

**Chapter 1 : Faculty & Staff | Gewertz, Deborah B. | Amherst College**

*Class has become a feature of life in Papua New Guinea, evident in both 'traditional' and 'modern' settings. This book examines the emergence of class differences and its social and cultural ramifications in Wewak, capital of the East Sepik Province.*

Robert Welsch book reviews comes to grips in any way with the genuine en- It is all the more ironic, then, that it should be vironmental justice and human rights claims Oates who levels the charge oi paternalism advanced by community groups affected by against the proponents of community based conservation measures throughout the conti- conservation for "trying to improve the lot oi nent. In Nige- well to popular audiences in Britain. Contem- ria, the greatest threat to the Okomu ecosystem porary fans oi Durrell will doubtless enjoy Oates sought to protect came not from any reading Oates as well. Myth and Reality in the kind of integrated community conservation Rainforest will also appeal to those who are project but from large scale commercial oil specifically concerned with the fate of the pri- palm concessions granted by the Nigerian mates Oates describes. This book is certainly a state. Also in Nigeria, funding for the Oban vivid report from the front lines in the battle to Hills section of Cross Rivers National Park was save them. Readers looking for thoughtful in- cut off when donors withdrew support after the sight into the politics surrounding community- Nigerian government executed environmental based conservation efforts, though, should activist Ken Saro-Wiwa. It is true that local resi- look elsewhere. The amples illustrate very clearly what effect the Telling of Difference. Cewertzand community-based conservation model has Frederick K. Cambridge had on park-people dynamics. Instead, they University Press, Instead, Oates invokes a dualistic develop- Instead, back in those heady days, people ment model and uses the poverty of park hoped that removing the externally imposed neighbors to justify greater police presence: Even in developed countries where This ideal of a class- parks have broad public support, these areas less society seemed plausible at the time be- have to be patrolled. In developing cause class formation was only barely incipi- countries, where there may be less local ent. The black elite was still small then, and it support and where some resources inside a still had strong roots in the rural communities park such as the wood of even a single tree, that made up most of the country. Indeed, back or the meat oi a single antelope are rela- then nearly all members of the elite were peo- tively very valuable compared to average in- ple who had spent their early years in villages. This slender book shows con- and interests and on voluntarily assumed civic vincingly that, by the midsâ€™a mere two responsibilities" p. Coordinate with this, decades after PNG independenceâ€™moder- middle-class people are far less likely than nity in the large island nation was already their poor relatives in the village and squatter tightly bound up with distinctions of class. The settlements to define their identities in the id- egalitarian ethos of Melanesian village com- iom of kin-based clan and ethnic solidarities, munities, far from being projected onto the na- preferring instead to define themselves by their tion at large, was losing out rather badly, even patterns of commodity consumption and by in rural areas, to a rapid and accelerating proc- their membership in voluntary associations ess oi class formation that built on widening such as the Rotary Club, differences between town life and village life, Middle-class Papua New Guineans, like and between money economy and subsis- middle-class people elsewhere, justify their tence economy. A new national black elite, ur- own privilege by various rhetorical "sleights oi ban and affluent, had indeed taken the place oi hand" p. Quickly and quietly, erty while representing their own wealth as the independence-era ideal of a virtually class- hard-won and a sign oi personal worth. Al- less society had gone by the boards. In separate chapters they describe We- villagers. Each oi these vignettes illustrates self- umes, Twisted Histories, Altered Contexts justifications and premises of the new middle- Cambridge University Press, and Ar- class ethos. Also, in a chapter dealing with the ticulating Change in the "Last Unknown" "exclusions of class," the authors tell the story Westview Press, These relatives, if unchecked, would tions in actual eventsâ€™a Geertzian thick de- exhaust their resources through numerous scription. Thus, middle- Gewertz and Errington do not aspire to offer class Papua New Guineans try to participate as a comprehensive sociology of class, or a politi- little as possible in the traditional exchange cal economy or history of national class forma- system central to village lifeâ€™a "system

