

## ON BEING MODERN PEOPLE: ABANDONMENT OF PIG HUSBANDRY IN HAIVARO, PAPUA NEW GUINEA

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The abandonment of pig husbandry by several communities in Papua New Guinea has been explained in terms of hygiene, Christianity, and economics or combinations of all three. At Haivaro—a small village in the lowlands of northwestern Gulf Province—these three factors were reinforced by an emerging desire to act, and be seen, as “modern.” A progressive decrease in social occasions that entailed the exchange of pigs or the sharing of pork, combined with increased availability of new modern items, led Haivaro people to revalue their world in monetary terms. In this process, they developed a sense that some of their past practices were antithetical to their desire to be modern. In this context, and for this reason, they chose to abandon pig husbandry.

FASU-SPEAKING PEOPLE AT HAIVARO, IN GULF PROVINCE, PAPUA NEW GUINEA, abandoned pig-husbandry in the 1990s. In 2013–14, they said, “We no longer raise pigs because they were damaging our airstrip.” For several reasons, this rationale was unsatisfactory. First, the airstrip was built in 1984, about ten years before people chose to cease caring for domestic pigs. Second, different management practices—keeping pigs in fenced enclosures or under care at distant forest houses (Dwyer 1996)—could have easily solved the asserted problem.

Domestic pigs have high social value in many Papua New Guinea societies, featuring in transactions such as marriages, funerals, ceremonial exchanges, compensation payments, and so forth (Brown 1978; Lemonnier 1991, 1993; Strathern 1971). They have been the subject of many detailed studies (for review

and bibliography, see Hide 2003), including some that report places where pig husbandry has been abandoned. These latter studies direct attention to a variety of factors thought to be causally implicated in a reduction, or cessation, of pig husbandry. These factors include dietary prohibitions associated with the Seventh Day Adventist Church, considerations of hygiene invoked by government, local shifts in subsistence patterns, and a reduced emphasis on ceremonial exchanges (Boyd 2001; Brookfield and Hart 1971, 123; Brutti and Boissière 2002, 155; Hide 2003: 27–29; O’Hanlon 1989, 71).

In this paper I examine the Haivaro case and argue that a complex of related factors was implicated in the abandonment of pig husbandry. These were a progressive decrease in the social value of domestic pigs, a coincident increase in the value attributed to newly introduced items, and, significantly, a perception that pig husbandry was associated with a former lifestyle that, in “modern” circumstances, is disparaged. In what follows, I first consider the way in which, in 2013–14, people at Haivaro apprehended “modernity.” Then I summarize my understanding of the value accorded to domestic pigs in the past, discuss the ways in which the social value previously attached to pigs has been reduced and replaced, and, finally, show how these changes are reinforced and sustained by current desires and practices with respect to “being modern.”<sup>1</sup>

### Haivaro “Modernity”

In 2013–14, the village of Haivaro in northwestern Gulf Province, at 60 m ASL, was home to about 230 people (Fig. 1). These people were members of six southern Fasu-speaking clans, which had been formerly dispersed as longhouse communities but, since the 1950s, in response to government and missionaries, drew together first as clan-based hamlets and later, in the mid 1980s, at a single site—Haivaro (Minnegal, Lefort, and Dwyer 2015). Gilberthorpe (2014, 82) described Fasu-speaking people as comprising “approximately 1,100 people living in the rainforest fringe and sago swamp valleys south and south-east of Lake Kutubu.” Haivaro is at the southern limit of this territory, and the people living there occupy a lowland rain-forest environment that contrasts with the mountainous terrain in the vicinity of Lake Kutubu. The people were, and remain, hunter–horticulturalists subsisting on sago, sweet potato, and bananas from small gardens and on the products of hunting and fishing activities. Social organization among southern Fasu is primarily based on patrilineal descent. Sociality entailed competitive exchanges, payments of war compensation and transfers of women against bride wealth (Gilberthorpe 2004). Residence pattern was, and remains, virilocal, wives becoming identified with the clan of their husbands.

