

Moral Muddle? The Missions and Traditional Enga Values

Philip Gibbs

Abstract

The paper focuses on the Enga-speaking area of the Central Highlands of PNG, which was first opened to missionaries in 1947. The writer attempts to discover traditional values by two principal methods: firstly, asking old people what they were taught by their parents and grandparents, and secondly by asking the first missionaries who are still living today, about their experience with the people in their early years of contact. The study then looks at the values of young people in contemporary Papua New Guinea, using findings from a 1992 study by the Melanesian Institute in Goroka, and recent responses from High School Students, seminarians and university students. While students today feel that they live in a different world with dissimilar ideas and values, their values, according to the perceived ranking of instrumental and terminal values, indicate that they are still social individuals with a high regard for the values and virtues required for living a communal rather than an individualistic lifestyle.

Margaret sat in the corner, her head aching and confusion clouding her heart. Why couldn't she go out to the dance with her school friends? She pictured her friends enjoying their freedom while she obeyed her mother and stayed at home. She was lost between her culture and a modern perspective on life. To go out to dances, might mean finding a boy friend, which would embarrass her parents in their traditional society. How could she make her people see that times are changing and so are values? Margaret fears being an outcast in her own society yet strongly believes in some of the changing perspectives on life. There she was - the pride of her parents, a top student at school, with a bright future, yet torn and confused inside. She looked around her and realised that nothing had changed in all those years: the same room, rules and lifestyle. Finally she went to bed and cried herself to sleep.

Generational differences are common throughout the world today. However, in Papua New Guinea, where parents have been raised in a traditional society and children are educated into a modern globalised

world, the differences can be extreme. What characterises traditional values in Papua New Guinea and how are these values changing today? According to archaeological sources, Papua New Guinea has been inhabited for over 40,000 years (Irwin 1992:30). There have been various migrations from South East Asia, resulting in a cultural complexity evidenced in the 800+ languages in PNG alone. Today Papua New Guinea is an independent nation with a population of some 5,100,000 people, 96% of whom identify as Christian. Thus, there has been a long period for the development of values in traditional societies, and also the recent influence of modern Western and Christian values. To what extent has the change been influenced by missionary interaction?

A single paper cannot deal in depth with such questions applied to the whole of Papua New Guinea, particularly since values do differ especially between the Highlands and Coastal/Islands regions (Joyce 1974).¹ After some general comments, I will focus on one particular culture group, the Enga of the Central Highlands.² Many of the findings from this culture group could apply to other groups, especially those from the Papua New Guinea Highlands region.

Mission Presence

French Catholic (Marist) missionaries first landed on Woodlark (Murua) Island in 1847. However, the effects of malaria on the missionaries and influenza on the indigenes soon brought an end to the project and the surviving missionaries left in 1855. With hundreds of languages, competing tribes and malarious climate, the next group of missionaries, the London Missionary Society, tried a different approach on the South Papua Coast in 1871, using evangelists from Polynesia (Samoa and the Cook Islands in particular). Later, Catholic missionaries returned, and other groups followed: Methodists, Anglicans, Lutherans, Seventh Day Adventists, and many more. Whereas in 1927 there were 531 missionaries in the area comprising Papua and New Guinea, by 1971 there were 3411 missionaries present (Pech 1985:58). Today, with localisation of the churches, the number has been reduced to 2832 non-citizen church workers in PNG (including the 50 non-citizen staff in the two church-run universities).³ However, the churches continue to multiply. There were six major denominations at work in 1927. By 1971 there were over thirty, and currently the number of churches has almost trebled. In 2002 there were 88 different church organisations requiring work permits from the Department of Labour and Employment, and besides, there are many more local churches not appearing in the work permits listing.

The Enga-speaking area of the Central Highlands was first opened to missionaries in 1947. The area comprises some 7,000 sq. km of rugged mountainous valleys. The Enga Province now has a population of 295,000 people. The four initial missionary groups to enter the area were the Lutheran (Missouri Synod), Catholic (Society of the Divine Word), Apostolic, and Seventh Day Adventist missionaries. There was some competition between the four missionary groups seeking adherents as areas were "de-restricted." (The main parts of the Kandep region, the Eastern Lagaip, Maramuni and Wale Tarua areas of Enga were "opened" at de-restriction as late as 1961.)

Traditional Values

How does one discover a people's traditional values after they have been exposed in one form or other to Western culture for over fifty years? Anthropologists and missiologists have tried various means to deal with this issue.

Anthropologist Kenneth Read looked at the concept of the "person" in traditional Highlands's society (Read 1955). The Western concept of person results in a pronounced sense of individuality. Read points out how in PNG people are viewed more as *social individuals*. This social dimension does not imply any weakening of the sense of self. Particularly in the Highlands, modesty (in terms of being unassuming or retiring) is not a virtue. Often the respected and successful are those who are most loud in their own praise and most positive in their expressions of self-importance. The closely-knit fabric of traditional Melanesian society does not hinder independence of character. Rather it fosters it - but it is a character that is fundamentally socio-centric rather than individualistic. People are seen as social individuals so that the individual and their social role are not clearly separable. As a consequence the value of the human person lies not in some theory of the spiritual component of the person, but rather in the nature of the ties which link people socially with each other, through kinship and descent, through marriage ties, trading links, and other ways of relating.

Missiologist Ennio Mantovani has pointed to four principal values in traditional PNG society: community, relationships, exchange, and the ultimate value of "life". Taking community as an example he points out that for traditional Melanesian society:

What is good for the community is ethically good.

What is bad for the community is ethically bad.

What is indifferent for the community is ethically indifferent.

A healthy community ensured *gutpela sindaun*, or security, health, wealth, growth, prestige, good relationships, meaning, and the absence of sickness, barrenness and death (Mantovani 1998).

Solomon Islander Henry Paroi has written and lectured about concepts of "time" and "work" in Melanesia and how they differ from the modern Western concepts. He points out how traditionally Melanesians did not calculate time in terms of figures or instruments. Time was marked by socio-cultural events and occasions. Paroi gives the example of a village feast.

The actual occasion will take place only when all members are present, and they have no set time to finish. Although a feast finished very late in the evening the most important thing is that people are there, and that they have shared their food, joy, laughter and so on. Human relationship therefore becomes most [sic] important than the actual period that is spent in that particular gathering. People do not care how many hours they spend on that spot, but one thing they know is that they participate so that the notion of wasting of time does not really apply, it does not mean anything" (Paroi, n.d).