of al- tion. By preference, they participate instead in that people make of them in particular social "noncorporate, choice-generated, relatively contexts. As the authors observe, social distinc- fluid networks based on friendships, on shared tions of a kind that were formerly unintelligible book reviews in New Guinea have come to seem natural. The authors thus examine how shells, wives, ritual knowledge, trading part-middle-class Papua New Guineans justify their ners and allies " p. It is highly accessible, modern Western individualism. They offer revealing illustrations of how fending off the claims that their relatives press issues of class inflect everyday life. For readers on them to get a share of their wealth. True, their fortnightly earnings to spend" [p. Actually, PNG vil- their willingness to present uncomfortable and lagers also posit social distinctions that are unpopular truths, paint a convincing and, at categorical, essential, and ontologicalâ€”the times, disturbing picture of the growing dis- members of one group, for example, deriding parities of class in PNG urban life, providing an members of another group for being descend- important document of the emerging national ed from lowly eels. The Emerg- so characterized were out of earshot. But al- ing Public Sphere. Eickelman and Jon though the authors present what middle-class W. Indiana Uni- people actually say when comfortably among versity Press, It is from New Media in the Muslim World offers one this synthetic point of view that differences of of the first sustained examinations of the social status in village communities "were largely significance of new Islamic media and seems commensurate, based upon fluctuating degree assured a foundational place in an expanding rather than, as with class to say nothing of scholarly field.

**Chapter 2 : Cheap Meat by Deborah Gewertz, Frederick Errington - Paperback - University of California Pr**

*Class has become a feature of life in Papua New Guinea, evident in both "traditional" and "modern" settings. This book examines the emergence of class differences and its social and cultural ramifications in Wewak, capital of the East Sepik Province. It movingly conveys the injuries of class.*

In lieu of an abstract, here is a brief excerpt of the content: The Contemporary Pacific Cambridge University Press, Papua New Guinea left behind the indignities of colonial rule only in the s. To produce their fine-grained picture of "the social and cultural work of creating new forms of distinction," Gewertz and Errington drew on their ties with the "grass roots," as the poor majority of Papua New Guineans are known. They also entered what remains the "last unknown" for many anthropologists working in Papua New Guinea, the private precincts of the emerging Papua New Guinean middle class. Gewertz and Errington show members of this new elite building a self-conscious community and assuring each other that they deserve their privileges. They also show the middle class giving the grass roots "a sentimental education in self-blame" and the pain and anger of grassroots Papua New Guineans who find their efforts to cross class boundaries or make traditional social claims on members of the middle class coldly repelled. Gewertz and Errington are sharply critical of these developments. In fact, their book is unabashedly polemical. A strong statement on class is completely in order, and this one rests on solid ethnography. As I made my way through this book, however, two related points began to nag at me. First, the authors frequently compare the cruelties of class with indigenous social forms. They generally portray the latter sympathetically. This could easily lead a naive reader to romanticize indigenous Papua New Guinean society and take a one-dimensional view of the motives of those who wish to distance themselves from it. As the authors point out, a "strenuous egalitarianism" characterized much indigenous Papua New Guinean life. But so, too, did strenuous domination of men over women of which the authors take note and of old over young. Of such things, Gewertz and Errington make only fleeting mention. This is consistent with their picture of the motives behind middle-class efforts to attenuate obligations to "their kin and co-culturalists," which focuses exclusively on the desire to shelter resources in order to enjoy affluence. Fully acknowledging the dark side of life [End Page ] in indigenous communities, however, one can conceive of more mixed or varied motives. One can conceive of Papua New Guineans, for example, seeking affluence in order to attenuate traditional obligations as well as the reverse. Second, Gewertz and Errington tend to treat every nonindigenous social and cultural form or impulse such as a preference for freely chosen rather than kin-based social relations or a rationalist attitude toward traditional customs only in terms of its contribution to class formation. It is important to show how such taken-for-granted western values as choice or rationalism can have class content. But is this so always and everywhere or is it a matter of historical context? I imagine that Gewertz and Errington are thinking of how these values function under the particular historical circumstances they found in Papua New Guinea, but they do not make this clear. If a reader assumed that they intended a blanket, nonhistorical criticism, it would reinforce a romantic view of indigenous society and an oversimplified view of the issues facing Papua New Guinea. Only in their penultimate

