TOWARDS UNDERSTANDING THE ORIGINS OF THE CONFLICT

IDENTITIES AMONG BOUGAINVILLEANS*

by Anthony J. Regan

It is widely accepted that a pan-Bougainville identity has emerged in the past 100 years.[1] Some observers refer to it as Bougainvillean ethnicity, on the basis that it has become a political identity, associated with secessionist demands. The views of many observers on the development of this identity are summarised by Nash and Ogan who note that '… events of the 20th century — particularly plantation colonialism which was succeeded by modern industrialised neo-colonialism as represented by the copper mine — helped to create a pan-Bougainvillean sense of identity where none had existed before' [Ogan 1992, summarising Nash and Ogan 1990].

There are many reasons for the widespread interest in this new identity. One is its significance for politics in Papua New Guinea and in its neighbouring region. Another concerns the very fact that it is a new identity, incorporating people of great linguistic and cultural diversity — a microcosm of the diversity of Melanesia generally [Terrell 1978b]. However, besides this pan-Bougainville sense of identity, of course there are diversities to be recognised as well.

The central concern of this chapter is to present a generalised 'map' of the range of identities existing among Bougainvilleans in the 1980s, those that I have observed or that have been brought to my attention by Bougainvilleans. On the other hand, the range of such identities being vast, and the variations in the situation from area to area being significant, the chapter by no means presents a full and complete picture, which anyway is far from being a static one.[2]

Identity is a complex, 'slippery' and anyway multiple concept, given the number of overlapping categories which individuals may use to identify themselves, or which they may use to identify others — socially, culturally, and ethnically. Social identities may include gender, age, family, economic role and kin. A variety of cultural characteristics may be used to distinguish one cultural

group from another. Ethnic markers include language, race, religion and colour. By 'ethnicity' I mean the politicisation of identity, and therefore many things may be meant including, for example, ideas and situations where political or religious use is made of any — or all — of the above. At the same time, there is much overlapping and interrelation between identities as well as constant change.

In other words, people tend to maintain numerous identities of various kinds, and to move between them readily. They also classify themselves from among their identities 'in terms of whichever of their allegiances is most under attack' [Maalouf 2001: 26] — or, we might add, which they perceive as being most under attack, or even threat.

After discussing some aspects of the Bougainville context of particular relevance to identities there, I outline what identities might have existed in precolonial Bougainville. I then outline a generalised 'map' of identities in the colonial and postcolonial situation, and finally note some of the dynamic factors involved in colonial and postcolonial Bougainville relevant to understanding identities there.

ASPECTS OF THE BOUGAINVILLE CONTEXT

Different aspects of the cultural, political and economic situation in Bougainville impact on the ways in which both active and latent identities develop and manifest themselves.

Egalitarian Social Structures and Balanced Reciprocity

In general, Bougainvillean society before colonialism, tended to be highly egalitarian. The emphasis on equality remains evident in many aspects of contemporary social structures of all language and culture groups [Regan 1998, and sources cited therein]. Where obvious inequality does occur, it tends to upset balance in or between groups. The importance to people of maintaining balance both between individuals within their groups and between groups also seems to have been a feature common to all Bougainvillean societies. Ogan [1996: 33] says of the Nasioi that the 'ideal of maintaining balance in social life appears to have been a basic principle governing interpersonal relations'. So 'balanced reciprocity' was the basis for many practices, including marriage, and, we might add, social order — and disorder — generally in the small-scale societies of precolonial Bougainville (and Melanesia more generally) where there were no centralised political organisations. It continues to be a major principle of social organisation for Bougainville today.

Disturbance of balance can occur in all sorts of ways and when, for example, an unmanageable cycle of violence is developing, usually some alternative action

will be taken to restore balance. It may include 'customary' reconciliation ceremonies, involving exchange of shell money or pigs. In such societies with a history of strongly egalitarian social organisation, inequality in material wealth between individuals and groups resulting from the impacts of modern economic activity, that has mostly developed since the 1950s [Connell 1978; Mitchell 1982], can upset balance in ways that cannot readily be dealt with by customary methods [Filer 1990].

The Importance of the Clan

The clan, and more especially the local manifestation of the clan in land-holding lineages, is in many parts of Bougainville a fundamental social unit with, for example, political and other expression. The continuity of the clan lineage as a corporate land-holding or cooperative group is seen as of critical importance to its members. The female members are often seen as of great importance, not just as the custodians of the land and other wealth of the clan group, but also as the bearers of the children that will be the future members and leaders of the clan [see Kenneth, this volume]. Similar ideas about the importance of continuity extend to the larger groups to which people belong, 'above' the lineage.

Rights of Original Owners, and Impacts of Internal Migration

All over Bougainville the rights of original owners of land are considered important and there has long been considerable internal migration of people in the Bougainville region (inclusive of what is now the western Solomon Islands). Evidence of such movement in precolonial times emerge from oral histories of many groups,[3] studies of pre-history [for example, Spriggs, this volume] and observations of some of the European visitors of the late 19th century as summarised by Oliver [1991].

One cause of such movement was volcanic activity, which probably resulted in large-scale movements [Spriggs, this volume]. Escaping conflict seems to have been a factor in some migrations, among others, the Torau, who probably migrated from the Shortland Islands to central Bougainville some time in the 19th century [Terrell and Irwin 1972; Sack 1973: 58–9; Togolo, this volume].[4] Further, what Oliver [1991: 105–6] calls the 'ubiquitous' localised warfare[5] caused 'many people to shift their residences to less exposed locations'.[6] Indeed, even for 'many years' after direct colonial rule began, inter-group fighting continued in some areas, resulting in 'some shifting of people between 'controlled' and 'uncontrolled' areas' [Oliver 1991: 94, 105–6]. In the last 20 years of the 19th and the first few years of the 20th centuries, many parts of the Bougainville coasts were populated sparsely. The German observer, Richard Parkinson, believed that this was a change

from the recent past, probably due to migrations to escape both local warfare and to large-scale kidnapping by labour recruiters.[7]

Large scale 'purchase' of land for plantations was also a factor. By 1914, over three per cent of Bougainville's land, which represented 10 per cent of the total rich and relatively flat land suitable for growing coconuts, had been alienated [Oliver 1991: 31]. Some of the areas involved may have been uninhabited at the time [Spriggs, this volume; Oliver 1991: 94], but that was not the case everywhere. There was consequential loss of land to many groups, causing considerable movement of people. There was also extensive movement in some areas when the change from living in small hamlets to living in large 'line villages' was encouraged by first the German and then the Australian colonial administrations.

World War II also caused massive disruptions and movements of people [Nelson, and Ogan 'Introduction to Cultures in Bougainville', both in this volume]. In some cases, groups that moved in the 1940s have never returned to the land they left. Others returned only after two or more generations. Later relocating included that from inaccessible areas to where there was access to newly established transport infrastructure and government services, or from densely to sparsely populated areas [see, for example, Tanis, this volume].

Population movements can have long-term consequences in the disputes that they may contribute to over ownership and access to land. Pressure on, and disputes over, land have increased as population pressure and dedication of land to permanent tree crops have risen, especially since the 1970s [Mitchell 1982; Lumanni, this volume; Kenneth, this volume]. A common feature in land disputes is an emphasis on the length of the time the claimant's ancestors have been linked to the land in question. 'Originality' in terms of ownership or contact with an area is usually seen as important in such disputes [see, for example, Sagir, this volume]. The significance of the concept can be seen in terms used in some Bougainville languages, as in the case of Nasioi, where those with original claims to land are sometimes referred to as *osikaiang*, meaning something like 'original inhabitants'. By contrast, those who have settled on land recently — and recently can be any time within the past few generations — can often be regarded as having lesser claims than those who can assert rights through ancestors said to have been original settlers of the land.

Persistence of Significance of Localised Groups, and Impacts of Variations in Patterns of Expansion of the Range of Groups to which People Belong

Although the changes occurring since the beginning of colonial rule have included a massive expansion of the groups to which Bougainvilleans belong, the local has

remained vitally important. The available evidence in much of Bougainville suggests that in precolonial times, people in many areas did not move much beyond a very localised territory. Friedlaender [this volume] summarises evidence collected since the 1960s about people living in areas of Bougainville other than the coast and small islands:

> … the pattern of marital migration in Bougainville was very restricted in the inland regions, with almost everyone setting up marital residences only a kilometre or two from their birthplaces [Friedlaender 1975: 78]. This pattern very likely characterised earlier periods as well, especially prior to the colonial era. People were afraid to move far because of pervasive feuding, head hunting, and the fear of malevolent ancestral spirits.