While I agree substantially with the three writers cited above, my approach is somewhat different. I prefer to discover traditional values by asking old people what they were taught by their parents and grandparents. This approach is possible among the Enga, as one can still meet and talk with people who experienced the pre-Western-contact times.

Traditional Values Taught to Enga Children

In Melanesia, values and ethics tend to be more practical than theoretical. Values are estimates of the importance or worth of things. They are the foundation for decision-making, directing people's choices and decisions about how to live. Thus they are often associated with "wisdom." Values may be personal or shared. Moral values, such as treating people with respect, carry an obligation. They tell us what we ought to do (even when, at times, we'd rather not). Non-moral values carry no such obligation and express what we want or like.

Andrew, an elderly man from the Tsak Valley in the Enga Province recalls the wisdom and values passed on to him by his father. Some of these are the following:

1. Stay well away from menstruating women.

2. Be strong. Even though it is cold outside, leave the house early in the morning. *Kana pipilyu dee andala naenge*. The stones around the fireplace do not grow and neither will you if you sit around the fire.
3. Don't kill anyone. *Akali taiyoko ongo kunao napenge*. "It is very hard to wash off a man's blood."
4. Don't go around aimlessly. *Kangapupi kaita paenge ongo kumapae singi*. "Insects that travel all the time die on the road."
5. Work unless you don't mind being hungry. *Nee nanalamo kumalamo lenge*. "If you don't eat you die."
6. Don't steal because if you do, eventually you will pay for it one way or another.
7. Listen to what your parents tell you. It doesn't matter if you are blind, deaf or lame - they are the ones that bore you. *Embanya ongome mona nenge*. If you don't respect them while they are alive, they will "eat your heart" when they are dead.
8. Share food with others, whether they need it or not. *Sapos you no givim long ol, orait ol bai i no inap long wanbel long yu na bai yu dai*. "If you don't share, they will feel badly towards you and you will die." *Endakali ongome pyapenge*. "Give to others."
9. Plant trees wherever you go, especially pandanus trees. You reap what you sow. *Yuu ae latamo lao katengepe*. "You don't want the earth to cry out from neglect."
10. Look after your sisters. When you die, others will pretend to cry, but your sisters will shed real tears. *Lindi waku tenge*. They are the ones who will put on clay and mourning beads.
11. Keep up good relations with your sisters because when you are in trouble they will surely help you. *Wanakunya nuu ongo lyini pingi*. A girl's net bag is full of concerns. In other words, she will bring something in her net bag to help you.
12. Don't hit your wife. You are stronger than she is, so when she is angry, listen to her and then go outside until she has cooled down.
13. Stop trouble before it gets out of hand. *Tata telya ongo yapa konjingi*. Stop a "bushfire" quickly.
14. When there is trouble, be careful with what you say. *Piimi lao endaki tokopi uanga pingi*. "Words can bend bridges." Words are powerful and can ruin relationships.

15. You must like your brothers and sisters and aunties and uncles. If you do, they will say good things about you and you will live a long life. *Apa kaiminipi ongo kalipi nalenge*. Don't play tricks with your relatives.

16. Observe a woman carefully before you marry her, otherwise later you will have trouble. *Tupaita imbupi andaka singi ongo lyii lenge*. "Bean skins may be soft at first, but when you leave them in the house they become brittle and hard."

17. Don't seduce another man's wife, otherwise you will start a fight. *Enda yanda ongo isa asale mende napenge*. Fights over women erupt quickly and we don't want any fights over women around here.

18. Take care of your land. Don't risk losing it in a fight. *Nee nanoapi embanya yuu ongonya katao auu pingi*. "Whether it provides you with food or not, it is always better to be on your own land." *Yuu ongo mena maitakai*. "Your land is like a mother pig." It will feed you.

19. Don't travel alone. *Mailaepi lakeo nepenge ongo pao kumingi*. "The bird that gets separated from the group dies."

20. *Akali kamongopi lyangapi ongonya pii ongo singi*. "Your destiny lies in listening to your leaders and your elders."

21. Don't say things you don't mean. If you say you will do something, then do it. *Lyaa buyoko yumi luu pia*. Your words should bear fruit.

22. *Akali ongo akali yangonya lao mandenge*. It is true that "men are destined to be killed by men" (in fights), however it is equally true that men are not like trees that you can cut and they grow again. So be careful. Take care of your life. You only live once.

23. If you promise to give a man a pig, then honour that promise and don't give it to someone else. *Mena duna lakala naenge*. "Don't break a pig's end!"

The practical wisdom here is obvious and the ethical values are apparent if one looks carefully at these words of a father to his son in pre-contact, pre-Christian days. They concern values like the following:

Firstly — respect: for the land, and for others, like spirits, one's elders, one's sisters. Also, respect for life, whether your own or that of another.

Secondly — work and industriousness.

Thirdly — proscriptive values such as: not stealing, not being untruthful, guard one's words, not causing trouble with one's own wife or another's wife.

Fourthly — communal values such as: "Share with others," or "Don't be a loner."

Such values typically recur in discussions with other mature men. In the isolated Kandep region men shared many examples of *mana pii* or traditional wisdom that they had learned from their fathers. Typical *mana pii* would be the following:

1. If you obey your parents by breaking firewood, fetching water, you will live a good life. But if you disobey your parents' words, you would wish a long enjoyable life but it will never happen because your parents will have cursed you. You will die after a short life.

2. You are just like the *ao* (spinach) seedling. If you have sex with another person's wife, it is like planting *ao* seeds in another person's garden because the child the woman would bear will not be yours.

3. Always be present at the *akalyanda* (men's house). When there is no one in the men's house, the centre post of the house will teach you some wisdom to make you an upright person. So never leave the men's house for a long period of time.

4. If you are coming from a feast carrying food, and you happen to meet an old man, woman or a child, give him or her the food. Their love and thankfulness or appreciation will make you live longer.

5. When you hear that two tribes are at war, do not go to fight because they might kill you. It is better for you to remain back and look after your pigs, wife and children. If you see tribal wars as fun and go there to help, the other side will look for a man to kill and you might be the victim.

The values of family and communal loyalty, discipline, and respect for one's elders come through clearly. One point to note is the underlying sanction of fear, that if one would engage in behaviour that disregards such values, then the price would be a shorter life.

