
Chapter Six

Orokaiva

The indigenous people of the Northern District were culturally homogeneous (Williams 1930, p. 7) and spoke dialects of the Binandere language. The 'Orokaiva' people classified themselves into three groups by reference to the surrounding environment. These were the River People, the 'Umo-ke', (meaning water language); the salt-water people or the 'Eva-Embo' (coastal); and the bush people, the 'Pereho' (inland).

The Orokaiva occupied the Northern District of the Territory of Papua (now called Oro Province). The periphery of the area was marked by the Owen Stanley Range in the south, the German Territory of New Guinea in the west, the Hydrographers Range in the south and the coast along Oro Bay of the Solomon Sea. Their hamlets (of six to twelve houses) were constructed on the fertile slopes of Mount Lamington and on the eastern and northern plains surrounding the mountain. Theirs was a subsistence economy based on taro production supplemented with yams, sugar-cane, banana, coconut and some secondary hunting of small game animals.

The 'Orokaiva' people were divided into seven tribes occupying seven territories (Waiko 1972, p. 4). The tribes were divided into patrilineal clans each of which was comprised of several sub-clans who in turn were composed of one or two lineages. The most important units were the family and the clan. Each clan shared a common ancestor and totem or plant emblem called 'heratu'. Clans were exogamous (although exceptions did occur) (Williams 1930, p. 131). Residence was patri-virilocal (Baxter 1973, p. 28). Clan members did not restrict residence to one village and therefore the composition of villages usually comprised the members of several clans.

Tribes were migratory responding to the internal relationships between clan groupings. If they were at peace with one another, clans joined together in warfare but if internal disputes arose and resulted in in-fighting the group of clans would separate and move into other areas. Prior to settling in a new area the group raided it to flush out enemies.

This pattern of migration was discontinued once the Australian Administration was successful at pacifying the area (Waiko 1972, pp. 4-6).

Leadership

Leadership was based on seniority and influence (Schwimmer 1970, p. 8). The chief was a 'man of importance' who built his position upon the shrewd management of a network of relationships he established through trade and warfare alliances. It was necessary for the chief to be seen as a generous man who was a (Schwimmer 1970, p. 8):

... giver of inter-village feasts, and knowledgeable about matters of feasting etiquette ... In the final analysis he owe[d] his position to an adroit manipulation of the exchange system: he [was] careful how he bestow[ed] his wealth and adroit in obtaining the help he need[ed] in his enterprises.

The Orokaiva chief was similar to a Melanesian 'bigman', yet his leadership operated within a more egalitarian society (Schwimmer 1970, p. 8). Orokaiva leaders were only slightly more wealthy than the members of their groups and there were no institutions existing within the culture that worked to help them build wealth. His position was based on exchange and on his use of the reciprocal system of obligations to build status and prestige. He was more an appointed arbitrator when issues arose than an authoritative decision maker with formalised powers.

As a warring society, the Orokaiva needed their male children in particular to learn the necessary qualities of a strong and fearless warrior. (The Orokaiva were noted to be some of the most fearless warriors in Papua.) This learning process took place through the stages of childhood (Reay 1953, pp. 112-13). From the time the child first learned to walk, he spent more and more time with his father who provided him with support and comfort. During this period, the adult men of the village attempted to frighten the young boys and laughed at them when the child cried in response and ran to his father for comfort. This process was repeated again and again by the older men until the child learned to laugh at himself for his frightened response and eventually learned not to be afraid (Reay 1953, p. 113). He would then emulate the threatening behaviour and laugh. Female children were frightened only incidentally as no real effort was made to condition them in the same way.

Both male and female children were initiated at puberty although the females were not required to participate in all three stages of initiation (Reay 1953, p. 114). Females entered a period of seclusion at the time of their first menstruation and were required to perform a purification ritual before being released from seclusion. There were three stages of initiation as outlined by Williams (1930, pp. 180-209; Reay 1953, p. 114). They

were: the 'terror', the 'seclusion', and the 'investiture' (Reay 1953, p. 114). Girls were not required to participate in the 'terror' stage of initiation.

During the 'terror' stage (or ordeal as Williams calls it) of initiation, the boys were first introduced to the bullroarers and the flutes. Initiated members of the clan dressed up as 'malevolent spirits' called 'embahi' and chased the young initiates around the village while the families admonished the spirits not to eat their sons. This ritual was designed to reinforce the respect for seniority in the youth (Reay 1953, p. 115).

The next stage was the period of seclusion where the initiates remained in the men's house ('oro') and were taught the secrets of the sacred flutes, instructed in the skills and techniques of weaponry and battle and inculcated with clan histories and the accounts of tribal enemies and allies. They were also instructed in 'otuhu' values of the clan including generosity, helpfulness, and diligence in hunting and gardening. An 'otuhu' man was one who did not quarrel, beat his wife or children, mistreat his livestock, steal or commit adultery. An 'otuhu' woman listened to her husband, avoided speaking angrily to him, practised fidelity, accompanied him everywhere and did not steal from other women (Williams 1930, p. 204; Reay 1953, pp. 110-11). As Reay (1953, p. 111) puts it:

To be otuhu, a man has to be generous; what is required of the woman is that she should concur in her husband's generosity. Wealth is valued, because the possession of enough pigs and a good supply of taro makes it possible for a man to hold a feast. Holding feasts is the epitome of generosity, which is the most important Orokaiva virtue. Men are encouraged to be highly individualistic. Women are individualistic too, but this seems to be a by-product of male individualism.

