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James Cook University of North Queensland

Number 61

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The National Research Institute

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PREFACE

This paper is a summary of two months research, undertaken between April and June 1989, in Tari and Pangia districts of the Southern Highlands Province, Papua New Guinea. The author is currently working on an expanded version of the paper for publication in 1990.

I am indebted to many people, not the least to David Lea and Rob Crittenden of the University of New England, for their assistance and encouragement. The research was part of a wider project initiated by David Lea with the support of the Australian Research Council, an organisation I would like to thank for its funding of this sub-project. IASER gave support and assistance with visas, affiliation and accommodation. I express my particular gratitude to Jim Robins.

The people who helped me in Tari and Pangia are too numerous to mention in this paper, and will be acknowledged in future publications. I would, however, like to thank Stuart Harris, Steve Rogers and John Vail of the Tari Research Unit; in Pangia, the members of St. Felix Catholic Mission; and at Mt. Kare, CRA and Ben Probert for their hospitality and cooperation.

Field work was enhanced considerably by the friendship and excellent work of my research assistants. They are Veronica Mangi, Kainyape Wilson and Francesca Mulugu. Last but not least, I thank the Huli and Wiru people, particularly the women, who with tolerance and good humour made field work an enjoyable and rewarding experience.
MAP 1: The Location of Study Areas

(Adapted from Frankel 1986:12)
MAP 2: The Tari Basin
MAP 3: Pangia District
INTRODUCTION

The research upon which this report is based was undertaken as part of a larger project initiated by David Lea and Rob Crittenden of the Department of Geography and Planning, at the University of New England. This project evaluated the effectiveness of the various components (aimed at improving such things as nutrition and health) which made up several World Bank funded integrated rural development programmes (IRDPs) in Papua New Guinea, resulting in the publishing of Monograph 28, *Integrated Rural Development Projects in Papua New Guinea: External Aid and Provincial Planning*, by the National Research Institute (Crittenden and Lea 1989).

The authors dealt with the history of these programmes and discussed their success or failure at the wider, macro-level in terms of the achievement of component aims and the handover of programmes to provincial governments by completion of budgeted running times. It was decided that a more local, anthropological perspective was needed to assess the consequences of development for the people who were supposed to benefit from the IRDPs. In particular, research was to be concentrated upon an area which has received little attention, namely the social impact which development has had on the lives of women.

Two districts within Southern Highlands Province were selected by the author for field work - Tari and Pangia (see location maps 1 to 3). These districts, together with the Upper Mendi, were study areas during the period of the Southern Highlands Rural Development Project (SHRDP). They received the attention of various specialists, for example, agronomists and health workers, who engaged in such tasks as monitoring subsistence production and assessing the nutritional standing of children. This was meant to produce a database so that schemes could be developed for improving the overall standard of living. These two districts, then, lend themselves to a study of the consequences of the SHRDP since its termination in 1985.

The majority of field work time was spent in Tari. This was because of the author's familiarity with the Pangia area, where research on social change has been conducted since 1980. Tari itself has the advantage of being well documented anthropologically (see the references to Glasse, Goldman and Frankel in the bibliography), and has an extensive socio-economic and demographic database compiled by the Tari Research Unit since 1972. The choice of these two districts enormously facilitated the research process, especially given the short field work time available. The bulk of this report is an analysis of information collected in Tari. The Pangia material is introduced when necessary because, in good anthropological tradition, insights are derived comparatively rather than from examining single cases (for the same reason reference will occasionally be made to the Hagen people of Western Highlands Province).

Tari and Pangia make for an interesting comparison, not just because of their location at opposite ends of the province, but because these districts for various geographical and historical reasons have been isolated from surrounding societies, and have developed beliefs and practices peculiar to these areas. The two districts have had vastly different development experiences (Tari has only recently been connected to the Highlands Highway), and these as well as cultural differences have to be taken into account in any comparison between the two districts.

This report does not confine itself to the time period of the SHRDP. Some of the achievements of the programme, such as the highway extension to Tari, have contemporary social consequences, one of these being an easier access to alcohol. Other recent events, which at first sight appear to bear no relation to the activities of the programme, the discovery of gold at Mt. Kare being a prime example, can only be understood in terms of the history of development in Tari, of which the SHRDP was undoubtedly a part. The effects on women's lives of male drinking and gold are
discussed in the latter part of this report, which to be useful needs to be of more than historical relevance.

It would be impossible to isolate and discuss social effects which are directly attributable to the SHRDP. There have been significant social changes since the times of the first exploratory patrols, even if only indirectly, through the spread of epidemic diseases and steel tools. Consequently, no attempt was made to limit questions to those concerning people’s perceptions of initiatives of the SHRDP. Rather, questions about development in general were asked, and the answers to these used as a sounding board for evaluating the achievements of the SHRDP. Research just on the success or failure of this programme would have been doomed to a short life anyway, as the great majority of people in Tari and Pangia, including educated ones, had never heard of it.

A brief summary of the aims and components of the SHRDP is necessary before proceeding to a discussion of women and development (this summary is extracted from Crittenden and Lea 1989, Chapter 4, where I direct the reader for a fuller account). The programme ran from 1979 to 1986 and was committed to the development of rural areas and the reduction of inequalities between Southern Highlands and other provinces. It concentrated on the introduction and improvement of cash cropping, but was also concerned to improve the health and nutrition of the people of the province (which has the highest rate of infant and child mortality in Papua New Guinea). Agricultural field trials and extension work were undertaken with the aim of improving the productivity of subsistence gardening. Another aim of the programme was to discover the effects which new and improved roads, together with the introduction of cash cropping, was having on subsistence farming. In addition, it had a capital works component which was directed towards building such things as high schools and health sub-centres, and completing the Poroma to Koroba extension of the Highlands Highway.

Most of the budget of the SHRDP was supplied by the World Bank and was administered by the Department of Finance in Port Moresby and Mendi, the provincial capital. Its total cost was US$32.2 million, of which, K$8.3 million was spent on completing the highway extension. Considering the involvement of the programme in development in Southern Highlands Province, it is perhaps surprising that so few people were aware of its existence and purpose. This was not only because the SHRDP was mostly divorced from the running of the province by the government in Mendi, but also because it did not effectively advertise itself. People, mostly expatriate consultants, would arrive in settlements and measure and weigh children, or count and survey gardens, often without saying who they were or why they were there. Unfortunately, except for its capital works and a few other projects, the SHRDP was, for the most part, a failure. It was this, and the inability of its staff to involve public servants and politicians in programme management, that led to the Provincial Secretary's refusal to take over the SHRDP in 1985, and incorporate it into the administrative apparatus of the Southern Highlands Provincial Government.

AIMS

One of the objectives of the research was to contrast the rhetoric found in World Bank appraisal documents for the SHRDP, and the seventh of the Eight Aims of Independence, with the reality of women's lives today - to discover what benefits and disadvantages the development process has wrought on the political and economic status of women. A major aim of field work was to test the hypothesis that women bear the burden of 'progress' while perhaps benefiting from improvements to their nutrition and health.

The appraisal documents do not specifically address the position of women, the rationale being that if the components of the SHRDP were achieved, then this position, along with that of men, would automatically improve. The components were designed:
...to increase cash earning activities - particularly through the production of coffee, tea, forestry and minor crops - to upgrade transport, health and education services and to improve subsistence agriculture (Critenden and Lea 1989:49).

The Seventh Aim of Independence states the necessity for:

A rapid increase in the equal and active participation of women in all forms of economic and social activity (National Development Strategy 1976).

Another objective was to discover if development works to exclude women from the advantages it confers upon men, and if men's experiences of development have some negative consequences for women.

Some of the components of the SHRDP, such as the Agricultural Field Trials, Surveys, Extension and Monitoring Unit (AFTSEMU) and health, were directed towards improving the general health and life expectancy of women and children. A final objective was to discover to what extent women's perceptions of their health, and the health of their children, were related to ideas about a general improvement in their lives. The results are presented later.

**METHODOLOGY**

The normal techniques of anthropology - long-term residence in a single community to build up social relationships and gradually create a familiarity with people and their everyday lives - was not appropriate in this instance. Participant observation was not suited to the aims of the research and the field work time available. Instead, it was more productive to interview as many women of different ages, occupations and marital status, from as many areas as possible.