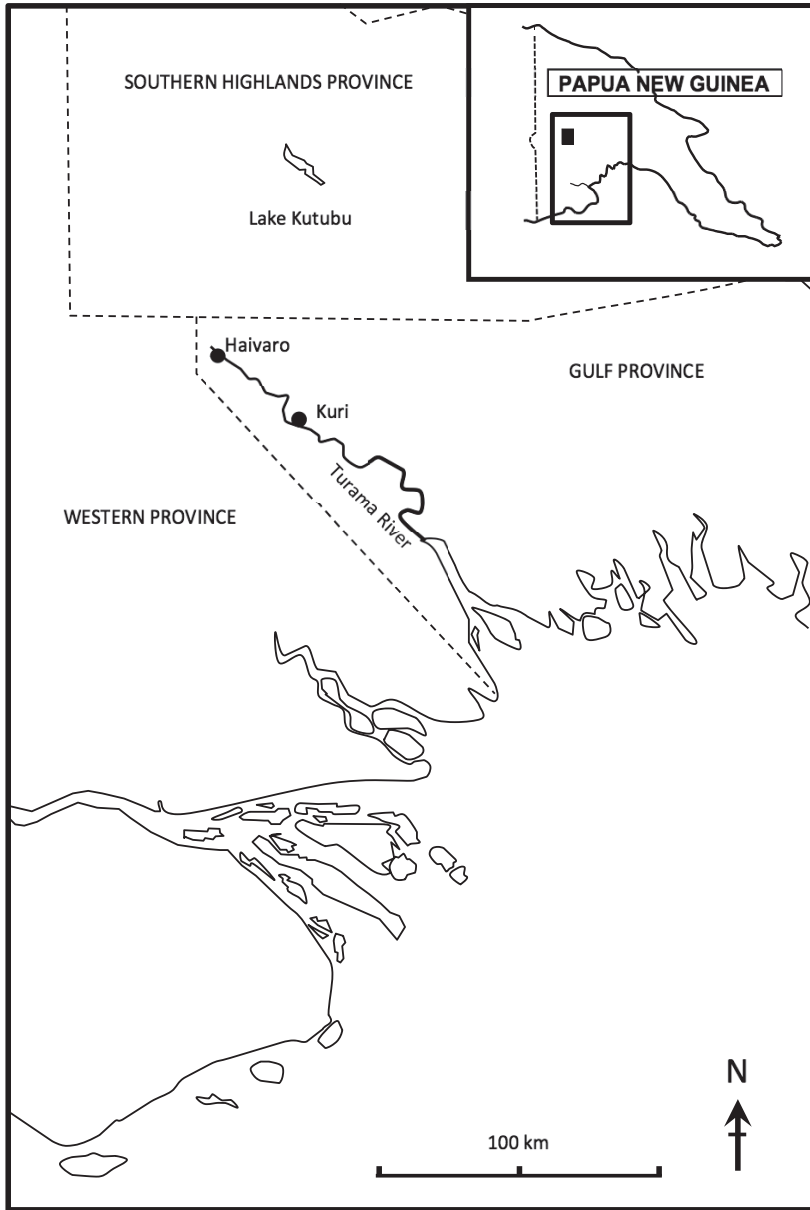


FIGURE 1. Map of the Area Showing Location of Haivaro and Kuri.

The amalgamation of longhouse communities at Haivaro culminated in the mid-1980s when missionaries of the Evangelical Church of Papua New Guinea (ECPNG) established an airstrip there. The presence of the airstrip increased local access to exogenous goods such as steel axes, machetes, knives, matches, soap, and salt. Older residents at Haivaro often talk of the ways in which these goods made life easier by rendering the execution of many tasks faster. Their conversations seem to reflect a dichotomy between “primitive” and modern states that had been implicit in the discourse of patrol officers and missionaries.

Missionaries left the area in the late 1980s; although since that time, people have remained aligned with either ECPNG or Seventh Day Adventist missions. The airstrip at Haivaro was initially abandoned, but in about 1990, Turama Forest industries (TFI) established a base-camp at Kuri, 35 km to the southeast.<sup>2</sup> Kuri is located on the alluvial plain of the Turama River, and both the airstrip and associated village were regularly flooded during the wet season. At these times, it was impossible to land cargo planes, and the logging company started to use the airstrip at Haivaro for transporting people, equipment, and merchandise. Relations between Haivaro and Kuri intensified with people from the former community sending their children to the company-sponsored school at Kuri and sick people attending the company’s health clinic. They traveled in company vehicles along roads that had been freshly cut through the forest.