In the third stage of initiation, the boys were decorated and released from seclusion. Some were presented with 'otuhu' ornaments by a distinguished warrior. This was a recognition that he was ready to fight for the clan. He would then be required to prove his prowess as a warrior by killing a man in a raid (Waiko 1972, pp. 20-2). The 'otuhu' was sometimes given as a homicidal insignia or emblem signifying that its wearer had successfully killed in a raid (Williams 1930, p. 178). Both men and women could be presented with an 'otuhu' ornament as a mark of social distinction. If presented with an 'otuhu', an Orokaiva was under an obligation to live up to 'otuhu' values.

Position of Women

General

Within the family unit, the husband was the head of the household and could discipline his wife and children without any intervention from other

clan members. Domestic problems most commonly resulted from the husband being dissatisfied with his wife for lack of punctuality or general failure to perform her household duties to his satisfaction. In William's (1930, p. 25) description of a woman's daily activities, he noted:

If she be a dutiful spouse she seldom fails in punctuality, for the hungry Orokaiva husband is short-tempered and any break-down in the catering of his household will cause domestic disagreement. (Indeed, it would appear that neglect of household duties may be as just and potent a cause of divorce as actual infidelity.)

The patrilocal rule after marriage meant that the wife was considered a stranger within the clan and was even referred to as 'baira' or 'stranger'.

The Orokaiva woman had few actual decision-making powers within the clan. However, although she was dominated by her husband and other male members of the clan, the apparent flexibility of the Orokaiva social system allowed women a less subservient role. Williams found in an analysis of two Orokaiva villages that 'of a total potential working time, men were idle 50 per cent and women 33 per cent' (Williams 1930, p. 93). He (1930, p. 93) concluded that in relation to:

... the social position of woman we may say that she is nominally and often actually under the control of her husband, but that by virtue of his restraint on the one hand and her powers of personal expression on the other, the married couple usually get on very well together as a working unit.

Marriage

Traditionally the Orokaiva exercised four methods of obtaining brides. These were: capture, elopement, purchase and exchange (Williams 1930, p. 130).

Wives were often secured by capture. It was the normal practice in cannibal raids to kill and consume the men and older female victims, but to take some of the young women as captives for future wives. These wives were called 'jigari' meaning 'captive'. The relatives of women captured were only appeased when properly compensated for the young woman. This happened when the hostile groups established a truce or a peace which in fact was contingent upon the payment of compensation (usually in the form of bridewealth). Payment of bridewealth then allowed the two groups to establish normal relations between affines.

Within a tribe, the response to the capture of a bride was to demand that compensation in some form be paid. Failing this, there were unavoidable acts of reprisal since the economic balance between the two groups remained unequal until action had been taken to rectify it.

An elopement could be initiated by the young woman (as well as by the young man) who would secretly run off to her young lover's village.

This method of taking a bride also tipped the economic balance in favour of one group and the disadvantaged group required adequate compensation for their loss or relations between the two groups would remain hostile until the matter could be settled.

Compensation could also take the form of exchanging another marriageable female for the one lost.

Purchase or 'dorobu' was the purchase of a bride by the payment of brideprice.

Williams concluded that exchange or 'mine' was the ideal Orokaiva marriage (and therefore preferred) since it involved the exchange of two brides, one from each group so as to allow each group access to a marriageable female. This form was referred to by Williams as 'sister exchange' or 'mine'. It involved two men who provided two 'classificatory' sisters (each to the other). Thus, in 'mine' there was no economic imbalance.

The last two were considered the only legitimate methods of obtaining a bride and were therefore preferred. When either of the first two methods were resorted to, the only real resolution to this imbalance was compensation, usually following a period of hostility and acrimony. The demand for sister exchange or compensation in the form of bridewealth was an attempt to legitimise the methods of capture and elopement by transforming them into 'exchange or purchase' (Williams 1930, p. 149).

Residence after marriage was patrilocal, although Williams found again that there were many exceptions (1930, p. 131). It was not uncommon for men to live in their wives' villages for extended time periods since relations between the two families were usually favourable. However, even in situations of matrilineal residence, the children were always considered to be members of the father's clan and were identified with the father's clan emblem. The child, nevertheless, established relationships with his mother's relatives and sometimes spent time living with his maternal uncle taking on the identity of 'heratu' (plant emblem) of the mother's line during that period. This, Williams concluded, was another example of the bilateral nature of the Orokaiva system (Williams 1930, p. 94). Exogamy was also the rule yet Williams found that here too consistency was lacking.

After the couple had been married for a while, a marriage payment, 'a-dorobu', was made and disbursed amidst the wife's clan (Williams 1930, pp. 137-8). A 'return present' called 'bi-dorobu', usually of equal value, was given by the husband to his in-laws. 'Bi-dorobu' appears to have functioned as a check on the husband's treatment of his wife. The custom of 'bi-dorobu' was not always followed. It appears to have only been related to marriages involving exchange and therefore served to help maintain balance between the two groups of people.

