprocal relation. The initial consubstantiality that derives from the *himu* given by the father to his children is then metaphorically maintained and reinforced through the sago that is transferred from the former to the latter. Indeed, while it is expected of a father that he takes care of his children, providing them with a house, sufficient fresh game, clothes and so on, it is even more important that he plants sago palms for them, palms that will mature as the children mature and, thereby, ensure their future food security. A father would often say that he plants sago palms for all his children, male and female. This is not untrue, since women have the right to process palms planted by their father, should those

belonging to their husband be insufficient. However, these sago palms are considered to be owned by their brothers. This distinction between male ownership and female usufruct emerges from the symbolism associated with sago palms for Fasu. Formerly, sago palms were planted by a man on his own land, and their later transference to male children served as a metaphor for the transference of the land itself, which can be owned only by males. A man plants new sago palms from the shoots produced by the palms that had been planted for him by his own father. Agnatical transference of sago palms thus replicates the agnatical transference of *himu*, a replication reinforced by the fact that a man's child will then be fed with the sago produced from those palms. In this sense, sago symbolizes the patri-filiation at work among Fasu. The good care that the *wafaya* applies to the palms – care that enable them to grow properly – resonates with the good care provided to his children. Sago flour extracted from these palms is the staple carbohydrate food for Haivaro people; their fronds are used to roof houses; their starch was formerly used as poultices. As a Haivaro elder once said to me: 'there is nothing to throw away in sago palms, everything is useful'. Associated with landownership, the planting and transference of sago palms is thus the primary means by which a father ensures his children's life and survival.

A man who failed to assume these obligations to his child could be deprived of his role as father, with the child being adopted by another man who was able to perform the relation appropriately. One case of adoption in Haivaro was explained to me in this way. According to the adoptive father, the biological father was not taking care of the child appropriately and not protecting him as he should so that, despite the mother's efforts to compensate for that neglect, the child frequently injured himself by falling from a veranda or playing with a knife unattended. My informant concluded his testimony by saying: 'he didn't even plant sago palms for him, so we had no choice other than withdrawing the child from him!'. In this example, the adoptive father was child's father's brother who, in Fasu kinship terminology, is also called father. The two men thus had the same '*himu* constitution' so that, to some extent, consubstantiality between adoptive father and child was already there. Nevertheless, this example reveals that consubstantiality created through the transference of *himu* is not enough in itself for the maintenance of fatherhood. The relation of protection has to be

performed, and the consubstantiality maintained through feeding with sago and transferring of sago palms. Both the original consubstantiality that defines relatedness and the performance of that relation are crucial in maintaining kinship ties. Where a father fails in his responsibilities and a child is entrusted to someone else, it is probably common that the adoptive father is 'close' to the biological father in terms of *himu* constitution.

At Haivaro, motherhood appears to play a complementary role to that of fatherhood. Just as the father reinforces his initial consubstantiality with his child by planting sago palms that will feed him, so the mother reinforces her own consubstantiality with her child through breast feeding and the transference of milk. Later, it will be the mother who feed the infant child with the sago she processed from the palms planted by her husband's father. This makes her a fundamental element of the reinforcement of patri-filiation. But a mother's obligations in this register also have to do with dangerous substances such as urine and faeces, with which the father is careful to avoid contact. To some extent, women are considered to be almost immunized against the potential negative effects of these substances, in that they are already contaminated by their own menstrual blood. A father who looked after an infant while the mother visited a garden would, if the child urinated, defecated or vomited, call for her to come back rather than clean the child himself. The role of mothers is thus ambivalent: on the one hand, they are acknowledged as contributing significantly to the permanence and maintenance of the patri-lineage (by giving birth and feeding the children with sago) and, on the other, are disparaged because they are contaminated by their own menstrual blood and, for this reason, relegated to thankless tasks associated with dangerous substances.

When the mother is absent and thus unable to feed her children, it is common that her children will seek food – especially sago – at other households. However, these households are never randomly chosen. Data collected from three households at Haivaro show that the first house a child goes to in search of sago is that of their father's biological brother, who is also their *wafaya* and, thus, equivalent to their own father in terms of *himu*. If this household is unavailable then a child's second choice is the household of their father's father, who is, in terms of substances, their closest male

relative after the father and his brother. If that household is also unavailable, they finally try the household of their father's sister who, while theoretically equivalent to their father in terms of *himu*, is not regarded as such because of the depleting powers of her menstrual blood⁴⁸. The recurrence of this pattern across the three households observed suggests that parents encourage children to hierarchize the intensity of their relation with various kin. And it is certainly no coincidence that the 'sago road' follows the '*himu* road', with children preferentially following a pure agnatical road, the closest female relative being always their last choice, even if her house is closer than others to the child's house. These data reinforce the suggestion that Haivaro Fasū draw a metaphorical parallel between sago and *himu*, and that consuming sago from the same source reinforces the consubstantiality originating from the transmission of *himu*.

It is clear that women first contribute to the patri-lineage by producing children and, later, reinforce and maintain those patri-lineages as mothers (or as kin from different houses) who both process and give sago. As is the case for fathers, mothers who do not perform that relation appropriately may be deprived of their motherhood. In 2013-2014 there were three cases at Haivaro where the possibility of withdrawing children from their mothers was under discussion. Two of the women were suspected of not attending correctly to their children when the fathers were absent, with the children being frequently injured as a result. The third woman, a divorced mother, was accused of being lazy and of failing to process sago to feed her child. In 2015, when I revisited Haivaro, children of two of the women remained with their biological mothers while the child of the third woman had been entrusted to the mother's brother's wife. The decision to entrust that child to another woman was probably reinforced by the fact that the birth mother had been abandoned by her husband. He was a Port Moresby man who had worked for a while with the local logging company and then departed leaving his wife and their son behind. Because he had not provided bride price to his in-laws, the child was considered to belong to its mother's natal *aporo ira*. This situation could also explain the woman's reluctance to process sago to feed her child. Usually, women process their husband's sago palms to reinforce the consubstantiality of the patri-lineage. In this case, however, the woman's former

⁴⁸ The specific relation with FZ is discussed in detail later in this chapter.

husband did not have sago palms at Haivaro and he departed before palms had been transferred to him by his wife's kin. The abandoned wife, therefore, did not have access to appropriate palms that she could process to provide flour for feeding her child. As with fatherhood, depriving a woman of her motherhood is always a decision taken by others. In the case of reallocated fatherhood discussed above, the decision was taken jointly by that man's brother and father, but only after discussions with everyone who might be affected by the decision. In the case of the single mother, the final decision was taken by her brother and her father. The brother took the child, fed him with his sago and looked after him, so that the child became affiliated with his *aporo ira*, thus erasing any filiation with his biological father.

The specific case of brotherhood will be the focus of the next section so that it will not be discussed in depth at this juncture. However, a few words on siblingship ties are necessary as they form an important part of kin relations. Biological siblings have exactly the same 'blood', the same internal composition in terms of *himu*. Classificatory brothers and sisters (FB's children and MZ's children) would, similarly, have the same blood if the traditional pattern of marriage with MBD has been fulfilled by everyone. But this is not usually the case at Haivaro. More often, an individual shares with his classificatory brothers and sisters one of his two dominant *himu*, either the one transmitted by the father, or the one transmitted by the mother. Siblings are thus those with which an individual is the closest, in terms of substances. When he grows up and begins progressively to detach himself from his parents, a child primarily socializes within the circle of his brothers and sisters, biological or classificatory. The most salient feature of these relations is the sharing of food, which replicates the sharing of their *himu* derived from the same source. Indeed, when given a piece of food by an adult, a child is immediately asked to, or will himself, share this food with his siblings. When the parents are absent, children who are old enough to take and cook bananas without supervision always gather their siblings to share this food. It is almost unthinkable for a Fasu child that his siblings would refuse to share food with him. Should that happen, a loud tantrum by the excluded child would publicize the fault and result in compensation. It is as if the common constitution of siblings in terms of *himu* legitimates the sharing of any substance entering their body, so that, as much as

possible, the consubstantiality remains identical.

Later, when brothers and sisters are old enough to fulfil subsistence tasks associated with their gender, the importance of sharing remains and even extends to possessions but a distinction between same-sex and cross-sex siblings emerges. Indeed, while sisters share with each other, and brothers share with each other, brothers and sisters start to exchange the products of their respective labour. Siblingship appears as primordial within kinship relations, with many classificatory kinship ties being expressed in terms of a connection with a brother or a sister. For instance, an individual explaining his connection with his FBS will say: 'My father says brother to his/her father, so I call him/her brother/sister'. Siblings are also those who, in many circumstances, are the first to be asked for help. A man building a house will first ask his brothers to help him gather the materials and erect the frame, and his sisters as well as his wife's sisters are the first women requested to help make the roof with sago palm leaves. Brothers contribute significantly to each other's bride-price and, in times of warfare, supported each other in raids. Although relatively rare, polygynous marriages are allowed among Fasu with a great preference expressed for marrying two or more sisters: this is supposed to ensure the peacefulness of the household, as sisters already know, like and support each other. Both levirate and sororate are considered the best way to re-marry after the death of a spouse, in part because the ties created through the initial marriage will be maintained but also because there is a sense – or an expectation – that two sisters or two brothers, because they are similar in terms of *himu* constitution, would be similar in terms of temper and personality, so that a good match with a first spouse would mean a good match with that person's sibling. Although reality sometimes unfortunately – and in some cases dramatically – contradicts this belief, it is nevertheless still promulgated as true. Both same-sex and cross-sex sibling ties are thus important for Fasu people, and primarily entail sharing with and support for each other, namely, a reciprocal relation.

Not performing as a sibling should, through sharing and support, may put the relation at risk, unless apologies are forthcoming and compensation is given. In Haivaro, sharing the products of a hunt with siblings is part of expected social obligations. Though people could be subtly clever at hiding game from others, being

caught doing so by a sibling always results in a complaint that has to be followed by appropriate compensation, lest the sibling tie be put into question. A man who once caught his brother eating game in the bush explained to me:

He should have spared a piece of this game for me instead of hiding and eating it alone in the bush like an animal⁴⁹. So I told him he was not acting as my brother and asked him for compensation. Now, either he will give me some money, or hunt another game animal for me. If he doesn't, then I will also stop sharing with him, and our brotherhood will be damaged.

The importance of performing the relation through sharing is emphasized, as well as the potentiality for siblingship – as with any kin tie – to be put into question if not appropriately performed. Interestingly, not performing this human relation instantly reduces the culprit to the rank of a mere animal. For Haivaro Fasū then, performing a relation seems to be distinctive of being human. I did not observe any case in Haivaro of a definitive breach in siblingship, comparable to the breaches of fatherhood and motherhood described above. I did observe conflicts between brothers leading them to ignore each other for a while, ceasing to share food or anything else, and stating they were 'no longer brothers'. In all cases however, ways were found to compensate for the offence and the relation eventually went back to normal. This does not mean that siblingship is a stronger relation among Fasū than fatherhood or motherhood: it is rare that a child is withdrawn from a parent. But unlike fatherhood and motherhood, which are accorded and withdrawn 'from outside', the maintenance of siblingship depends on the protagonists themselves. It is possible that the greater engagement of their individual responsibility encourages siblings to remain connected.

If both same-sex and cross-sex sibling ties are important and meaningful for Haivaro Fasū, cross-sex ties are given a greater emphasis in a particular case. Indeed, an individual's mother's brother (*aua*) is particularly important among his kin. This special tie is first informed by the *himu* he shares with the child through the mother, which is the second dominant *himu* within an individual, just after the one he received from his father. Less important than the *himu* of the pure patri-lineage, it nevertheless

⁴⁹ The man, speaking in Tok Pisin, used the English word 'animal'. At Haivaro, people often contrast 'animals' who just do whatever they feel like with 'human beings' who follow social rules.

contributes greatly to the child's strength and personal qualities. An individual becoming a 'good man' (*himu ereketae*: right *himu*; *himu mapiraraka*: unafraid *himu*; *himu paroaka reke*: a strong *himu* is there) is said to derive his good *himu* first from his father, but also from his maternal uncle, hence the small payment made by the father to the maternal uncle at the birth of a child as an acknowledgement of his contribution of substance in creating a potential 'good individual'. The relationship developed between a child and his or her *aua* is extremely close. It is a joking relationship; an *aua* often mocks affectionately a physical or character trait of his *makai hokosa*. *Aua* are said to have taken care of the children's mother before she married, so that to some extent the children are considered 'indebted' vis-à-vis their *aua*, as a 'derived product' of that good care. Ideally, this debt will be compensated in adulthood, with at least one of a man's male children marrying his *aua*'s daughter and thus giving back the care brought to his mother, and the *aua* being the recipient of half of the bride-price of female children. The relation with *aua* is thus marked by reciprocity deferred by one generation, and the small and frequent gifts of food made by *aua* all through childhood can also be interpreted as a way of re-actualizing, maintaining and thus recalling the initial debt the recipient will have to compensate at some point.

Relations with *atawi* (FZ) and her children are situated in the fringe of kin relations as defined by consubstantiality. As notes earlier, *atawi* is the relative to whom children would turn last when seeking sago, or food in general, when their parents are absent. And indeed, relations with *atawi* are almost confined to food giving. Once fed, children are expected to return to their own life, and outside this 'feeding relationship' children and their *atawi* rather ostentatiously pretend to ignore each other. In many cases, *atawi* is deeply critical of her brother's children's education; comments like 'their mother does not educate them appropriately' are not uncommon. Once asked about this peculiarity, a woman answered:

They are the children of my *aporo ira*, they have to be well educated to become good adults, so that our *aporo ira* remains a good *aporo ira*. Their mother is from another *aporo ira*, and in her *aporo ira* they don't know how to look after children appropriately.

My sense is that this comment expresses nostalgia felt by women obliged to leave their natal *aporo ira* at the time of marriage. By frequently criticizing their brother's wife, it is possible that *atawi* try to ameliorate the uncomfortable feeling of having partly lost affiliation with their original *aporo ira*. It is possible, too, that this affiliation is then thought of as having been usurped by their brother's wife. Hence the acerbic remarks. A child's relations with *atawi*, then, are mainly marked by her disapproval and frequent correction of behaviours, with her own children always presented as better behaved. The distant, marginal position of *atawi* within the network of kin is further evidenced by the fact that *atawi*'s children's children will be referred to as *kauwa*, 'distant relatives', beyond which close kinship ties are no longer acknowledged. And yet, as briefly mentioned in the previous section, and as will be further developed in Chapter 3, relations with *atawi* can be inverted by the preference for a man to marry his MBD, as her son will be the preferred spouse for her brother's daughter. And indeed, although *atawi* is critical in her treatment of, and comments about, both the male and female children of her brother, she's often more critical with the female children, especially with regard to the way in which they carry out daily tasks such as preparing food, fishing or gardening. By her criticism she may be testing those children and, to the extent that one responds to her criticism, enhancing the likelihood that a good wife will be available for her son in the future. In this case, *atawi*'s position will switch from the fringe of kinship to the core of alliance relations. *Atawi* and the relations developed with her thus constitute the articulation point between kinship and alliance among Haivaro Fasu.

Consubstantiality among Fasu entails more or less similarity between one's blood and the blood of one's kin, with respect to the different *himu* composing it. As argued throughout this section, the way in which consubstantiality is derived may shape the nature of the relationship as it is developed and maintained between individuals. The father, *wafaya*, gives substance to his children and the relation that follows is marked by giving. This is not a reciprocal relation. The same holds for the relationship between a mother and her children. Relations between siblings, in contrast, are marked by shared substances originating from the same source, and by *generalized reciprocity*, where siblings share whatever they have, whenever they have.

Aua (MB) and *makai hokosa* (ZC) share the same substance, received from father and from maternal grandfather respectively. An *aua* thus has a certain ascendancy over his *makai hokosa* as the substance they share is 'pure' within *aua* and diluted within *makai hokosa* as filtered through the child's mother. This difference of quality is reflected in the affectionate jokes expressed by *aua* regarding physical and character traits of the child, as a way of formulating that the child is an 'altered' version of himself. *Atawi* shares substances with her brother's children, and reciprocity is expected through the incentive for her brother's daughter to marry her own son. With her brother's children, she remains a mere 'food provider' but if it comes to pass that her brother's daughter marries her own son, then both women start sharing food and the relation between them becomes reciprocal. Substances and the way in which they are transmitted or shared thus shape the nature of the various relations that have then to be performed by people.

However, as underlined throughout this section, people do have a certain leeway in performing kinship relations, and thus in choosing whether or not to maintain them through time. Breaking a kin relation is relatively rare, however, as it would affect the entire kinship network and thus put sociality at risk. For instance, if none of the male children of a man marry his *aua*'s daughter, expected reciprocity with *aua* is endangered and compensation is given. More often, individuals who do not comply with the social obligations associated with particular kin relations would merely be ignored for a while. But there is almost always a moment when forgiveness intervenes and when attempts to reintegrate marginalized individuals are implemented. At that stage, reference is often made to the fact of 'having the same blood', in the expectation that this comment will encourage people to perform the relation as they should. For Haivaro Fasu therefore, kinship is both given through substances, and processual through the constant negotiation of relations.

The possibility to resort to the importance and significance of both substances and performance in creating and maintaining relations offers people the opportunity to manipulate ties in the sense that suits them at a given time. However, some relations might be easier to renegotiate than others. Indeed, as underlined in Chapter 1, *wafaya*-ness is deeply anchored within a bounded land and requires that *relata* are

being produced by their *wafaya*. Creating father-like relations *de novo* or outside the land might thus be difficult. Similarly, relations with *aua* (MB) or *atawi* (FZ), because they rely on shared substances, but more importantly because these shared substances engage people's future through the pattern of preferential marriage, render the inclusion of outsiders difficult. By contrast, sibling ties and more particularly brotherhood may authorize connections with a wider range of beings. In the next section, I discuss the role played by shared substances and relational performance in framing brotherhood. I analyse the specificities of the interplay between the two, compared to other kinship ties, that allow brotherhood to be extended to a broader set of beings. As I will show, the greater emphasis put on performance renders this relational form more malleable than others and consequently more conducive to incorporating changes.

Brotherhood between humans and beyond

According to the Fasu kinship terminology presented in Figure 6, and the mode of transmission of the vital substance *himu* shown in Figure 7, siblings with both parents in common share *himu* from the same four sources and siblings with only one parent in common share *himu* from two sources, derived through of either their patrilineal or their matrilineal connections. The depletive effect of menstrual blood on *himu*, which was discussed earlier, explains the greater emphasis that Haivaro people put on brotherhood compared to sisterhood or cross-sex siblingship: the *himu* of a female is considered less 'pure' or 'strong' than the same *himu* in a male. Thus, even when the *himu* they carry are of the same type and valence, a man's brothers will be considered more similar to him than his sisters. Paternal and maternal parallel cousins share with *ego* two types of *himu* with the same valence, and are considered siblings. By contrast, paternal and maternal 'cross-cousins' share with *ego* two types of *himu* but with a different valence: greater on the maternal side and lesser on the paternal side. The implication of that difference for marriage patterns will be discussed in

Chapter 3. The significant point here is that siblingship, and more particularly brotherhood, is circumscribed by the sharing of two or more *himu* of the same type and same valence. Figure 8 illustrates this point.

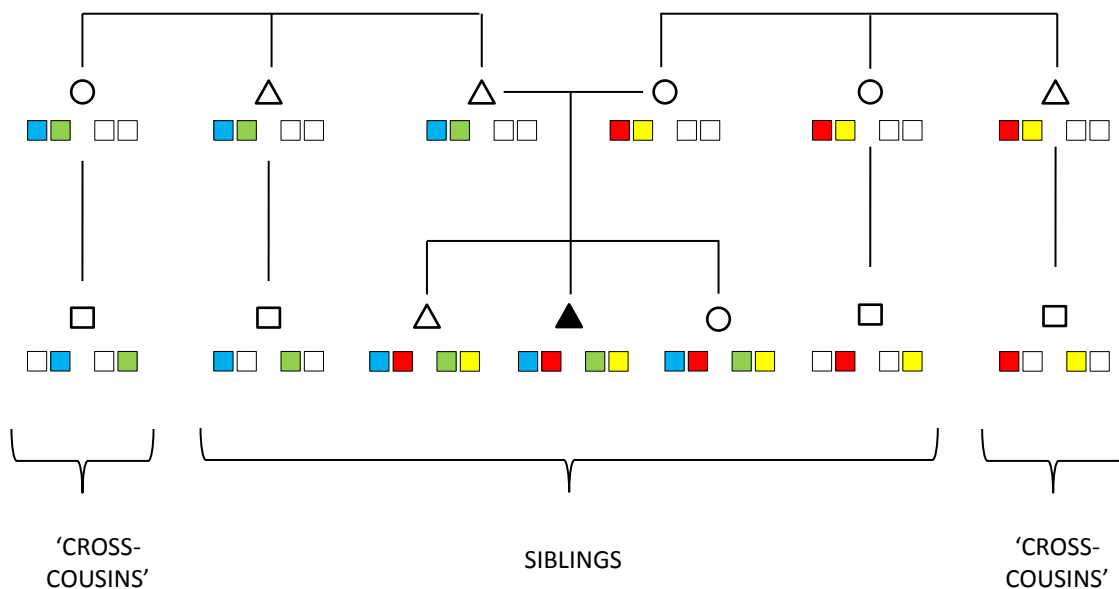


Figure 8: Distinction between siblings and 'cross-cousins' in terms of shared *himu*

Shared substance is thus a critical aspect of brotherhood. It links two individuals to a common third entity: the one from which they both derive this identity of substance. From this perspective, biological siblings have the peculiarity of being connected to two common entities so that their identity in terms of *himu* is deeper than their identity with parallel cousins. Consubstantiality as crucial in creating – or assigning – brotherhood is also revealed through the name given to the placenta in Fasú vernacular language: *hokosa mamanea* ('child brother'). Being immersed for nine months in the common maternal inner substances that feed them seems to be already enough, for Fasú people, to create brotherhood. Biological brothers possess the peculiarity of having been conceived in this same maternal matrix, a peculiarity that certainly also reinforces the distinction between siblings and parallel cousins. To some extent, this distinction in terms of substances translates into a relational distinction, as

biological siblings share with and support each other to a greater degree than classificatory ones⁵⁰. Growing up in the same household, opportunities to do so are obviously more frequent. Even after marriage, however, when they all lived in different houses, observations conducted on five sets of siblings in Haivaro showed a greater frequency of food sharing with biological siblings than with parallel cousins.

In some circumstances, brotherhood in Haivaro can extend beyond ties based on shared substances. Indeed, a member of Kasua Rebeta once explained to me:

Irumano [a member of Yuria Siriki] is my brother. I used to eat in his house when I was a child. He used to catch game for us and his mother used to process and cook sago for us to eat. We used to share this food so he is my brother now. We share all our secrets.

This statement highlights both shared substances and performance of *generalized reciprocity* – sharing – in the creation of brotherhood. In this case, by sharing the sago owned by the father and processed by the mother of one of them, they were symbolically sharing the *himu* of the sago-owning patri-lineage. These young men share their secrets and in everyday life they share whatever they have, whenever they have it: they act as brothers. It is certainly the repetition of sharing sago that made brotherhood emerge. Then, by sharing any type of food, both act as brothers. The Kasua Rebeta man now refers to the parents of the Yuria Siriki man as his '*kepo*', which means 'origin' and, in this context, acknowledges them as those 'from whom he grew up', just as his new brother did⁵¹. This particular example illustrates that a greater emphasis put on the performance of *generalized reciprocity*, together with a consubstantiality created through the sharing of sago, allow the creation of

⁵⁰ Because adoption is usually arranged to reflect pre-existing identity in substances or to create this identity through the ingestion of sago and other foods from the same source, adopted brothers are considered as biological siblings.

⁵¹ Among northern Fasu groups, Gilberthorpe (2007) defined the *kepo* as 'an exclusive bigenerational unit who inherits sago palms, territorial rights and head-man status' and 'comprises either father and productively mature sons, or a band of brothers with immature offspring'. She also specified that 'Females [...] also have *kepo* (the woman's father and brothers) but are not a part of it'. In Haivaro, however, the word is hardly recognized or used in that sense, and is almost exclusively used in the sense of 'base' or 'origin'. When used by reference to people, it is translated by the English word 'family', that people define as 'those who take care of someone when he or she is young; the people he or she grew up from'. In most cases, those are the parents (both classificatory and biological) so that people who emerge from the same *kepo* are siblings.

brotherhood ties that had not been originally assigned by procreative substances. This ability of brotherhood to be extended beyond normative kinship ties also appears in the migration histories mentioned in Chapter 1.

'We migrated along the same road, so we are brothers'.

This quotation from interviews conducted in Haivaro about historical migrations drew my attention further toward the understanding Haivaro people have of brotherhood. Indeed, the old clan leader who said this then explained: 'We walked through the same piece of land. We settled together in the same longhouse⁵² and we took care of the same portion of land. We processed and shared the same sago. That's why we became brothers'. Wandering the forest has already been mentioned in Chapter 1 as a way of building a lifeworld for Fasu people. From this perspective, walking through the same piece of land is developing the same kind of specific relation with this land. Living in a common longhouse certainly strengthens inter-clan relations, but can result in various ties other than brotherhood. The reference to taking care of the same portion of land, however, provides a clue to understanding how these men became brothers. Indeed, as explained in Chapter 1, 'taking care of' someone or something is deeply associated with becoming a *wafaya*, a father. Two men taking care of the same piece of land may thus be perceived as both being the fathers of this common piece of land⁵³. Yet, Fasu kinship terminology reveals that the men a child calls 'father' are all brothers. It is thus understandable that two men who take care of the same portion of land create brotherhood in the course of doing so. Moreover, we find again the reference to sago sharing which has already been shown to create consubstantiality. In this particular case, therefore, brotherhood emerged from the two men being linked in the same way to a common third entity: by both acting like fathers toward the land, they became brothers and this tie was later ratified and strengthened through sharing sago. In the previous example, two men became brothers by first sharing sago and then acting as brothers through the performance of

⁵² At that time, Haivaro people were still living in communal longhouses rather than in small family houses as is the case nowadays.

⁵³ This point has to be taken with caution, as *wafaya*-ness is nowadays deeply associated with an owner's rights over a piece of land, in a context of logging extraction and of permanent settlement rather than frequent migrations. It is not clear whether or not the association was as deep in the past, and no reference was made by my informant to joint ownership of this common piece of land.

generalized reciprocity. In this example, two men became brothers by first performing the relation, and then sharing sago to consolidate that tie. The interplay between substances and performance in creating and maintaining brotherhood and other kin relations among Fasu thus offers various possible configurations.

'I will also stop sharing with him, and our brotherhood will be damaged'.

I quoted this sentence earlier to demonstrate how performing brotherhood – through sharing and support – was essential in maintaining a relationship that was initially created through the sharing of *himu*. Haivaro residents often subsume sharing and support under the single term 'helping'. Brothers summon each other for help in many circumstances: sharing food when one is hungry, sharing clothes when one has only old ones, collecting bush materials if one wants to build a house and so on. A refusal to comply with these requests for any reason would be interpreted as an infringement of the relationship itself. This help does not necessarily have to be an exact reciprocation of what has been shared. For instance, the sister of a Haivaro resident's wife was married to one of the Asian managers of the logging company that was operating on their land. This man often gave rice and tinned meat to the Haivaro couple in order to maintain good relations with his affines. The Haivaro resident then shared this food, most notably with his two brothers. His brothers, in turn, shared their food with him (mainly hunted game and garden products cooked by their wives) and, when doing so, often said: 'Sorry, I don't have the means of sharing with you rice and tinned meat as you share with me. It is only bush and garden food that I share with you'. The brother always replied: 'Don't worry; I know you cannot buy food from the store and I'm happy with bush and garden food too'. I often observed exchanges of this kind between brothers when one or the other gave store-bought food, manufactured goods or money. While the prestige gained in obliging the other is certainly at stake in this form of relation, it seems that the act of 'sharing in return' is more important than what is shared. The degree of equivalence of what is shared can always be a matter for discussion and negotiation as long as the relation is performed. Sharing is crucial in brotherhood. When sharing 'things' such as clothes or money, the emphasis is on performing the relation, whereas when sharing food, it is all about consubstantiality: whatever one eats, his brother must also be given some to eat.

'It doesn't matter that he has been away for two years, because we still have the same blood!'

Once, when talking with a Haivaro resident about the importance of sharing and support in brotherhood, I enquired about the consequences of the long absence of his brother from the village and the consequent impossibility for them to help each other as they should⁵⁴. The quote above is his reply, though he added: 'When he will be back, we will help each other again'. Just as consubstantiality, performing brotherhood is important but not always compulsory in maintaining the relation; when impossible for any reason, a greater emphasis is put on shared substance to preserve the relationship. If necessary, then, performance can be postponed for a while, pending a more favourable context. And indeed, when his brother came back after two years, the man was one of the first to greet him by hugging him and then organizing a feast a few days later at which much food was shared. A month after that, when he needed help completing an application form associated with the logging operations on his land, his 'educated' brother assisted him. In this case, when the brothers were apart, shared substance was foregrounded to maintain the relation but, when they were together, performance assumed priority in maintenance of the relation. This is by understanding the leeway people have to manipulate and renegotiate the importance accorded to either substances or performance in creating and maintaining brotherhood in different contexts that the inclusion of non-human beings as brothers becomes evident.

'It is funny that you asked me to do this work with you, because bamboos are my brothers!'

I was working with one of my informants in identifying the vernacular names of the various species of bamboo that people use in Haivaro when she made the above statement. Seeing the astonishment in my face, she explained: 'Bamboo are my brothers (*mae*) because a bamboo is my *wainesa makata*'. In Haivaro, people translate

⁵⁴ His brother was the most successful student from Haivaro, who had begun training to become a pilot. Part of his training was in Fiji, where he stayed for long periods.

'*wainesa makata*' as 'the thing or being⁵⁵ (*makata*) we grew up from (*wainesa*)', thus incidentally recalling the definition they give of the *kepo*, the matrix from which siblingship, and thus brotherhood, emerges. More accurately, a resident once illustrated the verb *wainesa* as follows: 'For instance, you have a banana tree. From this tree, other small banana trees will emerge and grow. And then from those trees again, other small banana trees will emerge and grow, and so on. This is *wainesa*'. This verb thus defines a process of engendering, multiplication and growth – the process of emergence of life. The *wainesa makata* is thus the matrix from which the process occurs.

In Haivaro, each *aporo ira* possesses its specific *wainesa makatas*, which could be either plants or animals. It is said for instance that the original members of Kasua Rebeta emerged from fruits of the *noka* tree (unidentified). Similarly, fruits of the *kawana* tree (unidentified) gave rise to members of Kasere. A hornbill, *nuamo*, once came out from a cave in the Paro Mountain and turned into an ancestor of Yuria Siriki. Referring to my informant's comment, a bamboo produced members of Simayu. At Haivaro, myths explaining the emergence, from particular *wainesa makata*, of ancestors of specific *aporo ira*, are numerous, with each *aporo ira* acknowledging multiple *wainesa makata*. These *wainesa makata* are thought to have produced both the ancestors of the current members of the *aporo ira* and the 'ancestors' of the current members of the species of plant or animal. Because both have been produced by, or out of, the same entity, members of the *aporo ira* consider members of the concerned species as their brothers. On some level, *wainesa makata* can be considered as non-human 'parents'. Further data give support to this interpretation.

Evidence suggests that the relation between non-human and human brothers descended from the same *wainesa makata* is also thought of in terms of consubstantiality. Indeed, many testimonies attest to what may be understood as a co-evolution between human and non-human brothers. It is said, for example, that the burgeoning of the creeper *Sautoro* (unidentified), another non-human brother of Kasua Rebeta members, announces the birth of a Kasua Rebeta child, just as its decline

⁵⁵ In *Namo me*, and depending on the context, *makata* can designate either 'things' (that are not considered alive) or 'beings' (that are considered alive).

predicts the death of a member. Similarly, the birth of the two current oldest members of Simayu – who are brothers – coincided with the production of two new shoots by a bamboo (*Oro Misipa*, unidentified) located in the middle of a pond within their land. People explain this co-evolution by saying that ‘*they grew up from the same wainesa makata so that they are one and the same inside*’, just as human brothers are said to have the same blood. This statement further assimilates *wainesa makata* to the ‘parents’ from whom brothers derive their *himu*. The consubstantiality between human and non-human brothers is thought to result in co-physicality: it is said, for instance, that members of Kasere who emerged from the tall creeper *sonya wamano* (unidentified) derived their great height from it, and that the emergence of Kasere members living further to the north from the fish *poka fariame* (unidentified), whose scales are white, lightened the skin of members of this section of the *aporo ira*. Co-physicality is thus regarded as evidence of consubstantiality and confirms both filiation and brotherhood. This is also true among humans. Indeed, physical similarity between human brothers is an important concern for Haivaro people and, since paternity is often assumed rather than known for certain, physical similarities with the father are often discussed during the first months or years of a child’s life⁵⁶.

Brotherhood in Haivaro thus links those who emerge from the same source, either the parents or the *wainesa makata*. It is thought of in terms of consubstantiality that may be confirmed through co-physicality. These understandings of brotherhood allow the inclusion of non-humans within the relation. And yet, in one way, non-human brothers seem to be distinguished from human brothers in one way: while performing the relation is important for maintaining brotherhood between humans, this does not seem to affect relations with non-human brothers. Indeed, Simayu members may ‘help’ bamboo to grow well by cleaning the invasive bush around them but they do not do this any more than do members of any other *aporo ira* who have bamboo on their own land. Similarly, bamboo brothers may be considered to help Simayu members by providing food and building materials, but no more than they help members of other *aporo ira*. One case could however constitute a counter-example:

⁵⁶ Since paternity is rather an assumption, physical similarities with the father are a very important concern during the first months and years of a child.

when performing tasks that require additional strength, people usually loudly summon their non-human brothers to the help, just as they would summon their human brothers. This case aside, however, it seems that in the context of brotherhood with non-humans, the emphasis is usually on shared substance rather than on performance. That people have less leeway with respect to modifying these kinds of brotherhood ties suggests that kinship ties between human brothers overshadow those with non-human brothers. Indeed, the logic of the reasoning concerning *wainesa makata* implies that all members of an *aporo ira*, as emerging from the same *wainesa makata*, would be brothers. And yet, they are not: they are father, son, brother, daughter and so on to each other. This suggests that kinship ties fed by both consubstantiality and performance may be stronger than those which exist exclusively through one or the other of these modalities. Brotherhood with non-humans can thus be interpreted as an emaciated version of brotherhood among humans, presenting enough elements in common with the latter to understand why the analogy is recognized, without presenting the same degree of ‘completeness’.

Among Haivaro Fasu, brotherhood is thus distinct from other kinship ties in that it is more likely an ‘indirect’ relation. It is by being linked in the same way to a third entity that people become brothers. This connection, as we saw, can be either thought of in terms of substances, as is the case for both human and non-human brothers, or in terms of relations – through performance – as is the case, for instance, where two men take care of the same portion of land. As emphasized throughout this section, one is not exclusive of the other. The interplay between both characteristics, and the greater or lesser emphasis put on one or the other, is constitutive of the relation itself, and is always context-dependent. The leeway people have to manipulate this interplay certainly makes brotherhood a more ‘inclusive’ relation than *wafaya*-ness for instance, which is geographically anchored and bounded. Motherhood, or relations with the maternal uncle (*aua*) or paternal aunt (*atawi*) may also be too ‘direct’ to allow their constitutive characteristics to be extended by Fasu beyond close kinship. The relation of engenderment implied by fatherhood or motherhood may be difficult to think in substitutive or metaphorical terms for Haivaro Fasu, and relations with *aua* and *atawi* may be too deeply connected with fatherhood

and motherhood to be extended outside Fasu normative kinship. By contrast, brotherhood appears as a more flexible relation in that the nature of the 'third entity' to which two individuals can be connected in the same way appears as less significant for Haivaro people than the very fact of 'being connected in the same way', this connection being defined either by consubstantiality or co-relationality or, more often, both at the same time, though to different degrees. Brotherhood thus allows an 'opening' to a more diverse set of beings than do other kinship ties. This interpretation may explain how it is that Haivaro residents attending distant schools in urban areas tend to develop relations with their classmates that have elements in common with brotherhood.

Being a classmate: over-emphasising performance

I have argued that consubstantiality and co-relationality are complementary facets of brotherhood ties, which people may manipulate to suit particular needs in particular contexts. By analysing the specific case of relationships developed by some Haivaro residents with classmates in distant urban areas, I now explore the extent to which these relations are understood by the people concerned as brother-like relations. Data presented in this section were from students who had returned to Haivaro for the school holidays in the period from December 2013 to February 2014. They have been enhanced by interviews with Haivaro students in Port Moresby at the beginning of the school year 2016. They primarily concern Haivaro male students, because very few Haivaro girls are sent to school in distant urban areas. Gaining prestige has always been a male prerogative among Fasu, and so is education conceived as an alternative road toward this goal. As a consequence, I could collect only one interview from a female student.

Analyses of the education system in Papua New Guinea usually focussed on its propensity to create and accentuate socio-economic and gender inequalities (Lyons Johnson 1993), and on correlated mechanisms of exclusion and discrimination

(Maclean 2004; McKeown 2006; Yamuma 1999). My intention, rather, is to focus on the other side of the coin, namely the capacity of school to integrate and bind together a group of students. In other words, it is the way in which the school experience may create relations that interests me. Indeed, although I collected many testimonies from Haivaro residents about the discrimination and exclusion they often endured at distant schools, several people also spoke about the positive relations they developed with some of their classmates.

Since the beginning of their engagement with the logging company in the 1990s, Haivaro people have invested part of the money they received as benefits in sending students to urban schools, mainly in Port Moresby and Mount Hagen. The reason for this is that the community school built in the village in the 1990s only caters for students from entry (preparatory school) to fourth grade. Moreover, the teachers who are sent to Haivaro usually remain for only a few months. The remoteness of the village, the lack of roads and regular means of transport, the absence of electricity and mobile phone network, the great difficulty entailed in accessing their wage, the lack of basic medication in the local health clinic and the fear of witchcraft are the most frequent reasons expressed by local people, and by the one teacher I met during my first period of fieldwork, for explaining such rapid turnover of teachers. As a result of the lack of teachers, and the impossibility of studying locally beyond fourth grade, Haivaro residents eager to continue their education are usually sent to Kuri village, 35km to the southeast. This village is the main base camp of the logging company, which thus provides a few more services than does Haivaro logging camp. The Kuri health clinic was run by a doctor rather than a paramedic as was the case at Haivaro when the company still had a camp nearby⁵⁷. There was a landline that people could pay to access, a better-supplied trade store that was run by the company's managers, and more importantly, the possibility that school teachers could access wages that had been deposited into a company bank account⁵⁸. Teachers posted to Kuri thus usually remain for the whole school year. However, this school only accepted students up to

⁵⁷ Two months after my departure in September 2014, the logging camp near Haivaro and the services it provided (health clinic, trade store...) were relocated to Moka, further to the southeast.

⁵⁸ The teacher sent to Haivaro in 2014 asked the managers of the nearby logging camp whether his wages could be deposited into their account so that he could then access them. However, for reasons that are unknown to me, the managers refused.

sixth grade, so those who thought higher levels of education had to relocate to more distant schools in the Highlands or Port Moresby.

Between 2013 and 2016, an average of ten youths were sent to urban schools each year. The decision to send a boy to school depends on both his desire to further his education and the availability of the financial means for his family and *aporo ira* to cover related expenses. In addition to the registration of *aporo ira* as Incorporated Land Groups (ILG), people at Haivaro have created their own landowners company called Nasireyuka⁵⁹. My understanding was that 25% of the total amount of royalties derived from logging is deposited into this company's bank account. Residents can apply for assistance from that fund and the elected committee of this company decides whether to approve the requests⁶⁰. In 2013-2014, money from the account was used a few times to send people to hospital in Port Moresby and to purchase flight tickets for men attending the review, in Port Moresby, of the timber permit covering the area around Haivaro. This account is also used to rent a house in Port Moresby as accommodation for Haivaro students. Part of the Annual Benefit Fund to which Haivaro people are entitled has also been used to pay students a monthly allowance of approximately K50 to cover living expenses. Until 2013, students reportedly were sent to expensive private schools. In 2013, financial benefits derived from logging were said to be significantly lower than usual, so it was decided that students would be sent to free public schools. Students are expected to attend school between 8.00am and 3.00pm from Monday to Friday, with homework said to require up to three hours of additional work every day.

Testimonies recorded in Haivaro show that the relational circle developed by male Haivaro students in urban areas is almost exclusively composed of male

⁵⁹ Nasireyuka is an acronym based on the first two letters of the name of each *aporo ira*: Nauma, Simayu, Rebeta, Yuria Siriki, Kasere. The Company was first registered as 'Nasireyuka Resources Property Limited' on 6 May 1994, and re-registered as 'Nasireyuka Resources Limited' on 2 September 1998. Note that at both times, Hemyama and Kikiri were subsumed under the general name *Nauma*, thus revealing that the distinction people asked me to make between these *aporo ira* in my thesis, is fairly recent.

⁶⁰ The committee is composed of a chairman, a treasurer and a secretary who volunteer with the agreement of the adult men of the village. Their mandate continues until they themselves decide to leave the committee.

schoolmates⁶¹. Their 'educated' or 'brother-like' friends, as they like to call them, are those with whom they spend most of their time both within and outside the classroom. School and classmates thus constitute the main socializing contexts for Haivaro students in urban areas. To reinforce this point, I present a map drawn by a Haivaro student that represents the town of Mount Hagen, where he attended school between 2010 and 2012. First, however, some comment is needed about the way in which Haivaro people represent an area on a map. Indeed, their approach to cartography must be appreciated before offering an interpretation of the map of Mount Hagen.

As briefly mentioned in Chapter 1, people at Haivaro asked me to help them register new ILGs in accordance with the requirements of the Land Group Incorporating (Amendment) Act of 2009. This Act had rendered earlier ILGs obsolete. Part of the registration process entailed drawing sketch maps that purportedly delimited the portion of land associated with a specific ILG. In order to facilitate production of these maps, I provided people with topographic maps, produced by the Royal Australian Survey Corps⁶², on which they could represent their land. Armed with a pencil, each *aporo ira* drew the approximate boundaries of their land, and marked various meaningful places that identified the land as their own. These meaningful places were mainly named sago swamps, old villages and caves, but also mountains and rivers as they appear in each *aporo ira's* mythology. In other words, people inscribed their specific sociality within their land on the maps. Without reference to a topographic map, one young Haivaro resident aged around 20 showed me a map that he had drawn. Information on this map (Figure 9) is representative of that which older men had sketched onto the topographic maps.

⁶¹ They also occasionally develop relations with females students as girlfriends, but this point will be discussed in Chapter 4.

⁶² Bosavi sheet, PNG 1:100,000 Topographic Survey, Sheet 7484 (edition 1) Series T601, Printed 1978; Biwai sheet, PNG 1:100,000 Topographic Survey, Sheet 7583 (edition 1) Series T601, Printed 1978; Hegigio sheet, PNG 1:100,000 Topographic Survey, Sheet 7584 (edition 1) Series T601, Printed 1978.

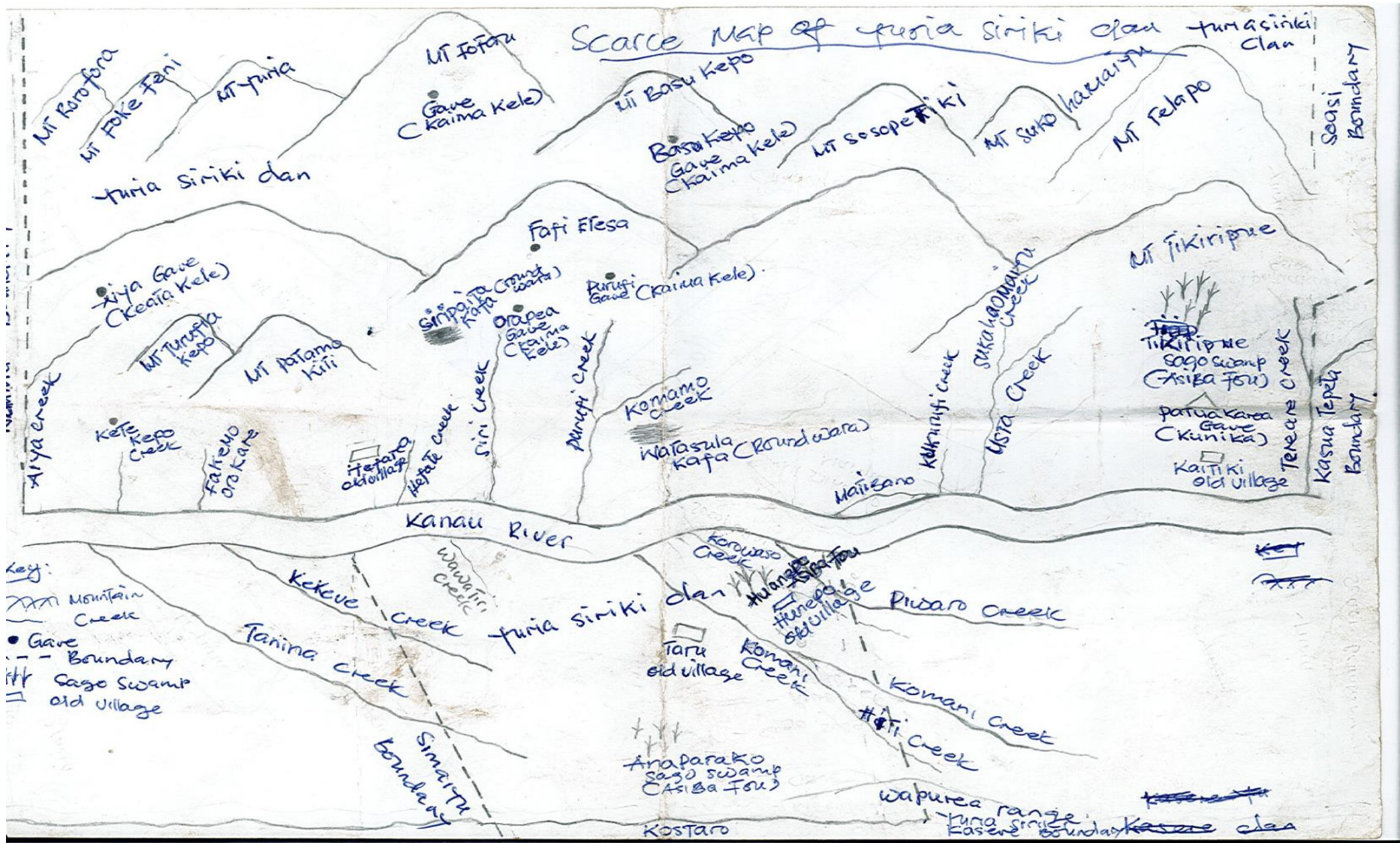
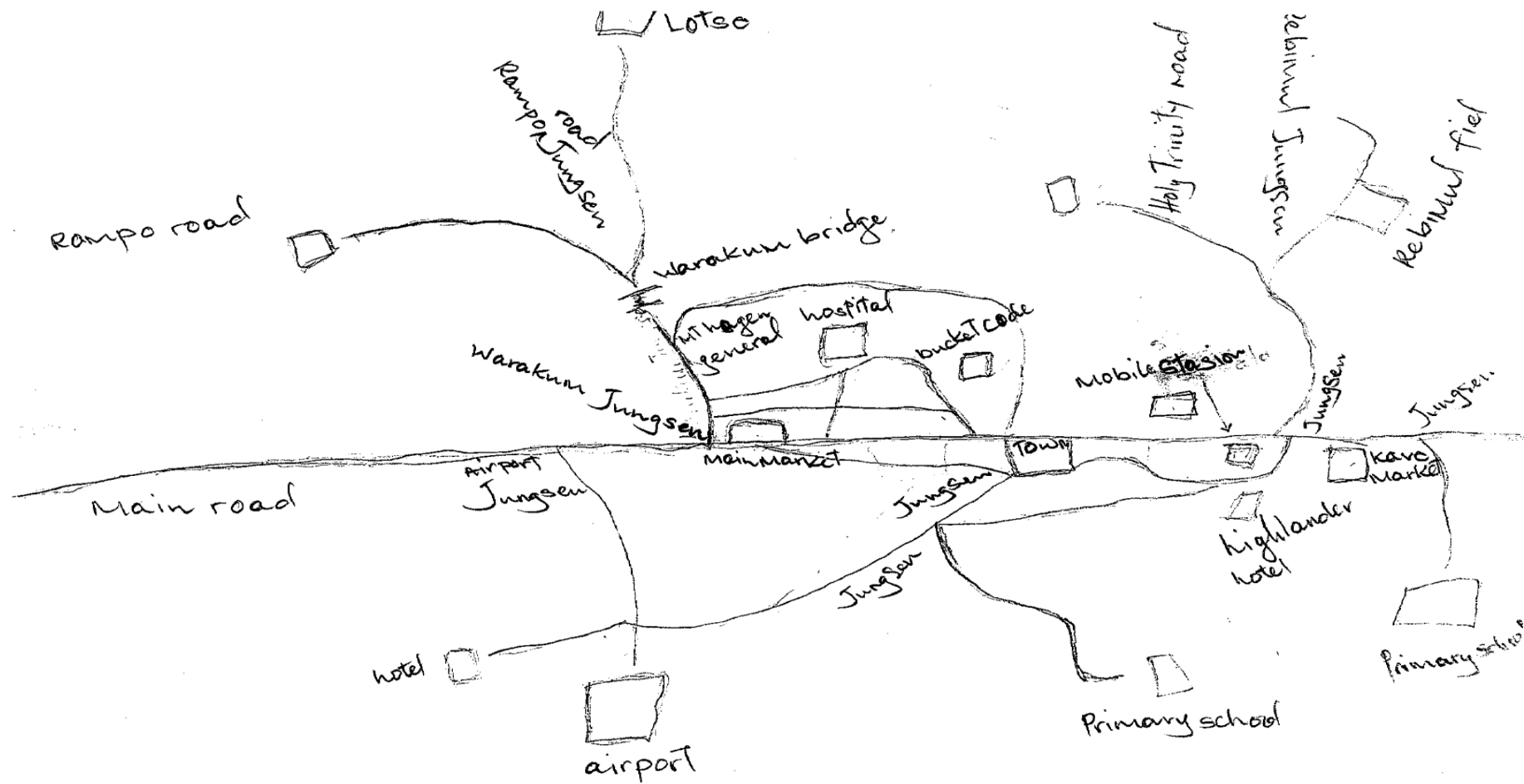


Figure 9: Yuria Siriki Land represented by Wako Tabaye

Most of the places recorded on Wako's map are socially meaningful: sago swamps (*asipa fou*) associated with the agnatical transference of land and symbolizing the *himu* of the *aporo ira* (*Anaparako, Tikiripue*); old villages where ancestors used to live (*Taru, Kaitiki*); mountains across which members of the *aporo ira* migrated and that were shaped by mythical characters (*Yuria, Telapo*); rivers representing benchmarks but also providing fishing and bathing sites, as well as communication paths (*Kanau River, Pisaro creek*); caves where collective hunts for flying foxes take place (*Aiya, Purufi*), and so on. When drawing their map together, male members of each *aporo ira* in Haivaro used the same kind of mnemonics to recall specific places to memory. This entailed resituating a particular inscription of the *aporo ira* sociality within that place. This may have been basic activities such as sleeping ('we slept here with your two sons') or washing ('we used to bath here'), subsistence activities that entailed a modification of the environment ('You planted a breadfruit tree here'; 'This is where we collected okari nuts'; 'you planted a garden there'), or an unexpected occurrence that became fixed in people's memory ('You killed a death adder in this place'; 'In this place, there was once a big wind and you hailed me'). What Haivaro people represent on a map is what Weiner (2001: 15) called 'the space in which human intention inscribes itself upon the earth'. They represent social events that 'bring existential space into being'. In this sense, maps drawn by Haivaro residents can be used as ethnographic data that convey an idea of the specific sociality people develop within a given area.