The interviewing team in Tari consisted of myself, a female geography graduate from the University of Papua New Guinea and a local female translator. Day trips were made from Tari station to areas within walking distance as well as those requiring transport. We interviewed women individually and in groups. Interviews were usually formal and structured, with a prepared list of questions which was changed every few days, and given to women from various areas in order to obtain as wide a cross-section of opinion as possible. Apart from interviewing rural women, we also questioned market women at Tari station, women who ran the Tari `haus kai' (fast food shop) and guesthouse, nurses at the Tari hospital, and students. Research in Tari lasted nearly six weeks.

In Pangia, field work time was limited to one week and not nearly as many women were interviewed as in Tari. Previous research helped to make up for this shortcoming, and in all interviewing sessions I was assisted by a male research assistant employed on prior visits to Pangia, mostly for convenience (given the lack of time for training a female research assistant), and because of his familiarity with this type of work. The same range of women were interviewed in Pangia as in Tari and the same lists of questions were utilised. Men from both districts were also consulted about their views of women today, particularly for how these may differ from their perceptions of 'traditional' women. As already stated, the Pangia material is used as a contrast to highlight some points more forcefully; the comparison emphasising how some problems faced by women are peculiar to the Tari area.

Questionnaires were also distributed to Grade 10 students at Tari, Koroba and Pangia High Schools. This was to gain some insights into their aspirations in relation to careers, marriage and future residence. Lessons were given on research aims to all of
these high schools, and a lecture was given at Dauli Teachers' College, to prepare the students for interviews and questionnaire distribution.

It may be suggested that a male researcher would be inappropriate to undertake a study such as this. However, I had little trouble talking to women, even about sensitive issues (such as the reasons for miscarriage, or their attitudes to the frequency of sexual intercourse with their husbands). Women may have decided not to tell me some things, but if so, they were the same things that they were not telling my female research assistant, who conducted her own interviews working with the same lists of questions. It could also be suggested that a female anthropologist would be more sensitive to the position of women and develop closer relationships with them, but this is invalidated by the fact that most contacts with women were made on a once only, daily basis. In fact, my maleness seemed to be an asset, as women said they were pleased that an expatriate man would sit down and talk with them about their problems. They were enthusiastic in talking to me as a male because 'masas' (European men) do not usually bother. In their eyes, it is men who are in charge and, through me, would be more likely to listen to women's complaints.

THE ASSUMPTIONS AND BIASES OF THE SHRDP

The World Bank (1978) expressed concern, even before the SHRDP commenced, about the impact it would have on agriculture, nutrition and health. However, no long-term or interdisciplinary study was carried out to assess this impact. While lip-service was paid to the fact that the subsistence system operated in the context of a wider society, the connections between agriculture and perceptions of labour, social obligations, male-female relations and so on, were not systematically considered. Despite recommendations in World Bank documents (1978) that a social scientist be engaged to monitor the social impacts of the programme, no appointment was made (until it was too late), and the links between society and development were not investigated in terms of their consequences for planning (even though much useful research was done in some of these areas). The investigation of such linkages, and the recognition of their importance, could have gone some way to unifying what became a 'complex and unwieldy' programme (Crittenden and Lea 1989:57).

One of the consequences was that while the SHRDP was concerned with improving rural conditions, there was very little consultation with the people who were supposed to benefit from its components, in order to find out what sort of development they would like, or what impacts these components were having on their lives. This oversight applied particularly to rural women. When anybody was consulted, especially in respect of cash cropping, it was invariably men (cf. Bossen 1979). This was a reflection of biases within the largely male project team because in the societies from which these expatriate consultants came, decision making is mostly in the hands of men (as it is in Papua New Guinea).

Another bias of the project team which led to the neglect of women and their potential for rural development was its ethnocentric assumptions, which interpreted the activities and needs of Highlanders in terms of the values and beliefs of Western society. It was assumed that the type of development which Europeans favoured was appropriate to Highlands society and the aspirations of its people. For example, coffee and tea plantations generate income and employment and have worked elsewhere, so they were automatically considered a good form of development. Unfortunately, this does not consider factors such as the alienation of land from steadily increasing populations of largely subsistence farmers (though there have not been any significant plantations in the Tari Basin, which is perhaps just as well considering that its population will double in the next 30 years (Vail n.d.(5)); and the creation of elite groups and the resultant development of inequalities not only between areas, but also between men and women if men continue to assert their control over money which is
earned in plantation labour and from cash crops (as they did, and do, over pigs and
pearlsheels in the traditional economy).

Another ethnecentric assumption of the project team was that women are
confined to the domestic sphere of production as childminders and food providers,
while men belong to the more public realm in which development and business take
place (cf. Bossen 1979). Schemes for economic progress often favour men over women
and tend to keep women in their domestic roles, while perhaps even accentuating their
subordination to men (missions may also support such an arrangement as part of their
emphasis on the nature of the Christian family - see Clark 1985). The assumption is
made that all development is beneficial and that a development scheme means an
improvement in living conditions for everyone. In fact, some economic 'progress' may
work to the detriment of women's productive role in society, while improving men's
access to goods and services (cf. Tiffany 1979:8). For example, if a husband is away
learning skills on a plantation, a greater burden of work and stress falls on the wife who
is left in the rural area. During her husband's absence, she has to look after children,
pigs and gardens without his assistance, and must deal with attempts by other men to
steal her husband's pigs or encroach on his garden land.

Even if women are educated and trained for occupations such as nursing or
teaching, this does not guarantee them respect from men or equal participation with
them in social or political activities. Often, an educated, working woman can
experience as much stress, if not more, than her rural counterpart, especially if her
husband is an uneducated person or in a lower paid, lower status job. For example,
more than half of the nurses interviewed at the Tari hospital claimed that their husbands
greatly resented their wives' salary and position - an attitude which frequently led to
physical abuse and divorce.

Underlying the model of development used by expatriate consultants is the
assumption that in their own societies, which represent the pinnacle of what economic
progress can achieve, equal benefits are conferred on women and men. Development
(that is, gradual approximations towards a Western model of prosperity) will in this
view guarantee a greater equality between the sexes, as well as freeing women from a
'traditional' dependence on men and an inferior status (cf. Bossen 1979; Crittenden and
Lea, in press). In reality, political and economic processes always favour men.
Consider, for example, the representation of the sexes in the Australian Parliament.
Female Members of Parliament constitute less than 10 percent of all politicians. If
modernisation did not confer political equality on women in Australia, then why should
it in Southern Highlands Province?

A 1978 World Bank appraisal document states that:

...the S.H.P. is one of the poorest and remotest provinces in
P.N.G. Furthermore, it is probably one of the more backward
areas of the world...75% of the rural population live in absolute
poverty.

Just what do "backward" and "absolute poverty" mean in this context? Implicit in such
a statement is that there is something inherent in Southern Highlands societies which
has kept them back from progress, when measured in monetary terms. By this standard,
there are no redeeming features to being 'poor', even if the area is largely self-sufficient,
and the values of the West are again held up as worthy of emulation. Exchange and pig
raising are seen as holding back development and as an irrational use of labour and
wealth, despite the resulting benefits in terms of the areal integration of groups and the
circulation of food and property. By the same token, tribal fighting is decried as
barbaric and destructive of resources, as if people engage in it through some kind of
savage instinct - a view which neglects the historical context of development and the
problems of law and order facing the post-colonial state.
In a recent survey in Australia, nearly 60 percent of men said it was permissible to beat their wives (reported in the Adelaide 'Advertiser', March 1988). A similar survey in Papua New Guinea, conducted by the Law Reform Commission, for the Papua New Guinean Government and UNICEF (1987) revealed approximately the same percentage of men condoning violence against women. This, and the Australian survey, reveal some of the inherent dangers in incorporating Western values into a model of development for tribal societies. It is in the context of the biases, assumptions and shortcomings of the SHRDP that the relationship between women and development are examined.

THE IMPACT OF DEVELOPMENT ON TARI WOMEN

Four major areas of investigation have been isolated to provide keys to an understanding of the kinds of changes which have affected women's lives since the par Australiana. They are the division of labour, marriage practices, property rights and ceremonial exchange. These are not to be considered as separate or self-contained domains, as they interpenetrate, and changes to one have ramifications for the others. It is because of this that these four areas were selected to illuminate the situation in which women find themselves today.