Polygyny, although it existed, was not widely practised. When exercised, wives were housed separately and each had her own garden

plot to work. This mutual independence and the fact that the husband provided adequately for each of his wives were the reasons, according to Williams, that there was little conflict between polygynous wives although sexual jealousy did occur.

Social Control and Dispute Settlement

General

Orokaiva moral rules differed according to whether the dispute was intra-group or extra-group. Extra-group morality was based on the tradition that the Orokaiva were a warring people and could never feel completely secure in their environment since wars were continuous and treachery pervaded many extra-group relations. When peace was achieved, this state was at best tentative. Thus, bravery was an honoured attribute and was given much credence. Vengeance or payback was deeply embedded in their ideology and was a guiding factor in the relations between groups.

Intra-group morality, on the other hand, was relatively peaceful and full of accord. The Orokaiva ideal of *otuhu* meant that both men and women strived toward generosity with their fellow clan members and toward industriousness both in the garden and in hunting.

The Orokaiva, like other Melanesian cultures, judge members of their own group and those in other groups according to the closeness of the relationship.

Payback

The notion of payback was an integral part of the Orokaiva system of social control. The term for payback was 'Rirowa bari'. 'Rirowa bari' did not always take a direct form such as is implied in the maxim 'eye for an eye, tooth for a tooth'. Payback could take the form of a magical spell causing indirect 'rirowa bari' by creating a bad harvest that would precipitate even more suffering and harm than if there had been a more direct target. 'Rirowa bari' was not always immediate, but could take one or two generations to be executed. Payback entailed the principle of equivalence so that the amount of injury and the destruction of property corresponded in kind to the injury or destruction caused to the raiders by the opposing side in an earlier raid. The term 'mine mine' referred to these retaliatory killings and was described as 'an exchange [of deaths]' (Schwimmer 1982, p. 7). If the avenging side killed more than was required by the principle of equivalence, the killings would continue on both sides until equilibrium was again established. Schwimmer refers to this as the principle of negative reciprocity. Negative reciprocity worked in the following manner: ' . . . if you want to work towards a cessation of hostilities, you kill one man [*mine mine*] but if you find it advantageous to 'escalate' your conflict, you kill more, or as many as possible' (Schwimmer

1982, p. 7). The 'mine mine' principle was one that the clan always kept in the forefront of their minds since the kind of injury, humiliation and devastation they inflicted upon their enemies would be returned.

Extra-Group Social Control

Inter-Tribe Disputes Waiko (1970, p. 27) describes Orokaiva tribes as 'powerful' and 'warlike'.

Among the Binandere the practices of cannibalism, payback, raiding and looting were the rule rather than the exception. The practices were an integral part of tribal responsibility; they were obligatory as well as necessary for the survival of the Binandere community. Binandere tribes believed that they must fight, defend, revenge, kill, eat and live rather than run away, give in, save, starve and die.

The Orokaiva techniques of warfare were sophisticated involving scouts, strategists, sorcerers to parry with enemy spirits and three lines of men on the actual battlefield (Waiko 1972, pp. 22-4).

The various strategies included 'ambush killing' where many people were massacred, and the annihilation of an entire clan within a village. The choice of strategy was dependent upon how the aggressors had been treated by the victims during the last battle when their roles had been reversed. Account was taken of the numbers killed and the degree of looting and dishonour experienced during the previous attack. The tribal raids were known as 'isoro' and cannibalism was practised on the victims of the raid. Williams (1930, p. 170) notes that the reason for the 'cannibal raids' was retaliatory vengeance for previous victims in earlier raids. This practice meant that all slain victims in a raid were eaten. The victims were left behind: ' . . . when the fear of counter-attack made the raiders leave in too great a hurry to be encumbered, or, as some informants have said, when the victims were so old, scraggy, and wrinkled as to be not worth the carrying' (Williams 1930, p. 171).

According to tradition, the slayer was not permitted to eat his victim for this would risk elephantiasis of the scrotum. Nor was he permitted to carry the club that he had used in the slaying for fear of his shoulder swelling and therefore he exchanged his club for the club of another warrior.

Women escorted the men on the tribal raids supplying them with food and sometimes acting as weapon carriers (Williams 1930, p. 164). They also encouraged the perpetuation of the blood feud. When the tired warriors returned home, they were met by the women including those who had become widows. These women painted their faces with the mud of mourning. They incited the men to avenge their husband's deaths. Raiding and attacking enemy tribes was an important means of maintaining and building the prestige of a clan. This was essential in

carrying out their social responsibility to their dead ancestors and to future generations.

Inter-Clan Disputes Disputes within tribes were usually the result of a dispute between two individual clans within a village. Williams (1930, p. 163) outlined the causes of inter-clan fighting ['embogi'] to be: ' . . . the depredation of village pigs, the killing of a dog, the defilement of a water-supply, and frequently the suspicion of sorcery'.

Waiko (1972, pp. 13-14) explains that war would often follow after a fight between two women in a village over some taro stolen out of one of the women's garden. Harsh words were exchanged between the women; this was called 'Ge Baiari'. When the dispute led to violence between the women, it was termed 'Kaewa Gatari' and involved the women assaulting each other with their garden sticks. In order not to lower themselves to the position of women, the men remained neutral and would not intervene in either form of the squabble. If the dispute escalated to a level that was unresolvable and the clan members took sides in a clash with one another, the clans would often separate, migrating and settling in new areas.

