LAND, CHURCH, AND COMMUNITY ISSUES IN RURAL MELANESIA WITH REGARD TO LAND CONFLICTS

Simil Hondolwa

Simil graduated from the Christian Leaders' Training College in 2012 with a Master of Theology degree, and now works with the Good News Christian Church in his home area of the Southern Highlands Province. He can be reached via email through the Editor at graduate_studies@cltc.ac.pg.

INTRODUCTION

In Melanesia, the Christian church, and her host community, have come to face numerous land-related conflicts. Particularly, in the Highlands of Papua New Guinea (PNG), land conflicts are found in many indigenous churches. Some of those affected churches are the Evangelical Church of Papua New Guinea (ECPNG),[1] the Christian Union church (CUC),[2] and the Christian Brethren churches (CBC).[3] Among them, the Good News Christian church (GNCC) is no exception. Almost all of them have faced

[1] In 2006, the author witnessed the traditional land owners of the ECPNG headquarters at Tari, in Hela Province, demanding K20,000 cash compensation (the kina (K) is the currency of PNG) for the use of a river that generates hydro power for the station. Several attempts were made by the locals to cause violence at the head station.

[2] The Christian Union Mission (CUM) is an American-based mission, which established its gospel in the 1960s among the Embi people of the Poroma district, in Southern Highlands Province of PNG. In 2003, CUM had to vacate its head station at Ka, due to the landowners claiming K100,000 cash, as compensation for the land on which the mission had established its headquarters. The missionaries were also physically assaulted. This information was given by Simon Menger, pastor of Christian Union church, interview by author in local language by questionnaire, March 2, 2012, Mendi PNG.

[3] In September, 2011, the CBC in Hela Province celebrated its 50-year Silver Jubilee. The Wandu clansmen, whose forefathers partly owned the land on which the Guala mission station is located, demanded that the particular sections of the land, owned by their ancestors, be returned to them for some undisclosed reasons, according to John Hinini, CBC church elder, during an interview by the author, in neo-Melanesian, by questionnaire, on September 20, 2011.

similar challenges from traditional landowners, soon after the missionaries left. In each of these denominations, there are commonalities and differences regarding the cause and possible solutions to land-related problems. Some land issues arose out of traditional causes, while others were born because of modernity. Many of the issues still need answers today. The bottom-line is that land disputes between the church and the host people group are continuing to be the source of much complexity.

Many Melanesians and outsiders have written on this topic, in an attempt to equip the church to tackle these complexities. This paper adds to this knowledge base by recording what occurred between GNCC and the Suma clan, as the church's host community, a community with whom I am in close contact. To the best of my knowledge, no one has analysed the ongoing challenges, with which GNCC has been confronted over the last 20 years, concerning the *HalHal* block of land. The *HalHal* land is the land on which the Apostolic Christian Mission (ACM)[4] established its head station in 1978.[5] ACM later gave birth to the Good News Christian church of PNG. This critique is a case study, which has its origins in my own Waola[6] culture.[7] The critique strives to examine important questions, such as, the following: How were the traditional Suma people related to the land, before the arrival of the missionaries? What particular sub-clan and family units owned the *HalHal* land? What motivated the Suma to allocate the land to ACM? What were the underlying factors, from the perspective of land, that caused the community to pressure the church?

---

[4] This "Apostolic Christian Mission" was an American-based mission, distinctly separated from the New Zealand-based Apostolic Christian Mission, which settled in Enga Province in the Highlands of PNG during the 1960s. Today this is known as the Apostolic Church of Papua New Guinea.

[5] Rosalie M. Donais, *As Many as Received Him, to Them Gave He Power: to Become the Sons of God, Even to Them That Believe on His Name, John 1:12*, Tremont IL: Apostolic Christian Church Foundation, 1987, p. viii.

[6] "Waola" is the name of the people group of the Nipa basin, and their cultural name, of which the Suma tribe is a part. The name "Waola" is misspelled "Wala" by Paul Silliote, *Made in Niugini: Technology in the Highlands of Papua New Guinea*. London UK: British Museum Publications, 1988, p. 10. There are many other spelling faults of the "Angal Heneng" language words in Silliote's publication, which need attention.

[7] Stephen A. Grunlan, and Marvin K. Mayers, *Cultural Anthropology: A Christian Perspective*, 2nd edn, Grand Rapids MI: Zondervan, 1988, p. 189. Culture is a shared and learned behaviour. It is a product of group structure and process.