To the people at Haivaro, these innovations were an extension of the few modern items with which they were already familiar and reinforced a notion that modernity—with its associated goods and services—was something that was brought from overseas by “white” people (missionaries, government officials, and company workers) and made life easier. However, they felt that, with respect to these desired things, they were disadvantaged relative to their neighbors at Kuri. To offset this disadvantage, they employed witchcraft in an effort to attract their own company. The form of witchcraft was that which was usually used to attract sexual partners; they were, quite literally, seeking to seduce a logging company. And they seemed to be successful, because the company based at Kuri opened a new camp close to Haivaro and started to exploit local forest resources in the early 1990s. The amenities that had previously been found only at Kuri were now established at Haivaro—a school, a trade store, a health clinic, and a few more roads that linked Haivaro to other villages in the area. In addition, between 1990 and 2010, via an Annual Benefits Fund,<sup>3</sup> the company sponsored a “community house” that was soon equipped with a radio that connected Haivaro with Mission Aviation Fellowship, as well as tuition and transportation fees for young people to be sent to mission’s school in Port-Moresby. In 2013–14, two new churches, funded from the same source, were

being built. And, finally, because the company was now taking timber from the land of Haivaro residents, the people living there received royalties of about one or two million kina each year.<sup>4</sup> These changes, and their associated material and financial benefits, reinforced local understandings that they were now modern people, more so indeed than their western Kasua neighbors against whom they compared themselves.

With their newly acquired money, Haivaro people started to travel to towns and cities throughout Papua New Guinea (Mendi, Mount Hagen, Goroka, Lae, Port-Moresby) and, in a few cases, overseas (Malaysia and Australia). These experiences led to a new understanding of what it was to be modern such that they classed places that they visited and people they met—including Haivaro and themselves—as being more or less modern. They judged themselves to be sufficiently modern to be worthy of prestige at the local level but considered that, through travel, they were able to extend their social network to places and people who were more modern.

For almost two decades, their financial security ensured the stability of these understandings. But in 2010, local forest resources were depleted, royalty payments decreased, and access to more modern people and places became more and more sporadic. To the people at Haivaro, it seemed that they were now condemned to spend most of their time at the village and that, locally, their former high status had crumbled. Where once they understood themselves to have achieved a “sufficient level of modernity” and, through travel, to be enhancing this, their local situation now seemed to reveal their failure to achieve the level that they desired. They felt this strongly. They wanted to draw “outside modernity” to the village and, once again, grow as they had been growing before. In an attempt to achieve this end, they turned their attention to the roads that connected Haivaro to the rest of the world. And, within the set of possible roads, the airstrip was central.

Modernity is understood in different ways by different people in different places (Leach and Englund 2000; Knauff 2002; Thomassen 2012). It is always given a local flavor. At Haivaro, people first conceived of modernity as a homogeneous entity that was brought from outside. Progressively, they came to understand themselves as being situated on an imagined scale of possibilities and desired to enhance their own position on that scale. Through time, this construction turned against them, and they found themselves in a state of perpetual waiting for the elusive possibility of more and more modernity. In what follows, I shall argue that the abandonment of pig husbandry was one action that they took in an attempt to both demonstrate to themselves that they were modern and to enhance opportunities for the modern to arrive. First, however, I shall consider the place of pigs in the life of Haivaro people in the decades prior to cessation of pig husbandry.

### Value of Domestic Pigs in the Past

There is no published information on past pig keeping practices among southern Fasu clans. Comparative data from neighboring language groups—Kasua, Kaluli, Onabasulu, Foi, and Kewa—suggest that the ratio of pigs to people was low relative to ratios found among Highlanders to the north (0.4 to 0.67 pigs per person in the lowland and midaltitude societies versus 1.08 to 2.17 pigs per person among Huli groups; Hide 2003: 39–47; see also Gilberthorpe 2004, 35). As reported by Gilberthorpe (2004, 48) for northern Fasu clans, and confirmed by me, all domestic male pigs were castrated as piglets, and domestic sows mated with wild boars. This is the pig breeding system that Dwyer (1996: 487–88) labeled “female breeding.”

Domestic pigs were co-owned by a husband and his wife, but women had greater responsibility for care than did men and were often accompanied by young pigs when they worked at gardens or sago processing sites. This encouraged development of a relatively close bond between a carer and her pigs (Dwyer and Minnegal 2005). In addition, owners had specific ways in which they cut the ears and tail of pigs to mark them as their own and, as elsewhere in Papua New Guinea, gave their pigs personal names (Jorgensen 1990, 17). Pigs, like dogs and people, were considered to have an immaterial double—the *ho*—which is for Haivaro people the site of agency and the capacity to create, develop, and maintain social relations. When a domestic pig was killed it was not uncommon that the female carer would weep. Thus, the association between people—owners and carers—and domestic pigs was relatively intimate, and the animals probably qualified as “quasi-people” rather than “quasi-things” (Jorgensen 1990, 20).