I now turn to the map of Mount Hagen that was drawn by Parakai Senanie (Figure 10).



19/01/16 PARAKAI

Figure 10: Map of Mount Hagen drawn by Parakai Senanie

Mount Hagen is the third largest city of Papua New Guinea, with a population of about 46,250 inhabitants. Yet, the young map-maker has represented no habitation (unlike Figure 9, which mentions old villages), not even the house where he was staying, suggesting that he does not have a sense of 'dwelling' within the town as he dwells in Haivaro. Dwelling, for Haivaro Fasu, entails transforming a piece of land to inscribe themselves within it. A house is first of all the locus of a household, accommodating a family, the primary circle of socialization. People know the different households in Haivaro as they host members of their kin; they are always someone's house. Apparently, the young map-maker does not consider houses in Mount Hagen as places of socialization, partly because he does not know the people living in them. But other socializing spaces do appear: the schools he has frequented, the hospital where he accompanied relatives from the village and probably received health care himself, the basketball court ('bucket code') where he played with his classmates after school, the main market he wandered on weekends with his schoolmates to buy cigarettes, biscuits and phone vouchers, the petrol stations where the bus which takes him to school refuelled, and finally the Highlander Hotel where he sometimes went with his peers to play the poker machines. Places that appear as meaningful for this student are thus mainly those emerging from the specific sociality he developed with his classmates. A great emphasis is also put on intersections ('Jungsen') rather than on the roads themselves, as they constitute the main meeting points with friends disseminated throughout the town and represent a salient landmark within a space not punctuated by trees, rocks and so on. They represent the way in which Parakai has oriented himself in Hagen. Roads represent 'flows' and intersections are places where flows intersect, places of movement. Considering the link previously made between sociality and the way in which Haivaro Fasu represent a given area on a map, it is evident that the sociality of students in urban areas mainly turns around the circle of their classmates.

When talking about relations developed with their classmates, Haivaro students likely describe them as being to some extent similar to brotherhood ties. I have previously underlined how brotherhood was understood by Haivaro Fasu as an 'indirect' relation, in the sense that two beings may consider each other brothers as

long as they can relate in the same way to a third mediating entity from which they derive a kind of co-identity. This co-identity might derive from shared substances or, in some cases, from a co-relation to the same portion of land, or to a common mythical ancestor. This latter aspect – co-relation – is actually what is put forth by Haivaro students when explaining why they may consider some classmates as brothers. Indeed, relations developed with their classmates are not merely generated by their physical co-presence within the classroom. Testimonies collected in Haivaro suggest that, rather, they come from inter-individual affinities derived from what is perceived as a similar experience in relation to education. For Haivaro Fasu, ‘being educated’ is considered an immense privilege. As a student once said:

My community spends a lot of money for my education. Not many people in the village are educated, so going to school and acquiring important knowledge makes me different from other people in the community. My classmates feel the same so we understand each other well.

Haivaro students thus share with their classmates a sense of belonging to a ‘privileged elite’. Being distinguished from the other people entails mastering the English language, the importance of which as a mark of prestige and modernity has been often underlined in anthropological literature about Papua New Guinea (Harrison 1995; McKeown 2006; Meggitt 1968). Most conversations between classmates are held in English, although individually they are all much more fluent in Tok Pisin. A primary message conveyed in these conversations is the ability to speak English. Classmates thus clearly share a common sense of belonging to an elite in terms of education. They have been ‘produced’ by the same schools, and thus share the same kind of relation to the education system. It is precisely such a common connection that is a key element constituting brotherhood among Fasu.

Beyond this common sense that binds students together, however, fragmentations appear that reinforce ties between specific individuals. In a group discussion at Haivaro, one student expressed this clearly, and others rapidly agreed with his comments:

We did not always have a teacher in Haivaro so that my knowledge is not as big as that of other students who grew up in Port Moresby. It took me several years to complete my grade 4, and also my grade 5, and my grade 6, while students attending school in Pom just needed one year for each grade, so that they are younger than me. Within my classmates, I rather stay with those being in the same situation, because we have the same difficulties in learning so that we understand each other and, more importantly, we help each other.

(Parawi Meate. Port Moresby. March 12, 2016)

Relations with classmates intensify with people who share a similar background and similar experiences and who, therefore, reveal themselves to be useful companions in facing adversity. The expression that caught my attention is the reference to ‘helping each other’. I underlined reciprocal help as the main way of performing and thus maintaining brotherhood among Fasus. The common background with some classmates almost spontaneously leads them to support and help each other. It is not surprising, then, that relations with classmates are often spoken of as being brother-like.

Greater proximity with specific classmates may also derive from a common imaginary regarding the future. As one Haivaro resident studying in the town of Goroka, the capital of the Eastern Highlands Province, once said: ‘My best friends in school and me, we all want to become teachers. We all want to go back to our respective communities after graduation and run a school to increase the level of development in our villages’. A significant characteristic of relations with peers is thus that they are oriented toward the future and, to some extent, classmates also share a common sense of contributing to the global transition toward modernity of their villages. They are achieving – or trying to achieve – their own alternative route to prestige together. They share the same ambitions. As a Haivaro man once put it: ‘Before, there was no school. My ancestors were not educated. They used to live in the forest like animals. They were primitive. When white people came, they brought schools, they brought education’. Classmates are thus also connected to each other through a common rejection of what appears to them as a ‘primitive past’ and a desire to see themselves and be seen by others as agents of change.

The role of telecommunications in relations between peers is obviously crucial. Indeed, while in urban areas, students frequently exchange phone calls and texts, and connect via Facebook. One of the first things Haivaro students do when arriving in urban areas is to find a phone and purchase credit for it. They all have a Facebook account in which they regularly publish pictures of themselves with their schoolmates. When conducting interviews in Port Moresby, I had the opportunity to access many of these accounts. On the pictures published, Haivaro students take special care to be wearing 'modern' clothes (jeans and boots), sun glasses, earphones and jewellery (either owned or borrowed for this purpose), and most of the photographs are taken with a car in the background – one of the main symbols of modernity. The purpose of these pictures is thus clearly to display external signs of modernity and to emphasize relations built on this basis.

Almost ironically, while sharing food, and especially sago, is crucial in creating or reinforcing relations among Fasus, most Haivaro students confess that in urban settings they regularly spend available money on phone and internet access and, therefore, often go hungry. Indeed, youths coming back to the village after one year in distant urban schools have clearly lost considerable weight relative to their appearance before leaving. One of them once even said that he avoided eating too much while in the village to 'prepare his body' for the privations he expected when he returned to Port Moresby. Maintaining relations through verbal communication requires sacrifices. Unlike brotherhood which is created and maintained through consubstantiality, relations with classmates are rather created and maintained through co-experience and intense communication. Also unlike brotherhood ties, reciprocity does not seem to be compulsory in relations with classmates. As several students themselves explain: 'Having friends in school is easy because we are not constrained to share everything with them. We enjoy our time together and that's enough. If we want to share something with them, we can, but if we don't want to or can't, this is not an issue, we'll still remain friends'. Brothers must share, while brother-like classmates can share. In fact, relations with classmates are characterized by giving rather than sharing: students exchange small amounts of money, food and cigarettes to express their affection but, as the above comment suggests, they do not seem to feel an obligation

to do so. This peculiarity, compared to brotherhood, is probably the reason why these relations are more ephemeral than those with brothers, where reciprocity ensures the maintenance of ties through time. Usually, relations with classmates vanish when the context of co-experience and communication disappears. As Haivaro is not connected to telecommunication networks, students have no contact with their classmates when back in the village and, if they are not in the same class or school the following year, former friendships usually dissipate in favour of new ones.

Nevertheless, students coming back to the village seem to be tied to each other more intensely than they are to other residents. While still part of the various groups defined by kinship and alliance with which they reintegrate on their return, in some contexts they also clearly operate as a distinct social unit. Indeed, students who have returned to the village for holidays usually spend more time with each other than with other residents. They tend to gather in the evening in a single house to talk about their common experience in urban areas. While they speak of missing their own place when in towns and cities, when back at Haivaro they clearly express a common nostalgia for urban life and the facilities accessible in town. Youths who have remained in the village during the year usually attend the first meetings to enjoy stories 'from elsewhere', but rapidly feel excluded as they have not shared the experiences being described. Students usually organize sports activities (volleyball, soccer, rugby and basketball) and form their own team competing with 'resident's teams'. They organize night trips to the logging camp in an attempt to replicate to some extent the sensations of their urban life, to which non-student age-mates are rarely invited. They clearly identify themselves as a distinct group within their own community on the basis of their common educational and modern experience. Yet, they do not consider each other as brothers because, in the village context, consubstantiality and kin relations derived from it play a greater role⁶³.

⁶³ I recorded one case in Haivaro where two young men said that they considered each other brothers because they spent all their time together in school in Port Moresby. When they returned to the village in the end of 2013, they effectively acted as brothers by sharing food and clothes. However, in 2016, one of them said that the other had stopped to share with him and even began to steal his belongings, so that he no longer considered him as a brother.

Mirroring this dynamic, village residents also identify students as distinct in many contexts. In Haivaro, ceremonial events are now all organized 'in writing': contributors and beneficiaries of bride-price are listed, privileged guests entitled to receive a greater share of food during big meals are identified in writing, meetings (whatever their purpose) now have their agenda and minutes recorded in notebooks, and the detailed planning of festivities constituting ceremonies is now written down and notices pasted up in public places. Those able to make these written contributions – namely the students – are evidently accorded particular prestige, thus contributing to their emergence as a singular social unit in these contexts. Interactions with the logging company also provide an emerging context in which students are expected to play a particular role. Filling in application forms is a *sine qua non* condition for being able to withdraw benefits derived from logging operations or to ask for material compensation, and much negotiation is conducted through documents written in English. Most middle-aged and old residents of Haivaro attended school very sporadically during their childhood and are therefore barely literate. They thus definitely need students to act on their behalf when literacy is required, thus turning the latter into a quasi-resource. When documents had to be read or written during negotiations with the logging company, *aporo ira* provided with many or particularly successful students often 'lent' them to *aporo ira* that were less favoured. This practice was formulated as being part of reciprocal relations, as people usually express it as a counter-gift for previous help, or as a gift that will have to be reciprocated at some point. The group of students is thus considered by others as a wealth-like item that can be mobilized in reciprocal relations, rather than as an alternative social unit. Students are only too aware of this different perspective on themselves and use it to challenge existing power relations. An elder once said:

Before, according to our customs, old people used to teach everything to young people, so they were very respected. Nowadays, our children acquire important knowledge in school, a knowledge that we, elders, don't understand, but need in order to deal with outsiders, and particularly the logging company. Students know that, so they don't listen to us anymore. We have less power over them, they have more power over us.

The sense of belonging to an elite that students share with their classmates in urban areas thus does not dissipate when they return to the village but, rather, ties them together as a useful but potentially subversive force.

Concluding comments

Throughout this chapter, I have explored kin relations, and more specifically brotherhood, extracting the specificities that make this relation particularly significant for Haivaro Fasú. These are a particular understanding of consubstantiality emerging from the transference and sharing of the vital substance *himu*, a consubstantiality that can be metaphorically reproduced through the transference and sharing of sago and that underpins a form of ‘indirect’ relation connecting brothers through a third entity from which they both derive or create this consubstantiality. Such consubstantiality, confirmed by evidence of co-physicality, is then reinforced and maintained through the performance of sharing and helping, namely through *generalized reciprocity*. The performance of sharing replicates the sharing of their substances.

As demonstrated in the chapter, the importance accorded to both consubstantiality and performance in creating and maintaining brotherhood may vary in different contexts. This flexibility in manipulating brotherhood ties explains the ability of this particular relation to include both humans with whom relational performance is crucial and non-humans with whom consubstantiality is given a greater emphasis.

I have argued that for this reason, brotherhood appears as a more ‘open’ or ‘inclusive’ relation than seen with other kin ties, and thus might be easier to extend to the wider world that Haivaro people now wander. I illustrated this statement by analysing one of these wider relations – that with classmates – in order to understand which elements within these relations were common to brotherhood, thus

encouraging people to understand them from this pre-existing basis, although significant differences distinguish brothers from brother-like classmates.

The following chapter will remain aligned with the preoccupations that guide the beginning of this thesis, namely the various ways in which people at Haivaro construct and think about relationships with each other, with their land and with its non-human inhabitants, and how these relationships may change in broader contexts associated with encompassment by the 'modern world'.

Leaving aside for a moment relationships Haivaro people might develop with non-human beings, the coming chapter focuses on conjugality – alliance – as a particular form of relation between humans. As with other kinship ties, the interplay between substances and performance is also deeply at work in relations between spouses, and the emphasis put on one or the other is also dependent on contextual variations.

At Haivaro, relations between spouses are characterized by the exchange of substances necessary to reproduce life, an exchange that is reproduced in the relational form they develop with each other, namely *balanced reciprocity*.

In a modern context where representations associated with procreative substances have been challenged, their importance in creating and maintaining conjugal relations, compared to the performance of *balanced reciprocity*, has decreased. The coming chapter discusses the consequences of such shift on alliance patterns among Haivaro Fasú.

BEING A SPOUSE

Disembodying alliance

Introduction

As demonstrated in previous chapters, both shared substances and performance play a key role in building and maintaining kin relations. The greater or lesser emphasis put on one or the other may vary according to the context. As will now be developed, such interplay between substances and performance is also of great significance in defining alliance principles.

For people at Haivaro, alliance is certainly understood in terms of an ideal distance in substances, but also in terms of compatibility of temperament⁶⁴ and the implementation of relations of exchange between husband and wife. Substances, tempers and exchanges of products derived from the sexual division of labour are all part of a system that exalts complementarity between spouses and characterized mainly by *balanced reciprocity*. The interplay between these constitutive aspects of conjugality allows some flexibility in negotiating alliance patterns.

As elsewhere in Papua New Guinea, ideas about procreative substances and the role they play in shaping gender relations, and more specifically conjugal relations, have been deeply challenged in the modern context (Lindenbaum 2008; Malbrancke 2016). As a consequence, the systems of alliance that were informed by those ideas are also changing.

At Haivaro, as also observed elsewhere in Papua New Guinea (Beer & Schroedter 2014), this shift entails a contraction of the definition of existing alliances and an expansion of the field of potential alliances.

⁶⁴ Temperament is the word I use to translate what people at Haivaro expressed in Tok Pisin as 'wan kain pasin' (the same behaviour) and 'wan kain tintin' (the same thoughts).

I commence this chapter by showing how shared substances, temperaments and exchange play a great role in shaping alliance patterns. In doing so, I demonstrate that conjugality is based mainly on *balanced reciprocity*, with spouses giving to each other in exchange for what is received.

I then show how forms of marriage and alliance terminology reflect Haivaro people's ideas about conjugality, and how this terminology, to some extent, may come to correct what is perceived as a social distance deriving from too great a difference in substance.

I then argue that alternative ideas about procreative substances and gender relations encountered in modern contexts have challenged Haivaro Fasu understandings of the role played by shared substances in defining alliance patterns, with the consequence that they have placed a greater emphasis on compatibility of temperaments and performance of relations of exchange – *balanced reciprocity* – in the choice of partners.

This shift has resulted in a double movement in the sense of both narrowing and opening alliance patterns in recent decades. Indeed, patterns formerly considered as incestuous have progressively become 'normalized', while a tendency to marry more distant partners – mainly from urban areas – is concomitantly observable. In the first case, emphasis is put on 'love' as an exogenous and normative concept, rather than on shared substances, to legitimize unions that were formerly proscribed. In the second case, emphasis is put on 'urban-ness', 'education', 'living standards' and 'financial situation' as significant, and alternative, criteria in guiding the choice of a spouse. In both cases, performance increasingly takes precedence over shared substances in orientating marital choices.

Preferential marriage among Haivaro Fasu

'I cannot marry my father's blood, otherwise I will get sick!', a Haivaro resident once said to explain the *aporo ira*-based exogamy at work among Fasu. 'Father's blood' here refers to the vital substance *himu* contained within blood, and particularly the variant which, as explained in the previous chapter, is dominant within ego's blood and establishes the boundaries of the patri-lineage. Accumulating more of this *himu* through sexual intercourse, whatever its valence within the partner's body, would cause sickness or death. Figure 11 illustrates the female individuals that Haivaro people have mentioned to me as prohibited as a result of this rule.

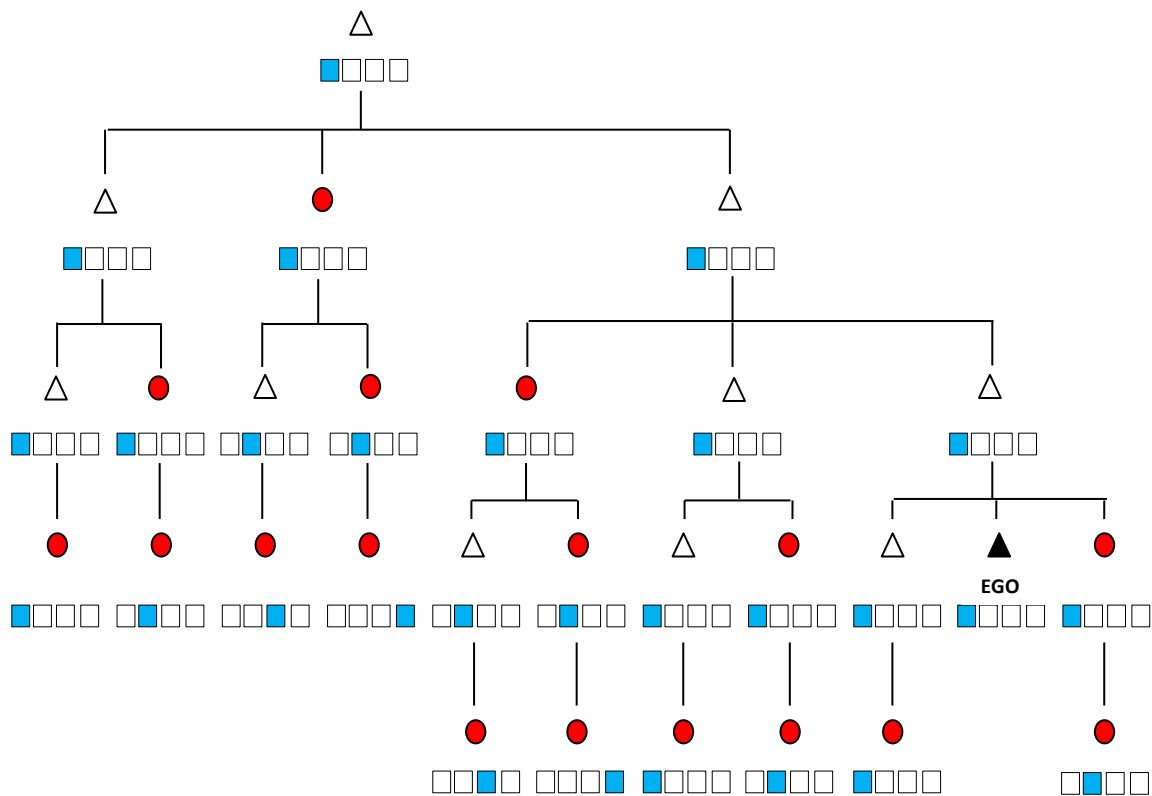


Figure 11: *Himu* distribution within ego's patri-lineage
Prohibited partners are shown in red, shared *himu* is shown in blue.

As shown in the Figure, ego should not marry his sister, his brothers and sisters daughters, the daughters or granddaughters of his father's siblings and of his paternal grandfather's siblings. Haivaro people usually say that these women are 'too close' to be espoused. Often, women who share with ego his dominant *himu* are also said to have a temperament, or personality, that is too similar to that of *ego*. Indeed, I mentioned in the previous chapter how personal qualities are said to derive from an individual's *himu*. One's primary *himu* – the one derived from pure agnatical line – strongly shapes personality and some specific abilities, and marrying a woman who shares this *himu* will result in both partners having temperaments considered too similar and, thus, to people at Haivaro, likely to be the source of conjugal disputes. Indeed, interviews conducted among married individuals, male and female, revealed that complementarity in personalities was highly valued within conjugal relations.

*'She's quiet and she knows how to soothe my temper'*⁶⁵.

This comment was made by a married man talking about his wife. This kind of comment asserting complementarity in temperament is very frequent in Haivaro, from both males and females. 'Volcanic' tempers ('a man/woman being over-jealous' or 'often angry' Haivaro people say) usually seek to marry more moderate spouses ('a man/woman who does not fight'); 'lazy' people ('a man/woman who does not know how to work hard' or 'sit down doing nothing all the time') seek hard-working partners ('a man/woman who works hard and a lot'); 'anxious' personalities (a man/woman who is often afraid' or 'worries a lot') seek more carefree companions ('a man/ woman who is not afraid', or who is 'strong'). These preferences are articulated around what is thought by people as an ideal combination of temperaments but, in practice, such ideals are not always easy to achieve, particularly because the preferences often work in only one direction. Too great a similarity in temperament is considered a threat for the couple, as a young unmarried man once explained when talking about his own brother and his brother's wife:

⁶⁵ The man said in Tok Pisin: '*Em meri blo stap isi nae m save downim ol cross blo mi, because, you save, mi man blo cross planti*'.

These two spouses, they like the same things, they agree all the time, they want to do everything together all the time. They are almost one and the same and they don't participate with others in everyday life as they should. They spend all their time together, having too much sexual intercourse. That's why they have so many children. They don't care about the community. They should live alone in the forest.

Most people at Haivaro considered that this husband and wife were so similar in terms of temperament that they were almost fused as one, and this was socially unacceptable. Another couple was subject to similar comments. The frequent and loud disputes of this couple were often said to be the result of their similar temperament; both were described as being 'over-jealous'. In both cases, in fact, the paternal grandmothers of the husband and wife were from the same *aporo ira*, and thus their third *himu* were the same. I will return to these cases later in this chapter. At this juncture, the central point is that Haivaro people use temperament or personality metonymically to express concerns about shared substances: like *himu*, temperaments must not be too similar nor too different. This statement implies the existence of a specific distance, in terms of shared substance, that people recognize as ideal for the productive unit formed by husband and wife to be efficient.

'Yes, I married my mother!'

An elder once said that in a great burst of laughter when, after several days working on kinship terminology, I came to him with the following suggestion: 'Your *aua* is the brother of your mother. As you will also call his son *aua*, then I can say that the sister of his son will be like your mother too, right? But his sister is also the preferred partner for you... so... can I say that, to some extent, you married your mother?' My informant expressed his astonishment that I had discovered this fact by myself, adding: 'This is why we call the preferred partner *masira ama*: it means "mother girl" in *Namo me*! And the woman will call her husband *apia hokosa*, her "child husband"'. In Haivaro, marriage with MBD has been presented to me as the most preferred pattern of alliance, followed by marriage with MBSD and MFBSD. These preferential patterns were rationalized by men in terms of the necessity to marry a woman who 'has the same blood' as their mother or to get married 'on their

mother side'; that is to say, to marry a women descending in the agnatical line from the maternal grandfather. Figure 12 depicts females who belong to this category.

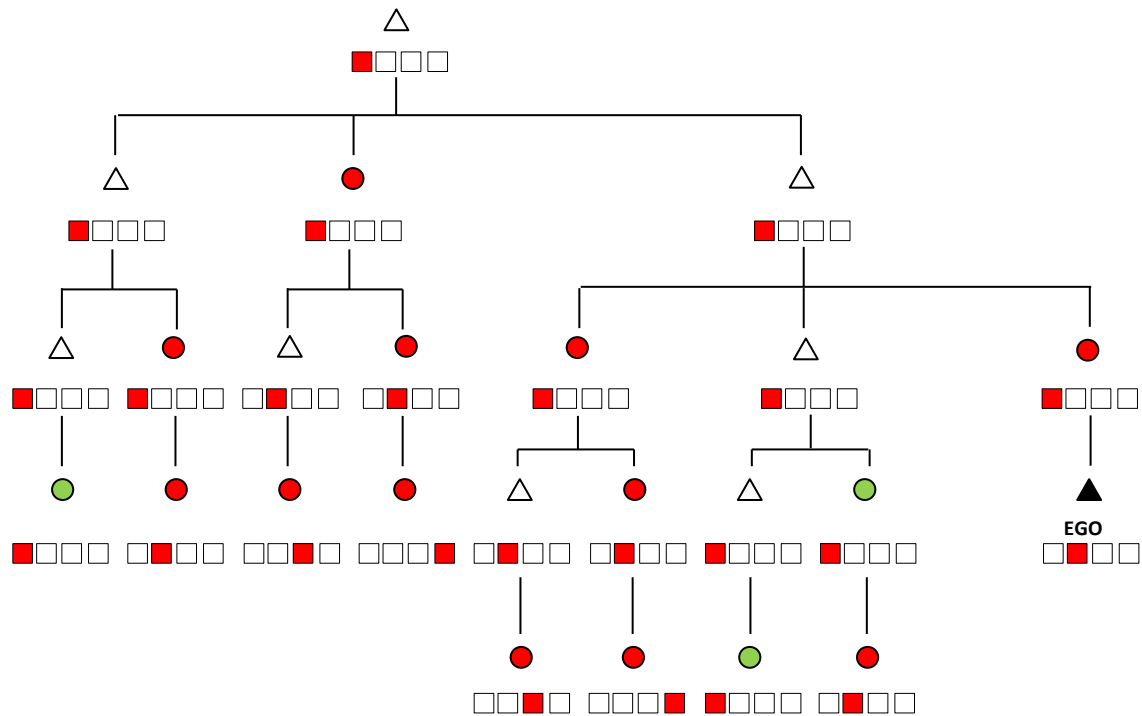


Figure 12: Himu distribution within ego's matri-kin

Preferred partners are represented in green circles, prohibited partners in red circles. Shared *himu* is shown in red squares.

As shown in the figure, male ego must not marry the daughters and granddaughters of women of his mother's *aporo ira*, but ideally should marry the daughter of a man of his mother's *aporo ira*. In terms of substances, it means that ego should not marry a woman who shares with him the *himu* received from ego's MFF, with the exception of those who have this *himu* as their primary one (transmitted in pure agnatical line until them) and are not the daughters or granddaughters of ego's MFF. These women thus belong to the *aporo ira* of ego's mother and, by marrying them, ego reproduces the alliance of his father. Reproducing father's alliance is expressed at Haivaro as a way of ensuring the durability of the marriage, for two reasons. First, many men in Haivaro state that 'the greatest woman for a man is his mother because she took care of him'. Remember that an individual's qualities are said to derive from the quality of his *himu*.

Marrying a woman who has the same blood as the mother is thus a way of ensuring that the wife will display the same qualities as the mother and that she will take care of her husband as a mother. Secondly, because her dominant *himu* will differ from that of ego, their personalities – mainly deriving from this dominant *himu* – should be complementary rather than similar. However, they should not be totally different as ego shares this *himu* as his secondary one. As Héritier (1997, my translation) elegantly put it regarding Samo people of Burkina Faso, ‘if too much identity harms, [...] it is good however that different bloods are somewhat familiar to one another’, an interpretation echoed by the comment of a Haivaro elder:

When you marry your *masira ama*, you know that your marriage will last. Indeed, you grew up with her so you know who she is, you know her real personality. Because when you marry a distant woman with whom you didn’t grow, she can hide her real personality in her blood and pretend to be gentle and kind, but after marriage you realise she’s not. It cannot happen with your *masira ama*. Her blood is almost similar to yours so you will agree on many things and not fight all the time. Moreover, if you marry your *masira ama*, then her family is your mother’s family so there are fewer disputes because the families are already connected and will help the couple to sort out a dispute in order to maintain the good relations between the two *aporo ira*.

(Robert Bosoraroe. Haivaro Village. March 28, 2014)

The connection Haivaro people make between blood composition and personality is clearly apparent in this comment. The necessity to share some *himu* from a common source, but to not share all of them, is also evident in the expression ‘her blood is almost similar to yours’. Emphasis is also put on the importance of ‘growing up together’, which allows many years in which to observe whether the qualities associated with a particular *himu* will actualize in practice. Beyond considerations associated with substances, ‘growing up together’ also favours the development of a certain familiarity between partners. At Haivaro, potential partners are encouraged to spend time together from early childhood. When together, their respective parents often make humorous comments about their potential future union, to both test the impact of this idea on their offspring and progressively instil this eventuality in their

children's mind. Patterns of preferred marriage among Haivaro Fasu are thus associated with shared substances from which complementary personalities should derive, a complementarity then reinforced through the familiarity encouraged between potential future spouses during childhood. But substances and personalities are not the only criteria considered in justifying those patterns. Kin relations also play a great role in explanations people give.

'I took care of my sister until she got married so, in turn, her son should take care of my daughter'.

This was the rationale almost always given to me by men to justify why their sister's son should marry their own daughter. It reveals that beyond considerations of bodily substances in shaping desirable alliances, the performance of particular relations (here between cross-sex siblings) is thought of as having to be reciprocated across generations. That the performance of a relation between cross-sex siblings could be reciprocated by the performance of a relation between spouses is linked to the sexual division of labour at play among Fasu. Indeed, Fasu people do practice a strict sexual division of labour (Gilberthorpe 2004: 51), with males hunting, planting sago, clearing gardens and building the main structure of houses, and females formerly raising pigs, processing sago, harvesting gardens and thatching the roofs of houses. Products of these forms of labour are exchanged between unmarried brothers and sisters as they progressively learn the tasks associated with their gender and supplement their parents' contributions. At the time of marriage, those exchanges between cross-sex siblings do not cease entirely, but are greatly overshadowed by exchange of the products of labour between husband and wife. In this context, exchanges between cross-sex siblings could be seen as 'training' for later conjugal relations that are also based on similar expressions of exchange. To some extent, a married couple is a more 'autonomous' subsistence unit than pairs comprising cross-sex siblings, because contributions from parents should greatly decrease after a couple marry. If shared substances are thus significant in defining the category of preferred spouse, the performance of a particular form of relation – here exchange – is far from being negligible. The interplay between shared substances and performance in defining who may qualify as preferred spouse allows a certain flexibility in alliance

pattern. Indeed, when marriage is not possible with the ‘substantial ideal’, people always have the possibility to marry a ‘relational substitute’.

This ‘relational substitute’ is called ‘*masira asa*’ (‘grandmother girl’) by Haivaro people. Figure 13 illustrates how these *masira asa* are connected to ego as well as the properties of their respective bloods in terms of *himu*.

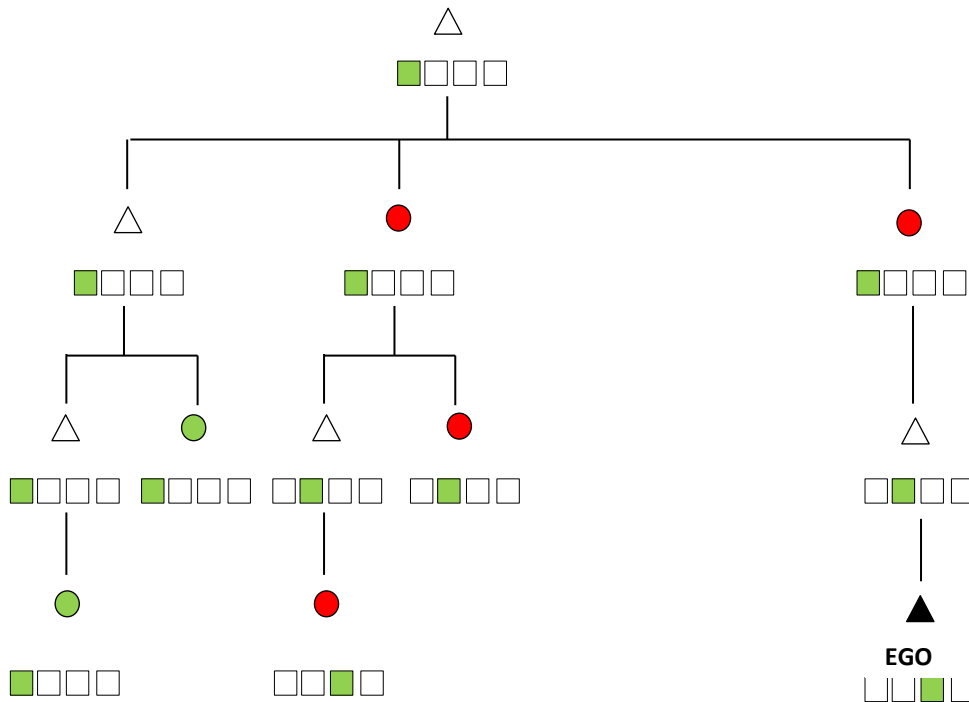


Figure 13: Ego’s *masira asa* and sharing of *himu*

Preferred partners are represented in green circles, prohibited partners in red circles. Shared *himu* is shown in green squares.

As shown in the figure, ego should not marry his father’s mothers. He should also not marry FMZD (his paternal aunt, *atawi*) and FMZSD (his sister)⁶⁶. In terms of substances, it means that ego should not marry a woman who shares his third *himu* (that he derived from FMF), with the exception of those who have this *himu* as their primary one (transmitted through pure agnatical line until them) and are not the daughters of

⁶⁶ Since siblings are considered to be identical in substance, FMZ is the same as FM, so FMZD is the same as FZ (*atawi*), and hence, unmarriageable. Similarly, FMZS is the same as FB, so FMZSD is the same as FBD, that is to say ego’s sister who is, hence, unmarriageable.

his FMF, that is to say, his father's mothers. As evident in the figure, ego's *masira asa* are his father's *masira ama*, provided, of course, that his father did not marry them. They thus have the same dominant *himu* as ego's paternal grandmother, which is ego's third *himu*. *Masira asa* is thus less similar to ego in terms of shared substance than is *masira ama*, and by marrying her, ego reproduces his paternal grandfather's union. In this case, the reciprocation of the relation of exchange is thus postponed for one generation.

Finally, women belonging to ego's MMF lineage, who share with him his fourth *himu*, are all permitted as marriage partners, but are not prescribed partners. As mentioned earlier, except in the context of male initiations, this fourth *himu* is considered to have been so depleted by the menstrual blood of two consecutive generations of women that its further accumulation is not considered harmful.

Definition of preferential partners with respect to substances entails that, unlike what is common in the region⁶⁷, sister-exchange marriages are very unlikely to occur⁶⁸. Indeed, this type of marriage will result, in the next generation, in MBD sharing with ego his dominant *himu*, which would make her a prohibited partner. In addition, it will lead to a conflicting terminology, as it will make MBD being also FZD whereas, in Fasu understandings, the former is the preferred partner while the latter is prohibited.

Analysis of alliance patterns and marital prohibitions reveal that, for Haivaro Fasu, there is an 'appropriate distance' guiding the choice of a marriage partner. This distance may be formulated in terms of shared substance, temperament or relational performance. Each of these formulations is given a greater or lesser importance depending on context. For instance, the demonstration in terms of shared *himu* might be less relevant when considering classificatory kinship rather than biological kinship. In such cases, justifications in terms of temperaments or relational performance might take precedence over shared substances. The interplay between these three modalities of explanation also is also significant in the way in which people at Haivaro

⁶⁷ For instance among Bedamuni (Sørum 2003), Kubo (Dwyer & Minnegal 2006) or Gebusi (Knauff 2016).

⁶⁸ Indeed, I did not record any marriage by sister-exchange in the genealogies collected at Haivaro.

identify and describe the different forms of marriage observable among them. I discuss this point in the next section.

Forms of marriage and alliance terminology

An elder explained that there are different ways of getting married among Fasu:

There are many ways of getting married among Fasu. The first one is when you marry your *masira ama*. It is said '*hinamo ereketae raka anumara*' ('marrying the right woman') because she is the right one for you. She has the right blood. When you marry a woman other than your *masira ama*, we call her *ya hinamo* ('woman from the forest' or 'distant woman'), which means a woman from outside, because her blood is different. Finally, there is a wrong way of getting married, which is when you marry someone from your family. Usually, you cannot do that, but it sometimes happened among us. It is said *takeparaka anumara* ('marrying the same')

(Robert Bosoraro. Haivaro village. October 3, 2013)

In the previous chapter, I mentioned that a good person is said to have *himu ereketae* ('the right *himu*'). And a woman may be *hinamo ereketae* ('the right woman') because, as people say, she possesses 'the right blood', the right *himu*. Women acknowledged as having appropriate *himu* for a man to marry are often referred to as 'inside women'. The term *ya hinamo*, the 'woman from the forest' or 'the woman from outside', similarly refers to a woman's distance from ego in terms of shared substance and not to her geographical location. Such women are outside the circle of prescribed spouses defined by ego's *himu*. Marriage with 'someone from your family' refers to individuals sharing ego's first *himu*, the *himu* of his patri-lineage. 'Marrying the same' connotes marrying someone with the same *himu* and is considered incestuous and harmful: it could lead to sickness and death for both the couple and their future children. The designation of different types of marriages in the above quote emphasises the

differences of substance that may underlie the relational distance between ego and his partner.

Among Haivaro Fasu, two main acts sealed a union. The first one entailed sharing cooked sago that had come from palms on the husband's land. The second was the physical relocation of the bride from her house to her husband's house. I have already highlighted the metaphorical link between sago and *himu* and, from this perspective, sharing sago from her husband's palms is a way of connecting, through substances, a woman to her husband's patri-lineage. This connection is then reinforced throughout marital life by sexual intercourse between spouses, with the husband regularly inseminating his wife with his *himu*. Indeed, husband and wife often call each other *himu* after marriage, thus acknowledging the substance they now share. The physical relocation of the bride is accompanied by payment of the *korake pate*, which precedes the payment of the bride price (*hinamo fitu*: 'giving a woman/wife'). In the vernacular language, *korake pate* means 'cutting legs', indicating that this payment is made to prevent the bride returning to her original house until payment of the bride price has been made. Usually, the *korake pate* payment comprises a few shell belts (*pari*) supplemented, since people have started to receive money from logging operations, with an amount of cash⁶⁹.

It may take several months from the time of a marriage for the bride price to be assembled, but when it is ready it is paid to the bride's father and maternal uncle. Among Haivaro Fasu, bride price is mainly composed of shell belts (*pari*), kinashells (*sekete*) and now cash. In the past, live domesticated pigs were included in this payment but, since Haivaro people ceased pig husbandry in 1996, money has been substituted for these with K1,000 being considered equivalent to a pig. According to Haivaro Fasu, *sekete* are crucial to the bride price as they are said to 'stop the mother's blood', which is a direct reference to the Fasu belief that

[...] blood has supernatural properties. Blood is associated with spirits identified with the maternal blood line (M, MM, MB, MZ, B, Z, D, S, Bch, Zch) that dissipates from the body at the time of death [...] into the bush and/or streams. These

⁶⁹ At the time of my fieldworks between 2013 and 2016, the average amount paid as a *korake pate* was K5,000.

otherworldly spirits are believed to be able to extract and cause harm to the *himū* of adults and children alike. Males are thus eager to appease their wife's natal kin' (Gilberthorpe 2004: 85).

But along with the flow of blood, the transfer of *himu* from matri-kin is also blocked. A man explained more precisely: '*Sekete* are white, so they are like the semen. When I give *sekete* for the bride price, I stop the semen of my wife's father and maternal uncle, in favour of mine⁷⁰'. As a complement to the sharing of semen and sago that connects, through substances, the bride to her husband's patri-lineage, the gift of *sekete* withdraws the connection, through substances, between the bride and the patri-lineage with which she was previously associated, by metaphorically 'diluting' the *himu* that connect her to her natal *aporo ira*.

Through alliance, a man reinforces pre-existing relations with his wife's *aporo ira*. Figure 14 presents Fasu alliance terminology for a male ego (absence of terms does not necessarily mean that there is no term, but rather that the term was not known by my informants)⁷¹.

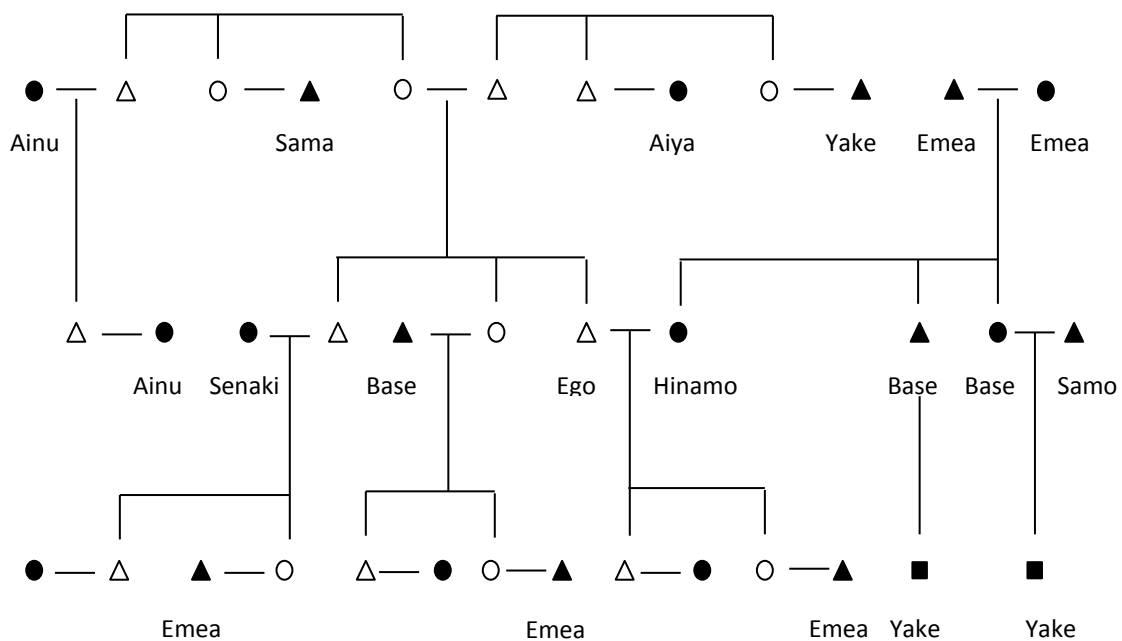


Figure 14: Fasu alliance terminology for male ego
Agnates are represented by open symbols, affines by solid symbols

⁷⁰ The informant said in pidgin: '*Ol sekete ol white, so ol olsem sperm. Taim mi givim sekete lo bride price, mi stopim sperm blo papa na aua blo meri. Sperm blo mi tasol bai I stap*'.

⁷¹ See Appendix 2 for alliance terminology for a female ego.

I have discussed the incentive for a man to ‘marry his mother’ and the meanings with respect to substance that underlie this incentive. Interestingly, whether or not a man marries his *masira ama* (mother girl), the association of wife with mother is, to some extent, re-established through alliance terminology. Indeed, the term for a man’s mother’s sister’s husband (*sama*) is similar to the term for his wife’s sister’s husband (*samo*). In *Namo me* language, the suffix ‘a’ usually denotes distance while the suffix ‘o’ expresses closeness. In this sense, *samo* could be considered a ‘close *sama*’, thus assimilating wife to mother. When alliance is not guided by substances then, alliance terminology may, to some extent, fill the gap by identifying the bride as a mother.

Substances thus play a highly significant role in alliance, though when preferred ‘substantial patterns’ are not followed alliance terminology may operate as a substitute normative and performative system. However, as has been observed elsewhere in Papua New Guinea (Lindenbaum 2008; Malbrancke 2016), local understandings with regard to procreative substances have been deeply challenged in the modern context. The growing availability of alternative understandings promulgated by missionaries, NGOs, health services or schools, has led to former ideas about substances being questioned. In the next section, I discuss the form this shift in understandings has taken in Haivaro and the consequences of that shift for alliance patterns.

Competing representations about procreative substances

‘We wear clothes and pants now’ a woman once told me while I was asking her about men’s fear that contact with female menstrual blood would be harmful for them. That people were now less likely to worry that menstrual blood will harm men was first evident in the fact that menstruating women were no longer secluded in menstrual huts (*wake ape*). Women interviewed at Haivaro all pointed to the use of several prophylaxes preventing men from contamination to explain this shift. As the introductory quote suggests, the use of western clothing and particularly underpants is

considered to reduce the potential for menstrual blood and other vaginal discharge to be released unexpectedly. Meticulous use of soap when bathing and the use of sanitary pads were also mentioned to justify the fact that menstruating women were no longer secluded. The former prohibition on processing sago while menstruating has also been lifted, since the processing method has changed: the pith from sago palms was formerly squeezed by treading on it, which meant blood from a menstruating woman might have dropped into the flour; the pith is now pressed by hand and, thus, not at risk of unexpected contamination. Technical shifts and the introduction of 'modern items' have reduced the likelihood that men will be exposed to female menstrual blood.