Values for Enga Women

So far the focus has been male-oriented. In traditional society with its clear separation of men and women symbolised in separate houses, what were the values passed on from mother to daughter? Much could be said, but ten examples follow.

1. The first thing a girl was taught was that she was born to become a wife and mother. *Wanaku akalinya lao mandenge*. "The girl is born for a man." Thus a lot of the values instilled in the young girls were to prepare them for marriage and all that it involved. *Wanaku kuli nakandenge*. "One does not see girls' bones." In other words, in the Enga patrilocal society she will move to live in her husband's land and will be buried there, not where she grew up. She will maintain links with her family of origin, but she should remember that, *londati ongo londati, tengesa ongo tengesa*. "Far is far and near is near". If she will have difficulties with her husband, her family may be far away and not close at hand.

2. She would be told: *Akalimi itange ongo sambala naenge. Akalimi kingi ongo sambenge*. "A man doesn't pay a brideprice for your skin/body, but for your hands." Again, she would be told, *Akalinya yuu kenda pingi*. "You will work hard in the land of your husband." *Maita ongo enesa lakenge*. "You must bend your back working." If you do that, they will say that you are a woman who works hard and you will live a long life. Enga women are proud of their ability to work hard and old women lament that they can no longer carry heavy loads.

3. The value of work will benefit both herself and her husband. *Endame mena minatala akali kenge lenge*. "A woman who is good at looking after pigs will give her husband a good name." At a deeper level the way a woman cared for herself particularly during the time of her monthly period would have consequences for both her and her husband. She was taught not to touch food to be given to men, and to conceal the blood. If she did this: *wanaku yonge lake singi*. Her skin would have a good appearance. It is believed that this would also affect the appearance of her husband.

4. Hospitality was another important value taught to girls. *Endaki mate nee nanyingi*. "You can't stop the public from coming to the water source." The same applied to a man coming to the house. A girl should always welcome men to the house. *Endakali ongo ane lao lanyingi. Nee nanalanyapi enomba ongo titi lenge*. She should welcome them with a smile, even if there is no food available to offer them.

5. Men can go around but the virtuous woman stays at home. *Wakamanya andaka tilyame napae ongo anda embanya ongonya auu pyuu napalenge*. (Literally this means, "If a flea bites you in another house, you will not sit well in your own house.") *Wanaku ongo wanakuna latala petenge*. She should sit in the house as a woman (not like a man).

6. A girl was taught the value of patience and discipline in responding to others, particularly her husband. *Itamai kaa pilyamopa yapa lao nao goe lenge*. Literally this means, “Just as you swallow ginger quickly because it is bitter if it remains in your mouth, so, swallow the bitter words of your husband.”

7. A girl was also taught the value of having children. *Wane lapyali lapyali lao nee nenge*. Literally, because of the noise of her children she can eat, implying that if she didn't have children, her husband would ask why she was eating. *Muumi olya pyao pyandele pingi*. “A woman without a child is like an owl that eats mosquitoes in the night.” A child gives a woman strength and a place in society. *Kana patapatanya omonalya*. “A woman without children is like a plant growing on a stone unable to put down roots.”

8. A girl was taught the value of housekeeping. *Enda ongo anda matapu*, Literally: a woman is like a belt that holds a house together. If she didn't keep her house clean then people would say, *Yui neenya kolao paenge*. “She is going around like a rat looking for something to eat.” A woman noted how her mother used to say, *Enda ongo andaka ita*. “A woman supports the house as a house post.” When you are home the fire must be alight so that people will see smoke seeping through the thatched roof of the house and they will know that you are home and the house is warm.

9. A woman was taught the value not only of having a good food garden and a warm house, but also the importance of raising pigs. *Endame mena minatala akali kenge lasingi*. If she looked after the pigs well then both she and particularly her husband would have a good “name,” if not, the pig would go and look for food in other people's gardens and she would be branded as, *enda litiyoko mende* — “a lazy, useless woman.”

10. A girl was taught to be industrious, symbolised in the net bag. *Aiyumba nuu lapipae mandenge*. At an early age she should learn to weave net bags so that she would not be carrying old ones made by someone else. Even as a child she was taught to wear a net bag on her head. *Wanaku ongo wanakuna latala nuu mandenge*. Boys don't wear net bags, but a girl should always wear one. An elderly woman said, “I would complain as we returned from the garden with vegetables and tell my mother that the net bag was too heavy, and my mother would reply that we women have to carry heavy net bags until we die — *Nuu kende ongo pitalamo lao epea, Maka ongo etala naenge*. “The tired feeling is here to stay and there is no getting away from heavy loads, so you might as well get used to it.”

One could sum up the ten points above by saying that the principal values instilled in young women were values associated with garden, hearth and home. She should be hospitable, disciplined, fertile, hardworking. She should delay her own gratification in favour of her husband and children and in this way she would achieve good standing in the community. If a woman would follow values such as these, then she would live a long life and *wanenya kingi napala kumate* — literally, you die eating the hand of your children. What this means is that her children would look after her in her old age and she would die satisfied that she had performed her task as a wife and mother.

Values Observed by the First Missionaries

With the Christian church being relatively young in Enga, many of the first missionaries are still living. So, thinking that those early missionaries might provide insights into traditional values in their “first contact” situation, the writer contacted some of the first Catholic and Lutheran missionaries to seek their views on the values they encountered in their initial contact with the indigenous people, and how these values were in harmony or conflict with the missionary message they had brought. From their replies it is apparent that there were some practices that missionaries condemned or discouraged, such as polygamy, tribal fighting, and the physical abuse of woman, such as cutting off a woman’s nose or other body parts. Yet they also discovered values that harmonised with the Christian message.

One of the earliest Lutheran missionaries to Enga, Rev. Dr. Willard Burce writes,

I’m sure that all of us who lived among the Enga as missionaries in those times were often surprised at the extent to which they exemplified St Paul’s comment in Romans 2: “The Gentiles do not have the Law, but . . . their conduct shows that what the Law commends is written in their hearts. Their consciences also show that this is true, since their thoughts sometimes accuse them and sometimes defend them” (TEV). “Honour your father and your mother You shall not kill You shall not commit adultery You shall not steal You shall not bear false witness You shall not covet.” These were not new ‘values’ to the Enga, nor did they have to create new words in order to talk about them. They were in their hearts; they were in their culture. Which is not to say that they were not violated continually, *post lapsum* human beings being what they are (Willard Burce, personal communication, June15, 2002).