Of course, not all groups were as restricted in movement as the inland people. Coastal and island communities were in some cases involved in extensive trading networks.

At the same time, changes occurring since extensive contact with Europeans began in the latter part of the 19th century have rapidly expanded the boundaries for people from all parts of Bougainville. Most now belong to a range of groups, beyond the local, that would not have existed 100 years ago. However, the expansion of people's boundaries and the groups to which they belong has occurred at very different rates for people from different areas. These variations have had significant impacts in terms of differences in the access that various localised groups have had to the state and to general economic development.

A combination of geography and outside interest in labor recruiting largely determined the order in which Bougainvillean communities developed extensive contact with the outside world. Coastal and small island communities, especially of Buka and north Bougainville, had the earliest such contact, probably from the 1860s and 1870s, but especially from the 1880s. Proximity to the German colonial centre in what is now East New Britain was a major factor here. From the beginning of the 20th century some people of the coastal areas on the eastern side of Bougainville also began to have close contact with the colonists, as the first German administrative headquarters for Bougainville was established at Kieta and consequent plantation development began. It was a little later that the people of south and south-west Bougainville began to come under colonial control [Laracy, this volume]. Because of the barriers created by mountains, the process of engaging with the outside world was slower for the people of the higher valleys of the eastern and southern parts of Bougainville, and slower still for those of the higher mountain areas of all areas, north, central and south. After World War II

there was, however, more intensive (though varying degrees of) contact with the outside world for all Bougainvilleans. But people in remote areas (high mountains, remote valleys and distant atolls) still had rather restricted access.

As people's boundaries expanded, they became parts of widening 'circles' of groups, each with their own identity. They have included groupings associated with churches, employment, local government and so on. In the process of engaging in and with these, additional memberships in a wider range of geographically based groups has tended to be emphasised — such as language groups, regions within Bougainville, and Bougainvilleans as a whole. New identities associated with many such groupings have also emerged.

IDENTITIES IN PRECOLONIAL BOUGAINVILLE

While we can be relatively certain that Bougainvillean identity is a product of the colonial period, we cannot be so confident about the situation with identities — ethnic or other — among Bougainvilleans in the precolonial period:

> Although we cannot say with any assurance what ethnic or "tribal" identities were recognized, it is unlikely that they resembled those that most affect Bougainvilleans today.' [Nash and Ogan 1990: 3]

In most parts of Bougainville, it seems likely that the basic social group was the family and small land holding and mainly clan-based lineages, of just a few households. As for the many language groups, sub-languages and dialects [Tryon, this volume], while there was almost certainly a consciousness on the part of speakers of a language as 'being different from the neighbouring speakers of different languages' [Oliver 1991: 106], there is no evidence that such consciousness was a generalised basis for group differentiation beyond that.[8] Indeed, there are still areas in the border zones between larger language groups where people speak two or even three languages [Oliver 1971: 286; and see also Oliver 1991: 106ff][9] Not only were language groups not political units, but the fairly constant inter-group conflict was as likely to be between groups speaking the same language as between people of differing languages [Oliver 1993a: 12] — at least in the case of people 'belonging' to the larger language groups. Further, as Nash and Ogan [1990: 3] point out, any distinctions that might have been made based on language would probably have been 'blurred' by 'widely shared symbols of common descent like the eagle and the hornbill' (that is, clan and sub-clan symbols).

It also seems likely that people in many areas tended to identify more strongly with a range of localised groupings within the larger language groups

than with the language groups to which they might have in some circumstances regarded themselves as belonging. That continues to be the case among members of the Nasioi and Nagovisi language groups, as is discussed later in this chapter.

The situation with language as a basis for group differentiation was quite possibly different, however, with the smaller language groups. Examples include the Torau on the central part of the east coast of Bougainville and the Amun/Piva on the west coast. The relatively small size of the groups and their recent history of migration in the period just before the colonial era began may have contributed to a sense of identity based on distinctiveness from members of neighbouring groups speaking different languages. It has been suggested that Nasioi speakers differentiate Torau speakers on the basis of language [Nash and Ogan 1990].

There was a tremendous range of diversity in culture, language and other traits among Bougainvillean groups.[10] It would not be surprising if, even in the pre-colonial era, some of these differences did provide bases for differentiation of identities that might today be classified as 'ethnic' in nature. One possible example involves differentiation of speakers of smaller language groups. Further, groups of hamlets and land-holding clan lineages sometimes combined into larger groupings under powerful local leaders, as seems to have occurred in some areas for fighting and other purposes [Oliver 1991: 105], and we can only guess at how such groups were classified by their neighbours.

Ethnic group identification on the basis of language or area may also have occurred as part of the extensive contacts between groups, as occurred as part of trading relationships between members of various language groups. An example is provided by the regional trade system involving three language groups on Buka Island, people of a distinct language group from Nissan, and groups from mainland Bougainville, with considerable specialisation in what was traded between people from particular language groups [Specht 1974]. The evidence cited below of the differentiation of groups within some of the large language groups in the postcolonial period offers the strong likelihood that similar group differentiation occurred in precolonial times.

IDENTITIES IN COLONIAL AND POSTCOLONIAL BOUGAINVILLE

As already mentioned, people's identities are constantly interacting and responding to changes in the situations in which they exist. It seems likely that identities of one kind or another existed among Bougainvilleans before the colonial period. There has probably been continuity in some of these, but at the same time they have been subject to new forces for change. They have also interacted

with many new identities that have emerged as a result of colonial and postcolonial change. These processes began even before the first Christian mission and colonial administration posts were established in Bougainville in the early 1900s.

Family, Hamlet, Village

A starting point for any discussion of identity for most Bougainvilleans is the family group, the hamlet and the village. In the 1980s, overall, the situation continued to be much the same as that described by Oliver [1991: 95] prior to the Panguna mine being established. In general a single family of two generations occupies one house. In most areas, family groups are also usually part of a hamlet of from one or two to ten houses. In the case of some coastal and small island areas, a number of families tend to live in larger villages of 50 or more houses.

Hamlets are often (but not always) based around a single land-holding clan lineage [Oliver 1971: 280], matrilineal in all areas except Buin and some atolls. It is at this level of the land-holding lineage 'within' a clan that ideas about continuity of the clan are perhaps at their most powerful. Without continuing strength in numbers, a lineage may die out and its land go to related lineages.

Villages can also provide the focus for significant identities. Such is the case with the long established large coastal and island villages. The three main villages — Rorovana, Vito and Tarara — provide an example. (In the mid-1980s the Toraus were still a small language group of around 3,000 people). As we have seen, their language group may well have provided a significant group identity even in the precolonial period, and certainly did so in the 1980s. At the same time, however, by the 1980s significant distinctions in the identities of each of the three Torau villages had emerged. Much of the variation was a product of their different experiences in relation to access to the state and to development. Rorovana is quite close to the main centres of Kieta and Arawa, and its people have had much better opportunities for employment and access to state services as well as knowledge of how the state and the private sector operate. From the late 1960s, the Rorovana people also began to receive land rents and compensation from the mining company for land utilised for port, recreation and other mining related activities [Togolo, this volume].

To Torau speakers there are slight, but nevertheless noticeable, differences in the way the language is spoken in the three villages. The people of Rorovana are said to speak with a particularly throaty sound, those of Vito to talk faster than others, and those of Tarara to speak in a singsong manner. The Rorovana are said by the people of Vito and Tarara to have allowed Torau *kastom* to have been undermined by a combination of extreme land pressure and reduced reliance on traditional subsistence gardening and fishing (and cooperative activities) as a result

of such things as receipt of land rents and compensation from Bougainville Copper Ltd (BCL) in the 1970s and 1980s, and proximity to the employment opportunities of the mine and the main urban centre, Arawa. The Rorovana people, on the other hand, tend to regard Vito and Tarara people as lacking education and sophistication. In turn, the Vito tend to differentiate themselves from the Tarara as well as the Rorovana, as remaining more true than either to Torau *kastom*. The Vito regard themselves as neither having forgotten gardening and fishing nor having become too much tied to the ways of the whiteman (as with Rorovana), nor having intermarried too much with the neighbouring Eivo and Wakunai people, as they suggest is the case with the Tarara people.