It may be argued that factors such as male labour migration and the introduction of cash are also important, as indeed they are, but for the purposes of this paper it is preferable to consider them not as separate topics but in terms of one or more of the four areas. For example, money can be discussed in terms of property rights, or changes in the division of labour with cash cropping. The four areas will be used as general titles and as a way of organising the data. Discussion will not be restricted to what an area delimits. Rather, it will include many aspects of the post-pacification situation which are related to it, however tangentially.

An obviously external innovation, such as the introduction of health services, may be considered by some as having more impact on women and families than changes to the exchange system, especially given female life expectancy and child mortality rates in the Southern Highlands. This type of concern is reflected in the following quote:

In a hostile environment, poorly maintained by a tired mother, inadequate toilet training, contaminated food and low personal hygiene will heighten the risk of infection which will adversely affect the child's nutritional status - seeking medical care for such an infant may be neglected, or delayed, if a woman's workload is such that she has little free time (Soysa 1987:47).

Such considerations are important, and a worthwhile area of study, but it must be emphasised that this report is concerned with women's perceptions of their problems and prospects in the context of development, and the way in which women themselves articulate these may differ from the nutritionist, agronomist or doctor. These perceptions will emerge from a discussion of the four areas of investigation.

A qualification has to be made at this point in so far as this report, as already stated, deals with women's perceptions, including their ideology of female-male relations. Its viewpoint is deliberately gynocentric because the extended field work necessary for observation of the practice of these relations was not feasible. However, this may provide a useful complement to the many anthropological accounts from an androcentric perspective (at least my bias is admitted), which present a picture of society in which men appear to be the only, or the most important, actors. Women's opinions may not be an accurate reflection of the state of play of female-male relations
but, given that gender provides one model for interpreting and ordering the world (see Clark n.d.(a)), these opinions allow us some insights into how women 'feel' about development.

The Division of Labour

The quote from Soysa (1987:47) refers to women's workload, the extent of their free time and the implications this has for child nutrition. There is a problem with such a connection, which becomes apparent in the case of Tari women. They believe that their lives are more stressful today (the reasons for this will be discussed later), but claim that their workloads are less than they were traditionally. Work may not be quantified or evaluated in quite the same way by a Highlander, as a European. Comments that work is 'easier' may reflect more on women's stated beliefs that their lives are better today, than on the length of time they spend in gardens. This may also be related to negative attitudes towards the 'taim tudak' (dark time), before Europeans and Christianity arrived, reinforcing the belief that men's control over women and their labour was previously more extensive than it is today.

This indicates one of the problems in investigating the linkage between women and development - women may be working as hard today as they have done before but, because they are less under men's control, they may perceive their workloads as easier (work for oneself is less onerous than work for another). Given the absence of any data on the extent of female labour input before development, this is a problem which is intractable. It also indicates the problematic nature of linking women's 'free time' to expected improvements in child health and nutrition. At first sight it would seem that women, if they work less, have more free time available, but as already indicated, this may not be the case; claims about easier work may just reflect changes in female-male relations. In any case, if women's lives have improved, then why do they claim that they have more 'hevis' (worries, stress) today?

If the assumption is made that women's labour inputs are less today, this does not necessarily suggest that a connection exists between workload and quality of life. Many Tari women acknowledge the extent to which men controlled and dominated them in pre-colonial times, and refer to the constant hard work of gardening and pig herding. However, at the same time, there is an awareness that women were 'looked after' by their spouses in a way qualitatively different from the performance of husbandly duties today. The decline of male domination has been, for women, accompanied by increasingly negative attitudes towards men as 'men', or capable protectors. Women state that men are still household heads but are often ineffective. A contemporary characterisation of men was that they acted like 'pigs' or 'dogs'.

This is a major point of the report. Tari women quite clearly state that their lives have improved and cite as evidence their increased autonomy, more control over their labour and its products, choice over potential husbands, a greater freedom to travel, markets to sell crops in, the ability to attend church, and so on. Yet this improvement is in a context increasingly divorced from their relations with men - relations which have deteriorated since pacification and development. To try to explain these changes to women's lives one cannot reduce the matter to simple, unicausal explanations. The situation is much more complex than this. To write of an improvement in women's lives while men and women are growing further apart is partly illusionary and partly real, depending on the importance given to the concept of the family and the role models it provides for children.

The argument is that development has led to a deterioration in the relations between Tari men and women. Women say that men are much lazier today, and often treat their wives with less respect and more brutality than they did before pacification. Traditionally, Tari men and women conformed to a typical Highlands pattern in which residence and the division of labour was based on sex, but the strength of pollution
beliefs meant that husbands and wives led more separate lives; men even grew and harvested their own food gardens. Spouses did unite in garden preparation, pig herding, and the care of male children. The impression I received from talking to women is that the gap between themselves and men is wider today; they now have fewer common interests and activities. To reiterate, if Tari women's lives have improved, it is not relative to men but in terms of a greater autonomy and freedom in a realm of separate existence from men. When asked if their work was complementary to men's, women replied that traditionally their work was subordinate to their husband's, but now there is just women's work and men's work. This emphasises the perceived separation, even in the realm of production, between what women and men do.

This raises the problem of how to usefully discuss a stated improvement in women's lives if there has been no amelioration of female-male relationships (cf. Bossen 1979-98). This improvement does not necessarily correlate with beneficial changes in the wider society, or with a brighter future for that society. Equality between the sexes in Tari society is perhaps as remote a possibility today as it was before colonialism. Women realise that any gains they have made have been at the expense of a perpetuation and exaggeration of the separation of the sexes, with an accompanying increase in wife-beating and male irresponsibility in productive labour and family duties. Women were satisfied with the changes to their lives but a desire for greater progress, only achievable if men treat them better, was clearly expressed.

The state of play of female-male relations has implications for the post-colonial era. If the contemporary family provides a model for the socialisation of children into appropriate adult behaviour and sex-specific roles, then the illusory benefits of a greater independence, freedom and autonomy for Tari women are demonstrated, especially in the long-term if a breakdown in parental control and family stability is to continue (for example, this is related to the attitude of parents towards higher education, which many see as producing lazy and disobedient children - sons in particular). These points will be returned to later.

In contrast, the women of Pangia district have a much less negative attitude to their menfolk than Tari women and are less vocal in their complaints about men. Husbands are criticised for not helping their wives enough in productive and domestic tasks, but the vehemence with which Tari women criticise their spouses is lacking. Also, the level of violence towards women is lower in Pangia. Many Pangia women acknowledge that their husbands work hard and, for the most part, treat them well. Men concurred that they work harder today, and male gambling and/or drinking is much less prevalent than it is in Tari. Pangia women, unlike Tari women, were reluctant to make any definitive statements about whether their work was any harder today or traditionally. Parents rarely blamed education for lazy or disobedient children, or complained, as do Tari parents, about wastrel sons or prostitute daughters. The reasons for this are discussed in the concluding comparison, but it is worth noting here that there is a greater interdependence between the sexes in Pangia, in both production and exchange, although women do not have the independence or autonomy of Tari females (see Property Rights).

Marriage Practices

Changes in these practices often reflect changes in male-female relations. Marriagable age for both sexes has been influenced by the decline and virtual cessation of the bachelor cult, accompanied by the attenuation of male beliefs in female pollution, although pollution beliefs continue to influence men's understanding of the world (see Clark n.d.(a)). (Paradoxically, these fears of contamination guaranteed women some respect from men, and circumscribed their sexual relations). Men were older at marriage in the days of the bachelor cult, although a drop in the age at which men marry may be partially offset by the large numbers of young men who leave Tari for
employment and return several years later to marry and settle down (see Riley 1979:227, for similarities in the demographic consequences of the cult and labour migration). The long absence of cult members encouraged older men to take more and younger wives; girls being eligible for marriage from the age of 15 (Glasse 1968:48). Polygyny is no longer as prevalent because of mission prohibitions and the disappearance of the bachelors, and the marriageable age for women has risen as a consequence of this, as has school attendance, and the decline of arranged marriages (cf. Glasse n.d.:12,18).