**Chapter 3 : Cultural Anthropology | The Work of Deborah Gewertz and Frederick Errington**

*1 The middle class - the (new) Melanesian way The Wewak Rotary Club We begin our talk about the emerging nature of class distinction in contemporary Papua New Guinea life with discussion of a par-*

The Emerging Middle Class in Papua New Guinea and the heightened awareness of gender issues and political participation by middle class women in the 21st century 2 Table of Contents 1. Savior of the grassrootsâ€¦ Emergence of pol thinking middle class womanâ€¦10 3. Middle class women in civ serviceâ€¦.. Women in the poli arenaâ€¦. This paper aims to look a emergence of the Papua New Guinean Melanesian middle class in contrast to the definition and classification of what should consist of a middle class in the western context. The paper particularly aims to look at the gender component of the emergence of this class, how women in the middle class are responding to the agenda of gender equality and participation as well as their views regarding the treatment of women at all levels. It is inevitably predictable that women in this rising class hold to a great degree the key to mobilizing and strategically elevating women to that level were there is equal footing in areas that are predominantly male oriented - such as elections, political representation and a voice in matters of public and national interest. Much of what this paper will be discussing is drawn from my own empirical experiences, growing up in a middle class family that had emerged out from a traditional middle class setting. Undoubtedly being part of this class stratum allows me to relate to the experiences and transitions that the present modern PNG middle class in going through. As such, before launching into full discussion on the emergence of this middle class in PNG and the gender perspective of this argument, we will firstly look at the generalized concept of the middle class; this paper will use examples from discourse of the emergence of the middle class in India to contrast with this rising class in PNG - although both countries have a stark difference in terms of length of colonial history and culture, PNG can still identify with the evolution of the middle class in India. Further, we will also look at western discourses of the emergence of the middle class in the course of the discussion, as the middle class is inherently hugely a western creation. Looking closely at the rise of the middle class in India, a country which has had over a century of colonialism and even more so, has more years as an independent country is a giant leap in comparison to PNG. However the common denominator between these two countries is that PNG is following a path in seeing the rise of a middle class that has similar traits to that of India. Joshi describes the middle class as: While financially comfortable, they are people who do need to work to earn a living. This was one factor, which distinguished them from the richest strata of Indian society, such as the large hereditary landlords or the remnants of an indigenous aristocracy. The other even more significant factor was their distance, economically, socially and culturally from the lower classes. These chiefly families were the first to be in contact with the colonial officers and thus were the first to send their children to colonial or missionary schools giving them the upper hand over the rest of the community. With the advantage of having the first opportunity to access education; these families were then able to engage earlier in commercial activities, making profits and further raising the status of their family in the immediate community which eventually led to them having access to what is classified middle class livelihood, as has been the case of the emergence and access of the category of people according to Joshi. Oxford University Press, , pg xix. Namorong clearly points out the class strata identified in the Melanesian conscious: The village people are the traditional inhabitants of Lae; the settlement people live in squalid conditions in makeshift homes and are generally poor. The block people are settlers who hold a block of land and the street people are those who live in residential areas of Lae with proper street names, thus the term street people. Deborah Gewertz and Frederick Errington in their book - Emerging class in Papua New Guinea, The telling of Difference studied the different making of classes in Wewak, a relatively rapidly evolving township in the north east of mainland PNG; Gewertz and Errington identified the middle class as: Cambridge University Press, ,Pg. Being a country that has strong traditional kinship ties - the desire to live more comfortable lives that measure somewhat, up to global