In addition, belief in the negative power formerly associated with menstrual blood seems to have weakened. Sexual intercourse was formerly prohibited during a woman's menstruation, but now, although most people in Haivaro still declare they themselves would not have sexual intercourse during this period, some suggested to me that others – particularly the younger generation – may now transgress this taboo. Moreover, menstruating women were formerly forbidden to touch any items belonging to men, as this might contaminate subsequent male users. Nowadays this prohibition no longer applies; menstruating women cook food and wash clothes for their men, as they do when not menstruating. The fear associated with menstrual blood has reduced, it seems, and nowadays is associated only with direct contact with menstrual blood. However, the weakening of this concern seems to be stronger among women than it is among men.

'We don't even know when they are menstruating!'

An older man made this remark, indicating that the actions women take to protect men from the dangerous effects of menstrual blood are actually perceived as a threat by at least the older generation of men. Precautions women take to control the flow of menstrual blood have the result that men are now unable to determine when the threat of exposure exists and, therefore, are unable to protect themselves against its negative power. This idea is reinforced by the shift observed in practices surrounding child birth. Previously secluded for 35 days in a birth hut (*meyasi ape*)

built deep in the forest, women now give birth in huts built less than 50 meters from their own house. The average duration of seclusion recorded during my fieldwork was only five days rather than the formerly recommended 35 days. Moreover, in the past, men strictly avoided visiting birth huts, but in 2014, I observed two husbands visiting their wives the day following the birth. To justify the shorter seclusion period, women pointed to the reduction in risks of contamination that resulted from their bathing with soap. Some men did confess to being worried about potential consequences for their health, but nonetheless accepted both the greater proximity of the birth hut and the shorter period of seclusion. It is the husbands who build the birth hut and they could, if they wished, do so in the deep forest rather than close to their house. The wife always asks her husband for permission before returning home: he could easily refuse. A middle-aged man once explained to me why he agreed to his wife returning home very soon after the birth of her child:

Before, we were living in a longhouse, so that when a wife was secluded for 35 days to give birth, her husband could easily count on his female kin present in the longhouse to prepare his meals and take care of him. But now we are living in small family houses and we don't visit each other that much, so that the husband finds himself alone while his wife is secluded. So I asked my wife to come back home quickly to cook my food and take care of our children.

(Ruben Hoari. Haivaro village. May 13, 2014)

In other words, men justify the shift in practices surrounding child birth by reference to a major change in the organisation of daily life and residence patterns.

Menstrual blood is feared by men because of its depletive effect on their *himu*. Just as exogenous discourses and practices have challenged beliefs associated with menstrual blood, they have also had an effect on beliefs associated with *himu*. As an elder once put it:

Before, we used to transmit the *himu*, the heat, the power to our male children, so that they became real men, *namo aporo*, strong enough to fight and work hard. Nowadays, we no longer transmit the *himu* to our male children because

missionaries prohibited it, so that our youths are weak, they cannot work hard.
They are lazy.

From the 1950s, both missionary and colonial influences have resulted in the cessation of male initiations among Haivaro people. One of the key purposes of male initiations was the transmission and reinforcement of the vital substance *himu*. As the above quotation suggests, this substance is no longer reinforced through insemination of male children, and there is a sense that, therefore, both the quality and the quantity of *himu* contained within the body of those children have diminished.

Some elders consider the non-transmission of *himu* through insemination as the main reason for what they view as the great laziness of youths. Indeed, physical strength and bravery were deeply associated with the *himu*, and the reluctance of young people to build houses or engage in physical work is therefore interpreted as a consequence of its non-transmission. To some extent, there is a sense among Haivaro people, as elsewhere in Papua New Guinea (Gibbs 2016), that ‘real men’ (*namo aporo*) are no longer produced. This sense is expressed more forcefully by elders than by youths. Indeed, most of the latter consider the *himu* to be the heart as a simple organ. They have never been told either the interpretations that were formerly associated with it or its mode of transmission through insemination; although some youths suggested that they had ‘heard old stories’ related to that but were unsure if they were true. That elders are more concerned by the non-transmission of *himu* than youths is evidenced by the different interpretations both gave of a song written by a young Haivaro resident:

Aiya nomo HBK hauaka

O my land of Haivaro bush kanaka

Aporo Fasa Hauaka sasamo

It loses its men, my land is like that

Aporo Fasa Hauaka sasamo

It loses its men, my land is like that

Ya maiya a hiramō himu ripo

So when the sun comes down, my heart cries

Listening to this song, Haivaro youths explained that the singer is lamenting the fact that men now often travel outside the village so that no one is left there to take care of the land. By contrast, elders all asserted that this song refers to the land no longer producing real men because *himu* is no longer transmitted to youths through insemination.

Before, our ancestors were giants. Their thighs had the girth of my chest and their arms had the girth of my thighs. They were not fat and lazy like us, they were muscled. Women listened to their husbands. Now, all we have is money. Your wife listens to you only if you provide money.

For Haivaro Fasu, *himu* used to be intimately associated with masculinity. Although *himu* is still transmitted at the time of conception, it is no longer supplemented through insemination. Both male and female children have *himu* at birth, but *himu* contributed directly during male initiations was responsible for the very masculine qualities of courage in battle, physical force and bravery. To some extent, the disappearance of this mode of transmission is felt as a loss of masculinity by Haivaro men, especially the elders. This is exacerbated by the fact that opportunities to display masculinity, mainly during warfare and raids, have vanished with the pacification of the region under missionary and colonial influence. When evoking masculinity, then, Haivaro men – both young and old – seem quite critical, usually speaking of themselves as ‘lazy and weak’, with a preference for ‘spinning in the logging camp rather than working hard’, and being much more concerned with ‘having sexual intercourse’ than with ‘managing the *aporo ira*’s affairs appropriately’. These sorts of comments are made by elders when referring to youths, but also by youths when referring to elders, and thus, seem to betray a general crisis of masculinity among Haivaro Fasu. This crisis is reinforced by what is interpreted as competition between alternative ways of ‘being a man’, as the following confession of an elder suggests:

My wife is getting older, so that I wanted to take someone younger as a second wife. In the old days, it would not have been a problem. But nowadays, it is

becoming hard. The girl I wanted to marry refused my proposal because I am fat and too old, she said, and she preferred a young educated boy. It is really hurtful because I sincerely like her.

The man indicates that formal education is an attractive property, implying that physical strength is now less valued. This shift in the criteria defining masculinity is further underlined by a thirty year old Haivaro resident:

Before, my father was an important man because he was a Great Warrior who used to kill and eat a lot of people. Today, I'm a very important man because I went to school, I became a pilot, I read and write in English and I travel very far. A lot of women wanted to marry me.

For young Haivaro males, western education and travel to modern worlds have emerged as alternative ways of 'becoming a strong man'. They acquire a specific knowledge at school that enables them to act within the modern world, and differentiate them from those who do not possess these knowledge and ability. It makes them attractive as potential partners. In the past, initiation was itself a form of education that introduced men to esoteric knowledge that was not available to all and, according to some elders I interviewed, enabled some of them to intentionally act within – and not only visit – the oneiric world, in order to inflect the course of events in the present world. The transference of *himu* through insemination ensured the production of 'real men', of attractive partners. For the current older generation in Haivaro none of these alternatives were available when they were younger. Indeed, they were the first generation of males who were not initiated and school was not yet available. Confronted with the necessity of demonstrating their virility in order to be perceived as good partners, this generation of men was the first to explore alternative ways by which to demonstrate their masculinity. In an almost providential manner, these men were in their 30s – the average age at which Fasu men usually get married, in the past as nowadays – when the logging company settled on their land in the 1990s. They were, therefore, the main recipients of the financial benefits derived from logging operations. This favourable context, together with the new opportunities available through money, combined to facilitate a transfer of expressions of masculinity from *himu* to money. Hence the affirmation above that 'now, all we have is

money. Your wife listens to you only if you provide money'. In Haivaro, male ascendancy over women is now frequently expressed in monetary terms. Women's disobedience is perceived by males as unfair because men 'buy women'. Once, as I was sharing food and talking at my house with my female neighbour, her husband came and asked her to come and cook because he was hungry. Joking, I told him we were busy talking, and suggested that as he also had two hands, he might use them to cook. Pointing at the hands of his wife, the answer was instantaneous: 'Sure, but I bought those ones!' Money has thus become what justifies men's control over women, and the inflation of bride price at Haivaro through recent decades has reinforced male belief that wives must obey them in all circumstances. Money has to some extent replaced *himu* in legitimizing male domination over women.

At Haivaro, representations framed in terms of procreative substances have been challenged in the modern context. As I have shown, however, the form of that challenge differed between men and women, and between youths and elders. It is likely that, in the past, representations associated with substances could be manipulated to the advantage of particular individuals. But the leeway people now have to manipulate representations has been extended in response to understandings brought in from outside. Indeed, the larger space that has opened for people to negotiate and challenge former beliefs is seen particularly clearly with respect to alliance practices. At Haivaro in the modern context, the definition of existing alliances has contracted, while the field of potential alliances has greatly expanded. To explain this shift in alliance practices, people often put a greater emphasis on relational performance than on substances. In the coming section, I discuss this trend in relation to the narrowing of alliance definitions observed during my fieldwork. The concurrent trend towards opening of the field of alliance will be discussed after that.

Narrowing of alliance among Haivaro Fasu

When, in 2013, I was tracing genealogies of Haivaro residents and trying to assess the number of unions that had followed the preferred patterns of alliance, I soon discovered that in three cases men in their 20s had married their FMZSD. A fourth case happened in 2014. I have been told that this pattern was forbidden because it was incestuous (see Figure 13). According to Fasu kinship terminology, the respective fathers of such partners are considered to be brothers (as their mothers are sisters), so that the couple are themselves brother and sister. Their connection through their respective paternal grandmothers results in them having the same third *himu*, the one derived from FMF. As underlined in the previous section, while the older generation at Haivaro still considers *himu* to be a vital substance guiding alliance patterns, this is not necessarily the case for the younger generation. Although knowledge associated with *himu* might have been transmitted to the younger generation, its co-existence with alternative understandings about procreative substances calls its relevance into question. Thus, unions that duplicate *himu*, while disapproved of by elders, may be considered legitimate by youths. However, this says nothing about the reasons why, among all prohibited patterns, only that concerning FMZSD was observed to be transgressed.

'We are afraid of suicides' an elder once told me when I asked why unions with FMZSD that, formerly, were considered 'incestuous' were now tolerated. Some years ago, his own daughter expressed her desire to marry her FMZSS. She, of course, was his FMZSD and he wanted to marry her. They were told firmly that 'women from the same *aporo ira* gave birth to your respective fathers, so you cannot marry'. The two young people were defiant and continued to see each other. After a while, a public court hearing was organized. Everyone expressed their concerns and a public and official prohibition against the marriage was strongly stated by the community. The young girl was desperate. She remained in her house without eating for several days, and then went to the forest to ingest a poisoned creeper. She died in a few hours. The old man told me that the story of his daughter was the second case of this kind in the

village. As a result, though still attempting to stop such unions, people have decided to capitulate if the young couple's desire is too strong.

'I can marry her, she is my masira asa' a young man who married his FMZSD during my fieldwork in 2014 once told me.

Remember that among Fasu, the *masira asa*, or 'grandmother girl', is FMBD or FMBSD, that is to say the *masira ama* of one's father, who has as her dominant *himu* ego's third one, derived from FMF (see Figure 13). The young man's FMZSD was thus not his *masira asa*, but his sister. While commonly expressed in relational terms, the underlying logic of alliance patterns rests deeply on representations associated with *himu*. It is through their inner composition in terms of *himu* that FMZSD and FMBSD are ultimately distinguished. Both share with ego his third *himu* – the *himu* he derived from FMF – but FMZSD has it as her third one while it is dominant in FMBSD. But knowledge of the significance of *himu* has not been transmitted to the young generation or, if taught, has been challenged by alternative exogenous representations. The distinction between FMZSD and FMBSD in terms of substance thus seems irrelevant to young people. Indeed, after several days of fighting between the young man and his parents, the former was finally told that he could not marry his FMZSD as they had the 'same blood', so that their respective families would get sick. He replied that their fathers were not 'real brothers' so that the young woman was not his sister. When later discussing this comment, the young man told me that he had learned in school that his 'real' brothers and sisters were only those conceived and carried by his biological parents and that the others were his 'cousins'. Consequently, he considered that the prohibition expressed by his parents was based on obsolete beliefs, so that he could transgress it. The two young people finally got married against the wishes of their parents. However, the young couple often argued, a fact that elders did not fail to interpret as the result of their similar blood and, hence, similar temperament.

It is certainly not the case, however, that young people now consider earlier representations associated with procreative substances to be completely irrelevant. Indeed, although alternative modes of explanation were spreading among the younger

generation in 2013-2016, transgression of alliance prohibitions involved only potential partners who shared the same third *himu*, the *himu* they both derived from a common FMF. It seems as though representations associated with bodily substances – which allow classification of ‘blood’ according to degree of similarity, though this was not always explicitly expressed with reference to *himu* – have been maintained but their applicability has been limited to connections made no more than one generation before ego. For Haivaro Fasu, the significance of the fourth *himu*, derived from MMF, had already lost salience with the end of initiations. The availability of alternative theories of substances is now challenging the relevance of the third *himu*. If substances thus formerly shaped marital prescriptions, the scope of application of the theory of substances seems to have been reduced among young people. In contrast, an alternative criterion is increasingly stressed in guiding the choice of a spouse among the young generation.

‘I’m going to marry her/him because she/he is my true true love’

At Haivaro, many young people made statements of this sort, especially young people who were engaged in a relationship that older people would regard as ‘incestuous’. There is no single Fasu word that corresponds to the English word ‘love’ as a felt emotion. There are, however, some expressions that capture the deep feeling one person may have for another. For instance, *ano ne himu purarakae* (literally ‘my heart goes toward you and stays’) is said to express the fact that someone is ‘thinking about their partner day and night’ and that ‘their heart is so painful when their partner is not there that they cry’. In the quoted sentence, ‘*himu*’ was translated as ‘heart’, although it is probable that, in the past, if the same expression was used then the referent of *himu* would have been the vital substance transmitted through semen and blood. The feelings associated with ‘*ano ne himu purarakae*’ suggest something akin to what westerners might mean when they talk of ‘love’. However, in the context of ‘incestuous’ unions, it is not ‘love’ as a feeling but rather its ability to challenge alliance patterns based on substances that seems to make it so attractive for young people. Indeed, one of the first two attempts to marry FMZSD that ended in the bride’s suicide has been described to me as follows:

White people's 'true true love'⁷² is something dangerous. My daughter once fell in love with a Haivaro young man many years ago. He was in love with her too. They wanted to marry each other but it was not an appropriate union because, well you know, we have our own way of making decisions about marriage. Anyway, we all prevented them from marrying each other. But they insisted again and again and they didn't stop seeing each other. Finally, we organised a court to constrain them to stop this relationship. After that, my daughter couldn't stop crying and she stopped eating. She stayed in bed all day, she was sick because of this love. The compensations paid did not manage to dispel this love, and this love made her body sick from inside. After a while, she went to the bush and drank the poison creeper to commit suicide and she died.

I have been told that there have been only two incidents of this kind at Haivaro that occurred about 8 years ago and, as a consequence, elders say that they are now very reluctant to stop relationships that are said to be based on 'true true love'. Young people are very aware of this fear and now use the 'true true love' argument to challenge their parents' authority in decisions concerning marriage.

'True true love' is the expression used at Haivaro to talk about an emotion that may be truly felt and thus may correspond to the feeling expressed by *ano ne himu purarakae*. But in some contexts, 'true true love' is said to be an emotion of white people, and the main criterion that white people use when choosing a spouse. Ideas of romantic love have diffused through Melanesia during recent decades mainly through foreign movies and magazines (Lindenbaum 2008: 91), and the emergence of the idea of 'love marriage' has often been associated with the development of individual agency (Hewat 2008; Knauff 2016; Lindenbaum 2008). For Haivaro elders however, 'true true love' is definitely a threatening emotion that may lead to suicide, adultery and incestuous relations. The ability of 'true true love' to instantly capture an individual's mind and orient its intentionality is also perceived by young men, but they distinguish two forms of 'true true love', as the following testimony suggests:

⁷² At Haivaro, only the English expression 'true true love' was used. When asked an equivalent in *Namo me* language, my informants said there were none.

I avoid staying with women other than my mother or sisters, because women know how to create potions and incantations to make men fall in love. I never eat something that has been cooked by a woman other than my mother or sisters. I avoid speaking with women, even to say good morning, because their 'good morning' can be a spell. And then I will feel the true true love, and I will cry about this woman all the time and I will become sick. True true love created through potions and incantations is different from the normal one, because it will not last. So you marry a woman thinking she's your true true love and after a few years, the magic dispels and you realise you married the wrong woman.

Although men's control over women strongly shapes sociality among Haivaro Fasu, there has always been an underlying belief that females could turn this control to their own advantage. During former male initiations, novices could participate in a ritual aimed at taming a particular spirit called *wafe*⁷³, to turn it into a *soro* that would help them to achieve personal goals. Part of the ritual consisted of the ingestion of feminine substances (menstrual blood and vaginal secretions) given to the novice by his maternal uncle *aua*. This ritual suggests that, for Fasu, females and their substances represent a potential subversive power oriented toward individual rather than social purposes. These understandings of femininity to some extent render necessary, and so legitimize, men's control over women. With the end of initiations and the challenging of representations associated with procreative substances, the subversive power of women did not disappear but has been transferred from their bodily substances to potions and spells. The same avoidance practices are thus at play, but while in the past contact with female substances was accidental, women are now thought to intentionally put men at risk with potions and spells. A 'true true love' that has been magically induced thus embodies the potential and threatening capacity of females to act in pursuit of individual purposes rather than social ones. At Haivaro, this capacity is said to have increased in the modern context, which is related to what has been analysed elsewhere as the emerging autonomy and independence of women in Papua New Guinea (Spark 2014). Greater independence of women compared to past practices triggers fears among Haivaro men that they could lose control over women.

⁷³ Detailed description of *wafe* spirits will be given in Chapter 5.

What is thought of by men as the new ability of women to induce 'true true love' through potions embodies this fear.

By contrast, when 'true true love' is thought to be 'naturally' felt, it encourages a sense of being 'modern' that, in this context, implies a greater emphasis on individual agency and on young men's attempts to break free from what they perceive as the oppressive shackles of power exerted on them by elders. Indeed, a few young men expressed a sense that elders tried to 'control their life too much', especially with respect to the choice of a spouse. For young men therefore, 'true true love' is located at the interface of both gender and generational relations – relations in which power over others is a central concern. The ability of 'true true love' to challenge existing power relations, in favour or to the detriment of young men, is probably reinforced by the way in which 'love' is staged in the romantic comedies of which they are fond and that many young people access when travelling in towns and cities. Indeed, the set of ordeals the lovers in such movies usually have to go through to get married, often fighting against their families and the established order, reinforces the current idea among young Haivaro men that 'true true love' is a transcendent feeling with a great subversive power.

This subversive capacity of 'true true love' is probably even more valued by young women, who tend to have less decision-making power over their marital future than men. While women are theoretically and practically authorized to reject an aspirant who displeases them, they are nonetheless subjected to greater pressure than men to comply with the choice made for them by their father, maternal uncle or brothers. One such case occurred during my fieldwork. A young girl had been encouraged to marry a man chosen by her family. Over many days, all her relatives visited her house to strongly encourage her to accept this partner. She was reluctant to do so, however, and her major argument was that she was not 'in love' with the chosen man. For women, therefore, 'true true love' instils the idea that a woman has the right to marry the one who makes her heart beat faster, not necessarily the one socially prescribed for her. The discovery of an 'alternative criterion', more concerned with individual inflections, is perceived by women as justification for seeking more control over their individual trajectory in life.

For both men and women, then, 'true true love' presents a way of challenging the established social order. Certainly, episodes of suicide have contributed to the recognition of 'love' as an efficient 'challenging tool', but there are other reasons for that perception. One lies in the exogenous origin of the concept and its link with 'modern white people'. In Haivaro, as elsewhere in Papua New Guinea (Bashkow 2006; Wood 1995), perceptions of white people are often ambivalent; while sometimes inspiring negative criticism they nevertheless remain an object of fascination. Positive and negative aspects of white people are differently emphasized in Haivaro depending on context. Haivaro elders, for instance, often contrast the modern world of white people with a more traditional past they have partly experienced during their childhood, thus rendering them more critical of white people than are younger generations. Indeed, testimonies recorded among elders reflect a negative sense that white people are too individualistic and are reluctant to honour social obligations toward kin. Young men who spent most of their teenage years in towns and cities and had contacts with a few Whites (through sporadic employment by oil or logging companies operating in the region) contrast their present with an imagined future in terms of these observations. They emphasize the alleged freedom of whites concerning the same social obligations considered to be particularly constraining in their own current lives, and are captivated by the very attractive technology created and imported by 'white people'. At the same time, values of gender equity and female autonomy thought to characterize the attitudes of white people are viewed negatively by men, but are highly valued by women. As we can see, this ambivalence towards modernity and whites revives social cleavages that were considered above in reference to 'love'. The idea of 'love', then, can be seen as crystallizing broader concerns regarding modernity in general and white people in particular, which may explain the increasing importance accorded to this emotion in Haivaro. The projection onto it of the ambivalence generated by modernity makes this a concept that is 'good to think' for people: by negotiating their relation to 'love', people also negotiate their relation to modernity.

The shift in ways that Haivaro Fasus represent both menstrual blood and the *himu* transmitted through both semen and blood has deeply impacted alliance

patterns, leading to an increase in unions that were formerly considered incestuous. In these cases, 'love' and the representations associated to it are summoned as a way of challenging the former social order. Alongside the trend to form 'incestuous' unions, however, unions with very distant and un-related partners are also increasing. These latter unions are rarely explained in terms of 'true true love' but, rather, appear to be the result of a desire to feel connected to a wider world. In the next section I shall show how such connections, like those established through 'true true love', place an emphasis on individual agency and on what some consider to be a person's right to decide his or her own trajectory in life.

Opening of alliance among Haivaro Fasu

Opening of alliance patterns to distant or 'inter-ethnic' marriages has been observed elsewhere in Papua New Guinea in recent decades (e.g. Gilberthorpe 2007; Beer & Schroedter 2014). Among other factors thought to underlie that shift, the impact of cash incomes from extractive industry on marital attractiveness and on the increasing mobility of people have been identified as playing a significant role. This trend is also found in Haivaro where the succession of logging companies on the land of local *aporo ira* since the 1990s has led to an increase in cash incomes and a greater availability of manufactured goods and services. These have made Haivaro people more attractive in the region as potential marriage partners. Moreover, the greater frequency of travel that has been made possible by money from logging has increased opportunities for Haivaro residents to meet people in distant places. In this section, I discuss the underlying motivations that lead people to seek partners in these places. The analysis reveals significant gendered distinctions as well as a great emphasis on individual agency. I then highlight a generational distinction in the way these unions are perceived within the community.

'Before, we used to marry mainly with Fasu, those who spoke the same language as us'.

Endogamous marriages at the language group level will have been favoured by the preference for marriage with *masira ama* and *masira asa*. Most Haivaro residents assert that in the past, 'they did not mingle with other language groups that much'. Marriage patterns being preferential rather than compulsory⁷⁴, however, marriages between people from different language groups did occur, in the past as nowadays. But while these marriages formerly involved only people from neighbouring language groups, they now involve partners from increasingly distant groups. Table 2 shows proportions of intra- and inter-language groups marriages across four generations, according to data collected at Haivaro between March 2013 and September 2014⁷⁵.

⁷⁴ I have been told that marrying a woman in the preferred category is only compulsory for one male within a set of siblings. Whether or not the rule was so flexible in the past remains unclear to me.

⁷⁵ Generation G corresponds to the demographic generation of people aged between approximately 35 and 55 years in 2013-2014. This generation was born between 1960 and 1979 when contacts with the 'outside world' started to intensify. The distinction between 'marriages with neighbouring language groups' and 'marriages with distant language groups' is made by Haivaro people themselves. They base this distinction not only on effective geographical distance, but rather on the fact that former long-term relations (trade or former alliance ties) did or did not pre-exist the union recorded. They include in 'neighbouring language groups' Kasua-speaking living on the slopes of Mount Bosavi in the east of Western Province and people from the villages and towns of Moka, Kerema, Kayam, Bamo and Kikori in the Gulf Province. Marriages with 'distant language groups' concern partners from Highlands region, the westernmost part of Western Province, Sepik and Morobe Provinces as well as southern Gulf Province.

	G+2 (Born between 1920 and 1939) ⁷⁶	G+1 (Born between 1940 and 1959)	G (Born between 1960 and 1979)	G-1 (Born between 1980 and 1999)
Number of recorded unions	24	63	64	30
Intra-language-group marriages	21 (87.5%)	39 (62%)	48 (75%)	19 (63%)
Marriages with neighbouring language groups	3 (12.5%)	24 (38%)	13 (20%)	3 (10%)
Marriages with distant language groups	0	0	3 (5%)	8 (27%)

Table 2: Proportion of intra- and inter-language groups marriages at Haivaro across 4 generations

Despite a significant decline, intra-language group marriages remain the dominant form among Haivaro Fasu, representing 87.5% of the unions recorded in G+2, 62% in G+1, 75% in G and 63% in G-1. The increase in the proportion of marriages with people from neighbouring language groups observed in G+1 corresponds to a particular episode of Haivaro Fasu history that was mentioned briefly in the migration histories reported in Chapter 1. As discussed there, a fight led to the adoption by Haivaro Fasu of a child from the Kasua tribe. That child subsequently founded his own *aporo ira* rather than being absorbed into existing *aporo ira* – as was usual among Haivaro Fasu, especially with children abducted from their traditional Konomo enemies⁷⁷ – for reasons that remain unclear to me. Genealogies collected in Haivaro indicate that this child’s marriage occurred in G+2. Elders in Haivaro say that at and after that time

⁷⁶ People at Haivaro do not know their year of birth. Those indicated in the table are thus approximate.

⁷⁷ Konomo is the name given by Haivaro people to the inhabitants of the area surrounding the current town of Kamusi in Western province. Konomo people have been presented to me as the ancestral and ultimate enemies of Haivaro Fasu, and a few people in Haivaro originally descend from a child that had been abducted to Konomo people and ‘absorbed’ by Haivaro Fasu as a legitimate member of pre-existing *aporo ira*.

relations with Kasua people intensified, with parents from both language groups making arrangements for their children to marry in the future. Their account is consistent with the data collected, as 16 of the 24 unions with neighbouring language groups recorded in G+1 (67%) were with Kasua people⁷⁸.

It is in generation G – those born between 1960 and 1979 – that, for the first time, some marriages are contracted with partners who speak unrelated languages and come from distant communities. The three distant unions recorded in G concern two Haivaro women who married men from Sepik and Morobe Provinces respectively, and one Haivaro man who married a woman from the Highlands⁷⁹. In generation G-1, eight of 30 marriages follow this pattern; for this generation, such unions are proportionally more common than unions with neighbouring groups (three of 30 marriages). These eight unions concern five Haivaro women who married men from Sepik Province, Southern Highlands Province, Western Province or the south of Gulf Province, and three Haivaro men who married women from the Highlands and the south of Gulf Province. Though sample size is small, it seems that Haivaro women are more likely to be given as wives to outsiders, or to choose an outsider as husband, than Haivaro men are to take an outsider as wife. This would be consistent with observations from elsewhere in Papua New Guinea where marriages with distant unrelated partners, especially ‘overseas’ partners, primarily involve women (Gustafsson 1999). Underlying reasons for this bias have not yet been comprehensively analysed, although tentative hypotheses have been offered for particular groups and in the circumstance of women marrying European or Australian men (Gustafsson 1999: 95). Data collected in Haivaro may allow us to glimpse one answer to this question, although the data are limited and interpretations are necessarily preliminary.

‘With the arrival of the logging company, workers from the entire country and overseas countries have come inside’.

A general impression in Haivaro is that the logging company has brought a wave of migrants from throughout the country into the land of Haivaro Fasu. This

⁷⁸ Members of Kasua Rebeta are not included here as Kasua, as they were already considered to be a Fasu *aporo ira* at that time.

⁷⁹ The context for these unions is discussed in the next section.

'intrusion' is sometimes perceived as a burden on subsistence resources (as many timber workers are said to hunt and collect resources in the area, not always with the consent of Haivaro residents), and as a threat to Haivaro people's way of life because of associated encounters with exogenous customs that may challenge their own. But this sudden geographical proximity has also opened doors to unions with distant partners. Indeed, two of the three unions recorded in generation G, as well as five of the eight unions recorded in G-1, were with partners met at the camp of the logging company. These unions all involved Haivaro women, not men. The four Haivaro men who married distant partners all met their partners in towns and cities where they were residing. This pattern is not unexpected, given that logging company workers were exclusively men and the women who did come from elsewhere were usually the wives of workers. Company workers were usually relatively young people, either single or coming with wife and young children. A few of those children were female teenagers but, having grown up in towns or cities, were not inclined to marry Haivaro young men. They tended to consider local youths to be '*bush kanaka*' and had their sights set on urban partners. By contrast, unmarried men who worked for the company, or teenage sons of those workers, were actively pursued by unmarried Haivaro women. While the women, too, were judged to be '*bush kanaka*', this had a positive aspect in seeming to guarantee that the women would work hard and obey their future husband. In this context, it was easier for Haivaro women than for Haivaro men to meet distant partners on their home territory. By contrast, and as noted in Chapter 1, it is mainly Haivaro men who travel alone to distant places, so opportunity to meet prospective partners there is greater for men than for women. But these contextual differences alone are not sufficient to explain the marked differentiation between male and female patterns of alliance with distant partners.

'Highlands women are very skilled in business and they work hard'.

That is the answer I got when asking why Haivaro men often expressed a desire to marry women from the Highlands. The Haivaro men who did marry women from the Highlands had all been students, and had met their wife-to-be in the town or city where they attended school. According to them, finding an educated woman from the Highlands was one of the main reasons for choosing to attend school there. The

qualities attributed to Highlands women are well known by Haivaro women, who openly tease their husbands about this. Should conjugal conflict lead a man to question his wife's ability to work hard, the woman is likely to respond by arguing that if her husband is not happy, he should have married a woman from the Highlands. For Haivaro men, marrying a Highland woman is a way of ensuring a financial contribution to the living expenses of the couple, through the ability of the wife to develop a business alongside the royalty payments received by the husband. Marrying an educated urban woman is also perceived, in Haivaro, as a mark of prestige which makes men feel 'modern'. Haivaro people commonly say that a man needs to be educated and have money to attract a partner who possesses the same 'qualities'. I argued above (p 144) that, at Haivaro, the source of masculine status is now seen as lying not in *himu* but in money and education. By marrying 'educated business women', Haivaro men publicly show that they are both educated and rich enough to attract such a woman. In this sense, marrying a Highlands woman affirms a high degree of masculinity for Haivaro men.

For women, motivations to marry a distant partner are of a different order. Considering the viri-local pattern of residence among Haivaro Fasu, women imagine that marrying a distant man who, in all the fantasies I recorded, was from an urban area, would result in the woman leaving the village to settle down in the town or city from which her husband will have come⁸⁰. This expectation was often stated by unmarried women in Haivaro when explaining their desire to marry a urban-living man; they would be financially supported by their husband, they would not have to work hard in exchange and they would enjoy the facilities available in towns and cities. Unfortunately, the reality did not always live up to the hopes. Only one of seven such unions led to permanent viri-local residence in town, while in one other case the couple spends approximately half the year in Haivaro and half the year in the husband's town. Four of these marriages have resulted in uxori-local residence at

⁸⁰ Interviews conducted with both Haivaro women married to distant partners and distant women married to Haivaro men show that men often manipulate reality regarding their place of origin. Indeed, they often pretend to come from a town or a city to appear as attractive partners, when in fact they originate from a small village at some distance from a urban setting.

Haivaro, and the last ended in divorce and the return of the woman to the village after a few years spent in Port Moresby.

Perceptions of such unions, whether they involve Haivaro men or women, are quite heterogeneous among Haivaro Fasu. On the one hand, people envisage marriage with outsiders as a way of extending their network, integrating 'urban' people who are usually educated and may prove useful in the context of engagement with the logging company. Indeed, since most Haivaro residents are barely literate, they sometimes find it difficult to fill in the forms required to manage the logging operations on their land. Moreover, they enjoy the reassurance of being able to entrust negotiations with the logging company to people who are actually experienced in that domain. This is usually the case with the urban men they interact with, when those men are integrated as brothers-in-law through marriage. For this reason, these 'outsider' men are usually included as members of the Incorporated Land Group (ILG) of their wife's natal *aporo ira*, and play a significant role in making decisions concerning management of the land of this *aporo ira*.

The Training Manual issued by the Constitutional and Law Reform Commission of Papua New Guinea to assist people in implementing the requirements of the Land Group Incorporation (Amendment) Act 2009 and the Land Registration (Amendment) Act 2009 stipulates that 'the legal provisions [of the Act] aim to empower landowners in unlocking the economic potential of customary land and improving security of tenure' (2012: 5). Although the word 'landowner' is used throughout the manual, and the Act itself, to refer to ILG members, nothing prevents people from including non-landowners in their ILG. Though each of the *aporo ira* based at Haivaro is now recognized by the others as owning particular lands, these *aporo ira* – like groups in many other regions of Papua New Guinea – have, in the past, sometimes transferred user and/or owner rights to migrants from other groups in some circumstances; doing so, for example, in cases of marriage with uxorilocal residence or in return for support in warfare. Unlike the trend observed among the northern Fasu groups (see Gilberthorpe 2007), at Haivaro the process of registering ILGs did not challenge that practice, and distant urban brothers-in-law have been sometimes integrated to ILGs.

Despite this 'strategic' interest in marriages with distant urban partners, however, many Haivaro people consider that such marriages are weaker than those with partners from other Fasu groups or neighbouring tribes. Elders, in particular, remain sceptical about the sturdiness of such unions, as one of them explained:

When you marry a Haivaro woman, you really know who you are about to marry. I mean that this is a woman you grew up with, so you have had many years to figure out her personality. Because women, just like men, know how to hide their real personality within their blood. But there is always a moment when your real personality surfaces on your skin. When you grow up with your future wife, you've had many opportunities to observe her real personality, so you can make an informed choice. But when you marry a distant woman, a woman you didn't grow up with, then you cannot know her real personality. It is still hidden within her blood. So that you think you are marrying a nice and docile woman while in fact, it is not the case. In internal marriages, if there are disputes they are rapidly resolved, because the respective *aporo ira* of the two spouses know each other and are able to provide good advice, and the spouses will listen to their parent's advice. But in distant marriages, the distant partner does not necessarily listen to our advice, because he follows another custom'.

Although this testimony emphasised marriages involving female distant partners, other people expressed the same reservations about marriages involving male partners from distant places. Some suggested that such men would be likely to have wives in all the places they visited and, for this reason, more inclined to leave their Haivaro wife when going to work elsewhere. Although not always successful, encouraging uxori-local residence at Haivaro seems to have been an attempt to prevent such behaviour. The role played by close kin in resolving disputes is usually considered fundamental, a role that has been observed elsewhere to clearly attenuate conjugal dissension (Gustafsson 1999).

The assertion that unions with a distant partner will be weak relative to those with a close partner is not simply a matter of *a priori* judgment. Among the 11 unions of this kind recorded in Haivaro, three have ended in divorce, while three others were experiencing serious discord in 2016, with one wife returning to her original place

without indicating that she would come back and with another ready to do the same. One husband from outside was apparently involved with other women elsewhere in the country and was not clearly indicating a desire to maintain his first marriage. The fragility of such unions is also partly the result of pre-marital promises that have not been kept (see p 158). Indeed, according to two urban women who married Haivaro men, they were attracted by their respective husband's promises of the easy way of life allowed by royalty payments – a way of life that would be close to urban style, according to the way that they had understood it. Apparently, Haivaro village had been presented to them as being a 'town-like' place with many facilities. These representations were not entirely false, but were definitely misleading. Needless to say, the two wives confessed that they were more than disappointed by the living standards they found at Haivaro, and had seen caught unprepared when discovering they would have to process sago – a difficult and exhausting task for a novice, in addition to being often associated with a 'primitive way of life' by urban residents. The gap between expectations derived from males promises and the reality encountered at Haivaro created among these women a sense of having been fooled that, unsurprisingly, triggered deep conjugal tensions. Consequently, although the phenomenon of 'outsider' marriage has increased at Haivaro in recent decades, there is little evidence that the trend will prove sustainable.

Concluding comments

Analysis of alliance among Haivaro Fasu has revealed the importance of both shared substances and performance in guiding the choice of a partner. Besides what is considered an appropriate distance in terms of substances, compatibility of temperament and implementation of a relation of exchange between spouses – *balanced reciprocity* – play a significant role in strengthening the bond between husband and wife and with their affines.

In many ways, modern contexts have challenged and suggested alternatives to representations associated with bodily substances. These alternatives now play a role in guiding people's choices of marriage partners.

Union with FMZSD, formerly considered incestuous, has increasingly become a tolerated, though not fully legitimated pattern and the exogenous and disembodied concept of 'love', rather than transmitted substances, has been mobilized as a way of challenging the existing social order.

Concomitantly, the reduced significance accorded to substances, and the greater experience of Haivaro people with distant urban areas, has seen emergence of criteria such as 'education', 'urban-ness' and 'financial potential' as decisive criteria in the choice of a partner by both men and women. Increasing emphasis is put on performing *balanced reciprocity*, with products of labour exchanged between spouses now integrating products of business and resource extraction. This has opened the circle of potential, and desirable, partners.

To a considerable extent, it is the broader domain of gender relations, rather than conjugality alone, which has been subject to significant changes since Haivaro people's encounter with modernity. Indeed, people's ideas about masculinity and femininity are changing greatly in the modern context.

These changes, however, raise ambiguous and sometimes contradictory feelings among Haivaro residents, an ambivalence that they try to resolve – or at least tame – through the medium that is directly and easily available to them and plays such a significant role in gender relations: their body.

The coming chapter discusses shifting masculinities and femininities among Haivaro Fasū, and their implication for gender relations. By analysing the significant body transformations observed among both male and female residents, it highlights how these transformations reveal both male and female attempts to integrate, and, to some extent, regain control over the changes affecting masculinity, femininity and gender relations.

BEING A MAN, BEING A WOMAN

Embodying shifts in gender relations

Introduction

'Ne kau sakai hokopo! a little girl once exclaimed to her younger brother, who obviously desired to be held and cuddled. *'Don't touch my skin!*' she was saying, where I would probably have said *'Don't touch me'*. Skin as a metaphor for the entire body, the self or the person, has been reported from many parts of Papua New Guinea (Strathern, A. J. 1975; Strathern & Strathern 1971; Weiner 1988). At Haivaro too, it seems that the skin works as *'a protective container, an expressive interface that communicates an inner essence, and a filter for exchanges that moderates the inscriptions of others and the environment'* (Handcock 2012: 1).

Working the skin enables people to differentiate males from females, young from the old, married from unmarried or widowed, the living from the dead and so on. As elsewhere in Papua New Guinea and around the world (O'Hanlon 1989; Townsend 1995; Turner 2012), working and reading the skin carries information about social relationships and about a person's position within the relational universe.

Throughout Melanesia, major changes in the domain of gender relations have been linked to people's encounter with modernity (Beer & Schroedter 2014; Hukula 2012; Jolly & Stewart 2012; Macintyre & Spark 2017; Nihill 1994) though there has been more emphasis on gender relations in general and masculinities in particular (Biersack 2016; Calabrò 2016; Connell 1995; Connell & Messerschmidt 2005; Gibbs 2016; Jolly 2008, 2016; Koczberski & Curry 2016; Rauchholz 2016; Presterudstuen & Schieder 2016; Zimmer-Tamakoshi 2016) than on shifting femininities (Spark 2014, 2015; Wardlow 2002, 2004).

At Haivaro, too, gender relations, and particularly the making of masculinity and femininity, have been challenged in recent decades. That people might use their

body to integrate such challenges has been observed in other parts of Papua New Guinea (Bamford 2006). Considering the importance of working and reading the skin in differentiating males from females and in saying something about gender relations, it is not surprising that people 'incorporate' and respond to these changes by modifying their skin.

I begin this chapter by demonstrating how working and reading the skin constitutes an important means of social differentiation among Haivaro Fasu. Through the working of their skin, undifferentiated children (*hokosa*) are transformed into boys (*mano*) and girls (*masira*). Marriage, widowhood and death are all important stages in the life cycle that modify social relations and entail specific working of skin. In this sense, reading the skin informs people about social relationships.

At Haivaro, in the modern context, masculinity, femininity and gender relations are subject to major shifts, whether these are desired or not. Not surprisingly, it is through their skin that men and women at Haivaro attempt to either provoke or integrate these shifts. New practices emerge, especially among younger generations. These practices reveal a desire to feel connected with the wider world and a wish for a greater proximity between genders. At the same time, they reveal the ambiguities raised by people's encounter with modernity and their attempts to tame, through their body, that modernity.

Fasu skin as an interface

In Haivaro, transforming the skin is a way of simultaneously creating and reflecting one's status and position within the society. Moulding the skin is moulding a body. It creates distinctions within an assemblage of otherwise undifferentiated corporeal entities. And it creates a singular social subject, which nevertheless is entangled with many spheres of sociality. An individual's relational network evolves, changing throughout his or her life, and transforming the skin generates these

relational transitions as much as it reflects them. The key stages of a person's life, especially those that overturn the previous state of relations (initiations, marriage, widowhood, and funerals), inscribe themselves within a person's skin. As a corollary, changing a person's skin changes his or her position within the pre-existing relational universe.

The semantic field associated with the skin (*kau*) in the Fasu vernacular language already betrays its multiple dimensions. Indeed, skin can be considered as a mere surface (*kau kemo*: dirty skin; *ira kau*: tree bark), a metaphor for the body or for parts of it (*kau hahamaki*: painful skin, when muscles ache after work), or a metaphor for the self (*kau aseako*, 'to see the skin', to test someone's reactions). In *Namo me*, transforming the skin is spoken of as *kau rakiraka*: 'working the skin'. The verb *rakiraka*, as explained in Chapter 1, is used in very specific contexts, such as those where a man is building a house (*ape rakiraka*), or a woman is cultivating her garden (*hemo rakiraka*). It could be translated by 'making', but always with the connotation of investing labour – and thus embodying oneself – in the product of that labour. More broadly, *rakiraka* expresses a sense of 'turning into' or 'transforming': the man turns a pile of forest materials into a house; the woman turns an undifferentiated piece of land into a productive garden. Inherent in this verb is the sense of an undifferentiated 'anything' becoming a differentiated, and thus meaningful, 'something' through human action.

In Haivaro, the first – and most emblematic – context where the skin is 'worked' in this sense, turning an undifferentiated 'anyone' into a specific 'someone', is initiations. A female elder once recalled:

We used to do "*Yafu*"⁸¹ at any time, but mainly for the girls from the age of Hasumi⁸². It was the same as for boys, except that ours was shorter. It was done to make your strength⁸³ emerge on your skin. The purpose was to produce handsome girls. It was a powerful custom and the girls who did it achieved a

⁸¹ *Yafu* in *Namo me* is the word for both male and female initiations.

⁸² A girl aged about eleven years old in 2014.

⁸³ Here, the translator used both "strength" and "holy part" to translate the vernacular term employed by the narrator.

superior position after that. They were no longer *hokosa*⁸⁴, they became *masira*⁸⁵. We emerged from the ordinary people after that, and we stopped playing with boys, we remained separate as men and women were. It took place in a bush house where fire was made with a particularly strong type of firewood called *enemo* (unidentified) because, as the purpose was to become strong, they used only strong things. First, the girls were whipped by the old women with a wooden stick to make the bad blood flow away. On the first day, all the girls took a bath in the river and then, their body was entirely shaved except the head, with a bamboo torch. They repeated that every two or three days. It was important that the hair be removed because the skin had to be beautiful, shiny. To brighten the skin, the old women smeared it with the sap of the *surare* tree (unidentified). Then the girls were given a new skirt and a new *sekare*⁸⁶. During the *Yafu*, the girls were not allowed to eat crayfish and big fish. They were only allowed to eat small fish, but not the head and the tail. The waste deriving from what was not eaten was kept on the *pani*⁸⁷ until the end of the *Yafu*. Then everything was thrown out. If they didn't respect all the rules of the *Yafu*, then the girls got sick, either *hae kerapaka*⁸⁸ or *sere kerapaka*⁸⁹. When they came back to the village after the *Yafu*, everybody saw their shiny skin and their new skirts and understood they had been changed.

(Narrative: Pokapi Samoko. Translation: Ruben Hoari. Haivaro Village)

In Haivaro, it is likely that male and female initiations stopped in the early 1960s, as only two living elders aged about 60 in 2014 remember having been partially initiated during their childhood. This is consistent with information in patrol reports (Phillips 1957-58) which indicate the conversion of Haivaro people to Christianity as early as the 1950s with SDA pastors and teachers already implanted within Fasu villages by 1957-58. For this reason, it was difficult to obtain detailed accounts of the initiation process

⁸⁴ Male or female child in *Namo me*.

⁸⁵ Young girl in *Namo me*.

⁸⁶ A plate made from the spathe of a sago palm frond.

⁸⁷ Small wooden platform suspended above the fireplace where food is dried and stored.

⁸⁸ Literally 'filled-up with fruits', a disease characterized by a stomach that swells like one of a pregnant woman, leading to death.

⁸⁹ Literally 'filled-up with bending leaves of bamboo or palms', a disease characterized by a lethal weight loss which is the opposite of the *Yafu* fattening.

as a whole. The above description, however, clearly reveals the central role of the skin in creating new individuals. Indeed, the narrator clearly emphasizes how working the skin allows inner properties to ‘emerge on the skin’, thus creating young girls from undifferentiated – un-sexualised – children. As she put it, initiations transformed previous relations by ‘gendering’ children. They created sexualized individuals who, from then on, were expected to comply with the specific forms of relations associated with their gender, here expressed in terms of segregation. By strengthening the body and making this strength visible on the skin, initiations moulded females able to fulfil their future tasks. But they also informed the entire society of the new position held by these young girls within the relational universe: ‘everybody understood they had been changed’. Until they entered *Yafu*, girls were engaged only in non-reciprocal relations; they received care from their parents without giving in return. On some level, they were ‘marginalized’ within the sphere of reciprocity. When initiated, they emerged ready to play their part in that sphere, as exchangeable against bride price, and as capable of providing labour the products of which could be exchanged.

Similar treatments of skin are evident in a few accounts I obtained that described male initiations. For example:

During initiations, the boys were asked to shave their skin with bamboo torches. Then the elders scraped the bark of the *surare* tree (unidentified) and mixed it with a substance. I was never told what this substance was. They just called the mixture *Yafu sisi*. But when applied on the skin, it soothes the burns from waxing and made the skin very soft and very bright, with a pleasant scent. It was applied on the skin after each bath. Also, the skin was cut to make the boy’s blood flow outside their body. This blood was polluted by the boy’s proximity with their mother and their female relatives. Their body then produced new blood which was a real male blood.

(Narrative: Peter Tabaye. Translation: Ruben Hoari. Haivaro village. October 12, 2013)

Here, again, the skin is transformed to make visible the boy’s new position within the Fasu relational universe. Cutting the skin and ‘replacing’ the blood were necessary to

disconnect boys from the feminine world. Again, transforming the skin transforms undifferentiated children (*hokosa*) into proper gendered subjects, boys (*mano*) and girls (*masira*).

Similarly, the relational upheaval entailed by marriage, which either maintains or creates new affinal ties and affiliates a woman to her husband's *aporo ira*, necessitated a transformation of her skin. In the past, at the time of marriage, the woman's face was painted with specific patterns and colours associated with her husband's *aporo ira*, her body thus modelling her new allegiance and the modification of relations it entailed. Indeed, as stated by Gilberthorpe (2004: 37) among northern Fasu groups, 'as daughter she exchanges the products of her labour with her brothers and father. [...] As a wife she exchanges the products of her labour with her husband, his father and his unmarried brothers'. The skin is transformed to both create and reflect a shift in relations deeply linked with genders.