These factors, together with the work invested in rearing pigs, contributed to the social value accorded to pigs among the people of southern Fasu clans (Dwyer and Minnegal 2005). In 2013–14 at Haivaro, people insisted that rearing pigs had entailed hard physical activity, emphasizing, in particular, the time devoted to harvesting garden products to feed the animals. Given that the number of pigs reared was relatively small it is likely that people overstated the case, but nevertheless, their statements reflect former physical, economic, emotional, and temporal engagement which, at that time, was presumably compensated by the value attributed to domestic pigs in circumstances of sharing and exchange.

The accounts of elders at Haivaro indicated that large-scale pig kills and ceremonial exchanges such as those seen in Highland New Guinea were not a feature of earlier southern Fasu practice. There were, however, other occasions at which pigs were killed and pork was shared. For example, completion of a new longhouse was celebrated by sharing pork with people from neighboring communities. Live pigs, together with pearl shells and shell belts, were an important part of bride price, and at weddings, pork was shared with kin and affines

to sanctify or reinforce interclan relations. In cases where the union of a man and woman failed to conform to the preferred pattern of marriage to mother's brother's daughter, pork was offered in compensation to the groom's mother's brother. A man gave pork to his wife's kin—the amount increasing with the number of children born to the couple—in acknowledgment that the animating principle *himu* that gives life and strength to a child derived, in part, from the lineage of the mother's father.

Meat from domestic pigs was also shared at a ceremony held on the sixteenth day after the body of a deceased person had been placed on the funeral platform. By this time, it was expected that distant relatives of the deceased person would have arrived, and wild meat, which had been consumed to this point, was replaced by meat from domestic animals. Finally, domestic pigs were killed in cases of adultery and of deaths attributed to sorcery. In the first case, the blood of the pig was used as an ointment to remove the shame on people's skin. In the second case, a lock of hair from the deceased person was introduced into the heart of a pig while pronouncing the name of a suspect. The named suspect was considered guilty if, after the animal had been cooked, the heart remained raw. Pig fat was also considered to be ultra nutritive and was used as an ointment to strengthen and embellish the body during initiations and traditional ceremonies.

It is clear from the foregoing examples that domestic pigs once had high social value and that, in part, this derived from an understanding that their substances and organs held the power to reestablish social order and contribute to the reproduction of society. Thus, the complete abandonment of pig husbandry appears to be a high price to pay simply because they damaged the airstrip and when, in fact, alternative ways of keeping pigs were available. It seems, therefore, that the subtle equilibrium, carefully maintained through time, between the multidimensional engagement entailed in raising pigs, their social value, and their potential uses, has been progressively challenged by both a gradual decline of that value and an attribution of value to new items. These matters are taken up in the next two sections of this article.

### **Declining Value of Pigs**

Through the past two decades, several factors have contributed to a decrease in the value attributed to domestic pigs. In combination, these factors weakened the formerly close relationship between people and pigs.

Christian influence has certainly contributed. The Seventh Day Adventist (SDA) mission was established in the area in the 1970s; the ECPNG followed in the early 1980s. SDA prohibited the consumption of pork, and both missions encouraged a stricter separation of humans and animals as a way to enhance

hygiene. In places where the cessation of pig husbandry has been attributed to the influence of SDA, virtually the entire community has aligned with that mission (e.g., Iyagumo 2001, 295), but at Haivaro, less than half the population is affiliated with SDA, and further, although SDA arrived in the 1970s pig husbandry did not cease until the mid-1990s. Thus, at Haivaro, the cessation of pig husbandry cannot be attributed to SDA influences although these influences may well have contributed to weakening the value accorded to pigs not merely for SDA affiliates but for others who could no longer use pigs to satisfy necessary exchanges with SDA members. Of more importance, however, has been both a progressive reduction in the kinds of situations in which meat from domestic pigs was exchanged and alterations to ways in which those situations are managed. Thus, changes have emerged with respect to celebrating the construction of new houses and with respect to marriages and accusations of adultery and sorcery.