At the time of first contact with missionaries, what did people value or have a high regard for? Willard Burce responds with reference to political election times today when one notices "a high pitched fever." He notes that a half a century ago you would have seen a like fever and crescendo during the *tee* pig exchange. "Out in public, with all the pigs lined up to be witnessed, counted, and distributed. And with everyone there to see and with the same questions: who is who; who is trying to be who; who is for whom; who is winning, who is losing?" The whole point, at least for the men, was to be a *kamongo* - a Big Man or a man with a name. Burce continues, "becoming one was something every boy could aspire to; that to be a *kamongo* was to be one across the board - in energy, in knowledge, in food production, in pigs, in building, in pragmatic wisdom, in courage and generosity, in all human relations, in persuasive rhetoric, in political leadership: all this was important."

Burce sees this aspiring to be a Big Man as a possible area of conflict with values witnessed by Jesus, who taught that, "Anyone who wants to become great among you must be your servant, and anyone who wants to be first among you must be a slave to all" (Mk 10:43-45).

The first resident expatriate Catholic missionary to the Enga was Fr. Gerard Bus. Writing now from Europe, he says that the values he first noted were: courage, bravery, fighting ability and virility in men; gardening skills, pig husbandry and fecundity in women. Other areas of value included possession of pigs, especially with the *tee* pig exchange, a good name, respect, ability to contribute to support of clan both in personnel and material goods, skills like house building, manufacture of tools, decorations, string bags, etc (Gerard Bus, Personal communication, February 12, 2002).

Gerard Bus adds,

The survival of the clan was their uppermost concern. There was a readiness to give one's life for the well being of the clan. There is a story, recorded by a Lutheran pastor, of a clan leader who was a convinced Christian, a close friend of this pastor. He insisted on going into battle, although the pastor was telling him he shouldn't do it, as he was surely going to be the first to be targeted, and it was not Christian to fight. This leader answered that he knew all this very well, but he had to lead the battle, it was his duty as clan leader. He was indeed the first to be killed (Gerard Bus, Personal communication, February 12, 2002).

The example above shows how difficult it is to judge to what degree and when, being a Big Man, conflicted with the Christian value of being ready to lay down one's life for another. The writer knows of one Christian Big Man near Yampu in the Enga Province who asks his friends not to address him as "*kamongo*", since that is the term now attributed to Jesus Christ as "Lord."

Did the early missionaries sometimes confuse Christian and Western values? Gerard Bus admits "I'm sure we do (did)." Consider the position of women. Willard Burce recalls domestic arguments and, for example, a woman asserting that her husband was so poor that he had to use a pig rope for a belt. "The man would hear that and go verbally ballistic!" However, the confrontation often did not remain on the verbal level. Bus notes how men might torture women in cases of unfaithfulness, for instance, burning female genitals by applying hot stones to them or cutting a woman's hamstring so that she would be crippled. In the face of this, "I sometimes took action when I saw women attacked." Bus sees the value he was defending as "genuinely Christian and based on the respect we owe to any and every human person." He admits though that in the case of marriage, he is inclined to think that missionaries imposed Western Church law, which has been absolutised.

Another early Catholic missionary, Fr. Tony Krol, says that in traditional Enga society people with advanced illnesses such as leprosy might be killed (by drowning) and some old people and unwanted babies might die of neglect (not given anything to drink) (Tony Krol, personal communication, February 3, 2002). Missionaries sometimes intervened in such situations, and in fact set up Yampu hospital to care for people with leprosy.

Early Lutheran missionary, Rev. Otto Hintze, notes how,

Try as hard as we did [to be aware of the difference between "Christian" and "cultural" values], cultural values crept in not only from the Western missionaries but also from the surrounding PNG Christian communities and were taken to be Christian values... . Clothes - Christians had to wear clothes. Baptismal garb and new name - one had to buy and dress in a white t-shirt and laplap and accept a new name which had a Christian connotation. Some may have thought that kind of dress and name change to be essential to Christian baptism, although we baptized a few dressed in native dress and did not change the name of others (Otto Hintze, personal communication, July 21, 2002).

Willard Burce gives the example of the rational empiricism of the West.

Can anyone today see the unseen, dream the future, break the trammels of nature, perhaps make a dead child or a dead engine, come to life again by prayer with faith? I have known Enga who would instantly answer Yes, and give examples. And I have known missionaries who, spellbound by the Enlightenment, would be uncomfortable saying anything but No (Willard Burce, personal communication, June 15, 2002).

With their Western scientific worldview, missionaries, whether they were aware of it or not, became agents of secularisation.

Traditional, Secular, and Christian Values

Fifty years later, what is the situation? In a challenging paper, published fifteen years ago, Garry Trompf claims that there are three sets of values affecting the destiny of PNG: traditional, Christian and secular values. He points out how traditional societies survived through the development of "military" values: Revenge on the foe was a virtue. He claims that pacification through colonial and missionary interventions has radically affected those military values.

And whoever they have been, I should remind you - whether kiaps, missionaries, users and abusers of labour - they have been, in concentrating on the removal of warrior elements and violence, responsible for ripping 'half the guts' out of traditional cultures or religions or group ethics. To put away the spears completely is to shed and repress much of the most important *raison d'être* for traditional societies" (Trompf 1986:19).

He adds that now people use neo-traditional ways of sorcery to protect and to harm.

Trompf notes that most traditional values are influenced by Christian values in Melanesia today. He points out that perhaps the "noble traditions" referred to in the Preamble to the PNG Constitution are really only "noble" because they have already become indistinguishable from Christianity as Melanesians express it. He also notes there is a whole spectrum of approaches in "Christian" attitudes to Melanesian traditional values, from condemning everything as evil, to a broad acceptance.

Secular values are those supposedly self-evident to any rational person, but not tied to religious beliefs, traditional or otherwise. In PNG

the introduction of a money economy has provided new opportunities for people to choose and has had a radical effect on the traditional value system. Trompf comments, "Money makes for moral muddle, especially in the dazzling pluralism of the city" (Trompf 1986:31). He concludes:

Some of us perceive that in the values of traditions (especially the noble or ennobled ones), and of Christianity (left unbastardised), and even of apparently secular universal humanistic principles enshrined in United Nations charters (too often unimplemented), lie the sources of inspiration to forestall the creeping, sneaking, debasing propensities of massive world changes which service the greedy and the cunning few at the expense of the needy and the naive many (Trompf 1986:32).

