

## Finding Faith in the City

### *Inculturation and the Urban Experience of Engan Catholics*

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Papua New Guinea, situated between the islands of South East Asia and the Pacific, is home to 5.1 million people. By world standards the “urban” population is relatively small (13%).<sup>1</sup> However, the cultural changes associated with urbanization and the urban centres affect many more people than those living in “town.”<sup>2</sup>

Franco Zocca, my colleague at the Melanesian Institute, in his paper for this symposium, provides a comprehensive analysis of the patterns of urbanization in Papua New Guinea, so I will not dwell on the sociological dimensions of the subject. Rather, I will address the issue of the implications of urbanization from a faith perspective. In the village setting people often live in a situation where the “mission”

or church community has become a significant part of contemporary culture. When they come to the city, people are immersed in a very different cultural environment. What happens to the faith they bring with them from the village, and what happens when they return to rural areas after their urban experience? More specifically, I wish to study the links between faith and culture in both the rural and urban setting. Does the degree of inculturation in the village make a difference to one's adaptation to the urban environment? Is the urban experience always an encounter with secular culture? Finally, I will offer points for practical steps as a pastoral response to the present situation.

In order to keep this study within manageable parameters I will focus on Catholic church members from one cultural group—the Enga-speaking people—whose “home” is in the rural Papua New Guinea Highlands, hundreds of kilometres from larger urban centers such as Port Moresby, Lae, or Madang. Many Enga people have visited urban areas and returned home to the mountains. Others have migrated to town areas and remain there, paying brief visits “home” during holiday periods or to fulfil social and cultural obligations. I hope that a study of the Enga experience will in turn provide valuable insights for the wider population.

The two principal methods for gathering data have been recorded interviews with people, based on a list of guiding questions (see appendix A), and participant observation from my five years living in the capital city, Port Moresby.<sup>3</sup> Interviewees ranged from illiterate street vendors to professionals including a commercial pilot and an ex-government minister. I will present my findings in a way that allows people to speak of their own experience.

## SITUATING THE ENGA

The Enga Province, home to some 289,299 people, is located in the mountains of the Central Highlands of Papua New Guinea. Most settlements lie between 1500 and 2500 meters above sea level. The majority of the population are Enga speakers, though other languages are spoken in some areas, notably Ipili in the far West of the Province.<sup>4</sup>

First contact with Europeans occurred in 1934 when the Leahy brothers ventured briefly into Central Enga, followed by Taylor and Black during their Hagen-Sepik patrol of 1938-1939. Christian evangelisation began in 1947, with missionaries from the Lutheran, Catholic, Apostolic, and Seventh Day Adventist Churches. Today most Engas are baptised christians.

Traditionally Enga people lived by hunting and subsistence gardening. Pigs were raised for food, and more importantly for ceremonial exchange. Today, most people depend on their gardens for food, supplemented by cash from the cultivation of coffee and other marketable agricultural products, employment in public service jobs, and in particular economic developments associated with the Porgera gold mine. Enga people have a reputation throughout Papua New Guinea as being energetic, volatile, and politically shrewd.

## INCULTURATING ENGA FAITH

The Catholic Diocese of Wabag was formed in 1982, under the leadership of Bishop Hermann Raich, SVD. Recently, in the year 2000 an Engan priest, Arnold Orowae was ordained as auxiliary bishop of the diocese. There are sixteen Catholic parishes serving some 60,000 people. In 1983, assisted by the SAIDI institute in the Philippines, the Diocese of Wabag developed a pastoral plan based on a vision of the church as a community sharing the life that comes from Christ. Over the past 19 years the pastoral plan has developed, and become more "home grown" as clergy and laity reflect on what faith and church membership mean in their situation today.

Inculturation involves a life-giving encounter between the Gospel and a particular culture. Not only does the Christian faith become a part of a people's value system, attitudes and actions. But these elements of culture will also influence the interpretation of the Gospel. Thus inculturation brings both continuity and discontinuity with traditional culture.

Most Enga tribes have origin myths that tell how their first ancestors came to settle on the land they claim today. However, along

with those myths people say today that they have a right to the land they occupy today because it is God-given. If someone dies in a distant place, the body will normally be brought back, often at great expense, to be buried in clan land. Why? "Because it is from this land that God gave us that we will rise on the last day!"

Andrew, a thoughtful man gave me the illustration of a woman preparing a new net bag (*bilum*) in which she will place her newborn baby. The net-bag, carried everywhere by the mother acts as an external "womb" for the child in its first year of life. He saw the traditional customs of his ancestors as being like a net bag preparing for the birth of Christ into the Enga culture. Traditional culture was a preparation for the life of Christ, and afterwards served as a "container" for that life to grow and develop.

Lena, an elderly Engan woman, shared her understanding of how "when Jesus died and rose he entered into the life and culture of people all over the world. If Jesus had not died and risen I would think that He was a man of Israel, and I would think of him as a foreigner with white skin. But I have listened to the teaching of the Church and been baptised. If Jesus died just for white people, then he wouldn't have come here. But he died and rose again to save me from my sins ....If Jesus died for me then he must have entered into the life of people here. So, if I am an Engan woman, then to demonstrate my faith in Jesus as the 'Good Lord of Enga' I should wear my traditional finery (*bilas*). When I go to church wearing my traditional finery I think of Jesus, not as someone from a distant place, but as an Enga man. Now I believe in Jesus as the *Enga kamongo epe* (good Lord of Enga)."<sup>5</sup>

Another woman, Agnes, as a young woman, suffered the pain and indignity of being subjected to the customary punishment of having her nose cut off by her jealous husband. She has had to live with the disfigurement for most of her life, and now as an elderly Christian woman she sees her deformity in a new light as she waits to die and to be "married" to Jesus. "I don't have a nose, but Jesus Christ won't be concerned about my physical body. He sees what is inside a person. I don't have a nose but I can still marry Jesus. I am an old

lady, but my spirit is not old. Spiritually I am still young and I am waiting for when I can [die and] marry Jesus.”<sup>6</sup>

My purpose in giving the examples above is to show how Enga Catholics experience their Christian faith in an inculturated way. Readers may refer to other accounts I have given of very public demonstrations of faith seen in carrying of large crosses and other sacred symbols throughout the province in recent years.<sup>7</sup>

Many Engan Christians also experience discontinuity with their Engan traditions. Some speak of it in terms of leaving the clan of their ancestors to join a new “clan” with new customs and traditions. For example, polygamy is an accepted practice in traditional Enga society. Today Christians are expected to remain monogamous. Nevertheless men will link Church discipline with Enga tradition. For example, when he was baptised, Andrew made arrangements for his other wives so as to remain with one, backing up his decision with the Engan saying “Sangalanya setapae pato daa,” (When you go [die] you don’t go hugging anyone).