In general, people from Vito and Tarara tend to see the Rorovanas as too much influenced by Europeans' ways. They say that before the 1960s there was far more cooperation and communication, and much less differentiation, between the people of the three Torau villages than is now the case. Hence, even among the small Torau language group, differences in access to opportunities associated with the introduced economy are contributing to emerging differences in interests and in identity.

At this level of the hamlet, village and the clan lineage, issues about original ownership are constantly asserted in discussion, in claims, and — sometimes — during conflict about land, and even in disputes about rights to power and leadership. So when land shortages occur, family groups that have migrated from another area will often be reminded that they are not original owners and occupiers, and have lesser rights over land than those that can make such a claim, even if the migration was some generations ago. Similarly, I am aware of situations where local traditional leaders have found themselves more open to challenge from members of lineages and families that have widely accepted claims to be part of the original settlers or owners than from recent migrants, and have been more ready to assert authority against such migrants.

The Clan

'Above' the localised landowning clan lineage is the clan. Among the widely dispersed speakers of large language groups, such as the Nasioi, the Siwai, the Buin, the Halia and others, a person would never know all members of his or her clan within that language group. Here the clan does not operate as a corporate unit. There is nevertheless still a sense of identity associated with the clan. People claim special characteristics for their clan members (in terms of abilities, qualities, position of lines on the palms of the hand,[11] and general appearance). The local manifestation of the clan — land-holding lineages — is for many a major source of identity, and this reinforces the significance of the wider clan group. People

know and relate to other clan members beyond their lineage but in their immediate vicinity. Further, the clan provides a basis beyond the local lineage for people to enter into relationships, not just with other speakers of the same language, but also between members of clans of differing language groups which although they have different names share the same symbol, such as the hornbill (kokomo) or the eagle (*taragau*).[12]

Among the smaller language groups, the clan can be the basis for identity for groups with known membership, as in the case of the Torau villages. Although even there the clan is not a political unit or a corporate landholding group,[13] the relatively small populations of these villages means that members of the same clan are generally well known to one another. Clan members tend to claim superiority for themselves over the members of other clans — they are physically more attractive, more intelligent, have more foresight, and so on.[14] They often support one another, and cooperate in various ways (including in terms of village politics). The numerical strength and continuity of the various clans is an important factor in the way the village functions, in terms of politics and distribution of land.

Localised Groups within Language Groups

'Above' the hamlet or the village is a range of identities, associated with various groupings 'within' the language group. These vary among language groups, and even areas within language groups. As far as I can ascertain, however, they exist in one form or another within most — if not all — of the larger language groups. I have developed a picture of the situation within two language groups — the Nasioi and the Nagovisi. Groups there are differentiated on the basis of separation by significant geographical features (such as major mountains or rivers), or occupation of distinct 'ecological niches' [Ogan 1992, and this volume], or both. It appears that differentiation in these cases is of long-standing. The isolation of the groups from one another and their occupation of different ecological niches have resulted in considerable variations among them. These include distinctions in language (dialect or pronunciation), material culture and cultural practices, and food, and in the identities associated with these groups.[15]

The areas occupied by such groups within the areas occupied by Nagovisi and Nasioi speakers are indicated very generally in Map 1. It must be emphasised, however, that identifying and naming such groups and 'mapping' the areas that they occupy is far from easy, as the outcomes of the process depend very much on where the informant originates. The various groups sometimes use different names for one another, and also can delineate group 'boundaries' differently. So, what follows should be seen as indicative of the situation in the areas in question, and not a definitive analysis.

The Nasioi speakers of central Bougainville do not generally identify themselves as being 'Nasiois' (or Kietas, a name commonly applied to them until the early postcolonial period, and which they still tend to apply to themselves). The main exception involves situations where Nasioi speakers differentiate themselves from speakers of other Bougainville languages, in which case they may refer to themselves as 'Kietas' or 'Nasiois'. In the more common situations in which Nasio speakers are dealing with one another, they tend to identify themselves as members of one or another of at least 11 main, localised and distinctive groups.

The people of the coastal area from Tunuru, and all the way south to close to Aropa (including the villages or hamlets around Arawa and Kieta), call themselves the Pirung, or the people of the sea. This reflects their heavy reliance on coastal and sea resources. Inland from them are the lowlands valley people. They include the Apiatei, who occupy a small area west of Rorovana and south of the Pinei River. The Bava occupy the valleys west of the coastal strip occupied by the Pirung. North of the Apiatei, are the Simeku, regarded by linguists as speaking a sub-language of Nasioi that exhibits influence from the neighbouring Eivo language, to the north of the Simeku.

West of the Simeku is the isolated Paru Paru Valley, occupied by people known as the Avaipa. On the boundary of four languages, they speak a mixture of Simeku/Nasioi, Nagovisi, Eivo and Banoni. They can understand those four languages, but their complex mixture of language elements is not readily understood by the speakers of those languages. Into the lower part of the mountains of the Crown Prince Range, west of the Apiatei and the Bava, the people of the villages of Pakia, Kupei, Daratui and others are known as the Nasioi. Today they tend to be divided into the North Nasioi and the South Nasioi.

To the west of the North Nasioi, a little higher into the mountains, are the people known to some as the Damara. They border the Nagovisi, and their language shows some influence of that proximity. But to illustrate the point about difficulties of 'mapping' these groups, while some in the area in question describe themselves and their area as Damara, others use the term Ioro. Nasioi-speaking people from areas closer to the coast also describe this area and its people as Ioro. Others say that Damara is the term most used by the Kongara people to describe the people of Ioro.

It is to the south of the Damara/Ioro that the Kongara live. Most of their land is at such altitudes that many of their food sources are necessarily different in many respects from groups at lower altitudes.[16] South of the Nasioi, occupying a long valley leading up to Kongara, are the Dantenai. South of them live the Koromira, occupying the coastal and valley areas around Koromira Point. While some Koromira live close to the sea, they are not as reliant on its resources as the neighbouring Pirung, who see the Koromira as migrants from the valleys and

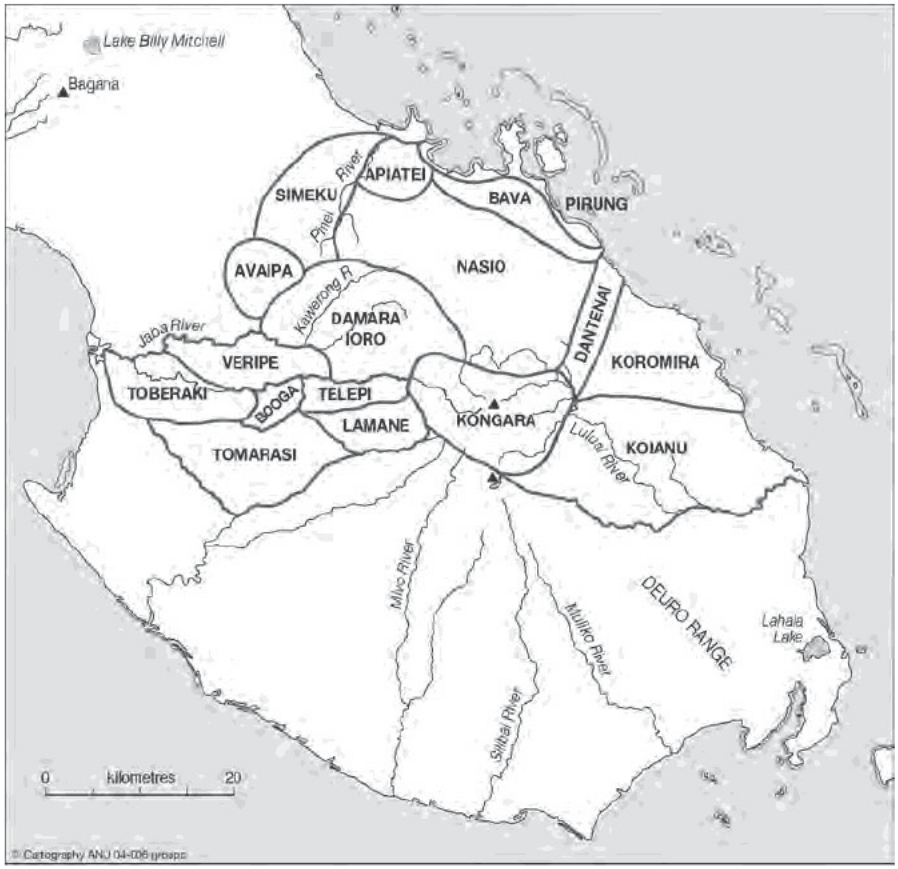
mountains, and so not true coastal people. Inland from the Koromira and south of the Kongara live the mountain and valley people known as the Koianu.