Widowhood also appears as an emblematic context of relational upheavals. Ties formerly established between the respective *aporo ira* of the spouses through marriage are weakened by the death of one of its corner-stones, and, again, in this context, skin is 'worked' to facilitate the relational transition, as one person explained:

Her face was painted with black charcoal, and her neck and legs were bound with the *Kau pasu*, the bark of the *Pasu* tree (unidentified). She resembled a cassowary! Then her body was covered with a mixture of sap and urine, so that nobody came close to her because she was very dirty. She was not allowed to wash herself or [for some time] to process sago. At the end of the mourning, which lasted two or three years, the widow walked to the river on a pathway covered by tree leaves to avoid polluting men's roads, and she bathed very carefully. After that, she could re-marry if wanted.

(Narrative: Robert Bosorroe. Haivaro village. December 25, 2013)

Here, the skin is altered to provoke a relational distance, which has been explained to me as the necessity to still acknowledge for a while former ties between the wife's natal *aporo ira* and her husband's *aporo ira*, before engaging in new relations. Just as the threads of reciprocity have been patiently woven throughout conjugal life, un-

weaving them has to be done progressively. To do so, the skin is transformed to provoke repulsion – to create a distance from others – so that former relations between the wife's natal *aporo ira* and her husband's *aporo ira* could not be replaced too rapidly. No such transformations have been described to me in the case of men whose wives have died. I was told that men were only required to wait for one year before they could marry someone else.

Among Haivaro Fasu, there was no specific treatment of the body at the time of and after death. The naked body was left on the funeral platform (*tapura*) for 35 days (an entire body counting cycle) and, later, bones were collected and placed in an ossuary cave in the mountain (*uri kunika*). At the time of death, then, the skin is 'un-worked' to embody a person's withdrawal from reciprocal relations, from any particular position within the Fasu relational universe as it is built by reciprocity.

All these occasions, highlighting the skin as a privileged medium for marking relational transitions, indicate the deep connection of skin to the social subject. 'Reading the skin', for Haivaro people, is informative with respect to the specific relational distance (or proximity) between people at different stages of their lives. More importantly, the transformations mentioned above highlight the skin's ability to create and reflect relational shifts, particularly those associated with gender. New forms of altering the skin observed during my fieldwork may thus reveal attempts to deal with changes in the way gender relations themselves are understood and negotiated.

Altering male skin

During my fieldwork, a practice widespread among young Haivaro boys aged around 13 or 14 years entailed making a line of dots on their forearms by burning their skin with the incandescent tip of a palm inflorescence, stripped of flowers and set alight. I remember a young boy proudly drawing my attention to the line of

suppurating circular sores on his forearm that had been made a few days earlier. He insisted on the importance of enduring the pain inflicted, which had made him almost cry, and on the painful necessity of applying dirty soil to the sores daily, after the burn, to infect them and ensure the scars would be clearly visible. It was the evident sublimation of pain that first caught my curiosity. Transformations of the skin during male initiations in the past (washing, anointment, painting and hair burning) were probably not pleasant for some, but did not involve irreversible alterations of skin nor much suffering. By contrast, the current scarification must be extremely painful, with scars produced as permanent evidence of the pain endured and, by extension, of the strength demonstrated by the one who has experienced it. As mentioned in Chapter 3, in the past, strength and the ability to tolerate pain were highly valued masculine qualities, mainly deriving from the quality of one's *himu*, and mostly displayed during warfare. The criteria that affirm masculinity have diversified in modern contexts, but strength and resistance to pain continue to be valued. Indeed, when conflicts arose during my fieldwork that entailed a man being beaten, none openly expressed suffering or collapsed under blows. They always remained impassive, adopting a proud demeanour. By contrast, in similar circumstances, it was expected that women would weep loudly and collapse physically. In a modern context where opportunities to display masculine strength, like warfare, have decreased, scarification provides a mean by which boys may evidence the advent of masculine strength.

This interpretation highlights a significant shift in Fasu perception of masculinity. Remember that masculinity was formerly deeply associated with the *himu*, thought to be mainly transmitted by fathers through semen and reinforced through insemination during male initiations. There was, therefore, continuity in the substance of masculinity; it was transferred from one male to another. In the case of scarification, however, no reference is made to such transference. Rather, the practice 'reveals' masculinity; it presumes that the strength associated with masculinity pre-exists in a man and merely needs to be expressed, attested, made visible through the body. Masculine strength is no longer formulated as deriving from a specific substance transferred to the boy by others but is, rather, something that individuals feel within themselves. An earlier emphasis on substance in defining masculinity has given way to

an emphasis on performance. Unlike the transference of substance that implied the presence of a donor and a recipient, the performance of masculinity through scarification is both self-decided and self-realised. The individual himself determines whether he feels strong enough to behave as a man. His scars, then, are a self-declaration to others, particularly to older unmarried youths. He is informing them that he is ready to perform other practices which he has heard that they, as real men, performed.

Among these practices is the consumption of intoxicating substances at secret meetings held in the forest surrounding the village, far enough away to not be seen or heard by other people. One such event was described to me as follows:

It was some years ago, I was a little boy, maybe twelve or thirteen years old. The older boys took me to the bush behind the airstrip. We sat there together and they gave me a 'Spear' [Long rolled cigarette made with strong brown tobacco] to smoke. At that time, the 'Spears' were much longer than today. They were very long and your head really spun when smoking it. I didn't want to smoke it but they forced me. Then, they gave me my first betel nut, you know, the one with the small white thing inside that makes you crazy. And after that, they gave me a beer to drink. Wow, my head was really spinning and I remember that when I stood up, I couldn't walk and I threw up. After that, they gave me coconuts to eat, and after a while, I felt better and went home discreetly.

Food sharing and food taboos were an important part of former male initiations. Young boys were not allowed to consume the 'extremities' of food items, only the 'middle' or 'inside' parts were eaten (head and tail of game were removed, as well as the extremities of sago loaves that had been cooked in bamboo). In addition, particular substances were ingested, especially *tikiasó*⁹⁰. It seems that, in these initiations, emphasis was put on establishing a dichotomy between 'inside' and 'outside' aimed at connecting the boys to their own place and people (inside) by separating them from others (outside). Rites accompanying food consumption aimed to create or reinforce a strong sense of belonging to the community and the place, epitomized in the consumption of *tikiasó*, the 'original form of wealth' among Fasu that strongly

⁹⁰ Sap of *Campnosperma brevipetiolata*.

embodies 'Fasu-ness' (Busse *et al.* 1993).

Interestingly, substances that nowadays are consumed by boys during the new rites reproduce to some extent this dichotomy, but reverse the emphasis. Betel nuts, strong brown tobacco and alcohol are all exogenous substances, and even the coconuts used to aid recovery were not originally endemic to the region. Ingesting these substances can thus be seen as an attempt to become identified with the exogenous world rather than with their home place. Moreover, these substances are overwhelmingly associated with males, as few women consume them, doing so only occasionally and always in the face of social disapproval. The forced overconsumption of these substances depicted in the quotation clearly aims at altering senses, consciousness and the body, and the ability to survive and recover from these alterations is seen as evidence of strength. From this perspective, masculinity can thus also be seen as the ability to incorporate the 'modern world' without faltering.

Indeed, the outside world is often described as challenging by Haivaro people. It requires 'a lot of money' they cannot always afford, and is governed by norms that they do not always understand. Their attempts to connect with outsiders are often described as carrying a threat of violence. This is especially so in the case of gender relations. When talking about urban girls, Haivaro young men often mention their '*lack of reserve and modesty*' compared to Haivaro women. Their way of dressing is said to be very provocative and, unlike Haivaro women, they are perceived as knowing more diverse sexual practices and as being available for sexual experiences without commitment. Although attracted to these young women, Haivaro young men willingly admit to also being petrified when facing them, especially in circumstances of very direct invitations to sexual encounters. In the past, at Haivaro as elsewhere in Papua New Guinea (Brunois 2007; Godelier 1982), sexuality was strictly regulated in both frequency and permitted practices: men could not have sexual intercourse before warfare, during their wife's menstruation, or too often, lest their *himu* be depleted too fast; sexual practices not oriented toward reproduction were prohibited as entailing a waste of *himu*. Although transgressions to these rules might have occurred in the past, they were nevertheless enunciated as the norm. In the modern context, these rules have been reduced, but sexual 'extravagance' remains out of place at Haivaro.

Although men confess to being curious about experiencing new practices, they also admit to be terrified because, being less experienced than the urban young women, they risk not being 'up to the task'. To some extent, therefore, their masculinity is put into question – and endangered – in its relation to sexuality or, more accurately, sexual performance. Given the role of the body in sexuality, it seems logical that Haivaro young men transform their bodies in attempting to reconcile the ambiguities emerging from this challenge to their masculinity.

To connect with 'outsiders', and especially with urban girls, Haivaro young men feel that they need to be much stronger than their predecessors. Ingestion of exogenous substances and resistance to the alterations they provoke within the body can be interpreted as a way of revealing that one is strong enough – male enough – to face these potentially violent and always destabilizing relations. Moreover, as noted earlier (p 123), educated young men are considered a resource by the Haivaro community, expected to liaise between the community and the modern world (especially, but not only, the logging company) – a responsibility sometimes perceived as particularly burdensome. Indeed, young men are expected to acquire all the skills required to integrate with the modern world while remaining faithful to the more traditional values that would contribute to making them good husbands, fathers or leaders. The contradictions inherent to this ambivalent positioning are undoubtedly sources of anxiety and suffering for the young men to whom I spoke. As one of them said: 'As soon as I would get married, I would have to work hard to sustain my family and to get enough money for them. I would have to play a greater role in decisions concerning my land. I would not have time to walk around and do nothing'. From this perspective, the consumption of alcohol and psychotropic substances, relatively frequent among young men before marriage, may also function as a way to escape the social pressures exerted on them.

Finally, alcohol is known among young men for facilitating expression of deep feelings that are unwillingly retained within the body. At Haivaro, negative emotions such as anger or jealousy have to be expressed, externalized from the body, lest 'they

cause sickness'. Indeed, the spirits called *wafe*⁹¹ are known for detecting negative feelings within people and seeking revenge by triggering sickness until these feelings have been compensated by the person who caused them. The only way to avoid this is to express negative feelings publicly. By contrast, emotions associated with privacy – love, desire, apprehension – are never expressed in public, as they are considered a source of shame. When in love, people make no public declaration. Indeed, they are unlikely to overtly express love even to the object of their affections, preferring to reveal that love through private gifts. When anxious before engaging in sexual intercourse for the first time, they try to obtain the needed information secretly, they never ask explicitly. They may ask someone they trust, hoping that this person will keep the conversation secret. Emotions provoked by young men's ambiguous feelings generated by the modern context, especially those associated with gender relations, are thus definitely not publicly expressible, mainly because they are connected with sexual desire. For Haivaro Fasū, as noted earlier, sexuality needs to be oriented toward both biological and social reproduction. Impulsive, instinctive sexual desire is considered a threat, as it could potentially be oriented toward prohibited partners. For young men therefore, secretly ingesting alcohol together until drunk is both a way of connecting with other young men known to share the same socially inexpressible emotions associated with sexual desire, and a way of creating a specific space in which they feel safe enough to express those emotions without being judged. From that point of view, enrolling a young boy in these practices can be seen as a way of reassuring him, by allowing him to realize that he is not alone in grappling with these emotions. Haivaro young men sometimes suggested that it was probably easier for their parent's generation to deal with sexuality. They said that there was no pressure on men at that time; women were docile and unexperienced at the time of marriage, so men did not have to be accomplished 'performers' in the way that is now expected of young men. Convinced that what they experience within the modern world is incommensurable with what they think was experienced by their parent's generation, young men in Haivaro have found a way to create and manage their own 'being in the world' by redefining masculinity in the light of the new gender relations they experience in the modern context.

⁹¹ A spirit mentioned in Chapter 3 that will be described in detail in Chapter 5.

This interpretation is supported by another practice which is now widespread among young men in Haivaro, namely that of circumcision. The increasing number of male circumcisions in PNG has been analysed and partly connected to HIV prevention (MacLaren *et al.* 2013). To my knowledge, this practice has no traditional foundations among Fasu people, and connections with HIV have never been mentioned to me as a reason for the emergence of that practice in Haivaro. A young man agreed to narrate his experience to me. I will not transcribe his account in these pages, but I have been given permission to describe the main features of this practice. Generally, therefore, a group of virgin boys who have already endured the practices described above decide they are ready for circumcision. They go in search of an appropriate 'practitioner', who has to be external to the community so that the events can be kept secret, and at sufficient social distance that they will not feel too embarrassed to exhibit their nudity. Everything unfolds in the forest, generally beside a river, where chickens are first killed and cooked, together with sago, greens and store-bought foods. Then the boys are circumcised one after the other, some of them perhaps fainting. When all have been cut, they bathe for a long time in the river, and apply leaves to clean the blood and soothe the pain. Afterwards, they share the previously prepared food and make a small payment to the practitioner. Then they wait for the night before returning home discreetly. Their wounds take several weeks to heal. Ideally, according to my informant, it is only after having been circumcised that boys start having sexual intercourse.

When talking about this practice, young men strongly emphasized the extreme pain endured, and their embarrassment in exhibiting their nudity in front of each other. The capacity of 'suffering together', and in secret, to generate intimate relationships between participants has been analysed in different parts of the world (Houseman 2008). Young Haivaro men who were circumcised together referred to each other as brothers, whatever the kinship relations that formally linked them. The group thus constituted became a relational space within which it was possible to discuss further experiences and questions related to sexuality, topics that are extremely rarely discussed in other social contexts. The intimate association between the practice of circumcision and the realm of sexuality is reinforced by what young men acknowledge as its purpose: an increase in sexual endurance and performance. The causal link

presented derives from what could be labelled a modern myth, according to which all white men are reputed to be both circumcised and able to have sexual intercourse for hours, thus 'fully satisfying' their partners. Circumcision is performed, therefore, in order to facilitate connection with the feminine world which, as noted earlier, is thought to require that men be sexually competent. The contrast with former male initiations is obvious. Indeed, the flow of blood during initiations was intended to drain away blood that had been weakened by proximity with women, thus creating 'real men' separated from the feminine world. Other rituals were then performed to socialize sexuality – to orient impulsive sexual desire toward reproduction with an appropriate partner. In the modern context, young men feel separated from some women – urban girls – due to the latter's potentially greater sexual experience, and circumcision is performed to help bridge the gap. Less emphasis is put on the social consequences of sexuality, as young men rarely marry the urban girls with whom they have casual sexual intercourse.

The 'modern myth' concerning the hyper-sexuality of white people can be put in perspective by reference to a myth known as *Hinamo Tipurea Base* ('The advice of the woman from *Tipurea*'). This myth formerly was narrated to newly married couples before they first had sexual intercourse. The myth is as follows:

A long time ago, a boy and a girl were living on the mountain called *Tipurea*⁹². The boy didn't think to have sexual intercourse with the girl, and neither did she. Their genital organs were not perforated. Consequently, they didn't urinate. Every morning, their bellies were inflated, so they climbed to the top of a *ponotamo* tree (wild betel nut tree) and they appeased their bladder in this way⁹³. The girl used to climb first and the boy often hid himself to spy on her.

One morning, the boy hid a sharp thorn in the tree's trunk and hid to watch. The girl came, climbed up the tree, and when she let herself slide down the trunk the thorn burst her vagina. Blood flowed out and, sitting at the foot of the tree, she saw the forest animals come and start to lick the blood. An eel (*poka furuku*, *Anguilla interioris*) slipped into her vagina to clean the blood. When it came back

⁹² The actual Mount Iagifu

⁹³ The narrators of this story were unable to explain the process by which urine disappeared in this way.

out, a small fishbone was caught inside and that's why all the women have menstruations now.

Angry at the boy, the girl sought revenge by hiding a sharp thorn in the trunk of the tree. The boy climbed up the tree, and when he let himself slide down the trunk the thorn burst his penis and blood flowed out. Every white bird of the forest, every tree with white sap, and all the kina shells came to clean the boy's blood.

Life resumed its course, and later both of them started to think of the time when they were climbing the tree. They thought about how pleasant it was to do that. They suddenly had the idea to have sexual intercourse. They did it and they found it very enjoyable. After some intercourses, the girl became pregnant and she delivered a leaf. The boy told her to throw it down at the foot of a tree. The girl did so. After some days, they saw that the leaf had grown up and become a plant. They took a leaf and applied it to their skin, which started to warm up. They called this plant *iniki* (*Urticaceae*, *Laportea decumana*).

A bit later, the girl became pregnant again and delivered a bird called *paye* (*Psittacidae*, *Cracticus cassicus*: hooded butcherbird; considered to be the first brother of the *Namo Aporo*). The boy told the girl to place the bird in a *potono*⁹⁴. She did so. The nestling grew up and flew away. But since this day, all the *Namo Aporo* can hear his song every morning of the dry season. He says: "Men, don't have sexual intercourse with women too soon. You have to wait till your penis grows up and the women's vagina becomes strong enough. Old men, when you hear my song for the first time, you have to grab a wooden stick to hit boys and girls. In this way, the bad blood will flow out and be replaced by new blood, strong, pure and not spoiled by inappropriate thoughts".

A bit later, the girl became pregnant again and delivered a fruit of the *see*⁹⁵ tree. Seeing that the fruit was comparable to the glans penis, the boy asked the girl to throw it away on the mountain side.

Then the girl became pregnant again and delivered another fruit, which looked like a vulva. The boy told her to throw it away too.

⁹⁴ *Polypodiaceae*, epiphytic fern.

⁹⁵ Unidentified.

Then the girl became pregnant again and delivered a human baby. Unfortunately, he was recovered by an abundant growth of hair. The father took him by the arm and threw him to the west, where he became the first ancestor of Konomo people.

Eventually, the girl delivered a real human baby. They looked after him and he became the first ancestor of all the *Namo Aporo*.

(Narrative: Robert Bosoraroe, Mark Samoko. Translation: Ruben Hoari. Haivaro village)

This myth insists on the need for men and women to develop a properly socialized sexuality oriented toward the reproduction of society. In contrast, the modern myth used to warrant circumcision valorises a sexuality oriented toward the physical pleasure of both partners, with no concern for the social constraint of marriage or for the reproduction of society through conceiving legitimate children. The new practice of circumcision thus betrays a revaluation, among young males, of the place accorded in men's lives to both 'reproductive-sexuality' and 'desiring-sexuality' (see Godelier 2007).

In male initiations of the past, the asocial desiring-sexuality inherent in humans was channelled and turned into a socialized reproductive-sexuality that was able to reproduce 'true men' who conformed to social norms. By contrast, the new practice of circumcision, in its aims, presupposes an idealisation – even an exaltation – of desiring-sexuality, which is optimized to the detriment of reproductive-sexuality. The latter now appears, at best, as an incidental, though not necessarily unwelcome, outcome of the former. This shift is not without consequences for gender relations. In the past, male initiations represented women as mainly threatening and subversive beings, who had to be socially dominated to become appropriate reproductive subjects. By contrast, the new practices represent women as both threatening in that they challenge men's masculinity and attractive, desirable subjects that have to be seduced. Interestingly, traditional preferential marriage with MBD assumes that the ideal partner is an already-related Fasu woman, while the exaltation of desiring-sexuality postulates that the ideal partner will be exogenous. Indeed, urban women are perceived as more willing to express a desiring-sexuality requiring no further commitments, while the

diversification of sexual practices that supposedly increase the pleasure associated with sexual activity are deemed to be the prerogative of Asian and White women. These women therefore become the primary objects of male fantasies.

To assert that desiring-sexuality is exalted to the detriment of reproductive-sexuality among the younger generation at Haivaro does not adequately reflect the relationship between, and the respective roles accorded to, these two forms of sexuality. Indeed, it would be more accurate to say that young Haivaro men consider these two aspects of sexuality not as mutually exclusive but as successive phases. The process of getting married clearly entails, for them, a progressive detachment from desiring-sexuality in favour of reproductive sexuality. Several recently married men and women, in discussion with me, emphasised that desiring-sexuality had been part of their steps towards marriage, women even confessing to having attracting their partner by promising some sexual audacity, formulated as 'I will do the things white women do'. The transformation – and often the decrease – of desire through subsequent years, when it may become a basis for conjugal disputes, is then often interpreted by males as evidence that the wife had used potions and spells to make them 'fall in love', the effects of which dissipated through time.

The new rites of transition performed by young Haivaro men thus seem to represent a way to manage ambiguities emerging from the modern context. The place accorded to both desiring and reproductive sexualities is renegotiated. While the former is subject to a kind of exaltation, the pressure to perform that this puts on young men, as well as its potential association with magical practices, may also make this desire relatively terrifying. By 'ingesting modernity' – challenging, controlling and transforming their bodies in the process – young men attempt both to tame the violent emotions triggered by the modern context, and to connect more deeply with both modern and feminine worlds. This represents an important shift compared to former male initiations, which were aimed at connecting people to place while disconnecting them from the feminine world. Young males try to 'incorporate' the challenges they face regarding gender relations. But men are not alone in confronting new challenges and having to negotiate new tensions around gender relations. Women also find themselves in an ambiguous position vis-à-vis shifts in this domain. Like men, it is

through their bodies that women attempt to manage these ambiguities.

Altering female skin

One of the first things I noticed, when I arrived at Haivaro in 2013, was that young women display many tattoos while older women had few or none. Tattooing is well developed throughout Melanesia (Thomas *et al.* 2005). In Papua New Guinea, both prevalence and motifs vary greatly between even neighbouring groups. Barton (1918) noticed that tattooing was more developed among coastal tribes than among populations of the interior land, and that the practice was more common among women than among men. Also, among tattooed people, a continuum is observable from discrete tattoos on limited body surfaces to elaborate patterns that cover the entire body (Barker & Tletjen 1990). Shifts in the significance of particular patterns through time have also been reported (Barker & Tletjen 1990). While patterns have changed among Haivaro Fasu, what caught my eyes was the extension of the practice to different body parts.

In Haivaro, facial tattooing of women seems to be a relatively ancient practice; certainly, elder women all displayed facial tattoos and affirmed that their mothers had also done so. The absence of such tattoos among pre-pubescent girls suggests a link between this practice and the advent of puberty. Discretely underlining the natural lines of faces, facial patterns are not numerous and are mainly composed of straight or curved lines, dots and circles, that are said to represent elements from the 'natural' environment, animals, trees and plants. As Barton (1918) observed among coastal tribes, only a few patterns are named (bird's foot, eel, coconut palm frond, stick, flower and sun) and women seemed caught off guard when asked why they chose one pattern rather than another. Names seem to acknowledge morphological similarity between the pattern and an element of the natural environment, but the symbolic relation between patterns and the elements from which they derive seems to stop there. The choice of one pattern rather than another may well primarily be based on

an aesthetic judgement, but it also often proceeds from mimicry of designs borne by others. This implicitly makes it the symbol of a particular relationship. Indeed, facial patterns are often – if not always – a copy of a pattern already displayed by the tattooist herself. Among the 14 patterns recorded in Haivaro for which detailed information are available, nine were applied by the sister (*aiya*) of the tattooed girl, two by her maternal uncle's wife (*ainu*), two by the father's sister (*atawi*), and one by her mother (*hyā*). Facial tattoos on females, therefore, mainly emphasize and express relations with women from both maternal and paternal lineages, and are only applied by very close female relatives.

In Haivaro, *aiya*, *ainu*, *atawi* and *hyā* constitute the primary feminine cocoon. Indeed, during her childhood, a girl is frequently entrusted to the good care of *ainu* and sometimes *atawi* when *hyā* is temporarily unavailable and when she, in turn, becomes a mother she regularly entrusts her own children to these women as well as to her *aiya*. This group constitutes the primary circle of feminine socialization and, throughout her life, a woman will preferentially discuss her state of mind and daily worries with these kin. Facial tattoos represent and express relations of solidarity and support within the exclusively feminine side of kinship and alliance. It can thus be said that a certain form of femininity is transmitted through the practice of facial tattooing and, under this argument, it is unsurprising that tattoos are applied after the advent of menstruation.

Indeed, tattooing a face works to transform an undifferentiated child (*hokosa*, a term used to refer to a child of either sex) into a young, sexually socialized and, therefore, potentially reproductive woman (*masira*). The pain endured during tattooing seems to be significant, as women strongly emphasized the suffering entailed in facial tattooing compared to body tattoos, as well as the subsequent and abundant bleeding. Barker and Tletjen (1990: 25) interpreted that practice among Maisin people as a way of 'test[ing the girl's] "strength" (*wenna*) as they approach the rigours of child-bearing and women's labour'. Haivaro women, too, in the way they discuss the tattooing experience, seem to valorise the capacity to endure physical suffering, a quality which is often mentioned as a *sine qua non* condition of getting married and being a 'good wife', of being reliable and hard-working. This

interpretation would make facial tattoos a public announcement of a girl's availability for marriage and biological reproduction, just as female initiations did in the past. It seems, therefore, that facial tattoos are a way of creating and expressing close female ties while announcing publicly the advent of puberty.

Tattoos on parts of the body other than the face serve rather different purposes, for Haivaro women, than facial tattoos. They often adorn parts of the body that can be concealed and unveiled to suit different circumstances. Tattoos on body parts other than face do not occur on the oldest women at Haivaro and are relatively few in number among women aged between 30 and 40. They are much more numerous among the younger generation. These tattoos mainly take the form of drawings and small lines of text along arms and legs or around the abdomen. They extend, therefore, not only to body parts that can be considered public (calves and arms), but also to those usually covered by clothes and mostly unveiled only in the circumstances of conjugal intimacy (thighs and abdomen), which can thus be considered private. The messages conveyed thus seem to be aimed, depending on their location, at a specific audience.

Interestingly, this distinction between public and private is also reflected in the choice of patterns. Lines of text tend to adorn public parts while drawings are restricted to the more intimate parts of the body. Words are exclusively written in Tok Pisin or in English, rather than in *Namo me*. At Haivaro, Tok Pisin and English are primarily used as a distinctive feature by the young generation, so that lines of text are presumably addressed to a relatively young audience. They are also addressed to an audience broader than the local community, as English and Tok Pisin constitute the languages used and understood throughout the country, and especially in urban areas. Body tattoos thus tend to be oriented toward the outside and the modern, an interpretation reinforced by the fact that, unlike facial tattoos, they are mainly applied by tattooists who are located outside the circle defined by kinship and alliance, often women from urban areas encountered while travelling.

One of the most common written tattoos is the abbreviation 'HBK'. HBK stands for Haivaro Bush Kanaka, which may be roughly translated as 'Primitive from the bush

at Haivaro'. Usually, HBK is tattooed on a hand or forearm, but one woman has it on her upper thigh. The reference to 'kanaka' is usually pejorative but, as explained in Chapter 1, the term can also be a source of pride when it refers to a condition that has been overcome. Interestingly, it is mainly displayed by the few women who, at one time or another in their lives, have remained for long periods in urban areas, either to attend school or to follow their husband. This tattoo thus distinguishes, in the village, women who have travelled in urban areas from those who did not. Concomitantly, in urban areas, the tattoo would have functioned as a marker of identity, both geographical and social, distinguishing a Haivaro woman in the multi-ethnic crowd gathered in urban centres. My sense, however, was that 'HBK' expressed self-identification more than identification by others. When asked about that tattoo, most women answered that it represents who they are and where they are from, not as a single person, but as a community, adding that people are free to despise them because they come from a non-modern area, but that they don't care because this is their place, the place of their ancestors, and as a consequence they have no other choice than to assume that identity. The 'HBK' tattoo, therefore, appears ambiguous, an attempt to reconcile the contradictory feelings of shame and pride that seem to emerge from Fasu's encompassment within a wider world.

In the specific case of the woman with a 'HBK' tattoo on her upper thigh, where supposedly only her husband would see it⁹⁶, does not contradict this interpretation. Her husband was formerly one of the logging company's workers, who decided to stay in Haivaro after the end of his contract, rather than return to his original village. According to her testimony, she applied that tattoo soon after her marriage, at a time when the abbreviation 'HBK' was associated in people's mind (and specifically the minds of timber workers) with the riches that Haivaro residents were receiving in royalty payments, riches that were particularly attractive to outsiders. Maybe she inscribed 'HBK' on her upper thigh to remind her husband of a few more good reasons to stay with her. Indeed, it was thanks to the money she lent him that he was able to start his own trade store in the village – the only store, by the way, that still functions well after more than 15 years – and thus generates the profits that allow him to

⁹⁶ When bathing together, women usually wear Bermuda shorts that cover their thighs.

regularly travel to Mount Hagen. In general, then, the ambiguity that emanates from the 'HBK' tattoo is due to both the specificity of Haivaro people being simultaneously 'modern' and '*bush kanaka*', and the evolution over time of the meanings that this term can convey. All tattoos, of course, being indelible and therefore carried through life, exist within contexts that are subject to change over time, thus allowing people to attribute successive meanings to their tattoos.

Another widespread written pattern is '*Kekene Tasol*'. This phrase is a mix of Motu (*kekene* meaning 'girl') and Tok Pisin (*tasol* meaning 'only' or 'simply'). The use of Motu, which is mainly spoken in Port Moresby and the surrounding area, betrays a desire to be connected, in the imagination at least, to this centre of urban and 'modern' life, while the tattoo's location on 'public' parts of the body suggests a wish to be recognized as so connected. The equivocality of this tattoo comes from its construction as an oxymoron. Indeed, *kekene* means 'girl' and refers to the specific category of *masira*, a pubescent girl available for marriage. This is a category particularly valued by men and women in Haivaro, considered the beginning of a woman's 'real life', and often described by women as the period where all is possible and all is promised. This view is predominant in the discourse of girls, reflecting the idea – the illusion – that they are free to make their own choices, particularly in relation to marriage. By contrast, *tasol* here refers to restriction, and in some extent diminishes the value accorded to the category *kekene*. Understanding this oxymoron requires us to acknowledge the specific state of mind that characterizes girls in that category.

A girl is a *masira* from the time of her first menstruation to her marriage, which ideally corresponds to her first sexual experience. This period is characterized by a feeling of freedom, the impression of being able to make their own choices, a freedom they know will end with marriage. Thus, for example, soon after the wedding of a girl with whom I used to wander and talk a lot, many people came to comfort me, telling me that she would no longer be able to wander with me as freely as she previously did. At the same time, however, it is not uncommon that girls are a little scared during that liminal period. Indeed, they are all afraid of marrying the wrong man – however wrong might be defined – without the ability to reverse that decision. Virgin girls also fear

their first conjugal encounter, even if they are intrigued by the thought of it and sometimes impatient to experience it. Being a *masira* is also the period when girls dread being rejecting by the man of their choice (their 'true true love'), or seeing their love story ended by their parents' veto. Thus, this period of time is marked by many contradictions for girls, concerning both what they feel and what they wish. In this context, the oxymoron *kekene tasol* appears to express that confusion.

A third tattoo – one that is very common – displayed on the public parts of the body comprises the initials or the full name of the girl's father. Usually, girls use the name of their father as their surname. Later, when they marry, they use their husband's name as their surname. According to the women who displayed this pattern, their tattoo had been drawn before their marriage. They justify it as a way of remembering their father wherever they are, lest they forget their family when they are away. Amid tattoos preferentially oriented toward the elsewhere and the modern, this therefore appears as a solid mooring, associated with the patri-filiation that structures Fasu sociality, and providing an anchor when navigating the wider world. Again, the skin is used to incorporate ambiguities arising from women's encounter with modernity, and more accurately to build a bridge between two worlds that appear opposed in many ways. In this sense, tattoos displayed on public body parts resonate with what I described as new transition rites among young men, and can be considered attempts to 'tame' modernity.

Tattoos self-applied on private body parts, in contrast, seem to specifically address gender relations, and more accurately conjugal relations, as they are supposed to be seen only by the husband. But some are also addressed to potential pre-marital partners, to whom they are furtively and voluntarily shown. As already said, these tattoos usually consist of drawings, though one very specific text does occasionally appear, as will be discussed below. Two very common patterns are a heart pierced by an arrow and a hibiscus flower. The symbolism conveyed by the arrowed heart is linked to feelings of love, even if the original reference to Cupid is unknown, while the hibiscus flower, unlike the flowers displayed on faces, has a particular local meaning. Indeed, a well-known story stipulates that a woman is able to provide information about her marital status depending on where she displays that flower in her hair. A

hibiscus flower worn in the centre of the hair, for example, means that a woman is available for marriage, while one worn above the ear indicates a heart already enamoured but whose destiny is not yet sealed by marriage. The main codes conveyed by this flower are collectively known, but any young man and woman are free to develop their own codes according to specific licit or illicit desires. However, it is extremely rare that women display that flower in their hair at Haivaro, except as a provocative joke, because it would immediately attract public attention to relatively private issues. Although never explicitly formulated in this way by my informants, it is likely that a hibiscus flower tattooed on body parts that can be furtively and almost imperceptibly revealed to glances (shoulder, internal forearms, hollow of the knee) serves to express something linked to the marital or sexual availability of a woman, directed at a specific man of her choice.

In its peculiarity of being able to be alternately hidden or shown, such a tattoo expresses more than just availability: rather, it expresses desire, a message that is immediately understood by the one to whom it is shown. Indeed, interviews conducted with recently married men about pre-marital interactions with the woman who became their wife frequently mention not only the multiple gifts they offered to pursue their suit, but also the day that the girl revealed her tattoos – an act that was immediately interpreted as an invitation for more intimate relations. During this kind of exhibition, young men say, it is as much the message that is conveyed by the tattoo as the unveiling of private body parts that attest to the young woman's intentions. These tattoos are also often perceived by young men to be associated with modernity or, more accurately, with specific sexual practices associated with modern white people. I have previously discussed (p. 170) the imaginary linked with white people's sexuality among young men, and the strong attraction it exerts over them. As a young man once put it: 'When I saw these tattoos, I was really happy because I thought she would do everything that white people do. And this is what she said to me later in order to seduce me'. Tattoos on private body parts are thus used by women as aids to seduction.

That young women actively seduce men suggests that they too are caught up in and aware of the shift, previously described among young men, from an emphasis on

reproductive-sexuality to a stronger emphasis on desiring-sexuality. The specific tattoos described above can be interpreted as a response to this shift, and even as an attempt to retain men who increasingly are attracted by external and distant women. Within that context, the only textual tattoo applied on private body parts – saying ‘I love you’ – appears particularly significant. Carried by almost all young women, this text appears almost exclusively on ‘private’ parts of the body, namely abdomen and upper thighs, where only a husband or a sexual partner should be able to read it. The easy conclusion that this is a declaration of love from a wife to her husband ignores the particular universe in which references to the feeling of love take place for Haivaro people. Indeed, as argued in Chapter 3, elders perceive this feeling to be innate and uncontrollable, in this sense directly or indirectly associated with desiring-sexuality and, hence, threatening the reproduction of society. By contrast, young people exalt this feeling, seeking a marriage based on it, sometimes to the detriment of social prescriptions. In their fantasies of the wider world, White people are seen as free to follow that feeling in their marital choices: free to marry whomever they want. From that perspective, a tattoo saying ‘I love you’, while certainly having a romantic connotation, first of all expresses a desire to escape from the yoke of social constraints that underpin matrimonial prescriptions and, more generally, a form of rebellion against the established order that is represented by elders who publicly condemn that emotion.

It is important to note that the women with ‘I love you’ tattoos had all applied these before their marriage, and none was virgin at the time of her wedding. Rather than being a message to their husband, therefore, it seems that it is primarily a message addressed to potential lovers; it affirms, in response to imagined male demands, that the bearer’s sexuality is comparable to that which white people are thought to perform. This interpretation is supported by the fact that most men questioned reported being unhappy with their wives’ body tattoos, saying that ‘women damage their beautiful skin’. Rather than this being an aesthetic reproach, my sense is that these tattoos make men particularly uncomfortable when displayed by their wife, because they are particularly associated with pre-marital sexuality. Facial tattoos, by contrast, are never subject to such a criticism. When marrying distant

women who are not perceived as appropriate spouses by their parents, young men often put forth 'love' to justify their wish. Thus, women tattooing 'I love you' onto their bodies can be interpreted as a feminine attempt to be part of this new universe which seems to attract their men so much, a way of affirming to Haivaro men that they could also find 'at home' what they try to find so far away.

Concluding comments

The first section of this chapter underlined the role played by the body in alternatively reflecting and influencing social relations among Haivaro Fasu. The body represents a communication interface through which people converse, with each other but also with the invisible world.

The major changes observed within the field of gender relations, and more specifically concerning the making of masculinity and femininity, are reflected in similar transformations of both male and female bodies. Bodies are used to 'tame' changes that are not necessarily decided, but also to trace new connections with the wider and modern world.

As highlighted in this chapter, body alterations observed among males, and particularly young men, reveal the contradictory feelings they experience when facing a new gendered order. Attracted by new forms of gender relations that fascinate them, they experience the contradiction of sometimes feeling rejected and sometimes feeling inadequate. To compensate, they alter their bodies in ways that are intended to fit with these new forms of gender relations. In doing so, they redefine their own masculinity.

In parallel, body alterations realised by females, and particularly young women, denote the contradictions they themselves face in apprehending and defining new forms of femininity and gender relations. On some level, these alterations respond to the contradictions expressed by their male counterparts.

Recent shifts in gender relations among Haivaro Fasu confront people with ambiguities they sometimes struggle to resolve. Everyone tries in his or her own way to find his or her place within this emotionally charged and confusing relational universe.

In the four first chapters of this thesis, I have focused on processes through which certain forms of relations, and their associated categories of beings, are produced. I have underlined how Haivaro Fasu understand relations as being, in one way or another, mutually constitutive. Throughout these chapters, the ability of specific forms of relations to differentiate categories of beings has remained implicit. In the fourth chapter, I have completed this analysis by focusing on how this differentiating process may operate in the specific field of gender relations, thus underlining the broader capacity of social relations in general to simultaneously construct 'sameness' and 'otherness'.

The fifth and last chapter develops this idea at a different, more far-reaching level, by analysing how Haivaro Fasu have constructed their own category of 'otherness' through contrasting it with how they first perceive and describe themselves. As will be shown, their progressive encompassment within a wider world has confronted these people with more distant 'others'. In the process, their way of defining themselves has changed, and so has their way of defining 'others'.

BEING AN OTHER

Alterity among Haivaro Fasu

Introduction

In earlier chapters that explored fatherhood, brotherhood, conjugality and gender relations, I focused primarily on ways in which people at Haivaro identify or are identified as father, brother, spouse, male or female. I emphasized the role played by relations to land, shared substances and performance in the construction of the various identities that may define and connect human and non-human beings. Missing from those chapters, however, was a consideration of alterity, of being an 'other' from the perspective of Haivaro Fasu.

The concepts of 'Self' and 'Other' have received a great deal of attention in anthropological literature. There has been much emphasis on ways in which anthropologists may construct 'Others' as an object of analysis and the theoretical presuppositions that such construction may imply (Levi-Strauss 1962; Myers 2006; Tremlett 2003; Viveiros De Castro 2004, 2009). However, with few exceptions, little has been written about ways in which the 'Others' studied by anthropologists may themselves define 'Others' (Stasch 2009).

As shown throughout this thesis, a salient feature of Haivaro people's identity appears to be reciprocity, whether *balanced* or *generalized*. Being able to create and maintain reciprocal relations is the main way by which people at Haivaro become social subjects and relate to each other and to many non-human beings. An implication of this observation is that the inability or unwillingness to enter into a reciprocal relationship might constitute the basis from which people define 'otherness'. Narotzky and Moreno (2002: 281) stated that 'reciprocity is based on a shared morality in its positive form and on the break, transformation or suspension of the moral order in its negative form'. I show in this chapter that the ways in which people at Haivaro define and understand 'otherness' can be interpreted as a form of *negative reciprocity*.

Again, as shown throughout this thesis, the ways in which people at Haivaro construct their identity have been challenged in the modern context with the outcome that former constructions are subject to constant renegotiations. It may be expected, therefore, that constructions of 'otherness' have been subject to similar adjustments.

In this chapter, I begin by demonstrating that the ability to create and maintain reciprocal relations is a key component of identity for Haivaro Fasu. I argue that within the frame of such relations, people at Haivaro distinguish 'degrees' with respect to the ability to reciprocate, and that they 'categorize' beings accordingly. The ability to reciprocate is embodied by an animating principle termed the *hó*, which people understand to be constitutive of the 'self'.

Then, by exploring the historical relations between Haivaro Fasu and their Kasua neighbours living to their west, I show, on the one hand, that the extent to which reciprocal relations are developed may vary over time and in different contexts and, on the other, that an intensification of reciprocal relations has been interpreted by Haivaro Fasu as evidence that their Kasua neighbours possessed a *hó*-like principle, termed *hon* by Kasua people, that was not unlike *hó*. In the modern context, reciprocal relations with Kasua people have been subject to renegotiation. Visits between the two groups are becoming less frequent and the rate of intermarriages is decreasing. This reveals a progressive detachment between the two groups. This detachment is reflected in Haivaro people's sense that the Kasua *hon* is becoming more and more weak – less and less like their *hó* – and so is becoming more easily subject to attacks from spirits.

In a final section of the chapter, I highlight Haivaro Fasu understandings of 'otherness' by first analysing their historical relations with a group of people, whom they call *Konomo*, living in the current village of Kamusi in Western Province. In the past, Konomo people were considered as the 'ultimate Other', as those who should be eradicated and constantly raided, and who were feared for the raids they in turn led against *Namo Aporo* people. Since the relatively recent advent of both petroleum and logging companies on the land of Haivaro people, 'owning' the land has become more salient than 'caring for' the land in defining people's identity. Because the lands of

both Konomo and Haivaro Fasu are now exploited by the same logging company, they do have this feature in common and, as a result, Konomo people have progressively become perceived as less 'Other'. As the definition of identity has changed, so too have the boundaries of alterity.

This shift has been reinforced by the increasing interactions between Haivaro residents and the logging company established on their land. People at Haivaro consider these interactions not reciprocal. It is with these people, therefore, that forms of *negative reciprocity* now unfold. In this context, to Haivaro people, the Asian managers of locally-based logging companies now represent the ultimate form of alterity.

Having a *hó*: the ability to reciprocate

The significance and importance of reciprocal relations in shaping sociality in Melanesia have been of interest to anthropologists for many decades (Gilberthorpe 2004; Godelier 1996; Malinowski 1922; Sahlins 1965, 1972; Weiner, A. 1992). At Haivaro, reciprocal relations are understood in both their quantitative and qualitative aspects: reciprocal interactions could be more or less frequent, and the content of reciprocal relations could be accorded more or less value. In this sense, reciprocity could be 'achieved' to a greater or lesser extent and, in some contexts, it may be inverted into a relation of mutual 'taking' rather than giving. This formulation resonates with the distinction Sahlins (1965, 1972) made between *balanced*, *generalized* and *negative reciprocity*. People at Haivaro do distinguish different spheres of reciprocity. As explained in earlier chapters, those with whom they develop *balanced reciprocity* are spouses; those with whom they develop *generalized reciprocity* are brothers. Although briefly mentioned in the current section, specific cases of *balanced* and *negative reciprocity* will be discussed in further sections of this chapter. In this section, the focus will be on *generalized reciprocity*.

For reasons explained in Chapter 2, *generalized reciprocity* seems to be more likely extensible to a wider set of beings than other forms of relations. Within the frame of *generalized reciprocity*, people at Haivaro distinguish ‘degrees’ of reciprocation and ‘categorize’ beings by reference to their greater or lesser ability to reciprocate. As will be demonstrated, this ability is embodied by an animating principle termed *hó* that, in people’s understandings, defines the ‘social subject’.

At Haivaro, sociality between humans is strongly shaped by reciprocal relations. From birth and throughout childhood, children benefit from the care of their parents and are progressively integrated into reciprocal relations (see Chapter 1). Indeed, according to Fasu procreative theory, children come to life ‘provided’ with a *hó*, an immaterial double said to ‘animate’ the body. People at Haivaro were uncertain about the origin of the *hó*, merely stating that it was ‘created’ or ‘just there’ at the time of conception. The *hó* may be perceived as a shadow, echo or reflection. It has the ability to leave the body during sleep and to wander in either the visible or the invisible world. At the time of death, the *hó* leaves the body to become a *yakasa hó* (‘ancestor’s spirit’) that may manifest as game animals, and direct these to hunters. At the time of birth, the *hó* is considered to be a potentiality rather than an achieved principle. It is through human labour and care that the *hó* takes form and consistency, turning people into social subjects – persons. The progressive character of the constitution of the *hó* is first apparent in the rule guiding the attribution of a name among Haivaro Fasu.

At Haivaro, every human has at least two names, one termed the ‘skin name’ and the other termed the ‘bone name’. Soon after birth, a child is given a ‘skin name’ by his mother. This is considered a temporary name. At about the age of three, when the child starts to detach itself from its mother and begins to walk and speak, and to wander around the house and interact with other people, the father gives him his ‘real name’, the ‘bone name’. I was told that from birth until the age of about three years, a child’s *hó* was not definitely fixed to the child’s bones. It could be stolen by a ‘bad spirit’, which would render the child sick and lead to its death. My informants further explained that it is only when the child started to walk and speak and to interact with other people that the father would know that the child’s *hó* was firmly fixed to the bones and, hence, that the child should now be less subject to premature death. The

name given to the child at this time, acknowledging his social presence, is attributed by the father because the bones, to which the *hó* becomes fixed, have themselves been created by the father's semen (see p 82-83). The process guiding the attribution of names thus emphasizes the *hó* as an inner property, given *a priori*, but revealed – or strengthened – through the ability to interact.

During the early years of childhood, parents encourage their children to interact with others and, through the course of these interactions, the fundamentals of reciprocity are inculcated. An illustration is informative. Near the fireplace of a household, a mother breast-feeds her last born child, while her other young children talk and play around her. The breast-feeding is going well, when the mother suddenly removes her breast from the baby's mouth and stares strongly at him. The baby is frustrated and starts to cry. The mother looks satisfied and, after a few minutes, cuddles her child, apologizes to it, and resumes breast-feeding. I observed many variant of this behaviour at several different households. It took me quite a long time to understand what was in play. The interaction may be interpreted as follows: the mother intentionally creates frustration in her child; by staring at him, she emphasizes her intentionality, thus encouraging the baby to 'express' his discontentment; when appropriately expressed, she apologizes to appease the negative emotion, and compensates by cuddling him and resuming the breast-feeding. To some extent, the scene displays an elementary version of how reciprocity functions among Haivaro Fasu: food has to be shared or given, and a failure to comply with this obligation has to be expressed and compensated. Through this scenario, the mother starts to inculcate into her child the normative system of reciprocity that builds and shapes sociality among Fasu, and in doing so, she starts shaping the baby's *hó* as the embodiment of such reciprocal sociality. Around the age of three, evidence that the premises of this normative system have been integrated are found in the increased ability of the child to express its discontentment and obtain compensation when 'excluded' as a recipient of reciprocal obligations. At that time, as said earlier, the *hó* is considered to be fixed to the bones and the child is given his 'bone name'.

However, reciprocity implies that an individual is not only a 'recipient' but also a 'provider' in exchange relations. The ability to 'give' is also progressively inculcated to

children. Indeed, throughout their childhood, children are strongly encouraged to share, primarily with their siblings. During my fieldwork, I had many occasions to observe that when a parent gave something to a child, and especially food, the child was immediately incited to share with his brothers and sisters. Refusal to comply with such incentive was always punished, either by withdrawing the gift or by giving siblings more valuable gifts. In doing so, children start to integrate that siblingship is primarily marked, as said in Chapter 2, by *generalized reciprocity*, with siblings sharing whatever they have, whenever they have something. In early childhood, siblings usually 'have' the same: what is given by their parents. But progressively, as and when they begin to learn the specific subsistence tasks associated with their gender (hunting and fishing with spears for men; gardening, processing sago and fishing with hook for females), what they 'have' becomes differentiated: the different products of their respective labour. To some extent, this prefigures the *balanced reciprocity* that will later characterize relations between spouses, but to a much lesser extent as during childhood, such products remain modest and occasional.