Whether it comes from church membership, or simply historical factors, people living in the Enga Province experience both continuity and change in cultural terms. With roads, airstrips, modern education and health services, and above all, with the multi-million dollar mining venture at Porgera, people are living in a different world from that of their ancestors. Nevertheless, there is still a strong dimension of “Enga-ness” that survives: heard in the language, seen in the rural villages, and felt in the powerful public demonstrations of faith in prayer and worship. Sunday services in the Wabag diocese typically include spontaneous prayer and joyful singing, much of it in the Enga language.

## MOVING TO TOWN

The principal town in the Enga Province is Wabag, with a population of only 4972 people. I imagine that more than half the Enga population, or at least 150,000 people have at some time made the bus trip to the neighbouring province to visit Mount Hagen (pop.

27,782). Many Engans will have visited Lae (pop. 78,038) or Madang (pop. 27,394). These two coastal towns are 10 and 12 hours respectively by road from Wabag. The capital, Port Moresby (pop. 253,699), is accessible normally only by air, thus greatly reducing the number of Highlanders who visit. Because of the cost of air travel (Return ticket K616.00 = US\$170.00) people normally go there, not just to visit, but to stay for longer periods. I estimate that the number of people born in Enga but now living in Port Moresby would be in excess of 10,000.

Why do people go to town? Villagers often use terms like *panda andake* (big place) or *yuu andake* (big land), or *nai andaka katao* (where there are modern houses) referring to Port Moresby. People are fascinated by stories of city life and admire the appearance of those returning to visit the village.<sup>8</sup> Young people in particular yearn for the chance to experience town life. Some go to continue their education. Others go looking for paid employment.

However, for Engans there are other factors, for example, to escape from an embarrassing situation at home, or more importantly, to escape from tribal fighting which irrupts frequently in the Enga Province.<sup>9</sup>

Consider the case of Matthew: After completing grade six he became involved in a tribal war for two years, but then got tired of fighting and so ran away to stay with his sister who is married to a business man and lives in Port Moresby. "There in Port Moresby my sister's husband insisted that I change from being a Catholic and join his Pentecostal church. At first I refused, but my brother-in-law said that he wanted honest people to help him in his business and that honest people must be Christians who are god-fearing. I told them that I was a good Christian in the Catholic church but they thought that Catholics are not good Christians because we drink, smoke and chew betel nut and get involved in gambling after Sunday services. I had to admit that what he said was true, so feeling guilty I joined them in their church. After that I was given the use of a car and was paid K120.00 a fortnight for the work. I was happy because I had accommodation and money. I wasn't so happy with the Pentecostal

church services because there were no sacraments and they seemed more like Catholic night fellowships. In 1999, I came back to Enga and saw that Christians in the Catholic church were preparing to celebrate the Jubilee Year 2000. So I joined them and did penance. I am now back in my community with the Legion of Mary group. I have promised myself that I will not go to town again because I know I will be tempted again to join another church. The temptation in the town is money, food, housing and clothing, for which I depended heavily on my sister and her husband to survive. To get those things I had to follow their orders and join their church. However, back in the village, I don't need all those things and I feel free."

## THE EXPERIENCE IN MADANG

Madang is a town on the North coast. Engas come there for business, for medical training and also to attend Divine Word University. In Madang my research Assistant Joseph Lakane conducted a series of interviews with Enga Catholics living there.<sup>10</sup> Of the 65 people interviewed, 15 are still practicing Catholics. The others are lapsed Catholics or have joined other Churches, notable the Four Square church and the Gospel Lighthouse.

Practicing Catholics in Madang gave very different reasons for why they continue to be active church members. Yakapus works as a street vendor selling *buai* and loose cigarettes. He feels he can't join another church because of their prohibitions on smoking and chewing *buai*. He also feels the support of the church as being like a family away from home. Another man, Jack, expressed similar sentiments. He does not want to be constrained with regulations on smoking and chewing. Alepo, a businessman attributed his success in business to his strong faith in God. Billy remains a Catholic because he feels that if he changes, his family at home would be upset with him. Peter remains too because he fears God would punish him if he joined another church.

Of those who have left the Catholic church, many said that it was because they were looking for life that they did not find in the Catholic worship. Another theme that comes through strongly in

the interviews is the desire to be free of traditional expectations. Godfre said he joined the Assemblies of God church so that he could be independent from tribal leaders who would try to force him to take part in tribal fights. Andrew left the Catholic Church and joined the Gospel Lighthouse church because he wants to be autonomous (*wanpis*) and not be bothered by demands to contribute money for compensation payments at home. Jeffrey who has joined the Ambassadors of Christ says that as a Catholic he would just sit and be a passive listener. In his new church he enjoys the participation and the sharing. Eric joined the Gospel Lighthouse church in order to get employment in a shop owned by the church. Terry says that his change to the Evangelical Brotherhood church is only temporary. While in Madang he enjoys the fellowship in his new church and the benefit of support in his family life, but if he goes back to his community in Enga where the EBC does not exist, then he feels that unless he returns to the Catholic church he would most probably be ostracised and end up "relating just to the animals!"

## THE EXPERIENCE IN PORT MORESBY

In 1984, Sr. John Paul Chao studied life in the 9-mile settlement on the outskirts of Port Moresby (CHAO 1985). She found that the main problems people faced were 1) Material concerns, like food, shortage of money, unemployment and inadequate housing. 2) Family conflicts, such as one partner coming home drunk on pay-day having spent a good deal or all of his pay and the wife furious because she will not have sufficient money for food or other necessities for the household, or conversely, the husband coming home to find that the wife has lost all the food money by playing cards. 3) Problems with health and safety. There is physical violence, often associated with drinking or drugs (mostly marijuana) and also the possibility of being assaulted or raped by "rascals" (criminals—often members of armed gangs).

My pastoral experience in the 9-mile settlement in recent years and in the nearby Morata settlement leads me to conclude that people's situation today has changed little from the difficult conditions



observed by Sr. Chao sixteen years ago. I will summarise the present day faith experience of people today in eight points.

### *1. Money is Life*

The city is fascinating for the newcomer. There is TV, dance halls, and beer clubs with poker machines. However, after the initial fascination, the bright lights begin to fade when one begins to feel their social consequences. There is little industrial development in the cities to absorb the migrants, leading to mounting unemployment and unrest as living standards decline with the struggling national economy. Because of the high costs and security problems, Port Moresby is not a place favoured by transnational corporations (There are no Macdonalds in PNG!), and mining companies usually prefer a “fly-in-fly-out” (to Australia) arrangement for their skilled workers. A city Business Seminar was told recently that the unemployment rate in Port Moresby is estimated at 60%!<sup>11</sup> Long term unemployment is both dehumanising and spiritually stifling.

In order to earn K10 or K20 a day to buy food, many Engan women market *buai*, loose cigarettes, second-hand clothing and cool drinks. Most do this illegally since they are not in assigned market areas. So they have to contend with police or “city rangers” who appear on the scene to disrupt their trade and steal their goods.<sup>12</sup> When this happens, they go home empty handed and “go to bed worrying.” As one woman said, “After the police have kicked and broken my ‘eski’ (cooling container) and taken all my drinks and ice blocks, I am totally taken up with finding food for my family, and I have no time to think about church matters.” Nothing is free in the city. One has to think of how to get enough money each day, so it is difficult to take time off to attend mass on Sunday let alone attend church functions, meetings or courses at other times. A father of a family noted bitterly, “At home [Enga] I don’t get a power bill. Here power is money, water is money, olgeta samting i stap antap long moni” (everything depends on money). Someone else added, “Long hia moni em i aip bilong ol” (Here money is their life).

