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THE RED AND THE BLACK: BOUGAINVILLEAN PERCEPTIONS OF OTHER PAPUA NEW GUINEANS

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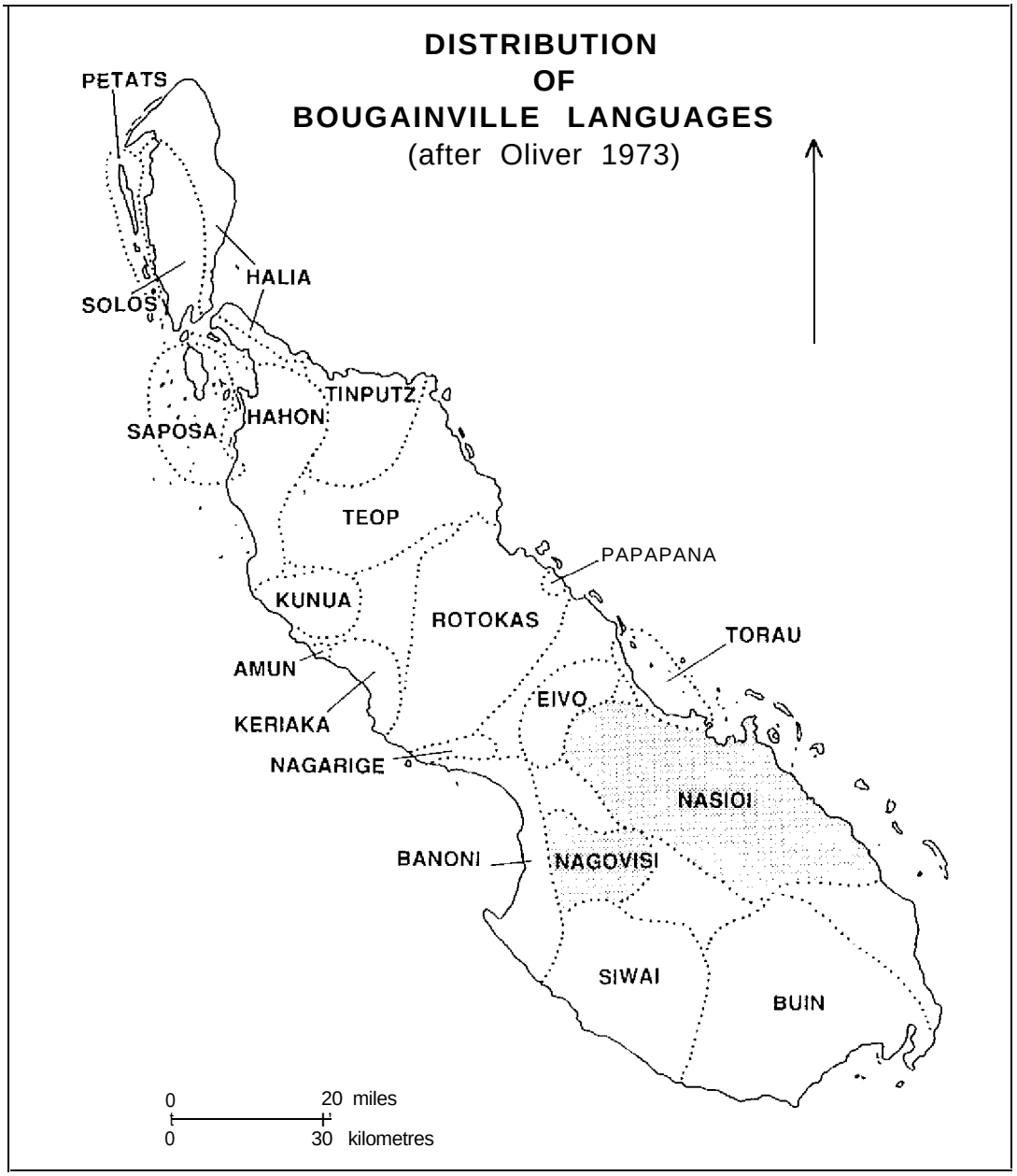
> People do not kill one another because their customs are different . . .[1]

The author of this quotation goes on to state, however, that such cultural differences may become associated with serious political cleavages. It is this possibility that concerns many observers of Papua New Guinea, who fear that ethnic divisions in that independent country are dangerous to its political stability. Thus political scientist Ralph Premdas has argued that the "PNG government faces formidable difficulties of disunity, much of this derived from its ethno-linguistic and ethno-regional fragmentation. . . . Colonial control has imposed new ethnic vertical cleavages."[2] In this article, we provide a specific example of the manner in which ethnic consciousness developed among two related groups of people living in south Bougainville, the Nagovisi and the Nasioi (see map).[3] Although there has been considerable theoretical discussion of the nature of ethnicity in the anthropological literature,[4] this article is not concerned with such issues. Rather, it takes for granted Comaroff's propositions that