Contemporary Urban Life

A recent study of the effects of urbanisation on Engans in Port Moresby (Gibbs, 2001), confirms Trompf's claims. A "city" like the capital Port Moresby is fascinating for the newcomer. There is TV, and there are 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 McDonald's 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%! (*Post-Courier*, September 12, 2001:5). Long-term unemployment is dehumanising, with serious implications for the value system.

In order to earn K10 or K20 (US\$2 or \$4) a day to buy food, many Engan women sell betel nut, 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 (*Post Courier*, February 17, 2000:19-20; Editorial: "Address sorry plight of street vendors," *The National*, November 28, 2000:12). 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). Another added, “*Long hia moni em i laip bilong ol*” (Here money is their life).

Attitudes of Young People in Melanesia

Over a number of years, beginning in 1992, the Melanesian Institute (MI) in Goroka, PNG, conducted a study on the attitudes and aspirations of young Melanesian people in PNG (Zocca & de Groot, 1997). One of the principal findings of the study was the great variation in attitudes of young people found in the four main regions of PNG: The north coastal region, the South coastal region, the Islands, and the Highlands. The regional variable appeared as a major factor, making it difficult to generalise about the attitudes and aspirations of youth over the nation as a whole.

The MI study focused on attitudes towards eighteen items: Families of origin, marriage and divorce, parents, spouses and children, school education, social problems, Christian churches, religious practice, some traditional beliefs and practices, work, urbanisation, youth association, leisure time and sport, women in charge of business, criminality, police force, judicial system, politicians, and “wantokism” (preference given to family ties).

Some relevant points from their findings are the following:

1. The majority of youth think that the main cause of trouble in PNG communities are excessive drinking of alcohol and smoking marijuana (p.97). This is particularly a problem in the Highlands (p.210).
2. The majority of PNG youth does not believe in traditional healing practices and consider them opposed to Christianity (p.126).
3. The great majority of PNG youth deny that ancestors can help them in their life. “They are dead” (pp.122, 126).
4. The main reasons for young people moving to town are the “hard life” in the villages (particularly working in gardens and lack of modern facilities) and the attractions of life in the town (entertainment) p.163.

5. Western education is valued, but it appears that only a minority of youth (14.4 %) would like to learn more about village customs. This desire is stronger in the Islands and Southern Regions and the researchers wonder if this is a consequence of their having much longer exposure to missionaries and the modern world thus feeling more estranged from their ancestor's traditions (p.204). Likewise the researchers notice a stronger desire for literacy and reading and writing in local languages amongst Southern youth and question whether this is a sign that they have already lost their own languages more than young people elsewhere in PNG.

Mission Impact Viewed Today

As noted above, the MI study showed a variation in attitudes in the four main regions of PNG. Partly because of this factor, the writer of this paper is taking examples from just one Highlands region, and it must be stressed that a careful study would need to be done to compare the attitudes and values expressed in that region with those of the other three regions of PNG.

The Melanesian Institute study did not ask explicit questions about young people's view of missionaries and mission impact. Therefore the writer conducted a study among Secondary and Tertiary students from the Enga Province (See Appendix D). The study was conducted with 63 students from the two Secondary Schools in the Province, and 11 Enga students at Divine Word University. Males outnumbered females 52 to 22. The majority of the students who participated were Catholic, with only five Lutherans and one each from the Assemblies of God, Jehovah's Witnesses, Seventh Day Adventist and Four Square Pentecostal church.

As may be seen from Table 1 (Appendix A). The majority of modern-day students have "good and thankful" feelings towards the early missionaries. They respect them for trying to learn the language (and culture) of the people. Only 9 of the 74 students could not name one of the early missionaries, but the rest could. Opinions are more diverse when it comes to questions of whether missionaries "destroyed" their culture, and whether the early missionaries had a positive or negative approach towards Enga culture. However the trend is still positive.⁴

There are various reasons why the students generally have positive attitudes towards the early missionaries. The most common reasons given are that they brought the Good News and development in terms of education and health services. Several noted that the mis-

sionaries did not use weapons and approached people in a more friendly manner than the earlier explorers. Enga student comments included the following:

When the first missionaries came, the Engans did not know them so they felt afraid. But the missionaries tried their best to attract them by giving the natives some modern items like salt, clothes, etc. As a result the Engans went close to the whites and worked together. Finally they became Christian.

Missionaries came to Enga not to destroy our culture but to add some more things (e.g., in our culture people are not allowed to steal and also the missionaries said that stealing is not a good habit.) Missionaries came to fulfil Enga with some good laws which are existing today.

The missionaries have come to Enga for our material, spiritual and physical benefit and to know what is really true from what is not true. According to the approach of the missionaries we know many things which are right from our traditional beliefs and the Christian life, etc.

When asked what the missionaries opposed, the frequency of responses from the 74 students is as follows: Polygamy (32), Tribal warfare (32), Magic and sorcery (26) Worshipping (evil) spirits (19), Stealing (8), Traditional healing (6), "Worshipping" spirits of the dead (6).

What traditional customs do the modern students feel fit well with Christian life today?

The most popular custom is the male initiation mentioned in 20 responses. In fact, male initiation is for the most part abandoned today. Other customs include: Compensation (13) ("It means reconciliation and bringing clans together"), Sharing (11), Bride price (10), Traditional dress and dancing on special occasions (8), Showing respect for others (4) (One added the traditional dictum, "and you will live a long life.")

What traditional customs do the modern students feel conflict with Christian life today?

Tribal fighting (24), Polygamy (21), "Worshipping" evil spirits (12), Paying compensation (9), Mourning for a long time after the death of a family member (4).

What aspects of modern Western culture do the students feel fit well with Christian life today? The most popular response to this ques-

tion was “clothes” or “dressing up” (7). Education and literacy came equal with seven responses, then health services and hygiene (3).

Notably, 5 students could not think of anything for the response to this question. Other responses included, equality for men and women, peace and law and order, and getting to know people from different cultural groups.

What aspects of modern Western culture do students feel conflict with Christian life?

Responses to this question included: Alcohol (14), Marijuana and other drugs (10), Discos and dances (12), Watching “bad” movies and videos (4). Other responses included: girls wearing short skirts “which encourages boys to rape them,” people being too busy to greet others properly, modern forms of the “wantok” system (nepotism), not sharing food, and modern (corrupt) political activities.