standards has been a driving force in this increased distancing between the middle class and the grassroots. In a culturally heterogeneous society, diverging from the norm of dealing with issues at a shared-community level sometimes proves to be troublesome, but the benefits of being able to save and take care of one's own family is out-weighing clan and tribal affiliations. I, as a teenager was always abhorred, when some relative from the village visited unannounced - in the context of this discussion, my behavior simply reflected the distancing from the traditional that both my parents aspired for - although not genocidal, it simply reflects a shift in the modernity of the middle class. In the last decade or so, families with one sole breadwinner have been replaced with dual-income households. University of Minnesota Press, , pg This subject shall be pursued later on during the course of this discussion. Asking questions of who this middle class is and what this middle class is identified by. This will be followed by looking into the emergence of the middle class woman, how she is taking up a path that is contrary to the stereotype of PNG women. The paper will then go on to discuss the middle class woman as a political thinking woman in PNG - asking questions like, when did this middle class woman start thinking politically? What do the next 10 to 15 years look like for women in politics with politically thinking women in the helm of PNG development and intellectual community? We will then close with a conclusion on the discussion, looking also at obstacles that are ever present for women in PNG. There have been two direct impacts of the mining sector on the middle class and subsequently national development; firstly the opening of these operations also meant more job opportunities and the recruitment of skilled and tertiary level educated Papua New Guineans; this also meant these workers were equipped with the means to afford luxury goods and services. Secondly, with the boom in this industry, this meant that other sectors such as retailing, real estate, education, health and security rose to satisfy the demand of the increased consumer base. New Traditionally the middle class in PNG consisted of tertiary graduates with jobs either in the education, health and law enforcement sectors - however, the new middle class has shifted from the traditional form of what defines a middle class. More of new middle class Papua New Guineans have occupations as Lawyers, doctors, pilots or work in the mining sector with packages that are very attractive- not only are the job packages the factor of attraction, but that desire to live comfortably and enjoy luxuries such as owning better cars, having better health- care and better education for their children - high school and university education in Australia has been the preferred and affordable place to send children for education, however now more families are sending their children to the United States - this showing the level of desire for consumption for better educational options increase. Thus, this trend has become very popular for upper middle class families who see this as important for their children to have better options than they did. Better educational options is one identifiable trait of a middle class family, but also owning nice homes with luxury goods such as flat TV screens, big sound systems, apple laptops, internet phones, fridges, microwaves and washing machines has become identified as being middle class. Now increasing, not only are educated individuals found in the middle class strata, but also skilled, semi-skilled and self-made business people are found to enjoy the luxuries of a middle class and being identified as middle class. Because of the optimism of the demand by consumers, retailers are betting heavily that the recent growth trends will continue and that there is still enough room in the market for further retail stores. This contradictory inclination can be viewed as a positive feature, as the middle classes desire to expect more with its increased the 12 Economic Update - PNG Rise of Retail, [http:](http://) On the other hand, the middle class cannot simply wish away the urban poor - for all its worth, they need the urban and rural poor. PNG has not reached a genocidal perspective of its rural and urban poor, but as Gewertz and Errington shows this middle class is moving further away and becoming disconnected from their village, clan and tribal affiliations. This fact of the PNG middle class distancing it-self from the urban and rural poor is happening slowly but will eventually be an important identifying mark of the new middle class. But, PNG as well as being very culturally diverse with over languages and very distinct cultural regions - we see that even the middle class has strong affiliations with their village and cultural connections. As the late prominent lawyer and statesman Bernard Narokobi pointed out in his work *The Melanesian Way*: One of the most essential elements of Melanesian society is its close human relations I believe it is this mentality of helping kinsmen that has a burden on middle class people, this is what they would like to distance themselves from; the transition will surely take some time to happen. Narokobi