Highlands women are often recognised for their importance in creating alliances or roads of exchange between groups linked by marriage. In Tari, however, "marriage is primarily an individual and family concern, and not an enduring connubial relationship between corporate groups" (Glasse 1968:76). This individualism, which is a characteristic of Tari society, means that women, as a category, are not delimited or defined by their role in connecting groups in alliance or the exchange of wealth. Women are important to men because of their role in production and reproduction, and this importance is not as contingent on extraneous factors, or as compromised by them, as it is for other Highlands women. The absence of an 'in between' role for Tari women, together with an emphasis on individual achievement, may account for their independence and autonomy. (Glasse states that by "comparison with women from other Highlands societies, Huli [Tari] women enjoy a fairly high status" (ibid.). How this status could be measured cross-culturally is a moot point, but the thrust of Glasse's statement remains valid).

The problem with Tari women's 'fairly high status' and independence is that it has had negative consequences in terms of contemporary female-male relations. This independence is now in the context of a greater separation between the tasks and interests of the sexes (this argument will be elaborated in the following sections). It could be suggested that, if a trade-off of this independence was possible, women would benefit more in their everyday lives from a greater interdependence with men. Other Highlands women can rely on their importance to men as links in exchange or alliance, which in some societies is publicly recognised on specific occasions. However, Tari women do not have even this recognition.

The question is whether this independence is now as much a hindrance as an asset to their lives. For example, as a wife she was "not obliged [traditionally] to perform domestic services for her husband" (ibid.:54), but now husbands rarely do their own cooking or make their own gardens, and women's resentment of their demands for food and labour often causes quarrels and fights. In other words, the demands which men make do not result in a later pay-off for their wives, at least to the extent it would in an exchange based political economy, where complementarity between the sexes in production is required and, for the wife, rewarded by the prestige of being known as a hard worker.

Tari women dislike polygyny intensely, although this was not always the case -- "older married women may urge [their husbands] to take a young wife to share in the garden work and help with the pigs" (Glasse 1968:51). The prohibition of polygyny has brought about consequences that were unintended by the missions. Men still prefer, as they become older, to take younger and more attractive wives. This often leads to serial polygyny and the casual abandonment of the first wife, who has to fend for her family by herself (it has to be remembered that despite the extent of women's independence they are still reliant on men for certain productive tasks and protection). It is also not surprising that women today dislike the idea of co-wives who, instead of helping the first wife, now work to displace her in the husband's affections and attentions and financial assistance. Polygynists are now condemned by women and so are those women who agree or conspire, with the husband, to become co-wives (part of this condemnation is because polygyny compromises a woman's Christian identity, which is highly valued, and partly because she knows a co-wife undermines her security, and is used by the husband as a trigger for divorce).
Bridewealth in Tari still consists mostly of pigs, although the number required has increased since colonialism, with inflation probably higher since the arrival of the Highlands Highway. This is not related to women becoming more 'valuable' but to the fact that people are said to be more concerned with 'profit' today. Men use the fact that they give bridewealth as a means of regaining some of their lost control over women. It is a feature of the post-colonial reality that men, having less control, are threatened by women whose independence compromises their sense of male identity - especially as this identity was always precarious.

At Tari it is not the case that male/female relations are based essentially on real life conflicts between men and women such as disagreements about the use or allocation of resources...But rather that Huli men are fundamentally ambivalent and insecure in their sexual role (Glasse n.d.:15).

Maleness is a fragile thing. In the past it had to be created by maintaining seclusion from women and observing rituals and taboos designed to protect men from female pollution. (I would relate this insecurity to male drinking and the level of violence towards women). The control of women was, and is, necessary to the construction of male identity, but can no longer be manifested in traditional form. Bridewealth provides a contemporary context in this struggle for control. This can be seen clearly in male attitudes to family planning, which basically consist of men feeling the need to 'get their money's worth', and believing that family planning interferes with this right.

While demographic data reveal little change in the birth spacing of Tari women, this fact is at odds with women's perceptions. Their major complaint against husbands is that they attempt to control their wives by giving them more children (cf. Goldman 1983:98). Women say that men give them, not so much more children in total, but children more closely spaced together. The typical wife is believed to have one infant, one baby on the breast and one in the belly. It is because of this that women state that their health is more precarious today, because frequent childbirth 'finishes the blood'. The friction which this causes between spouses is evident in women's beliefs that, through close births, 'men are trying to kill us', and they relate this to the refusal of husbands to give permission necessary for family planning.

This belief regarding closely spaced children may be related to the greater frequency of sexual intercourse today, and perhaps to the fact that more children are surviving. Men certainly demand greater sexual access, but whether this is a conscious attempt on their part to control their wives is problematic. Women attribute motives to male behaviour which are often different from those provided by men.

Glasse (n.d.:11) suggests that '[w]omen have grown more independent and exercise greater control over their marriages and reproductive capacity'. While I would agree with his first two points, it is apparent in statements made by Tari women themselves that they feel it is men who determine their reproductive capacity. They even claim that because men pay the bridewealth they are, if not entitled, at least in a strong position to dictate the number of children they desire (if a woman attempts to legally prevent her husband from exercising his rights of sexual access, it is the fact of giving bridewealth which often decides courts in favour of men). Glasse bases his claim on field work undertaken in 1979, and ten years later it could be that women have lost reproductive control because of more recent changes in female-male relations and an increasing separation between the sexes. Women certainly believe that many aspects of these relations have deteriorated since the arrival of the Highlands Highway in 1981.

That men are more threatened by women today is also indicated by their treatment of wives who work, especially in skilled jobs such as nursing. More than 50 percent of the nurses interviewed at Tari hospital were divorced because, they said, their husbands were 'jealous' and as a consequence beat them up, caused trouble at their work, and demanded more than half of the wife's salary (the latter is a disagreement
about the use or allocation of resources', but in the context of an increased ambivalence and insecurity felt by men about their role in the post-colonial state). These nurses had no desire to remarry, at least to Huli men, and represent a previously unknown category in Tari - the independently successful divorced woman (cf. Glasse n.d.:12). The separation between men and women is further evidenced by women's statements that to become a businesswoman or men's leader, for example, one condition is that the woman must be divorced. This makes for an interesting comparison with the traditional situation in which an "adult woman without a husband [had] little status" (Glasse 1968:62), and demonstrates the extent to which men's lives have changed.

Men in Pangia are not so much threatened by women as by the entire development process. Men say that they now have to act like women, and have been shrinking since pacification (see Clark 1989). Men do not react to their loss of autonomy and power by attacking women, physically or sexually, as do Tari men, and seem to accept their situation with a resignation bordering on apathy. Pangia men do complain but seem overly reliant on the government and missions for initiatives. Many Tari men drink, some beat up their wives and initiate warfare, and few expect much from the government except by forceful coercion (the Huli resisted independence and would now like their own separate province). I am not recommending drinking and wife-beating, but the Huli remain argumentative, aggressive and volatile, and do not appear to have been so cowed by colonialism and development. By comparison with the 'Dodge City' of Tari, with its gold, rascals and drunkards, Pangia is the equivalent of a small mid-west American Bible town (with the undercurrents of sexual and personal jealousies which this implies). It would be a mistake to read into this that the Huli response to colonialism was somehow healthier than what occurred in Pangia, or to assume that this comparison is subjective and impressionistic. These claims can be supported by historical and ethnographic data, which cannot be presented here for reasons of length.

Bridewealth in Pangia has a large component of money, which has tended to introduce a perception of women as objects for purchase rather than as subjects whose reproductive capacity is compensated for by pigs and pearls. Hul women have high school education has no correlation with increased bridewealth, whereas in Pangia it is explicitly stated by parents that daughters are educated in order to obtain a higher bridewealth ('daughters are our business'). The Wiru, the inhabitants of Pangia, seem more avaricious than the Huli and more concerned with money and ways of obtaining it (and retaining it; missionaries told me that the Huli are generous in their church donations while the Wiru, who have had coffee for many years, give mainly coppers). People are said to be 'greedy' in Tari, but for pigs, as it is believed money is invariably wasted and not put to productive purposes.

A tendency to view women as bridewealth objects is not so much part of a conscious attempt by men to denigrate women, in a situation in which their own power has waned, but part of the working out of a cultural logic into which the use of money and selling have been incorporated (see Clark n.d.(b)). Female-male relations have changed in Pangia but, unlike in Tari where the separation of the sexes was exaggerated by development, more to the advantage of women in terms of a better deal from their menfolk. Wiru men are more in thrall of Christian directives about family responsibility, and of the power of the courts to fine and jail (see Clark 1985). Women in Pangia like the idea of family co-residence as they get to share food with their husbands, perceiving this change as an improvement in their lives. In contrast, many Huli women would prefer to return to the traditional separate dwellings and have less to put up with from their spouses.