Dissension between husband and wives did nothing to diminish the husband's prestige; such disputes were tolerated. They were labelled 'Ge baiari' if started by the woman and 'Dudono Ge' if started by the husband. If the 'Dudono Ge' dispute was between two men, women did not remain neutral but supported their husbands by participating in the altercation alongside them. These quarrels were mostly spontaneous and did not extend past the village boundaries (Waiko 1972, p. 14).

In the case of adultery, the husband would often kill his wife. The aftermath of such punitive action on the part of the husband was often a retaliatory war declared by the wife's line who were out to seek vengeance (Waiko 1972, p. 14).

Individuals could approach the bigman and request that he organise vengeance against an enemy clan member. Arrangements could also be made through the bigman to have a husband killed so that his widow would be available for a particular man to marry (Waiko 1972, p. 24).

However, fights between clans of the same tribe appeared to have some limits imposed by clan members and they were described by Williams (1930, p. 163) as 'more of a lusty sham fight than a struggle to the death'. Casualties were fewer than those which resulted from a tribal raid, and cannibalism within the tribe was not practised except under unusual circumstances.

Intra-Group Social Control

General Within the clan, the Orokaiva were generous, cooperative, courteous and helpful toward each other. These qualities were encouraged and admired and those who were ill-tempered and aggressive were scorned. However, outside the clan, this attribute of aggression was admired. Again, it was the social context within which the behaviour took place and how that behaviour affected the relationships and therefore the security of the group that mattered.

Williams is somewhat unclear when he speaks of the issue of wife-beating. He claims that it was part of the 'otohu' value system that a man should not beat his wife and children (Williams 1930, p. 204). Later (1930, p. 323), he restates the 'otohu' value as 'not to beat one's wife overmuch'. One can only conclude that the 'otohu' value reflects the case of an excessive wife-beater. The custom of 'bi-dorobu' appears to have served as a restraint on the husband's treatment of his wife. However, the 'bi-dorobu' payment was made only in marriages formed through exchange (Williams 1930, p. 139).

There was no central authority within the Orokaiva clan with the power to punish offenders (Williams 1930, p. 325). The 'embo kiti' or 'clan headman' had no such authority and could only express his displeasure and disapproval toward inappropriate behaviour. According to Williams (1930, p. 327), there were three types of sanctions regulating conduct. These were: retaliation, fear of public reprobation, and, the sympathetic sanction.

Retaliation took on two forms: violence and sorcery (Williams 1930, pp. 327-9). Traditionally, responses to adultery were violent, the husband having the right to use spears and stone clubs on both the wife and her lover. The Australian Administration forbade the sanction of death for adultery and replaced it with a gaol term. This caused much consternation amongst the Orokaiva men who felt that women were subsequently much more promiscuous (Australia. Department of External Territories 1926-27, 1934-35). A woman who questioned her husband's fidelity would publicly charge him by loudly expressing her suspicions. If he was unable to defend himself to her satisfaction, she would return to her own village stating as she left: 'Now you will have no one to cook for you!' The husband in fact had little difficulty in finding some other woman to cook for him (by arousing her pity), but nevertheless his life was disrupted (Reay 1953, p. 116).

Theft Theft also was met with violent redress. A woman who had committed theft might be attacked with a club or a stone, but the intent was to cause injury and not death. Waiko describes an incident where two clansmen were fighting over some stolen betel nut. In the clash, spears were used and one man was injured. He noted (1982, pp. 118-19), however, that: 'the depth of the spear thrust was carefully calculated. This

was simply because kin were fighting among themselves; they had no intention of killing'.

The result of a clash between clan members was always a conciliatory gift given to the victim by the offender. The victim, too, gave the offender a gift as a measure of the achieved peace between them. Thus, there was an exchange of gifts after an offence in order to resume friendly relations between group members (Williams 1930, p. 238).

Sorcery Sorcery as a form of retaliation was an insidious but effective sanction against unacceptable conduct (Williams 1930, pp. 328-9). Its deterrent effect on transgressors was compelling. Sorcery was used as a means of protecting property, but it was also used to control the misconduct of individuals against one another. In the *Territory of Papua Annual Report* (Australia. Department of External Territories 1923-24, p. 46) the Patrol Officer recorded the following sorcery anecdotes:

A woman told me that she had secured some semen of a man who had fornicated her against her wish, and that she had given it to a sorcerer, who killed the fornicator within the space of a few weeks. Another woman relates that she had married her present husband, not because she had any regard for him, but for the fact that he had wiped her face with a leaf and secured some of her sweat. If she had not married him the aid of a sorcerer would probably have been solicited to terminate her earthly existence through the agent of sweat.

Some of the physical effects of sorcery included disablement as well as the appearance of boils on one's skin.

Public Reprobation Another form of sanction was that which Williams termed public reprobation (1930, pp. 329-30). By this he meant the strong influence of public opinion on clan behaviour. The approval of fellow clan members was important to the Orokaiva and each individual would suffer great shame or 'Meh' if he were to become the subject of anger, derision, or loathing within his clan. 'Meh' was such a strong element affecting Orokaiva behaviour that individuals who had committed some act of deviance were frequently compelled to confess their crimes and to offer a conciliatory gift as compensation. Such contrition resulted when public disapproval was demonstrated by the offended party placing a symbol in the village (that is a taro leaf when a man's garden has been pilfered). Upon seeing the symbolic chastisement, the offender would experience pangs of 'meh'. An interesting custom was that of wearing the 'heratu' or clan's plant symbol in one's armlet as a symbol that the individual had been wronged and as a symbol of abstention thus causing a feeling of 'meh' and therefore discomfort in the known or unknown offender.