continues on the dilemma of keeping with kinship ties and venturing into the western affiliations of life: Of course not all help is readily given, but to those who share, help is never denied. To a certain degree the thought that giving help will guarantee a reciprocal in the future is a strong notion that keeps the working class person affiliated to the kinsmen. Personal human relationships are sacrificed for professional titles. As pointed out by Joshi, Fernandes and others have shown in the case of the emergence of the Indian middle class, it is the middle class that will be the determining force, the force to drive development and change in PNG. However the grassroots cannot relate to the elite predatory elite of which they sometimes regard with suspicion and disregard. But the demeanor of the grassroots toward the middle class is somewhat tolerable and mild - in the sense that it is the middle class worker - a teacher, nurse, a banker, law enforcement officer - that comes into contact and interacts with the grassroots person in a daily basis. This somewhat mutual relationship and imagined commonality between the middle class and the grassroots gives the middle class the impression and sense of responsibility and obligation to push for a better and egalitarian society. However disconnected this middle class vision may be, this is what the PNG middle class hopes and aspires for. This aspiration and connection that the middle class feels is true in its approach towards politics particularly. Even-though, it is the case that politically affiliated and stable families take up the run for political office, it is common to see candidates from the middle class run for office too, displaying the sense of responsibility to the rural and urban poor. On this note, we realize the aspiration of the middle class woman for political office, this will be discussed further.

**Rise of the Politically Thinking Middle Class Woman** In the limited discourse of the middle class in Papua New Guinea, there is very little mention of the middle class woman - to put it more correctly, women were rarely mentioned in the development of this class, purely as a result of the dominant patriarchal cultural normative that are very strong in PNG society. Women in traditional society are restricted to the private domain and are rarely allowed to venture out into public spaces, particularly in matters of village, clan and tribal concern. Women were respected, but that respect is very much restricted to the domains of the private family affairs; Bride-price payments for women are a source of wealth for 16 Ibid, This practice of giving bride price is very much becoming a commercialized activity, where there is no self worth awarded to the woman; as a person she has become a object to be commoditized and seen only as the mother of children. Cultural norms and strong traditional customs put great restrictions on the woman and what she was allowed to do. Entering the male dominant arena was forbidden and women were scorned and scolded if they ventured out to those arenas - particularly the area of leadership and negotiation, or work that was considered something only men could do. PNG has matrilineal societies, and even though the women own the land, most often decisions in issues concerning the whole village are decided upon by the men. We should remember that PNG has had just less than 40 years of Independence, and is still an evolving society, but is evolving fast. The emergence of the middle class after independence to the 21st century has been revolutionary for women; with more families adapting to westernization and globalization - with the emphasis put on education, introduction of avenues of communication, access to internet and the opportunity to travel abroad have created a desire to leave the traditional ways and move into the more attractive, modern way of livelihood. Empowerment through Education With more contemporary and liberal views implemented by the government and accepted by Papua New Guineans, the number of women put through educational institutions has increased. Here, we see that the middle class being a class that wishes to be comparable and is desirous of the west is the very class that embraces the notion of equal educational opportunities and equal participation of women in economic ventures. It is this class that is also becoming more liberal and embracing the notion of equal participation of women in politics and parliamentary representation. As pointed out earlier in the introduction of this discussion, middle class identity in PNG is now being very much inclusive of women, in-fact women are becoming major contributing factors to the growth of this middle class. As Fernandes mentioned of the Indian middle classes need for a dual-income middle class family; similarly, in PNG with increased 12 costs of living, working class women have become an established norm in society. This very much reflects my journey as an educated PNG woman; the choices and opportunities available to middle class women have surpassed a level that could only be dreamt of by women only one generation ago. Education and access to opportunities have certainly set the stage for middle class women. Middle class women have broken barriers, fulfilling the