> ethnicity always has its genesis in specific historical forces, forces which are simultaneously structural and cultural. . . .
>
> Ethnicity, far from being a unitary 'thing', describes both a



> set of relations and a mode of consciousness; moreover, its meaning and practical salience varies for different social groupings according to their positions in the social order. But as a form of consciousness, it is one among many . . . each of which is produced as particular historical structures impinge themselves on human experience and condition social action.[5]

In what follows, we will attempt to describe the particular historical forces that have come to shape the perceptions the Nagovisi and the

Nasioi have of other Papua New Guineans. While a number of events have brought such people to Bougainville, we will argue that these movements would have had a far different significance without the simultaneous introduction of a colonial ideology that created "tribes" and ethnic identities.[6] In making this argument, we will provide material that can be compared with other studies of colonialism and ethnic interaction in Melanesia.[7]

Precontact and Colonial Background

The Nagovisi and Nasioi in precolonial times undoubtedly knew neighbors whose culture and language differed in some degree from their own. The Nagovisi, for example, tell of lineages that had extensive relations with people living in areas today called Siwai, Baitsi, and Banone. These relations involved trade, marriage, and the making of war and peace. Whatever the chronology of settlement along the coast near modern Arawa by the Torau,[8] the Nasioi in the valleys and hills saw these Austronesian speakers as in some way distinct from themselves. The cultural and biological diversity of neighboring groups on Bougainville has been well documented elsewhere.[9]

Precontact Nagovisi and Nasioi, however, notably lacked any centralized political institutions that might have provided clearer boundaries to distinguish themselves from other Bougainvilleans. On the contrary, widely shared symbols of common descent like the eagle and the hornbill would have blurred any such distinctions. Although we cannot say with any assurance what ethnic or "tribal" identities were recognized, it is unlikely that they resembled those that most affect Bougainvilleans today.[10]

Schwartz suggests that the Manus divided themselves by dialect differences--specifically the substitution of certain phonemes in a regular way and the use of a set of distinctive vocabulary terms.[11] The Nagovisi today might provide examples of linguistic similarity and difference with the closely related language of the Nasioi. Certain people were also able to speak proper versions of other neighboring languages and give amusing renditions of Koromira pidgin pronunciation wherein initial *t* is substituted for initial s (e.g., ***"tapos yu tik, mi ken tori long yu").*** Renditions of Rotokas pidgin, lacking a variety of consonants such as nasals and s, never failed to evoke appreciative laughter.

The Nagovisi furthermore spoke of cultural differences distinguishing them from their neighbors, involving kinship (they recognized themselves ***as*** the only group in the region with dual organization and special

pronouns making reference to kin relationships), the frequency of sorcery practice and belief (they considered the Nasioi to attribute many more occurrences to sorcery than they themselves did), and the excesses of rivalry and competition in feasting (their idea was that the Siwai sought to humiliate feasting partners by surpassing them rather than to achieve the balance that Nagovisi claimed to seek). These differences were not regarded in a highly emotional or politicized way, however; Nash's informants who spoke on these subjects seemed rather to have an intellectual or almost aesthetic interest in these phenomena. Ogan's Nasioi informants took less interest in such distinctions, although they did voice their perceptions of Nagovisi as especially fearsome sorcerers and expressed their puzzlement over the Buin practice of bride-price. However, in neither case did recognition of differences form the basis for political divisions.[12]

Fried has argued that, without a notion of a discrete political entity with some titular leader, Europeans were unable to cope with the indigenous peoples they met in their explorations.[13] Hence, as Ranger (and others) have noted, modern "tribes" are a colonial invention. According to Ranger, the notions of "tradition" and "tribe" that Europeans introduced are characterized by their inflexibility. This quality is differentiated from "custom," which is pragmatic and fluid. Thus, as he notes for Africa, "the boundaries of the 'tribal' polity and the hierarchies of authority within them did ***not*** define conceptual horizons of Africans."[14]

The colonial process of "tribal" identification took place on Bougainville, too. There is no evidence that, before contact with Europeans, people living in hamlets scattered across southeastern Bougainville drew ethnic distinctions in the way they are drawn today; that is, that they viewed themselves as Nasioi. (Indeed, in 1978, "Kietas" was the term more likely to be applied to the area's inhabitants by Europeans, other Papua New Guineans, and even other Bougainvilleans charged with their administration.) Similarly, Nagovisi became such only some years after earlier Australian patrol reports dubbed them "Banone"--a term linguists today apply to an Austronesian language sharply contrasted with the non-Austronesian speech of most villagers living in that portion of southwestern Bougainville.

Not only were Bougainvilleans divided into named tribes by colonial agents, these tribes were ranked in terms of merit. The dichotomy between "backward" and "progressive" was a European way of thinking that colored many of the developing relationships between Bougainvilleans and outsiders: it is, for example, at the heart of missionary endeavors. Just as the hierarchical notion of "race," associated with dif-

ferent degrees of wisdom and virtue, justified the relationship between rulers and ruled, so could a scale of "progressivism" be constructed along which different groups could be ranked. To the extent to which any group was defined as "backward" or "primitive," greater interference in the lives of its members was seen not only as permissible but laudable.