The heratu was worn to signify a dispute or complaint through abstinence. For example when a man had a disagreement with his wife, he would wear the heratu symbolising his unwillingness to accept food cooked by her. As long as he wore the heratu, the dispute was considered unreconciled. He did not starve however, since others would often cook for him in the meantime.

Sympathetic Sanction A third form of sanction was called the 'sympathetic sanction' (Williams 1930, pp. 330-3). This involved 'meh', but added to the force of public opinion were the elements of the victim's anger and self-pity. In this extraordinary form of sanction, the victim would retaliate against the unknown offender who had caused his hurt feelings by inflicting injury upon himself. Williams provides two examples of this method of social control called 'sisira'. The first was the case of a man who upon discovering that one of his water-melons had been stolen hacked a dozen more to pieces and placed the destroyed crop on the public path so that the thief would feel his shame. The second involved a case where a man whose spear had been stolen decimated his house where he had kept the stolen spear. As Reay (1953, p. 116) puts it:

The injured man aggravates his own injury, so that pity for him will induce shame in the culprit. This attitude on the part of the injured man is largely a blend of anger and self-pity.

Williams (1930, p. 333) suggests that 'sisira' results from the 'fear of injuring the feelings of any member of the sympathy group'. (Williams uses the term 'sympathy group' to describe the unit to which the individual is obliged to give his allegiance and to whom he gives 'his sympathy, and from them he expects to receive sympathy; and their limits are the limits of his intra-group morality' (1930, p. 310).) The motive for this he felt expressed the need for peaceful internal relations so that clan members could be united in their raids against external groups.

Naname Another form of intra-group social control was that of institutionalised friendship called 'naname' (Reay 1953, p. 117). A man's 'naname' were his mates from his period of seclusion during initiation and the friends he had made since then. The bond between those who were 'naname' was very strong and presumed a sense of obligation and loyalty between them. An 'otuhu' man must not quarrel, yet if he did so in defence of a 'naname' he was considered to be exemplary in practising 'otuhu' values. It was forbidden to commit offences against one's 'naname' or even the friend of an 'naname'. This greatly reduced the number of persons one could offend against.

This system of institutionalised friendship also affected warfare in that 'the conduct of warfare depended upon these personal links between

naname, who had a binding obligation to fight for one another' (Reay 1953, p. 118).

'Naname' also worked as a negative social control in that the impact of any punishment for offences (as outlined earlier) was lessened by the fact that a man who was shamed for some action by his fellow villagers could go to the village of his 'naname' and stay as long as he wished as an honoured and worthy guest. Ultimately there was no such thing as a social outcast.

Reay argues that the Orokaiva system of social control was weak given that the sanctions against transgressions of the moral code were 'diffuse' and often unsuccessful (1953, p. 117). The controls were dependent on the internalisation of the moral code and the subsequent feeling of shame ('meh') if one were to break it. However, she admits that the code, especially in light of the institution of 'naname' diminished the likelihood that deviant acts would take place by reducing the number of people one could offend against.

Administration Influence

The Northern Coast people were first contacted by Captain John Moresby in 1874 (Waiko 1972, p. 53). They believed that the white men were the ghosts of their ancestors.

On one of his 'inspection tours' in 1894, taken to the Mambare River region in the Northern District, Lieutenant-Governor MacGregor of British New Guinea, discovered gold near Tamata Creek. This discovery attracted many miners into the area to work the Yodda Goldfields. The intrusion of these foreigners into 'Orokaiva' territory was not welcomed by the local people who interpreted this foray 'in light of the pattern of traditional warfare, alliances and enmity among the tribes at the time of contact' (Waiko 1972, p. 37). There were numerous clashes and both sides lost much in bloodshed. In response to this, the Administration ordered that resident Magistrates be established in the area to help pacify the region so that gold production could proceed unhindered by tribal attack (Schwimmer 1973, p. 33).

Resident Magistrate C.A.W. Monckton led many exploratory and punitive expeditions in response to the local resistance to the white invaders until 'his immoderate punitive expeditions led to his being eased out of the service in 1907' (Schwimmer 1973, p. 34). These expeditions 'resulted in pitched battles in which many clansmen were shot dead; many gardens were looted by some members of the party' (Waiko 1972, pp. 73-4).

When Australia took over the responsibility of administering Papua, it followed a policy of 'peaceful penetration', but the Monckton style of

maintaining law and order had already shaped the opinion of the Orokaiva about their colonial invaders (Schwimmer 1973, p. 34).

By 1912, gold mining operations had declined as the presence of gold decreased. The result of the enforcement of Administration prohibitions (on homicide, cannibalism, head-hunting and sorcery) was that inter-tribal warfare ceased (Waiko 1972, p. 101). Since it is argued that '... eating of one another's flesh, payback, raiding and looting were usual practices' and it was through these practices that prestige and status were established, the effect of pacification on the Orokaiva was the loss of the traditional means to achieve prestige relationships (Waiko 1972, pp. 58, 101).