need to suffice the families livelihood and to contribute to family income, these women are taking up occupations that are viewed as traditionally male occupations - more PNG women are venturing into the minerals extraction industry, jobs involving working with heavy machinery, jobs in aviation and more recently joining the military. All these added experiences and educational exploits have instigated one thing; it has raised the consciousness of the rights and equalities that women can have. Globalization alerts women to the possibilities of living in a society that is free and equal; further globalization and the integration of PNG as a part of the international community gives women access to information and importantly provisions that push forward for the equality of all. Equipped with this the middle class woman then takes ownership of the responsibility to be an agent of change for disadvantaged women, particularly grassroots women. Middle class women and civil service In expressing their concern for the rural and urban poor, middle class women are leading or being part of organizations that aim to address issues concerning the welfare of women. Middle class women see that the government is not doing enough to address pressing issues such as violence against women, inequality and discrimination of women. Importantly she pointed out that emergence of civil organizations by women in the middle class focused on charity work with no particular political intentions, they ventured into civic service because the public and political space did not hold any promises for them, thus care for the poor was an important part of local self-government. Duke University Press, , pg A good example of such charity and non-governmental organizations is like, Women Arise - PNG, a group formed in early by mostly working class women with the mobilization and support of other women from the grassroots to address the issue of the increasing and alarming cases of sorcery related killings of women and vulnerable members of society. Law enforcement officers could not help in fear of instigating a crowd outrage. This view has been changed and evolved to a level where everyone now knows that committing violence against women is a crime that can be punished. It is important here to note that society did not magically wake up to realization that violence against women is a crime, society actually condoned these act of violence as an act of punishment and reprimanding women; this realization can be accredited to the emergence of the middle class, educated woman. Because, these crimes were committed against a group that is vulnerable and weak in society, the dominant or women of the predatory elite cannot understand and comprehend, to put correctly, cannot relate to the feelings of inadequacy and lowness that is accorded women of lower classes. It is the middle class woman who raised the alarm to the discrimination and abuses that women face. Violence and inequality permeates through all classes regardless of how educated a woman can become or how good her lifestyle is, and so violence and inequality become the common denominator for all women. The suffering is the same. Thus, here we see, that the grassroots woman is unable and does not have the platform to air her concerns - instead she lives a life of being the subject of violence and 21 Ibid, The woman in the elite class, has no reason to concern herself with the problems of the grassroots or middle class woman, she is too busy engaged in mundane activities that accompany the lives for the upper class.

**Chapter 4 : Criminal Justice in Papua New Guinea**

*Class has become a feature of life in Papua New Guinea, evident in both 'traditional' and 'modern' settings. This book examines the emergence of class differences and its social and cultural ramifications in Wewak, capital of the East Sepik Province, and movingly conveys the injuries of class inequalities.*

According to Dinnen n. It is a Melanesian country comprised of differentiated and fragmented communities. The country is largely underdeveloped Banks, It also comprises a number of islands to the east, which includes New Britain, New Ireland and Bougainville Dinnen, n. Before the successive colonialism, the indigenous Papua New Guinean population is known to live a subsistence lifestyle. Their lives were simple with only concerns on how to survive each day. They relied on rudimentary agricultural techniques in order to survive. They lived in small communities or villages comprised of at least persons to persons living together in one or more villages or in separate and scattered hamlets and homesteads Dinnen, n. This is validated by the almost different languages used in the Papua New Guinean region Dinnen, n. This is about one-fourth of the number of languages in the world Banks, , which in turn also tests to the diversity of its culture Dinnen, n. Moat of the colonial period is characterized by the absence of a discrete and formal criminal justice system. Instead, policing and judicial functions is only a section of the undifferentiated native administration. It is administered by only one person. However, this form of administrative justice system was little by little abolished and replaced by a centralized criminal justice system under the Anglo-Australian tradition two decades before the Independence. In order to prepare for the independence, all enactments pursuant to the Queensland Criminal Code, along with the relevant amendments to it, were replaced by the Criminal Code Act of , which among others created the Criminal Code of Papua New Guinea. Nevertheless, it can be observed that this new code differed so little compared to its predecessors Dinnen, n. The Western Tradition The word criminal justice was coined in the mid twentieth century in the United States. Strictly speaking, Newman, Boulouskos and Cohen n. In his book, Law and Revolution, Berman talked about this civilization known as the western civilization as it developed distinct institutions including legal institutions and legal systems that have been transmitted, through colonialism to other civilizations transmitted from generation to generation as it evolved into what we now know as the Western tradition Berman, According to him, what we call western is a culture, a civilization that can be characterized in different ways because of its own diversity Berman, From this observation, one can really say that the lives of the indigenous Papua New Guineans were simple so that a complex criminal justice system like that of the Western criminal justice system may not be necessary because it will only destroy the peace and create confusion to the people. Despite the Western influences, the traditional Papua New Guinean community remained anchored to their culture and tradition. This is evident even in their criminal justice administration and social administration. This evident from the fact that collective responsibility continues to become a social fact in most communities while issues about individualized criminal responsibility under the new systems, has spurred violent reactions to the tribes Dinnen, n. This only means that unless the citizens of Papua New Guinea embrace the concept of individualized criminal responsibility, can western influences on the criminal justice tradition can be successfully incorporated to their tradition without creating unnecessary conflicts. As it is noted, collective responsibility is no longer applied under modern Western criminal tradition. To punish other people for acts punishable under the law and attributable to identifiable individuals will create injustice under the Western criminal justice system but not under the customary Papua New Guinean tradition. Under the Papua New Guinean legal system, customary laws still have strong influence at the village level Dinnen, n. This is one of the main reasons why western criminal tradition may not flourish in Papua New Guinea as specific customary laws may not be germane to the purpose of specific western criminal justice provisions. While modernization has caused relevant changes to the Papua New Guinean criminal justice system, the citizens cannot avoid the strong connection to their roots and customs as they brings to life the strict adherence to old-aged customs, beliefs and practices that transcend laws and aspects of the justice system. With the rampant corruption in Papua New Guinea, it can be expected that crime control may have a hard time. Thus, even more modern