These distinct groups and the ways in which they identify themselves and are identified by others are not well known even to Bougainvilleans, other than speakers of the Nasioi language. Various of the identities associated with these groups are significant, however, in localised interaction not only between Nasioi speakers, but also with particular groups across neighbouring language borders (Eivo, Nagovisi, Siwai, Telei and Torau). In general, people from each of those groups tend to regard their own group members as being in one way or another superior to the members of the other groups within the language group. Members of at least some such groupings tend to believe that there are differences in the appearance between members of their own group, and those of other groups within the language group. Many Pirung, for example, see themselves as taller and generally more attractive than members of neighbouring groups. They would prefer to see their people marrying other Pirung, not just because that assists in keeping control of their land, but also because it ensures the continuity of what they see as the special qualities of their group. Middle-aged and older adult members of the various groups tell stories of how as children, when attending a large *sing sing* (party or festival, usually involving singing and dancing), or going to a large market, where members of another group from among the Nasioi speakers were present, they would be warned by parents and other relatives of the unsavory aspects of the typical characteristics of the members of the other groups.

There is of course nothing unusual in such tendencies in differentiation between one's own group and 'other' groups — a sense of superiority over other groups is something that probably appeals to most human societies and is used by them for a variety of purposes.[17] Much the same phenomenon is seen in the ways in which members of clans (above) and of other groups discussed below differentiate themselves from other groups.

A similar situation with distinct groupings within a language group also exists amongst the Nagovisi, as described by Tanis [this volume] — the Lamane, the Telipe, the Veripe, the Booga, the Toberaki and the Tomarasi (or the Tomau) and the broad areas that they occupy are indicated in Map 1.

The significance at the local level of these sub-groupings within the language groups is reflected in such things as the fact that their names are used for local political organisations, community governments and councils of elders (forms of local-level government in Bougainville) and electoral constituencies, and that demands are made for the groups to be recognised in constituency boundaries. In terms of political organisations, the best-known case is that of Napidakoe Navitu. It developed in central Bougainville in 1969 in response to efforts by the colonial



Map 1. Groupings within language groups, 2005

regime to expropriate both expatriate owned plantation and village land for mining related purposes. In that case, while the word 'Navitu' is a Nasioi language word meaning 'together' [Nash and Ogan 1990: 9], the word 'Napidakoe' was 'an anagram of the initials of the different *ethnic groups* in the vicinity of Kieta' [Middlemiss 1970: 100] (emphasis added) [and see also Griffin 1982: 113] — namely Nasioi (Na), Pirung (Pi), Damara (Da), Koromira/Koinau (Ko) and Eivo (E).[18] Some examples are provided by Tanis [this volume] regarding the use of names of such groups in the titles given to community governments. In terms of constituencies, both the names and boundaries for those used in the North Solomons Provincial Government in elections from 1976 to 1988 and those used for the Bougainville People's Congress elected in April–May 1999 [Regan 2002a] reflect these local groupings. Use of these names reflects local pressures for recognition of already well-established group differentiation.[19]

As discussed in more detail below, there was a tendency on the part of the colonisers (missions, plantations and administration) to ascribe common characteristics to people of various language groups, and to rank them (from 'advanced' or 'progressive', to 'backward'). There was a similar tendency in relation to these groupings within the language groups. But even since the colonial era ended, the members of such groups have continued to differentiate among the groups on the basis of degree of advancement and sophistication, again, in much the same way as occurs in relation to language groups (as discussed below).

In large part, such distinctions are a product of the very different history in terms of access between say, the Pirung and Bava people, from around Arawa and Kieta, and the Kongara, Avaipa and Damara people of the high mountains. The former tend to regard themselves as more sophisticated and advanced than the remote mountain people, and *vice versa*. Recounting the history of a Methodist mission established in 1949 at Roreinang in the Kongara area, then a very remote area despite being just five miles from the coastal plantation of Aropa, Lātūkefu notes that at the time the mission was established:

> In comparison with the coastal … Nasioi and Siwai, the people of this area were very backward indeed with regard to the attainment of the type of wealth, technology, education, health care and belief system introduced by Europeans. Consequently the Kongara people had for many years been looked down upon by the coastal people as backward and primitive *kanakas* [1982: 40].

Interestingly, Lātūkefu's informants about the views of the coastal people were not coastal people, but rather 'elders in Roreinang Mission Station' [Latukefu 1982: 52, note 11]! While even today (2005) the Kongara and Avaipa tend to resent what they see as the attitudes towards them of the coastal people, they also tend to accept that, in a sense, they are in fact relatively 'backward'. This translates into a strong belief in the need for change towards greater fairness and equality (and therefore balance) in 'development', and a determination to achieve this through pressure on government and on donors.[20] At the same time members of 'advanced' groups tend to be concerned to protect the advantage that they have enjoyed through a longer history of access to the state and to opportunities for economic development.

Language Groups

'Above' these localised groupings are the language groups themselves. As we have seen, in the precolonial period, language was probably not a generalised basis for group differentiation, at least in the case of the larger language groups. During

and since the colonial period, however, Bougainvilleans have increasingly tended to be identified, and to identify themselves, as members of language groups. Nash and Ogan [1990] suggest that a major reason why this development occurred was because of a 'process of "tribal" identification' on the part of the colonial regime. They suggest that such identification occurred partly because Europeans needed 'a notion of a discrete political entity with some titular leader … to cope with the indigenous people they met in their explorations'. They further suggest that the so called 'tribes' identified by the colonists — the various Bougainville language groups — were ranked by the colonists in terms of merit, ranging from 'advanced' or 'progressive' down to 'backward' or 'primitive'. Greater interference in the lives of the lower ranked 'tribes' was seen as necessary than was the case with progressive 'tribes' [Nash and Ogan 1990].

Bougainvilleans themselves continue to make distinctions between language groups on the basis not only of the extent to which they are perceived as relatively advanced or backward, but also of appearance and other qualities. The categorisations made of language groups are very similar to those also made by Bougainvilleans in relation to groups within language groups. While it is possible that this indicates adoption by Bougainvilleans of the coloniser's approaches to categorisation of groups, it seems more likely that Bougainvilleans, like people everywhere, have long tended to rank the groups that they interact with. In doing so they tend to rank themselves highest, and members of groups with which they have problems or conflict are naturally ranked quite low. If this view is correct, then the process of development of language group identities, where none existed in precolonial times, is likely to be at least in part a locally driven process associated with the expansion of the range of groups to which people belong, rather than simply an adoption of colonial categories. This is not to say that the changes brought by the colonisers were not important, for new identities emerged in a new context, in particular one where maintaining or gaining access to the state and to economic development opportunities has been a factor of great importance. These issues require some elaboration.

There undoubtedly was the tendency mentioned by Nash and Ogan [1990] for missions, plantation and colonial administrators to rank language groups. An example comes from the letters of Emmett McHardy, a New Zealand Marist Catholic priest writing in the early 1930s who spoke of the Torau people as a 'a gay, happy people, a much higher type of native than the Nasioi' [1935: 64]. Similarly, Bougainvilleans who attended mission schools in the 1950s and 1960s often talk of how the European nuns, brothers and priests categorised people of different language groups. In one instance, nuns at Asitavi High School are remembered as saying that Kieta's were 'stubborn', Buins were 'stupid' and Bukas were 'clever'.

The colonists' impact on the development of identities associated with language groups also went further than their rankings of groups. Much of this was probably the unintended consequence of the naming of groups, drawing boundaries, and establishing administrative and other centres. Impacts varied considerably from group to group.

The common names of some of the main language groups in Bougainville have tended to be determined by Europeans. Many speakers of what is now widely known as the 'Nasioi' language resent the use of that term, it being one that coastal Pirung people use as a slightly derogatory term for mountain people. They say that until well into the colonial period, they had no single name for their own language, instead tending to regard the variants of Nasioi spoken by their localised groups as their language. The emergence of a sense of identity associated with the Nasioi language group is a product of the colonial period, and does not bring with it any strong sense of unity.[21]

The term 'Siwai' for the area occupied by the speakers of the Motuna language is now often used too to refer to the language spoken in the area. But 'Siwai' was originally a point on the south-west coast of Bougainville between Aitara and Mamagota where Europeans, among others, traded with people of the area, and as a result the name came gradually to be applied by Europeans to the whole of the nearby areas [Oliver 1955: 8; Connell 1978: 1]. Pre-World War II 'linguistic and cultural homogeneity emphasised the unity of a Siwai area, even if there was a fuzziness about the actual boundaries' [Oliver 1955: 103]. A more clearly defined Siwai identity emerged through the activities of the missions and the colonial government, and especially through introduction by colonial officials of a number of institutions such as the Siwai Local Government Council and the Siwai Society [Connell 1978: 5–6].