Although Bougainville in general was considered a backwater until the discovery of the enormous copper deposits there, certain groups fared better in the evaluation of Australian patrol officers. The Siwai were a favorite--considered progressive, cooperative, whereas the Nagovisi were not--viewed as dirty, sullen, disease-ridden, and, worst of all, unprogressive.[15] The extent to which this powerful opposition between the condition of being backward versus the condition of being progressive pervaded European thinking is seen in the way these labels might serve to describe "subtribal" groups, those who differed on the basis of religious affiliation. Thus in the 1960s, Europeans in Kieta subdivided the Nasioi into progressive, "on-side" Seventh-day Adventists and backward, "cargo-cultist" Catholics.[16]

If they are to be better understood, all such distinctions must be placed in a more carefully drawn historical framework, for Nasioi and Nagovisi experiences with outsiders differ in important ways.[17] Encounters with Europeans dated from 1768, when the French discovered both Bougainville and neighboring Buka. Subsequently, whalers, traders, and labor recruiters visited both islands, and in 1899 Imperial Germany included both as part of its New Guinea colony. However, it was not until October 1901--when Roman Catholic missionaries arrived to establish a mission on land purchased from Nasioi near the natural harbor of Kieta--that sustained contacts began with outsiders of very different culture, language, and physical type.

The early and continuing presence of the missionaries (Methodists and Seventh-day Adventists followed in the 1920s) had special significance in the construction of ethnic categories, past and present. Initially used to convince Bougainvilleans of their need for salvation, the "missionary ideology of primitivity," contrasting the light of European Christianity with the "darkness of the savage past,"[18] was most effectively transmitted first to Nasioi, then Nagovisi. In Nagovisi, furthermore, as throughout the southwestern part of the island, rivalries between sects were encouraged by missionaries, as a means of symbolizing the total experience of conversion.[19]

Although the Germans established an administrative post in Kieta in September 1905, from which they began pacification efforts, it can be

argued that neither the German nor the subsequent Australian administration had as much direct effect on developing Nasioi and Nagovisi notions of ethnicity as did experiences with missions and plantations. Labor recruiting on the east coast of Bougainville and on Buka island of men to work as strong-arm assistants to plantation developers in the Bismarck Archipelago created a special ethnic group: "Buka" became the category into which all the dark-skinned inhabitants of that island and Bougainville were placed by Europeans and every other resident of what was to become Papua New Guinea.[20] It was probably at this time that both Bougainvilleans and outsiders began to attach special significance to the former's distinctive skin color.

As Chowning notes, it was on plantations that "the stereotypes about aliens, whether Europeans, Chinese, Tolai or 'Chimbu', which so strongly affect subsequent inter-group relations" were often first formulated.[21] The early establishment of copra plantations on land alienated from the Nasioi meant that these Bougainvilleans gained the most common experiences of the colonial economy without leaving their home area, while having relatively limited contact with other Papua New Guineans, during the period between the world wars. Since there were no plantations in the Nagovisi area, young men from that region had to leave home in order to work for wages. Older men who had been under contract at Wakunai, a coastal settlement on northeast Bougainville adjacent to mountain tribes of cannibals, spoke of the fierce and savage Aita and Rotokas peoples who would come down to trade, their tresses in disarray, their bodies naked. But the fact that Bougainville's plantations operated with local labor[22] meant that Nasioi and Nagovisi experience with other Papua New Guineans would be most intensive after World War II.

World War II and Its Aftermath

Bougainville District "as a whole probably suffered more from the Japanese occupation and consequent operations than any other part of the Territory."[23] Faced with problems of sheer survival, the Nasioi and Nagovisi were little concerned with other Papua New Guineans, and their accounts of this period reflect the higher priority given to dealing with the successive alien forces occupying the island. A few Nasioi who found themselves under Japanese rule in Rabaul were able to observe the brothels that the conquerors established there and returned to provide lurid stereotypes of Tolai and New Ireland women. Otherwise, it was the disillusion suffered when European colonizers--with the excep-

tion of a few missionaries and coastwatchers--precipitously abandoned them that set the stage for new developments in ethnic categorization.

Nasioi disillusion produced, among such other effects as endemic cargoism,[24] widespread reluctance to work on local plantations reestablished after the war. Consequently, planters in the Kieta area were forced to import labor, particularly from the New Guinea Highlands and Sepik River regions.[25] Thus, the Nasioi, especially those who worked in slightly more skilled positions like that of domestic servant to a planter or Chinese merchant, had opportunity to view these outsiders in greater numbers than in the prewar era. The menial circumstances of plantation labor inevitably led Nasioi to apply to Highlanders in particular the same stereotypes of primitivity they had earlier learned from Europeans to the detriment of their own self-esteem. Nagovisi were not in quite the same position to observe outsiders, although working in the town of Rabaul became a common coming-of-age experience for young men. There, various ethnic stereotypes were formulated and reinforced, to be disseminated upon return home. One large plantation at Arawa gave preference to Nagovisi as ***bosbois,*** foremen over indentured New Guinea workers, implying some perception of Nagovisi as "more progressive" than "redskins," a term shared by Europeans and Bougainvilleans alike.