The logic of bridewealth - compensation for reproductive capacity - is the same in Pangia as in Tari, but its practice in the post-colonial context has had different consequences for each of these districts. Wiru men do not use the fact of giving bridewealth as a means of demanding sexual access to their wives, and do not necessarily regard family planning as an infringement on their rights to produce
descendants. Men do not take out their resentments and feelings of powerlessness (see page 5) on women, at least not to the same extent as Tari males, instead they complain about politicians and change churches in an attempt to secure more resources. Wiru women say that if they obtained jobs or started a business then their husbands would be supportive and proud of them.

Property Rights

It is in the context of these rights that the difficulties of assessing and comparing the position of women in different areas become apparent. Glashe, the original ethnographer of the Huli of the Tari area, states that a "woman may own pigs and other valuables in her own right, and she may give them away without consulting anyone" (1968:76). The property rights of contemporary women have, if anything, improved, especially for independent, divorced women who may have their own pig herds. Even if a woman looks after pigs for her husband, when they are killed and sold she can demand up to half of the money obtained. The same applies to coffee. Women labour to process the beans for sale and the proceeds are divided equally between husband and wife, even though the coffee is grown on the husband's land. Women, as elsewhere in the Highlands, keep all of the money earned from the sale of vegetables in village or town markets.

The property rights of Tari women are unusual in comparison with most of their Highlands counterparts (Eastern Highlands women would be the exception, particularly in the case of pigs, see Sexton 1986), especially in terms of male attitudes to women's control of money. Men say that women have more money than they, and are able to hold onto it; men's money just disappears through their hands like water. Yet, as might be expected, this is the cause of some resentment amongst men, who see women's control of money as one of the indicators that, since independence, 'everything has changed around'. Men believe it is unfortunate that women no longer 'sit under our legs', and consider their control of money and the fact that women can kill pigs as a challenge to the status of men.

Hagen men of Western Highlands Province, to ensure their control over money as a 'male' valuable, as well as the maintenance of appropriate domains of male and female activity, resort to a wide range of symbolic and ideological mystifications (A. Strathern 1979, 1982). Hageners would be aghast at the thought of women having more money than men, and being better at retaining it - for them it is resource control which is a diacritical feature of manhood. Huli men are concerned about the greater autonomy and independence of women and the extension of their property rights but, because their society is not organised along the strong clan and exchange oriented lines of Hagen, they could not bring to bear the range of ideological techniques required in their attempts to subordinate women to men. This helps to explain the jealousy which working women report from their husbands, and the mistreatment about which many women complained. Huli men have had to resort to the physical, not symbolic, as part of their attempt to deal with changing male-female relations and new resources (many Huli women complained of being assaulted by their drunken husbands, who wanted them to return money which they had given when sober).

In Pangia, women cannot own pigs, and any other wealth items they may own, such as pearshells, are subject to the constraints of an exchange system dominated by men. Women may be given pigs but they are 'in their name' only, and are ultimately controlled by the husband or father. Women keep the coins from vegetable sales but only get 'pocket money' from coffee, despite doing most of the processing, with most of the cash being kept by men because coffee is grown on clan land. As in Hagen, money is a 'male' valuable for use in exchange, a domain from which women are largely excluded. Despite the fact that Tari women are more independent and better off in terms of property rights, Wiru women were for the most part supportive of their
husbands and less critical of them. Mistreatment of the male spouse was not a major complaint in Pangia, and women were relatively happy with family life and the assistance they received from husbands. This indicates some of the problems to be found in comparing women across societies.

Ceremonial Exchange

Many of the points already raised will now be brought together to provide, in reference to the decline of the Huli ceremonial exchange system, a more comprehensive picture of the situation of contemporary Tari women. Unfortunately, despite the anthropological attention which the Huli have received, very little has been written about ceremonial exchange, in particular those occasions when large numbers of pigs were killed in association with ritual activity, and distributed to other groups. Still, in comparison with other Southern Highlands societies, the Huli do not appear to have given the same importance to the large-scale slaughter and distribution of pigs. It was the rituals of male initiation and land fertility which preoccupied the Huli, to which pig killing and exchange was more of an adjunct than a central part of the ceremony, as it was elsewhere in the Highlands.

This may help to explain why pig kills have disappeared in Tari, whereas in the rest of Southern Highlands Province, despite the disappearance of the cults associated with them, they continue to be performed and indeed effloresce. For the Huli, it was the major rituals and the exchanges associated with them which provided a context for group cooperation and display, as well as a means of creating links between groups, or reaffirming ties. This context no longer exists; today it is only warfare and its resultant compensation payments which provide the occasional opportunity for male group action (men also come together for church attendance, but this hardly requires group planning). This does not compare with the long-term cooperation which was required for staging rituals.

The aims of the Australian administration, and the hidden agenda of development, was the promotion of individualism and, as an outcome of this, the abandonment of traditional practices such as cult performance and ceremonial exchange, which stood in the way of progress. The irony is that in Tari, these aims have been largely achieved but, instead of producing the ideal of a tractable and stable peasant society, it has been at the cost of widening the gulf between men and women, causing tensions within the family and the creation of social problems such as drinking (see below).

It is the interdependence and cooperation of the sexes in production and long-term planning which ensures the success of exchange activities. With the removal of these objectives and the necessity for female-male cooperation, husbands and wives have less opportunity to interact on the basis of shared interests. Given that, traditionally, the "Huli family never [formed] a unitary household" (Glasse 1968:62), then the family has been further fragmentated by the process of development. Now that many men expect their wives to garden and cook for them, imposing an extra labour burden on women without reciprocating in such areas as child minding, the opportunity for intersexual conflict has increased (my research assistant from Hagen was appalled by the number of Tari women with black eyes).

Tari society has always had strong tendencies to individualism and the attenuation of ritual and ceremonial exchange, which constrain the individual to group action, has encouraged them. The individual is valued in Western society but the rampant individualism of Tari has caused problems, some already discussed, which were unintended by the planners. The decline of exchange has had the same affect on society as it has had on the family - it has exacerbated existing tendencies towards separation in a residually dispersed and inherently distrustful society (Frankel 1986:44). In old-fashioned, structural-functionalist terms, exchange provided a glue for
keeping society together, an argument which has some validity in this context (the re-emergence of warfare could also be related to this theory, in terms of an attempt to achieve a new if temporary sense of group identity. The problem with this explanation is that it could equally be the tensions of living within the post-colonial state, and the decline of group cooperation, which leads to fighting).

It was the disappearance of ceremonial exchange which militated against men mounting strong challenges against women's control of money, which was not converted into a valuable for use in exchange or any other sphere of male activity. Money is appreciated by the Huli but is regarded as primarily for consumption. Its importance is secondary to pigs, and its status in exchange akin to that of a luxury item which makes the exchange more attractive to the recipients. Money, unlike elsewhere in the Highlands, did not provide a symbolic focus around which men collectively organised an expression of sexual differences, or maintain an ideology of appropriate gender roles.

The problem of money for Hagen men was that it "was too much like pigs and not sufficiently like shells" although "the overall flow of cash and its potential for integrating diverse activities are much greater than was true of shell valuables" (A.Strathern 1982:313). Huli society was never troubled by the distinction between pigs and pearlshells (indeed pearlshells were never in abundance and have now disappeared from all transactions), the maintenance of which was so important for Hagen men in ensuring their roles as 'transactors' and women's as 'producers'. That money is 'too much like pigs' - that is, produced by women in cash cropping - was not the same sort of problem for Huli men, who lack exchange systems, such as moka or te, which can be used in the effort to construct and maintain their male identity.

Perhaps it was the absence of these types of exchange that consigned money to its category as a consumer item, blurring the distinction between the sexes in terms of what they 'do' (men exchange, women produce), yet because of this, driving a wedge further between men and women. Money did not come to have the integrating potential for the Huli as it did for Hageners, either by consolidating men's claims on women's production, or by women emphasising their role as consumers, or by using money in exchange, in response to continuing male assertions about the overall control of wealth (ibid.:313). Instead, money tends to facilitate the creation of divisions within Huli society. Tari women do refer to money as the 'root of all evil', yet it is specious to label social change as 'bad'. What is happening in Tari is part of a continuing response to the problems of constructing a social identity in a context in which many of the fundamental assumptions about society have been challenged or discarded.