On the other hand, as already noted, Bougainvilleans have their own assessments of members of their own and other groups, including language groups, that generally involve perceptions of their own group as in one way or another being superior to others, and ascribe deficiencies to others. These are unlikely to have developed merely as a result of adopting the views of colonisers, but rather to be an extension of categorisations habitually long made. Just as groups such as the Pirung regard the appearance and other qualities of the members of their group as special and attractive, there is a tendency for members of language and other groups to ascribe special qualities to the appearance of members of their own group, and negative qualities to the appearance of members of neighbouring groups.[22] Many Bougainvilleans believe that they can readily distinguish the appearances of members of the various main language — and in some cases other — groups in Bougainville [Friedlaender 1975: 24]. Preferences tend to be

expressed for marriages within language groups, again in part to ensure the continuity of the desirable qualities.

Among other things, they discuss what tend to be accepted as the variations in black skin colour among groups in Bougainville and Buka islands (members of groups in the south tending to be regarded as a little more black than those of members of groups from Buka and north Bougainville) and generally express preference for what they see as the special characteristics of the appearance of the members of their own group. For example, the Torau acknowledge that they are of a slightly lighter skin colour than members of the Telei (Buin) and Nasioi language groups, but see that as involving desirable qualities. In the Torau language these are described as *tala tala* (shiny) and *uniari* (not too black and not too light — or 'red', a skin colour seen as undesirable). There is both a desire to preserve the special skin colour and other desirable attributes of what is seen as the typical Torau appearance, such as a straight nose (*isu tetele*), and some concern in the Torau community that intermarriage of Toraus with members of other groups is slowly changing the appearance of the Torau for the worse.

Bougainvilleans were also far from passive in their responses to colonialism, and so played a part in the emergence of new identities or the transformation of existing ones. For example, members of various groups sought to extract advantage from the new developments under colonialism, and in the process probably contributed to the emergence and shaping of their own identities. Examples come from the processes involved in development of a distinct Buka identity, discussed below. Similarly, McHardy's assessment of the Torau as 'a higher type of native than the Nasioi' was probably as much a product of the Torau recognition of the advantages of access to employment and other opportunities of association with the Catholic mission McHardy was establishing near their village as to anything inherent in the special qualities of the Torau.

There seems little doubt that differential access to 'development', both between groups within language groups and between the people of language groups, and reactions to such differences, have helped to encourage the emergence of, and to shape, identities into the postcolonial period. For example, to the extent that the Pirung, Avaipa and the Kongara were distinct identities before and early in the colonial period, it is most unlikely that differential rates of development were a major factor. But once there were significant differences in the access that such groups had to the state and to economic 'development', it seems likely that efforts to seek and protect access, or to redress imbalances in access, would have become significant factors in shaping identities.

It seems likely that perceptions of the characteristics of language groups — and also of groups such as the Pirung and Avaipa — that developed during the colonial

period, in part based on patterns of access to the state, were (and still are) used by members of some of those groups as part of their efforts to take advantage of economic and political opportunities. The Siwai, for example, are widely regarded in Bougainville as having a natural aptitude for business, and many a Siwai seeks to establish businesses elsewhere in Bougainville in part on the basis of that perception. People from Nagovisi, where colonial control was established somewhat later than in Buin and Siwai, still tend to be regarded in Bougainville as 'natural' labourers, reflecting patterns of the 1950s and 1960s when many Nagovisi worked as labourers on small-holder plantations in the Buin and Siwai areas [Connell 1978: 151–3]. More examples emerge in the discussion of Buka identity that follows.

Finally, into the 1980s, while language groups were undoubtedly an important source of identity, such groups have certainly not become strong corporate units. There has not even been a great deal of effort to mobilise political activity and support on the basis of language groups.

Differential Access to Development — the Case of Buka Identity

The people of the island of Buka provide an interesting case of how patterns of development beginning immediately before the colonial period probably began the shaping of a common identity where it seems likely that none existed before. The development of Buka identity was also closely connected to the development of a distinct Bougainvillean identity. But Buka identity is in fact more of a 'regional' than a language group identity, as it incorporates several language groups, and is not even restricted to Buka. The language groups involved include Halia (and the sub-language of Haku), Solos and Petats on and around Buka Island, and sometimes also language groups in the far north of Bougainville Island. However, the emergence of a Buka identity illuminates aspects of the processes that were probably involved more generally in the emergence and change of identities associated with language and other groups.

Even in precolonial times, coastal and island communities probably had far more experience of dealing with the outside world than the inland valley and mountain people [Friedlaender, this volume]. The former traded with other Bougainvillean and Solomon Island groups, and dealt with explorers, whalers, 'blackbirders' and other labor recruiters [Oliver 1991: 16–29]. As for Buka and north Bougainville, even before such intrusions from the outside world, many (though presumably not all) people were directly involved in the extensive precolonial regional trading system already mentioned [Specht 1974]. Then, from the latter part of the 19th and early 20th centuries, they seem to have been recruited as labourers earlier and on a larger scale than most of mainland Bougainville [Specht 1974].

Quite apart from the appalling actions of 'blackbirders' who in some cases kidnapped large groups of Bougainvilleans [Oliver 1991: 21–3], from around 1870 numerous people from Buka and nearby areas of the northern part of Bougainville were recruited more or less willingly to work as plantation labourers in Samoa, Fiji and even Queensland. Once German New Guinea was established from 1884, large numbers of people from Buka and nearby areas worked in many parts of the colony. 'Bukas'[23] enjoyed a reputation for trustworthiness and energy [Griffin and Togolo 1997: 359; Oliver 1991: 21; Sack, this volume] and were regarded as natural leaders, as indicated by comments published in 1887 by a United Kingdom official in the Pacific:[24]

> … they ['Bukas'] are the finest specimens of manhood in the South Seas. They are fine and plucky fellows … Wherever he goes and whatever natives he mixes with a Buka man will always become the leader. [Romilly 1887: 71]

Of course, 1887 was very soon after the German colonial regime was established, and so such perceptions were presumably based on the record of 'Bukas' working elsewhere (such as Queensland, Fiji, Samoa). 'Bukas' were highly sought after as colonial police, plantation supervisors and plantation security personnel in other parts of German New Guinea.[25]

In 1905, the first permanent colonial administrative headquarters for Bougainville was established, mainly to facilitate increased recruitment of labour by bringing inter-group conflict under control. The German governor, Albert Hahl, decided that Buka was not the place for the administrative headquarters because there were already so many returned colonial policemen there that 'pacification' was already achieved [Hahl 1937, trans. Sack 1980]. Instead, Kieta was chosen as proximate to the best potential new labour sources — the densely populated areas of central and south Bougainville where inter-group conflict continued unabated.

Even after the establishment of the Kieta headquarters, missions, government and plantations all employed many people from Buka as their activities expanded in various parts of Bougainville. For example, McHardy wrote in the early 1930s about establishing the Tunuru Catholic Mission, near what is now Arawa, saying that: 'The boys [working for him] here are nearly all from Buka and they are as intelligent as any in the Prefecture; one or two of them are quite handy' [1935: 63]. A 1943 terrain study of Bougainville and surrounding areas for the United States and its wartime allies noted:

> The Buka people are said to be more advanced than the others and are in considerable demand as police, house servants and boatmen. The people of

> Buin are also said to be very good type (sic) and more ready to engage as laborers. [Allied Geographic Section. Allied Forces, Southwest Pacific Area 1943: 53]

Europeans were thus making use of what they saw as the superior qualities of 'Bukas', while people from Buka were presumably seeking what advantage they could gain from the way that Europeans categorised them. In the process there was no doubt plenty of scope for the stereotype of the man from Buka as of superior stock to be reinforced not just in the mind of the colonist, but also in the minds of people from both Buka and from Bougainville more generally.

