

**Black skin, white yacht: contesting race
opposition in Panapompom tourist encounters**

Will Rollason

University of Manchester

wrollason@yahoo.co.uk

White yachts

In the harvest season of south-easterly trades, between about July and August and the onset of the north-westerlies of the cyclone season in late November or December, a steady trickle of yachts arrives at the Louisiade Archipelago island of Panapompom in Milne Bay Province, Papua New Guinea (PNG)¹. These come mainly from Queensland, on a circuit that takes in the southern coast of PNG, the Louisiades as far as Sudest or Rossel and maybe the Solomons or Vanuatu. Other yachts have come from further afield, and there is a mixture of privately owned boats and yachting tours with a captain and paying holiday-makers. Known as Nivani, the name of the small islet off the south coast which is the most common anchorage for tourists, Panapompom is a popular destination, both because of its idyllic appearance, and its convenient location near the deep-water passages through the barrier reef to the south.

The arrival of a yacht reiterates what seemed to me the founding opposition of the Panapompom post-colonial experience, defined locally as the conundrum of how to become 'developed'.

White people are called '*dimdims*' in the local vernacular. The term as it is interpreted nowadays refers to an apocryphal encounter of first contact, when white people, perhaps the famous navigators Christopher Columbus or Captain Cook, first saw the local people of the Louisiade Archipelago and their proud customs. Their response, so the story goes, was to remark to one another that these people were '*dimdim*' – an expression that the old men of that former time interpreted as 'person' and used reciprocally of the newly arrived foreigners but which (and here comes the punch-line) in English

¹ Tourists also arrive at the islands on larger tour boats. I deal here with yachts and yachters because tourists on cruisers, shepherded by guides, are less accessible to locals than the relatively more isolated crews of yachts. Few Panapompom people had much to do with these tourists.

means *stupid person!*² The relationship locals have to white people is conditioned by the implicit mockery and buffoonery of this legendary encounter.

In dealings with white people, locals become 'natives'. Natives are not simply indigenes, but specifically undeveloped people in countries ruled over, or better ruled over by white people. Natives are *man bus* (bush men) or *kanakas* (bumpkins), appellations that suggest not a native self-image, but an internalisation of an imagined white gaze (Fanon 1982). Natives referred to themselves almost exclusively with the (ironic?) derogatory suffix – native bugger.

The arrival of a yacht made this relationship starkly apparent to everyone. *Dimdims* have soft, white bodies. They age amazingly slowly – even people into their fifties may show little in the way of grey hair and wrinkles. Panapompom people wondered over the feet and hands of white people, which are smooth and without the horny calluses that make the hands of Panapompom 'jungle fighters' suitable extensions of bush-knives in the hard life of island people.

The softness and longevity of white yachters is part and parcel of their boats. What makes Panapompom people short, dark, and tough is their hard lives, lives which are composed of relationships mediated through the physical labour of making a livelihood from gardens and the sea, and whose greatest achievements, dramatic funeral feasts, are made possible by sailing in open canoes as far as Sudest in south-east. On these canoe trips, it is obvious, as sailors insisted to me, how much Panapompom life depends on Man-Power, on the physical mastery of the boat and the wind, with little in the way of machinery to take the strain. By comparison, yachts are mechanised

² Debbora Battaglia (1990: 19 and pers.comm.) notes that dimdim had a mythic resonance for Sabarl people from the south-east of Panapompom. Dimdim referred to the source of these people, over the Dimdim reefs, a mythic location to the far west, and so could refer to any foreigner coming from the far 'bottom' end of the Archipelago. In 2004-6 this connection was not made by Panapanaeati speakers, who agreed with expatriates in retelling the story I offer here, with more or less irony.

marvels: automatically setting sails, auto-pilot, engines, enclosed cabins... It is no wonder that *dimdim* bodies are so soft when all they do is operate machines, which take the strain out of the work (Rollason n.d.-b).