When people first assembled at Haivaro, they altered living arrangements from longhouses with gender-separated sections to a male-exclusive longhouse that was encircled by small female cooking houses. This model was maintained until the early 1990s but gave way gradually to separate family houses with gender-segregated rooms. There is no longer a communal longhouse at Haivaro, and no communal ritual at which pigs are killed marks the completion of new family houses.

One consequence of recent changes among southern Fasu clans is an increase in premarital sexual unions. These often lead to *de facto* associations that stand in place of marriages and which, therefore, are not celebrated in the way marriages were celebrated in the past. And, again, it is now seldom the case that pork is exchanged in circumstances of adultery, magic, or sorcery. Indeed, conversion to Christianity has led to an attenuation of—or at least a challenge to—belief in the efficacy of sorcery. Although people at Haivaro continue to acknowledge the power of forest spirits, and sometimes say that they know how to make potions that will render people sick, they assert, variously, that their “eyes have been closed by the Talk of God” or that “the powers of the good spirits no longer work” as revenge because they “now believe in God rather than in those spirits.” Now, therefore, adultery is compensated with money, and pigs are no longer implicated in the divination of sorcery. In the first case, at least, not all elders are satisfied by the change, arguing that an exchange of money is too easy and does not really resolve the problem.

The various factors described above reflect progressive spatial, emotional, and symbolic detachment from domestic pigs among people living at Haivaro together with a decrease in situations that, previously, were marked or resolved by exchanging, or sharing meat from, domestic pigs. In combination it might be expected that, as has been the case elsewhere in Melanesia (Hide 2003, 27), they



would be correlated with a reduction in the effort devoted to rearing pigs and to the size of the local domestic pig population. Taken alone, however, they do not predict complete abandonment of pig husbandry. Something else was needed. Haivaro people needed to find substitutes for pigs, they needed to transfer the value once associated with pigs to different items before it became possible to give up pigs yet maintain the social cohesion that pigs had once facilitated.

### Revaluing the World

A reduction in the need for pigs, and a progressive detachment from pigs, occurred in the late 1980s and early 1990s, shortly before Haivaro people hosted a logging company on their land. This period was marked as well by the progressive discovery of what could be brought by modernity. Subsequent access to money and manufactured goods facilitated by the logging company heightened expectations. As was common through much of Papua New Guinea, purchased foods were increasingly used as items to be shared and exchanged (Brookfield and Hart 1971, 121), and in parallel, the need for domestic pigs was further diminished.

Haivaro people talked of money as providing the means for acquiring lots of things—things that could be distributed to gain prestige—and as making travel and, hence, extending social networks possible. They also stressed the fact that, in their circumstances, where most money was received as royalties, access to money did not entail large inputs of physical work. They drew a contrast between earlier times when social obligations required much prior work invested, particularly, in rearing pigs with present circumstances in which the social obligations were achieved without the commitment of physical labor. They consider that access to more money depended on rhetorical skills that were different from those employed in managing internal affairs. Managing negotiations with the logging company's bosses required that a person understood different forms of both business and sociality. These skills could be acquired only outside the village, in contact with modern people. Thus, money was socially valued because, at least in part, access to it depended on a person's ability to extend his or her social network to include outsiders. To have money revealed that a person participated in a modern social network. At the present time, at Haivaro, money has replaced pigs in a number of social transactions either directly as a substitute for live pigs or indirectly where purchased foods replace pork.

In 2013–14, two types of occasions were marked by large communal meals at Haivaro. The first was children's birthdays that were celebrated several years after the child's birth. This celebration appears to be a renewed version of the customary reciprocity that occurred between a husband and his wife's kin in

recognition of the himu transmitted by the maternal uncle's lineage. The second was the regular visit of two representatives of the Papua New Guinea Forest Authority (PNGFA). These men were delegated by the PNGFA to act as mediators between the logging company and the landowners with regard to logging operations and the rights and duties of both parties. They brought the royalty payments from Port-Moresby to Haivaro people and were welcomed to the village every four months. Their arrival was always celebrated with a communal meal, as a way of sanctifying the relationships between Haivaro landowners and these modernity providers. On these occasions, both purchased food and bush food were cooked and shared to guests. But the different food types provided at the feasts were differentially valued.