Comments made by the some of the female Enga students at Divine Word University are revealing:

Today I feel that my ideas and values are totally different because most of the good values that my parents and my grandparents practiced were dropped on the line or forgotten by me. For example, raising pigs, making gardens, going for initiation and so on. I think I drop most of our good cultural values, which I should try to fit in with parts of Western culture which I think are good and helpful and which fit my Christian life. But I do note the problem of totally different ideas and values from my parents and grandparents because they are able to fit themselves into both traditional and modern cultures.

Before the men were the superior beings. They taught that the women’s place was in the house and garden. Today, men and women are equal. In this changing world woman can do anything that men can do and even better.

Before girls were only ‘used’ by the relatives to get bride-price. It was as though she was just good at getting married. Today ladies have better things to do than just to getting married, for example, being educated, have a job and looking after their own family members.

In sum, the students today generally feel a real gulf between the lives of their parents and grandparents and their own lives. This is particularly apparent with educated young women. The findings from this study of Enga students complements the study conducted earlier

by the Melanesian Institute, particularly in their perception of what aspects of modern culture conflict with Christian life today. Focusing more on missionary efforts, it appears that the students themselves concur with what they understand were the customs opposed by the early missionaries.

Initiation rites, based on a pre-Christian cosmology, have been largely abandoned in the Enga province, yet it is notable that many students still see value in the rites. Although the initiation was only for males, female students also mentioned this custom in their responses. Traditionally the *sangai/sandalu* initiation rite was the most significant moment for young men to learn customs and values, and no doubt both young men and women today experience a moral vacuum and see initiation rites as a possible solution to this.

Modern Values and Young People today

Having identified some of the areas in which modern-day students in the Enga Province in PNG perceive how traditional and modern Western values fit or are in conflict with Christian life, I now try to assess the extent to which young Papua New Guineans are moving from the traditional value system of their parents to the value system typical of modern Western cultures.

Norman T. Feather has used an instrument with a list of 36 values taken from a cross-cultural study by M. Rokeach to assess how different nationalities rank in what he calls instrumental and terminal values. Terminal values are connected with "end states of existence" such as freedom, equality, and salvation. Instrumental values are "modes of conduct" such as being obedient, loving, responsible (See Appendix C). Included in Feather's study (from 1971) was a group of 1128 tertiary students from the University of Papua New Guinea, Unitech, five Teachers' Colleges, an Agricultural College, and the Administration College in Port Moresby. In the study, males outnumbered females four to one. Table 2 (Appendix B) presents the results of the same study conducted with male students at the Catholic seminary at Bomana in 2000, and also surveys conducted at one High School and two Secondary Schools in the Enga Province in 2002. In Enga, 97 students responded, 78 males and 19 females. The male and female responses are shown separately for comparison.

The PNG students generally rate ambition, a sense of accomplishment and independence far lower than their counterparts overseas. Moreover, the PNG students place a higher value on "social" values such as forgiving, being helpful, and particularly being obedient

and polite. Equality also rates higher with the Enga students. On the other hand, honesty, which received the highest rating in Australia and the USA (and in the PNG Tertiary Students study) ranks lower with the Enga students, possibly due to social pressures which have to be balanced with a value such as being honest. Values receiving a high rating elsewhere, such as being broad-minded, freedom, and mature love do not rate so high with the Enga students.

How might the Enga students rate against the values observed previously in the wisdom passed on to their parents and grandparents: values such as respect, industriousness, proscriptive and community oriented values for men, and values such as strength and hard work, delayed gratification, fertility and "garden, home and hearth" values for women? Obviously the list from Norman Feather does not bear direct comparison with those values. Nevertheless, one sees a reflection of such values in the responses of the Enga students.⁵

The male students rank "self-control" as the most important value. Self-discipline and self-control are important virtues for a social individual in support of his community. Boys were to be taught the discipline of leaving the warm house to go out into the cold early in the morning lest they become soft and lazy. The three highest values given by the male students: self-control, responsibility and honesty, are all virtues much appreciated in traditional society. Other values given a high rating such as being polite, helpful and forgiving fit well with the high value given to respect in traditional culture. The low rating for "ambition" is an anomaly given the observations of the early missionaries of the common desire to become a "Big Man."

The female students rate forgiveness as the highest value and rank equality far lower than their male counterparts. The example was given previously in section 6 of a girl being taught to "swallow" the bitter words of her husband as she would swallow ginger. Enga women are by no means docile or passive, but they are seldom if ever in favour of warfare, and at times offered themselves in marriage to someone from an enemy clan in order to facilitate the peace-making process. One may also see the high rating given to "loving" "helpful" and "polite"-all values that are important in domestic life.

Thus, while the students observe that they live in a different world with different ideas and values, yet their values according to the perceived ranking of instrumental and terminal values indicates that they are still social individuals with a high regard for the values and virtues required for living a communal rather than an individualistic lifestyle. The high value given to "self-respect" "comfort" and "happiness" some-

times leads to conflict in the lives of young people having to juggle traditional discipline and modern self-expression, the personal and the social, in their lives (as shown in the example at the beginning of this paper).

Missionary Intervention and Change

To what extent has missionary intervention been part of these developments? The mission enterprise has had both a transformational and a conservative effect in terms of people's values.

Historically the Churches have provided the bulk of educational and medical services in PNG. Commenting on education prior to World War II, John Kadiba says, "What little education the Colonial Administration achieved was through the mission agencies, which were solely responsible for educational work until 1941 (Kadiba 1989:279). It was not until 1985 that government school enrolments rose higher than those in mission schools (Fergie1993:15). Even today the Churches provide 45 % of PNG health services (49 % in rural areas), 60 % of general nurse training, and 100 % of community health worker training.

No matter how much one might try to avoid it, education and health work erode traditional values. Children come to school and for many this means living away from their families. Boys and girls sit together and relate in ways that would be unimaginable in the village setting. With new-found ways to wisdom, the traditional structures for transmitting the wisdom of the ancestors in initiation rites and other rituals have gradually fallen into disuse. Modern medicine was the greatest challenge to traditional religious practices. It did not take people long to notice that often an injection of Penicillin was more effective (and "cheaper") than killing a pig to placate an angry spirit. So, intentionally or inadvertently, the missions' involvement in education and health contributed to undermining traditional values and to promoting values associated with a modern scientific worldview including the undisputed primacy of reason and the concept of the emancipated, autonomous individual (Bosch 1991:342).