As a means of achieving prestige the Administration introduced appointments as village officials (village constables and the Armed Constabulary) and the cash economy through earning cash money as indentured labourers (Britan 1951, p. 52). In the early stages of control, government officers captured men from uncontrolled areas, led them to a government station to teach them the ways of the white man and some English (Britan 1951, p. 45). Later, they 'educated' the villagers through imprisonment for petty transgressions against the numerous Native Regulations. Britan (1951, p. 44) noted that: 'By 1924 a fair percentage of the adult males had passed through the Armed Constabulary of the Territory'. In the *Territory of Papua Annual Report* (Australia. Department of External Territories 1923-24, p. 24) the following statement was made regarding contact: 'It is safe to record that there is hardly a male adult who has not worked on plantations, or in some other capacity for Europeans'.

The head-tax imposed in 1918 forced many young men into indentured labour and the knowledge of the new ways gained as a result of that employment was also a source of prestige. However, the failure of the missions to gain a hold in Orokaiva territory in the early years of contact meant that replacement values for the void in prestige relationships created by the prohibition of warfare were not effectively instilled. According to Britan (1951, pp. 56-8) this void made the Orokaiva more susceptible to 'nativistic movements' such as the Taro Cult.

Despite the fact that the Administration legislated against it, sorcery did not disappear amongst the Orokaiva (Williams 1928). After the pacification of the area Waiko claims that a new form of resistance to the white man appeared in the form of cults (1972, p. 101). These particular cults appear to have been a 'system of psychological warfare' and not the kind developed in response to the considerable material discrepancies between the villager and the Europeans (Schwimmer 1973, pp. 35; 1982, p. 13).

It is evident in the post-war Patrol Reports on Orokaiva territory that the main focus of the Administration was on the economic development of the area. The lag in economic development was attributed to geographical factors since much of the area is 'low lying swamp or

seasonal swamp . . . wide, shallow, fast meandering rivers traverse the area splitting it into factions without providing a good means of transport [river boats] their flood and meander planes so wide as to be impracticable [sic] to bridge' (Patrol Report, Aiga and Binandere Census Divisions, No. 1/1969-70). A mass exodus of the youth resulted from this failure to develop the area economically.

In the early days of contact, Resident Magistrate Monckton noted that the people were not using the Native Magistrate's Court to deal with their disputes (British New Guinea. Administrator 1903-1904, p. 38). From the Patrol Reports in the post-war period this situation appeared not to have changed dramatically. Patrol Report (Aiga Census Division NO. 9/1969-70) recorded that '[t]here were no complaints brought up and the people appear to be law abiding, at least when the patrol was in the vicinity'. However, in the Binandere Census Division it was found that most '[b]reaches in law and order [were] particularly caused by young people in sexual problems by that I mean impregnating young ladies' (Patrol Report No. 10/1969-70).

Williams (1930, p. 321) stated that petty thieving became a common occurrence.

The Patrol Officers paid much attention to village cleanliness and hygiene and conducted regular village inspections (Britan 1951, p. 44). Administration policy insisted that: '[i]nter-village tracks and the villages themselves had to be kept clean, houses were to be raised off the ground, people were encouraged to live in central villages rather than scattered hamlets, and 'inactivity' was discouraged. Exhortations by government officers for the people to become civilised and to 'live like Europeans' were common' (Baxter 1973, p. 35).

The Administration also influenced traditional marriage customs. The custom of 'bi-dorobu' had functioned as a check on the husband's treatment of his wife. However, Williams (in the late 1920s) observed that this custom was beginning to be abandoned due to acceptance of the judicial role of the kiaps.

In establishing control the Administration prohibited warfare and by so doing stopped also the traditional method of capturing wives in battle (Hogbin 1966, p. 82). The choice of marriage partners increased with the broadened range of movement throughout the area (and outside the Northern District). Inter-tribal marriage and inter-village marriage became commonplace (Hogbin 1966, p. 82; Patrol Report Binandere No. 2/1971-72). However, the women often remained in the villages while their husbands left the District to find employment and while the men were away, there was an increase in illegitimate births and therefore an increase in the population. Some young men married women from outside the district and did not return.

The replacement of traditional sanctions by the adultery law was cited as one of the reasons for an increase in adultery. The *Territory of Papua*

Annual Report (Australia. Department of External Territories 1934-35, p. 31) notes:

Such evidence as is available seems to show that the native population of Papua is increasing . . . yet in some districts the increase, if there is one, is less than one might expect. Husbands true to masculine tradition, blame their wives for this, and, incidentally, the Government as well. 'Before the Government came we flogged our wives hard. Now we can not flog them, and they run from one man to another, and so we have no children'. It is possible that adultery may have increased since the administration 'purged the gentle weal' by abolishing the former drastic punishment, though I can find no direct evidence on the point.

Sir Hubert Murray noted in the *Annual Report* that marriages in Papua had become destabilised due to contact with the European cash economy. Orokaiva men (along with many other Papua and New Guinea men) did not feel that the Administration law against adultery was beneficial to their society. They felt that females became much harder to control and that promiscuity increased once they were no longer permitted to discipline them by traditional means (through beatings, compensation demands, or murder). Williams provides an example when he discusses the prevalence of retaliatory violence (1930, p. 328):

There is no lack of instances of retaliatory violence, however. In the case of adultery it was recognized as an ordinary thing; so much so that informants have reckoned the Government punishment of gaol as but a poor substitute for the old-fashioned use of spear and stone-club. Not only was the co-respondent formerly liable to attack from the husband, but I have a case in which a husband, finding his wife *in delicto*, killed the woman while her lover made good his escape.