The softness of the white body, protected by a mechanical *alter ego*, is equally of a piece with the richness of *dimdim* clothing and possessions (c.f. Bashkow 2006). Panapompom people emphasised to me how quickly their own clothes become mere rags or work-clothes (*sibauka*), and it was clear to everyone that most yachts contained enough crockery and cutlery, not to mention food and clothes, to keep most hamlets going for a good while. Somehow, the mechanical working environment of white people creates more wealth, and far faster, than it is possible for natives to accrue, no matter how hard they work with their bodies.

This contrast between white and native life does not, of course, entail the self-denigration of native buggers. As Sahlins has noted, it is easy to imagine, and to illustrate historically, that it is possible for indigenous people to deal with colonisation and commodity economies while retaining their incommensurability (Englund and Leach 2000, Sahlins 2005). Through the strategic appropriation of the other's things, the indigenous self can inflate indigenous ways of life to grand proportions *provided* that the values of the indigene and the commodity are as incommensurable as gift is to commodity (Gregory 1982). The puzzling question is when and how that incommensurability breaks down, and indigenes find themselves working the same standard of value as the white other – a comparison that inevitably does them down. It is at this point, after people pass through the 'humiliation' (Sahlins 2005: 38) of comparison, that people can become native buggers and speak with a contemptuous, white voice about natives – who have somehow become the regrettable object of a self-account (Rollason n.d.-a).

The way that this seems to happen to Panapompom people is part and parcel of imagining how *dimdims* come by their enormous wealth, and how PNG people can replicate the trick. For Panapompom people, this seems to be a question of recreating particular ways of motivating, knowing and mediating relationships – ways of dealing with people that seem to safeguard and produce money. The key distinction for Panapompom people is that,

whereas Panapompom social life is mediated by loving memories that locate and articulate particular people as kin to others in respect of the love and care that they have offered in the past, *dimdims* are thought of as people whose ways are strictly depersonalised and lacking in the compassion that marks transactions in the context of kinship. Thus *dimdims* are people who pursue Business and the Law, which are ways of conceiving of relationships that explicitly and systematically exclude compassion and memory as motives for action.

Note here that the only way to enter into these sorts of relationships for Panapompom people is mimetically. The Law and the strictures of Business are sorts of sociality that have no motivation as far as Panapompom kinship is concerned, because they lack an attachment to love and memory. They are forces that demand attention, but which seem to offer nothing in return, at least not in kinship terms, where what would be offered would be a relationship. They can only be reproduced through imitation and faithful following, *abulil-ek*, an action that offers to produce these forms of sociality as the visible face of actual social life.

In fact, altering the visible forms of social life so that they are in line with the ways in which white people are imagined to pursue social relations is a common definition of development for Panapompom people. On one memorable occasion, the magistrate of Panapompom, haranguing a meeting of local people, declared that in order to be developed, 'we must act like organised people'. Not that we must organise, but that we must act as though we were. Only by acting in particular ways can Panapompom people enter into the Law or practice Business and reproduce these forms of relationship in ways acceptable to *dimdims*, and unlock the wealth and power that these forms confer on white others.

In this way the development of the community becomes an effort in (situationally) rejecting kinship and custom in favour of Law and Business, for example when it becomes mandatory to wear a shirt and tie for church, or when community groups have meetings and charge money for clearing people's gardens, as opposed to offering help and accepting tokens of goodwill in return, or when people hire a chainsaw at K250 a day to cut planks

for a canoe, rather than enlisting their kin and in-laws to help them. In these ways, Panapompom people enter into a mimetic tracing out of *dimdim* lives, trying to reject the ways in which their social lives have worked for them in an imagined past, in favour of other ways of mediating and making visible relationships as a copy of an imagined other. This is a project that makes a claim to parity with white people, of counterpart status, at the same time as it imposes relative failure and poverty on Papua New Guineans. People know themselves as similar people on the same path to riches and development, rather than the creatures of custom that their forefathers might have been, complete aliens with different ways of approaching people and dealing with the world. But it is a path on which they know themselves to be hopelessly far behind. Their poverty, discovered by imitating the forms of life that are supposed to alleviate it, creates the white position as one from which to talk down to native buggers.