The missions also had a conservative effect in that they tried to promote human, religious and communal values in the face of secular influences. Many Papua New Guineans have noted that almost all the Ten Commandments of the Judeo-Christian tradition can be found in their own Melanesian traditions. In promoting teachings such as the Commandments, the missions may well have been helping to preserve traditional values.

However, there are two significant areas in which the Christian and Traditional Melanesian traditions differ. Firstly, the Christian tradition proposes a “love” ethic whereby “love of God and one’s neighbour” is the primary motivation for Christian behaviour. By contrast, as may be seen in some of the examples given already in this paper, the motivation for action in traditional society was often one of fear. One helped one’s parents while they were alive for fear of their ghostly revenge. One tried to live a virtuous life lest one’s life be shortened. Christian “God-fearing”- an expression one hears often these days in reference to politicians - is more “respect” and is considered one of the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit by the Church. Of course ideal and reality never match and one could debate to what degree Christian love has become accepted as a supreme value in peoples’ lives.

The second significant area is the status of women. As may be seen from the comments of the female students in the section above on “Mission Impact Viewed Today”, women no longer see themselves as having been “bought” by their husband’s clan to serve and obey their husbands. Fr. Gerard Bus noted how he would intervene if he felt a woman was being mistreated. People also observed the lives of married missionary couples. Church-run institutions like Divine Word University have a policy of gender equality in the selection of students. This is one area where missionary intervention has, and still is, having an effect on values in PNG society.

Conclusion

This study has obvious limitations, particularly in its bias towards responses from members of the Catholic Church. It would be interesting to broaden the study to include Pentecostals such as members of the Assemblies of God, and Seventh Day Adventists. Responses from a more diverse group might differ in some ways from those given in this paper.

Nevertheless, as we have seen, the “moral muddle” pointed out by Garry Trompf, has resulted in various responses: continuity, conflict, change and confusion. For many young people the latter response predominates. One of the female Enga students from Divine Word University comments:

One very shameful thing from this generation is we don’t know our own customs and traditions. Even some do not speak their mother language. We let this modern culture influence so much that we get out of hand. Instead of practising good things the young people do the most disgusting things like: taking drugs,

using condoms and sleeping with anybody they meet, not respecting elders and parents, learn how to handle dangerous weapons, and rarely think about God. We should follow only the good values of both the new and the old.

How to follow the “good” values of both new and old? Sr. Stella Kambis, AD, in a talk to Papua New Guinean sisters at Xavier Institute, Port Moresby, comments as follows:

By nature and culture we are happy, friendly and care-free people. Our energy and vitality come from our relationships with people and nature. This is how we derive our Melanesianness and identity. This is where we encounter God who gifted us with the values of sharing, loving, compassion, community, celebration, song and dance and so on, as well as our sense of respect for ancestry and nature that express the values of the kingdom of God. ... We come to these stages in our life, and it looks like we are on a crossroad. Which way to go? *Tumbuna* [ancestral] ways are in question, certain structures in culture are being shifted, changes have come, and I believe it is good that they come. We have to find new directions, new ways, new ideas to suit us at this point in our life.

“Mission” has now become “Church” and it is the local church that has the task of accompanying people as they seek to discover values to guide their lives in a rapidly changing world. A danger lies in a fundamentalist approach that perceives the world in black and white or good and evil. The challenge is to discover in everyday reality — whether in principles like reciprocity, or customary practices such as compensation — both cultural values and the Gospel challenge to those values.

ENDNOTES

- 1 One of many examples given by Joyce is a simple test for aggression. Joyce unexpectedly tossed a lemon to Enga boys [PNG Highlands]. In 80% of the cases ($n = 20$) the Enga warded the object away to the ground. The same experiment performed in Rabaul [PNG Islands] resulted in 100% attempts either to catch the lemon or to ignore it. Joyce concludes: “Aggression appears as a well conditioned response to possible threats among the Enga. There seems to be a predisposition to regard an unknown situation primarily as threatening” (Joyce 1974:12).
2. I wish to thank the PNG students and Enga people who helped by willingly, responding to my endless questions, and those who assisted me, particularly, Regina Tanda, Joseph Lakane and Philip Maso. I also wish to thank Dr. Willard Burce, Fr. Gerard Bus, Fr. Tony Korl, Fr. Bernard Fishher and Rev. Otto Hintze for the historical information they provided.

3. David Tibu, personal communication, Department of Labour and Employment, October 21, 2002.
4. In feedback from seminary students in the second year Anthropology Course at Catholic Theological Institute in Port Moresby, it appears that, in contrast to the Highlands, students from the Islands region, which received missionaries more than fifty years before the Highlands, tend to be more critical of early missionaries. For example, one student from East New Britain writes, "Missionaries came and introduced a foreign culture-Christianity-that, to some extent has some things in common with the traditional Melanesian religion. But without prior and proper assessment of the new environment and culture in which they found themselves, they tried to eradicate the people's cultures and to replace it with the culture of Christianity, by regarding the traditional Melanesian practices as evil and satanic, the result of which is a culture clash and thus confusion."

Another seminary student from West New Britain writes, "It is very saddening to see today that our cultures and traditions have changed dramatically. Some of its values have been lost. It is due to the fact that many missionary fanatics in the past emphasised so much on their exotic Christian teachings that were so contradicting and suppressing toward the Melanesian cultures. ... Because many cultures have been destroyed, it is a formidable task for one (as a Melanesian) to today revive and revitalise them for the good of Christianity and the people-meaning we are losing some of our valued cultures-a gift from God Himself. What a sad thing."
5. The high ranking of "mature love" by celibate seminarians at Bomana merits comment as does the lowest rating for "a world of beauty" by both male and female Enga students

Appendix A

Table 1. Attitudes of Modern-Day Enga Students to the Early Missionaries

Question	Response Choices	Wabag Secondary N = 42 M = 32 F = 10	Kopen Secondary N = 21 M = 17 F = 4	Divine Word University N = 11 M = 3 F = 8
1. What expression best describes your feeling about the early missionaries who came to Enga?	I have good and thankful feelings towards them	37	21	11
	I have angry negative feelings towards them.	2	0	0
	I have no feelings either way	3	0	0
2. Many of the early missionaries tried to learn and use the local Enga language. How do you feel about that?	They were wasting their time.	0	0	0
	I respect them for trying to learn the language	40	21	11
	I have no feelings either way.	2	0	0
3. Some people today say that "The missionaries destroyed our culture". Do you agree or disagree with this statement?	I agree that they did destroy our culture	17	1	4
	I disagree with the statement	24	19	6
	I don't know.	1	1	1
4. Do you think the early missionaries had a positive approach to Enga culture or a negative approach?	Positive	17	8	4
	Negative	2	2	1
	Both positive and negative	21	8	5
	I don't know	2	3	1