## 2. *Overcrowded housing*

City dwellers often have the experience of kin flying in from the Highlands on a one-way ticket, hoping to find a job, but in the meantime having no means of supporting themselves. Many do not find work and so tempers can run thin as the food and supplies run short for a household of up to 10 or 12 people, until finally the unemployed migrant will find a salaried *wantok* (relative) who will supply an air ticket for them to return home.

With so many living together in close proximity, there may be people from several different churches living together in one house.<sup>13</sup> In such a situation Catholics feel inhibited about praying in public such as grace before meals or the rosary, or discussing points from the Sunday homily. In some cases houses tend to be places where people come sleep, eat, and go—nothing else. At times though, as with the case of Matthew above, visitors feel obliged to worship at the church of their host.

## 3. *Family Life*

People coming unannounced and uninvited can play havoc with family life. Joseph, a leader in the Catholic community told his prospective wife, "If you think about pleasing your relatives, then better not think of marrying me, because I won't put up with it." He knows that this sentiment runs contrary to the Engan customary tradition of offering hospitality, but he explained that if he was not strong on this point then relatives could destroy both his life and his faith. "Before I had vehicles and a store and people thought I had a lot of money and so they would all come uninvited. I wanted to be generous, but I found they were crippling my life too. So my wife and I agree that we would keep others out of our family. We maintain our Christian principles but we don't bow down to our relatives."

## 4. *Lively Worship*

Generally Engan Catholics feel that there is not much "life" in city churches. As one young professional woman put it, "Here in town

there is no 'oomph', no life in the church. Mass seems dead and boring compared to back home." Respondents did not find language a barrier, since most young people understand English and there are enough church services in Melanesian Pidgin. Their problem has more to do with a feeling that there is not enough joy and life in the town worship services. Cathy, a registered nurse felt that there was something lacking, especially in the celebrations at Easter and Christmas Vero, also a nurse worked away from home in the Mekeo area and Port Moresby. She continued to worship as a Catholic but felt a sense of something missing. When she went home it was different. "Every prayer and song by the congregation was interesting and understandable. The entire congregation responds and the songs and prayers represent the whole of themselves." One Engan seminarian put it vividly, "Up there [in the Highlands] I find life [in the liturgy]. Now [in Port Moresby] I am dying."<sup>14</sup>

### *5. Contact with Parishes*

The Church in the towns is organised around large centralized parish centres with a few outlying "outstations" or "mass centres". Generally parish leaders expect parishioners to come to them, rather than visiting people where they live. The fluidity of the population in the towns makes it very difficult for one to come to know one's parishioners. Some migrants take the initiative to find a parish to attend mass on Sunday, but few would think to introduce themselves to the parish priest. If children attend a Catholic school attached to the parish, then this will provide a link to the church. Young people particularly easily get "lost" in the town and will attend Sunday mass only if accompanying people in the household they are staying with.

There are few other church-based points of contact. Basic Christian Communities meet regularly in only two parishes in Port Moresby (Hohola and 9-mile). An Engan Catholic Council ECC has been formed in the Archdiocese of Port Moresby, however the leadership of the ECC also experience difficulty keeping track of migrants into the city. There are no Engan priests working in Port Moresby, however, when Bishop Arnold Orowae celebrated mass there

in 2000, word quickly circulated and the Cathedral was filled to capacity with Engans and other Highlanders.

The problem of keeping track of migrants is not limited to the church leadership in the city. In 1999 a letter was sent to the parish priests in the 16 parishes of the Diocese of Wabag, asking them to enquire and send in the names of their parishioners who had migrated to Port Moresby. The only response came from church leaders from one parish. Some parish priests say it is too difficult to find out who the migrants are.

### *6. Joining Other Churches*

Throughout Papua New Guinea there is often intense competition between the many Christian denominations. Sometimes fights will break out at the market place if preachers go too far and “deskraibim” (put down) the Catholic church. As noted above, some people leave the Catholic church because they are looking for life that they do not find in the Catholic worship, or to be free from community demands. This practice is not limited to the town. Back in the Diocese of Wabag there are many Catholics who leave to join other churches. (See Appendix B). In just one parish alone, 236 people left the Catholic church to join the Seventh Day Adventists, and 464 people left the Catholic church to join the One Way (Pentecostal) church. The movement is mostly in one direction, as few people from the SDA or One Way churches are coming into the Catholic Church. One would have to do further study of the trends in the town.<sup>15</sup> It appears that the loss to other churches is greater in Madang than in Port Moresby, but I have no evidence to indicate that the loss to other churches is any greater in the town than back home in the Highlands.

### *7. Shame*

In their home environment, Enga people have little difficulty in expressing their faith openly. However, when they come to a place like Port Moresby, often they become self-conscious about being only

one group among many. Admittedly they are a strong group, and most other cultural groups would not want to risk getting on the wrong side of the Engas, nevertheless many Engas say they feel ashamed to demonstrate their Enga culture in public—in liturgy for example—lest others *tok bilas long mipela* (talk behind our backs). When Bishop Arnold Orowae came to celebrate mass in the cathedral in Port Moresby, it was difficult to find people prepared to wear traditional Engan decorations, or to convince the organisers that it would be appropriate to have some of the songs in the Enga language.

### 8. *Changing Priorities*

Being a practicing member of a church is recognised socially in the Enga Province as a positive value. If a person would leave the Catholic Church in the Highlands, it would most probably be to join another church. However, in the city, there are so many other interests and activities to compete with church activities that very often attending church seems like a loss, since one has to give up other attractive possibilities in order to attend church. Thus church activities have a higher social value in the Highlands than in Port Moresby.

### WHAT HAPPENS TO THE FAITH PEOPLE BRING WITH THEM?

Despite the attractions and bright lights of the city, many rural people are impressed when they come to the city to find big churches with so many people. They realise that they belong to a community far bigger than the small worshipping community that they are used to at home. People coming to the city are coming from a rural environment where the “mission” or church community has become a significant part of contemporary culture. The town or city presents them with a different cultural environment. I enquired as to what happens to the faith people bring with them. One person replied: “Ol i no save karim i kam long siti. Ol i larim i stap long ples na kam. Hia God bilong ol i narapela” (They don’t bring their faith to the city. They leave it at home. God is different here.)

Certainly people leave their faith community behind, and if their faith is so identified with the faith of the community, then it might well feel that they are leaving their faith behind as well.