Mission Influence

As with the Administration, mission influence was slow to take hold in Orokaiva territory. At the turn of the century an Anglican Mission was set up on the Mambare River (Barker 1979, p. 66). Prior to 1922, the Anglicans had failed in their efforts to convert the indigenes. Barker (1979, pp. 68-9) attributes this to their belief that the role of the missionary was 'the careful nurturing of a church form which should incorporate the culture of the people among whom it arose' (Barker 1979, p. 69). Following this precept the Anglicans extended their mission work amongst the Orokaiva people gradually and did not participate in the Administration's punitive expeditions as the Methodists had done in the Gazelle. Waiko (1982, p. 249) notes that, '[y]ears passed without a Binandere being converted to Christianity'. Missionary, David Tatu, 'complained that the local people were still indulging in their traditional

beliefs and customs' (Waiko 1982, p. 249). Even after eleven years the conversion rate remained at zero (Patrol Report Giria Census June 1911 in Waiko 1982, p. 250).

The Binandere peoples' resistance to the Administration was paralleled by their resistance to the church for more than a decade. Waiko (1982, p. 251) notes that '[b]y then [1911] the subsistence system was undermined. The people thought that traditional magic was not working so they turned in part to Christianity as white man's magic'.

In 1922, Reverend R.M.S. Gill was sent to the Binandere people and he remained in charge until his death in 1953. He focused on teaching manual trades such as carpentry rather than on literacy and as a consequence the standard of education amongst the Binandere people was quite low until after 1953. At the end of his tenure 'almost every village had an evangelist in charge of a school and a church building . . . ' (Waiko 1982, p. 251).

In the 1950s Missions and the Administration clashed over issues related to marriage customs. Patrol Officers dealt with the Mission's lay personnel whose actions were considered to be 'interfer[ence] with matters of native custom associated with marriage . . . [and] infringements of the law. Instances of assault and deprivation of liberty had been met with and a legal opinion was sought . . . ' (Patrol Report Binandere and Aiga Census Divisions No. 3/1954-55). The Patrol Officers' actions created hostile relations between the Administration and the lay missionaries which resulted in further infringements of Administration Regulations.

The conflict between these two agents of change was strongest in the area of education. By 1955 there were both government and mission schools in the area. The missionaries saw the government schools as a threat to their hard work and influence. They threatened students with divine intervention (in the form of floods) and even assaulted them if they chose to attend the government school (Patrol Report Binandere No. 2/1964-65). One such incident was described as 'a deliberate and straight intimidation of three small boys, who had elected to attend the Administration School, and who by fear of violence returned to the Mission School' (Patrol Report Binandere No. 1/1955-56). The deteriorating relationship between the Missions and the Administration officers took several years to repair and created anti-government sentiments amongst the people since the Mission's power was seen to be much greater. The Patrol Report (Binandere No. 2/1964-65) notes:

The Mission has a very strong hold over the people, and they appear to 'fear' the Mission more than any other body such as those administering law and order. They would rather disobey a lawful Court Order than the Bishop.

Patrol Officer, Barry Holloway, recorded in 1957 that: '[t]o ensure cooperation of these people with the government, they must first of all be

aware that no animosity exists between the government officer and the missionary' (Patrol Report Binandere No. 3/1957-58).

The missions opposed the practice of polygyny (although it had never been that prevalent in traditional society) and gradually influenced the Orokaiva people to practice monogamy. As late as 1966, Hogbin noted that (1966, p. 83): '[i]n spite of Mission opposition there are still instances of polygyny but the great majority of marriages are monogamous'.

The missions tried to prohibit the transfer of bridewealth in marriage but were largely unsuccessful (Hogbin 1966, p. 83). However, the introduction of the cash economy influenced the content of brideprice payments; cash rather than traditional items became more desirable in the exchange. Most of the cash collected was kept by the father and his brother whereas most of the traditional items were distributed amongst relatives with lesser claims (Hogbin 1966, p. 100).

By 1970 women were reported to have taken a keen interest in voting in the Local Council elections and shown independence from their husbands in their candidate selections (Patrol Report Binandere No. 1/1970-71).

The Orokaiva were noted to be keen and sophisticated political observers even though they lagged in economic and social development (Patrol Report Binandere No. 2/1971-72). It was the young educated and travelled men who became the leaders in Local Government Council. Waiko argues that the tendency of the young people toward politics, education and the cash economy has undermined the role of the elders in traditional Orokaiva society. He (1982, p. 388) states:

Also the lives that are concerned with school books, political parties and making money are within a culture that is unknown to the old people. The function of the old as the instructor of the young and the guardians of the most valued elements in the culture has been reduced . . . The cycle of growth, instruction and replacement has been broken.

Women's clubs were very active in the region by the 1970s although some hired male clerks to perform functions they could not yet do themselves (Patrol Report Binandere No. 2/1971-72).

Village Court

The Village Court system was proclaimed in Northern Province (Oro) in June 1976. Northern Province has fifteen Village Courts and 164 Village Court Officials.