In Pangia, men dominate the exchange system although women are allowed some participation and, unlike Hagen women, can own pearlshells. These are used primarily in the context of life-cycle payments, and a woman can initiate exchanges to create or stimulate exchange - connections between, for example, her father and her husband. Women obtain some status from this and from their role in production for exchange - an activity in which men cooperate. Women view this cooperation as the basis for an interdependence in exchange with their husbands, regardless of men's public control of important prestations. Women encourage their husbands in exchange, have some role in deciding who the recipients will be, and are happy to raise more pigs to increase their husbands' - and as a consequence their own - status.

Despite the interdependence and cooperation between the sexes, Wiru men do view women as consumers of wealth, putting it to no particular purpose. The introduction of money has confirmed men in this opinion, as they accuse women of wasting money by buying food and clothes - that is, men are critical of the use of money in a domestic context. Women sometimes participate in exchange events with pearlshells but rarely, if ever, with money.

Large-scale ceremonial pig kills and the life-cycle payments which often, but not always, accompany them, continue in Pangia and demand intersexual cooperation and place importance on some notion of the 'family' as a unit in production and
exchange. Also, pig kills require long-term planning and cooperation not only in the household but between the members of the clans which will eventually host them. These events are organised by all men, but especially by headmen, who are intent on fostering their own status as well as that of their clan. It is the ideology of clan membership which is resorted to in order to instil enthusiasm and pride for these ceremonies. This is in stark contrast to the situation in Tari where tendencies to individualism have become more pronounced since colonialism, and the solidarity of male groups and even of the family has been more affected by development. Exchange, that mortal enemy of 'progress', has helped to keep Pangia more or less intact socially, despite the best efforts of the planners.

Tari and Pangia - a Comparison

Tari and Pangia have had very different development histories; the former district was established in the early 1950s while Pangia was not derestricted until 1961. Yet Pangia had a decade or more of intensive development schemes leading up to independence in 1975. Tari's relative isolation and lack of a road link out of the district meant that the majority of men, if they desired cash, had no choice but to leave as migrant labourers. There were no local development schemes equivalent to those initiated in Pangia, and no encouragement for young men to remain behind to develop their own land. Many men also left Pangia to work on plantations, but when they returned they had some security in the form of group based projects such as coffee or cattle farming and involvement in group oriented exchanges and ceremonies (even church denomination became an aspect of descent group membership in Pangia - see Clark 1985).

In Tari, warfare, marriage and land ownership had strongly individualistic features. The lack of local development and experiences of the outside world accentuated this individualism and broke down group interests and cohesion, especially in a situation where ceremonial exchange and ritual had, by the mid-1970s, largely disappeared. Not only did men go their separate ways, but so did men and women, illustrating how certain features of Tari society, in combination with geography and history, produced a colonial and post-colonial situation very different to that found in Pangia.

It is not suggested that development has led to the breakdown of Tari society, as this is far from the case (cf. Goldman 1983:21). The point is that it has had different consequences in Tari and Pangia; the latter facing other kinds of problems. The Huli are still proud to be Huli, and men continue to walk around in traditional dress without embarrassment, not because they cannot afford clothes but because they like to display themselves in their finery. In Pangia, even old men wear Western-style clothes, often in the last stages of decay. They are ashamed of their pagan past, yet realise that part of the cost of development and Christianity has been the erosion of their male identity, in some sense an emasculation (see Clark 1989). The Wiru are not, like the Huli, proud and arrogant in their ethnic identity. If an architectural analogy is permitted, which returns us to a previous comparison, Tari society is like a vibrant and individually oriented city, while Pangia is like a quiet, parochial and group (if not civic) minded small town.

Different attitudes towards money, and varying stresses on the group or individual, are factors which have had divergent consequences in Tari and Pangia. This can be illustrated by looking at people's ideas about the role of education in social improvement. The situation in Pangia is such that a tertiary education in particular is viewed as producing a person who is a resource for the group. Western notions of education for the betterment of the individual are not encountered, and if a person does not make a good return on the money invested in his or her education, much bitterness can result. In the case of education for girls, this has encouraged, as already discussed,
a tendency towards objectifying their reproductive potential as something which can be bought with money. Education becomes a 'bisnis'.

In Tari, notions of education as an investment are also present but not to the same degree as in Pangia, and statements to the effect that children are educated for their own improvement were often encountered. Graduates are not a resource for the group, although they are expected to help their parents when employment is obtained. Girls are not a 'bisnis' and are not educated to increase their bridewealth (which rarely has large components of money).

Indeed, it is the idea of education for self-improvement which has led to increasingly negative views of education, especially for girls (these views are not found in Pangia), where the group emphasis means that most people are satisfied with education as investment (although sons are still regarded as better 'bisnis', and fewer daughters are sent to high school). In Tari, there is a growing parental dissatisfaction with graduates who, rather than being 'improved', are lazy and disobedient. It is females who bear the brunt of this disillusionment, because it is they and not males who, as marriage partners, are seen as a poor risk because of their 'bad' attitudes and a disinclination for garden work.

Many women told us that initially they were happy to send their daughters to high school, and did not discriminate between their sons and daughters. But they do so less today because they believe that education turns their daughters into prostitutes. This belief is based on their observation that educated girls are dissatisfied with rural life, and wander around Tari Station having casual affairs with men. Such women attract a lower bridewealth so, women argue, why bother with the expense of educating them? (Education does not mean a higher bridewealth, it may in fact lower it). This concern of women suggests that education does not always lead to a linear progress, as the development planners assumed. If it is the case that fewer daughters are being sent to high school, then the chances of an improvement in women's social position is further reduced if men, through education, continue to dominate in public life, so confining women even more to the rural and domestic context. Education and Tari males will be addressed in following sections.

It can be seen that the continuation of group-oriented exchange and the involvement of women in men's status activities has, in Pangia, resulted in women experiencing less violence and more satisfaction with their role as wives in a household, and as members of a wider group. Despite Tari women's superior property owning rights and greater autonomy, they are not as secure as their Pangia counterparts (illustrating the difficulties in comparing or even defining women's status, as in many respects - property rights, autonomy, and so on - the 'status' of Huli women is higher. Clearly, for Tari women at least, status is relational, depending to some extent on men's attitudes and behaviour towards women). The ideals of property ownership and individual autonomy which underpin Western ideology and which were encouraged by development, are not always appropriate to small-scale, kinship based subsistence communities. The persistence of pre-colonial forms of social action may provide a counter to some of the more negative consequences of the promulgation of these values.

The introduction and use of money has meant that in some situations Wiru women are treated more like objects than subjects. In Tari, women's autonomy and control of money did not make them like objects; rather it rendered increasingly problematic the construction of male identity. This has not led to the expected improvement in women's lives that planners would predict, and my argument has been that the continuing interdependence of the sexes in production and exchange, even at the cost of subordination to men in public affairs, has (in Pangia at least) been to the benefit of women.
MALE DRINKING AND ITS EFFECTS ON WOMEN

The systematic investigation of social patterns of male drinking was not a major feature of field work, although in retrospect, and if more time had been available, it would have been a useful area of research. So for the most part, this section will confine itself to the social impact of drinking, and explanations offered by those who suffer from male drunkenness - mostly women. Excessive beer drinking by males is a widespread problem in Papua New Guinea but one which appears to be acute in Tari, even causing concern for the provincial government in Mendi. Some suggestions as to why Tari has become renowned for its `spakmen' (drunks) are presented later.

In a survey of attitudes held by women and older men, drinking was identified as the major cause of wife-beating, warfare, family neglect and lack of development in Tari. Clearly, people believe beer consumption is a major problem and one that concerns them in their daily lives. Drinkers range in age from young unmarried males to middle-aged men with families. It is the younger men who are visible as the drunks who wander around Tari Station. No survey of the relationship between employment and drinking was conducted, but as much alcohol consumption happens during daylight hours it would seem that young unemployed males are among the main offenders, and those who cause public disturbances.

Much drinking also goes on after dark, in clubs, at gatherings called dawanda, or at male meeting places such as outside trade stores or in the town of Tari itself. Wives frequently reported that after a night of drinking their husbands return home demanding food which has already been given to the children. This often results in what is a common sight in Tari - a woman with a black eye. In another typical scenario, two men went out drinking in the bush and one choked to death while vomiting. The other man was accused of his murder and warfare soon followed.