Yet the Enga term for "faith"—*masoo miningi* (literally: holding knowledge) appears to stress the faith of the individual rather than that of the community. Believers are *masoo minilyamino endakali dupa* (literally: those people holding or possessing knowledge). The term fits well with an understand of faith as assent to truths. Yet at home, faith has a strong communal dimension. A young man, Bruce, told me, "At home you go to church because your friends go. It is not your faith, but rather your friends. It is a cultural obligation." He then added, "[In town] when you are alone and not depending on others, your faith becomes stronger. There is a saying in Enga. *Itapi waka kainanya katenge ongo pombotaumi lakala naengena latae singi* (a tree that grows alone in an open space prevails over the strength of the wind.)"

Another young man, Max said that though he was not very faithful at home, he matured in faith while in Madang. "I see other boys from the coast and the Highlands smoking marijuana and getting up to no good and I think that I need my faith to support me. Maybe there is not much joy and life in Catholic celebrations, but at least it gives me support."

A leader in the Catholic community in Port Moresby told me that his faith has grown in Port Moresby. "In Enga there is a protected social environment that nurtures faith. There is the natural environment, the social environment—both of which encourage faith. The faith here is unprotected. Individuals have to learn how to survive, and stand on their own. Here the environment seems more hostile to faith. Sometimes the environment seems lukewarm and once in a while it seems more supportive, like, for example, when we had the visit of bishop Arnold Orowae. People thought that bishops were all Europeans, but when they saw their own son in that role of shepherd, they felt humbled. Once in a while something like that happens and those who are outside come back and those who are on the right path in their spiritual journey are encouraged. Because faith here in

the city is unprotected, then when people living in the city of Port Moresby go out to evangelise, we can see something more mature coming out of it."

## RETURNING HOME

Ties to home communities remain important to people in the towns and they maintain those ties through actions like sending home gifts through the *wantok* network, and periodically returning on visits. In this way they try to keep up economic exchange commitments that will socially validate their links with their "home" community. Some maintain ties for the sake of emotional security. Many town dwellers have the dream of returning home to start some business venture with the money they have earned. They have to maintain healthy social relations to ensure that others will recognise their rights when they return home to claim land and to live in the neighbourhood (SILLITOE 2000:169). Those earning good money in the city often have an ambivalent attitude, dreaming of returning to the village, yet well aware of the advantages of urban living (SCHWARZ 1984:250).

Village life is not easy, yet some city-dwellers idealise the life at "home." Josette, a young Engan woman with a degree in computer science from an Australian university commented, "When I visit Wabag it feels like home. I can relax and it is more peaceful. It is cheaper because there is always sweet potato available. Here in Moresby it is too dangerous to move around. We just stay in the house and watch TV." Many people recalled how at "home" housing, water and firewood is "free," and food is there for the taking in their gardens.

The community life at home is a big attraction for many. Theo is an Engan Catholic who went to study in Rabaul and while there joined the Apostolic Church because it seemed a way to overcome his strong feeling of loneliness. The Apostolic church's has strict rules against smoking, chewing betel nut, drinking, dancing, funerary feasts and compensation payments, yet he felt attracted by the trust and acceptance he experienced in the community there in Rabaul.

However, on returning to his home in Enga he found himself treated at a foreigner since as a member of the Apostolic church he was not permitted to participate in funerary feasts or compensation payments with the rest of his clansmen. He felt ignored even by his own brothers and relatives. They offered him food and chatted with him but they were not able to spend more time with him and went about their own business. This experience of feeling like a foreigner in his own place made him reconsider the wisdom of leaving the Catholic church. He didn't want to continue to live as a foreigner in his own land. So in 1995, he returned to the Catholic church and now he enjoys socialising with everybody at home and participating in all activities which he missed out on for some years. He might not have been the cause of the trouble that his clan is paying out compensation for, but he now realises and appreciates how good it feels to participate in communal activities with friends and relatives.

Philip has a similar story:

In 1987 I left home and went to study in Mount Hagen. It was my first time there and I knew nobody. I felt lonely. I tried attending church service with Baptists and Lutherans. I liked going to the Baptist church because the services were made interesting by dancing, action songs, videos, and a delicious light meal served at the end of each service. However, all of that changed when I met my cousin brother who invited me to his church. I wasn't so convinced by the teachings of his church but by the fact that he gave me money. I was a Catholic, but I said I would join him because he gave me K30 and told me that if I would join him in his church he would continue to give me money. I did not care much about what church I would serve as I needed money, so I said yes to my cousin brother and I became a Jehovah Witness. When I first entered the Jehovah Witness church service everyone there came to me to shake my hands, hugging and greeting me. They were all so friendly. I was happy because I had never experienced that kind of love and care for one another before in any other churches. During my two years with the Jehovah Witness church, I really challenged the Catholic faith and I



even fought with my parents to get them to quit the Catholic church. However, through my mother's prayer I was converted back and now I am proud to be a Catholic because now I can see the difference between what is false and what is true. My Catholic faith now consists of hard work for the community, real love for others, care for others and committing myself to help others, regardless of what class or church denomination.

The testimonies of Theo and Philip above are not isolated cases. The influence of the home community remains strong and is often sufficient to influence a returning son or daughter to return to the Catholic community. After all, it was the community spirit of the other churches that attracted them away from the Catholic church in the first place. However, the communal ideal at "home" is often more an ideal than a reality, and much depends on the health and spiritual maturity of the home community. Where there is infighting and leadership struggles, or tensions with the parish priest, the returning prodigal son or daughter might just as easily look elsewhere for their community support.

## THE EFFECTS OF INCULTURATION IN THE VILLAGE

Relations with those from the home area contribute to structuring relations in the urban contexts. A new arrival in town will seek out those already there from home, and these will form a security circle in the somewhat hostile urban environment, extending assistance when needed and support if unemployed and looking for work. Thus, people in town, particularly in the low-income settlements tend to congregate with those from the same region and who speak the same language and share cultural traditions. They will tend to interact with *wantoks* both socially and at work. The farther one is from home, the wider the spatial referent to the term *wantok*, so that in Port Moresby, Enga speakers from different parts of the Province will support one another as the situation requires.<sup>16</sup>

In Port Moresby some occupations appear to be cornered by particular cultural groups, for example, the transport system is run

mostly by Western Highlanders, whilst those from Enga and the Southern Highlands are found in the informal market, selling *buai*, secondhand clothing, and hot and cold foodstuffs. Engas also are strongly represented in the security industry.