Village Courts have not yet been introduced to the Binandere language area of Ioma District due to the poor communication and transportation system in the area. John Kerari, a Binandere, and a Probation Officer stated (1990, pers. comm., 18 January) that there is need for a Village

Court system in the Ioma District since it is isolated and not connected to Popondetta (the capital of the Province) by road. The economy is still undeveloped and mostly comprises subsistence farming. All attempts at implementing economic projects have failed due to poor transportation. Rural Binandere men continue to be involved in a small way in prospecting for gold and a small income can be obtained from mining. A timber development project has recently started in the Binandere area. However, the people have viewed the company's tree-cutting and road development activities with suspicion. They responded causing damage to company property and were subsequently charged and brought to District Court.

The education level of most men and women in Binandere is Grade six. Most women do not receive further education. The men who pursue higher levels of education usually migrate from the Binandere area to larger urban centres since there are few opportunities in Ioma for them to use their education.

Most disputes within the village have to do with assault, adultery and domestic problems. The families attempt to sort out their disputes by using the traditional means especially by exchanging gifts and by paying compensation.

Mr. Kerari noted that there were few cases of excessive use of domestic violence amongst rural Binandere people due to the strength of traditional values and to the powerful influence of the Church. However, he stated that it was still considered necessary for a man to discipline his wife if she failed to look after guests properly by slapping her around her face and chastising her. A man who threatened his wife with a spear or axe was considered to have poor 'otuhu' values and was regarded as having little respect for tradition and was therefore poorly viewed by the community.

Mr. Kerari acknowledged that many of the younger men had lost touch with Binandere traditions due to their absence from the community and their lack of contact with village elders. Young men often do not feel as though they are part of the community and consequently spend little time at the village. They often marry outside of the village. Mr. Kerari stated that it was these men who experienced the most difficulties in their marriages and often resorted to wife assault to resolve those difficulties.

Mr. Kerari also suggested that the change from traditional brideprice payments to cash has greatly affected modern marriages. The use of cash has changed the way women are viewed and treated by their husbands. They are now viewed more like a commodity. Husbands seem to feel that since their families have paid a lot of money for brideprice, their wives should perform according to their every wish. If the wife fails to satisfy her husband he often resorts to violence.

In the urban setting of Popondetta and its surrounding area, marital problems are common (Kerari, J. & Vuvut, S., pers. comm.). Village

Court Magistrate, Gill Christ Kanadari, noted that most women appear before Village Court for assault, spreading false rumours and threatening behaviour. Most women accepted the decisions of the Village Court. However, in 1989 two women had appealed his decisions; one had been charged for non-payment of brideprice and the other had been charged for assault. Both women lost their appeals.

Officer-In-Charge of Popondetta Probation Office, Warrington Orere, stated that he believed women were less afraid to take their disputes to Village Court than they were of taking disputes to the District Court with its more complex procedures. However, women from his village had complained that cases before the Village Court were not heard quickly enough due to lack of sympathy by the Village Court Magistrates who were often related to the opposing side in the dispute.

John Kerari noted that in his previous job as a welfare officer for a local oil palm company he dealt regularly with women who were unhappy with the Village Court's ability to deal with their marital problems. They felt that the Village Court did not have enough power or enough interest in penalising their unfaithful husbands.

Probation Service

The Popondetta Probation Office became operational in January 1989. There are two Probation Officers serving the entire Northern Province. In 1989 there were ninety-five people placed on probation by the Courts, nine women and eighty-six men. One breach charge was laid on a man who failed to report to his Probation Officer. Four Orokaiva women were placed on probation between January 1989 and January 1990. Three of the women were placed on probation for assault related to domestic problems. The fourth was part of a group of offenders who had a fight over a motor vehicle. She received an order to perform two weeks' community work service along with the other group members.

In one female case, the woman assaulted a woman her husband wished to take as a second wife. He had not sought her consent and the wife attacked the other woman with a knife. During the preparation of the Pre-Sentence Report the Probation Officer talked to both the victim of the assault and to the husband and wife. An agreement was reached between the three that the husband would remain with his wife and that his girlfriend would return to her family. The wife was placed on probation for six months and was reporting regularly to the Probation Officer. The Probation Officer noted that he had successfully appealed to both the husband and the girlfriend's sense of shame in his attempt to help resolve the dispute during the preparation of the Pre-Sentence Report. By bringing the incident to public attention through taking it to Court the wife used

shaming as a means to settle the conflict. The Probation Officer also used shame to help settle the dispute.

A second assault case involved a woman who assaulted her husband during a domestic dispute over his failure to provide her with sufficient money to support herself and their child. The Probation Officer was attempting to counsel both the husband and wife and was focusing on the husband's need to fulfil his marital responsibilities.

Mr. Kerare stated that he believed that all men who were convicted of beating their wives should be placed on probation so that both the wife and her husband can receive family counselling. He felt that this was the best alternative to the District Court ordering a gaol term or a fine which would only cause greater hardship for the wife and family as it would affect the security of their home and family. In the Local and District Courts, men who are charged with domestic violence are frequently cautioned and discharged. This approach is ineffective in dealing with the issues which cause the violence and because she has received no support from the Court, the wife becomes hesitant to bring the issue into public attention again.