Some reasons for the scale of the problem are now suggested:

1. Because of Tari's isolation from the outside world, a lot of young men left to find work in other provinces. The experience exposed them to new ideas and practices and, when they returned to Tari, they were dissatisfied with the rural life. This by itself is not uncommon, but in combination with social, geographical and historical factors peculiar to Tari, many of which have been already referred to, labour migration had some qualitatively different effects. The Highlands Highway did not arrive until 1981, and as a consequence of this there is little in the way of local business or plantations because of the cost of airfreighting such things as cash crops (the group planning and cooperation necessary for such endeavours would, for reasons outlined, probably not have been forthcoming anyway, and business in Tari is today largely individual oriented).

Employment prospects, especially for school leavers, are minimal, as a result of this. Leaving the district as a labour migrant is still the preferred way for the majority of Huli men to find work. Eventually they return, often because of the boredom and low wages associated with plantation labour, or because they could not find a job suitable to their educational qualifications. Those who are successful usually choose to stay away from Tari, and those who return soon become bored with rural life, and often become bitter and frustrated. Beer drinking is one outlet for this dissatisfaction and schoolleavers, especially those who were high school failures, were identified as the major problem drinkers, and as the main `rascals'.

2. There are a number of social factors which have to be considered. Young men no longer have their traditional role as fighters or as members of the haroli bachelor cult, which taught them appropriate male behaviour. Because of mission bans on the cult, and the imposition of a colonial peace, boys and young men were deprived of role models and of a useful place in society. Instead, it was the `kip' (patrol officer) sub-culture which was emulated, as this was a new source of authority and, along with
the missions, knowledge (the most ruthless of the 'kiaps' is still very much admired as an example of a 'real' man). The 'macho' image of some 'kiaps', who exaggerated aspects of Australian male ideology to help create this sub-culture, was related to the notion of drinking to excess to prove that a man could 'hold his liquor'. The observation of white drinking patterns in towns and on plantations, reinforced the connection made between alcohol consumption and appropriate male behaviour.

Young Huli males have different models for behaviour today, judging by the prolific number of Rambo, Cobra and Bruce Lee T-shirts (and the extreme popularity of these videos), but I would suggest that drunkenness and 'Rambo' behaviour are to some extent related to modern constraints on the expression of male identity in the rural areas of the post-colonial state. Older women complain that, traditionally, young men went into seclusion to become harol - attractive and rule-regulated bachelors - but now they go to Hagen and become 'spakmen', out of control.

3. There have been changes in the nature of the household and in the authority which men had over their sons. Older men often told me that their sons are 'bikhts' (bigheads, a description used because sons are opinionated and will not listen to their fathers). Education is usually blamed for the errant behaviour of sons, and fathers frequently refuse to have anything to do with them. This abdication of parental control and guidance means that it is the behaviour of one's peer group, and not of older men, which now provides the model for male behaviour. Young boys of ten years onwards often leave their father's or parents' house and live together. They are not socialised into appropriate behaviour through the observance of the traditional roles and model of the household. The lack of a well-defined role creates frustrations, especially in a situation where the relationship of the individual to his residential or kinship group has become problematic, and again alcohol is resorted to as an outlet.

4. The ceremonial exchange system in Tari has largely disappeared. The control of this system by big men and/or ritual specialists helps to keep the younger men in line, providing role models for appropriate male behaviour and aspirations. The absence of such models and the declining respect for big men (cf. Glasse n.d.:19), even in warfare, further contributes to a situation in which young men are less subject to the rules and regulations of society. The decline of exchange and large-scale ritual also means that the occasions for individuals to act as members of a group are now fewer.

5. When confronted with a situation in which men were powerless or were exposed to too much in the way of novel events, for example the establishment of patrol stations and new sources of power, many Huli men exhibited dissociative states of behaviour which were called lulu, known in the literature as 'wild man' behaviour (Frankel 1986:29). Uncontrollable desire can also cause men to become lulu, a behavioural state characterised by the flushing of social codes and taboos. That is, men who are lulu do not act responsibly or rationally. Drunken men are said to be lulu, although this is not necessarily a description with which they, when sober, would concur. This perception of drunks, and memories of the last occasion when many men were afflicted with lulu, suggest that drinking is associated with a transitional phase in which traditional behaviour is no longer appropriate, but in which no other models for proper male activity are, as yet, available. Drunkenness is a temporary madness and, for Huli, akin to a state of illness; as such its causes are social (cf. Frankel 1986) and, in this case, related to contemporary inequalities resulting from social change. (I emphasise that this is an explanation of perceptions of drinking, not an explanation of why individual men drink).

This is not to suggest a pathological explanation for drinking - that is, as a symptom of social disintegration - as this is simplistic and ignores the dynamism of social life. Yet if people volunteer such an explanation it cannot be ignored, especially when drinking has many negative social consequences, particularly for women and children. Women, and many older men, see drinking as a sign of the imminent end of the world (this relates to the traditional Huli world view, see Frankel 1986:26), and of the fact that men are not in control, perhaps not even 'men' any more. This explanation
is not too far from the position taken in this report, which is that male drinking is partly a response to changing female-male relations in the context of development - an argument which will be returned to later.

WOMEN, DESIRE AND GOLD

The discovery in 1987 of vast amounts of alluvial gold at Mt. Kare (it has been estimated that gold worth A$100 million was extracted by 1989), to the north of the Tari Basin in Enga Province, has had dramatic consequences for Huli society. It is likely that the incidence of drunkenness and warfare has increased since the gold money. Many men told me they fought other parishes because they were jealous of their gold, and a lot of the money was spent in conspicuous consumption with 'wantoks' (friends and relatives), especially on beer parties and trips to Hagen and Port Moresby. The gold, discovered at a Huli sacred site, has also entered into the local mythology, particularly that which is associated with earth rituals.

The nature of female-male relations at Mt. Kare reflects trends observed in the Tari Basin, yet in some respects the division of labour is closer to the traditional model. The gold provides a context for intersexual cooperation which is often lacking in the basin, as the most efficient unit for extracting the gold is the household, including children (who are valued for their sharp eyes). Unfortunately, census material from Mt. Kare is not yet available, so the percentage of families as opposed to single people or other groups is not known. Also, because of time limits and the expense of helicopter trips to Mt. Kare, field work occupied half a day only. Exact details about people's workloads and the quantity and fate of gold found will have to await further research. Nonetheless, some statements can be made with reasonable reliability.

Most of the gold money appears to have disappeared into consumption - (I am aware of no local Huli businesses which were founded on gold money) and a return to subsistence farming appears to be the lot of Mt. Kare prospectors. What is unknown is whether the experience of having a lot of money will cause stresses and strains for people who go back to farming, or whether the attitude will be 'easy come, easy go' (not that the work involved is easy, or the environment healthy).

The situation at Mt. Kare reflects differences in the expectations of men and women (single and married) about money, which are characteristic of the basin. Married women and young girls treat the gold money, for the most part, as an item for the purchase or consumption of luxury items, such as clothes and presents. If a desire for a future business was expressed, it was in relation to the husband's plans. Men say that they would like to use the money to start a business, but acknowledge that many of these schemes never come to fruition as the money just seems to disappear (especially at Mt. Kare where the cost of basic foodstuffs is exorbitant).

Men do the heavy work of digging and shoring up trenches or tunnels, while women and children engage in the monotonous task of panning the mud for gold (although some men do help). The congruence with the division of labour in garden preparation and harvesting is striking. Any money which results is the husband's, as he is household head, even though the money is usually divided, if not equally. It was noticeable that in a situation in which the sexes were interdependent and the husband was fulfilling his obligations as provider and protector, he appeared to have more authority and a larger share of the proceeds. Family units were closer than in the basin, perhaps because of the cramped and uncomfortable living conditions.

The household head usually had some plans for the money, while many women admitted they had no ideas about possible uses beyond consumption, and were just at Mt. Kare to help their husbands. Women said that their only idea was to come to Mt. Kare and find gold, reflecting women's lack of experience, outside of the domestic context, in long-term planning and resource management. This is not to denigrate women, but rather to indicate that their ambitions are different from men's. It is
ethnocentric to privilege plans to invest money in business over the social benefits which accrue to women who make gifts to their relatives and friends, or use the money for school fees. Women may be able to save and amass money better than men, but their concerns are still largely domestic.