When it comes to the inculturation of faith, I find that if there has been a effective inculturation in terms of an integration of faith and life, becoming a part of a person's value system, attitudes and actions then this will support a person when one comes to the city. As one leader put it, "For an Engan to live as a Christian in a city like Port Moresby, means to accept one's culture and to appreciate it. In doing that they can find more values by which they can express themselves in a beneficial way." Christian life touches every part of us—our minds (believing), our hearts (trusting), and our wills (doing). If faith has touched a person's mind, heart and will, then that is less likely to go astray in a new cultural setting. During the research I would ask people "Where is God?" One young married woman replied. "Jesus is with me when I am at the market. I am sitting there selling clothes or betel nut and they think I am alone, but in reality I am talking with Jesus. When I have no money and I need to sell something and someone comes and buys something from me, I feel that Jesus has given me the money."<sup>17</sup>

One sees the difference with the children who grow up in Port Moresby far from the cultural roots of their parent(s). Many go to school and have little idea or feeling for their parents' cultural background. These young people frequently shy away from custom for fear of behaving incorrectly and thus feeling ashamed. I think that one of the biggest factors in the towns is the absence of the old people, who remain back in the village. Not only do the old people pass on values and attitudes to the younger generation, but in the village it is often the old people who lead prayers and provide leadership in community faith sharing. Thus often there is a whole generation missing in the urban setting—the generation that helps provide cultural stability and religious continuity. In this sense what many people experience in the city is not so much a crisis of faith as a crisis of culture.

## SECULARISED CULTURE?

Harvey Cox in the 1960's claimed that the rise of urban civilization and the collapse of traditional religion are the two closely related hallmarks of our time (COX 1965:1). Humanity is supposed to have come of age in the city and religion would not play a significant part in that growing up process. Twenty years later Harvey Cox had to revise his prediction about the modern city and its secular style (COX 1984). Forms of populist piety and the rise of liberation theology were signs of religion surviving and even thriving in the urban setting.

The so-called "cities" of PNG are a far cry from Cox's highly mechanized technopolis and would barely qualify as "towns" by his standards, nevertheless, one may still enquire about the reality of secularism as a basic reality of urban life and how it relates to Christian faith. Has secularisation been mythologized (CONN 1986)? To some extent one's response depends on how one defines faith—by mass attendance or some other measure. Garry Trompf points out how in some ways Christianity has had a secularising effect in Melanesia, with stress on natural cause and effect. "Christianity, then, has been an agent of secularisation in Melanesia, both because it is anti-animistic and because it eases the transition from village to urban patterns of life" (TROMPF 1991:247). Missionaries are agents of secularization because they usually manage their lives in a modern scientific way.

In order to gauge the degree of secularisation in PNG, I will consider four areas: 1. The nature of historical explanation, 2. Attitudes to life and death, 3. The persistence of rural values, and 4. Popular piety.

### *1. The Nature of Historical Explanation*

In our day, few Western historians would contemplate supernaturalistic interpretations of human affairs, however this is not the case for the majority of Papua New Guineans who tend to view the progress of history in quasi-eschatological terms.<sup>18</sup> This tendency to fuse contemporary world events, biblical material and traditional

mythologies became very obvious in the lead up to the year 2000 (SCHMID 1999). Many Catholics, including those in the towns were caught up in the millennial thinking. However, they often found themselves on the receiving end of dire warnings by fundamentalist Protestant preachers warning people about the Pope as the apocalyptic beast, and the involvement of the Catholic Church in promoting a single world currency which would pave the way for the introduction of the triple six number by the Antichrist. When many of the dire predictions proved not to be borne out during the year 2000, many people realised that they had been duped. Yet, people continue to be drawn into forms of quasi-eschatological discourse that presents ever new interpretations of world events, from such minor details as pin numbers and bar codes on trade store items, to the terrorist attack on the twin-towers in New York. Recently a highly educated Catholic woman in Port Moresby confided in me her disquiet after listening to Seventh Day Adventist preaching about the Sabbath. In order to resolve her concern she now goes to the Sunday Vigil mass on Saturday evening!

The supernaturalistic interpretations of human affairs extends into the field of politics and the relations between church and state. For example, the house of parliament is commonly referred to as the "Haus tambaran" (Spirit house)—partly because of its design and partly in jest, implying that not all the activities there are guided by the "Holy Spirit." Early in the year 2000, the speaker, Bernard Narokobi, who is a practicing Catholic, had a large cross fixed on top of the parliament building. It was illuminated so as to be visible at night. In explaining his action to the parliament he said the cross was "the light of Calvary."

With your concurrence I would ask that this cross remains. It is a memory of our hope in the future as Christians....this may not be the mountain or the hill of Calvary, however, the way we tend to crucify each other in here, we may as well nickname the hill on which Parliament stands, the Calvary Hill.<sup>19</sup>

The action was controversial and arguments aired centred on the inappropriateness of putting a cross on a "profane" building like

the house of assembly. In a letter to the paper, *Observer* from Boroko felt that it was an insult to the cross because "The National Parliament is not a holy place....You can never put darkness and daylight together."<sup>20</sup> In another letter, *Citizen of Madang* went so far as to suggest that the members of parliament leave the cross as it was and remove the bottom part of the fascia of the haus with its "immoral naked carvings" "Believe it or not these images represent and manifest the activities of unseen ungodly evil spirits that have been the force behind all these wrong doings, and what can evil bring to the good and well-being of this nation."<sup>21</sup>

Speaker Narokobi defended his decision to put up the cross saying that the cross was a reminder that Papua New Guinea is a Christian country as provided for in the Constitution, and follows a Christian calendar. He then went on to address the question of the sacred and profane, saying that Parliament makes decisions that are sacred, and for the common good of the people. Perhaps not all the members of parliament understand or share the Speaker's ideal that what goes on in parliament is sacred because it is for the common good of the people. Eventually, while Mr. Narokobi was absent from the Speaker's chair, Mr. Napo successfully moved that the cross be removed, thus quelling the debate about sacred or profane dimensions of parliamentary power. Nevertheless, the issue remains of the continuation of the integral Melanesian worldview that brings together the sacred and profane, the natural and supernatural in areas apparently as disparate as pin numbers on bank cards, or the façade of the house of parliament. Religious belief and allegiance does have a political significance that runs contrary to secularisation.

## *2. Attitudes to Life and Death*

Secularisation has not come just with modern technology and urban living, but it manifests itself wherever people struggle to find autonomy from unseen forces. Nowadays when someone is sick they take Asprin or Chloroquine and when they are impoverished they look for work. Here we see the roots of secularism. It is true that forms of "animism" suffer in the urban setting, for example in the

explanations for death or misfortune, but that does not mean that such explanations cease. In close contact with people from different cultural groups in the urban setting some Engas are afraid that others have poisons that will cause them to become ill or even to die.

The test comes if an Engan dies in a city like Port Moresby. The normal practice is to take up a collection sufficient to fly the body home. Enga people say that they would be ashamed to bury someone in Moresby. However, the question arises as to how to deal with the spirit of the dead person. A common practice is to capture the spirit and send it back along with the coffin to where the body will be buried. Christians described to me how they take an empty bottle, whistle to attract the spirit of the dead person and say, "We are going to go home and it is not good that you remain here lost and alone. Come into this bottle." When they feel the bottle become heavier they know that the spirit has gone inside, so they put a cap on the bottle and send it along with the body in the coffin. Why is it so important to do this? They reply, "It is not good that the spirit of the dead person get lost here. On the last day God will raise us up from the place God has given us. So it is important that both body and spirit are there."<sup>22</sup>

Here we see a creative synthesis of both traditional and Christian reasoning, neither of which is secular. There was no consensus in those I spoke with. Some people claimed that they would not perform such a practice of capturing the spirit of the dead person so as to send it back with the body. However, I suspect that the practice is more common than they would admit. The example illustrates how in matters of life and death traditional beliefs prevail—at least for people who are first generation migrants to the city.<sup>23</sup>

### *3. The Persistence of Rural Values in the Urban Setting*

Secularisation tends to cause people to lose their sense of social cohesiveness in religious terms. For most Engans, the "home" community (*ples*) is still accessible (WARD 2000). As TROMPF says, despite its weaknesses, the village, "still endows one's life with spiritual significance, a sense of wholeness which the hurly-burly of urban life usually fragments" (1991:251-52).