While initially the majority of Bougainvilleans working elsewhere were from Buka, there were always some from Bougainville Island. From the early 20th century, the proportion of the latter climbed rapidly. By at least the early 20th century, the term 'Buka', when applied to people, came to mean any black-skinned person from Bougainville.[26] Superiority of the Buka was then extended to all Bougainvilleans when they were dealing with the mainly lighter skin coloured people from other parts of New Guinea, who 'Bukas' were often supervising or against whom they often participated in punitive expeditions. By contrast, when people from Buka itself were dealing with people from other parts of Bougainville, it was the Buka who tended to claim superiority.

It seems likely that people from Buka would have sought to reinforce the perceptions of their superiority in the minds of the colonists, both because they would have believed that it was true and because they could thereby protect their privileged access to employment and financial and other reward. It is significant that McHardy, the New Zealand priest near Arawa, reported using mainly Buka 'boys' in the 1930s and that the Allied terrain study of the 1940s reported Buka people being in demand for employment. These reports suggest either that the early advantage that Buka people enjoyed in terms of access was long-lived, or that they were quite successful in reinforcing perceptions of their superiority, or both.

It could also be expected that the attitudes of people from Buka would have communicated themselves to people from other parts of Bougainville that they dealt with. Even in the 1980s and beyond, people from other parts of Bougainville tend to believe that many people from Buka have a strong sense of superiority (in terms of qualities such as intelligence and perceptiveness) over other groups of Bougainvilleans. Such perceptions seem to be related, at least in part, to what Buka people see as their role in bringing 'civilisation' to the rest of Bougainville. It is also related to the view that they are among the best-educated groups in Bougainville. It is widely accepted in Bougainville that the long advantage Buka has enjoyed in access to education has enabled a relatively high proportion of Buka people to be employed in senior positions, both in Bougainville and elsewhere in

Papua New Guinea. There is continuing concern among many Buka leaders to protect their educational and employment opportunities. This concern is sometimes seen as an important reason for what is seen as a tendency on the part of many (though certainly not all) Buka leaders to see advantage for Buka in continuing to remain part of Papua New Guinea. It is often suggested that there was limited support among the Buka leaders for the cause of Bougainvillean secession in the late 1960s and early 1970s (and again from the late 1980s) largely because of the economic advantage that Buka people could expect from continued links with the rest of Papua New Guinea.

The sense of superiority on the part of Buka people is often noted by people from other parts of Bougainville, and sometimes resented. On the other hand, among the people of Buka, the members of each language group there tend to regard themselves as naturally superior to the other language groups on Buka.

Church, Local Government, and Localised Political, Religious and Cultural Groups

In addition to language groups there have been many other sources of new identities that have emerged in association with, or reaction to, colonial and postcolonial development. They have included identities associated with churches. For example, people identify as members of one or other of the three main churches established in Bougainville early in the 20th century (Catholic, Uniting Church, and Seventh–Day Adventist) or one of the smaller Pentecostal Protestant churches established mainly from the 1970s. People also often identify themselves as being from the local level of their church — for example, from particular Catholic parishes (a particularly strong basis for identity in many areas of Bougainville). New sources of identity associated with the state have included local-level government, cooperatives, provincial government constituencies, and so on. They have all involved the creation of new social units that have had their own resources and power structures. In part because of the resources and power involved, in many cases some, at least, of the people within the units have attached considerable significance to belonging to them, and often have interests in mobilising activity of one sort or another in association with the units, thereby contributing to development and consolidation of group identity.

Another factor contributing to the tendency for such new identities to become significant has to do with inter-relationships with long-established land-holding clan lineages, local groupings of hamlets and villages, and the larger local groupings such as those among the Nasioi and the Nagovisi already discussed. For example, there were cases where localised groups with histories of conflict joined opposing religious groups — carrying on long-established conflict or rivalry

through their religious affiliations [Oliver 1955: 316; 1971: 215; 1991: 62, 66; Elder, this volume].

Other new identities have emerged in reaction to colonial and postcolonial developments. They include those associated with what are often referred to in Bougainville as 'indigenous religious and political movements'. They include groups such as Hahalis Welfare Society [Oliver 1991: 86–9; Rimoldi and Rimoldi 1992] and Damien Dameng's Me'ekamui Pontoku Onoring [Regan 2002b; Tanis, this volume]. These and a number of similar groups[27] have usually been based in parts of particular language groups — Hahalis in the Halia area of Buka and extending to most parts of Buka and some areas of north Bougainville, and Me'ekamui Pontoku Onoring based in the area of the Damara/Ioro people and influencing parts of central and south Bougainville. Originating mainly in the late colonial period (from the late 1950s onwards) such groups were seen by the Bougainville Constitutional Commission, commenting in 2004, as having 'resisted both the outside influences [on Bougainville] and the changes they were bringing, and sought not only a resurgence of [Bougainvillean] culture and *kastom* but also greater control by Bougainvillean communities over the process of change' [2004: 32]. A number of these movements have established their own 'governmental' structures, in opposition to local or provincial governments, collecting 'tax' revenue from their members, constructing 'government' buildings. Some had developmental goals, promoting economic activities. Mobilising people around political and developmental goals, these bodies too have involved power and resources.

Regions within Bougainville

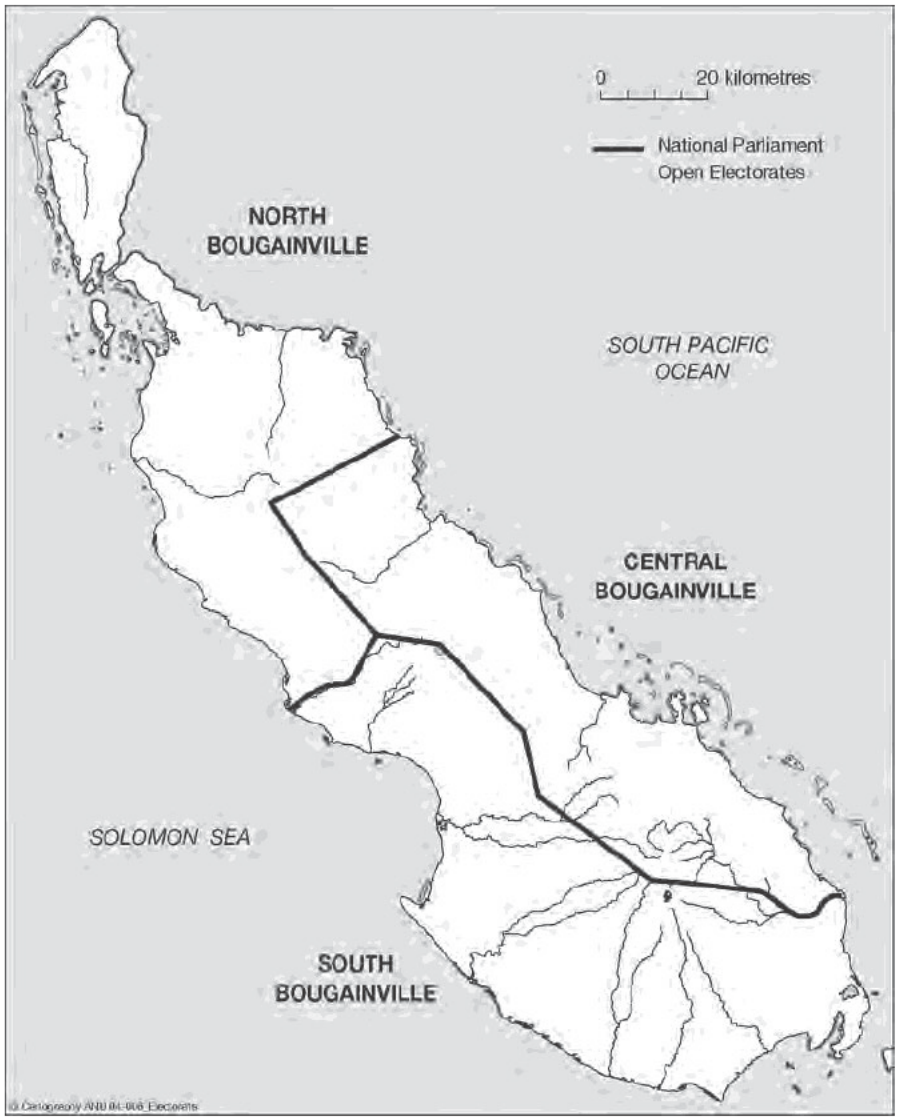
Within Bougainville the main regions are north (usually seen as including Buka, the northern part of the mainland of Bougainville, and the atolls groups), central and south, with geographic boundaries corresponding largely to those of the three 'open' electorates that since 1972 have been the basis for election of the Bougainville representatives to the Papua New Guinea National Parliament (see Map 2).[28] As can be seen from that map, the Central Bougainville Electorate is in fact situated only on the eastern side of Bougainville, and as a result, the central part of the west coast of Bougainville tends not to be included in the central region, making 'central' in some ways a misnomer. As with other 'new' identities already discussed, a significant factor in the emergence and continued importance of regional dimensions are issues concerning the distribution of access to power and resources.