Blackening the skin

While yachters represent a white other who is the long-term target of work on the native self, they are also a source of sails, ropes and lead ballast, valuable for Panapompom people in making canoes, as well as diving for edible sea-cucumber for sale as *bêch-de-mer*. In order to get hold of these things, however, black people have to further humiliate themselves by appearing as culturally exotic people, or else as grindingly poor and subservient. It is a question of constructing a relationship in which native people feel empowered to ask, and white people disposed to give.

What do yachters want from the experience of visiting Panapompom? Most of the tourists that I had dealings with were interested in snorkelling or scuba diving over the pristine coral reefs that abound in this area, as well as the wreckage of Second World War planes and ships that is also to be found. They were also struck by the appearance of Panapompom, which they described as a tropical paradise. Finally they were taken by what they saw as the openness, friendliness and simplicity of the island folk, and expressed an interest in 'their culture' in the sense that local people's visibly different way of life suggested a quaint and exotic existence, and that they produced attractive

artefacts that could be bought or exchanged. The way yachters spoke about the experience of being on the islands closely mirrored the way in which the Milne Bay Tourism Bureau, an organ of the provincial government, portrays the islands: “Discover in Milne Bay the charm and beauty of a peace loving people blessed in abundance with natural environment of pristine waters and varied landforms, unique flora and fauna, vibrant cultures and living traditions” (Milne Bay Tourism Bureau 2006)³.

A major part of the encounter with local people and their ‘vibrant culture’ is exchange. When a yacht arrives and anchors near the shore, it will almost immediately be approached by locals. The reaction that this first party gets will soon circulate amongst the nearest hamlets, who will soon know whether these are tourists with good ways, who will let people on their yacht, or whether they are unfriendly and possibly dangerous. Yachters who are judged to have good ways will soon be visited by people who want to give them gifts, normally of fruits and fish⁴. The tourists are very aware that local people want something in these exchanges, indeed, all the yachts, and especially those run as tours for paying guests, ran with sizeable stores of ‘cargo’ to exchange with locals for these gifts, small artefacts, and acceptance, of a sort. Cargo in this context means cheap sunglasses, balloons, lollypops, T-shirts and similar ‘souvenir’ items, as well as more practical things like fish-hooks and lines.

Yachters were pleased, as a rule, to receive gifts, a token that they took as demonstrating their success at entering into relationships with local people, and equally pleased to give. They saw local people as the winners in these situations, especially the children, who received toys that are entirely absent from Panapompom childhoods, and many clearly felt that they had done local people a good turn with this show of largesse. Indeed, one yacht

³ <http://www.milnebaytourism.gov.pg/>

⁴ That is, not food, *aanan*, as local people understand it – that is, yams and other starchy food. White people are thought to subsist mainly on rice, and to dislike the heaviness of local food.

captain who led a regular tour that took in Panapompom asserted to me (completely spuriously) that yachts were probably the only source of cargo in the outer islands⁵.

However, in order to extract a sail or ropes, Panapompom people have to do something a little bit more than merely show up with some coconuts. People who were successful in getting hold of these things were first and foremost people who could either speak English themselves, or who had relatives who were willing to act as spokespeople in their interests. Acting as guides or interpreters, these people engaged yachters in their lives more deeply than people exchanging bananas for bandanas. Families striking up good relations with yachters offered to help them find good fishing areas, entertained them in their houses and fed them local food (real, starchy food, not fruits), and displayed 'culture', usually in the form of rides on locally built canoes. In attending to what white people wanted, they drew them into a kinship-like relationship in which the visitors would 'remember' their hosts, and feel obliged to donate what it was that they wanted.