Among Etoro people, Kelly (1993: 161) described how self-sufficiency was '*dramatized*' during male initiations so that initiated young men 'return[ed] to society prepared to assume the role of providers toward others'. At Haivaro, the first phase of initiations had a similar purpose but, unlike among Etoro, male and female children were co-initiates during this phase. The purpose of the first phase of former initiations among Haivaro Fasu was thus to construct male and female children as complementary through the sexual division of labour, thus preparing them for the relations of exchange – *balanced reciprocity* – that characterize relations between spouses. Throughout childhood then, the potentiality of the *hó* to embody reciprocal relations is revealed and reinforced through the progressive integration of the principles of *generalized reciprocity*, with the first phase of initiations being – in the past – the completion of such an embodiment by developing the ability to enter relations primarily marked by *balanced reciprocity*.

The ability to establish reciprocal relations is thus developed progressively throughout an individual's life, which is understood by Haivaro people as reflecting a progressive increase in the strength of the *hó*. In this sense, the *hó* itself can be seen as

a product of human labour and care. This interpretation is given further support by the fact that a few non-human beings are also considered to have a *hó*. Indeed, domesticated pigs, cassowaries and dogs also share this particular property with humans. As mentioned in Chapter 1, the association between people – owners and carers – and domestic pigs was relatively intimate in the past and the animals were probably perceived, as in other places in Papua New Guinea, as ‘quasi-people’ rather than ‘quasi-things’ (Jorgensen 1990: 20). A female elder at Haivaro once described relations between people and domesticated pigs as follows:

When I was young married woman, I used to raise pigs. I gave a name to each of them. I remember I called the first one *Saro Piseri*, and the second one was named by my husband *Tariake*. Pigs can understand their name. They can answer to it. I used to carry my piglets with me all the time in my string net. They lived with me inside my house and my children played with them. They used to recognize my skin and my voice and when grown up, they followed me everywhere by themselves. When they became adult, my husband cut their ears following a pattern that was specific to his *aporo ira*, so that people knew it was our pigs. When Peter’s father died, we had to kill one of them for the funerals. I didn’t want to because I took care of him for so long, I shared my food with him. I hoped my pig would escape during the night because he was free to wander around my house. But he didn’t and they killed him. I cried a lot. I didn’t eat him.

(Narrative: Pokapi Samoko. Translation: Ruben Hoari. Haivaro village. March 4, 2014)

This testimony emphasizes the intimate relation between pigs and their carer. Indeed, piglets in this narrative are closely looked after, living and playing in the house much as the woman’s children do.

Domestic pigs thus used to embody humans labour and care and, because they were also considered as being able to enter reciprocal relations, they were considered to have a *hó*. The ability of pigs to reciprocate is already apparent in the above quotation. Indeed, when asked why her pig didn’t escape, the narrator smiled and replied: ‘Well, I took care of him very well. He knew that in exchange he had to help me. That’s why he stayed’. This reply emphasizes the fact that domesticated pigs were

thought to intentionally offer themselves as part of reciprocal relations, an ability embodied by the *hó*.

Although care given to domestic cassowaries and dogs is less intense than that formerly given to pigs, these animals are nevertheless also considered to have a *hó*. By contrast, this is not the case for recently introduced chicken and cats. I asked about the distinction and was told: ‘Chicken and cats are not like dogs, cassowaries and pigs. Even when you raise them, they cannot answer their name, they don’t come when you call them. They don’t share the same food as humans, they prefer finding their food by themselves’. As elsewhere in the region (Dwyer & Minnegal 1992), raising chickens and cats is not considered to entail hard work at Haivaro, as raising pigs, cassowaries and dogs do. Thus, since the *hó* is partly a product of human labour, it is not surprising then that chicken and cats are not considered to have one. In the past, domestic pigs were part of the bride price that is part of reciprocal relations between intermarrying lines and, as the above testimony suggests, pigs intentionally offered themselves for such exchanges. Similarly, cassowaries are either shared between siblings or exchanged between spouses or affines. And, finally, as the owners of dogs often explained: ‘dogs help catching game that you can share or give’. Pigs, cassowaries and dogs are thus integral to the reciprocal relations structuring Fasu sociality. By contrast, the preys caught by cats are useless pests, as Haivaro people do not eat rats or mice. Raised chicken can certainly be slaughtered and shared – just as pigs were in the past – but they do not have the high social value that pigs had, primarily because chickens do not embody human labour in the way that domesticated pigs once did. The ability of pigs, cassowaries and dogs to ‘reciprocate’ is thus interpreted by Haivaro people as evidence that they have a *hó* and, as is the case for humans, this *hó* is constantly strengthened through human labour and care. To some extent, the more dependent a being is on the care and labour of people, the stronger its *hó*; children are more ‘dependent’ than pigs, which are more dependent than cassowaries, which are more dependent than dogs⁹⁷.

⁹⁷ The greater or lesser strength attributed to the *hó* is reflected in the greater or lesser amount of money considered as the value of these beings’ lives. For instance, bride price at Haivaro is around K20,000, which is thus the value placed on a Fasu woman’s life; domesticated pigs, which were formerly

'His hó is not good, he has a hó watikisa⁹⁸'.

Sometimes, it happens that beings having a *hó* do not comply with expected reciprocal obligations. Such cases are interpreted by Haivaro people as evidence that the *hó* of these beings has turned 'bad'. For instance, a domesticated pig escaping to the bush and living as a wild animal is said to have a *hó watikisa*; its escape is interpreted as evidence that its *hó* has turned bad and the animal has escaped to avoid future obligations of reciprocity. A Haivaro resident who avoided sharing his resources (food, goods or money) would be said to have a *hó watikisa*. In this sense, *hó watikisa* can be described as a *hó* that has been altered in such a way that it is unwilling to reciprocate. The causes of such alteration of a *hó* are rarely mentioned (or known?) by Haivaro people. They often merely notice, through a being's non-reciprocal actions, that a *hó* might have turned bad, but it is formulated as a hypothesis rather than an absolute certainty. But the *hó* is also subject to threats other than alteration.

'He will not answer you. He will not act as he should. His hó has been stolen and replaced by a ira turu makata⁹⁹', an elder once warned me.

He explained that when his brother was a baby he had been left, without surveillance, close to a very large tree in the forest. When his mother returned to the village with the boy, she realized he was crying all the time and was unable to establish eye contact with her as he formerly did. As he grew up, he was unable to speak properly and frequently avoided the company of other children. He used to take his meals alone. The mother understood that her child's *hó* had been stolen. I never saw this man, nowadays an adult, taking part in daily social or ceremonial events. He remained alone most of the time. Although he was given food by his brother's wife, such acts were never reciprocated. He did not hunt or have a garden. His family took care of him as if he was a small child. Unlike a small child, however, he was said to behave in a 'strange' and often 'unexpected' manner, so that most people preferred to

used as part of bride price, are now valued at about K1,000; someone killing a domesticated cassowary or a dog would pay K500 on average as compensation. By contrast, no compensation is paid when a cat or a chicken is killed.

⁹⁸ *Hó watikisa*: literally, a bad *hó*.

⁹⁹ *Ira turu makata*: literally, 'things of the top of trees'. This phrase refers to bush spirits known as dwelling at the top of very large trees.

avoid him. People rarely referred to him by using his name or the appropriate kinship term. They sometimes talked about him as a '*hó watikisa*', but then clarified that this was not appropriate, as his *hó* had not been altered but stolen and replaced. To Haivaro people, having the *hó* stolen is equivalent to a social death. Without a *hó* reciprocal relations are not possible. Indeed, almost all interactions are ruled out because the unpredictability of such a person's behaviour frightens others to the point that they prefer avoiding him. Though given *a priori* at the time of conception, the presence of a *hó* has to be confirmed – and to some extent reinforced – through the ability to maintain reciprocal relations through time. Inability to do so is interpreted as an alteration or an absence of *hó*, which can affect humans as well as non-humans.

'If I do not give food when asked, pretending I have no food, the person's hó will come to my house during the night and see my food. This person will get angry and the wafe will attack me'.

At Haivaro, negative emotions triggered by a breach in reciprocity (anger, jealousy or envy) are said to attract a particular kind of spirit called *wafe*. Defining a *wafe* spirit as a fixed entity would be quite a feat as Haivaro people themselves are absolutely taken aback when explicitly asked what it looks like. Indeed, as the testimonies recorded by Gilberthorpe (2004) already revealed among northern Fasu groups, the original physical appearance of the *wafe* spirits, as well as the form of beings in which they were likely to incarnate, were not subject to systematized knowledge. *Wafe* are variously described as 'bad spirits or witches associated with wild pigs', or as 'small men who kidnap people and take them into the bush'. They are sometimes said to 'take the form of a flying fox, bandicoot or rat' or, at other times, to 'turn into someone you know and your mind gets lost'. Finally, this spirit is 'believed to manifest itself in the form of tidal waters, falling trees, snakes and wild pigs' (Giberthorpe, 2004: 156-161). My own investigations among Haivaro people revealed a comparable range of answers, an eclecticism that makes sense if we consider a *wafe* spirit to be less an intrinsic entity than one that is observed only in some contexts and, in those contexts, is brought to existence through its actions. From that perspective, the subjectivity implicit in the catalogue of descriptions derives from the varied experiences people have with these spirits. As Schiefflin (2005) noted about the *Sei*

among Kaluli people, it is ‘not so much a belief (for the Kaluli it is an experience) as a requirement for making cognitive and emotional sense out of a situation so that it can be brought to meaningful closure’. Haivaro people are, therefore, scrupulous in their efforts to maintain reciprocal relations within themselves and with the beings who have a *hó*. Any unexpected injuries are seen as evidences of retaliation from the *wafe*, and lead the victim to ‘review’ his or her behaviour in order to determine what may have constituted a breach in reciprocity, and to present apologies and often small compensation.

At Haivaro, *wafe* spirits are often said to intervene when negative emotions have been triggered. But within the whole set of emotions that can be effectively felt by people during their lives, only those deriving from a breach in reciprocity are said to be regulated by the *wafe* spirit, as the following quotes suggest:

For example, if people know you have some food in your house and you refuse to share with them, they will be angry against you and the *wafe* will make you sick.

(Sakame Honome. Haivaro village. November 11, 2013)

Tabaye¹⁰⁰ was married with a woman from Aiy’o named Kau with whom he had a little girl. One day, Tabaye’s kin killed Kau as they were convinced she had a *hó watikisa* within her body. When they saw that her body was decomposing normally on the *tapura* (funeral platform), they realised they were wrong. Consequently, Kau’s kin were sad and angry and asked for compensation, but Tabaye and his kin were unable to give it. Years passed and carried away with them Tabaye and his kin, so that I became the main living descendant of this lineage. One day, I put a snare in the forest on the path of a cassowary. I waited for a few days and I went to check my trap. On my way, I saw the *Tipopo* bird (unidentified). I heard his song which resembled a human voice. I immediately knew the *wafe* was about to kill me. I went back home totally afraid and a few days later I became sick. I defecated blood and could not sleep. A woman in the

¹⁰⁰ The narrator’s father.

village told me she had dreamed of Kau, and that I had to pay compensation if I wanted to get better. Kau incarnated herself within the *tipopo* bird and then went to my relative's dream to warn me that the *wafe* spirit will kill me. Consequently, I killed and cooked a cassowary, and together with a small amount of money, I gave it to Kau's kin as compensation, and I healed.

(Peter Tabaye. Haivaro village. April 30, 2014)

If people discover that a man had an affair and he didn't confess publicly and give the appropriate compensation to the husband of his mistress, or to her kin if she's not married, then they will be very angry against him and the *wafe* will kill his children'.

(Sakame Honome. Haivaro village. November 11, 2013)

These examples all show that *wafe* intervene when there is a breach in reciprocal relations. By contrast, breaches in other forms of relations (e.g., protection) do not fall within the *wafe*'s field of interest. The next example reinforces this assertion. The context was a meeting called to decide the distribution of money derived from the Annual Benefit Fund (ABF) allocated by the logging company. ABF funds consist of a given amount of money that people at Haivaro share equally between each *aporo ira*. Then, a meeting is held during which people collectively decide how much money each *aporo ira* will give for 'community projects'. The remainder is used to satisfy interests of each *aporo ira*. During one such meeting, my informant's brother-in-law made a suggestion about use of the 'common part' of ABF fund. He was expecting the public support of my informant who, unfortunately, remained silent despite the imploring looks from his brother-in-law. When I suggested that his behaviour may have triggered his brother-in-law's anger and, thereby, opened a bridge to the *wafe* spirit, my informant clarified:

No, this is not how it works with the *wafe*. My brother-in-law is probably disappointed that I didn't support his proposal, and even angry. But I am in no

way obliged to support his decisions with respect to the distribution of money that belongs to everyone. I have to share food with him or to support him in case of conflict with other *aporo ira* for instance, but for decisions concerning money that belongs to everyone, we are free to have our own opinions. So even if he is angry for that, this is not the kind of anger that opens bridges to the *wafe*.

This statement negatively confirms what the previous ones positively illustrated – namely that not all emotions trigger intervention by *wafe*, but only those emerging from a breach in reciprocity. Further evidence that *wafe* intervene only to regulate emotional balance within reciprocal relations is that it is said *wafe* do not intervene where negative emotions have been triggered in the course of negotiations with the managers of the logging company. As will be developed later in this chapter, relations between Haivaro people and the logging company are in no way reciprocal and, as such, are outside the field of interest of the *wafe*. Incidentally, my own position was much more difficult to interpret for my hosts; as I did partly enter reciprocal relations when living among them, but did not do so entirely, they were never sure whether or not I would fall within the *wafe*'s jurisdiction.

'Ebamo nomo kaputa raraporakare? Makata mako hisi hokosapo'

'Who stole my bananas? Bring food to your children yourself'. This part of what I first took to be a lovely song coming from the house of my neighbour proved to be a public expression of anger triggered by a breach in reciprocity. Someone had stolen my neighbour's bananas. It is common knowledge in Haivaro that attacks by *wafe* will become more and more intense until compensation is made, so that their interventions are usually a strong incentive toward this end. However, publicly expressing negative emotions that have been triggered by a breach in reciprocity is a way that people at Haivaro use prior to the intervention of a *wafe*, to warn someone that the anger he or she triggered might result in such attacks and that compensation is needed to avoid such threat. Indeed, as noted above, negative emotions lead the *wafe* to attack the person who triggered these emotions, as well as his or her family, until proper compensation has been made. Reluctant to see other people becoming

sick or die, people in Haivaro thus usually anticipate such a threat by publicly expressing these emotions to elicit compensation before someone suffers.

'I avoid talking to him, he has a wafe!'.

To this point the *wafe* has been depicted as an 'autonomous' spirit, 'attracted' by the negative emotions that are triggered by breaches in reciprocal relations. The above quotation reveals that the *wafe* is also something that a person can 'have'. At Haivaro, people described as 'having *wafe*' are either those considered to be selfish or those considered to be over-jealous, or over-angry. In these cases, their body is said to have been weakened by too much greediness or negative emotions, and has become sufficiently vulnerable that a *wafe* has 'entered' their body, nestled within their stomach and turned their *hó* into a *hó watikisa*. Once the *wafe* has taken up residence in this way, the person becomes unable to reciprocate gifts received. People suspected of 'having *wafe*' at Haivaro are often avoided by others. Sexual intercourse with them is considered threatening because *wafe* can be transmitted from one person to another in this way. Thus, if a married person has *wafe* then, his or her spouse will also be regarded with suspicion.

'I am afraid of him because I think he has a Soro'.

In Chapter 3, I mentioned that during former male initiations novices could, if they wished, participate in a ritual aimed at taming the *wafe*, turning it into a *soro* that would help them achieve individual purposes. Part of the ritual entailed the ingestion of feminine substances (menstrual blood and vaginal secretions) given to the novice by his maternal uncle *aua*. Although *wafe* and *soro* are considered to be distinct entities, it is very difficult for people at Haivaro to explain in detail the differences between them. The distinctive traits they suggested as characterizing *soro*, they then acknowledged to also be the traits used to define *wafe*. One of these traits, however, though apparently common to both, appeared to be expressed in slightly different ways; people would say that 'the *soro* does not kill for nothing', then note that '*wafe* does not kill for nothing either' but add that 'people do not control actions of *wafe*'. *Soro* thus appear as *wafe* that a person can control – a tamed *wafe*. At Haivaro, having *soro* enables someone to achieve individual purposes rather than reciprocal ones.

Accusations of 'having *soro*' could be very serious, leading to the murder of the person concerned. During my fieldwork, I often heard covert remarks hinting that a particular person in the village was suspected of having *soro*. There was never any direct or public accusation, however, perhaps out of fear of reprisals from the said *soro*. This suspicion was deeply linked to the fact that one *aporo ira* received much more money as a result of logging than did others¹⁰¹. This substantial difference raised suspicions that the leader of this *aporo ira* might have manipulated *soro*, either to incapacitate others who were entitled to a share of benefits or to dissuade them from claiming their due. For other residents at Haivaro, his financial superiority was evidence that he did not fulfil reciprocal obligations as he should, instead keeping money for himself¹⁰². While this could have been interpreted as evidence that he had *wafe*, it was said that the financial disparity between *aporo ira* was too large and important to have been done by a 'simple' *wafe*. Only the more powerful *soro* could be the cause. The fact that oil had been found on the land of this man, and not on the land of other *aporo ira*, was also interpreted in this way by some residents: the *soro* of this man could have displaced that oil from the land of other *aporo ira* and concentrated it on this man's land. Although jealousies emerged with respect to this man, people at Haivaro knew that *wafe* could not resolve the situation because their interventions would have been thwarted by the *soro* of this man.

Unexpected attacks from *wafe* are said to have increased in Haivaro since people's engagement with the logging company. With the exception of the specific case mentioned above, financial disparities between *aporo ira* are considered 'reasonable' enough not to be interpreted as evidence that every leader has a *soro*. However, most injuries caused to members of a wealthy *aporo ira* are interpreted as retaliation from *wafe* and, as such, as evidence that members of this *aporo ira* must have received financial benefits they secretly hid from other's eyes and from those to whom they were beholden in terms of reciprocity. Such suspicion is understood as triggering jealousy from members of other *aporo ira*, thus leading to many attacks

¹⁰¹ This *aporo ira* had more land than others and, in addition to logging extraction, also received benefits from oil extraction on a part of the land.

¹⁰² Similar interpretation is made at Haivaro concerning fat people: their fatness is interpreted as evidence that they keep their food for themselves instead of giving part of it as reciprocal obligation. Such people might also be suspected of having *soro*.

from *wafe* spirits. As Haivaro residents often say: 'money from the logging company has rendered people greedy'. On this particular point, the management by Haivaro residents of the Annual Benefit Funds (ABF) awarded by the logging company is particularly enlightening, and appears as the most visible facet of a process actually involving broader resources than just money.

As already mentioned, the financial package received from logging extraction entails the distribution of an Annual Benefit Funds aimed at developing projects and services benefiting the community as a whole. For years, people at Haivaro divided this fund into 'public' and 'private' components. In the past few decades, the 'common part' of the ABF was used to build the community school, a community house equipped with a radio, and to send students to schools in urban areas. The last common project paid for through ABF was the construction, in 2013-2014, of two new churches for the Seventh Day Adventist and Evangelical Church of Papua New Guinea congregations respectively. My second period of fieldwork, early in 2016, coincided with meetings aimed at deciding the use of the ABF for the coming year. Each *aporo ira* was assigned an equal amount of money (in this case K16.800), and the aim of the meeting was to deciding how much of this amount should be set aside to fulfil 'common purposes'. Until this time, each *aporo ira* used to contribute the same amount of money to common purposes. In 2016, however, this egalitarian principle was challenged. The following extract from one meeting will highlight how that challenge was framed:

-Well, we have to put some money for the achievement of the churches. There's not so much left to do and maybe K1,000 or K2,000 each would be enough.

-Yes. We also have to put some money for the construction of the new school and the remuneration of the carpenters.

-I agree with that. However, we all know that royalties and premiums are decreasing, and I don't have enough money to sustain my family. I would like the part remaining for each *aporo ira* to be greater than usual this year.

-That's true. But we also have six students entering college this year. We will need to devote more money than usual to their school fees and living expenses.

-My son had his hand deeply cut yesterday. Nasireyuka does not have enough money to help me, so will the ABF contribute to sending him to the hospital in Port Moresby?

-Well, I have a problem with increasing the contribution of each *aporo ira* for the living expenses of students in Port Moresby. This year, my *aporo ira* only has a single student going to school, while some *aporo ira* have three or four students. Why should I pay the same amount as other *aporo ira*?

-This is what we always did. In previous years, your *aporo ira* had more students than others, and they contributed the same amount. Changing that now would be unfair.

-It's probably true concerning the ABF, but you all know my *aporo ira* is contributing more than others with royalties and premium for many purposes. I'm tired of always having to give more money than others.

-I understand your point of view, and if you want to do differently this year, that's your right. And as it will result in my *aporo ira* having to contribute more for my own students, then my students will help only my *aporo ira* to fill in all official documents that we constantly have to fill in. Don't ask one of my students to do it for you as you regularly do because your single student is a failure at school and usually fails to fulfil this task properly.'

In the past, egalitarian principles and obligations of reciprocity may have regulated potential disparities in access to resources between *aporo ira*. User-rights on the land of someone else may have facilitated access to resources in exchange for human labour. It seems that introduction of cash money, through incomes no longer tied to physical efforts and labour, has created disparities of a kind and degree that these principles and obligations are no longer able to regulate. But also, this meeting took place at a time when financial benefits from logging had begun to decline and rumours about the imminent departure of the company had started to spread. It is commonly

acknowledged in anthropological literature on Melanesia that ‘goods acquire value only as they circulate’ (Jeudy-Ballini 2010: 134, my translation). This is also true for money, as financial generosity represents an important way of gaining prestige and plays an important role within reciprocal relations, as part of bride-price, compensation payments and so on. However, and as is clearly apparent in the quoted discussion, in some contexts money may gain value when it does not circulate: when *aporo ira* keep money and use it for ‘personal’ purposes. The fact that money can be used to serve either reciprocal purposes or individual ones is a complication that Haivaro people struggle to deal with.

People at Haivaro construct a difference between ‘common money’ which circulates within the field of reciprocity and ‘individual money’ which is held apart from that field. That difference was evidenced by their decision to create a common bank account linked to the landowners company Nasireyuka into which 25% of the total amount of royalties are deposited; the money deposited into this bank account is clearly separated from money derived from ‘individual’ royalties and premiums. The ABF fund is subject to the same distinction. Indeed, each year people renegotiate with respect to amounts of money to be held in common and amounts that will be the sole concern of *aporo ira*. Requests for money to send a son to the hospital or demands to increase the part of ABF each *aporo ira* should devote to community projects are considered legitimate as part of reciprocal relations, which entail help and support within the community. By contrast, the demand that contributions be proportional to the number of students sent to school appears to reduce this principle of mutual support to the level of *aporo ira* rather than the level of community. In 2016, this demand triggered anger within the audience because it represented a drastic shift in the very definition of the relevant level of solidarity, between related *aporo ira* on one side, within ‘autonomous’ *aporo ira* on the other. Both levels have always been entangled among Fasu people. The payment system imposed by the logging company, by clearly differentiating incomes awarded to the whole community from those awarded to *aporo ira*, constrained people to renegotiate former entanglements and, to some extent, to draw a fixed boundary between these levels.

In this context, the request expressed by a young man to take into account the number of students by *aporo ira* appears subversive in articulating the thought that more emphasis should be placed on solidarity within *aporo ira*. The final response to that suggestion then takes the discussion to a logical conclusion by arguing that if each *aporo ira* supports only its own students, then the knowledge those students acquire should no longer be regarded as a resource available to everyone at Haivaro. That comment effectively advises the previous speaker that a gain on one side is likely to entail a loss on the other. In this sense, therefore, the final comment reinscribes money within a context of global circulation of wealth and resources. The request formulated by the young man was eventually brushed aside by the leader of his own *aporo ira*, absent from that meeting but back in the village a few days later. It is likely that this request had never been taken very seriously by the community, because it came from a young man who had no legitimacy in speaking for his entire *aporo ira*. It is interesting, however, as the young man's comment explicitly formulated a desire for disentanglement, a process that seems to be already underway when people say that 'money from logging company has rendered people greedy'.

The increasing emphasis put on sociality and solidarity within *aporo ira* is apparent in various contexts at Haivaro. For instance, celebrations involving only one *aporo ira* are progressively taking precedence over celebrations involving all of them. Departures for Port Moresby, or children's birthdays, for example, are celebrated through minor feasts that almost exclusively involve members of one *aporo ira*. Once, back at my house after such feast, I was told by my neighbour: 'You ate fresh game, you're lucky. They didn't invite me but I don't care. Next month I will organise my son's birthday and I will only invite members of my *aporo ira* too'. While hunted game was formerly shared among people from different *aporo ira*, especially with brothers-in-law, it is now more common to share only within one *aporo ira*. One of my informants once said: 'Yes, normally I should share with my *base* (ZH), my wife's *aua* (WMB) and their families, but they don't always share with me, so I'll keep this game for me and my *aporo ira*, because they are those who always share everything with me'. Examples abound that suggest that the scope for reciprocal relations is now the *aporo ira*, in an increasing number of contexts. This tendency is definitely perceived by Haivaro people

and is always interpreted as a form of retaliation expressed as ‘he didn’t do that so I don’t do that either’, which could be seen as a negative form of reciprocation.

To summarize, for Haivaro Fasu, reciprocal relations are deeply associated with the *hó*, which thus defines the boundaries of sociality and makes social subjects emerge. Where more labour and care is invested by Fasu humans the *hó* is made stronger, and reciprocal relations more easily established. In other words, differing degrees of investment create concentric spheres of reciprocity, with Fasu humans at the centre and those beings that grow without human care towards the periphery. As argued throughout this section, spheres of interaction defined by the degree to which reciprocal relations operate have shrunk over recent decades, as some beings have been excluded (for example domestic pigs, see Lefort 2017), and a greater emphasis is now put on sociality within *aporo ira* rather than on sociality between *aporo ira*. But Fasu people, as well as domesticated pigs, cassowaries and dogs, were not the only beings with which reciprocal relations were – and still, to some extent, are – developed. In the next section, I discuss Fasu understandings of their relations with Kasua people, a neighbouring group living in the Western province. I highlight shifts through time in the degree to which reciprocal relations were achieved with Kasua people, and how this shaped the perceptions Haivaro people had of their neighbours.

Kasua people: from barely humans to almost Fasu

Early Patrol Reports and more recent anthropological literature from the region state that relations between Fasu and Kasua people have been characterized by either exchange and intermarriage (Allen 1953, Mc Gregor 1955, Gilberthorpe 2004) or animosity and warfare (Brunois 2007). The fact that people from different language groups were formerly dispersed throughout the area as lineage segments partly explains these different perspectives. Considering testimonies collected in Haivaro, it appears that members of Hemyama, Yuria Siriki and Simayu were engaged in warfare with members of Kasua-speaking people for a long time. According to my informants,

it was the integration into Fasu of the Kasua child Parawi, after his abduction from the Temeta clan (see Chapter 1), that marked the end of warfare and the progressive establishment of reciprocal relations with Kasua people. Child abduction was a common feature of warfare among Haivaro Fasu, and a few lineages descend from such abducted individuals. However, most abductions resulted in the integration of the abducted children within pre-existing *aporo ira*. By contrast, though *Parawi* was raised by members of Simayu, as an adult he founded his own *aporo ira* named Kasua Rebeta. This is now acknowledged by everyone at Haivaro to be a Fasu *aporo ira*, though former affiliation to Kasua is recognized and signalled in its name. Haivaro elders assert that this event marked the intensification of reciprocal relations with Kasua people, with whom Fasu people started to intermarry. For people born between 1920 and 1939 (Parawi's generation), three of 24 recorded marriages were with partners from neighbouring language groups. All three were with Kasua partners. For people born between 1940 and 1959, 24 of 63 recorded marriages were with partners from neighbouring language groups and in 17 cases the partners were Kasua (see also Chapter 3, Table 2). Genealogies collected at Haivaro do not go back further than the generation of Parawi¹⁰³, so there is no information about marriages with Kasua people that may have occurred before that time. However, available data show that most marriages with people from neighbouring groups were with Kasua people and the frequency of these increased dramatically through time.

At Haivaro, as mentioned in Chapter 3, marriage is thought of as being a step toward *balanced reciprocity*, entailing exchange both between spouses and between the affines thus connected. Intensification of reciprocal relations that resulted from intermarriages with Kasua people was often expressed by Haivaro residents in terms of multiple visits to Kasua villages for ceremonial purposes and is evidenced at the present time in the numerous dancing and singing performances shared by the two groups. Haivaro elders often said that Kasua people were better dancers than they were, and much more skilled in the manufacture of traditional drums. Indeed, most drums owned by Haivaro residents were bought from Kasua people. Haivaro elders

¹⁰³ Parawi was born between 1920 et 1939 (G+2) and certainly get married between 1940 and 1959 (G+1).

also mentioned an intensification in exchanges of tobacco, kina shells, elements of ceremonial adornment and *tikiasó* with Kasua people from the time Parawi became Fasu.

'From this time, Kasua people were no longer so different; they became a bit like Fasu'.

Although testimonies recorded at Haivaro suggest an asymmetrical influence between the two groups, with Haivaro people 'borrowing' from Kasua more than the reverse, this shift in their relations was interpreted as evidence that Kasua were 'becoming a bit like Fasu'. My sense is that such an interpretation is a way of stating that Kasua people, from a Fasu perspective, moved from the category 'beings unable to reciprocate' to the category 'beings able to enter *balanced reciprocity*' which, as stated earlier, is deeply associated with having a *hó*. And, indeed, although Kasua people are not considered to have a *hó*, they do have a *hon*, which Brunois (2007: 104) defined as a cosmological double whose properties are similar to those observed for the Fasu *hó*. Haivaro residents often stated that although similar to their *hó*, Kasua *hon* was nevertheless weaker, and more vulnerable to *wafe* influence than their own *hó*. Thus, although Haivaro people have intensified reciprocal relations with Kasua, it seems that they do not regard these relations as being as strong as those which build sociality among themselves: time has not yet done its work of reinforcing these relations through further alliances.

'I'm afraid to visit Kasua people, because there are a lot of wafe there'.

Although visits to Kasua people were said to be frequent in the past – from the time Parawi was integrated to Fasu and intermarriages intensified – such visits seem to be much less frequent nowadays. During 15 months in 2013-2014, I recorded only one visit by a few members of Kasua Rebeta to Iwatubu, a Kasua village located on the slopes of Mount Bosavi in the Western Province, to attend a church celebration. When asked about the reason for this decrease in visits, people at Haivaro often stated that there was an increasing number of *wafe* on Kasua land, and that they were afraid of possible attacks. At Haivaro, this increase is said to be the result of Haivaro residents' engagement with the logging company. Kasua people were suspected of being jealous

of the large amounts of money Haivaro people received from the loggers. Because this inequality has persisted for more than twenty years, there is a strong suspicion at Haivaro that those feelings of jealousy may have favoured several intrusions of *wafe* spirits into the bodies of their Kasua neighbours.

Fear of attacks from *wafe*, or fear of contamination through sexual intercourse with Kasua people who might 'have' *wafe*, could explain why in more recent generations – those born since 1959 – there has been a substantial decrease in the number of unions with Kasua people (Table 3).

	G+2 (Born between 1920 and 1939)	G+1 (Born between 1940 and 1959)	G (Born between 1960 and 1979)	G-1 (Born between 1980 and 1999)
Number of recorded unions	24	63	64	30
Intra-language-group marriages	21	39	48	19
Marriages with neighbouring language groups	3	24	13	3
Number of unions with Kasua	3 (100%)	17 (71%)	4 (31%)	1 (33%)

Table 3: Number of intra- and intergroup marriages in different generations. The percentages of marriages with neighbouring groups that were with Kasua partners are shown in parentheses in the last row of the table.

As shown in the table, in generations G+2 and G+1, 20 of 27 (74%) marriages with neighbouring groups were with Kasua people. These represented 23% of all recorded marriages. In later generations (those born after 1960) only five of 16 (31%) marriages with neighbouring groups were with Kasua people and these marriages represented only 5% of the total of unions recorded.

'Haivaro people marry too close', a young Kasua man once said to me when visiting Haivaro.

Among Kasua people, marriage with MBD – which reproduces the father's alliance – is considered incestuous (Brunois 2007: 110). Although the first phase of intensification of intermarriages with Kasua people did not entail such arrangements, it is likely that Kasua people had been reluctant to see the children engendered by this generation following a pattern of marriage that they themselves considered to be incestuous. In addition to the fear of attacks from *wafe* that might have disturbed relations between the two groups, different understandings of proper or appropriate marriages might also explain the substantial decrease in alliances with Kasua people in G and G-1.

'Our living standards have improved and we no longer dwell in the forest like Kasua people. We are no longer kanaka' a Haivaro resident once explained.

To Haivaro people, Kasua are now associated with a 'primitive past' that is deeply linked with forest-dwelling. By contrast, they consider themselves as having become 'modern' thanks to their engagement with the logging company and, for this reason, seek to develop relations with neighbours who are at least as 'modern' as they are. Haivaro people often use the term '*kanaka*' when referring to Kasua. They reinforce this disparaging reference by commenting that Kasua villages are not connected by roads to the rest of the world in the way that Haivaro is and, again unlike Haivaro, have only a grass airstrip rather than one where larger planes can land because the surface is strengthened by grave. They assert also that Kasua people are afraid of travelling by plane, and note that Kasua villages lack the basic services available at Haivaro: a school, a health clinic and a trade store run by the logging company. Kasua people are also said to have much less money than Haivaro Fasua. The ultimate evidence of Kasua '*kanaka-ness*', according to Haivaro residents, is the fact that they still include domesticated pigs as an expected part of their bride price; since Haivaro people ceased pig husbandry in 1996, they substitute K1,000 for each pig required when marrying a Kasua woman. At first glance, therefore, the fact that Kasua people are perceived as *kanaka* merely derives from some purportedly factual

assessments concerning both their material situation and their engagement with modernity. The reasons, however, are deeper than this.

In Chapter 1, I discussed ambiguity entailed in use of the term *kanaka*, originally pejorative in connoting a 'primitive' state but, in self-reference, assuming a positive connotation when it is judged that the implied 'primitive' condition has been overcome. The term is also ambiguous when used to describe Kasua people, but for different reasons. For Haivaro Fasu, as noted earlier, *kanaka*-ness is deeply linked with a 'primitive past' that they themselves consider antithetical to their desire for modernity. However, they also associate this 'primitive past' with magical practices, which are still considered very powerful. At Haivaro, I was told that the use of magical incantations and potions was now extremely rare, because people were now 'modern'. Nevertheless, for specific purposes (avoiding pregnancy, re-attracting a baby's *hó* into his body), people do sometimes resort to magical practices. These practices are likely to be associated with incantations and though I recorded a few incantations in *Namo me*, most of those collected were in the Kasua language. The use by Haivaro people of incantations in Kasua language is said to be relatively recent: 'since ten or twenty years' people said. The reason for this recent borrowing is that Haivaro people now consider Kasua to be greater practitioners of magic than they themselves are. This is attributed to the view that Kasua people have maintained strong connections with their traditional past and practices associated with that. In contrast, Haivaro people often confess that, since their engagement with the logging company and their acquired modernity, they have lost most of the knowledge associated with former traditions. Whether or not that knowledge has been genuinely lost or merely 'put aside' remains unclear to me, but the relevant point here is that attitudes towards Kasua people are much more ambiguous than people want to admit. More accurately, those attitudes may vary with contexts: Kasua people might be rejected as 'primitive' when Haivaro people want to appear as 'modern', but they are respected – and even revered – when Haivaro people need to fill the gap between their own 'rejected past' and current purposes.

'There were a lot of shared names between Kasua and Fasu in the past' an elder once told me.

That relations between Haivaro and Kasua people have changed through time is recognized by people at Haivaro, especially by elders who seem to regret the loss of intensity of former relations. During my fieldwork, Kasua people visiting Haivaro often struggled to find a relative who was ready to host them. Haivaro residents usually entered deep negotiations among themselves for many days prior to the arrival of Kasua visitors, to establish who would take responsibility for hosting them. An elder once told me that he felt ashamed of such a shift in relations, as previously Kasua were very well received. As he said:

In our custom, when two people like each other, they share food and call each other by the name of this food. This is something very powerful. There were a lot of shared names between Kasua and Fasu in the past. When Kasua people were visiting us, we shouted those names and they felt deeply happy. Nowadays, it has become very rare. We no longer share those names with them.

(Robert Bosoraroe. Haivaro village. March 13, 2014)

Knauft (2016: 14) termed these names 'gift exchange names' and reported that among Gebusi such names link each pair of men in a village. Sørnum (2003: 19-20) writing of Bedamini referred to them as 'call names'. The sample of shared names collected at Haivaro suggests that the practice serves to acknowledge ties implied by consanguinity or alliance for which Fasu terminology has no term. For instance, although there is no term for a woman's sister's husband's brother (or a man's brother's wife's sister), most of the shared names at Haivaro linked people related in that way. The second most frequent pattern of shared names is the one linking a woman to her father's brother's wife's brother's daughter (or conversely, to her father's sister's husband's brother's daughter). In a few cases, shared names link together a man and his father's sister's son's daughter (who are connected through consanguinity and should call each other by the very generic term *kauwa*, 'distant relative', in Fasu terminology). It thus seems that shared names at Haivaro are designed either to reinforce – or tighten – consanguineal or alliance ties that may exist but are so distant that they are at risk of

disappearing in practice, or to distinguish ties with particular individuals who might otherwise be rendered anonymous in the large pool of those who qualify as *kauwa*. The fact, then, that such shared names often linked Haivaro residents with Kasua people in the past, but do so much less nowadays, suggests a narrowing of the relations between the two groups, with close kin ties recognized but extended ties erased.

'A lot of money has come inside, and it has made Haivaro people greedy, and it has damaged the relations we had with our neighbours'.

As this quote from a Haivaro male elder suggests, the erosion of relations between Kasua people and Haivaro residents sometimes provides a framework through which residents retrospectively perceive their community. And indeed, Haivaro people now seem reluctant to give to, or exchange with, Kasua people. The food I saw shared with Kasua relatives during their visits was almost exclusively sago and garden products, and often entailed Haivaro residents apologizing for not having enough money to buy imported food from the logging company trade store. Obviously they had enough money to do so, but as one resident once told me: 'when I visit them, they only give sago and garden products to me, so I give the same to them. I can offer rice and chicken, but I will never get that in return when visiting them, so I don't'. The great importance given to the content of reciprocation suggests a desire, among Haivaro people, to restrict reciprocity with Kasua to its *balanced* form. Because people are less indebted – or indebted for shorter periods – in instances of *balanced* reciprocity than they are in instances of *generalized* reciprocity, social ties built through the former are usually weaker than those built through the latter (Sahlins 1972). From this perspective, the greater emphasis Haivaro people now seem to put on *balanced reciprocity* with Kasua people suggests a desire, among the former, to reinforce the detachment that already exists between the two groups. However, as previously mentioned, not sharing the food you have when requested triggers *wafe* attacks; it is likely that the sense Haivaro residents have of there being more and more *wafe* among Kasua people expresses their own consciousness of not acting properly toward those people. As a result, visits to Kasua people have become less frequent for

fear of sorcery attacks or contamination, and relations between these groups have become increasingly strained.

Among Haivaro people, as emphasized in the first section of the chapter, reciprocity plays a great role in both understanding and shaping sociality, and is the relational form that makes social subjects emerge for and among Haivaro Fasu. As demonstrated, the sociality of these subjects is embodied by an immaterial double called *hó*. This animating principle is, to some extent, produced and reinforced through the labour and care invested by Fasu humans. In this section, I have shown how people at Haivaro might employ different modes of reciprocity to create more or less closeness with non-Fasu humans. Indeed, after a phase of intensification of reciprocal relations with their Kasua neighbours that might have taken the form of a *generalized reciprocity* – thus leading Haivaro residents to acknowledge the Kasua *hon*, an immaterial double presenting similarities with their own *hó* – the modern context has led Haivaro residents to place more distance between themselves and their neighbours. This is reflected in the greater emphasis Haivaro people now put on forms of *balanced reciprocity* and, hence, on a less intense social bond. This narrowing of the content of reciprocal relations between the two groups is mirrored by what is perceived by Haivaro Fasu as an alteration of Kasua *hon*, which seems unable, or unwilling to sustain appropriate reciprocal relations. In this sense, in Haivaro Fasu understandings, Kasua *hon* have become less similar to their own *hó*. If the different forms of reciprocity thus give a certain leeway to Haivaro residents to negotiate relations both among themselves and with others, this may also provide a useful framework for exploring the relations Haivaro residents develop with the logging company operating on their land. The next section discusses this by arguing that relations with the logging company may be understood as a form of negative reciprocity, in which people take without feeling obliged to give.

The logging company: an example of negative reciprocity

In previous sections of this chapter I have discussed the role played by both *generalized* and *balanced reciprocity* in shaping Haivaro Fasu relations among themselves and with others. In his analyses of reciprocal exchanges, Sahlins (1965, 1972) considered *balanced reciprocity* to be the centre point of a continuum determined by social distance, with *generalized* and *negative reciprocity* defined, respectively, as its positive and negative extremes. In this section, I argue that the concept of *negative reciprocity* shapes the relations Haivaro people developed with some 'others'. In the past, the grandparents of those now living at Haivaro considered a group of people they called Konomo to be their ultimate enemy, and constantly raided them. As I will demonstrate, such relations were the result of what was interpreted at that time as an irreducible social distance – the epitome of otherness – that legitimated acts of *negative reciprocity*. Later, the respective lands of both one Haivaro *aporo ira* and Konomo people started to be exploited by the same logging company and some common interests emerged between the two groups. As a consequence, the social distance that once applied between the two groups has narrowed and other forms of reciprocal relations have taken place. Almost concurrently, the arrival in 1996 of the Asian logging company Rimbunan Hijau operating on the lands of the six *aporo ira* present at Haivaro confronted people living there with 'foreigners' who, it seemed, did not share the same social and moral values as Haivaro residents. This distance has led Haivaro Fasu to classify those 'foreigners' as 'not real people' and this, in turn, has legitimized the development of relations marked by *negative reciprocity*. In contrast, Asian managers legitimized their presence in the region and their actions by emphasizing the *balanced* aspects of their relations with Haivaro Fasu and downplaying the fundamentally exploitative character of their presence.

People at Haivaro now locate Konomo as the people who currently live at the village of Kamusi, in Western Province. They are referred to as Kolomo by Kasua people (Brunois 2007: 41). According to their location and to the language map of

Western Province elaborated by the Summer Institute of linguistics¹⁰⁴, they could have been either Kamula or Mubami¹⁰⁵ speakers. However, Wood (2013:127) stated that ‘Gogodala, Bamu and Mubami speakers’ composed ‘around three quarters of the total Kamusi population’, so that the language group to which Haivaro people refer when talking about Konomo is difficult to establish. The land of Konomo has a boundary with the land of one *aporo ira* currently living at Haivaro.

‘*They were our real enemies*’, Haivaro people say when asked about former relations with Konomo people.

According to the migration stories collected at Haivaro, episodes of warfare or casual fights did happen, at one time or another, with several neighbouring groups. Konomo people, however, have been described to me as the ultimate enemies, those who Haivaro people used to fight and raid constantly. Konomo children were also more likely than those of other neighbouring groups to be abducted for integration into existing Fasus *aporo ira*; in 2013, I recorded five married men at Haivaro whose grandfathers had been abducted from Konomo groups. When talking of children who had been abducted from neighbouring groups other than Konomo, the episode was always presented in terms of exchange. People would say, for example: ‘They killed two of us so we asked two of their children’. With Konomo people, however, all abductions were presented as instances of ‘unilateral predation’, saying, for instance: ‘We had a very big fight and we killed all the adults dwelling there. Then, we took the small children and looked after them’. Children were integrated and merged within pre-existing *aporo ira*, with no connection maintained with the original group and with some of the children concerned ignorant of their exogenous affiliation¹⁰⁶. Though Konomo were presented to me as the ultimate ‘others’ then, children were still accepted as Fasus as long as care had been invested in them from early childhood, so that they became ‘real men’ (*namo aporo*).

¹⁰⁴ http://www-01.sil.org/pacific/png/maps/Western_small.jpg

¹⁰⁵ Wood (2014) also refers to people living at Kamusi as Mubami people.

¹⁰⁶ I met a Fasus man in Kuri whose grandfather had been abducted from *Konomo* people and raised within a Fasus *aporo ira*. This man only learned his exogenous origin from his father when the logging company did a brief social mapping study which required genealogies to be traced.

Sahlins (1965, 1972) described *negative reciprocity* as being the result of a somewhat irreducible social distance between groups. To some extent, the 'other' is so different that it is not possible to find some sort of 'common ground' on which relations of exchange can be built. For Haivaro Fasu, their social distance from Konomo people is rooted in the myth called *Hinamo Tipurea Base* (Chapter 4). In that myth, the original couple, discovering sexuality, delivered several non-human children before being able to produce a 'real' human baby. The penultimate attempt gave birth to a child that was covered by an abundant growth of hair, which the father took by the arm and threw away to the west, where he became the ancestor of Konomo people. On one level, the abundant hair makes the child like mammals rather than like proper humans. But, as argued earlier, to Haivaro Fasu some mammals – domestic pigs, cassowaries and dogs – are considered *quasi-people*, and are fully integrated as social subjects to their specific domain of sociality. The important event of the myth, I argue, is the fact that the child that became Konomo was thrown away. Haivaro Fasu did not look after him; they did not invest care and labour in him, an investment necessary for a *hó* – the *sine qua non* condition for emergence of a social subject – to develop. In this sense, Konomo adults represent the epitome of 'otherness' for Haivaro Fasu, those with whom social relations cannot be developed.

The position of Konomo outside the realm of sociality in Fasu understandings is further emphasised in a myth narrating a 'pre-social' time where both Fasu and Konomo were living together. The myth underlines the institution of social rules – of a social order – as the original event that created Fasu people as distinct – and socially separated – from Konomo:

Before, Konomo and Fasu people used to live together where there was no rule: men and women used to do whatever they wanted, processing sago, having sexual intercourse... They used to live in a village in the middle of the mountain where a tree called timu used to grow. A man called Pisiriman was living inside the trunk of this tree, and used to publicly report everything that happened in the village: robbery, adultery and so on. People never understood where the voice came from. One night, a man hid in a menstrual hut to surprise the troublemaker. In the middle of the night, he saw Pisiriman perched on top of the tree. At

daybreak, he told his story to the villagers who decided to kill Pisiriman and to manage their internal affairs themselves by instituting public confessions. Unfortunately, they had no axe. Then Pisiriman threw an axe to them while saying: “Well, you can cut me if this is what you want. Cut me in half! Half of the village will take my head, while the other half will take my legs. And from that moment, you people will become enemies!”. People killed him. Konomo people took the head, while Fasu people took the legs. From this time, Konomo and Fasu became enemies.

(Narrative: Barivi. Translation: Ruben Hoari. Haivaro Village. April 5, 2013)

The former co-habitation between Fasu and Konomo people is described as devoid of social rules. However, the recognition of ‘robbery’ or ‘adultery’ implies moral principles which treat such conduct as inappropriate. My sense is that the reference to non-existence of rules directs attention to the absence of sanctions that might reduce the likelihood that people would behave in these undesirable ways. According to Fasu mythology, then, Haivaro people had to separate from Konomo to become proper social subjects. If Haivaro sociality is deeply shaped by reciprocal obligations, then, on some level, Konomo represent ‘non-social’ subjects with whom proper reciprocity cannot take place.

‘She is the child of our enemies’ a Haivaro resident once joked with me.

He was talking about his wife, a woman from Kamusi, after I expressed surprise that a Haivaro man could have married someone descended from – and more importantly raised by – Konomo people. In the early 1990s, both timber and oil started to be extracted from land near Kamusi village. Part of this land belongs to Konomo people, and part belongs to the members of one *aporo ira* residing at Haivaro. As a Haivaro resident commented: ‘Well, we were enemies, but then companies come inside and we are all landowners now. Stories of enemies are stories from the past. We no longer have enemies now’. The ability of the category ‘landowner’ to function as a marker of identity and to make ‘entities [...] from what have been either implicit or contingent categories’ (Ernst 199: 89) has been demonstrated and analysed in many parts of Papua New Guinea (Bainton 2009; Ernst 1999; Gilberthorpe 2007; Jorgensen

2007). The intermarriage mentioned above is the only one I recorded in 2014 among Haivaro people, so it would be erroneous to state that intense social relations are now linking the two groups. However, the possibility, nowadays, to create affinal ties with Konomo suggests that their 'otherness' has become 'less other' due to their common identification as landowners. Stasch (2009) has discussed 'otherness' as the basis from which relations are thought of and built among Korowai people of West Papua. At Haivaro, I would rather describe 'otherness' as *good to think* for people. As demonstrated in the previous and current sections of this chapter, people at Haivaro – like, probably, many people round the world – think of 'otherness' in terms of social distance from themselves. To some extent, they define and redefine themselves at the same time as they define and redefine 'others' around them. In the context of logging and oil extraction on their contiguous lands, a common identity as landowners, and shared necessity to negotiate with the same companies, has become more salient to both Konomo and Haivaro Fasu. In this context then, alterity of Konomo people has partly faded.