Sago and edible bush greens were the least valued food stuffs despite the fact that they appear to function as a marker of identity for people and a feast without them would be unimaginable. Garden products and fish and small game caught in the previous twenty-four hours were more highly valued. Availability of these foods reflects the work and skill of the provider. They are available less often than sago and bush greens, and their relative scarcity contributes to their relative value. Very occasionally, meat from a cassowary that had been reared in captivity was included in these feasts. People spoke of the size of the animal and, on this basis, accorded it high value. The most valued item, however, was food that had been purchased at the company store: rice, tinned fish, corned beef, noodles, scones, and chicken wings in shrink-wrapped tray. Of these items, chicken wings were most highly valued, apparently because of their high cost (thirty kina for a tray that contained four chicken wings). Here, therefore, it is the social value accorded to money that functions as a symbolic measure of the value of the exchange. If the exchange of pork was formerly valued, at least in part, in relation to the work and time entailed in pig raising, money is valued because of its association with modernity. Thus, Haivaro people discuss interclan differences in money incomes in terms of the amount of land owned, differences in rhetorical skills employed in negotiations with the logging company,<sup>5</sup> the capacity to take care of and manage land properly, together with the ability to develop connections with highly educated people or those involved in lucrative businesses, who they judge to be modern. The social value formerly accorded to pigs on the basis of relationships developed with them, and the physical work entailed in raising them, is now refocused on money on the basis of its relationship with modernity and the connections it sanctifies with an extended outside world.

At children's birthdays and at feasts held when delegates of PNGFA visit Haivaro, pork has been indirectly replaced by money—through the exchange of purchased foods—but in payments of bride price, live pigs have been directly replaced by money. Where, previously, bride price comprised pearl shells, shell

belts, and live pigs, there has been a gradual shift toward monetary payments and, more recently, a strong inflationary trend. Initially, a few hundred kina was added to the customary payment. By 1990, this amount had increased to about 5,000 kina. In 2000, one man requested 20,000 kina as bride price for his daughter, and thereafter, everyone sought much higher payments than before.<sup>6</sup> In addition, because domestic pigs are no longer available, additional money is paid in lieu of pigs, with the bride's clan requesting a particular number of pigs and each of them then taken to be equivalent to about 1,000 kina.

The substitution of money for pigs also suggests a parallel between the ways in which both are considered to be produced. Although pigs were raised by women, they were eventually regarded as owned and exchanged by men, and for this reason men were considered to be their *wafaya*, their father. This term invokes a relationship of protection and management and applies in a variety of circumstances (*saro wafaya*, the father of a pig; *hauaka wafaya*, the father of a ground; *ira wafaya*, the father of a tree; *hokosa wafaya*, the father of a child...). Thus, the social value attributed to pigs also derived from this specific relationship between pigs and men. And to some extent, the social value of money derives from the same kind of relationship. As the *hauaka wafaya*, a man has the duty to take care of his land and to manage it as a good father. From this perspective, therefore, money derived from logging royalties is a return for the care a man has taken in caring for and managing his land. As one elder explained, although some men had sold their land as a single package and, therefore, jeopardized future income he had acted as a good father should by preserving some parts, authorizing exploitation at a rate that allowed for regeneration and guaranteeing a lower, although more sustainable, income stream. One of the criteria formerly prevailing in the attribution of social value to pigs—namely the relationship subsumed under the term *wafaya*—thus still remains relevant in attributing social value to money.

There were some contexts, however, in which the revaluation of the world in monetary terms posed complications. In 2013, a senior and well regarded Haivaro man died, and it was expected that he should be accorded a proper funeral. Prior to mission influences, funerals required that food, particularly meat from domestic pigs, was shared to reaffirm relationships that may have been diminished by the death. Although sago, edible bush greens, and garden products were available for this funeral, it was important to include foods that were more highly valued. The logging company was asked to open the trade store so that food could be purchased, but the company was unable to comply. In an attempt to resolve the problem, men organized a last-minute hunt of flying foxes at a nearby cave. The hunt was successful in returning many animals, but when these were shared with guests, those who hosted the feast publically apologized for what they were offering. They were ashamed, and the response

of their guests confirmed that the offer of bush meat was not regarded as appropriate to the occasion. If the community had been able to access the trade store and exchange money for store foods—particularly chicken wings—they would not have suffered this embarrassment.