Distinct regions emerged as factors in Bougainville politics from the late 1960s or early 1970s, largely in the context of debate about the future political

status of Bougainville. This was often portrayed as involving a 'north–south polarisation' (see, for example, Mamak and Bedford [1974: 62]), with leadership of north-Bougainville and Buka tending to oppose the proposals for Bougainville secession from what was then the Territory of Papua and New Guinea, and leadership in the southern half tending to support secession. In 1973, for example, leaders from Buka and North Bougainville made a threat that those areas could secede from the rest of Bougainville if leaders from central and south Bougainville at a Combined Councils Conference passed a resolution in favour of Bougainville seceding from Papua New Guinea [Griffin 1977: 53].[29] Such views tended to be held most strongly among leaders from Buka, reflecting views already discussed.

From at least the late 1960s, there have been the traumatic impacts of development of the Panguna mine in the mountains of central Bougainville contributing to the emergence of new political and social movements in that area, such as Napidakoe Navitu, and the strengthening of already existing movements in the area, such as Me'ekamui Pontoku Onoring. Another factor was the sense of resentment in other parts of Bougainville about what were perceived as the unfair advantages that people in Central Bougainville were deriving from mining. There was considerable concern in Buka about the shift of the colonial headquarters from Buka (Sohano Island in Buka Passage) to Kieta occasioned by the development of the mine. There were also 'jealousies over the inflow of money in the form of compensation to communities near the mine' [Bedford and Mamak 1977: 89] something in part resulting from a BCL public relations campaign to convince the public that the company had acted fairly towards landowners suffering the impacts of the mine [Bedford and Mamak 1977: 87].[30] Helping to consolidate the three distinct regional identities was the 1972 change from two to three 'open' electorates in the Papua New Guinea national legislature — the addition of a Central Bougainville electorate to the North Bougainville and South Bougainville electorates.[31] The boundaries of those electorates — see Map 2 — have not changed in the more than 30 years since.

When, in the mid to late 1970s, a single political structure for Bougainville was established for the first time, in the form of what was eventually called the North Solomons Provincial Government (NSPG), it became, among many other things, a forum for dealing with claims for power and resources. A variety of competing claims for access to and balance (and achieving redress of imbalance) in the distribution of the resources of Bougainville could, to some degree, be managed within that forum. This development provided opportunities to many groups, including the least developed groups 'within' language groups. But the three regions also became significant players. The importance of the region was



Map 2. Electoral boundaries, 1972

recognised in the provisions of the NSPG Constitution, drafted in 1976. It sought balanced regional representation in the Provincial Executive Council (PEC), through committees comprising members of the legislature elected from constituencies in each region that nominated regional representatives to the PEC.[32] Further, a convention developed that the premier (elected on a 'presidential' vote by the

whole of Bougainville), the deputy premier (appointed by the premier) and the speaker of the legislature (elected by the legislature) should all be from different regions.[33] The annual provincial budget-making process was also to a large degree about ensuring that the not inconsiderable revenues of the NSPG were distributed fairly, between regions as well as between other groupings.

There is a tendency for debate about the regions to reflect not just concerns about balance, but also the special rights of 'original' inhabitants. This concern is reflected in views about the rights of people from the region to have preference in establishing businesses and take employment opportunities as, for example, when there are 'development' projects proposed for or occurring in a particular region. Similarly, there is often concern expressed regarding the internal migration that has occurred within Bougainville, for example, the Arawa/Kieta/Toniva area in the 1970s and 1980s, and to Buka in the late 1990s and early 2000s (as a result of Buka having again become the main administrative and commercial centre following the conflict in the 1988 to 1997 period).

CONCLUSIONS

While to people outside Bougainville, it may appear that Bougainvilleans are unified around a relatively distinct and distinctive identity, numerous other identities are part of the picture as well. A Bougainvillean can comfortably move between them, being at once a Bougainvillean, a person from a region, or a language group, or a group within a language group (such as the Pirung or the Bava among speakers of Nasioi, or the Lamane or the Booga among the Nagovisi), a member of a clan, a member of a local land-holding lineage, a church member and so on. Not surprisingly, new identities have emerged, while many older identities have far from disappeared.

What makes some identities more important than others? Have social or cultural identities become ethnic identities? Has there been any movement from ethnic identities to ethnicity (accepting, of course, that there are limitations in the usefulness of those terms)? Partly the answers to such questions may depend on which identity is most under attack or threat [Maalouf 2001: 26]. Certainly, where persistent and violent threats occur, it could be expected that political and other ethnicity may develop.

While we may never know with certainty the history of widespread localised violent conflict in all areas of Bougainville before and — in many areas — for a considerable period after direct colonial rule began, it would be difficult to imagine that there were not some continuing impacts from memories of such conflict. After colonial 'pacification' violent inter-group conflict did not cease alto-

gether. It occurred, for example, between adherents of 'opposing' churches in South Bougainville in the late 1920s, as discussed in this volume by Laracy. There was vicious inter-group fighting in central Bougainville during World War II [Feldt 1967; Nelson, this volume]. The final reconciliation ceremonies to resolve the impacts of such conflict between Torau and Nasioi-speaking groups occurred 40 years later, in the 1970s,[34] while in the case of similar conflict involving Damara/Ioro and Avaipa people, reconciliation occurred in the 1980s.[35]

Examination of the roles, and the extent of politicisation, of identities within Bougainville in the terrible internal conflict that occurred in Bougainville as part of the 1988–1997 conflict (especially after the withdrawal of the Papua New Guinea security forces in March 1990) is beyond the scope of this chapter. It would require consideration of the particular circumstances of Bougainville in the 1980s. This was a time of complex and rapid political, economic and cultural change in Bougainville, where economic inequality was growing, due to both the rapid spread of cash-crop activity, especially small-holder cocoa plantations developed mainly since the 1960s, and activities associated with the Panguna mine. It was a situation where land shortages were beginning to be felt in some areas of higher population, or where patterns of clan access to land were causing unequal access [Mitchell 1982; Tanis, this volume]. In a situation of complex and multi-layered identities, a long history of egalitarian social structures, and 'differential access to resources' [Levine 1999: 178] due to new economic developments, it may have been a small step for some identities to become important in bitter struggles over resources. At the same time, very minor local differences in accent, material culture, diet (due to the ecological niche occupied by a group) can readily become markers in cases where tensions and conflict are occurring between groups.

In March 1990, the Papua New Guinea National Government effectively withdrew from Bougainville. Its forces and basic government administration and services only returned slowly from late in the same year, first to Buka, and then over several years to some parts of Bougainville island, and were never re-established in large parts of Bougainville island before the peace process began in 1997 [Regan 1998]. At the same time, armed groups were often operating on a localised basis, with limited control from Bougainville Revolutionary Army command structures, often pursuing localised concerns. New organisations, interests and loyalties now overlaid the patterns of unequal access to resources that had developed, over an extended period.

The 'mapping' of identities among Bougainvilleans offered in this paper can perhaps assist in the examination of these and perhaps similar issues.

Endnotes

In writing this chapter I have been assisted by discussions with, and information provided by, people far too numerous to list here. I must record, however, my gratitude to particular people whose ideas and information helped me better identify the range of identities among Bougainvilleans, namely Damien Dameng, Joseph Kabui, Roselyne Kenneth, Theodore Miriung, Isaiah Moroko, Simon Pentanu, John Siau, James Tanis, Mel Togolo and Marcelline Tunim. I have also benefited from comments on an early draft of this chapter from Raymond Apthorpe, Helga Griffin, James Griffin, Joseph Kabui, David Hegarty, Ron May, John Siau and James Tanis.