In drawing white people into kinship, however, Panapompom people knew that they were undoing the work of the community in reproducing the orderly appearance of Law and Business. The work to appear as counterparts to white people – as nationally differentiated others on an equal (or at least comparable) footing, was being systematically undermined by their pandering to tourist demands for exotically attractive 'people of culture'. The independence of PNG subjects is systematically recast as the 'yes sah' boy of the *masta* era, even in their English use, by entering into relationships on terms that not only belong completely to the white other, but which, to all intents and purposes, serve to reject the native self-project of development in favour of re-culturing the post-colonial as the indigene.

⁵ In fact, Panapompom is served by at least one trade store at any one time, and Panaeati by many more, better stocked ones. Work-boats supply these stores fairly regularly, as well as taking passengers to and from Alotau, the provincial capital. Bwagaoia, the regional urban centre, is a long day's sailing to the north-east on the island of Misima.

Panapompom leaders responded to this dilemma by urging people not to visit yachts. This was not, they said, what a Lawful community looked like, or the way in which *dimdims* behaved: they did not want people to come asking them for things. What ought to be done was to impose a charge on visiting *dimdims*. They should be charged in money for anchoring in Panapompom waters, charged for looking at things in the sea, charged for coming ashore, for displays of culture, and for food. Nevertheless, however much hamlet leaders and officials harangued their followers, there were always people willing to go out to yachts. It was clear to no-one how the community could present itself to yacht crews as people who should be paid, nor where the money should go. All that the bombast of the elders and their legal posturing achieved was to expose what was already obvious from the interactions people already had with yachts: that Panapompom people's attempts to act all developed were only skin-deep. In the end, they had failed to establish a community based on Law, and people would still prefer to beg for riches today, even if it meant acting all indigenous, than to maintain the façade of counterpart status in the hope of recognition and a flood of wealth tomorrow. It was a humiliation which, articulated in parallel to hopes of gifts from yachters, marked out the post-colonial subject, divided against itself (Bhabha 2004, Fanon 1982).

Smart nigger style

In this context, allow me to turn to a negotiation of this post-colonial impasse of the self, presented by one young informant, Maipu. Maipu is a lad originally from Ebola, but who had taken up residence with Otto, a well-respected man and excellent informant, in the village of Pana-Ewau. Particularly, I want to attend to Maipu's personal style, a style which in many respects defined and mediated the sorts of relationship that he wanted to have with white people such as myself.

On the following page are photographs of Maipu that I took to investigate his style.



Maipu was twenty at the time of my research. A grade 10 drop-out, he had completed neither his high school education, nor the vocational qualifications in carpentry and mechanics that he had begun in the Bwagaoia vocational school. This was because his uncles, who had been paying, had either been unable, or unwilling, to put up the cash for his fees, which would have enabled him to complete his courses. Nevertheless, he was well educated and literate in English beyond the abilities of most of his contemporaries, especially on Panapompom, where people generally find that the remoteness and high costs of education put high school beyond their reach.

He was proud of his English and the ability that this gave him to strike up relationships with *dimdims*. He stressed to me that he liked going to yachts, which also frequently visit the good harbour at Ebola, and also call into Bwagaoia to complete customs formalities. Maipu said that he had an encyclopaedia, which had somehow accompanied him home from the school library at the end of his education, and remarked that he read it all the time, and could always make sense of the words in it, even the most 'expensive' ones, so he had no difficulties in communicating with yachters.

However, his attitude to education was ambivalent, and he was equally pleased with his credentials as a 'raskol', a youth criminal, archetypically a high school drop-out male, who uses his knowledge to commit petty, and not-so petty, crimes. He boasted of his ability to steal with cunning, to seduce girls in outrageous ways, and his contacts amongst what he saw as the criminal fraternity of Bwagaoia. Raskols, although vilified in the PNG media as the root of PNG's 'crime problem' (Sykes 1999, Sykes Forthcoming 2007), are also celebrated as heroes by youth across the country (Jourdan 1995, Kulick 1993, Leavitt 1998).