There are also some situations in which money does not function as an appropriate substitute for pigs. Cases of adultery, for instance, provide a glimpse of dissatisfaction with the use of money, rather than pigs, in their management. In earlier practice, blood from a pig was used as an ointment to remove shame from the skin of the clans involved, and pork was offered to the offended clan as compensation. Now, as an elder explained, the adulterous man—in all cases, the man is considered to be responsible for the trouble—pays 1,000 kina, but nothing is done to erase the shame on the skin. Yet, regulation of emotions is crucial to Fasu sociality, and equilibrium has to be constantly maintained to prevent sorcery attacks from evil and powerful spirits called *Wafe*. These spirits always intervene when negative emotions have been triggered by a breach in the social rules of reciprocity. They make children of close kin of the culprit sick, until a proper compensation is provided. In cases of adultery, different parts of pigs were used, namely meat as compensation and fat and blood to relieve negative emotions. For Haivaro people, despite its high social value, money is not divisible into different parts, with distinct properties and, therefore, in this case cannot function as a proper substitute for pigs. It may be that future adjustments will be called for, perhaps even, as Shoffner (1976, 157) has reported, a reappearance of pig husbandry.

Among people living at Haivaro, much of the former value attributed to pigs had been reattributed to money or the things that money can buy. Although, in some circumstances, there remain unresolved issues, it appears that, in many contexts, money has proven effective in satisfying many social needs and goals. Coupled with the declining value of pigs initiated a decade or so ago, access to money and the uses to which it has been put have undeniably contributed to the cessation of pig husbandry at Haivaro. Why, however, do the people say that they abandoned pig husbandry because their pigs had been damaging the airstrip?

### **On Being Modern People**

Haivaro people's specific apprehension of modernity has led them to accord high value to the routes that connect them to a wider world. Preeminent among these routes is the airstrip. Roads—both traditional trails cut through the bush and the vehicular roads built by company—in the past, were identified as the paths along which people brought pigs to their village. In this way, therefore, these roads contributed to intra- and interclan cohesion. The airstrip, however,

is the path along which people have been able to bring money to the village and to extend social networks to more distant and, often, more modern places. The airstrip is literally the path followed by representatives of the PNGFA who deliver royalty payments to the people. In these ways, the airstrip represents the means whereby Haivaro people have had the opportunity to increase their own level of modernity.

But to these people, being modern has entailed progressive rejection of some elements from their past that they understood—and assumed that outsiders understood—as representing a premodern state, a state that they describe as “bush kanaka.”<sup>7</sup> Unlike other Papua New Guinea communities, which have successfully enhanced fragmented aspects of their past in entering modern life (Ernst 1999; Strathern and Stewart 2004), Haivaro people construct modernity in opposition to their past, convincing themselves that the past must be erased to reach the desired state. This rejection of the past has been accompanied by emergence of a discourse that denigrates those past premodern states. Indeed, the former way of life, deemed to reappear at times when money is not available, is disparaged by expressions that represent it as boring, predictable, insipid, or uninteresting. Long-term residence in forest houses, common in the past—notably to allow domesticated pigs to forage—has become rare, almost nonexistent, and people say that that kind of life is too hard or that that time is over. As some say, particularly to outsiders: “Our living standards have been improved, they become more similar to White’s living standards, so living in the bush has become too hard for us.” The assertion that pig husbandry was abandoned because pigs were damaging the airstrip could be taken literally. In the frame of the argument I have presented, it is better interpreted as a rationale or metaphor that betrays the feeling of Haivaro people that their past is an obstacle to the kind of modernity that they fantasize about and desire.

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## NOTES

1. This article is based on data collected during 15 months' fieldwork from July 2013 to September 2014.

2. Haivaro people reported that logging in the area was started by Turama Forest Industries (TFI), which was followed, first, by New Guinea Industry Corporation (NIC) and, subsequently, by Rimbunan Hijau (RH).

3. The Annual Benefit Fund is an entitlement that was put in place when landowners signed a project agreement with the TFI logging company.

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

5. An excessive disparity in monetary income when coupled with a failure in reciprocity is, however, explained in terms of sorcery.

6. In this case, the groom's clan was in receipt of substantial royalty payments, and the groom himself was enrolled in pilot training and was judged to have a bright future. It seemed that the bride's clan tried to take advantage of the situation and that some people thought they were greedy. But to openly suggest that someone had been greedy could expose a person to sorcery attack. It is probably for this reason that people were unwilling to give a detailed explanation of the reason for the first request for such a high bride price payment.

7. Bus kanaka in Neo-Melanesian Pidgin connotes primitive, from the bush.

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