1. See, for example, Griffin [1982; 1990] (and other writings by Griffin referred to in those pieces); Mamak and Bedford [1974]; Nash and Ogan [1990]; Filer [1990 and 1992]; May [1990]; Ghai and Regan [2000].
2. While drawing on examples from many areas, my particular focus is on the Nasioi, Torau and Nagovisi language areas of central and south Bougainville.
3. See, for example, the migration stories in Siwai and Nagovisi 'clan "histories"' discussed by Oliver [1993a and 1993b: 24].
4. The migration stories of the Torau are well documented [see Terrell and Irwin 1972 and the sources that they cite]. It seems not to have been documented, however, that the Amun/Piva of the central and northern areas of the west coast of Bougainville apparently have a similar history of migration from the Shortland Islands area, perhaps at a similar time to the migration of the Torau. It is not clear why this history has not attracted similar interest to that given to the Torau, one possible explanation being the comparative remoteness of the Amun/Piva speakers in relatively inaccessible parts of Bougainville.
5. There is ample evidence in support of this view in the recorded observations of virtually all early European observers of Bougainville in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, and those of almost all anthropologists who have worked in Bougainville (see, for example, the work of Nash [1974: 56–7]).
6. Sack [1973: 56–7] cites the observations of former Papua New Guinea Chief Land Titles Commissioner, Kimmorley, concerning the customary arrangements among the Siwai for the leasing of land 'by refugees from fighting in the old days who fled to places distant from their home'.
7. Oliver [1991: 94] cites Parkinson [1907] in support of this view, and Thurnwald [1909: 512–20] expresses a similar opinion concerning the Buin plains, in particular. (I am grateful to Helga Griffin for drawing my attention to Thurnwald's observations, and for translating them from the original German.)
8. In relation to the Motuna speakers of Siwai, see Oliver [1993a], and in relation to the Nasioi and the Nagovisi see Nash and Ogan [1990: 4].
9. See also the discussion of the people of the area known as the Avaipa, below.
10. See, for example, Ogan, Tryon, and Friedlaender, each in this volume, and Oliver [1971, 1991: 1–6, 92–117 and 1993a, 1993b], Terrell [1978], Nash and Ogan [1990] (and also the publications referred to in their footnote 10) and Ogan [1992].
11. As recorded by Blackwood [1935: 44–5] and by Keil [this volume].
12. For example, in relation to the Siwai see Oliver [1993a: 25]; in relation to the Nasioi, see Ogan [1972: 97]. People who had to flee their home areas during the height of the Bougainville conflict commonly tell of being assisted in particular by members of their corresponding clan when living in areas belonging to other language groups. In particular, members of displaced groups in central Bougainville report being able to establish strong linkages to clan groupings

that their clan migration histories indicated were related to the displaced groups.

13. However, one of the main ways of holding land among the Torau is through matrilineal lineages of persons from the same clan descended from a known maternal ancestor.
14. Members of particular Torau clans assert that during the conflict, 1988–1997, their clan members fought more bravely than those of other clans.
15. For example, occupying different ecological niches can result in significant differences in food and in material culture. Thus, among speakers of the Nasioi language, because of the altitude at which they live, the people of Kongara, high in the mountains south of Panguna, have access to few coconuts and other tree crops, but can grow many plants that coastal and valley people cannot. They also have different sources of protein from coastal and valley people, including more use of lizards and insects.
16. See endnote 15.
17. Bougainville, since 1998, has hosted numerous New Zealand and Australian personnel in the Truce Monitoring Group, the Peace Monitoring Group and numerous aid projects. Where relations between individuals from opposite sides of the Tasman have become strained, it has been far from uncommon for explanations proffered by people from either side for the offending behaviour of a person from the opposite side to be based in part at least on stereotypes of the kinds of negative qualities that tend to be attributed to the 'group' from the opposite side.
18. J.Griffin [1982: 113] suggests the term 'Daru' as the basis for the letters 'Da', and just Koromira as the basis for the letters 'Ko'. My source of information for the derivation of the anagram is Damien Dameng, who was a member of the executive of Napidakoe Navitu.
19. In the case of the Bougainville People's Congress, constituency names in the Nasioi-speaking areas include Bava–Pirung, Apiatei, Kongara, Nasioi, and Kokoda (an anagram of the first two initials of Koromira, Koianu and Dantenai). In the case of Nagovisi, the constituency names used included Velepi, Lamane, Telepi and Tomau. In terms of demands for drawing of constituency boundaries for the new Autonomous Bougainville Government expected to be established through elections planned for mid-2005, at public meetings in 2002 and 2003 held to discuss development of the new Bougainville constitution, a 'chief' of a major Pirung village asked for a separate constituency for the Pirung on the basis that their *kastom* and interests were quite different from those of the neighbouring Apiatei, Bava, Nasioi and Dantenai groups.
20. This is not to say, however, that groups in remote areas necessarily want economic development at any cost. In 1966, Catholic Bishop, Leo Lemay, pointed out to the people of the mountainous areas around the Panguna mine that 'they would remain "bush", without roads, if CRA were told to leave, he was told in no uncertain terms: "We want our land; we do not want CRA; we want to remain bush; and if need be our children will remain bush"' [Laracy 1999: 586]. Laracy was quoting from a letter of 16 August 1966 from Lemay to the then retiring Administrator of the Territory of Papua New Guinea, Sir Donald Cleland.
21. This fact is reflected in patterns of voting among the Nasioi for candidates in elections for the colonial legislature, where they did not unite to support Nasioi candidates [Ogan: 1965].
22. Though not necessarily a universal tendency. Connell suggests that unlike the Bougainville groups that Friedlaender [1975] discussed '… Siwais did not conceive of their own physical uniqueness; they believed that it was generally impossible to distinguish Siwais from other Bougainvilleans in this way. Their uniqueness was a product of language and culture' [1978: 29].
23. While the term 'Buka' gradually came to be applied to any black-skinned person from

Bougainville, in the late 19th century it was likely to be a relatively accurate description of the place of origin of workers recruited from what is now Bougainville, as they tended to come mainly from Buka Island and the far north of Bougainville Island.

24. Deputy commissioner for the Western Pacific and acting special commissioner for New Guinea.
25. See Oliver [1991: 21] and J. Griffin and Togolo [1997: 359] and the sources that they cite.
26. Similarly, 'Buka basket' came to be the term applied to baskets made in in the south of mainland Bougainville, in Siwai and Buin!
27. The *Final Report* of the Bougainville Constitutional Commission talks of a number of such groups, including 'the Solo-Mono movement originally based in Nagovisi and led by Johannes Avaroko, and more recently by King Tore, of Boku in the Baitsi, a group with support extending through Siwai and into Telei (Buin); the Johannes Kanis movement of Selau-Suir; the group led by Fabian Tonepa of the Avaipa area, in Eivo; the Sipapai movement, led by Clement Sipapai, of the Karato area, West Asikopan on the Western side of the Eivo-speaking area of Central Bougainville; the group led by Paul Mena of Pontona, in the Koromira/Koianu area; the Toiakingil movement led by Blasius Raring, on Nissan Island, north of Buka Island; the group led by Peter Chanel Kakapitai of the Keriaka area on the Northwest coast of Bougainville Island'. [Bougainville Constitutional Commission 2004: 32]
28. For the first election to the colonial legislature — the House of Assembly — in 1964, there was just one 'open' electorate and one regional electorate, both covering the whole of Bougainville. In the 1968 elections, there were two open electorates, one North and one South, as well as the regional electorate. For all elections to the Papua New Guinea national legislature since 1972 (House of Assembly to 1975, and from Independence in September 1975, the Papua New Guinea National Parliament) there have been three 'open' electorates (North, Central and South) and one regional.
29. That was a threat that was to be echoed many times by elements of the Buka leadership from 1988 until a common Bougainville negotiating position emerged in late 1999 as part of the Bougainville peace process.
30. Tanis [this volume] also provides insights into how resentments about compensation payments strained inter-group relations, in his case more local relations between original landowners in the lower tailings lease area and settlers from Lamane who had purchased land in the lower tailings area and so received compensation in relation to their blocks.
31. See endnote 28.
32. See section 49 of the *Constitution of North Solomons Provincial Government*, entitled 'Representation of Regions', and similar provisions in clause 81 of the Constitution of the Autonomous Region of Bougainville [Bougainville Constituent Assembly 2004].
33. The deputy premier was appointed by the premier from among the members of the legislature, while the speaker was elected by the members of the legislature from either among their members or from prominent persons outside the legislature who were qualified to stand for election.
34. Information from Melchior Togolo.
35. Information from Joseph Kabui.