At the same time, postwar Australian policies of development had other effects on Bougainvillean perceptions.[26] A few Papua New Guineans began to appear on the island in such administrative positions as clerk, medical assistant, or leader of teams spraying villages against malarial mosquitoes. Nasioi bitterly resented submitting to the authority of those generally perceived, however correctly, as Tolai or Papuan, but nevertheless seemed to appreciate that these groups were somehow at least as "progressive" as they themselves. The same theme of rivalry with regard to progressivism was regularly exploited by agricultural officers urging Nagovisi to plant cocoa: the success of the Tolai in this activity was constantly thrown up as a challenge. On the other hand, patrol officers trying to get Nasioi to join local government councils emphasized both the superior numbers and pugnacity of Highlanders: "The Chimbu have a Council and there are more of them than you. If you don't join, they'll come over here and kick your arse."[27]

By the 1960s, then, Nasioi and Nagovisi had begun to redefine colonial notions of ethnicity to question the moral if not political superiority of Europeans, to see themselves rivaling the Tolai or Papuans in progressivism, and to find the "backward" Highlanders--of whom the Chimbu served as the prototype[28]--variously grotesque, repulsive, or frighten-

ing. For example, Nagovisi perceived a postcard depicting a Highlands woman nursing a pig as if the photo was a kind of pornography. Pictures of villagers wearing *arse-gras* at the Highlands Fair were similarly taken as evidence of indecorous immodesty, if not downright savagery. Nasioi matrons in 1963 were about equally divided as to whether they should laugh or cover their eyes when exposed to photos of phallocrypt wearers from the Eastern Highlands.[29] Villagers in both groups were unanimous in expressing their loathing for fighting with axes and "payback" killing, traits signifying a more primitive way of life.[30]

None of the earlier encounters between Nasioi or Nagovisi and outsiders from Papua New Guinea, however, could compare with those produced by the development on Bougainville of a multibillion-dollar copper mine. Construction of the mine and other, related social changes have been described elsewhere;[31] our concern here is with the effects on ethnic attitudes. Whereas the combined Nasioi-Nagovisi population in 1968-1970 probably did not exceed twenty-five thousand, at the peak of construction the copper company and associated contractors employed more than ten thousand, over six thousand of them Papua New Guineans, of whom Bougainvilleans were a relatively small minority. The influx of men, almost all without families, to the relatively small Kieta-Panguna-Arawa area (most of which had originally been occupied by Nasioi) created a drunken, brawling social scene more like a frontier town of the American Old West than the quiet, colonial backwater of the early 1960s.

Regardless of ethnicity, these alien workers gave overly abundant examples of behavior repellent to Nasioi and Nagovisi. Even the progressive Tolai were reported to be guilty of drunkenness, fighting, killing, and outrageous sexual behavior.[32] The most extreme cases of violence were regularly attributed to Highlanders. At the same time, the highly visible difference between Bougainvillean skin color and that of other Papua New Guineans was more than ever symbolic of antagonism, as the "redskins" dubbed their unwilling hosts *as bilong sospen,* "the burnt bottom of the cooking pot."

A New Ethnic Consciousness

It is against this background that the place of Nasioi and Nagovisi ethnic attitudes in the larger picture of developing "nationalist ethnic ideology" in Papua New Guinea can be assessed.[33] By the late 1960s, as the possibility of Papua New Guinea's independence appeared imminent, a number of organizations and movements appeared, decrying bureau-

cratic centralization and the loss of autonomy in decision making.[34] Unlike the Mataungan Association in New Britain, based on a single ethnic core of Tolai, the most notable movement in Bougainville hoped to rally all language groups in the island.[35] Although originally called Nasioi Navitu (the latter a Nasioi word for "together"), from its beginning what soon became Napidakoe Navitu included the Torau. These speakers of an Austronesian language quite distinct from Nasioi had actively opposed the administration's efforts at land resumption as part of an effort to create new towns as infrastructure for the mining development. Thus the movement can be seen as burgeoning ethnic identity in direct response to a new colonial experience, that of dealing with multinational mining interests. Napidakoe Navitu ultimately included Nagovisi, Eivo, and a few Terei and Siwai speakers, though it never generated much interest in the north of the district.[36]

Increasingly, then, Nasioi, Nagovisi, and other Bougainvilleans considered themselves a single ethnic group in contrast to other Papua New Guineans, with particular reference to preindependence politics. A focal symbol for this ethnic identity was skin color. No phenomenon that could distinguish Bougainvilleans from outsiders is more easily observable. No other characteristic can be so confidently assumed to be shared by all indigenous to Bougainville and Buka islands. If, as seems likely, racist European colonizers had in the past stigmatized Bougainvilleans vis-à-vis other Papua New Guineans for this trait, at the beginning of the 1970s the former, like other oppressed peoples, had turned this "ideological fiction of colonialism"[37] to their own political ends.