At the same time as the 'otherness' of Konomo has become less salient, a 'new' entity has emerged on Haivaro people's land and has, to some extent, become the new embodiment of alterity for them. According to narratives collected in Haivaro, the logging company now exploiting their land established a base camp 3km from the village in 1996. At that time, *aporo ira* were registered as Incorporated Land Groups and started to receive financial benefits derived from logging operations. The logging camp was run by a male manager, along with a male accountant, 11 male supervisors to ensure the efficient conduct of operations, and the manager's wife who managed the canteen. Around forty male workers from throughout the country were hired and most of them lived in the camp with their nuclear family (wife and children), in small houses that were all equipped with electricity. The logging camp also hosted a trade store run by the manager's wife and the accountant, where both workers and Haivaro residents could buy industrial food and a few manufactured goods. Figure 15 provides an aerial view of the logging camp in February 2014. It was on the land of Simayu people.

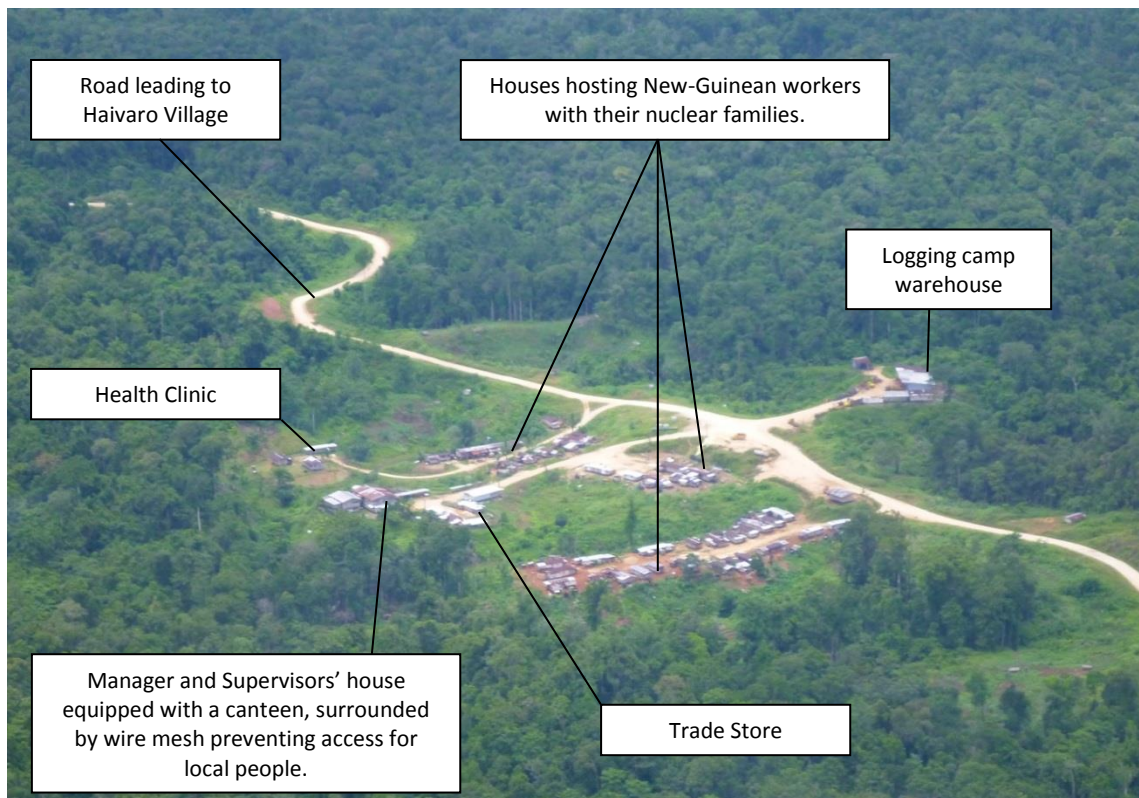


Figure 15: Aerial view of the logging camp in February 2014

The manager, the supervisors and the core employees all worked seven days a week and 12 hours a day on average. Core employees were all citizens of Papua New Guinea, while the manager and all supervisors were from Malaysia and the Philippines, with most of them having a background in logging in their country of origin and, for some of them, in Africa, and having been engaged in logging in Papua New Guinea for more than 15 years.

'Asian managers are not real people', Haivaro residents said to me on several occasions.

People at Haivaro know and use the term 'human being', and they have no doubt that the Asian managers are 'human beings'. Not being 'real people', however, has more to do with what is perceived as an inability to develop social relations with them, and especially reciprocal ones. I have stressed in earlier sections of this chapter how

social subjects – ‘real people’ – emerge through the labour and care invested in them by Haivaro people and how this labour and care strengthens the *hó*. The *hó*, I have argued, is the embodiment of the ability to develop social relations, and particularly reciprocal relations. The ability of domesticated pigs, cassowaries and dogs to answer to their name and to contribute to the general relational economy associated with reciprocity raises them to the rank of *quasi-people* (Jorgensen 1990). They have a *hó*. Intensification of reciprocal relations with Kasua people conferred them a *hó*-like double, the *hon*. They were ‘real people’. Conversely, the characterisation of Asian managers as ‘not real people’ suggests that Haivaro people consider them as being unable to reciprocate. They are not considered to have a *hó*, or any equivalent principle. Evidence for this interpretation resides in the adamant comment by Haivaro residents that ‘*wafe* does not work with them’ by sanctioning their actions, however ‘inappropriate’ their behaviours might be. Moreover, these managers ‘exist’ only as a general category: ‘the managers’ or ‘the company’ or ‘the Asians’. Even when talking about particular individuals, Haivaro residents rarely use their names (although they know them) but, rather, use nicknames that are often pejorative: ‘*mumut*’, a Tok Pisin word referring to a bandicoot which one of them is said to resemble, ‘*banana mau*’ (mature banana) for one considered to be fat and unable to walk in the forest, and so on. I highlighted in the first section of this chapter how only beings having a *hó* were given individual names. From this perspective, the fact that Asian Managers exist only as a general category says a lot about how they are perceived by Haivaro people.

‘*They have a lot of things but never share*’, Haivaro residents often say of Asian managers.

Although they are financially compensated for the timber extracted on their land, Haivaro people regularly say that Asians ‘take’ their timber. They have a sense that they have welcomed the company onto their land, and let them take whatever they want but, in turn, they do not feel that the company gives them whatever they want. In Chapter 2, I argued that in Fasu understandings, the concept of *generalized reciprocity* – notably as developed between brothers – was flexible enough to be extended to people other-than-Fasu. This may well have constituted the framework through which Haivaro people initially attempted to understand their relations with

Asians. However, people at Haivaro observed that not all their requests were fulfilled by the logging company, but only a few of them. The failure of the latter to share lay behind the conclusion of Haivaro residents that Asian managers were not 'real people'. Now, often described as 'money faces' – greedy people for whom money has priority over any other consideration – their inability to reciprocate has been interpreted as evidence that they are 'radically' different from Haivaro people. They manifest the greatest possible social distance from Haivaro people and have become the new epitome of 'otherness'.

As a consequence, in addition to being those who 'take what they want' without 'giving all what they have' in return, Asian managers rapidly became those from whom Haivaro people also tried to 'take' without giving. To some extent, a *negative reciprocity* has informed Haivaro Fasu understandings of their relations with Asian managers. This interpretation is reinforced by an account of a meeting held in October 2013 that was attended by Haivaro residents, the manager of the logging camp, and the company coordinator of logging operations at the regional level. This meeting was held in a meeting room located in the supervisors' house, access to which is normally prohibited for local people. Rumours had emerged a few weeks earlier, in Haivaro, that the logging company was about to close the camp and leave the area. The aim of the meeting was to check the progress of various services brought to Haivaro residents by the company and to answer potential questions and claims from Haivaro residents. In the following account, CM identifies comments by company managers, HR identifies comments by Haivaro residents. The language used by both parties was Tok Pisin.

CM: We will first talk about the extension and improvement of the airstrip. The extension is not finished, but we already improved the airstrip, so what are you asking us to do now?

HR: If you cut the trees to extend the airstrip and you leave before achieving the extension, will we be compensated for needlessly felled timber?

CM: We will not leave before it is achieved, I promise. If the logging camp closes, we will use the machinery of the Kuri camp as they also use the airstrip. We will do our best before leaving.

HR: With heavy rains, gravels have moved and big and sharp stones now emerge from the airstrip. Both Tropicair¹⁰⁷ and MAF¹⁰⁸ pilots complain and threaten not to land here until it is fixed. We cannot arrange that by ourselves so you have to do it before you leave.

HR: This is true. You have to pay attention to the quality of the airstrip, this is important. The government likes this kind of airstrip in remote areas. It is your duty as developers to ensure the quality of our airstrip before you leave. You have to work together with the landowners to provide services.

HR: You have to understand that our fathers cleaned this airstrip. It was just grass that we had to cut regularly to maintain the airstrip. Within the ABF, we used to reserve a budget to pay those of us who maintained the airstrip by cutting grass. But you have put gravel on this airstrip to allow your planes to land safely. It takes a steamroller to maintain this kind of airstrip. We don't have one. This is your duty, to maintain the kind of airstrip you have created. Airstrip is our road. It is our way of going to Southern Province, to Western Province and to Port Moresby. You need to understand that. You take our trees so you have to help us.

CM: Yes, we will try our best. And what about the construction of the two new churches?

HR: This is in progress.

CM: Did you order all necessary materials with the ABF?

HR: Yes, we ordered everything as you said, timber and paint. It only lacks the stairs.

CM: I will ask our carpenter to do it. But you have to order the timber for that. I will ask the carpenter the quantity he needs. Well, now let's talk about the bridges. You ask for a new bridge over Nanomanesa River. Is that on the road going to Kanau River?

HR: No, it is the one on the road from the company camp to Haivaro.

¹⁰⁷ Tropicair is a charter company who ensures freight for the logging company.

¹⁰⁸ Mission Aviation Fellowship.

CM: Well, we have to do that with a strong timber. We cannot take the timber stocked in the Log Pond because it is reserved for the bridge over Kanau River. We have to cut other trees to do it.

HR: Well, we will show you which wood you can use. We can give you some timber for that purpose if you need it. Otherwise you will make the bridge with a weak wood and the bridge will fall apart fast as usual, and you will not be there anymore to build another one.

CM: Bridges don't fall apart because we make them with weak wood. You know why they fall apart. It is because you ask us to carry you everywhere every day so they fall into disrepair very fast. And you asked us to carry huge trunks in the village for you to have firewood. So we did more than 20 round trips with heavy charges and the bridges are not designed to withstand this.

HR (addressing the community): He is a liar! You know that they are specialists of misleading speeches! This is not the reason why the bridges fall apart. They just don't want to waste money building strong and sustainable bridges for us. They don't care.

HR: The road leading to the village has to be redone correctly. With the rainy season, it is all damaged and impassable.

CM: It is damaged because you ask us to carry you by car to the village every day. We are not supposed to over-use the roads during the rainy season. Well, I have to go so the meeting is over. I heard your requests and will try my best to satisfy them¹⁰⁹.

In this record from the meeting, Haivaro people indicate clearly their sense that the Asians 'take' their timber. Conversely, the many claims that they formulate express

¹⁰⁹ None of the requests by Haivaro residents had been fulfilled when the logging camp closed in November 2014, which led Haivaro people to state that 'the company managers skedaddled like thieves' ('Ol tek of olsem rascals').

their desire for the company to 'give what they have' in return, and not only money. To some extent, their claims constitute the ground work for a theoretical *negative reciprocity*. Indeed, later in the meeting, a Haivaro resident stated that if the company did not want to fulfil their requests, then they will come into the supervisors's house and the warehouse and rob whatever they could, like they heard happened elsewhere. Between 2013 and 2016, claiming was the main purpose of interactions between Haivaro people and Asian managers. Haivaro residents regularly asked for car rides, delivery to the village of great quantities of timber usable as firewood, clearing of forest plots to make gardens, purchase of satellite phones overseas, and so on. Testimonies collected at Haivaro suggest that in earlier years there had been a logging camp at Haivaro, but this had been abandoned for some time before returning a few years before I commenced fieldwork. During its absence, Haivaro people had to walk to Kuri village to purchase goods from the trade store or to consult a doctor. Conscious, therefore, that the services made available to them through the company could be withdrawn overnight, they admitted that they were trying to obtain as much as they could before, once again, the logging company departed.

Narotzky and Moreno (2002), drawing notably on Sahlins' work (1965, 1972), emphasize the role played, not only by social distance, but also by moral distance, in producing the conditions for the emergence of forms of *negative reciprocity*. They state that in some contexts, 'it is the moral distance between the parties involved which legitimates and underpins 'taking' [...]' (2002: 290). Stating that 'Asian managers are not real people', and that they are 'money faces', is more than a mere acknowledgment of social distance; it is an assertion of a different system of morality. On the one hand, the morality of Haivaro people is characterized by the great part played by *positive reciprocity*; on the other hand, the morality of Asian managers is perceived by Haivaro residents to be primarily characterized by 'taking without giving'. On some level, therefore, Haivaro residents have appropriated what they perceived to be Asians morality in order to legitimate future acts of *negative reciprocity* toward them.

Asian managers, by contrast, do not perceive themselves as 'takers'. They 'buy' Haivaro people's timber. Their moral system in this context is shaped by the rules of

market exchange. From this perspective, Haivaro people's claims are considered to be ways of 'taking for free' or to be attempts to 'unfairly take advantage of a specific situation'. In interviews, a few managers stressed their 'great vulnerability' in front of such 'dangerous' and bellicose people, which is how they often describe Papua New Guineans. They suggested that they had no choice but 'to give people what they want' for fear of 'violent retaliation'. For my part, I never witnessed any acts of violence from Haivaro people toward the company managers, and never heard about potential intentions to behave in this way. The fact remains, however, that Asian managers perceive themselves – or want to be perceived – as 'those who give'. This is apparent in the emphasis they put, during the meeting reported above, on all the services they provided, an emphasis reaffirmed during interviews I conducted with them, from which the following comments are extracted:

We bring money to them. If they knew how to manage money, it would be great for them. We bring money to them, this is necessarily something better for them. We improve their lives. If they had no money, they would not be able to travel to the hospital in Port Moresby

We don't bring anything wrong to them. When we will go away, the forest will grow again and would be as if we never logged it. It will be very difficult for them when we will leave, because we brought so many good things to them

I employed a few of them as kitchen hands. I taught them how to cook, how to wash their hands, so that if they want to get a job in a city, they will be able to, thanks to me. I'm not sure they understand how good I am with them. I'm also not sure they will try to get a job because they are not really interested in working

When I was living in Malaysia, I used to manage my own hotel. We sold everything to come here. Before, I headed others, now I'm in their service. I don't understand why God did that to me. Yet I am a good person. I give a lot to Haivaro people, I teach them a lot of things. In turn, I don't see my family and I cry every night in my bed. And if I do something that displeases them, I'm afraid they will become violent with me so I'm being very careful.

In these comments, Asian managers speak of themselves as ‘benefactors’ bringing ‘modernity’ and ‘development’ to Haivaro people – a role that, according to them, goes hand in hand with personal sacrifices. To some extent, they all emphasise their relation with Haivaro people as being reciprocal: they take resources and give back money and services. This discourse resonates with an important point made by Moore (1978, quoted in Narotzky & Moreno 2002: 290) according to which ‘the discourse of reciprocity employed by the dominant groups is the necessary mystification of exploitative relationships’. Because Haivaro people consider that Asian managers ‘take their timber’, ‘do not share with them’ and are ‘money faces’, the latter are certainly perceived as a ‘dominant group’. Because the Asian managers consider themselves as ‘more civilized’ compared to Haivaro people who ‘wash themselves in rivers and only eat sago’, the Asian managers certainly also perceive themselves as ‘dominant’. To avoid potential protests they know have happened elsewhere in Papua New Guinea, the Asian managers often overemphasize their role as benefactors when interviewed about their activities in the area. They try – need – to convince others and themselves that the exploitative relation linking them to Haivaro people and, more broadly, to the country, is somehow reciprocal.

In contrast, people at Haivaro see their relationship with the logging company as having been mainly non-reciprocal and, to some extent, mostly endured rather than welcomed. They often comment that the Asian managers ‘took all their timber’, but sometimes go further to say that these people ‘destroyed their forest’, and ‘brought many negative things’ that ‘changed their lives’ adversely¹¹⁰. From this perspective, the forms of negative reciprocity they now think to develop with the logging company – taking and claiming as much as possible – can also be interpreted as an attempt to regain control over their trajectory of life and the ongoing changes.

¹¹⁰ The ‘negative things’ most often mentioned are the money that has rendered them ‘dependent’, but also marijuana and alcohol that, according to many Haivaro residents, are ‘damaging the community’.

Concluding comments

In this chapter, I have highlighted the role played by reciprocal relations in the making of Haivaro Fasu's specific identity. It resonates with, and to some extent systematises, what has been developed throughout this thesis, namely the ability of relations to define the 'self' and the 'other' and to build connections between different categories of beings.

For Haivaro Fasu, the ability to reciprocate is embodied by an animating principle called the *hó*. To some extent, the *hó* embodies what is thought to be the very specificity that builds and defines *Fasu*-ness.

Because the *hó* can be considered more or less 'achieved', or 'developed', Haivaro Fasu classify beings along a continuum along which degrees of such 'achievement' or 'development' unfold. At some level, this continuum defines degrees of closeness to Haivaro Fasu themselves, reflecting the extent to which reciprocal relations can be established with these beings.

The analysis of historical relations between Haivaro Fasu and their Kasua neighbours illustrated this point and showed how the degree of achievement of reciprocal relations might be subject to renegotiations through time.

The examination of Haivaro people's relations with their Konomo enemies on the one hand, and the logging company extracting timber on their land on the other, has highlighted the process of construction of 'otherness' among Haivaro Fasu. This process is associated with their perception and definition of themselves, with renegotiations in the latter leading to renegotiations in the former. As a result, former 'others' have been reintegrated as 'not so others' as and when identity as landowners has become more salient. Concurrently, new beings – the Asian managers – took their place as 'ultimate others', those with whom only *negative reciprocity* can be developed.

The ability of various relations to simultaneously connect and differentiate categories of beings, as well as the leeway people have to renegotiate these relations in changing contexts, provides the last but not least brushstrokes to the picture I have tried to develop throughout this thesis. It contributes to an understanding of the 'fundamentally relational ontology' that shapes the lives of Haivaro Fasu, and the processes of renegotiation and reconfiguration that this ontology is subject to in changing modern contexts.

CONCLUSION

The more discretely and specifically we define and bound the units of our study, the more provocative, necessary, and difficult it becomes to account for the relationships among those units; conversely, the more effectively we are able to analyse and sum up the relationships among a set of units, the more provocative, necessary, and difficult it becomes to define the units (Wagner 1977: 386).

My decision to focus on relationships among Haivaro Fasu – and, in so doing, to render the ‘entities’ connected by those relationships somewhat blurred – has been important to understanding both changes that have affected people at Haivaro through recent decades and ways in which people have responded to those changes. Indeed, I have argued throughout this thesis that the relationships of fatherhood, brotherhood, conjugality, gender and otherness have, despite some significant transformations, been maintained through time as people at Haivaro have become increasingly encompassed by a wider modern world. However, the ‘entities’ that are connoted by and comprised within these relational forms have changed significantly. The ‘fathers’ of today are not the ‘fathers’ of yesterday, and the land and its human and non-human inhabitants that those fathers care for are also different. Again, while human and non-human brothers appear as they once were, the notion of ‘brotherhood’ now embraces a wider range of ‘entities’. Similarly, traditional marital patterns persist, though the underlying representations that guide them are challenged and people are open to new possibilities and new perspectives. Gender relations have also been renegotiated and reconfigured, giving birth, to some extent, to new kinds of Fasu men and women. The world opens and expands, and as former ‘others’ come closer there is room for more distant or different ‘others’ to take their place.

Thus, by focusing on relationships rather than on the *relata* implied by those relationships it has been possible to avoid being trapped in cataloguing the plethora of new human, quasi-human and non-human agentive entities that have emerged and

proliferated, in Haivaro people's world, as elsewhere (Latour 1991; Wood 1995). In the past few decades, new agents have appeared in the lifeworld of Haivaro Fasú, as earlier agentive beings have lost relevance or disappeared. But, to the present time at least, it has been through pre-existing relational forms that people at Haivaro have apprehended, understood and integrated these arrivals and departures. And, while these pre-existing relational forms have themselves changed, the different forms of reciprocity that characterizes them, and constitute their core, have remained.

'If treated in all its complexity the concept of reciprocity might help us to understand the ambivalence often present in social relationships' (Narotzky & Moreno 2002: 281).

At Haivaro, the ability to reciprocate is fundamental to the definition of the agentive social subject. However, the different forms that reciprocity might take, together with the representations associated with shared bodily substances, allow Haivaro Fasú to differentiate various kinds of beings and the varied relations that connect them.

Fatherhood entails the unidirectional transmission of substances and the performance of a non-reciprocal relation of protection. Brotherhood entails a sharing of substances that parallels the *generalized reciprocity* characterizing this relation. Spouses exchange substances just as they exchange the respective products of their labour in a relation characterized by complementarity and *balanced reciprocity*. 'Others', from which substances were formerly taken, were and remain subject to *negative reciprocity* where people take without giving in return. Thus, reciprocity in its different forms parallels considerations about substances and represents the prism through which people at Haivaro apprehend and construct their relational universe. And, further, it is through this prism that they understand the changes experienced in modern contexts. Throughout this thesis, I have shown that, in modern contexts, where representations about substances are challenged or given less emphasis, the performance of the associated relational form may be given increasing emphasis. In this sense, it is possible to say that relationships are being more and more disembodied. Indeed, it is according to the form of reciprocity performed and the

extent to which it is – or can be – achieved that people at Haivaro negotiate and renegotiate their relations with both former and new entities now populating their world and, in this way, reorder – change – that world.

[...] the body is not only the expression and instrument of the reproduction of a social order, it can also be used to challenge this order, to subvert it' (Godelier & Panoff 1998: xi, my translation).

In this thesis I have highlighted the incorporated aspect of relationships among Haivaro Fasu. A specific social order is reproduced through the transmission and sharing of particular bodily substances and specific individuals are reproduced through subtle but visible transformations of their body, particularly of their skin. Thus, in keeping with the above quotation, it is notably through their body that people at Haivaro attempt to respond to the multiple changes that have affected their lives through recent decades. Though the link between the challenge of representations of bodily substances and the challenge of traditional patterns of alliance may be unconscious, people at Haivaro very consciously alter their bodies to both integrate and respond to the changes that affect them and, thereby, alter ways in which they relate to each other. The limited emphasis put on substances in shaping gender relations may be seen as a process of 'disembodiment' of those relations. However, the new forms of gender relations that people at Haivaro experience or desire are, in some way, re-incorporated through their ways of altering their bodies. In this sense, while 'reading the skin' has often proved fruitful in the analysis of identity and social relations (O'Hanlon 1989; Strathern, A. J. 1975; Strathern & Strathern 1971; Townsend 1995; Turner 2012), at Haivaro it has been additionally productive in revealing the changes that people desire, or attempt to deal with, and the ambiguities inherent in those attempts.

'Mipela sanis liklik, tasol still, mipela wankain olsem tumbuna liklik'.

'We have changed a bit, and yet, we are still a bit like our ancestors'. The influences that Haivaro people have been subject to since missionaries and colonial officers entered their lands in the 1950s have been multiple. In different ways they have affected people's understandings of their relation to land, their representations

of substances, and the extent to which different forms of reciprocity might be performed. In response to such influences, people have used the interplay between these three components to both adjust to a new world and adjust this new world to themselves. As shown throughout this thesis, that interplay provides opportunities to place more or less emphasis on one or another as circumstances vary. In this sense, Haivaro people's specific ways of emerging from and existing through a lifeworld that is built through particular understandings of relations have constituted a powerful resource to encompass the multiple influences that they have been subject to in their historical trajectories. However, to imply that such adjustments were made 'naturally', and painlessly, would be to ignore inequalities that may have existed in the past and continue to exist in the present as people at Haivaro are increasingly confronted by these multiple influences. Among those influences, the establishment on their land of a logging company has affected them deeply, for the people at Haivaro engaged with this company more intensely than they engaged with any other influence from the outside world.

'Dispela kampani kam na katim diwai blo mipela na planti samtin ol sanis. Sampela sanis em gutpela; sampela sanis em ino gutpela'.

'Many things have changed since the company started to cut our timber. Some changes were good, some changes were not good'. Although their understandings of relationships that built – and continue to build – their lifeworld have remained, people at Haivaro are quite conscious of the fact that these understandings have been subject to changes. On the one hand, they often acknowledge that the money brought by the logging company has allowed them to 'live in stronger and more durable houses', to 'lighten their burden thanks to steel tools', to 'travel far away and discover many new and interesting things', or to 'taste new kinds of delicious food'. On the other hand, in their minds and words, the logging company is also responsible for 'the damaging of their trees, rivers and sacred sites', for 'the introduction of alcohol and marijuana which damage their community'¹¹¹, for 'the introduction of store-bought food that

¹¹¹ This quotation, and others, reflects understandings and interpretations of people at Haivaro. They should not be taken to imply that exogenous substances such as alcohol and marijuana were in fact introduced by the logging company.

makes people fat rather than muscled', and for 'the increasing laziness of people made possible by money that can buy everything without having to work hard' for instance.

'I work here since twenty years and they did not change even a little bit', a manager of the logging company once told me. The people at Haivaro have a totally different appreciation of the situation. From their perspective, their engagement with the logging company has affected their lifeworld and themselves a lot, and not always for the better.

In this thesis, I have argued that significant changes have occurred and continue to occur within the relational universe of Haivaro Fasú. The physical transformation of their environment due to timber extraction, the consequent exodus of several non-human beings that formerly inhabited it, and the necessity to accommodate their understandings of land to certain legal requirements have deeply affected both their land and their relation to it. The way in which, and the extent to which, reciprocal relations can or should be performed seems to have taken on greater importance than land or substances in defining and shaping both identity and social relations. These relations are becoming less embodied, or re-embodied differently, whether within the land or the human body.

People at Haivaro often asked me to help them attract more companies to their land, whether to extract timber, gold, gas or oil. This should not, however, be seen as a lack of concern for the ecological or social damage that would necessarily accompany such projects and of which they are deeply conscious. It would be more accurate to say that these requests betray a strong desire for modernity and for the improvements it could bring: western education, health care, alleviation of workload, opportunities to travel. Older people would like a brighter future for their children, a future that, they wish, would be less difficult than their own present. Younger people would like to be part of the new and attractive world they are progressively discovering, and thus improve the prestige of their community. Currently, extraction of natural resources has been the only model of development presented and made available to them, so that they saw no choice but to try dealing with the inconveniences associated with such projects. They did so – and continue to do so – with the means at their disposal.

And despite the titanic character of the task, they do not seem to give up but, rather, keep thinking of new ways to shape their future and that of their children. For people at Haivaro, it is a matter of honour that they choose their own life trajectories within the freedoms and constraints brought up by the modern context that now encompasses them.

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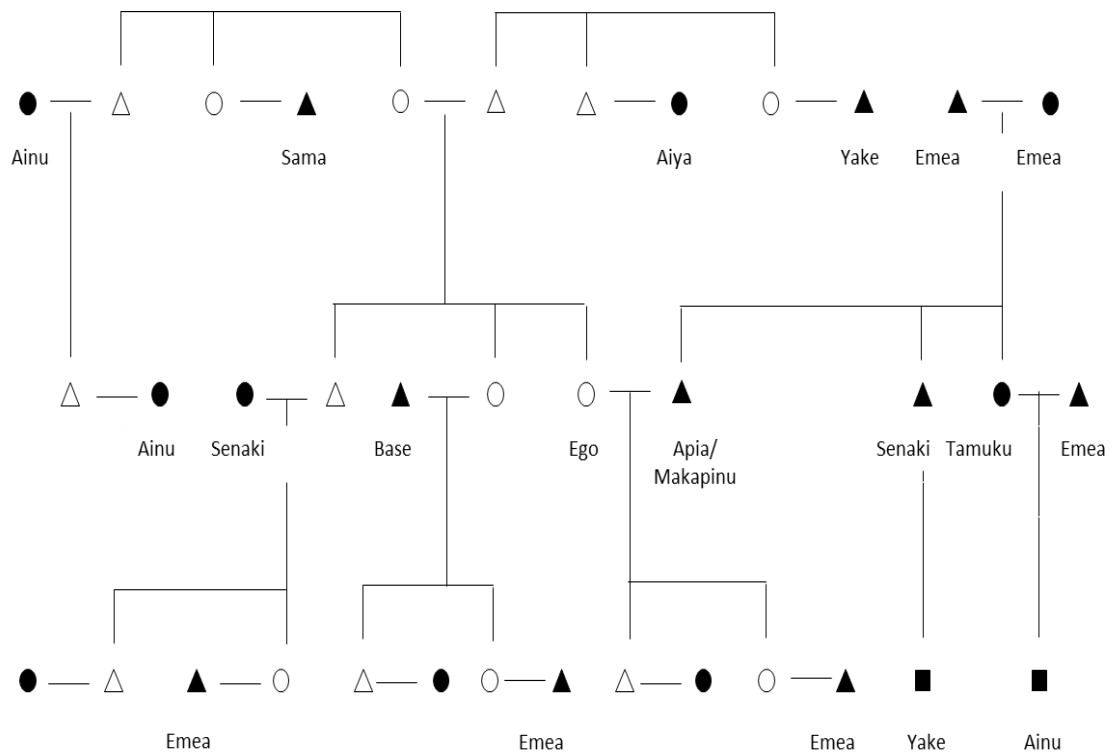
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APPENDIX 1: EXAMPLES OF SCULPTED PATTERNS ON TREE TRUNKS



APPENDIX 2: ALLIANCE TERMINOLOGY FOR A FEMALE EGO



APPENDIX 3: CUSTOMARY LAND REGISTRATION AND DEVELOPMENT PROCESS

Customary Land Registration and Development Process

1. Preparation of a sketch map of all customary land owned by ILG – Registered Surveyor may be engaged to verify (ILG + Private Surveyor)
2. Submission of birth information forms to Civil Registry by ILG to obtain Birth Certificates (ILG + CR)
3. Preparation and adoption of the Constitution by ILG (ILG)
4. Convening and submission of records of Annual General Meeting (ILG)
5. Submission of Application for Incorporation of ILG to the Registrar of ILG (ILG + RILG)
6. Registrar of ILG:
 - (i) Gazette the Notice of Application;
 - (ii) Send copies to the District Administrator & others for any possible objections.
7. Verification Report from the District Administrator (DA)
Note: When disputes arise, refer to Magisterial Services (Land Court)
8. Issuance of Certificate of Incorporation by the Registrar of ILG (RILG)
9. ILG convenes AGM to identify portions of land for development (ILG)
10. Survey and Preparation of Registration Plan by ILG to be vetted by Surveyor General (ILG + SG)
11. ILG submit Application for Registration of customary land (ILG + RCL)
12. Verification of the Application by the Director of Customary Land (DCL)
Note: When disputes arise, refer to Magisterial Services (Land Court)
13. Director of CL (DCL + RS):
 - (i) Publish Registration Plan;
 - (ii) Submit a copy of the plan to the Regional Surveyor.
14. Director of CL:
 - (i) Prepare and forward a copy of Final Registration Plan to ILG;
 - (ii) Prepare Final Registration Plan.
15. Registration of Customary Land and Issuance of Certificate of Title (DCL)
16. Land Development Phase (Various including ILG)
 - (i) Seek & select developer;
 - (ii) Prepare engineering and subdivision plans for approval by Surveyor General;
 - (iii) Seek Approval by physical planning board;
 - (iv) Registrar of Titles to issue leases;
 - (v) Market land and or property packages to interested buyers;
 - (vi) Register buyer's name in the lease records kept by ROT;
 - (vii) Prepare building and related plans and submit for approval by the Building Board; and

(viii) Actual property development.

17. Ongoing ILG Management (ILG + RILG)

- (i) AG meeting & submission of audited financial statements & minutes of AG & Executive meetings to the RILG on a regular basis.

Ongoing Land Management (ILG + RILG)

- (i) Land rents to be collected by central agency like Department of Lands & Physical Planning and distributed to ILGs;
- (ii) Land taxes to be collected by Municipal Authorities and portions distributed to ILGs;
- (iii) Stamp duties & Capital gains taxes are to be collected by IRC and distribution to National Govt, Prov. Govt, Municipal Authorities and ILGs.

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RESUME EN FRANÇAIS

INTRODUCTION

Cette thèse se propose d'analyser la manière dont les relations qui construisent l'univers de vie des Fasu de Haivaro, habitant les Basses-Terres au nord-ouest de la Province du Golfe en Papouasie-Nouvelle-Guinée, ont été et continuent d'être renégociées et reconfigurées dans le contexte de leur engagement avec une compagnie forestière exploitant leur territoire et, plus généralement, avec de multiples expressions de la modernité.

Les formes relationnelles que les humains développent avec d'autres êtres, humains ou non-humains, peuplant leur environnement, sont multiples et contextuelles. Elle émergent et se cristallisent au fur et à mesure des interactions dans et avec cet environnement, et lorsque cet environnement change – progressivement ou brutalement – les formes relationnelles qui le constituent changent avec lui.

Entre mars 2013 et mars 2016, j'ai eu le privilège de réaliser un terrain de 19 mois parmi les Fasu de Haivaro. Leur engagement dans et avec leur environnement, et plus généralement dans et avec le monde, a été profondément influencé par l'établissement sur leur territoire d'une compagnie forestière ayant exploité leur forêt entre 1996 et 2016. Plusieurs compagnies forestières et pétrolières se sont succédé dans la région avant cette période, auprès desquelles quelques habitants de Haivaro ont été employés sporadiquement. La compagnie forestière ayant établi un camp de base à quelques 3km au nord-est du village entre 1996 et 2016 appartenait au groupe Malaysian Rimbunan Hijau (RH), « *le plus grand acteur de l'industrie forestière de Papouasie-Nouvelle-Guinée* » (Gabriel & Wood 2015, ma traduction). L'extraction du bois commença sur le territoire des habitants de Haivaro et ils entrèrent en relation avec cette compagnie bien plus intensément qu'avec aucune autre jusqu'alors.

Deux influences majeures ont caractérisé ces relations. D'abord, les habitants de Haivaro se sont retrouvés connectés au « monde extérieur » plus intensément et

plus durablement qu'ils ne l'avaient été jusqu'alors. Ensuite, leur environnement immédiat a subi des transformations relativement conséquentes, à tel point que, d'une certaine manière, ce dernier leur est devenu presque étranger. Ces changements ont eu, et continuent d'avoir, de multiples conséquences sur la manière dont les Fasu de Haivaro appréhendent leurs relations dans et avec leur environnement et ses habitants humains et non-humains, ainsi qu'avec le monde d'une manière plus générale. Le propos de cette thèse est de discuter ces conséquences et ce qu'elles impliquent quant à la manière dont les Fasu de Haivaro s'engagent aujourd'hui dans et avec le monde.

Les problématiques liées au changement social ont attiré l'attention des anthropologues depuis maintenant plusieurs décennies. Dès 1967, Barth démontrait que les « systèmes sociaux et écologiques » au cœur desquels les groupes humains s'inscrivent exercent une contrainte sur, et simultanément façonnent le changement, dans une démonstration qui mettait l'accent sur la nature fondamentalement processuelle du changement social. Le rôle respectif des contraintes « matérielles » et « symboliques » – « naturelles » et « culturelles » – dans les processus de changement a été analysé en détails, remis en question et reformulé de bien des manières depuis (Godelier 1984 ; Descola 2005 ; Minnegal 1996 ; Viveiros De Castro 1998, 2009).

Pour les anthropologues s'intéressant aux processus de changement social, la Papouasie-Nouvelle-Guinée s'est avérée être un terrain particulièrement fertile. Cela est dû en partie au fait que l'expansion coloniale et missionnaire fut un phénomène plus tardif en Papouasie-Nouvelle-Guinée que dans d'autres parties du monde, offrant ainsi la possibilité aux anthropologues d'étudier le changement social alors qu'il se déroulait, pour ainsi dire, sous leurs yeux (Barker 1992 ; Kulick & Stroud 1990 ; Robbins 2001, 2004b, 2014 ; Robin 1980 ; Stewart & Strathern 1999 ; Whitehouse 1998). De plus, les dernières décennies ont vu s'opérer une intrusion significative dans le pays d'une multitude de compagnies d'extraction des ressources naturelles, accélérant et façonnant profondément les processus et l'orientation des changements sociaux, offrant ainsi aux anthropologues un large terrain d'investigation (Bacalzo *et al.* 2014 ; Bainton 2009 ; Ballard & Banks 2003 ; Banks 2002, 2008, 2009 ; Biersack 1999 ; Dwyer & Minnegal 1998 ; Ernst 1999 ; Filer 1997 ; Gilberthorpe & Hilson 2014 ; Guddemi

1997 ; Halvaksz 2008 ; Hyndman 2005 ; Jorgensen 2007 ; West 2006 ; Imbun 2007). Le changement social en Papouasie-Nouvelle-Guinée fait maintenant l'objet d'études pour le moins pléthoriques, la plupart de ces études mettant un accent tout particulier sur la manière dont les « traditions » continuent de façonner les univers de vie contemporains (par exemple Carrier 1992 ; Errington & Gewertz 1996 ; Knauft 2002 ; Strathern & Stewart 2004 ; Thomas 1992 ; Timmer 2000). Depuis la fin des années 1990, plusieurs auteurs travaillant en Papouasie-Nouvelle-Guinée ont tenté d'éclaircir ce que l'analyse des « produits » du changement social pouvait révéler quant aux « processus » de changement eux-mêmes, et sur la base de ces travaux, ont proposé de nouvelles perspectives théoriques permettant de penser et d'analyser ces « processus » (Dwyer & Minnegal 2010 ; LiPuma 2001 ; Robbins 2004a).

Parce qu'elle se focalise sur la manière dont le changement social affecte les relations entre humains d'une part, et entre humains et non-humains d'autre part, ma recherche fait écho aux préoccupations anthropologiques récentes concernant les impacts du changement sur les épistémologies et les ontologies locales (Bird-David & Naveh 2014 ; Brunois 2004 ; Clammer *et al.* 2004 ; Dwyer & Minnegal 2007 ; Peterson 2015 ; West 2005). Cependant, je ne proposerais pas dans ce travail une nouvelle définition de ces concepts et de la manière dont ils peuvent être liés l'un à l'autre, ces grandes questions théoriques étant déjà fort bien documentées et analysées par de nombreux anthropologues et philosophes (Benjamin 2015 ; Bird-David 1999, 2006 ; Blaser 2009 ; Descola 2004, 2005, 2012 ; Descola & Pálsson 1996 ; Dianteill 2015 ; Dwyer & Minnegal 1999a, 2007 ; Harrison 1995 ; Ingold 2000 ; Piette 2012 ; Santos 2015 ; Viveiros De Castro 1998, 2009). Au lieu de cela, je proposerais une analyse détaillée de cinq formes relationnelles liant les habitants de Haivaro, d'une part les uns avec les autres, et d'autre part avec les autres êtres humains et non-humains peuplant leur univers, et de la manière dont celles-ci ont été affectées par le changement ces deux dernières décennies. Ainsi, ma recherche se veut une contribution ethnographique aux débats contemporains de la discipline anthropologique.

Analyser les formes relationnelles telles qu'elles construisent et façonnent l'univers de vie des Fasu de Haivaro, et la manière dont elles ont évolué et continuent d'évoluer dans différents contextes, nécessite « *de ne plus traiter les humains et les*

non-humains comme s'il s'agissait d'entités a priori confinées dans des sphères distinctes, mais comme des composantes légitimes d'un même système social et cosmologique » (Descola, in Brunois 2007 : XIV). Dans leur engagement dans et avec le monde, les Fasu de Haivaro développent des formes relationnelles particulières qui incluent presque indifféremment des humains et des non-humains. Comme je le montrerais dans certains chapitres, un homme peut être considéré comme le père de ses enfants humains mais également, et pour les mêmes raisons, comme le père de son territoire, de certains arbres ou de certaines rivières par exemple. De la même manière, les critères permettant de considérer un être humain comme un frère n'excluent en rien la possibilité qu'une espèce végétale particulière, ou un représentant de l'avifaune par exemple, soient également considérés comme tels. Les relations réciproques structurant la socialité entre humains, si caractéristiques de nombreux peuples de Papouasie-Nouvelle-Guinée, structurent également la socialité avec certains non-humains (cochons, casoars ou chiens domestiqués par exemple), qui se retrouvent en conséquence intégrés au collectif en tant que « quasi-personnes ». Comme cela est le cas ailleurs dans le monde (Bird-David 1999 ; Brunois 2004, 2007 ; Descola 2005 ; Viveiros De Castro 1998, 2009), devenir et être un sujet incorporé dans des relations sociales est loin d'être l'apanage des seuls humains.

A Haivaro, plusieurs des relations développées par les Fasu avec leur environnement et ses habitants humains et non-humains sont pensées et vécues en termes de relations de parenté. L'importance des représentations associées aux substances procréatives et à leur mode de transmission dans la définition et la structuration des relations de parenté a fait l'objet de nombreuses recherches anthropologiques (Godelier 1982 ; Héritier 1997 ; Kurita 1994 ; Weiner 1982). A Haivaro, la transmission et le partage des substances corporelles jouent un rôle majeur dans la définition de l'identité individuelle et dans l'assignation de positions spécifiques au sein de la parenté. Le fait que ces représentations aient été et soient toujours remises en question dans le contexte moderne est un processus qui a été longuement analysé en anthropologie ces dernières décennies (Lindenbaum 2008 ; Malbrancke 2016). De telles remises en question ont également lieu à Haivaro, et le présent travail analysera le contexte dans lequel elles ont émergé, ainsi que leurs

implications quant à la place qu'occupent aujourd'hui la transmission et le partage de substances corporelles dans la définition des relations entre humains d'une part, et entre humains et non-humains d'autre part.

Cependant, comme cela a été analysé par ailleurs (Bonnemère 1990 ; Carsten 1995 ; Weismantel 1995), la parenté peut être simultanément un « donné » et un « devenir », dans le sens où il existe une certaine flexibilité permettant de négocier à la fois les identités et les positions telles qu'elles sont « assignées » par les représentations associées aux substances corporelles. A Haivaro, cette flexibilité s'exprime à travers ce que j'appellerais la performance d'une forme relationnelle donnée. Comme cela a été observé ailleurs (Bamford 2006, 2007 ; Carsten 2013 ; Miller 2007 ; Wilson 2016), l'utilisation de substances « non-corporelles » comme substituts de substances corporelles particulières peut créer des relations qui ne dériveraient pas « naturellement » des représentations liées aux substances corporelles. De la même manière, agir – ou ne pas agir – d'une certaine manière (par exemple en partageant, en aidant, en échangeant, en protégeant...) peut nouer et dénouer des relations, qu'elles reposent ou non sur des bases substantielles. Cet aspect processuel de la parenté est considéré et analysé tout au long de cette thèse, avec une attention particulière accordée à la plus ou moins grande importance attribuée par les Fasu eux-mêmes à cet aspect en fonction des différents contextes.

Enfin, comme cela a été observé auprès d'autres groupes de Papouasie-Nouvelle-Guinée (Bamford 2007), la construction des identités et des relations sociales à Haivaro émerge également de l'engagement singulier des habitants dans et avec leur environnement, et plus particulièrement leur territoire. Dans un contexte marqué par la transformation significative de cet environnement, qui de fait modifie la manière dont les Fasu s'engagent dans et avec lui, l'on comprendra aisément que c'est tout l'édifice sur lequel la construction des identités et des relations repose qui vacille, avec à la clef de sérieuses implications quant à l'avenir des êtres peuplant cet environnement, qu'ils soient humains ou non-humains. Ces implications sont analysées en détail tout au long de ce travail.

Les changements se produisant dans le contexte de l'absorption grandissante de communautés locales dans un monde moderne globalisant ont attiré l'attention des anthropologues depuis de nombreuses décennies (Comaroff & Comaroff 1993 ; Knauff 2002 ; LiPuma 2001 ; Singer & Cohn 1968 ; Strathern & Stewart 2004). En Papouasie-Nouvelle-Guinée, les études focalisées sur les impacts de l'exploitation industrielle des ressources naturelles ont concerné l'exploitation minière (Bainton 2009 ; Ballard & Banks 2003 ; Banks 2002 ; Biersack 1999 ; Filer 1997 ; Golub 2014 ; Guddemi 1997 ; Halvaksz 2008 ; Hyndman 2005 ; Jacka 2015 ; Jorgensen 2007 ; Kirsch 2006 ; Imbun 2007), les projets pétroliers et gaziers (Ernst 1999 ; Gilberthorpe 2004, 2007, 2014), et l'exploitation forestière (Bell *et al.* 2015 ; Filer *et al.* 2009 ; Gabriel & Wood 2015 ; Kabutaulaka 2005 ; Petilani 2004 ; Sillitoe & Filer 2014). Chacun de ces types de projets possède des caractéristiques qui lui sont propres. L'exploitation minière, par exemple, a été décrite comme une activité relativement localisée dont les impacts sur l'environnement physique affectent en priorité les environs proches du site d'exploitation (Ballard & Banks 2003). Cependant, il a été documenté que les impacts sur les populations humaines pouvaient dépasser de loin cet environnement immédiat (Golub 2014 ; Jacka 2015 ; Kirsch 2006). Les projets pétroliers et gaziers, bien que provenant eux-aussi de sites localisés, sont plus enclins à être incorporés dans des paysages productifs plus vastes, incluant tout un réseau de pipelines convergeant de lieux épars vers un même site d'exploitation et d'exportation. Cet aspect plus étendu des projets a été très bien analysé en Afrique et en Amérique du Sud (Finer *et al.* 2008 ; Thibault & Blaney 2003), mais en Papouasie-Nouvelle-Guinée, les impacts de tels projets ont préférentiellement été étudiés au niveau local (Gilberthorpe 2004, 2007). Alors que les études sur l'exploitation minière, pétrolière et gazière en Papouasie-Nouvelle-Guinée ont majoritairement mis l'accent sur les impacts sociaux et environnementaux à l'échelle des communautés locales, les recherches centrées sur l'exploitation forestière, par contraste, semblent plus souvent concernées par les implications écologiques, politiques et juridiques au niveau plus général du pays et du monde, en relation, bien souvent, avec la gestion « durable » ou « soutenable » des ressources forestières (Bell *et al.* 2015 ; Filer *et al.* 2009 ; Gabriel & Wood 2015 ; Kabutaulaka 2005 ; Petilani 2004 ; Sillitoe & Filer 2014 ; Wood 2014). Cependant, la région au cœur de laquelle j'ai effectué mon terrain a fait l'objet d'analyses plus

détaillées quant à l'impact de l'exploitation forestière sur les communautés locales. Il est probable que la présence dans cette région de la concession forestière Wawoi-Guavi, qui s'est trouvée au cœur de polémiques majeures au niveau national (Wood 2014), y soit pour quelque chose. Ainsi, Brunois (2004) et Wood (1995 ; 1998 ; 2013 ; 2014) ont relativement bien documenté la manière dont la présence de cette compagnie forestière a affecté certaines populations habitant cette région.