I have referred several times to the community values that persist in an ambivalent way. People complain of the burden of relatives flying in from the Highlands on a one-way ticket expecting to stay, yet at the same time, if there is trouble or someone dies people will contribute thousands of kina to fly the body back home. The formation of an Enga Catholic Community in Port Moresby was an attempt to build on the existing community values. The Community was formed because it was felt that when people come together as a cultural group they can feel a sense of belonging and are freer to express themselves. It was felt that Enga people gather for various reasons, like funerals or political gatherings but not for faith reasons. The group was established in 1997, and organised a special mass for Enga-speakers in St. Mary's Cathedral about four times a year. Events were advertised over the radio and television. There was a mixed response. Several hundred people would come for the mass and gathering that followed. However, after several years it was felt that just celebrating mass several times a year was not enough. If the Enga Catholic Community would be at all effective, it would have to become active at the community level. This is the challenge for the Community leadership at the present time. They are trying to build on the community links from home in the mountains, but so far they have not found effective ways to translate these links into the urban situation.<sup>24</sup>

We do not know how much rural communal values will continue in the 2nd and 3rd generations in the future. Studies in the USA have found that with Muslims, the first generation of immigrants maintain their old Muslim values but those with a longer history in the USA tend to have a weak sense of religiosity. The traditional religion no longer seems fully appropriate for the new social setting (CONN 1986). In Papua New Guinea, Sinclair DINNEN (1993) has noted already that the most active street criminals are at least 2nd generation town dwellers.

#### *4. Popular Piety*

Religious expression in Catholic urban parishes often reveal links with introduced forms of piety from overseas. For example inside family homes one will often see pictures, statues and crosses. Sometimes

these are gathered together in a specially decorated corner of the living room of the house. This is possible only in modern houses (*nai anda*), not the low dark traditional houses in the Highlands. Pictures are often of the Sacred Heart of Jesus, or Jesus of Divine Mercy—the first introduced by the early missionaries, and the second more recently from Poland. Occasionally one will see a picture of Blessed Peter To Rot, the first Papua New Guinean to be beatified by the Church. There are rosary groups and charismatic groups in some parishes, and there are movements like “Couples for Christ,” and “True Life in God.” There are Basic Christian communities in at least two parishes. A procession carrying the cross across the city on Good Friday is now an annual event. It was introduced by a Filipino SVD priest and is now accepted by the faithful as a good way to commemorate the day.

Other than the examples above there is little that has emerged in terms of distinctive “urban faith” in towns like Port Moresby. The combined celebrations for the Jubilee year, celebrated in a public sports stadium, were colourful public expressions of faith, but did not attract people as did visiting Evangelists sponsored by the Evangelical Protestant and Seventh Day Adventist Churches. Festivals like the annual “Hiri Moale” festival appear to have little religious significance, and National Day celebrations include the mandatory prayers and hymns but little else that is overtly religious. It is hard to point to where there is sacred time or space in Port Moresby. St Mary’s Cathedral remains open for prayer, but many other churches are locked after mass as a security measure, and the Nazareth house of prayer is seldom visited because of frequent armed holdups on the access road.

One hears of visions, child prophets, and conversions. Dreams are often treated seriously as having a message for the dreamer. A typical account is that of John who was out of work and looking after a sick child when he had a dream in which he saw his deceased mother. When he went to touch her she changed into a beautiful young woman. The woman told him that if he tried for work the next day he would be successful. He interpreted the beautiful young woman as being the Virgin Mary. The next day he was successful in



obtaining work in a hardware store. Shortly afterwards he took Jennifer, his sick child, to a member of the Enga Catholic Community who prayed over her with the result that the child's broken leg was healed and she could walk again. After these experiences John decided to change his life and went to visit the local parish priest to see how he could contribute to the church community. Stories of miraculous cures and divine interventions are a significant part of people's faith experience both at home and in the city.

If one would measure faith by involvement in church activities and see secularisation as Leslie Newbigin would define it, as an absorbing pursuit of this-worldly goals, then surely Enga people do live more secularised lives in the city.<sup>25</sup> However, as Andrew Greeley says, "The city is a dynamic balance of the anonymous and the tribal, the sacred and the profane, the secular and the unsecular, the rational and the traditional."<sup>26</sup> For many people the struggle to survive takes up most of their time and energy. As one woman said, "After mass on Sunday I forget about what happened in church and immediately start worrying about where I will eat or where I will find money. *Spirit mipela lusim insait long haus lotu na bodi nating i kam ausait.* (I leave my spirit back in the church and it is just my body coming outside)." However, even in these troubled words one may detect a deep faith in commitment to her dependants and trust and perseverance through crisis. Faith is found in the Papua New Guinea city at the intersection of the traditional Melanesian search for life and the Christian response to human need.

## PASTORAL RESPONSES FOR THE CURRENT SITUATION

In its teaching, life and worship, the Christian community passes on the living deposit of faith (*Dei verbum* 8). How can the local church in Papua New Guinea accomplish this task in the current situation of rapid social and cultural change?

The Catholic Church has a rich tradition of social teaching that needs to be made known at all levels of society. The Archbishop of Port Moresby and some other bishops have spoken out on social and political issues, with both dramatic and at times frightening

consequences. The late nuncio Archbishop Hans Schwemmer along with Catholic political leaders like John Momis and Bernard Narakobi have been calling for the establishment of an institute for Catholic social teaching. I support that move so long as it is geared to the needs of people across the whole spectrum of society, from the urban elite to the illiterate poor. At present the knowledge of Catholic social teaching in our seminaries and other institutions is pitifully lacking. The faithful coming to Sunday mass are looking for what God is saying to them in their situation, which is so often an experience of fear and insecurity. A contextual theology for the Papua New Guinea urban situation must address issues of political corruption, sinful social structures, and the opportunities being revealed by God's Spirit. For example, what is God's Word saying about repressive police methods that alienate communities and individuals?

Socially relevant teaching may be counter-cultural and in effect a Melanesian form of liberation theology because it will subvert the political status quo and let people know God's special concern for the powerless. We see the seeds of this type of teaching in groups like some of the Women's groups and the Inter-church Forum in Bougainville, some JPD groups, or movements like the God Triwan movement in the Enga Province.