The potency of the color symbolism can be seen in connection with the Papua New Guinea flag. As soon as the design was publicized, Nasioi and Nagovisi noted that the upper half of the flag was to be red, the lower half, black. Discussion in the villages maintained that this design was meant to announce the continued domination of "redskins" over Bougainvilleans in an independent Papua New Guinea.[38] Unsurprisingly, as secessionist sentiment began to become more vocal at the beginning of the 1970s, Navitu supporters in 1972 planned a demonstration at which the national flag was to be pulled down from the Kieta Council chamber.[39]

Skin color was also utilized as a political symbol by the newly educated Bougainville elite. The Mungkas Association, originally formed at the University of Papua New Guinea, derived its name from the word for black in the Terei language of Buin. The association's activities in recent politics are further described below.

Unlike peoples in some other parts of Melanesia, the Nagovisi and

Nasioi have not used ***kastom*** as a rallying cry.[40] What has been significant is the contrast they draw between their own allegedly peaceful nature and the violence attributed to Highlanders in particular--an attribution based in part on descriptions provided by European colonizers, as noted above. An incident in the Eastern Highlands in December 1972 gave added confirmation to their beliefs in this absolute difference in behavior.

Two elite Bougainvillean civil servants, Peter Moini, a teacher from Buin, and Dr. Luke Rovin, a Nasioi physician, were murdered by Highlanders for their part in a traffic accident. Reaction on Bougainville to the report of this event illustrates the ethnic conflicts that were well entrenched by this time. Although the two were certainly guilty of wrongdoing--evidently, they were driving while intoxicated and had struck and killed a little girl--people in Nagovisi and Nasioi felt that the actions of the Highlanders, in beating these men to death on the spot, constituted an outrage. Among both villagers and educated elite, a call arose to deport all Papua New Guineans from the district.[41]

This incident clearly illustrates the themes that had come to play ***a*** prominent part in Bougainvillean thinking about other Papua New Guineans, particularly Highlanders. The educated, "progressive" men of dark skin, working to uplift the "backward" Highlanders, had been savagely set upon and murdered by these ungrateful creatures. The two had been alone, outnumbered by throngs of "primitives" who had overpowered them. Of course, had Moini and Rovin been arrested and tried for negligent homicide in connection with the accident, this ethnic-stereotype narrative would not have been tenable. As it was, the facts of operating a motor vehicle while drunk and driving over a child were almost never mentioned. The whole story was interpreted in ways that fit preexisting attitudes and indeed confirmed them, Not incidentally, the story perfectly paralleled narratives about European colonizers, who bore the "white man's burden" only to be slain by the "savages" they had come to help.

Research carried out after the murders demonstrated the salience to attitudes toward other Papua New Guineans of both skin color and the self-perceptions of Nasioi, Nagovisi, and other Bougainvilleans as peaceful and progressive. Southern Bougainville students surveyed by Moulik gave a hierarchy of social acceptance in which "New Guineans" were rated highest, followed by "Papuans," "Europeans," and last, "Highlanders." It is not clear which "New Guineans" were most acceptable, but certainly "dirty, menial jobs were identified as the profession of Highlanders only."[42]

While Kieta (presumably mostly Nasioi) respondents were "much more prejudiced than those from Buin," the pattern was generally consistent. Thus Moulik's adult village sample considered "other races in a broad category of 'red-skin' people as compared to their 'blue-black complexion. Toward these different people they commonly felt suspicion, distrust and fear." For the students, the "two most conspicuous and repeated characteristics in the sense of cultural identity in contrast to other . . . groups were the skin color and peaceful nature of the Bougainvilleans."[43]

A similar pattern appeared in a study carried out in June 1973 among students in the Kieta area. The students, most but not all of whom were Bougainvilleans, were asked to write essays on topics about the mine, consequent social changes, and inter-ethnic relations, Here students distinguished "good" from "bad" New Guineans, generally on the basis of "progressive" skills and attitudes. Thus good migrants were those skilled workers from the coastal areas such as New Britain, Madang, and coastal Papua, while bad migrants were unskilled or unemployed men from the Highlands districts. A fourteen-year-old girl wrote: "It is good to live with the coastal people because some, like the Tolais, are trained as teachers, nurses, typists, and machine operators. But I always see Chimbus digging drains and cleaning around the houses."[44]

Like the students and adults in the other sample, these also contrasted Bougainvillean peacefulness with the violence of other New Guineans: "the vast majority of students were concerned about ***intertribal fights, killings,*** and ***general lawlessness*** among some mainland Niuguinians." A sixteen-year-old girl's comment may be typical: "I think all Niuguinians are bad because they want to make trouble between themselves. . . . Bougainvilleans are like brothers and sisters."[45]

Conclusion

The attitudes and perceptions of Nasioi, Nagovisi, and many other Bougainvilleans toward other Papua New Guineans clearly illustrate, both in the historical circumstances in which they originated and in their effects on postindependence politics, more general points made by Comaroff and Keesing, among others. The place of introduced colonial categories in Bougainvillean perceptions and the transformation of those categories as part of their response to changed political and economic circumstances are striking. It is the creativity of this transformation that Premdas, in his warning cited at the beginning of this article, seems to dismiss.