Western criminal justice principles, may not succeed to control crime in Papua New Guinea. First of all, the failure can be attributed to cultural differences. What worked for the Western people may not always prove effective for the people of Papua New Guinea. This is independent to the fact that the failure may also be caused by the corruption and improper criminal justice administration in Papua New Guinea. Specific administration customs in Papua New Guinea can even worsen the situation. Because of the apparent inability to control crimes in Papua New Guinea, Pitts suggested that crime control at community level can be more effective than in state level McLeod, This only means that because Western crime control principles best work in state levels, its inclusion will not always produced the desired results in terms of crime prevention and administration. Many authors, including Banks also believe that the incorporation of Western criminal justice tradition in Papua New Guinea may not be as beneficial because of apparent customary differences. For example, in a comparison of court decisions about issues of rights of women in relation to some customs between Canada and Papua New Guinea revealed that while in Papua New Guinea, the courts do not acknowledge customs to be repugnant to the general principles of humanity; men in Canada argued for the application of customs in order to mitigate criminal responsibility. As a nation with its own culture, the intrusion from the Western people may not always be warmly welcomed. Thus, in his book, *Crime Against Humanity: The Struggle for Global Justice*, Robertson , discussed how inhumanity is being tolerated in order to achieve peaceful international life. Taking the case of Papua New Guinea, the Western people believe that in order to achieve international peace, there should first be peace in every nation. In order to achieve peace and control crimes in Papua New Guinea, the western tradition should be applied. This may not always be welcomed by the Papua New Guineans because it was never denied that a portion of the Western tradition tolerates inhumanity as against specific groups, which in turn the Papua New Guinean customs strongly protects. This conflict will never resolve the smooth co-existence of the Western and Papuan New Guinean customs in terms of criminal justice. There is this conflict between the traditional and modernist Papua New Guinea. Many Papua New Guineans tries to convince their countrymen that the modernist view is lacking in legitimate claims and significant resources Gewertz, This has created conflict between Papua New Guinean instead of putting them together under one tradition. The modern Western tradition, therefore fails in bringing forth modernization among and all of Papua New Guinea as it even caused chaos and conflict among the unified though diverse Papua New Guinean population. With its traditional communities and indigenous people alone, Papua New Guinean has already a diverse culture. When the Western social, political, economic and judicial systems have been introduced, the Papua New Guineans have been forced to live and accept a system unknown to them and apart from its culture and tradition Sikani, However, despite the entry of Western systems, indigenous Papua New Guineans has remained close to their customs so that they have become dissatisfied with the Western criminal justice system comparing it to their customary practices Sikani, The indigenous population cannot adjust and seem to find logical explanation on the applicability and efficiency of the Western justice system especially if applied among the Papua New Guineans with unique and strong cultural and customary heritage. This resulted to the Papua New Guineans and others claiming dissatisfaction from the system, which according to them even worsened the law and order situation in the community. They consider the creation of the various criminal justice institutions in accordance to the Western justice system to have failed in the law and order as it imposed tougher sanctions against habitual delinquents Sikani, Instead of reforming the offenders, the sanctions served to punish and to unduly burden the criminals making reformation and retribution impossible with the system. This is one of the views of the Papua New Guineans who oppose the efficiency of the Western criminal justice system. For example, by criticizing the tougher punishments, they believe that the concept of criminal justice system is negated by the Western way of treating the criminals. It neglects the fact that the criminal justice system, more than the strength of punishment, should be concerned with reforming the criminal so that he can be changed into a more productive member of the community once the sanction has been served. The failure of the Western criminal justice system to convince the Papua New Guineans of its efficiency should not be considered to be innate in its system. As can be observed, the Western criminal justice system has proven records of efficient application in other cultures. This only confirms that cultural differences are the main culprit why the Western