Ma propre recherche fait écho à ces récents développements de l'anthropologie de l'extraction des ressources naturelles en Papouasie-Nouvelle-Guinée. Tout comme les études dédiées à l'exploitation minière, pétrolière et gazière, l'échelle de mes observations est prioritairement locale, bien que les formes relationnelles construisant et façonnant l'univers de vie spécifique des Fasu analysées dans ce travail s'étendent en réalité bien au-delà du local. Tout comme les études consacrées à l'exploitation forestière, je prends en compte le cadre politico-juridique à l'échelle nationale et internationale, tout en focalisant plus particulièrement sur la manière dont il façonne la compréhension que les Fasu de Haivaro ont des relations qu'ils développent entre eux, ainsi qu'avec leur environnement forestier et ses habitants humains et non-humains. Enfin, bien que mes analyses du changement social concernent prioritairement les impacts directs de l'exploitation forestière, elles considèrent également les impacts indirects, c'est-à-dire les « produits dérivés » auxquels sont également confrontés les habitants de Haivaro par l'intermédiaire de la compagnie forestière : l'argent bien sûr, mais aussi les services de base (école, soins médicaux, routes, réseaux de télécommunication...), les biens et aliments manufacturés, l'éducation occidentale, les « étrangers » apportant avec eux leur propre vision du monde... Par tous ces aspects, ma recherche se veut une contribution au débat anthropologique contemporain relatif à l'extraction des ressources naturelles, en Papouasie-Nouvelle-Guinée comme ailleurs, tout en présentant une perspective originale sur un cas ethnographique particulier.

Entre Mars 2013 et Mars 2016, j'ai eu l'opportunité, en plus de mes recherches conduites au village de Haivaro, de visiter le village de Kuri¹¹² ainsi que les camps

¹¹² Le village de Kuri, situé à environ 40km au sud-est de Haivaro, est le village le plus au sud habité par un groupe de langue Fasu.

établis par la compagnie forestière dans ou près des deux villages. J'ai pu également collecter des données au cours d'un séjour de quelques semaines passées à Port Moresby, la capitale du pays, où quelques habitants de Haivaro résident parfois temporairement pour des raisons variées. Les données servant de base à cette recherche ont été collectées selon les méthodes classiques de l'ethnographie, notamment l'observation participante, la cartographie par Global Positioning System (GPS), les entretiens individuels et collectifs, les relevés systématiques, ou l'analyse de documents juridiques liés à l'exploitation forestière.

Le village de Haivaro est situé dans la forêt tropicale des Basses-Terres, à l'extrême nord-ouest de la Province du Golfe en Papouasie-Nouvelle-Guinée (Figure 1). En 2013-2014, environ 230 personnes résidaient à Haivaro, la plupart appartenant au groupe linguistique appelé Fasu dans la littérature anthropologique. Ce groupe linguistique comprend « environ 1,100 personnes vivant dans la forêt tropicale et les vallées de marais à sagoutiers au sud et au sud-est du lac Kutubu » (Gilberthorpe 2014 : 82, ma traduction). Les habitants de Haivaro se nomment eux-mêmes les *Namo Aporo* (littéralement « les vrais hommes »), à l'instar des groupes Fasu du nord (Gilberthorpe 2004). Ils partagent d'ailleurs avec ces groupes une langue commune, le *Namo me* (littéralement « le vrai langage »), affiliée à l'ouest au stock de l'ouest de Kutubu et présentant des affinités avec le stock de la Nouvelle-Guinée du centre et du sud, et au nord avec le stock des Hautes-Terres de l'est de la Nouvelle-Guinée (Franklin 1975). Leurs voisins au nord et au sud-est sont d'autres groupes Fasu, tandis qu'au nord-ouest il s'agit des Kasua, et au sud-ouest des Konomo¹¹³.

Les habitants de Haivaro sont principalement des chasseurs-horticulteurs, vivant de la culture de patates douces et de plusieurs variétés de bananes cultivées dans les jardins, de l'exploitation de plusieurs variétés de palmiers sagoutiers et des produits de la chasse et de la pêche. Depuis les années 1990, leur alimentation est complétée par des produits manufacturés tels que le riz, les noodles, le poisson en conserve et le poulet en barquette, obtenus dans les épiceries appartenant à la compagnie forestière exploitant la région.

¹¹³ Konomo est le nom donné par les habitants de Haivaro au groupe vivant dans l'actuel village de Kamusi.

La socialité parmi les résidents de Haivaro était – et d’une certaine manière, nous le verrons par la suite, demeure – marquée par les échanges compétitifs¹¹⁴, le paiement de compensations guerrières et le transfert d’épouses contre un « prix de la fiancée » (Gilberthorpe 2004, 2007). Leur organisation sociale est principalement fondée sur un modèle de descendance patrilinéaire (Minnegal *et al.* 2015), flexible toutefois au recrutement externe, et structurée autour d’une unité sociale appelée *aporo ira* (littéralement « homme arbre »). Il y a six *aporo ira* à Haivaro, nommés Hemyama, Kikiri, Yuria Siriki, Kasua Rebeta, Kasere et Simayu. Le modèle de résidence était et demeure principalement virilocal, les épouses étant associées à l’*aporo ira* de leur mari, bien que l’affiliation à leur *aporo ira* d’origine (celui de leur père) ne soit ni reniée ni effacée.

Le regroupement de communautés autrefois dispersées sur un large territoire en autant de Grandes Demeures traditionnelles, encouragé à la fois par les missionnaires et les patrouilles coloniales, a débuté dans les années 1950 (voir Chapitre 1). A l’origine, plusieurs patrilignages se sont regroupés pour former des hameaux dispersés dans les environs de l’actuel village de Haivaro. Après l’achèvement d’une piste d’atterrissage en 1986 sous l’égide des missionnaires de l’Eglise Evangélique de Papouasie-Nouvelle-Guinée¹¹⁵, ces hameaux se sont regroupés à environ 3km au nord de celle-ci, en un unique village appelé Haivaro Swamp (*Haivaro fau* en langue *Namo me*, littéralement « le marais de Haivaro »), situé à environ « km au nord de l’actuel village. La présence de la piste d’atterrissage a progressivement accru l’accès des populations locales aux biens exogènes tels que les haches en acier, les machettes, les couteaux, les allumettes, le savon ou le sel. Bien que les missionnaires aient quitté la région vers la fin des années 1980, les habitants de Haivaro sont restés affiliés soit à l’Eglise Evangélique de Papouasie-Nouvelle-Guinée, soit à l’Eglise des Adventistes du Septième Jour¹¹⁶.

Lorsque les missionnaires ont quitté la région, la piste d’atterrissage fut dans un premier temps abandonnée. Vers 1990, Turama Forest Industries (TFI) établit un camp

¹¹⁴ Les échanges compétitifs parmi les Fasu du sud s’opéraient à moins vaste échelle, toutefois, que ceux constatés dans les Hautes-Terres ou parmi les Fasu du nord.

¹¹⁵ Evangelical Church of Papua New Guinea (ECPNG).

¹¹⁶ Seventh day Adventists (SDA).

à Kuri. Cependant, Kuri étant situé dans la plaine alluviale de la rivière Turama, le village était constamment inondé durant la saison des pluies, rendant impossible l'utilisation de sa piste d'atterrissage par les avions affrétés par la compagnie forestière. Cette dernière commença alors à utiliser la piste d'atterrissage de Haivaro pour transporter des passagers, de l'équipement et des marchandises. En 1996, TFI établit un camp près de l'ancien village d'Haivaro Swamp, afin d'exploiter plus aisément les ressources forestières de cette zone. Progressivement, les *aporo ira* résidant à Haivaro Swamp se sont regroupés autour de la piste d'atterrissage, pour former l'actuel village de Haivaro. Les habitants de l'actuel village vivent maintenant dans des maisons abritant principalement des familles nucléaires (époux, épouse et enfants), groupées par *aporo ira*. Des routes, une école communautaire et un poste de secours furent financés par la compagnie forestière durant les vingt dernières années. De plus, grâce au Fonds des Bénéfices Annuels¹¹⁷, la compagnie forestière sponsorisa une « maison communautaire » équipée d'une radio reliant les habitants de Haivaro à la Mission Aviation Fellowship (MAF), affrétant des avionnettes assurant le transport de passagers à travers tout le pays, et paya les frais de scolarité et de transports permettant aux jeunes résidents de Haivaro de suivre un cursus scolaire auprès des écoles missionnaires privées de Port Moresby. En 2013-2014, deux nouvelles églises furent bâties à Haivaro pour les pratiquants ECPNG et SDA, financées par ce même Fonds. Enfin, la compagnie exploitant les ressources forestières situées sur le territoire des habitants de Haivaro, ces derniers commencèrent à recevoir des royalties et des premiums équivalant à environ un à deux millions de kina chaque année¹¹⁸.

Ces deux dernières décennies, la présence d'une compagnie forestière sur leur territoire a relié les habitants de Haivaro à un monde plus vaste de maintes manières, et leur a permis de bénéficier d'un revenu par personne relativement élevé au regard des standards papous. Cependant, en Novembre 2014, le camp de la compagnie forestière a quitté la région suite à l'épuisement des ressources, ce qui a provoqué une

¹¹⁷ Annual Benefit Fund (ABF). L'ABF est un Fonds qui fut négocié lorsque les propriétaires fonciers de Haivaro ont signé un accord avec la compagnie forestière. Les bénéfices de ce Fonds ont pour but de faciliter le développement d'infrastructures profitant à la communauté dans son ensemble.

¹¹⁸ En 2013-2014, 1 kina était équivalent à 0,31 euros environ. La question des bénéfices financiers liés à l'exploitation forestière est extrêmement délicate à Haivaro, pour des raisons que j'expliquerai ultérieurement. Il est fort possible que les bénéfices financiers liés à cette exploitation aient en réalité été bien supérieurs à cette estimation.

brusque chute de revenus pour les habitants de Haivaro, ainsi que la disparition de plusieurs services de base fournis par la compagnie : médecin, épicerie, voitures... D'autres changements sont à redouter puisqu'il se pourrait que le camp principal de Kuri quitte la région lui aussi en 2017, ré-isolant encore un peu plus les habitants de Haivaro.

Le choix de ce cas ethnographique particulier est pertinent pour maintes raisons. D'abord, la plupart des études ethnographiques menées auprès des groupes Fasu ont été conduites auprès des groupes du nord (Gilberthorpe 2004, 2007, 2014 ; Kurita 1985, 1988, 1994, 1995 ; Williams 1940, 1941). Une étude complémentaire auprès des groupes plus au sud constitue donc une contribution importante à l'ethnographie de la région et du groupe linguistique Fasu plus particulièrement.

Ensuite, la portée de ma recherche, focalisée sur les changements affectant l'engagement et les relations développées par un groupe particulier dans et avec le monde, diffère significativement des études du changement effectuées auprès du groupe linguistique Fasu. Par exemple, le travail de Kurita est plutôt centré sur l'articulation entre les niveaux local et global du changement. Bien que ses travaux offrent une perspective historique, politique et environnementale fort intéressante, ma propre recherche, principalement centrée sur l'appréhension locale du changement, offre une ethnographie illustrant la diversité culturelle et sociale pouvant exister au sein d'un groupe linguistique donné et, en ce sens, se révèle complémentaire des travaux de Kurita.

Les analyses de Gilberthorpe fournissent également une base essentielle à ma propre recherche, en ce sens qu'elles touchent aux modes locaux d'adaptation sociale aux forces exogènes de changement parmi les Fasu. La pertinence particulière de ses travaux quant à ma propre recherche réside dans le fait que, bien que les groupes Fasu du nord et du sud soient intimement liés culturellement et linguistiquement, il existe des différences subtiles entre ces groupes en termes de contexte socio-écologique et d'histoire de développement qui pourraient permettre d'affiner l'identification de certaines variables du changement social. En effet, les groupes du nord vivent en

région montagneuse près du lac Kutubu tandis que les Fasu de Haivaro vivent au cœur de la forêt tropicale des basses-terres. Ces environnements différents exercent des contraintes et offrent des possibilités différentes quant aux mécanismes d'adaptation au changement. Ensuite, eu égard à leur localisation respective, les groupes du nord et du sud interagissent avec des groupes voisins fort différents, les groupes du nord ayant par exemple des relations plus proches avec les groupes des hautes-terres avec lesquels ils développent des échanges compétitifs de manière plus intense que les Fasu de Haivaro. Ces derniers, en revanche, ont un engagement historique plus fort avec les groupes côtiers du sud. Cet engagement avec des groupes aux caractéristiques culturelles et sociales distinctes a probablement joué un rôle dans les expressions du changement telles qu'elles peuvent être observées entre les Fasu du nord et les Fasu du sud. Enfin, depuis 1990, les groupes Fasu du nord sont engagés avec une compagnie d'exploitation pétrolière tandis que les Fasu de Haivaro sont concernés par l'exploitation forestière. Cette distinction majeure a probablement influé la nature et l'intensité des forces de changement. Bien que ma recherche ne constitue pas en soi une étude comparative entre les Fasu du nord et ceux du sud, elle se veut néanmoins une base ethnographique qui pourra permettre de futures comparaisons.

L'originalité de ma recherche, comparée à d'autres analyses des impacts de l'extraction des ressources naturelles sur les communautés locales, réside également dans le fait qu'elle tente d'appréhender l'un des acteurs principaux – la compagnie forestière – non comme une entité monolithique comparable à n'importe quelle autre compagnie forestière, mais bien plutôt à travers la perspective des différents acteurs qui la constituent. Dans un article consacré à l'exploitation minière, Ballard & Banks (2003 : 90, ma traduction) recommandaient en effet aux anthropologues d'être « *plus attentifs à la structure et aux politiques internes des corporations, eu égard à leurs impacts complexes, révélateurs et déstabilisants sur les communautés locales* ». Malgré la suspicion évidente des gérants de la compagnie forestière à mon égard, j'ai pu malgré tout réaliser plusieurs entretiens avec eux, révélant ainsi leur propre vision d'eux-mêmes, de leurs relations avec les habitants de Haivaro et de leurs activités dans la région. Le contenu de ces entretiens, ainsi que mes observations lors de fréquentes visites dans leurs locaux, sont intégrées dans le présent travail afin d'appréhender les

relations entre les Fasu de Haivaro et la compagnie forestière en termes d'influence réciproque, plutôt qu'en termes d'impacts unidirectionnels.

Afin de répondre à la problématique formulée en amont, ma thèse s'organisera en cinq chapitres traitant chacun d'une forme relationnelle singulière contribuant à construire le monde de vie Fasu. Le premier chapitre s'attachera à décrire et analyser la relation des hommes Fasu avec leur environnement. Je montrerais dans ce chapitre que cette relation est mutuellement constitutive et qu'elle est métaphorisée par les Fasu en termes d'une relation paternelle, construite autour d'une relation de protection qui, si elle n'est pas à proprement parler réciproque, n'exclut pas la possibilité d'un retour. Le second chapitre s'attachera à étudier la relation fraternelle telle que construite et pensée par les Fasu de Haivaro. L'importance du partage de substances corporelles, mais aussi de la performance d'une relation caractérisée par la réciprocité généralisée où chaque terme partage ce qu'il a, quand il a, seront mis en avant pour expliquer que cette relation fraternelle est inclusive d'êtres à la fois humains et non-humains, et est en mesure, dans le contexte moderne, de s'étendre à des êtres plus distants, géographiquement et socialement. Le troisième chapitre prolongera l'investigation de l'univers relationnel Fasu en analysant les relations conjugales, en montrant notamment que ces relations, bien que caractérisées par une réciprocité symétrique qui se doit d'être continuellement performée, sont éminemment ancrées dans le corps par l'importance accordée à l'échange de substances corporelles donnant naissance à un enfant. Dans le contexte moderne, le jeu entre substances et performance permet à l'alliance d'être renégociée, dans un double mouvement d'ouverture et de fermeture dont les implications seront discutées dans le chapitre. Un quatrième chapitre focalisera plus largement sur les relations de genre, qui incluent les relations conjugales mais pas uniquement. Dans ce chapitre seront analysées les évolutions de ces relations, et la manière différente mais complémentaire dont les hommes et les femmes Fasu appréhendent et répondent à ces changements. Comme nous le verrons, le corps, et plus particulièrement la peau, jouent un rôle crucial dans ce processus. Enfin, un cinquième et dernier chapitre ouvrira la perspective en analysant les relations des Fasu avec autrui, c'est-à-dire avec d'autres humains non-Fasu. Comme nous le verrons, c'est la réciprocité négative qui

caractérise la relation à l'autre et, si cette forme relationnelle s'est maintenue dans le temps, les êtres composant la catégorie définie de cette manière ne sont plus aujourd'hui les mêmes qu'hier.

ETRE UN WAFAYA : CONSTRUIRE LE MONDE EN PRENANT SOIN

Situé dans la forêt tropicale des Basses-Terres au nord-ouest de la Province du Golfe en Papouasie-Nouvelle-Guinée, le territoire des Fasu de Haivaro couvre une superficie d'environ 1900km², entre le Mont Bosavi au nord-ouest, le plateau Darai au nord-est et les collines Biwai au sud. Ce territoire appartient à 6 *aporo ira* résidant principalement dans le village de Haivaro.

Les rapports des patrouilles coloniales australiennes (Allen 1953 ; Ethell 1938 ; McGregor 1955 ; Phillips 1957-58 ; Rob 1948), ainsi que les récits migratoires recueillis à Haivaro suggèrent qu'avant les intrusions missionnaire et coloniale dans la région, les membres de ces *aporo ira* étaient disséminés sur l'ensemble de ce territoire, se regroupant parfois en Grandes Demeures traditionnelles ou s'éparpillant en plus humbles campements forestiers, au rythme de la maturation des ressources de subsistance, des épidémies, des raids et autres épisodes guerriers.

De ces migrations communes, et de cet engagement commun dans et avec cet environnement particulier, est née une histoire commune entre les membres des différents *aporo ira*, une identification et un attachement communs à un territoire donné. Un collectif singulier a émergé en même temps que le territoire auquel ce collectif s'est progressivement identifié. A partir des années 1940 et dans les décennies qui suivirent, colons australiens et missionnaires s'attelèrent à cristalliser cette co-identification en sédentarisant les groupes dans des villages particuliers, identifiables et identifiés. De ce long processus est né le village de Haivaro qui, bien qu'ayant conservé son nom au cours du temps, a lui aussi maintes fois « migré » au gré des pérégrinations Fasu.

Les relations qui forment l'engagement des Fasu de Haivaro dans et avec leur environnement sont multiples. Elles ont néanmoins en commun le fait qu'à travers elles émergent à la fois un collectif d'hommes, de femmes et d'enfants qui s'identifient comme « Haivaro », et un univers de vie singulier qui s'articule autour du village éponyme. Parmi ces relations, celle tissée par les hommes avec la portion de territoire

dont ils sont responsables et dont ils prennent soin nous renseigne à la fois sur la manière dont les deux co-émergent à travers cette relation, mais aussi sur la manière dont la pensée Fasu appréhende les relations entre humains d'une part, et les relations entre humains et non-humains d'autre part.

A Haivaro, c'est lorsqu'il se marie et donne naissance à son premier enfant qu'un homme se voit confier une portion du territoire commun, dont il aura la charge de prendre soin et grâce à laquelle il pourra assurer la subsistance et la pérennité de son foyer. Les diverses formes d'engagement de cet homme dans et avec cette portion d'environnement dont il a maintenant la charge se traduit en langue Fasu par le verbe « *rakiraka* », que les Fasu traduisent par le terme pidgin « *wokim* », « travailler ». Ce verbe est utilisé dans divers contextes. « *Hemo rakiraka*¹¹⁹ », par exemple, est l'expression utilisée pour décrire le travail des femmes dans leurs jardins, travail duquel émergent, à partir d'un lopin de terre indifférencié, les produits assurant la subsistance familiale et les relations réciproques structurant la socialité Fasu, entre d'autres termes la reproduction des individus et du groupe. « *Kau rakiraka*¹²⁰ » est l'expression utilisée pour décrire les diverses transformations de la peau et du corps se déroulant au cours des initiations masculines et féminines, à partir desquelles une masse indifférenciée d'enfants, « *hokosa* », est transformée en individus genrés et sexualisés, jeunes garçons, « *mano* », et jeunes filles, « *masira* », aptes à assurer la reproduction de la société. Le verbe « *rakiraka* » traduit donc le travail, l'investissement humain générant, presque à partir du néant, un univers de vie et les êtres humains et non-humains qui le peuplent. Rien de surprenant, dès lors, que ce verbe décrive également l'engagement des hommes dans et avec la portion de territoire qui leur est confiée, « *hauaka rakiraka* », « travailler la terre, le territoire ».

Cependant, dans ce contexte particulier, les Fasu de Haivaro traduisent plus volontairement le verbe « *rakiraka* » par le terme pidgin « *lukautim* », « prendre soin » ou « veiller sur », traduisant une forme relationnelle principalement marquée par la protection. Cette relation est appréhendée par les Fasu dans les termes d'une relation paternelle. En effet, en prenant soin de, en protégeant son territoire, un homme

¹¹⁹ De « *hemo* », « jardin » et « *rakiraka* », « travailler ».

¹²⁰ De « *kau* », « peau » et « *rakiraka* », « travailler ».

devient « *hauaka wafaya* », le père de ce territoire, et de tous les êtres humains et non-humains qui le peuplent. Bien que le territoire forestier puisse « aider » son *wafaya* en produisant des ressources en échange des soins prodigués, tout comme les enfants veilleront sur leur père vieillissant en retour de l'investissement paternel, cette relation n'est pas conçue dans la pensée Fasu comme une forme de réciprocité, mais plutôt comme une relation mutuellement constitutive, en ce sens que c'est en veillant sur, en protégeant son territoire et les êtres humains et non-humains qui le peuplent qu'un homme les fait exister et simultanément existe en tant que *wafaya*.

Ainsi, un homme devient simultanément le père de ses enfants humains « *hokosa wafaya* », de son foyer « *ape wafaya* », de son territoire « *hauaka wafaya* » et de ses habitants, suggérant de ce fait que la pensée Fasu ne distingue pas – ou peu – les relations « sociales » des relations « environnementales », mais les conçoit plutôt comme un univers relationnel complexe articulé autour du personnage de *wafaya*.

Cependant, l'arrivée en 1996 de la compagnie forestière sur le territoire des Fasu de Haivaro a affecté cet univers relationnel complexe de bien des manières. L'extraction du bois a modifié – abîmé – l'habitat forestier, et les multiples services apportés par ladite compagnie (école, routes, poste de secours...) ont fait émerger le village comme épiscentre dont les habitants aujourd'hui peinent à s'éloigner pour de longues périodes, de peur de « manquer » un événement crucial. Le territoire forestier est de moins en moins arpenté, et l'engagement des hommes avec leur environnement s'est progressivement réduit aux abords du village. D'une certaine manière, les hommes Fasu sont aujourd'hui les pères d'un territoire géographique extrêmement limité.

Dans le même temps, une partie des êtres peuplant ce territoire en a été volontairement exclue, tandis que d'autres se sont exilés d'eux-mêmes. Ainsi, en 1996, le cheptel porcin domestique autrefois entretenu par les habitants de Haivaro fut exterminé. Jadis considérés par les Fasu comme de « quasi-personnes », et faisant partie intégrante des événements sociaux (mariages, funérailles, échanges cérémoniels...) majeurs rythmant la vie Fasu, il fut décidé à l'arrivée de la compagnie que l'élevage de porcs domestiques appartenait à un passé obsolète, antithétique de

la modernité à laquelle aspiraient les habitants et incarnée par l'arrivée de la compagnie forestière. Les *Yateteka makata* quant à eux, êtres hybrides mi-humains mi-casoars vivant en forêt dense ont, selon les dires des habitants de Haivaro eux-mêmes, décidé de quitter le territoire abîmé par la déforestation pour s'exiler en des contrées lointaines plus hospitalières, loin des tumultes liés à l'extraction du bois. En plus d'avoir vu ses frontières se resserrer autour du village donc, l'univers relationnel Fasu construit autour de la figure du *wafaya* s'est peu à peu dépeuplé d'une partie des êtres qui le composaient et en faisaient un univers si singulier.

En conséquence, la figure du *wafaya* a vu les critères présidant à sa construction identitaire renégociés, et les principes guidant sa relation à l'environnement reconfigurés. D'une identité en devenir, construite à travers l'engagement et l'apprentissage progressif des savoirs empiriques, mythiques et historiques liés au territoire conférant au *wafaya* une responsabilité et une légitimité sur ses terres et les êtres les peuplant, elle est devenue une identité transmise et acquise de fait, un statut aujourd'hui fortement corrélé à la propriété foncière de terres devenues aliénables et peuplées d'êtres passant du statut de sujet à celui d'objets à valeur marchande. S'il apprenait autrefois progressivement à devenir un « bon père » veillant sur et protégeant son territoire et ses habitants, le *wafaya* aujourd'hui se confond de plus en plus intimement avec l'unique figure du propriétaire foncier.

Dans le même temps, les bénéfices financiers dérivés de l'exploitation forestière ont relié les Fasu de Haivaro au reste du monde, notamment en leur offrant l'opportunité de voyager bien au-delà des frontières de leurs territoires claniques. Les voyages dans les principales villes du pays (Port Moresby, Goroka, Mount Hagen, Lae) se sont faits de plus en plus fréquents, et quelques habitants triés sur le volet ont eu l'opportunité de voyager à l'étranger, en Malaisie, aux Philippines et dans les îles Fidji essentiellement. La relation « paternelle » caractéristique des interactions des hommes Fasu dans et avec leur environnement a-t-elle pu s'étendre à ces nouveaux territoires ? Il semblerait que non, et pour plusieurs raisons.

La relation du *wafaya* dans et avec son environnement et les êtres qui le peuplent implique un engagement à long terme au cours duquel le *wafaya* lui-même et son territoire en viennent à co-exister. Les séjours urbains sont souvent trop courts, quelques semaines ou quelques mois tout au plus, pour permettre un tel processus et une telle intensité de relation. Qui plus est, ces terres appartiennent à d'autres, le plus souvent inconnus, si bien qu'aucune responsabilité ni même légitimité ne sauraient découler d'un quelconque investissement, quand bien même ce dernier serait envisageable. Enfin, la notion de production, et même de co-production, est essentielle à l'émergence de cette relation de paternité. Les espaces urbains ne sont en rien produits, ils ne sont que consommés grâce à l'argent dérivé de l'exploitation forestière. Comme les habitants de Haivaro le soulignent eux-mêmes, « une fois tout l'argent dépensé, nous n'avons plus les moyens de rester ».

La relation de paternité qui unissait donc autrefois un homme à son environnement forestier et aux habitants humains et non-humains qui le peuplaient, dans une symbiose délicate dont surgissaient à la fois le *wafaya* et son univers de vie, s'est profondément transformée au cours du temps. L'arrivée d'une compagnie forestière sur le territoire des Fasu de Haivaro a provoqué et accéléré une renégociation de cette relation au niveau local, tout en interdisant son extension à des espaces plus divers et lointains. Ce faisant, c'est une partie essentielle de ce qui faisait la singularité de l'univers relationnel Fasu, et donc de leur identité, qui s'est vue inéluctablement transformée.

Mais cette relation pensée en termes de paternité ne constitue pas, à elle seule, l'intégralité de l'univers relationnel Fasu. D'autres formes relationnelles liant les humains entre eux d'une part, et ces derniers aux non-humains d'autre part, caractérisent et construisent cet univers de vie singulier. Parmi elles, l'on trouve la relation de fraternité qui, liant frères humains et non humains à travers le jeu subtil des substances partagées et de la réciprocité performée, s'est vue elle aussi affectée par la présence de la compagnie forestière et, plus généralement, par les interactions de plus en plus intenses des Fasu avec le monde moderne.

ETRE UN FRERE : LE JEU DES SUBSTANCES ET DE LA PERFORMANCE

Le système de parenté Fasu, caractérisé par la filiation patrilinéaire, la résidence patri-viri-locale et la distinction entre cousins croisés et parallèles relève de la parenté de type Omaha. A Haivaro, les relations de parenté émergent et se consolident, non seulement à partir des représentations symboliques associées aux substances procréatives mâles et femelles, mais également en fonction de l'importance accordée aux relations réciproques et à la nécessité d'actualiser constamment ces relations à travers la performance concrète d'actes de réciprocité.

Pour les Fasu de Haivaro, le sperme masculin, *kore*, et le sang menstruel féminin, *meyasi*, contribuent tous deux à la création d'un fœtus dont naîtra un enfant. Le sperme constitue le squelette, les os et les dents, tandis que le sang menstruel crée la peau, la chair et le sang. Les parties masculines sont celles qui demeurent après la mort, et le masculin est donc associé dans la pensée Fasu à l'idée de force et de persistance dans le temps. Par contraste, les parties féminines se dissipent après la mort, et le féminin est donc généralement associé à l'idée d'éphéméralité et de fragilité.

Les relations de parenté Fasu sont en partie construites à partir des représentations liées à une substance particulière appelée *himu*, qui désigne à la fois le cœur en tant qu'organe, mais également un principe à l'origine de qualités humaines diverses telles que la force, le courage, ou l'honnêteté par exemple, et leur pendant négatif si cette substance est altérée. C'est le sang menstruel qui, selon les Fasu, possède la capacité d'altérer le *himu*. Selon le système de représentations Fasu, chaque individu, mâle ou femelle, possède dans son sang quatre *himu* de souches différentes, hérités respectivement de FFF, MFF, FMF et enfin MMF. Ces différentes souches ne possèdent pas la même valence dans le corps d'un individu. Ainsi, celui transmis en pure ligne agnatique est considéré comme le plus « fort », d'une certaine manière, et justifie le principe de filiation patrilinéaire. Vient ensuite le *himu* transmis par MFF, faiblement altéré par son « filtrage » dans le corps de la mère d'*ego*. Puis vient le *himu* transmis de FMF, altéré plus en amont généalogiquement par son filtrage

à travers le corps de la mère du père. Enfin, et de manière presque résiduelle, vient le *himu* transmis de MMF, altéré successivement par le sang menstruel de la mère d'*ego* et par celui de la mère de cette dernière. Selon le système de représentations Fasu donc, un individu mâle ou femelle est en partie défini par l'ordonnement singulier des différents *himu* qui le composent. Cet ordonnancement peut être plus ou moins similaire entre deux individus, et de ce degré de similitude dérive une plus ou moins grande proximité dans les liens de parenté. Ces représentations constituent donc, pour ainsi dire, le socle biologique présidant à l'organisation de la parenté Fasu.

Cependant, comme cela a déjà été observé ailleurs (Bamford 2007 ; Carsten 2013 ; Miller 2007 ; Weismantel 1995), ce socle biologique seul n'explique pas l'ensemble des relations de parenté telles que créées et pensées par les Fasu. Le cas des adoptions, relativement commun à Haivaro, crée par exemple de la parenté par le biais de l'ingestion de substances non corporelles, comme le sagou, qui fonctionnent comme substituts de la consubstantialité biologique. Dans un autre registre, agir d'une certaine manière, ou pour le dire autrement « acter une relation de manière spécifique » contribue à maintenir celle-ci, voire même dans certains cas à la créer. En effet, les différentes relations de parenté qui structurent la socialité Fasu sont caractérisées par une forme relationnelle spécifique, et en performant cette forme relationnelle, les Fasu peuvent créer de la parenté en l'absence de socle biologique initial. Ainsi, un homme qui prend soin de, qui protège, peut devenir un père. Un homme qui aide et qui partage peut devenir un frère. Inversement, un père qui ne protège pas sera déchu de sa paternité, tout comme un époux qui n'échange pas pourra voir la légitimité de son mariage remise en cause. Substances et performances sont donc les deux clefs de voûte des relations de parenté Fasu, et la mise en avant de l'un ou l'autre critère selon les circonstances confère à cette parenté un caractère particulièrement flexible, propice à la reconfiguration et aux réarrangements contextuels.

Alors que la relation de paternité décrite au chapitre premier peut être qualifiée de relation « directe », en ce sens qu'un homme, en protégeant, devient le *wafaya* des relata qu'il protège, la relation de fraternité, quant à elle, est plutôt une relation indirecte. En effet, deux êtres deviennent frères par le truchement de ce que

j'appellerais une « entité médiatrice ». Ainsi, deux êtres humains sont d'abord frères parce qu'ils partagent une même substance qu'ils ont reçu d'une ou plusieurs sources communes. En effet, les frères biologiques auront en commun l'intégralité des quatre *himu* qui les composent, possédant tous la même valence et issus des mêmes FFF, MFF, FMF et MMF. Les frères classificatoires quant à eux auront en commun deux de leurs *himu*, soit ceux issus du père, soit ceux issus de la mère, mais possédant toujours la même valence. Ces *himu*, provenant d'une ou plusieurs sources communes, façonnent en partie l'identité d'un individu et, en partageant cette substance – en étant consubstantiels – deux frères partagent donc également une identité commune, au moins partiellement. Cette consubstantialité sera ensuite renforcée par la performance de la relation appropriée, à savoir, entre frères, une réciprocité généralisée où chacun partage ce qu'il a, quand il a. Des manquements répétés à cette obligation de réciprocité généralisée pourront, le cas échéant, mettre en péril la relation fraternelle, tout comme un père qui ne « prend pas soin » peut se voir déchu de sa paternité au profit d'un autre homme.

Parfois, cette co-construction identitaire peut se faire indépendamment des substances. Par exemple, deux hommes appartenant à des *aporo ira* distincts mais prenant soin, pendant une période donnée, d'une même portion de territoire, se considéreront, et seront considérés, comme frères. Ils se co-construisent en tant que *wafaya* du même territoire et, faisant écho à la terminologie de parenté Fasu qui veut que les frères du père soient appelés pères, deux pères d'un même territoire deviennent donc logiquement frères. Ainsi, la relation de fraternité implique que la nature de l'entité à laquelle deux êtres sont liés de la même manière importe moins que le fait, justement, d'y être liés de la même manière. De plus, ce lien doit contribuer à construire une co-identité.

Cela explique que certains êtres non-humains soient considérés par les Fasu de Haivaro comme leurs frères. En effet, certaines espèces animales ou végétales sont intégrées au collectif en tant que frères, au même titre que les frères humains. Ces espèces sont dites descendre d'un ancêtre mythique de l'espèce, appelé *wainesa makata* (littéralement, « la chose dont nous sommes issus »), qui aurait donné naissance à la fois aux individus de l'espèce animale ou végétale correspondante, et

également aux membres d'un lignage particulier. Cette descendance commune est pensée par les Fasu en termes de consubstantialité, dont dériveraient, entre autres, des ressemblances physiques entre les humains et leurs frères végétaux ou animaux. Tout comme les frères humains donc, les frères non-humains émergent d'une consubstantialité, mais également du fait d'avoir été « produits » par le même territoire. Seuls les bambous situés sur le territoire des Simayu sont leurs frères. Nous retrouvons une relation commune à une troisième entité, ici le *wainesa makata*, dont découle une co-identité, ici l'appartenance à un territoire et à un lignage. Cependant, les similitudes avec la fraternité humaine s'arrêtent là puisqu'à ma connaissance, il n'y a pas performance de la réciprocité généralisée entre les humains et leurs frères non-humains. Loin d'invalider les critères de définition de la fraternité tels que décrits précédemment, cela confirme, au contraire, que le système de parenté Fasu permet aux individus de mettre l'accent sur l'un ou l'autre des multiples aspects définissant cette fraternité, et ce afin de l'adapter à des contextes divers.

C'est cette flexibilité, justement, qui permet aux Fasu de Haivaro de penser certaines relations développées en dehors de la parenté en termes de fraternité. Les bénéfices financiers dérivés de l'exploitation forestière de leur territoire ont permis, depuis maintenant deux décennies, d'envoyer certains résidents (principalement des jeunes hommes) poursuivre leur scolarité dans les grandes villes du pays, comme Mount Hagen ou Port Moresby par exemple. Dans ces centres urbains où ils séjournent en général 10 mois de l'année, les individus constituant leur réseau relationnel sont majoritairement leurs camarades de classe, et les zones fréquentées – et donc connues – sont principalement les lieux propices à la socialisation par ces pairs : cinémas, marchés, fast-foods, terrains de sports, centres commerciaux...

Lorsqu'on les interroge sur leurs relations avec leurs camarades de classe, les étudiants de Haivaro les comparent volontiers à des liens fraternels. Il existe donc, dans cette forme relationnelle nouvelle, certains aspects communs avec les relations entre frères qui encouragent les individus à penser ces relations sur le modèle de la fraternité. L'aspect consubstantiel est à exclure d'office puisqu'ils n'ont aucun lien avec ces individus avant de les rencontrer en salle de classe. Bien que les échanges de menus présents soient fréquents entre camarades de classe, ils n'ont en aucun cas le

caractère systématique qui permettrait de les associer à la performance d'une réciprocité généralisée. Lorsqu'on leur demande de décrire leurs relations avec leurs camarades de classe, les étudiants de Haivaro sont unanimes : ils possèdent en commun une condition, celle d'être des « personnes éduquées », « parlant anglais » et vouées à « trouver un travail rémunéré dans une ville ». Le parallèle avec la relation fraternelle apparaît alors clairement : ils sont reliés de la même manière à une entité commune dont découle une identité commune. En effet, les étudiants de Haivaro et leurs camarades de classe reçoivent ensemble un savoir spécifique qui leur confère une identité singulière, celle « d'individus éduqués ». Ici, le parallèle avec les initiations masculines passées est saisissant : un groupe de jeunes garçons était isolé du reste de la communauté pour recevoir un savoir ésotérique particulier leur permettant, entre autres, d'accéder à un statut particulier et valorisé, celui d'homme marié apte à reproduire la société. Ce groupe de jeunes initiés était reconnu par la communauté comme une « unité » distincte, différente du commun des mortels en quelques sortes. Les jeunes garçons qui avaient été initiés ensemble se considéraient comme frères. Dans le contexte moderne, un groupe de jeunes garçons est également isolé du reste de la communauté pour recevoir un savoir particulier – le savoir scolaire occidental – leur permettant d'accéder au statut valorisé de « travailleur salarié », souvent exprimé à Haivaro comme l'avenir de leur communauté. Ce groupe d'étudiants est également considéré comme une « unité » distincte par le reste de la communauté, puisque de retour au village durant les vacances scolaires, ils passent le plus clair de leur temps ensemble et, dans certains contextes – et particulièrement ceux liés aux relations avec la compagnie forestière où la maîtrise de la lecture et de l'écriture en anglais est primordiale – ils deviennent une véritable « ressource » que les différents *aporo ira* peuvent même s'envier, se disputer, voire « marchander » dans certains cas extrêmes.

La relation fraternelle donc, nous l'avons vu, possède certaines spécificités – dont celle d'être une relation indirecte notamment – qui lui permettent de « s'ouvrir » au monde plus facilement peut-être que des formes relationnelles plus directes, comme la paternité par exemple. Toutefois, il serait exagéré de prétendre que les relations développées en-dehors de la parenté, bien qu'en partie pensées sur le modèle de celle-ci, seraient absolument équivalentes à ces dernières. En effet, il me

semble que l'ancrage dans le corps des relations de parenté, parfois temporairement éclipsé dans certains contextes, demeure un aspect important des liens de parenté pour les Fasu de Haivaro. Les relations élaborées sur le modèle de relations de parenté mais ne possédant pas cet ancrage dans le corps par l'intermédiaire de la consubstantialité, sont en effet plus souvent éphémères. Dans le cas des camarades de classe, par exemple, bien souvent la fin de l'année scolaire est aussi celle des relations développées dans ce contexte. Dans le cas des relations d'alliance également, lorsque l'un des époux est « distant » – géographiquement mais aussi substantiellement –, la pérennité de l'union semble plus fragile, comme nous allons le voir à présent.

ETRE UN EPOUX : L'ALLIANCE CHEZ LES FASU

Le modèle de mariage préférentiel chez les Fasu de Haivaro est, pour un homme, avec sa cousine croisée matrilatérale, appelée *masira ama*, ou jeune fille-mère. L'association de l'épouse avec la mère s'explique à la fois par la similitude de leurs substances corporelles – l'épouse préférentielle possède le même *himu* dominant que la mère d'ego – et par la terminologie de parenté Fasu. Ainsi, un homme appellera *aua*, ou oncle, le frère de sa mère ainsi que le fils de ce dernier. De fait, les sœurs de ses *aua* sont ses mères ou assimilées, et la cousine croisée matrilatérale d'ego sera donc assimilée à une mère. Les Fasu de Haivaro eux-mêmes disent d'ailleurs, non sans une pointe d'ironie, qu'ils épousent leurs mères.

Afin de justifier ce choix, les Fasu mettent en avant le fait que la personnalité des individus est contenue dans leur sang, et plus particulièrement dans les différents *himu* qui le composent. Ainsi, d'une personne honnête l'on dira qu'elle possède un *himu ereketae*, un bon *himu* ; d'une personne confiante l'on dira qu'elle est *himu mapiraraka*, un *himu* sans peur ; d'une personne courageuse l'on dira *himu paroaka reke*, qu'elle possède un *himu* solide... A l'inverse, d'une personne lâche l'on dira qu'elle n'a pas de *himu*, *himu fa* ; d'une personne au comportement socialement inapproprié l'on dira qu'elle a perdu son *himu*, *himu keteketesa*, ou que son *himu* est mauvais, *himu watikisa* ; d'une personne hypocrite l'on dira qu'elle a deux *himu*, *himu teta* ; d'une personne colérique l'on dira que son *himu* est chaud, *himu sisipu*... Une jeune fille possédant, donc, le même *himu* dominant que la mère d'ego présentera, d'une certaine manière, les mêmes qualités. Il faut savoir que les Fasu de Haivaro ne sont jamais très à l'aise, d'une manière générale, face à l'imprévu, et d'une certaine manière, prendre pour conjointe une femme à la personnalité potentiellement similaire à celle de la mère semble un choix rassurant. De plus, comme ils le soulignent eux-mêmes, sauf cas exceptionnel ils grandissent auprès de leurs *masira ama* potentielles, et donc leurs qualités personnelles, qu'elles pourraient « cacher dans leur sang » comme ils disent, ont tout le temps de se révéler au grand jour, confirmant ou non la compatibilité des caractères.

La question du caractère est très importante pour les Fasu qui, selon leurs propres dires, cherchent à épouser un ou une partenaire ayant des qualités personnelles complétant les leurs. Ainsi, un homme paresseux cherchera une épouse travailleuse ; un homme colérique épousera une femme capable de l'apaiser et ainsi de suite. Cette complémentarité dans les tempéraments fait écho à une complémentarité entre les époux à un niveau plus général. En effet, les relations entre époux relèvent principalement de la réciprocité symétrique où la complémentarité entre les deux agents est nécessaire à la pérennité de l'unité familiale : l'homme construit l'ossature de la maison tandis que les femmes en font la toiture ; l'homme fournit le gibier tandis que les femmes fournissent les produits du jardin et le sagou... Mari et femme ont très peu d'activités en commun dans la vie courante : chacun s'attèle aux tâches spécifiques à son genre et en échange les produits avec son conjoint.

Chez les Fasu de Haivaro, les femmes sont classées en trois grandes catégories. La première est appelée *hinamo ereketae*, la « bonne » femme, « bonne » faisant ici référence à son *himu*, qui se doit d'être similaire à celui de la mère d'ego masculin. Il s'agit donc des *masira ama*, que l'on nomme aussi parfois les « femmes intérieures ». La deuxième catégorie est celle dite *ya hinamo*, littéralement « femme de la forêt », ou « femme d'ailleurs ». Cette référence à l'extérieur n'a pas nécessairement un caractère géographique, mais plutôt « substantiel », en ce sens que ces femmes sont celles qui ne possèdent pas un *himu* similaire à celui de la mère. A Haivaro, la nécessité d'épouser sa *masira ama* ne s'applique qu'à un seul homme d'une fratrie, qui assure ainsi la reproduction de l'alliance paternelle. Les autres frères sont ensuite libres d'épouser la partenaire de leur choix. Toutefois, ce choix ne devra pas se porter sur la troisième catégorie de femmes, *takeparaka hinamo*, littéralement la femme identique. L'identité fait ici encore référence au *himu* dominant, qui ne doit pas être le même qu'ego, c'est-à-dire qu'ego ne doit pas épouser une femme de son *aporo ira*. D'une manière générale, aucun des quatre *himu* composant le sang de son épouse ne doit correspondre au *himu* dominant d'ego, celui de son *aporo ira*. Le mélange de ces deux *himu* identiques conduirait à la maladie et à la mort, soit des époux, soit de leurs enfants.

Nous le voyons donc, les substances corporelles, et particulièrement le *himu*, jouent un rôle crucial dans le choix de l'époux approprié. Cependant, dans le contexte moderne, et comme cela a été observé ailleurs en Papouasie-Nouvelle-Guinée (Lindenbaum 2008 ; Malbrancke 2016), les représentations associées aux substances corporelles sont mises à rude épreuve. L'influence de croyances religieuses exogènes, de même que des représentations alternatives véhiculées par l'école, les institutions, ou les associations humanitaires occidentales présentes dans le pays, ont pour ainsi dire semé la confusion dans les représentations Fasu liées aux substances corporelles et aux théories de la procréation et de la conception. A Haivaro, l'arrêt des initiations dans les années 1960 sous l'influence des missionnaires a conduit, non seulement à un affaiblissement des croyances en la force vitale du *himu*, principalement transmis par le sperme, mais également à l'interruption de sa transmission par insémination des jeunes garçons au moment des initiations masculines. Dans le même temps, l'import de « techniques du corps » exogènes, telles que le port de serviettes hygiéniques ou la toilette avec du savon, ont diminué les risques de contamination des hommes par le sang menstruel féminin. Enfin, le système de parenté tel que pensé par les Fasu fut lui aussi mis à mal, puisque plusieurs étudiants ont appris à l'école que seuls leurs frères et sœurs « biologiques » possédaient le même sang qu'eux, les frères et sœurs classificatoires ayant des sangs différents et devant être considérés comme des cousins. De toutes ces influences extérieures, il résulte que les préférences et prohibitions maritales justifiées par les représentations associées aux substances corporelles perdent peu à peu de leur légitimité, affectant de ce fait la forme des unions parmi les Fasu de Haivaro.

La première conséquence de tels bouleversements est l'accroissement, parmi les habitants de Haivaro, des unions maritales autrefois considérées comme incestueuses. Ainsi, j'ai pu observer à Haivaro quelques unions entre ego masculin et la fille du fils de la sœur de la mère du père d'ego. Selon la terminologie de parenté Fasu, les fils respectifs de deux sœurs sont frères, et leurs enfants respectifs sont donc frères et sœurs et ne peuvent pas se marier. Ils possèdent en commun l'un de leurs *himu*, celui issu du père de la mère du père. De telles unions ont, lorsqu'elles sont apparues,

déclenché l'ire de la communauté qui a tenté, de bien des manières, de les empêcher. Malheureusement, à deux reprises, cette hostilité a conduit la jeune fille à se suicider, et les Fasu de Haivaro ont donc décidé de ne plus interdire formellement ces unions si les jeunes gens persistaient dans leur désir de se marier. L'argument employé par les tourtereaux concernés pour légitimer leur union est celui, bien récent, du « vrai vrai amour » qui ne peut être contrarié. Cette idéologie du « vrai vrai amour », de la romance amoureuse, provient de la rencontre de plus en plus intense entre les Fasu de Haivaro et le monde moderne, et est principalement véhiculée à travers les films étrangers et les magazines devenus accessibles aux Fasu dans les grandes villes qu'ils fréquentent. L'émergence du concept de « mariage d'amour » a souvent été associée à un développement plus important de l'agentivité individuelle observé en Mélanésie (Hewat 2008 ; Knaft 2016 ; Lindenbaum 2008) et caractéristique des nouvelles générations. Ce concept vient défier les bases sur lesquelles les modèles maritaux étaient fondés, en l'occurrence, à Haivaro, les représentations liées aux substances corporelles, donnant lieu à une progressive légitimation de formes d'unions autrefois considérées incestueuses.