Finally, he was always keen to stress his identity as a PNG person in a particular way, a way that had to do with secret knowledge and ability with magic. He told me that the reason why he had shown such easy capacity at school was because his mother had given him something, *bugul etegana* (lit. one thing), or in Tok Pisin, *samting*, which gave him amazing powers of mimicry. He said that if he saw me do something once, he would immediately

have the skill. This thing was explicitly, but guardedly, a magical substance or treatment, hidden somewhere in his things, or in his past.

In his amazing abilities conferred by magic, Maipu found a PNG identity that linked him to other PNG people, who also made their way through the world by using supernormal powers. He idolised Stanley “Headhunter” Nandex, a successful PNG kick-boxer on the Australian circuit. Nandex seemed to appeal to Maipu, because his success against opponents who, in stories about him told on Panapompom, were exclusively white, could be attributed to his PNG capacity with amazing magical substances. *The Age* reported a fight in Melbourne between Nandex and an unfortunate opponent in terms not so wildly different from the stories that were purveyed about the man on Panapompom:

Nandex's stocky body, as hard as a rock, contrasted with Nixon's [his opponent's] pale, somewhat flabby form. The greatest difference, though, was in the eyes. Nandex fixed his stare into the eyes of Nixon, who spent most of the bout looking startled. Like the spectators, he seemed worried at the thought of what Nandex was about to do to him.

Not long afterwards, Nandex ended the fight in brutal though unpredictable manner. In seeking to overcome his lack of height, he launched into the air and performed an aerial roll.

His right ankle connected above his opponent's right ear.

Nixon, now truly startled, bounced against the ropes before staggering in a wobbly circle and dropping to the canvas. Nandex ... returned to the makeshift dressing-room, proud to be known as the Headhunter (*The Age*, February 28, 2004).

Maipu and other Panapompom people would certainly have put the unfortunate Nixon's surprise down to Nandex's inexplicable magical capacities – inexplicable, that is, from the perspective of *dimdims*, who are known not to use magic. Maipu certainly claimed that Nandex had a magic that he held in his mouth, making his breath as powerful as his fists, stunning opponents so that he could easily defeat them. Tellingly, he too claimed to have such a magic for use in football matches, where he was a very capable goalie. He held the spongy pulp of a certain seed under his tongue, which allowed him to ‘blow’ balls away from the net with his magically empowered breath.

These observations about Maipu help us to understand the images of him that I present here. I was immediately struck by the way in which the

poses that he struck were different from the formal poses that soberly dressed and elder people would strike – doing, as they put it, respect, *awatauwan*. They also differed from the stock poses of ‘style’ that younger men would adopt. Instead, Maipu was making gestures that alluded clearly to a style that seemed to have its roots in the sorts of rap imagery that American influenced singers such as the PNG rapper DadiiGii, another of Maipu’s idols, presented.

When I questioned this iconography, however, Maipu did not connect it immediately to America, rather he made a move on a particular experience that he had had with a yachter, David. David’s yacht had anchored, along with another, at Ebola, and Maipu and some other lads had gone aboard. Taking advantage of his facility with English, Maipu had struck up a good relationship with David, who was unusually open and easy-going with the lads for a tourist⁶. Maipu had encouraged David and his temporary travelling companions on the other yacht, to come to Panapompom to attend a party to be held in honour of our temporary departure from the island to England. The yachters, in his account, were unsure of how to make their way through the reefs separating Ebola from Panapompom, but he, Maipu, had piloted the yachts through, becoming, in his own reckoning, the first person to take a yacht through those passages. In this way he introduced them to the hamlet where he lived – not the usual anchorage for yachts – and to the party that was then in preparation.