criminal justice system cannot work on some of its colony as much as it does on others. In Papua New Guinea for example, the failure can be attributed to the fact that before the system came into the lives of the indigenous people of Papua New Guinea, they have long been comfortable with their procedures under their customs and traditions. The introduction of the Western criminal justice system is a big challenge to replace the strongly-rooted unwritten criminal justice system and customs. For example, in Australia, the prison population has increased to as much as 62 percent from the years to Stern, The figures only show that there is increased criminality and the increased number of offenders behind bars could mean that many of them could be habitual offenders, which the system failed to reform so that after serving term in jail they again commit the same of more serious offenses that can be dangerous to the community. In addition, the alarming increase in number of prisoners could mean the extent of harm and damage to the community brought about by this inefficient criminal justice system. If the Western criminal justice system cannot solve the problems of criminality and the deterioration of democracy in the Western countries, it may be difficult to expect how the Western tradition can solve to cure the problems of criminality and restore democracy in a fairly different culture set-up in Papua New Guinea. Despite the colonialism and the independence, the Papua New Guinean people have already developed strong ties to its origins and to the culture it has developed with. While western influence has been strong, the Papua New Guinean way still persists to continue to make their lives comfortable. If it be proven and should evidence be strong that the Western criminal justice system will only fail and cause more problems in the Papua New Guinean communities, its introduction should not be pushed. Papua New Guineans should not be forced to comply with rules and procedures they do not believe in and that which cannot provide and surpass the benefits they already derive from customary criminal justice system. Women, Justice, and Custom: Retrieved January 5, , from Questia database: The Formation of the Western Legal Tradition. Retrieved January 5, , from [http:](http://) Legal Theory in Melanesia: Emerging Class in Papua New Guinea: The Telling of Difference. The Struggle for Global Justice, 2nd ed. Retrieved January 5, from [http:](http://)

**Chapter 5 : Emerging Class in Papua New Guinea : Deborah B. Gewertz :**

*Emerging Class in Papua New Guinea: The Telling of Difference. Deborah B. Gewertz and Frederick K. Errington. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, viii +*

Cultural Alternatives and a Feminist Anthropology: Twisted Histories, Altered Contexts: Emerging Class in Papua New Guinea: The Handbook of Sociocultural Anthropology, edited collection under contract to Berg Publishers to be completed during , with James Carrier. Berkeley, University of California Press Sydney, Oceania Monographs Sydney, Oceania Monographs , with Frederick Errington. Chambri as a Client Market," Ethnology, July, Gewertz Responds to Bowden," Oceania, March, Feil in the Journal of Polynesian Society, December, Music in Lake Chambri and Kama Wosi: Member of the editorial board of Oceania publications, present. Associate Editor of the American Ethnologist, Appointed a member of the review board of the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, Appointed to the selection committee for junior grants provided by the American Council of Learned Societies, Keynote speaker with Frederick Errington at the meetings of the Northeastern Anthropological Association. Participant and many national and international conferences. A list will be supplied upon request. Author of numerous lectures, delivered in the United States and abroad. Some have been published in popular magazines. Organizer of symposia and discussant at colloquia.