Mais en même temps que l'alliance Fasu semble se « replier sur elle-même », pour ainsi dire, elle subit un deuxième mouvement presque opposé au premier en s'ouvrant à un choix beaucoup plus large de partenaires potentiels. Cette tendance a également été observée auprès d'autres groupes en Papouasie-Nouvelle-Guinée (Gilberthorpe 2007 ; Beer & Schroedter 2014). En effet, puisque le rôle joué par les substances corporelles dans la désignation d'un époux revêt une moindre importance, d'autres critères de sélection semblent s'y substituer, des critères autorisant un plus large choix de partenaires. Parmi ces critères, nous trouvons, comme nous l'avons mentionné, la romance amoureuse. Mais des critères, disons, plus pragmatiques, font aussi leur apparition. Ainsi, les femmes Fasu admettent volontiers désirer épouser les employés papous travaillant pour la compagnie forestière. Venant pour la plupart des différentes villes du pays, ils représentent pour les femmes Fasu la promesse d'une vie citadine et moderne pouvant potentiellement leur éviter le dur labeur associé à la vie au village. Quant aux hommes Fasu, leur désir se porte de plus en plus vers des femmes « éduquées » et, préférentiellement, douées pour « les affaires », ce qui,

selon leurs perceptions, semble être le cas des femmes des Hautes-Terres où ils multiplient donc les visites à la recherche de l'épouse idéale.

Si ces unions avec des partenaires distants semblent faire des envieux parmi la jeune génération, cela est moins le cas parmi les anciens, qui les perçoivent comme beaucoup plus fragiles que les unions traditionnelles avec la cousine croisée matrilatérale. Selon eux, le tempérament de tels partenaires, et donc la compatibilité et la complémentarité entre époux, sont très incertains en l'absence de substances partagées et compte-tenu du fait que les époux n'ont pas grandi ensemble. De plus, de telles unions ne renforcent pas les alliances antérieures et, en cas de dispute, le rôle médiateur joué par les familles des époux n'opère pas, puisque ces familles ne se « connaissent pas » suffisamment. L'enjeu de telles unions est moindre : leur dislocation n'entraîne pas un bouleversement interne de la société aussi important que les mariages traditionnels reproduisant des alliances antérieures. Il est donc, d'une certaine manière, plus facile de se séparer. Cette plus grande fragilité des mariages avec des partenaires distants n'est pas uniquement une perception subjective, puisque sur les 11 unions de ce type enregistrées à Haivaro, 3 s'étaient soldées par un divorce en 2016, et trois autres traversaient une période pour le moins tumultueuse, avec deux époux distants retournés dans leur ville d'origine sans intention évidente de revenir.

Les raisons profondes de ces discordes sont variées, mais ont toutes en commun des promesses non tenues. En effet, les femmes Fasu ayant épousé des citadins espéraient s'établir avec leur conjoint dans les centres urbains modernes. Au lieu de cela, leur époux voyageait le plus souvent seul, contractant dans certains cas d'autres mariages à l'extérieur. Quant aux hommes Fasu ayant épousé des citadines, les promesses d'une vie facile à Haivaro grâce aux bénéfices de l'exploitation forestière, et d'accessibilité à de nombreux services similaires à ceux trouvés dans les centres urbains, furent de courte durée et leurs épouses peu enclines à embrasser le dur labeur associé à la vie rurale, notamment l'exploitation du sagou, particulièrement associée dans leur imaginaire moderne à une « vie primitive ». L'écart entre les promesses et la réalité ou, pour le dire autrement, entre des perceptions différentes d'un même contexte, crée des tensions conjugales bien plus importantes et fréquentes

que celles rencontrées parmi les unions traditionnelles. En conséquence, bien que les mariages avec des partenaires distants non fondés sur le partage de substances soient en progression à Haivaro, il n'est pas certain que cette tendance se pérennise dans l'avenir.

D'une certaine manière, c'est le domaine plus général des relations de genre, plutôt que les seuls rapports conjugaux, qui est sujet à d'importants changements dans le contexte moderne. En effet, c'est la définition même de la féminité et de la masculinité qui évolue, délibérément ou non, et avec elle les rapports entre les genres. Ces changements font émerger des sentiments relativement ambigus chez les Fasu de Haivaro, une ambivalence qu'ils tentent de résoudre – ou d'appivoiser – à travers leur corps, comme nous allons maintenant le voir.

ETRE UN HOMME, ETRE UNE FEMME : RENEGOCIER LES RELATIONS DE GENRE

« *Ne kau sakai hokopo !* » lança un jour une jeune fille à son petit frère qui, s'agrippant à ses jambes, souhaitait manifestement être cajolé. « Ne touche pas ma peau ! » disait-elle, alors que j'aurais probablement plutôt dit « Ne me touche pas ». L'usage de la peau comme métaphore du corps, du soi ou de la personne est une caractéristique relativement commune parmi de nombreux groupes de Papouasie-Nouvelle-Guinée (Strathern, A. J. 1975 ; Strathern & Strathern 1971 ; Weiner 1988). A Haivaro, j'ai pu observer que la peau fonctionnait à la fois comme un « contenant protecteur, une interface expressive communicant une essence intérieure, et un filtre d'échanges modérant l'inscription des autres et de l'environnement » (Handcock 2012, ma traduction). Pour le dire autrement, en de multiples circonstances, c'est à travers leur peau que les Fasu agissent dans et sur le monde, et incorporent littéralement ce monde.

En effet, comme cela est le cas dans de nombreuses parties du monde (O'Hanlon 1989 ; Townsend 1995 ; Turner 2012), modeler peau, chez les Fasu de Haivaro, permet de différencier les enfants des adultes, les hommes des femmes, les époux des veufs, les défunts des vivants et ainsi de suite. Ainsi, « lire » la peau informe sur les relations sociales et sur la position des individus dans l'espace relationnel à un instant donné.

Partout dans le monde, la modernité bouleverse la vie des gens de bien des manières. En Mélanésie particulièrement, les changements observés dans le domaine des relations de genre ont été relativement bien étudiés (Beer & Schroedter 2014 ; Hukula 2012 ; Jolly & Stewart 2012 ; Macintyre & Spark 2017 ; Nihill 1994), avec de nombreuses recherches consacrées à l'évolution de la notion de masculinité (Biersack 2016 ; Calabrò 2016 ; Connell 1995 ; Connell & Messerschmidt 2005 ; Gibbs 2016 ; Jolly 2008, 2016 ; Koczberski & Curry 2016 ; Rauchholz 2016 ; Presterudstuen & Schieder 2016 ; Zimmer-Tamakoshi 2016) et, comparativement, moins d'études consacrées exclusivement à la notion de féminité (Spark 2014, 2015).

A Haivaro, les relations de genre, et plus particulièrement la construction de la masculinité et de la féminité, ont été sérieusement mises à l'épreuve ces dernières décennies et, compte-tenu du rôle joué par la peau dans la différenciation des genres, il n'est pas surprenant que ce soit à travers leur corps que les habitants de Haivaro aient tenté d'incorporer ces évolutions.

Les multiples récits recueillis à Haivaro concernant les initiations masculines et féminines passées mettent l'accent sur les transformations du corps, et plus particulièrement de la peau, dans la fabrique, à partir d'un groupe indifférencié d'enfants, de jeunes individus mâles et femelles. Au cours des initiations, la peau était « travaillée », « *kau rakiraka* ». Comme je l'ai expliqué au premier chapitre, le verbe « *rakiraka* » est utilisé dans des contextes très spécifiques et traduit l'idée d'une intervention, d'un investissement humain dont surgit, presque à partir du néant, un sujet socialisé. Ainsi, au cours des initiations, la peau des enfants était méticuleusement lavée, ointe, peinte ou épilée, afin de faire émerger le genre de l'enfant sur sa peau, et de le rendre visible au reste de la communauté. Ces transformations s'opéraient en même temps que les enfants mâles et femelles étaient initiés aux tâches qui allaient devenir les leurs à partir de ce moment : la chasse ou la construction d'une maison pour les hommes, l'horticulture ou l'exploitation du sagou pour les femmes. Ce qui se jouait, entre autres, au moment des initiations, était donc l'avènement des enfants mâles et femelles en tant que sujets des relations réciproques fondées sur la complémentarité entre les genres.

Au moment du mariage, à nouveau, la peau jouait un rôle important. Le visage de l'épouse était peint de motifs associés à l'*aporo ira* de son futur mari, comme pour marquer sa nouvelle allégeance et le fait que les produits de son labeur seraient dorénavant échangés avec son mari, son beau-père et ses beaux-frères, plutôt qu'avec son père et ses propres frères. Le veuvage également impliquait un travail de la peau, les veuves par exemple recouvrant leur visage de charbon et leur corps d'un mélange de sève et d'urine, pour provoquer une mise à distance relationnelle. Au moment du décès, le corps était tout simplement lavé et dépourvu d'ornements, comme une manière de le « dé-travailler » pour refléter son retrait de l'univers des relations réciproques. La peau donc joue un rôle majeur dans la construction – déconstruction

des relations réciproques structurant la socialité et l'univers relationnel Fasu, et dans la position que chacun peut occuper, à divers moments de son existence, dans cet univers. C'est donc tout naturellement en analysant les transformations de la peau observées auprès des hommes et des femmes de Haivaro que certains bouleversements récents, et notamment ceux liés aux relations de genre, me sont apparus.

Au cours de mon séjour parmi les Fasu de Haivaro, je remarquais relativement rapidement que les jeunes hommes possédaient tous des scarifications similaires sur leur avant-bras, faites d'une ligne d'une dizaine de points d'environ un demi-centimètre de diamètre. Lorsque je les interrogeais à ce sujet, l'on m'expliqua qu'il s'agissait d'une pratique relativement récente, décidée par les jeunes hommes eux-mêmes, visant à informer leur entourage de leur nouveau statut auto-proclamé de jeune adulte apte à découvrir la sexualité. L'exaltation, perceptible dans leurs discours, de la peine ressentie lors de la réalisation de ces scarifications suggère que, comme par le passé, la résistance à la douleur demeure une qualité masculine hautement valorisée par les Fasu. Cependant, rappelons-nous, cette 'force' masculine était autrefois transmise à travers le *himu* au moment de la conception, puis renforcée au moment des initiations par insémination des jeunes garçons. La masculinité était donc transmise en substance, alors que les scarifications semblent bien plutôt 'révéler' une masculinité déjà présente dans le corps. La masculinité n'est donc plus 'héritée' d'un père et d'un inséminateur, mais auto-proclamée et, donc, potentiellement présente en chacun indépendamment de sa filiation. En ce sens, cette pratique récente révèle une nouvelle conception de la masculinité chez les Fasu, qui n'est plus substantielle mais se doit d'être 'performée', et promeut l'agentivité individuelle par son caractère auto-proclamé. C'est en performant ces scarifications que les jeunes garçons informent leurs pairs plus âgés, et non mariés, qu'ils sont prêts à traverser les épreuves suivantes, celles que ces jeunes hommes plus âgés ont eux-mêmes traversées pour devenir des hommes.

Pari ces épreuves, l'on trouve un rassemblement secret dans la forêt environnant le village au cours duquel les jeunes hommes non mariés font ingérer au jeune garçon un certain nombre de substances visant à altérer ses sens et son corps, et

que le jeune garçon doit consommer sans vaciller. Parmi ces substances l'on trouve de l'alcool, du tabac extrêmement fort, de la marijuana et des noix de betel que le jeune homme ingère à la suite les unes des autres très rapidement, provoquant ainsi des nausées, des étourdissements et une incapacité temporaire à se mouvoir normalement. Cette ingestion de substances n'est pas sans rappeler celle opérée autrefois au cours des initiations masculines. En effet, tout au long du processus initiatique, les jeunes garçons consommaient du *tikiaso*, la sève de l'arbre *Camposperma brevipedunculata*, une substance échangée avec les tribus voisines et spécifique aux Fasu (Busse et al. 1993). De plus, des aliments qui leur étaient présentés, les initiés ne consommaient que le cœur, se débarrassant des extrémités. Sans entrer dans une analyse détaillée de ces pratiques initiatiques passées, soulignons qu'elles renforçaient d'autres pratiques visant à créer une dichotomie entre l'intérieur (le village, la communauté) et l'extérieur (les non-Fasu, la forêt), créant chez les initiés un sentiment fort d'appartenance à leur communauté et à leur village d'origine. Par contraste, les substances ingérées au cours des nouvelles pratiques réalisées par les jeunes hommes sont toutes exogènes : l'alcool, le tabac, la marijuana sont importés des villes, et les noix de betel ne sont pas celles plantées à l'intérieur du village par les Fasu, mais les noix sauvages trouvées en forêt. Ainsi, l'on peut dire que le but de ces nouvelles pratiques n'est pas d'ancrer les individus dans leur communauté et leur territoire d'origine, mais bel et bien de les connecter au monde extérieur. De plus, elles visent à renforcer leur masculinité puisque toutes ces substances sont prioritairement associées aux, et consommées par, les hommes. D'une certaine manière, cette masculinité consiste aujourd'hui en une capacité des jeunes hommes à 'incorporer' le monde extérieur sans vaciller.

Pour ce faire, les jeunes hommes Fasu considèrent qu'il leur faut être bien plus forts que leurs aïeux. En effet, le discours des jeunes hommes met souvent en avant les défis rencontrés dans le monde extérieur : la nécessité d'avoir beaucoup d'argent pour y survivre, les normes dont ils ne maîtrisent pas toujours les tenants et les aboutissants, et la violence des rapports à autrui. En particulier, ils soulignent les difficultés rencontrées dans leurs rapports avec les jeunes filles citadines. Vivant dans une communauté où la réserve et la pudeur sont de mise, et particulièrement dans les

relations entre les sexes, les jeunes hommes Fasu avouent être souvent déstabilisés par les jeunes citadines qu'ils considèrent particulièrement provocantes, dans leur apparence vestimentaire comme dans leurs comportements. Avec ces jeunes filles, ils expérimentent une forme de sexualité libre d'obligations maritales et plus permissive en termes de pratiques, ce qui attise leur désir tout en les terrifiant, effrayés qu'ils sont de n'être pas à la hauteur. De ce point de vue, l'ingestion de substances exogènes, et la résistance aux altérations corporelles qu'elles provoquent, représentent pour les jeunes hommes Fasu un moyen de transcender un manque de confiance et de se sentir de 'vrais hommes', prêts à affronter ce monde moderne si déstabilisant.

Que le plus déstabilisant pour eux soit la gestion des rapports entre les sexes dans le monde moderne apparaît également dans une autre pratique récente, à savoir celle de la circoncision. A ma connaissance, cette pratique n'a pas de fondement traditionnel chez les Fasu de Haivaro. Dans les grandes lignes, elle consiste aujourd'hui en un groupe de jeunes hommes se retrouvant en forêt pour être circoncis tous ensemble par un 'praticien' extérieur à la communauté. Chacun apporte des aliments achetés à l'épicerie de la compagnie forestière, ainsi que du sagou, et un repas est préparé et partagé entre tous les participants. Puis, les jeunes hommes se mettent en rang et sont circoncis les uns après les autres avec un couteau en bambou, avant de prendre un bain ensemble pour laver les plaies et y appliquer des feuilles aux vertus anesthésiantes. A la nuit tombée, ils rejoignent leur demeure où les plaies mettront plusieurs semaines à cicatriser. Ce n'est qu'une fois circoncis que les jeunes hommes commenceront leur vie sexuelle. Interrogés sur cette pratique, les jeunes hommes soulignent, une fois de plus, leur résistance à la souffrance endurée comme signe de leur virilité incontestable, mais mettent également en avant le but avoué de la circoncision, à savoir l'amélioration de leurs performances sexuelles. Le lien qu'ils opèrent entre la circoncision et les performances sexuelles provient d'une sorte de mythe moderne exaltant la supposée extraordinaire endurance sexuelle des Blancs et son rapport avec le fait qu'ils soient réputés être tous circoncis. Ce 'mythe' sublime la capacité des Blancs à satisfaire sexuellement leurs partenaires féminines et, de ce point de vue, la circoncision représente donc pour les jeunes hommes Fasu un moyen de se connecter au monde féminin. Ceci présente un contraste certain avec les

initiations masculines passées, dont le but était entre autres de séparer les jeunes garçons du monde féminin et d'appivoiser, de socialiser, un désir sexuel impulsif pour l'orienter vers une sexualité à visée reproductive à l'intérieur des liens du mariage. La circoncision, quant à elle, a pour but – pour reprendre les termes de Godelier (2007) – d'exalter la sexualité désirante au détriment de la sexualité reproductive. Alors que par le passé, la sexualité désirante, pensée comme une menace constante sur l'ordre social établi, devait être canalisée vers une sexualité à visée reproductive, ces deux aspects de la sexualité représentent aujourd'hui, pour les jeunes hommes, deux phases successives de leur existence. Ainsi, lorsqu'ils sont en âge d'avoir des rapports sexuels, les jeunes hommes de Haivaro profitent souvent de séjours urbains pour laisser libre cours à leur sexualité désirante et multiplier les expériences avec les jeunes citadines. Puis, après quelques années, ils prennent une épouse – le plus souvent au village – avec laquelle les pratiques sexuelles seront plus conformes aux contraintes sociales traditionnelles et à visée clairement reproductive.

Mais les jeunes hommes ne sont pas les seuls à faire face aux changements qui s'opèrent dans les relations de genre. Les jeunes filles, elles aussi, perçoivent et répondent à ces changements. Tout comme les jeunes hommes, c'est à travers leur corps qu'elles tentent de résoudre les tensions et les ambiguïtés qui émergent de la modernité et de l'évolution des rapports de genre. En effet, un détail qui attira particulièrement mon attention lorsque j'arrivais à Haivaro fut les nombreux tatouages arborés par les jeunes filles comparativement à leurs aînées. Plus exactement, si les jeunes filles arborent des tatouages faciaux comparables à ceux de leurs aînées, elles tatouent également leur corps, ce qui n'est pas le cas des femmes plus âgées.

Les tatouages faciaux, qui semblent être une pratique relativement ancienne, sont en général réalisés au moment de la puberté, et ont pour but d'annoncer le passage du statut de *hokosa*, enfant, à celui de *masira*, jeune fille. Ils sont réalisés par la parentèle féminine proche, une sœur ou une tante dans la majorité des cas, qui reproduiront souvent leurs propres tatouages sur le visage de la jeune fille, sanctifiant ainsi les relations étroites existant à l'intérieur de la parentèle féminine proche. Les tatouages corporels, quant à eux, ne sont observables que parmi la jeune génération de femmes, et en ce sens semblent être bien plus liés à la modernité, et apparaissent

sur des parties du corps à la fois publiques (mollets, avant-bras) ou plus intimes (ventre, haut des cuisses). Contrairement aux tatouages faciaux qui représentent des motifs de l'environnement naturel (feuilles de palmier, poissons, soleil, fleurs...) sans représentation symbolique particulière, les tatouages corporels consistent plus souvent en de courtes phrases écrites en pidgin ou en anglais sur des parties du corps relativement publiques (mollets, avant-bras), et en dessins à forte représentation symbolique sur les parties plus intimes.

Parmi les tatouages réalisés sur les parties publiques du corps, l'on trouve le plus souvent les expressions 'HBK', un acronyme signifiant Haivaro Bush Kanaka, qui pourrait se traduire par « primitif de la forêt de Haivaro », « *kekene tasol* », mélange de langue Motu et de Pidgin signifiant « je ne suis qu'une jeune fille », ainsi que les initiales du père de la jeune fille. Le motif « HBK » est majoritairement arboré par les jeunes filles ayant séjourné à plusieurs reprises dans les villes, principalement pour leur scolarité. Comme évoqué au premier chapitre, cette expression semble au premier abord péjorative, mais revêt une signification positive lorsque la condition de « *kanaka* » a été dépassée pour devenir un individu « moderne ». Hors, les jeunes filles scolarisées en ville se perçoivent indéniablement comme modernes et en ce sens, arborer ce tatouage semble un moyen de mettre en avant cette particularité, au village comme en ville. Il représente leur capacité à avoir dépassé une condition considérée au départ comme fortement contraignante, celle d'avoir grandi en forêt. Parce qu'il est formulé en langue Motu et en Pidgin, deux langages fortement associés aux centres urbains et à la modernité, le motif « *kekene tasol* » représente un désir d'appartenance, ou à tout le moins de connexion, au monde moderne. La particularité de ce tatouage est d'être construit sous la forme d'un oxymore. En effet, *kekene*, jeune fille, correspond à la catégorie Fasu *masira*, qui est une catégorie hautement valorisée à Haivaro, par les hommes comme par les femmes, et considérée comme le commencement de la véritable existence, pour ainsi dire, celle de femme apte à se marier et à reproduire la société. Pour les femmes Fasu, cette catégorie est celle de tous les espoirs et de tous les possibles. Par contraste, l'opposition de ce terme avec « *tasol* », un mot pidgin signifiant « seulement » ou « uniquement », vient en un certain sens « restreindre » le positif associé au statut de *masira*. Et pour cause, pour

la plupart des jeunes filles interrogées à Haivaro, le statut de *masira* apparaît extrêmement ambigu. D'un côté, les jeunes filles profitent du sentiment de liberté et d'autonomie associé à ce statut, à cette position particulière de jeune fille non-mariée où tous les espoirs sont encore permis. Egalement, elles expriment un réel enthousiasme à l'idée de découvrir la sexualité. Mais dans le même temps, il n'est pas rare que les jeunes filles soient un brin anxieuses durant cette période de leur vie. En effet, la crainte d'épouser le « mauvais partenaire », l'angoisse des premières relations sexuelles, la peur d'être rejetées par l' élu de leur cœur ou du veto de leurs parents concernant leur choix marital, tous ces tracasseries questionnent intensément les jeunes filles et rendent le statut de *masira* parfois anxiogène. Parce que c'est une période de leur vie faite de sentiments très contradictoires donc, l'oxymore « *kekene tasol* » vient exprimer cette confusion et, parce qu'arboré sur des parties publiques du corps, représente peut-être en partie un appel, comme l'expression publique d'un besoin de réponses. Enfin, le tatouage très fréquent des initiales paternelles est expliqué par les jeunes filles comme une sorte d'ancrage dans leur monde, marqué par l'importance de la patri-filiation, comme un amer auquel elles se rattachent lorsqu'elles voyagent loin du village. Dans ce cas précis, leur peau constitue un pont entre leur monde d'origine auquel elles sont attachées et le monde moderne parfois terrifiant.

Ces tatouages réalisés sur les parties corporelles publiques sont en général réalisés par des femmes extérieures à la communauté, rencontrées au gré des voyages urbains. Par contraste, les tatouages arborés sur les parties plus privées du corps (ventre et haut des cuisses) sont toujours réalisés par les tatouées elles-mêmes. Dans la majorité des cas, les motifs sont un cœur transpercé d'une flèche, une fleur d'hibiscus et l'expression en anglais « I Love You ». Le symbolisme véhiculé par le cœur transpercé d'une flèche se réfère clairement au sentiment amoureux, même si la référence à Cupidon n'est pas connue. Ce sentiment amoureux est hautement valorisé par la jeune génération Fasu. En effet, considéré comme une « invention » des blancs, il permet, selon les jeunes filles Fasu, d'épouser le partenaire de son choix – celui dont on est amoureux – sans tenir compte des prescriptions maritales traditionnelles ou de l'avis parental. Le sentiment amoureux représente donc pour cette génération de femmes un élément subversif pouvant, peut-être, les autoriser à opérer leurs propres

choix conjugaux. Ce tatouage fait donc écho à celui exprimant « I Love You ». La fleur d'hibiscus, quant à elle, possède une symbolique particulière à Haivaro. En effet, il est de notoriété publique que selon l'endroit de la chevelure où une femme arbore cette fleur, elle exprime un message caché à l'attention d'un partenaire masculin potentiel. La transposition de cette symbolique sous forme de tatouage arboré sur une partie intime du corps pouvant être révélée ou cachée à loisirs rend donc ce type de message plus discret. Enfin, l'expression « I Love You » revêt également une symbolique particulière à Haivaro puisqu'elle se réfère explicitement à la sexualité moderne, c'est-à-dire la sexualité désirante libérée des contraintes maritales, apanage, selon les Fasu de Haivaro, des femmes occidentales. Ainsi, en arborant ce tatouage et en le révélant au partenaire potentiel de leur choix, les jeunes femmes Fasu font comprendre à ce dernier qu'elles adhèrent, d'une certaine manière, à ces pratiques, et en ce sens tentent donc de répondre à ce qu'elles perçoivent des nouveaux désirs masculins.

Les jeunes Fasu de Haivaro, hommes comme femmes, sont donc confrontés, dans le contexte moderne, à de nouvelles définitions et expressions de la masculinité et de la féminité, dont découlent des transformations dans les relations de genre. Que ces transformations soient activement désirées ou au contraire craintes, elles sont assurément sources de sentiments ambigus pour la jeune génération qui, à travers l'altération des corps, tente de répondre à ces contradictions émergentes. Chacun tente, comme il le peut, de trouver sa place dans ce monde changeant, et utilise pour cela le médium le plus aisément accessible, à savoir son propre corps.

L'univers relationnel Fasu est donc sujet à de profondes transformations au fur et à mesure que les habitants de Haivaro sont reliés plus intensément au monde moderne. Un dernier aspect de cette problématique que j'ai souhaité traiter dans cette thèse se veut le prolongement de ce qui a été analysé dans les quatre premiers chapitres en ouvrant sur la capacité de cet univers relationnel à intégrer autrui. En effet, la définition d'une identité propre implique qu'il existe une définition du non-identique, de l'autre par excellence. Pour les Fasu de Haivaro, la définition de cet « autrui » s'est transformée au cours du temps et au gré des contextes, en même temps que la définition de leur propre identité s'est modifiée.

ETRE UN AUTRE : L'ALTERITE POUR LES FASU

L'exploration de quatre formes relationnelles particulières contribuant à construire l'univers de vie Fasu, à savoir la paternité, la fraternité, l'alliance et les relations de genre, a permis de mettre en avant l'importance, pour les Fasu de Haivaro, des relations réciproques. Cette réciprocité prend plusieurs formes suivant la relation spécifique qu'elle contribue à définir et à maintenir. Ainsi, elle joue un moindre rôle dans les relations paternelles, alors qu'elle est au cœur des relations fraternelles, d'alliance et de genre. Généralisée entre frères, ou symétrique entre époux, la réciprocité contribue donc en grande partie à définir l'identité Fasu. Comme le démontre le cinquième chapitre de cette thèse, elle est également au cœur des relations à autrui, et d'une manière bien spécifique.

Le chapitre introduit cette idée en montrant comment la capacité à développer des relations réciproques est au cœur de la définition de l'être, de la personne chez les Fasu de Haivaro. Cette capacité est incorporée sous la forme d'un principe vital appelé le *ho* qui, s'il est présent en tout individu humain Fasu dès la naissance, doit être renforcé et en théorie définitivement ancré dans le corps dès les premières années de la vie. La présence d'un *ho* sera avérée à mesure que l'enfant, capable de faire ses premiers pas, commencera à développer des relations sociales avec son entourage proche, ses parents, ses frères et sœurs, puis sa parentèle proche vivant dans les maisons environnantes. L'apprentissage de la réciprocité sera très intense durant cette période, et passera notamment par la médiation des émotions, dont on apprendra à l'enfant qu'elles font, elles aussi, partie du cercle de la réciprocité. Ce n'est que lorsque le père considèrera l'enfant tout à fait apte à maîtriser ces relations réciproques qu'il lui attribuera sa véritable identité sociale, en lui conférant son vrai nom ou 'nom des os', par référence au fait que le *ho* est dit se fixer sur le squelette.

Cependant, ce *ho* ne sera jamais, au long de la vie d'un individu, entièrement sauf et immunisé. Il peut être altéré par la sorcellerie, dérobé ou manipulé par divers esprits maléfiques de la forêt. Ainsi, des manquements répétés aux obligations réciproques seront toujours interprétés comme le signe d'une altération, manipulation

ou disparition du *ho*, qui entrainera la mise à distance, la marginalisation sociale, des individus affectés.

Mais les humains Fasu ne sont pas les seuls, dans la pensée Fasu, à posséder un *ho*. Ainsi, certains animaux, tels les cochons et casoars domestiques, ou encore les chiens, sont réputés posséder un *ho*. Ces animaux domestiqués sont l'objet de soins attentifs de la part de leurs propriétaires, qui investissent leur labeur et leur affection dans ces êtres. Selon les Fasu eux-mêmes, ces animaux sont aptes à réciproquer ce qui leur est donné : en répondant à leur nom d'abord, mais aussi en partageant la même nourriture que les humains, et enfin, en devenant à la fois sujets et objets des relations réciproques. Ainsi, cochons et casoars domestiques sont dits faire volontairement don de leur vie pour participer aux échanges réciproques, une agentivité avérée par le fait qu'ils ne s'échappent pas alors qu'ils le pourraient. Un chien chassant du gibier aide délibérément son maître à honorer ses obligations de réciprocité. Pour les Fasu donc, la capacité à réciproquer n'est pas l'apanage des seuls humains, et les non-humains dont il est avéré qu'ils possèdent cette capacité sont considérés presque comme des personnes, et en tous cas comme des sujets sociaux, sans nul doute.

Qu'en est-il alors des humains non-Fasu ? De nouveau, tout dépend de la mesure dans laquelle les Fasu développent des relations réciproques avec eux. L'exemple de leurs relations avec leurs voisins Kasua, vivant sur les versants du Mont Bosavi dans la Province de l'Ouest, est à ce titre fort éclairant. Les récits collectés à Haivaro révèlent de nombreux épisodes guerriers entre les deux groupes avant l'arrivée des missionnaires et des patrouilles coloniales australiennes. L'un de ces épisodes, toutefois, se solda par l'enlèvement d'un nouveau-né Kasua après décimation de sa famille. Le rapt d'enfants et leur intégration aux *aporo ira* Fasu existants n'était pas rares au cours des épisodes guerriers, mais cet enfant particulier, Parawi, fut élevé au sein de la tribu puis autorisé à fonder son propre *aporo ira* à l'âge adulte, pour des raisons qu'il m'a été difficile d'élucider à ce jour. Toutefois, une épouse lui fut donnée et des terres lui furent transmises, l'intégrant de fait à la communauté. Cependant, son affiliation originale aux Kasua fut partiellement maintenue, à travers le nom donné à son *aporo ira* notamment, Kasua Rebeta, en référence au clan Kasua Temeta dont il était originaire. Suite à cet épisode, de

nombreux mariages furent organisés entre Fasu et Kasua, donnant lieu au développement de relations réciproques plus intenses entre les deux groupes. De cette intensification des relations réciproques, les Fasu reconnurent que les Kasua possédaient, non pas tout à fait un *hon*, mais un principe vital relativement similaire appelé *hon*.

Toutefois, l'exploitation forestière de la région vint quelque peu bouleverser ce nouvel équilibre réciproque. En effet, les Kasua sont nettement moins engagés avec les compagnies forestières que ne le sont les Fasu de Haivaro, et un écart en termes économiques et de développement s'est peu à peu creusé entre les deux groupes. De cet écart a émergé une moindre possibilité, pour les Kasua, d'honorer leurs obligations réciproques vis-à-vis des Fasu de Haivaro. Cette moindre capacité à réciproquer fut interprétée par les Fasu comme une preuve de l'altération du *hon* de nombreux Kasua. Ainsi, les visites à leurs voisins se font de moins en moins fréquentes, par crainte du nombre croissant d'esprits sorciers au sein des Kasua. La proportion de mariages avec les Kasua est elle aussi en chute libre. Les discours Fasu aujourd'hui associent ce phénomène à une plus grande 'primitivité' supposée des Kasua, comparativement aux Fasu qui se considèrent eux-mêmes comme plus modernes. Il semble donc que dans le contexte moderne, la disparité économique ayant émergé entre les deux groupes ait été interprétée par les Fasu à travers le prisme de la réciprocité et ait conduit les Fasu à renégocier leurs relations avec leurs voisins Kasua, les amenant à se détacher d'eux progressivement.

Enfin, il semble qu'il y ait toujours existé, pour les Fasu de Haivaro, une catégorie d'êtres quasiment considérés comme des non-êtres, c'est-à-dire, selon la pensée Fasu, des êtres avec lesquels toute relation réciproque est impossible. Par le passé, ce sont les Konomo, un groupe vivant, d'après les Fasu, dans et autour de l'actuel village de Kamusi dans la Province de l'Ouest, qui représentaient l'archétype de ces non-êtres. D'après un mythe recueilli à Haivaro, les Konomo seraient les descendants d'un nouveau-né mi-humain, mi-animal, né de la sexualité non-contrôlée socialement entre le couple d'ancêtres mythiques Fasu, alors qu'ils découvraient la reproduction sexuée et tentaient de mettre au monde le premier enfant véritablement humain. D'une certaine manière, l'imaginaire Fasu se représente donc les Konomo

comme les descendants d'une tentative échouée d'avènement de l'humanité sociale. La distance sociale entre les deux groupes était telle qu'elle apparut pendant longtemps aux Fasu comme absolument irréductible, et de ce fait, leurs relations avec les Konomo relevaient de ce que Sahlins (1965 ; 1972) définit comme une réciprocité négative, où l'on s'arroge le droit de s'approprier sans rendre. Cette impossibilité irréductible de penser leurs relations aux Konomo en termes de réciprocité ont érigé ces derniers au rang d'Autrui ultime. En effet, si l'identité Fasu se caractérise par la réciprocité, les êtres incapables de réciproquer sont des non-êtres, des autrui ultimes.

Cependant, une fois encore, l'exploitation minière et forestière de la région a bouleversé cet univers relationnel. En effet, le territoire des Fasu de Haivaro fait partie de la concession forestière Wawoi-Guavi, qui inclut l'actuel village de Kamusi où, d'après les Fasu de Haivaro, vivent encore de nombreux Konomo. Ayant effectué des recherches ethnographiques à Kamusi, Wood (2013) mentionne les groupes linguistiques Gogodala, Bamu et Mubami comme composant les trois-quarts de la population de ce village. En l'état actuel de mes connaissances, il m'est difficile d'établir à quel groupe linguistique connu se réfèrent les Fasu lorsqu'ils parlent des Konomo. Ce qui est certain, en revanche, est qu'ils ne semblent plus être considérés par les Fasu comme leurs ennemis ultimes. En effet, dans le contexte de cette exploitation forestière par une même compagnie, le fait de « posséder » le territoire est devenu plus saillant que le fait d'en « prendre » soin dans la définition de l'identité Fasu. Cette identité de « propriétaire foncier », qu'ils possèdent dès lors en commun avec les Konomo, a permis de réduire la distance sociale *a priori* irréductible qui existait entre les deux groupes, excluant de fait les Konomo de la catégorie des « autrui ultimes ».

Ils furent cependant rapidement remplacés dans cette catégorie par l'arrivée de nouveaux « autrui », à savoir les gestionnaires asiatiques de la compagnie forestière. Travaillant dans la région, Wood (1995) mettait déjà en avant il y a plus de vingt ans les perceptions différentes que les Kamula se faisaient des « Européens » d'une part, et des « Chinois » d'autre part, les premiers pouvant être en quelques sortes « assimilés » aux Kamula à travers les pouvoirs transformatifs d'un ancêtre mythique, alors que les seconds demeuraient radicalement différents, « autres », dans

le système de pensée Kamula. A Haivaro, les actions de, et les interactions avec les asiatiques gérant la compagnie forestière ont, selon les Fasu, rendu apparente l'incapacité de ces derniers à développer des relations réciproques. Pour de nombreux Fasu en effet – et cela est flagrant dans l'analyse des négociations entre les habitants de Haivaro et les gestionnaires de la compagnie – les asiatiques « possèdent beaucoup de choses mais ne partagent jamais », et en ce sens, ne sont pas de « vraies personnes ». En conséquence, ils sont considérés par les Fasu de Haivaro comme les parangons de l'altérité avec qui toute réciprocité est impossible, et dont il faut tirer avantage avant qu'ils ne « déguerpissent comme des voleurs ». En ce sens, l'instauration de relations marquées par ce que Sahlins (1965 ; 1972), et d'autres après lui (Narotzky & Moreno 2002), ont défini comme une réciprocité négative avec les asiatiques de la compagnie forestière peut être interprétée comme une tentative, de la part des Fasu, de donner du sens à cette intrusion exogène, et non nécessairement désirée, dans leur espace relationnel.

CONCLUSION

The more discretely and specifically we define and bound the units of our study, the more provocative, necessary, and difficult it becomes to account for the relationships among those units ; conversely, the more effectively we are able to analyse and sum up the relationships among a set of units, the more provocative, necessary, and difficult it becomes to define the units » (Wagner 1977 : 386).

Ma décision de privilégier l'analyse des relations construisant l'univers Fasu – rendant de ce fait la définition des « entités » reliées par ces relations parfois peu précise – se révéla particulièrement pertinente pour comprendre les changements ayant affecté les Fasu de Haivaro ces dernières décennies et les diverses manières dont ils ont répondu à ces changements. En effet, j'ai montré tout au long de cette thèse que les formes relationnelles étudiées – paternité, fraternité, conjugalité, relations de genre et relations à l'autre – s'étaient maintenues dans le temps, malgré quelques transformations significatives. En revanche, j'ai montré que les entités liées à travers ces différentes formes relationnelles n'avaient pas nécessairement perduré et, pour certaines d'entre elles, avaient même été remplacées. Ainsi, les pères d'aujourd'hui ne sont plus les pères d'hier, et le territoire et ses habitants humains et non-humains dont s'occupent ces pères ne sont également plus tout à fait les mêmes. Les frères humains et non-humains d'autrefois sont restés tandis que la relation fraternelle intègre aujourd'hui un plus large panel d'individus. Les modèles matrimoniaux traditionnels persistent tandis que les représentations qui les sous-tendent sont suffisamment remises en cause pour ouvrir de nouvelles perspectives conjugales. Les relations de genre sont renégociées et reconfigurées, donnant naissance, pour ainsi dire, à de nouveaux types d'hommes et de femmes Fasu. Le monde s'ouvre et s'étend, et les « alter » d'autrefois se rapprochent en laissant leur place à des autrui plus distants, géographiquement, culturellement et socialement. Dans une certaine mesure, en me concentrant sur l'analyse des formes relationnelles présidant à la catégorisation du monde Fasu, plutôt que sur les entités composant ces catégories, j'ai pu mettre en lumière la valse des êtres humains, quasi-humains et non-humains qui émergent et prolifèrent dans le monde Fasu comme ailleurs (Latour

1991 ; Wood 1995). Certes, de nouveaux agents – sujets sociaux – sont apparus dans l'univers Fasu ces dernières décennies, tandis que certains ont disparu plus ou moins temporairement, mais, au moins jusqu'à aujourd'hui, c'est à travers des formes relationnelles préexistantes que les habitants de Haivaro ont appréhendé, compris et intégré ces changements. Ces formes relationnelles se sont évidemment elles-mêmes modifiées en chemin, mais qui constitue leur cœur s'est qui les caractérisent.

« If treated in all its complexity the concept of reciprocity might help us to understand the ambivalence often present in social relationships » (Narotzky & Moreno 2002 : 281).

A Haivaro, la capacité à développer des relations réciproques est fondamentale dans la définition et la construction du sujet social. Les différentes formes que la réciprocité peut revêtir, ainsi que les représentations liées aux substances corporelles transmises et partagées, permettent aux Fasu de Haivaro de différencier plusieurs types d'êtres et plusieurs formes relationnelles reliant ces êtres entre eux. Bien que la réciprocité y soit plus une espérance qu'une contrainte, la relation unissant un homme à son territoire est cependant mutuellement constitutive et construite à travers l'acte de « prendre soin », ce qui, à Haivaro, est métaphorisé en termes de paternité. Le partage de substances corporelles spécifiques ainsi que la performance d'actes de réciprocité généralisée caractérisent la relation fraternelle Fasu. De la même manière, les substances partagées et la performance d'une réciprocité symétrique définissent et construisent la relation conjugale. Les relations avec autrui, quant à elles, mobilisent les caractéristiques de la réciprocité négative, où l'on prend à défaut de se voir donner. Que ces différentes formes de réciprocité puissent être étendues à de « nouveaux êtres » et ces derniers se verront intégrés au collectifs en tant que frères, conjoints ou « alter ». La réciprocité dans ses différentes formes est donc le prisme à travers lequel les habitants de Haivaro appréhendent, construisent et pensent leur univers relationnel, et c'est presque naturellement à travers ce prisme qu'ils comprennent les changements auxquels ils sont confrontés dans le contexte moderne. En effet, c'est en fonction de la forme de réciprocité développée et du degré d'achèvement de celle-ci que les Fasu de Haivaro négocient et reconfigurent leurs relations avec les êtres

humains et non-humains peuplant aujourd’hui leur univers. C’est à travers ce prisme qu’ils réordonnent leur monde.

« [...] *le corps n’est pas seulement l’expression et l’instrument de la reproduction d’un ordre social, il peut également être utilisé pour contester cet ordre, pour le subvertir* » (Godelier & Panoff 1998 : xi).

Les relations ne sont pas construites et n’existent pas uniquement en dehors du corps, à travers la performance de la réciprocité. Dans cette thèse, j’ai tenté de mettre en évidence l’aspect éminemment incorporé des relations pour les Fasu. Un ordre social spécifique est reproduit par la transmission et le partage de substances corporelles particulières et des sujets sociaux sont reproduits à travers des transformations subtiles mais visibles de leur corps, et notamment de leur peau. C’est donc logiquement, comme le suggère la citation ci-dessus, à travers le corps que les habitants de Haivaro tentent de répondre aux multiples changements qui affectent leur vie depuis plusieurs décennies. Il se peut que le bouleversement des représentations liées aux substances corporelles affectant les modèles maritaux traditionnels soit involontaire ou inconscient. En revanche, c’est délibérément que les habitants de Haivaro altèrent leur corps pour intégrer les – et répondre aux – changements qui les affectent eux-mêmes mais aussi les relations qui les lient les uns aux autres. Ainsi, si certaines formes relationnelles peuvent être étendues à un ensemble plus vaste d’êtres en mettant l’accent sur la performance d’une forme de réciprocité particulière plutôt que sur le partage de substances corporelles, il semble néanmoins que les Fasu de Haivaro aient besoin, à un moment ou à un autre, de ré-ancrer ces relations dans leur corps. En ce sens, si « déchiffrer la peau » s’est avéré fructueux pour comprendre la construction identitaire et les relations sociales de nombreuses sociétés (O’Hanlon 1989 ; Strathern A. J. 1975 ; Strathern & Strathern 1971 ; Townsend 1995 ; Turner 2012), à Haivaro cela fut particulièrement profitable pour révéler les changements désirés ou subis et les ambiguïtés inhérentes à de tels processus.

« *Mipela sanis liklik, tasol still, mipela wankain olsem tupuna liklik* », me confia un jour un ancien du village.

« Nous avons un peu changé, mais malgré tout, nous sommes toujours un peu comme nos ancêtres » pourrais-je traduire. Les influences auxquelles ont été soumis les Fasu de Haivaro depuis que les missionnaires et les patrouilles coloniales australiennes ont investi la région dans les années 1950 ont été multiples et, dans une certaine mesure, ont affecté de multiple façon la manière dont ils comprennent leur relation à leur territoire, leurs représentations du corps et de ses substances, et la mesure dans laquelle différentes formes de réciprocités peuvent être développées. En réponse à de telles influences, les Fasu ont joué de ces trois composantes pour à la fois s'adapter à ce nouveau monde et adapter ce dernier à eux-mêmes. Comme je l'ai démontré tout au long des cinq chapitres de cette thèse, c'est cette possibilité même de jouer des trois composantes qui donne à l'univers Fasu cette flexibilité de s'adapter à diverses circonstances. En ce sens, la manière singulière dont les Fasu émergent de, et existent à travers, un univers construit autour de leur compréhension particulière des relations entre les êtres a représenté une ressource non négligeable pour intégrer les multiples influences qu'ils ont subies au cours de leur histoire. Cependant, prétendre que de tels ajustements se soient faits naturellement et sans douleur masquerait les inégalités inhérentes à leurs multiples rencontres avec le monde moderne. Parmi ces rencontres notamment, l'établissement sur leur territoire d'une compagnie forestière dans les années 1990 a sans doute représenté le plus grand défi auquel ils aient jamais eu à faire face.

'Dispela kampani kam na katim diwai blo mipela na planti samtin ol sanis. Sampela sanis em gutpela; sampela sanis em ino gutpela'.

« Beaucoup de choses ont changé depuis que la compagnie a commencé à prendre nos arbres. Certains changements furent bons, d'autres furent mauvais ». Bien que la flexibilité d'ajustement de leur univers de vie, de leur identité et de leurs relations sociales mentionnée plus haut ait permis aux Fasu de Haivaro de maintenir une grande partie de ce qui construisait – et continue de construire – leur spécificité, ils sont bien conscients eux-mêmes que leur rapport au monde a changé, et plus intensément que jamais depuis l'arrivée de la compagnie forestière. D'un côté, ils reconnaissent que l'argent versé par la compagnie leur a permis de « vivre dans des maisons plus solides et plus durables », « d'alléger leur labeur grâce aux outils en

acier », de « voyager loin et de découvrir de nombreuses choses intéressantes », ou de « goûter de nouveaux aliments délicieux » par exemple. Mais d'un autre côté, selon leurs propres mots, la compagnie forestière est également responsable « des dégâts causés à leur forêt, aux rivières et aux sites sacrés Fasu », de « l'introduction de l'alcool et de la marijuana qui abiment leur communauté¹²¹ », de « l'introduction d'aliments manufacturés rendant les gens gras plutôt que musclés », ou de « la flemmardise grandissante des habitants du village due à l'argent qui permet de tout acheter en n'ayant pas à travailler et en restant assis chez soi ».

« Je travaille en Papouasie depuis 20 ans et je n'ai pas vu ces gens changer d'un pouce » me confia une fois l'un des gestionnaires de la compagnie forestière.

Nul doute que les habitants de Haivaro ont une appréciation bien différente de la situation. Pour eux, leur engagement avec cette compagnie forestière a affecté leur monde drastiquement, et pas toujours pour le meilleur.

Tout au long de cette thèse, j'ai mis en évidence que des changements importants se sont produits et continuent de se produire dans l'univers relationnel des Fasu de Haivaro. La transformation physique de leur environnement due à l'exploitation forestière, l'exil subséquent d'un certain nombre d'êtres humains et non-humains qui le peuplaient, ou la nécessité de faire coïncider les principes de leur relation spécifique à cet environnement avec ceux des documents juridiques, ont profondément affecté à la fois leur environnement et les relations tissées dans et avec celui-ci. La performance des relations réciproques semble avoir pris plus d'importance que le territoire ou les substances dans la définition et le maintien de l'identité et des relations sociales. En un certain sens, ces relations se sont désincarnées, ou réincarnées différemment, que ce soit dans le corps ou dans le territoire.

Les habitants de Haivaro m'ont souvent demandé mon aide pour attirer plus de compagnies sur leur territoire, que ce soit pour extraire du bois, du pétrole, du gaz ou de l'or. Il ne faudrait pas, cependant, voir dans ces demandes un désintérêt pour les

¹²¹ Cette citation, comme les autres, reflète les événements tels que compris et interprétés par les habitants de Haivaro ; Cela ne signifie en aucun cas que, dans le cas qui nous concerne, l'alcool et la marijuana aient été effectivement introduits par la compagnie forestière.

dommages sociaux ou écologiques accompagnant nécessairement ce type de projets et dont les Fasu de Haivaro sont tout à fait conscients. Il serait plus juste de dire que ces demandes trahissent surtout un désir profond de modernité et des améliorations qu'elle peut, aussi, apporter : éducation occidentale, soins médicaux, allègement de la charge de travail, opportunités de voyager. Les anciens rêvent d'un meilleur avenir pour leurs enfants, un avenir qui, ils l'espèrent, serait moins difficile que leur propre présent. Les plus jeunes voudraient faire partie de ce nouveau monde si attractif qui s'ouvre progressivement à eux et, ce faisant, accroître le prestige de leur communauté. Pour le moment, l'extraction des ressources naturelles est le seul modèle de développement qui leur a été proposé, et ils n'ont donc pas eu d'autre choix que de faire avec les inconvénients inhérents à ces projets. Ils l'ont fait, et continuent de le faire, avec les moyens à leur disposition et, malgré le caractère titanesque de la tâche, ils ne semblent pas baisser les bras et continuent de réfléchir à de nouvelles manières d'orienter et de façonner leur avenir et celui de leurs enfants. C'est une question d'honneur, pour les Fasu de Haivaro, de choisir leurs propres trajectoires de vie selon les libertés et les contraintes inhérentes au monde moderne dont ils font maintenant partie.



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