There is no doubt that the sense of a Bougainville identity was vital in the establishment of a North Solomons provincial government, an administrative arrangement Premdas deplores. As Keesing notes, colonial discourse systematically denied political legitimacy to "primitive" peoples.[46] When the time came, employing this discourse gave Bougainvilleans an opening to declare relative autonomy from "backward" mainlanders. Thus their new ethnic identity, not simply a colonial creation as Premdas would seem to have it, as a single black people, peaceful and progressive, becomes a force to be reckoned with in dealing with coalition parliamentary politics, the distribution of mining revenues, and other elements of modern life with which they must perforce contend.

Beginning in late 1988, Nasioi landowners in the copper mining area began to express their long-standing grievances in acts of violence greater than any seen before. The particulars of the landowners' case cannot be adequately treated here. What is germane to the present argument is the way that ethnic identity has been incorporated into general social unrest on Bougainville. The ***Papua New Guinea Post-Courier*** reported on 13 March 1989 that a Kieta woman (presumably Nasioi) had been attacked en route to her garden, with an axe wielded by a man described as a Highlander. She subsequently died of her injuries.

Once again Bougainvilleans perceived "redskins" acting out their primitive, savage nature, with a peaceful black-skinned woman as victim. However, because of the present climate of generalized violence around Kieta, their response was unprecedented. Subsequent *Post-Courier* accounts told of the payback-style killing of five Western Highlands laborers on Aropa plantation, followed by a riot by non-Bougainvilleans in the urban area. Later the newspaper reported that local (again, presumably Nasioi) villagers had burned down a settlement of Sepik and Morobe people near Aropa airport. At approximately the same time, the Mungkas Association, newly active in the urban sector, made a series of demands, including compensation amounting to millions of dollars for four Bougainvillean deaths allegedly caused by Aropa plantation laborers "over the years."[47]

In the face of such turmoil, it is easy enough to join Premdas in deploring the negative impact of ethnic consciousness on the lives of Bougainvilleans and other Papua New Guineans. But it is equally possible to argue that the Bougainville case refutes Premdas's claim that "ethnic formations beyond the village level proved incapable of supporting and sustaining collective cooperative efforts for equitable devel-

opment."[48] Nasioi, Nagovisi, and other black-skinned Bougainvilleans have had to contend for years with very real violence to themselves and their way of life, committed by colonizers, by a multinational mining firm, and presently by other Papua New Guineans, including riot police whose brutality under the guise of pacification is being investigated by the PNG government. Their creation of a Bougainville ethnic identity has precisely sustained "collective cooperative efforts" in self-defense against forces that might otherwise overwhelm them.

At this writing (June 1989), it is not possible to predict the outcome of current unrest in a situation fraught with contradiction, For example, Nasioi landowners are reportedly divided among themselves according to their differential success in obtaining wealth from mining and related economic activities.[49] Perhaps Premdas and others would see this as a dissolution of ethnic identity in favor of "a deeper reality such as class interests."[50] Such a result is problematic, however, both from a theoretical and a historical point of view. As Comaroff notes: "Much more vexing . . . is the question of when and why ethnic ideologies break down and class consciousness rises to replace it--*if, indeed, it ever happens* ***in*** *such straightforward terms."*[51] It is certainly possible that class relations within what is now the North Solomons Province will be a more salient element in the consciousness of Nasioi, Nagovisi, and other Bougainvilleans than skin color or self-perceptions of peacefulness and progressivism. It is also possible that ethnic conflict will irreparably damage any political viability for Papua New Guinea as a nation-state. But, like the developments described in this article, any such change will be the product of history, That history has yet to be lived, much less written.

NOTES

A different version of this paper was presented at the 1987 meeting of the Association for Social Anthropology in Oceania, in Monterey, California. Ogan is grateful for the support of a Bush Sabbatical Fellowship from the University of Minnesota in completing his portion of the article. He also enjoyed the facilities provided by a Visiting Fellowship in the Anthropology Department, Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University. The map was prepared by the Research School's Cartography Unit. Anonymous reviewers made helpful suggestions about earlier versions, but the authors accept responsibility for any deficiencies in the final product, Authors' names are listed alphabetically.

Although the colonial histories of Papua and New Guinea were distinct until World War II, for convenience of exposition the name of the modern nation-state, Papua New Guinea, is used throughout this article.

1. Abner Cohen, *Custom and Politics in Urban Africa: A Study of Hausa Migrants in Yoruba Towns* (Berkeley, 1969), 200.

2. Ralph Premdas, "Ethnicity and Nation-Building: The Papua New Guinea Case" (Paper presented at the United Nations University Symposium, Suva, Fiji, August 1986), 1.