Although most of the people I knew would have been pleased to strike up such a close relationship to a yachter, Maipu’s admiration for David was founded particularly on his fascination with the music and video that David played for the lads on his yacht. David was a huge AC/DC fan, and amused the local people who came aboard by playing the music, and more importantly, videos, both music videos, and footage of the band in concert. Maipu came away excited by the imagery that the band presented, and some of the symbolism that they employed. He was especially interested in what he saw

⁶ I found that tourists were most comfortable with elder men and women, and especially in interactions with children. Young men seemed to be threatening to them.

as satanic symbols – horn signs – and modes of dress and comportment that suggested satanic power.

Thus when he posed for pictures, Maipu reeled off a long series of hand gestures in which horn signs figured very significantly. While I had assumed that these symbols stemmed from a black American genre, he insisted that these were the satanic symbols of AC/DC which, in common with some conservative critics in the west, he interpreted as a satanic acronym, Anti-Christ Devil Child. AC/DC were all, he insisted to me, Devil Worshipers.

Satanism was a developing source of unease to the overwhelmingly Christian population of Panapompom in 2005-6. During this time, more and more stories came to light that suggested that young, high school educated men from Misima prayed to Lucifer to get beer, to seduce girls, and to commit crimes – in short, to become *raskols*. Devil Worship was a problem, obviously, because it opposed and inverted the values of the Christian community. What made it particularly disturbing was the promise that it held out to young people, back from school and frustrated that the opportunities that had promised at the beginning of their schooling did not materialise at the end. The promise of Devil Worship was that, *like using magic*, praying to the Devil produced *instant results*, unlike praying to God, which was a matter of faith and patience. In contrast to the orderly imitation of Law and order, Devil Worship seemed to be an express ticket to riches, even if it entailed secret and nefarious practices. Worshipers were beyond the pale of local civilised society, visually threatening and, by their non-compliance with Christian and community norms, seen as disruptive.

What is important and striking about Maipu's mimetic attachment to AC/DC through his encounter with David is that he had culled this imagery from a *dimdim*. Now, it was clear to everyone that worshipping Lucifer must be illegal and subject to heavy penalties. Moreover, there was no place for it in the realm of Law and Business – that is in *dimdim* sociality. Nevertheless, Worshipers clearly existed amongst white people, as the example of AC/DC confirmed – although their activities were surely secret; The Eagles' 'Hotel California' was supposed to describe a secret meeting of Satanists in the

hotel of that name and, to add a second layer of concealment, *if played backwards*, Satan himself could be heard speaking.

What seemed to be happening when Maipu and other lads imitated AC/DC was a curious detachment from *both* white people and natives, and a relocation as a sort of person differentiated and strategically located across that separation. Devil worshippers of all colours had something of PNG about them, because the powers conferred on them by prayer were of a piece with those of magicians. These powers meant that they did not have to abide by the steady mimesis of Law to produce money, but could shortcut to the cash by using their abilities to effortlessly and criminally get rich (and drunk, and laid) as *raskols*. Indeed, like white people who make money from capitalist economies in ways that no Panapompom person could understand, Worshipers, magicians and *raskols* make *their* money by magical means that are attached to a culturally differentiated other, indigenous PNG people.

What this visual identity begins to look like is a reinstatement of the cultural boundaries of indigeneity, but in a different place to their pre-native, pre-humiliation state. The difference is not between indigenous and white any more, but between people of the Law, the slow ways of making money, and people of startling abilities and magical feats of larceny. This is the position of the 'smart' person – someone whose abilities are so surprising, unpredictable and dramatic that they inspire the awed attention and wonderment of onlookers (Bateson 1958, Harrison 1993, Read 1959), people like Nandex and Bruce Lee. It is a position to be looked up to. And it is also a cross-racial position, a place of the sort occupied by African Americans, locally known as Niggers, such as feature in Chuck Norris films: black people who enjoy the mechanised comforts of *dimdim* countries and grow to enormous sizes. Maipu, in his enactment of AC/DC's devilish gestures restyles himself as a Smart Nigger, a person who is culturally distinguished from both white and native people, occupying an indigenous spot that crosses over the racial divide, making him a indigene of the same sort of sociality as David, with his fine yacht which, in Maipu's pictures, looks uncannily within his grasp.