A critical problem in urban ministry is the instability of the urban population. How can urban pastors make contact with new migrants? Somehow there needs to be better communication with the "home" rural parishes/dioceses. Specifically religious activities usually play a smaller part in urban life than they do in rural communities. Credit Unions have been successful in Fiji and parts of Africa. Are there ways that they could operate here? There is a crying need for ways to maintain or establish quality contact with those youth outside of the Catholic education system. The SDA church and other Protestant churches can teach us a lot about youth activities whereby the Sabbath or Sunday means much more than simply an hour in church. For families we need take a close look at forms of Basic Christian Communities that suit the Papua New Guinea town situation where people often barricade themselves inside their houses

after dark. More participation is required in planning processes for churches in the towns, with the emphasis on building on Melanesian strengths rather than schemes that may or may not work elsewhere (DINNEN 1993:88-89).

I have given numerous examples of the way people maintain their faith, yet the greater opportunities for activities and the materialism of the town provide an added challenge for the leadership in the faith community. If one counts the number of lapsed Catholics one might conclude that secularism is a major problem, but if one counts the number of growing smaller churches then one might come to quite a different conclusion. This paper has given a voice to a number of people who left the Catholic church to find fellowship. Communal values remain quite strong and these can be a help in the formation and maintenance of Christian communities. Cultural and ethnic ties can help here. The Enga Catholic Community in Port Moresby has not developed to its full potential, but at least it has begun and the seed is planted.

Having communicated faith in teaching and life, the church can celebrate faith in worship. The greater the participation and the more the prayers and preaching touch the hearts and experiences of people, the less chance of them being perceived as dry and lifeless. It must be a celebration of the body of Christ immersed in the urban situation.

Faith can be a social force and personal strength even in a time of cultural crisis. An alternative is to try to discover one's lost identity at the bottom of a beer bottle (TROMPF 1991:225). There is an Enga saying: "Kopetalimi muti penge minili pingi" (Like a leper holding on to his smoke pipe). It means that you are holding onto something for dear life. People apply it today to the life of faith. Faith is assent, trust and commitment (*Dei verbum* 5). In a time of crisis faith can provide a sense of identity despite the experience of vulnerability in terms of housing tenure, health, employment, poverty, and security. But what form of faith life is appropriate for the urban culture? The city does not seem to provide the stimulus, nor support, nor tradition represented by the older generation, for the emergence of creative faith expressions as illustrated in earlier in this paper.

From discussions with people during this study, I conclude firstly, that those persons who have been relatively successful in the integration of faith and life (inculturation) back “home” in the village will most likely have the maturity of faith to continue to do so in the changed cultural environment of the city. If faith has touched a person’s mind, heart and will, then they are less likely to go astray in a new cultural setting. Secondly, I think that Catholics in urban settings are challenged to develop new ways of expressing their faith that respond to their needs in the modern urban multi-cultural setting. Most likely there will be continuity with traditional values and attitudes, but there will be discontinuity and counter-cultural elements also. That is where communities need support and guidance in what amounts to a “new evangelisation”, as Paul VI noted in 1975 in *Evangelii Nuntiandi*:

What matters is to evangelise man’s culture and cultures (not in a purely decorative way as it were by applying a thin veneer, but in a vital way, in depth and right to their very roots), in the wide and rich sense which these terms have in *Gaudium et Spes*, always taking the person as one’s starting-point and always coming back to the relationships of people among themselves and with God. (EN 20)

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### APPENDIX A: QUESTIONNAIRE

Here are some sample questions that could be asked of Enga people living in a town like Port Moresby. This could be done sitting around with two or three people and using the questions as a rough guide and getting their responses and trying to summarise them in answer to the questions.

[Are the persons answering male or female, young or old?]

1. What are you doing in Moresby? How long have you been there?
2. Before you came to Moresby, what lotu did you go to (Catholic, Lutheran, CRC....)?
3. What is your experience of lotu in Port Moresby? Is it a good experience? How was the language of the *lotu*? Was it understandable to you?
4. In Port Moresby, have you tried going to other *lotus*? What was the experience like? What was good about it? What was not so good?
5. In town have you met people from other places through the Church or do you mix mostly with Enga wantoks?
6. Either in Enga or in Moresby have you been a member of a special lotu group or movement, such as the Legion, charismatic, God Triwan....etc.?
7. In the town was there some thing that were "missing" (*sot*) in your experience here?

8. In general, what are some of the good things you learned from living in town? Did you learn some good things to help your faith/*bilip*?
9. Are there some experiences from town that would destroy (bagarapim) your faith/*bilip*?
10. Who is the person or persons who have had the most influence on your faith/*bilip*?
11. What are some of the signs in a person's life that show whether he or she has a strong or a weak faith?
12. Are there some things that the Catholic church teaches that you find hard to believe? What? Why?
13. What are some of the ways that are different about being a Catholic in Enga and being an Engan Catholic in Moresby?
14. What suggestions would you like to make so that the Church can better meet the faith needs of people at this time—either in Enga or in Moresby?
15. "Stori liklik" from your own experience about what it is like to live at home in Enga and what it is like living in a place like Moresby.

*Further points for discussion:*

1. Faith and Life
2. Faith as *Maso miningi*. Discuss the advantages and limitations of the term.
3. Faith (grace) going beyond strict reciprocity?
4. Effect of recent SDA televised evangelisation?
5. In the town, with no access to bush, etc., where are their sacred places?
6. Image of God? Where is God?
7. Experiences: bright and dark moments? (surviving an armed hold up; surviving getting sick)
8. Religious programs on TV?
9. Sufferings because of the faith?
10. Faith inherited or through free choice?
11. Doubts and scandals—e.g. priests not living vows, poor homilies, unanswered prayers?

12. Countering evil spirits? (Help, e.g. of saints or BVM rather than traditional spirits?)
13. Models of faith?
14. Problem of when a death occurs.
15. Are dreams in town different? Miracles? Healing?
16. Faith as a power for reconciliation?
17. Experience of church as a community of faith?
18. Faith as a help in making moral judgements?
19. Faith supporting you when you are down-hearted?
20. Jail = hell?
21. The public/political dimension of faith?
22. Faith from direct experience or through parents/clergy?
23. Kaukau doesn't grow well in Moresby. What about the "seed" of faith planted in Enga?
24. Is there fear of "mixing" Christian faith and "secular" things?

## APPENDIX B

Data on perseverance of Catholics in the Wabag Diocese (from 1998 diocesan census).

	Number Surveyed	Practicing Catholics	Non- Practicing	Became 7th Day	Became "One Way"	Became Lutheran	Became "other"
Parish A	2823	1644	913	38	42	29	2
Parish B	2269	1661	71	7	14	45	129
Parish C	4248	2867	449	41	107	91	298
Parish D	1404	786	327	20	19	62	40
Parish E	4062	2512	373	46	4	106	276
Parish F	2375	1068	991	57	47	18	14
Parish G	5750	3002	1239	236	464	38	10
Parish H	6201	4176	950	127	125	95	68
Parish I	4992	3699	577	32	146	83	239
Total	34124	21415	5890	604	968	567	1076



\*These figures come from a survey of 7296 households from 9 out of the 16 parishes in the Catholic Diocese of Wabag

\*The data focuses on movement of allegiance out from the Catholic church. It does not represent those members of other churches who have now joined the Catholic church. From informal discussion it appears that the trend is for greater numbers leaving the Catholic (and other mainline churches) than entering.