Appendix B

Table 2a, Comparison of Rank Order of Median Scores on Instrumental Values

(The lower the median the higher the relative importance of the value)

Instrumental Values	High and Secondary Schools, in Enga Province, PNG. 2002 Male N= 78	High and Secondary Schools, in Enga Province, PNG. 2002 Female N = 19	Bomana Seminararians PNG (2000) N = 35	PNG Tertiary Students (M/F 1971) N = 1128	Male Students, Flinders University, Australia (1971)	Male Students Michigan State University, USA (1971)
Ambitious	15	10.5	14	5	6	3
Broad-minded	11	15	6	13	2	4
Capable	9	13	13	12	8	5
Cheerful	12	14	15	11	9	15
Clean	16	16	16	15	17	17
Courageous	13	10.5	12	8	10	8
Forgiving	5	1	8	7	11	12
Helpful	7	3	10	2	13	14
Honest	3	5	3	1	1	1
Imaginative	18	17	17	18	15	13
Independent	17	18	18	16	7	6
Intellectual	14	10	4	14	14	9
Logical	10	9	11	17	12	7
Loving	6	2	5	9	4	11
Obedient	8	6	7	4	18	18
Polite	4	4	9	6	16	16
Responsible	2	7	1	3	3	2
Self-control	1	8	2	10	5	10

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Table 2a, Comparison of Rank Order of Median Scores on Instrumental Values

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Instrumental Values	High and Secondary Schools, in Enga Province, PNG. 2002 Male N= 77	High and Secondary Schools, in Enga Province, PNG. 2002 Female N = 19	Bomana Seminars PNG (2000) N = 35	PNG Tertiary Students (M/F 1971) N = 1128	Male Students, Flinders University, Australia (1971)	Male Students Michigan State University, USA (1971)
Comfortable life	4	6	17	11	13	11
An exciting life	16	17	14	13	11	12
Sense of accomplishment	13	12	13	15	4	5
A world at peace	7	4	9	1	9	10
World of beauty	18	18	16	18	15	18
Equality	3	8	5	2	10	13
Family security	11	16	12	5.5	12	7
Freedom	6	9	6	3	3	1
Happiness	5	3	8	9	7	2
Inner harmony	9	5	4	12	8	9
Mature love	10	15	3	17	5	6
National security	17	11	15	5.5	17	17
Pleasure	15	14	18	16	14	15
Salvation	12	10	10	8	18	16
Self-respect	2	2	2	14	6	4
Social recognition	14	13	11	10	16	14
True friendship	8	7	7	4	2	8
Wisdom	1	1	1	7	1	3

Appendix C

Instrumental and Terminal Values Questionnaire

Below are two lists of values. Please rank the two lists by putting a number behind each of the values, putting the number 1 for the value you feel is most important for you, and 2 for the next, 3 for the next in importance, and so on until you get to 18.

Instrumental Values	Rank here 1-18
Ambitious	
Broad-minded	
Capable	
Cheerful	
Clean	
Courageous	
Forgiving	
Helpful	
Honest	
Imaginative	
Independent	
Intellectual	
Logical	
Loving	
Obedient	
Polite	
Responsible	
Self-controlled	

Terminal Values	Rank here 1-18
A comfortable life	
An exciting life	
A sense of accomplishment	
A world at peace	
A world of beauty	
Equality	
Family security	
Freedom	
Happiness	
Inner harmony	
Mature love	
National security	
Pleasure	
Salvation	
Self-respect	
Social recognition	
True friendship	
Wisdom	

Year (circle one): 1 2 3 4 5 6

Home (circle one): Papua Highlands Momase Islands
Solomons

Appendix D
Questionnaire

(No...

<i>Name: (optional)</i> <i>Age:</i> <i>Grade: 9 10 11 12</i>	<i>Gender: (a) male (b) female</i> <i>Place/Clan:</i> <i>Church:</i>
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Today the Christian Churches in Enga are for the most part led by Papua New Guineans. However most of these churches were started/planted by expatriate missionaries. This questionnaire is intended to find out more about the attitude of young people from Enga (in High School or Secondary School) towards the early missionaries and their cultural values.

The information will be used in a paper being prepared by Fr. Philip Gibbs on the topic of "Melanesian and Western values and how they impact as a result of missionary interaction." Fr Philip will be happy to forward a copy of the paper to the school, once it is finished.

1. What expression best describes your feeling about the early missionaries who came to Enga? (mark one box)

- I have good and thankful feelings towards them
- I have angry negative feelings towards them.
- I have no feelings either way.

2. Many of the early missionaries tried to learn and use the local Enga language. How do you feel about that? (mark one box only)

- They were wasting their time
- I respect them for trying to learn the language
- I have no feelings either way

3. Your parents and grandparents may have told you stories about some of the early missionaries. Can you write down the names of some of the very early missionaries from your church (the first ones that were here in the 1940's and 1950's)

- I don't know any of their names
- I know some names. They are

4. Some people today say that "the missionaries destroyed our culture." Do you agree or disagree with this statement? (mark one box)

- I agree that they did destroy our culture
- I disagree with the statement
- I don't know

5. Do you think that the early missionaries had a positive approach to Enga culture or a negative approach?

- positive • negative • both positive and negative • don't know

If you marked any of the first three boxes above, please explain why you gave that response. Try to give some practical examples.

6. Did the early missionaries forbid (tambu) people to do certain things or to follow certain customs?

- Yes, they did forbid some things • No, they did not forbid anything

If you answered "yes" then list some of the things that they forbade.

7. In your opinion, are there some traditional Enga values and customs that fit well with Christian life today? If so, what are they?

8. In your opinion, are there some traditional Enga values and customs that conflict or do not fit well with Christian life today. If so, what are they?

9. In your opinion, are there some aspects of "modern Western" culture that fit well with Christian life today? If so, what are they?

10. In your opinion, are there some aspects of "modern Western" culture that conflict or do not fit well with Christian life today. If so, what are they?

11. Do you feel that your values and ideas are different from those of your parents and grandparents?

- Different
- No Difference

If you answered that your values and ideas are different please explain giving examples.

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