Unmarried women made similar statements to wives. They had no intentions of amassing gold and starting a business (although one or two thought they might buy a sewing machine); they just wanted enough gold to go back to Tari and buy some clothes, food, and presents for their relatives - very much quotidian and pragmatic concerns and interests. Like money which is used in exchange, the gold is an ephemeral extra - exciting but short-lived.

Unmarried men, and some husbands with or without their wives, were also of the opinion that gold money was for consumption, although in this case it is often for beer or rum at inflated prices. Drunkenness was a major cause of fighting at Mt. Kare, and in one instance resulted in the destruction of the aid post, until alcohol was prohibited and police were brought up to the CRA compound to enforce order (CRA is the mining company which owns the lease for Mt. Kare, with landowners having the rights to the alluvial gold only).

The high incidence of sickness at Mt. Kare, and the fact that most of the money is, according to the Huli, 'wasted', is related to mythology and the presence of women at the goldfields. Sickness is expressed in terms of intersexual relations, and the idiom is one of pollution. Mt. Kare was, according to older men, a site at which ritual specialists sacrificed to dama (spirits), including the mythical snake which is coiled under the ground, linking areas together in a kind of 'sacred geography' (Goldman 1983:112; Frankel 1986:20). Women were not allowed near the site because of the presence of dama, otherwise their polluting ability could affect the success of fertility rituals.

The presence of women at Mt. Kare is blamed for the health problems of many of the men, for the most part because of the illicit sexual intercourse and prostitution which takes place. The men who cohabit with women are also at fault, but because women are not supposed to be at Mt. Kare it is they who figure prominently in explanations of illness. Men, however, claim that they break the taboos of Mt. Kare because "the gold has washed our brains", rendering them listless, without willpower, and prone to irrational and sometimes violent behaviour. The desire for gold was said to make men lulu.

The illness is believed to be sent by the snake as a punishment because it is angry at the presence of women and the breaking of taboos on sexual intercourse. The destruction of its 'home' by alluvial gold reclamation and the future dredging of the valley by CRA, are also related to the snake's anger (responsible, too, for declining gold yields). The actual cause of ill health is believed to be the gold itself, which is explained as the shed skin or faeces of the snake. Women, who have the smell and secretions of sex on their bodies, pay for gold in streams and contaminate the metal which is present, not just for them but for men as well. This gold then has the power to cause sickness - its harmful quality is somehow activated by the snake's anger, although how this does this in conjunction with the contamination of watercourses was not made clear (see Clark n.d.(a)).

A more striking illustration of this belief is that women, while panning, get flakes of gold dust under their fingernails. Later, when feeding their menfolk, the gold dust is transferred from their nails to the food consumed, causing men to become sick. This is almost the exact same explanation for illness due to menstrual pollution - a woman gets flecks of menstrual blood (another waste product, like the gold) under her fingernails while dealing with her discharge, and can purposefully or inadvertently poison her husband if she gives him food while in this condition. This illness from gold pollution is different from that referred to when men state that 'gold has washed our brains', which is an illness of desire.

The problems and illness experienced at Mt. Kare are cast in the idiom of male-female relations and are related to traditional beliefs. Even something as novel as gold
and the fortunes in money it can bring, are related to the world view and belief system with which the Huli are familiar, and do not remain unexplained just because no precedent has been set. Men's illness has always been associated with the state of play of male-female relations (Frankel 1986), and major misfortune with the displeasure of dama or non-performance of rituals designed to appease them. Gold is unique as an event but not as an understandable social phenomenon.

Despite the effectiveness of the household in extracting gold, and the usefulness of women in food preparation and childminding, men hold a strongly negative view of women at Mt. Kare. Women are not actively discriminated against, as wives are entitled to a share of the gold money, and unmarried females own outright any gold they obtain through their labours. Yet for the sickness to wane, and the gold to return, men state that women should go back to their homes. They have no way of enforcing this, however, and their frustration at their lack of control over women, and continuing ill health, often result in claims that the majority of women at Mt. Kare are prostitutes (it has been estimated that 20 percent of Mt. Kare's population are women and children). From the women's perspective, gold does provide some short-term benefits to those working and living at Mt. Kare. It means that women can buy food instead of working in gardens, and give gifts which increase their social standing and ensure future reciprocity.

It is difficult to predict what, for women, will be the long-term consequences of gold. For many of the single women at Mt. Kare, the gold has encouraged expectations which will in all likelihood be dashed - they say they now have no stomach for the work of farming and could not tolerate a `kanaka' (bush) husband, preferring to marry a `gold' man, even if he beats his wife. Gold has temporarily made their lives easier but the experiences it has introduced will not last, and the Tari Basin will return to its pre-Mt. Kare existence, perhaps with increasing levels of discontent among men and women (bearing in mind that it will be women who, when the Huli finally leave Mt. Kare, will be blamed by men for their role in illness and declining gold yields).

For women who remained in the Tari Basin, the increase in drunkenness and public disorder suggests that gold money has not exactly proved a boon to their lives. Many expressed a preference that it should have remained in the ground. Wives whose menfolk were away at Mt. Kare stated that any money they received was often taken back by drunken husbands, with a black eye resulting if resistance was offered or the money spent.

CONCLUSION

The viewpoint of economic positivism sees all progress as beneficial and linear. Yet Huli women do not necessarily view matters this way. They certainly appreciate such things as markets, aid posts, women's welfare groups, and their local church, but the situation is more complicated than this appreciation would indicate. It is impossible to write about such things as the arrival of the Highlands Highway and the establishment of high schools, for example, in purely black and white terms.

The highway brought easier access to the outside world, more and cheaper goods into Tari, and allowed for the rise of more stores, PMV operations, roadside markets for coffee selling, and so on. High schools allowed a greater access to tertiary education, enabling the Huli to compete with people from other provinces for jobs and resources. But many Huli women see the arrival of the road and a higher education in negative terms. This relates to their ideas about independence and the colonial years of Australian administration. The time of the `kiaps' is thought of as a golden age, when peace and relative prosperity reigned and the world was a better place.

The road and independence heralded the end of this age, and introduced disorder and a breakdown of traditional society, manifest in male drunkenness, inflation of food prices, and an increase in 'rascal' activity and violence directed towards women. It
is no accident that while traditional Huli notions of sorcery have disappeared, they were replaced by a fear of 'nambis poison' - sorcery which comes from the world outside of Tari and to which it is now more firmly attached by the road.

The road, in the minds of many Huli women, brings beer and prostitutes into Tari. It does not necessarily bring progress but an increasing flow of the danger and disorder of the outside world. (This also relates to the notion of gold as a source of pollution and, in a sense, a symbol of this world - see Clark n.d. (a)). Women blame the road, and education which turns young men against their parents and a rural life, for the more stressful lives which they lead today. They acknowledge that they now work less hard in gardens, but this is offset by men giving women their children more closely spaced together. Closely spaced children, beer, beatings, and lazy husbands who gamble rather than give money to feed their children, are the 'hevis' which women have to bear today. They say that they age more quickly and die younger than they did in the past (which is not the reality, but women's perceptions of how they have been affected by some aspects of development).

What the planners of development often fail to realise is that schemes for economic progress have social consequences beyond those of 'progress'. For many of the consultants involved in project implementation, local responses to such things as roads and education would have been unimaginable. Development programmes, especially at a provincial level, do not take into account the differences between societies which may make one component effective in some areas but not in others. The benefits and disadvantages which accrued to the Huli and Wiru women were not the same, and can only be explained by paying close attention to the differences between these societies in terms of their social organisation and belief systems. It is perhaps because of the complexities this type of situation poses for planning, and the time required to understand them, that the social dimensions of development were of so little concern, and the assumptions underlying the SHRDP so unchallenged.

Some of the reasons for women's dissatisfaction are related to this lack of a 'social' understanding of development. In a post-colonial context it is no longer warfare, exchange or ritual which supply the context for the articulation and determination of male-female relations. Rather, it is elements such as perceptions of money, feelings of male powerlessness, and the genderisation of relations with the outside world which, in the modern context of development, set the scene for a renegotiation of female-male relations and social identity. It is these elements which influence attitudes to roads, independence, gold, education and health, and which help to create a different cosmology with its attendant problems such as violence towards women. If this is understood, it can be seen why development does not always equate with a linear progress to a better society, particularly when implemented without careful consideration of existing social values and beliefs.
REFERENCES