Conflict

Encounters with tourism are, for most Panapompom people, humiliating exposures of their failure to achieve the developed aesthetics of their white others. This is because of their mimetic adoption of counterpart status – a position that both imposes poverty and holds out the possibility of parity by measuring everyone according to the same standard. This is a fundamental opposition at the heart of Panapompom subjectivity as humiliated, native subjectivity.

Maipu's move on the imagery of AC/DC offers to re-establish the indigeneity that local people have lost in the process of becoming native subjects of white values. However, he strikes this authentic pose in distinction to the Lawful operations of economy and community as it becomes a system of values articulating native and *dimdim* across the race divide. Distinguishing himself from subjectivities based on these ways of making and mediating relationships, he chooses to make himself visible as a sort of person who is distinguished by his authentic opposition to the values of development. This is a distinction that also crosses the colour barrier: it is an identity seen in terms of the diabolical abilities and unLawful stances of the people it makes visible, as seen in Maipu's photos.

This new identity opens up a new conflictual politics, one which makes 'the *raskol* problem' of PNG real for Panapompom people, not as a question of how to regulate their own society, but one of how to relate to white people and the economy. Should PNG people conform and comply, patiently acting out the forms of Law and Business, or should they take what they can and get out fast? This is the question – and the contest – that Maipu opens up by striking poses that are sourced to the encounter with wealth that tourism represents.

References Cited

- Bashkow, I. 2006. *The meaning of whitemen: race and modernity in the Orokaiva cultural world*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Bateson, G. 1958. *Naven, a Survey of the Problems Suggested by a Composite Picture of the Culture of a New Guinea Tribe Drawn from Three Points of View*, 2d edition. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press.
- Battaglia, D. 1990. *On the Bones of the Serpent: Person, Memory, and Mortality in Sabarl Island Society*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Bhabha, H. K. 2004. *The Location of Culture*. *Routledge Classics*. London; New York: Routledge.
- Englund, H., and J. Leach. 2000. Ethnography and the meta-narratives of modernity. *Current Anthropology* 41:225-248.
- Fanon, F. 1982. *Black Skin, White Masks*, 1st Evergreen edition. New York: Grove Press.
- Gregory, C. A. 1982. *Gifts and Commodities*. London; New York: Academic Press.
- Harrison, S. 1993. *The Mask of War: Violence, Ritual, and the Self in Melanesia*. Manchester, New York: Manchester University Press.
- Jourdan, C. 1995. "Masta Liu," in *Youth Cultures*. Edited by V. Amit-Talai and H. Wulf. London: Routledge.
- Kulick, D. 1993. Heroes from hell: representations of 'rascals' in a Papua New Guinea village. *Anthropology Today* 9:9-14.
- Leavitt, S. C. 1998. "The bikhet mystique: masculine identity and patterns of rebellion among Bumbita adolescent males," in *Studies of Adolescence in the Pacific*.
- Read, K. E. 1959. Leadership and consensus in a New Guinea society. *American anthropologist* 61:425-436.
- Rollason, W. H. n.d.-a. Counterparts: clothing, value and the sites of otherness in Panapompom ethnographic encounters.
- n.d.-b. "Cyborgs, bodies and humans: futuristic encounters and postcolonial humiliations in the third person."
- Sahlins, M. D. 2005. "The economics of develop-man in the Pacific," in *The making of global and local modernities in Melanesia: humiliation, transformation and the nature of cultural change*. Edited by J. Robbins and H. Wardlow, pp. 23-42. Aldershot, Burlington VT: Ashgate.
- Sykes, K. 1999. After the raskol feast: youths' alienation in New Ireland, Papua New Guinea. *Critique of Anthropology* 19:157-174.

- . Forthcoming 2007. *Making the Generation Gap: Postcolonial Education and Political Consciousness in Papua New Guinea*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.