3. Unless otherwise noted, the "ethnographic present" for Nash on Nagovisi is 1969-1974, for Ogan on Nasioi, 1962-1972.

4. See, For example, Fredrik Barth, *Ethnic Groups and Ethnic Boundaries: The Social Organization of Cultural Differences* (London, 1969); and George F. DeVos and Lola Romanucci-Ross, eds., *Ethnic Identity: Cultural Continuities and Change* (Palo Alto, 1975).

5. John L. Comaroff, "Of Totemism and Ethnicity: Consciousness, Practice, and the Signs of Inequality," *Ethnos,* 1987, nos. 3-4:303, 306.

6. Premdas, "Ethnicity and Nation-Building," 6-8. Cf. Terence Ranger, "The Invention of Tradition in Colonial Africa," in *The Invention of Tradition,* ed, Eric Hobsbawn and Terence Ranger (Cambridge, 1983), 211-262.

7. See, especially, Roger M. Keening, "Plantation Networks, Plantation Culture: The Hidden Side of Colonial Melanesia," *Journal de la Société des Océanistes* 42, nos. 82-83 (1986): 163-170; idem, "Racial and Ethnic Categories in Colonial and Postcolonial States," forthcoming in M. O'Callaghan, ed., *Studies on the Adequacy of Theories, Paradigms, and Assumptions in the Social and Human Sciences* (Paris: UNESCO); idem, "Colonial and Counter-Colonial Discourse in Melanesia," also forthcoming in the volume from UNESCO Division of Human Rights and Peace; also, Ann Chowning, "The Development of Ethnic Identity and Ethnic Stereotypes on Papua New Guinea Plantations," *Journal de la Société des Océanistes* 42, nos. 82-83 (1986): 153-162. Earlier treatments include Ann Chowning, "Recent Acculturation between Tribes in Papua New Guinea," *Journal of Pacific History* 4 (1969): 27-40; A. L. Epstein, *Ethos and Identity* (Cambridge, 1978), 40-61; Michel Panoff, *Inter-tribal Relations of the Maenge People of New Britain* (Canberra, 1969); and idem, "An Experiment in Inter-tribal Contacts: The Maenge Labourers in European Plantations 1915-42," *Journal of Pacific History* 4 (1969): 111-125. Drawing on the work of other writers about Bougainville, Caroline Ifeka made some suggestive comparisons between Siwai speakers and Ibo and Kikuyu groups in Africa, in "War and Identity in Melanesia and Africa," *Ethnic and Racial Studies 9* (1986): 131-149. The present paper is able to present ethnographic and historical data that Ifeka's article perforce lacked.

8. J. E. Terrell and G. J. Irwin, "History and Tradition in the Northern Solomons: An Analytical Study of the Torau Migration to Southern Bougainville in the 1860s," *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 81 (1972): 317-349.

9. Douglas L. Oliver, "The Horomorun Concepts of Southern Bougainville: A Study in Comparative Religion," *Papers of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology* 20 (1943); 50-65; idem, "The Peabody Museum Expedition to Bougainville, Solomon Islands, 1938-39," *Papers of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology* 29 (1949): l-27; idem, *A Solomon Island Society* (Cambridge, MA, 1955); Jerry Allen and Conrad Hurd, *The Languages of the Bougainville District* (Ukarumpa, n.d.); Jonathan S. Friedlaender, *Patterns of Human Variation* (Cambridge, MA, 1978).

10. Premdas, "Ethnicity and Nation-Building," 5, generalizes for Papua New Guinea: "personal identity was kinship- and clan-based [,] generally expressed in traditional

names." Cf. Ranger, "The Invention of Tradition," 248, on precolonial Africa: "most Africans moved in and out of multiple identities, defining themselves at one moment as subject to this chief, at another moment as a member of that cult, at another moment as part of this clan," and so forth.

II, Theodore Schwartz, "Cultural Totemism: Ethnic Identity Primitive and Modern," in DeVos and Romanucci-Ross, *Ethnic Identity,* 106-131.

12. Contrast Panoff, *Inter-tribal Relations,* ch. 1.

13. Morton H. Fried, *The Notion of Tribe* (Menlo Park, CA, 1975).

14. Banger, "The Invention of Tradition," 248.

15. Jill Nash, *Matriliny and Modernization* (Canberra, 1974); E. W. P. Chinnery, *Territory of New Guinea Anthropological Report* No. 5 (Canberra, 1924).

16. Eugene Ogan, *Business and Cargo* (Canberra, 1972).

17. In addition to works by Nash and Ogan already cited, see Hugh Laracy, *Marists and Melanesians* (Canberra, 1976), and Douglas L. Oliver, *Bougainville: A Personal History* (Melbourne, 1973).