\*Parish F is in Wabag town. Parish G is adjacent to Wabag town, with outstations along the Highlands Highway to Porgera.

\*"Other" churches comprise mostly local Pentecostal churches like the Christian Revival Crusade.

## ENDNOTES

1. Personal communication, Christine Aisoli, Statistician, National Statistics Office. According to data from the year 2000 census, the urban population appears to have dropped 2% in the past 10 years. The apparent drop comes as a result of changed criteria for classifying urban areas, and most significantly a decrease in urban population from towns such as Rabaul as a result of the 1994 volcanic eruption. Population statistics in this paper are from the year 2000 national census.

2. There have been many studies of urbanization and faith. Two noteworthy ones are the study and resultant report *Faith in the City: A Call for Action* by Church and Nation by the ANGLICAN CHURCH IN ENGLAND (1985), and PEIL et. al. 1982.

3. I wish to acknowledge the invaluable help from interviews conducted by Joseph Lakane in Madang, Regina Tanda and Philip Maso in Wabag, and the assistance of Joseph Make, John Ene, Kenneth Poo, and the Kipalan family in Port Moresby.

4. The Enga have received much attention from anthropologists. The most notable early studies were by Mervyn Meggitt. Recently there have been excellent studies by WIESSNER and TUMU, for example.

5. "Taim Jisas i dai na kirap orait Jisas i bin go insait long kalsa bilong olgeta man long dispela graun. Sapos Jisas i no dai na kirap orait mi bai gat bilip olsem Jisas em wanpela Israel man tasol na mi inap long lukim wanpela waitman. Mi bin harim tok bilip bilong ol lain misin na mi bin baptais. Sapos Jisas i bin dai bilong ol lain waitman orait em i no inap long kam long hia, tasol em i bin dai na kirap gen na em laik kisim bek mi long sin pasin mi bin mekim long en....bihain mi bin ting olsem Jisas em bin dai na kirap bek na em bin go insait long kalsa/laip bilong Enga. Olsem na sapos mi wanpela

Enga meri orait, long soim ol narapela man na meri olsem Jisas em i wanpela Enga Kamongo Epe (Gutpela Bikpela bilong Enga) orait mi mas bilas long bilas bilong Enga yet. Olsem mi bin stat long bilas long bilas bilong Enga na mi save lotu long Bikman. Taim mi bilas orait mi save ting olsem, Jisas em i wanpela Enga man husat mi bilip long en na tu Jisas em i no wanpela man bilong narapela hap em mi save lotu na bihainim em. Nao mi gat bikpela bilip long Jisas em i wanpela Enga Kamongo Epe.”

6. “Mi nogat nus tasol Jisas Kraiss bai i no inap long lukim bodi antap na marit – em bai lukim insait laip bilong man na marit long en. Mi wanpela huset i nogat nus em bai mi go marit long Jisas Kraiss. Nao mi lapun tasol lewa na spirit blong mi i no lapun – em yangpela yet na mi laik go marit long Jisas na mi weit i stap.” (S4 9.94-5)

7. For example, GIBBS 1997.

8. “Long ples mipela i doti tasol i stap na ol i kam bek long Moresbi na skin i nais, na putim su na traussis. Mi ting mi bai kamap olsem na mi kam long hia.” (At home we are dirty, but those coming back from Port Moresby look smart and wear shoes and trousers. I thought I would do the same and came here [to Port Moresby].).

9. In 1990, 40% of all recorded murders occurred in the Highlands. 17.3% were in the Enga Province (DINNEN 1993:81).

10. Joseph was not able to do random sampling in a classic sense, but rather used a chain technique to trace Enga people living in Madang—one family providing a contact with the next and so on. The sample is biased towards males because culturally it was more acceptable for him to meet males in the settlements around Madang.

11. “We also have one of the world’s highest unemployment rates—we have an estimated unemployment rate of 60 percent—there is no welfare safety net, no dole or unemployment benefits.” National Capital District chairman Jamie Maxtone Graham addressing the NCDC’s Business Seminar. *Post-Courier*, Wednesday September 12, 2001, p. 5.

12. See report, “Struggle to live” in the *Post Courier*, 17 February, 2000, pp. 19-20, and the editorial, “Address sorry plight of street vendors,” *The National*, 28 November 2000, p. 12.

13. Bernard Kipit, the acting City Manager of Port Moresby noted recently that there is at present a need for 15,024 more houses to house the population of the city. “City services put under pressure,” *The Post-Courier*, Wednesday September 12, 2001, p. 5.

14. “Antap em laip olgeta. Long hia mi indai nau.”

15. The Melanesian Institute survey Marriage in Melanesia: a sociological perspective, discovered that 12.7% of interviewees had changed their church affiliation since they migrated to town.

16. For example, after a bomb attack on an Engan house in the Morata settlement on the night of 6 October 2000, relatives of the deceased brutally killed and incinerated a number of people from a rival ethnic group. There was no retaliation for those “payback” deaths because that would have attracted the ire of the thousands of Engans in Port Moresby.

17. "Mi stap long maket na Jisas i stap. Em i stap wantaim mi. Mi sindaun salim klos o buai. Ol i ting mi sindaun nating, tasol mi toktok wantaim Jisas. Sapos mi nogat moni na mi gat nid long salim buai, orait taim ol man i kam baim samting mi pilim olsem Jisas i kam givim moni long mi."
18. Garry TROMPF comments, "The notion of secular progress contingent on national unity and prosperity, for example, is not yet the distinctive feature of the 'average' Melanesian's historical consciousness—despite the efforts of governments." (1991:249).
19. *Daily Hansard* 13 April 2000.
20. *Post-Courier*, 27 June 2000:10
21. *Post-Courier*, 3 July 2000:10
22. Nogut spirit bilong en i raun raun long hia na em paul. Spirit bai stap long ples bilong en. Taim bilong las de na ol Spirit i kirap, spirit bai kirap long dispela hap. Ples God i givim yumi long en, mipela i planim bodi bilong en. Taim em kirap long las de o wanem samting taim Bikpela i singaut, spirit bilong en bai kirap long ples bilong en. Long dispela risen ol i kisim spirit i go wantaim."
23. Garry TROMPF, writing over a decade ago, says "No Melanesian has yet dared to donate a corpse for medical research." (1991:245).
24. In individual cases one sees the rural values at work. For example recently when Australian, Fr. Fabian, OFM was shot and killed at 16-mile near Moresby, women from the Enga Catholic Community took a leading role in arrangements for the funeral and the respectful care for his body during the autopsy.
25. See NEWBIGIN 1966, chapter 1.
26. Andrew Greeley in CALLAHAN 1966:107.