18. Keesing, "Racial and Ethnic Categories," MS pp. 16, 18.

19. Oliver, *A Solomon Island Society,* 118-119.

20. Paul Mason, "What Has Become of the 'Buka Boy'?" *Pacific Islands Monthly,* September 1951, 81-83, 85. This explains the famous misnomer "Buka baskets" for the artifacts produced by Terei speakers in the southernmost part of Bougainville.

21. Chowning, "Recent Acculturation," 29-30.

22. In 1933, 90 percent of indentured laborers in Bougainville District had been born there. Maxine Dennis, "Plantations," in *A Time to Plant and a Time to Uproot: A History of Agriculture in Papua New Guinea,* ed. Donald Denoon and Catherine Snowden (Boroko, 1981), 232.

23. Australian Department of Territories, *Report to the United Nations on Administration of the Territory of New Guinea from 1st July 1947 to 30 June 1948* (Canberra, 1948).

24. Ogan, *Business and Cargo.*

25. By 1951, an estimated eight to nine hundred workers from elsewhere in Papua New Guinea were employed on Bougainville. Mason, "What Has Become," 82; Paul Mason, "What Shall We Do with Our New Guinea Natives?" *Pacific Islands Monthly,* April 1950, 49-51.

26. Since this paper focuses on Bougainvilleans who stayed dose to home, we can only note briefly Bell's description of the success of "Bukas" in the Pacific Islands Regiment, to which Bougainvilleans were first recruited in 1957. It is not possible to assess accurately the extent to which Nasioi or Nagovisi learned that "New Guineans have gained moral ascendancy over Papuans, Highlanders over fellow New Guineans, and Bukas over all." At the very least, reports from those serving in the PIR might have confirmed notions, gained through other experience, of Bougainvillean superiority over "redskins." Harry Bell, "Goodbye to All That? Integration in the PIR," *New Guinea and Australia, the Pacific, and Southeast Asia* 2 (1967): 49-58.

27. Eugene Ogan, field notes, South Nasioi Census Division, 1964.

28. Cf. Chowning, "Recent Acculturation," 29-30; Keesing, "Racial and Ethnic Categories," MS p. 21.

29. In Ronald Berndt, *Excess and Restraint* (Chicago, 1957), facing 298.

30. Cf. Chowning, "The Development of Ethnic Identity," 158: "In Papua New Guinea, the common accusations are that members of other societies are particularly dangerous sorcerers or prone to physical violence. Less often, they may be considered sexually threatening."

31. For example, J. Momis and E. Ogan, "A View from Bougainville," in *Change and Development in Rural Melanesia,* ed. M. Ward (Canberra, 1972), 106-118; Oliver, *A Personal History.*

32. Other Papua New Guineans have perceived Tolai as "dangerous people." Cf. Panoff, "An Experiment," 123-124; Chowning, "The Development of Ethnic Identity," 159.

33. Richard G. Fox, Charlotte Aull, and Louis Cimino, "Ethnic Nationalism and Political Mobilization in Industrial Societies," in *Interethnic Communication,* ed. E. Lamar Ross (Athens, GA, 1978), 113-133. Cf. Premdas, "Ethnicity and Nation-Building," 9-11.

34. R. J. May, ed., *Micronationalist Movements in Papua New Guinea* (Canberra, 1982).

35. James Griffin, "Napidakoe Navitu," in May, *Micronationalist Movement,* 113-138.

36. Ibid., 126-127.

37. Keesing, "Racial and Ethnic Categories," MS p. 13.

38. The appearance of the bird of paradise, unknown in Bougainville, as a design motif was also believed to symbolize "redskin" dominance. For another example of flag symbolism in Melanesia, see Keesing, "Colonial and Counter-Colonial Discourse."

39. The demonstration was called off at the intercession of Navitu's charismatic patron, MHA (later Sir) Paul Lapun. Griffin, "Napidakoe Navitu," 134.

40. The contrasting Melanesian experience is well explored in R. M. Keening and R. Tonkinson, eds., *Reinventing Traditional Culture: The Politics of* Kastom *in Island Melanesia, Mankind* 13, no. 4 (special issue, 1982).

41. Cf. Griffin, "Napidakoe Navitu," 135.

42. T. K. Moulik, *Bougainville in Transition* (Canberra, 1977), 103-106.

43. Ibid., 133, 106.

44. Alexander Mamak and Richard Bedford, "Bougainville's Students," *New Guinea and Australia, the Pacific, and Southeast Asia* 9 (1974): 7.

45. Ibid., 5-6. The authors further argue that the general response to the mining company included an emphasis on Bougainvillean "identity and exclusiveness *beyond* the local level," 9.

46. Keesing, "Racial and Ethnic Categories," MS p. 19.

47. *Papua New Guinea Post-Courier,* 21 and 22 March 1989.

48. Premdas, "Ethnicity and Nation-Building," 18.

49. *Papua New Guinea Post-Courier,* 19 February 1989.

50. Premdas, "Ethnicity and Nation-Building," 18.

51. Comaroff, "Of Totemism and Ethnicity," 319, emphasis added.