Once these questions have been answered, an alternate theological and missiological concept of land can be proposed to GNCC for adoption. An analysis of a socio-economic alternative is also integrated, as this research's fundamental ideology, because, if the church neglects the pressing socio-economic disabilities of her host community, then theology, mission, and evangelism definitely stagnate. Therefore, the purpose of this research strives to show that theology should not be understood and preached, independently of the material reality, since land, in Melanesian society, cannot be viewed in isolation from a host of social and economic factors. Melanesian societies each function as an integrated whole – not as compartmentalised segments. Regarding research methodology, many of my arguments are based on my personal experiences and observations of my Waola culture, while others are collections from documents and interviews.

ETHNOGRAPHIC BACKGROUND AND TRADITIONAL UNDERSTANDING OF LAND IN THE WAOLA PERSPECTIVE

Waola is the ethnographic title of the Nipa people, and their cultural group, in Southern Highlands Province of PNG. "The Waolas are a tribe of about 50,000 speakers of the Angal Heneng language."[8] Out of the massive tribes of the Waola culture, the Suma clan is selected, because this research centres on their tribal land. The head station of ACM was established at a strategic place called *HalHal* within the Suma community. The community is comprised of four *ank paokao* (sub-clans) namely Suma-Terek, Suma-Kemp, Suma-Hul, and Suma-Paegae.[9] These sub-tribes inhabit several villages. They are HalHal, Top Te, Igirip, Kak Te, Wal Te, Puka, and Towan. The villages are surrounded by four natural mountains called Moi, Hok, Kupim, and Naogaok. These mountains create natural borders with the neighbouring tribes: the Tombra and Anja Maogaon in the southwest, Kil Aol and Waol Aol in the northwest, and Soi-Komea in the southeast. The land, found within these boundaries covers approximately 6,500 square kilometres. It consists of rugged countryside, deep gorges, and high hills. This portion of land is known as *Suman su* (the customarily-owned land of

[8] Victor Schlatter, "Third-World Awakening: Greek Roadblocks or Hebraic Road?", in *Melanesian Journal of Theology* 20-2 (2004), p. 79.

[9] Suma-Paegae is also known as Suma tol isi, meaning the "son of *Tol*". *Tol isi* was believed to be a descent of *the* Paegae *sub*-clan. These sub-clan titles can also be pronounced in the reverse order: Terek-Suma, Kemp-Suma, Hul-Suma, Paegae-Suma.

the Suma[10] tribe). Out of the 6,500 square kilometres of land, ACM was allocated 800 square kilometres, in the *HalHal* vicinity. Here, ACM established its headquarters in 1978, with a growing gospel movement among the Waola people. Today, there are 105 established congregations in PNG.

DEFINING LAND FROM THE WAOLA PERSPECTIVE

Land can be defined in several ways. The following are two of the many definitions. Young argues that, "for the Melanesian culture, land is seen as a person with feelings. It has to be included in the life of the community".[11] Narokobi defines land for the Melanesians as, "Land is permanent, irredeemable, and non-disposable. Land is the link between the earth and the sky, the sea and the clouds, the past and the future. Because land is eternal, it is owned in sacred trust for the succeeding generations."[12] In the light of these definitions, the Waola understand ***su*** (land)[13] as ***aolon ipao*** (the blood stream of man).[14] That means anything and everything that is found on a block of ***su***, either on the surface,[15] under the surface,or the ecosphere, are all known as ***su*** of the Suma people. It was seen as their only source of survival, and a means to create wealth,[16] and health.[17] In the mindset of the Waola, ***su*** includes plants, rocks, tamed, and untamed animals, and waters.

[10] It is also known as the ***Suma aolon au***, meaning "the land belonging to the Suma men or tribe".

[11] Douglas Young, "Church and Land Conflicts: Questions in Need of Answers", in Michael A. Rynkiewich, ed., *An Introduction to Melanesian Cultures: Issues and Contexts, Point* 25 (2001), pp. 46.

[12] Bernard M. Narokobi, "The Concept of Ownership in Melanesia", in Darrell L. Whiteman, ed., *An Introduction to Melanesian Cultures: Issues and Contexts, Point* 25 (2001), pp. 84-85.

[13] In the Waola concept, ***su*** can also mean "the earth", "soil, and all that it contains, within a specific vicinity".

[14] ***Aolon ipao*** can also be interpreted as the source and substance of human life.

[15] Surface property can include natural elements, such as, water, animals, trees, or artificial possessions, like gardens, roads, and buildings. "Under the surface" refers to minerals, underground water resources, roots, and rocks. "Ecosphere property" refers to birds, found around the particular place, if not moved to another person's ecosphere, and, even the open air, is part of the land and property.

[16] Wealth refers to the traditional economy, valuable species of plants, rocks, and animals, of both domestic and wild, which the Waola used as economy, and commodity for trade.

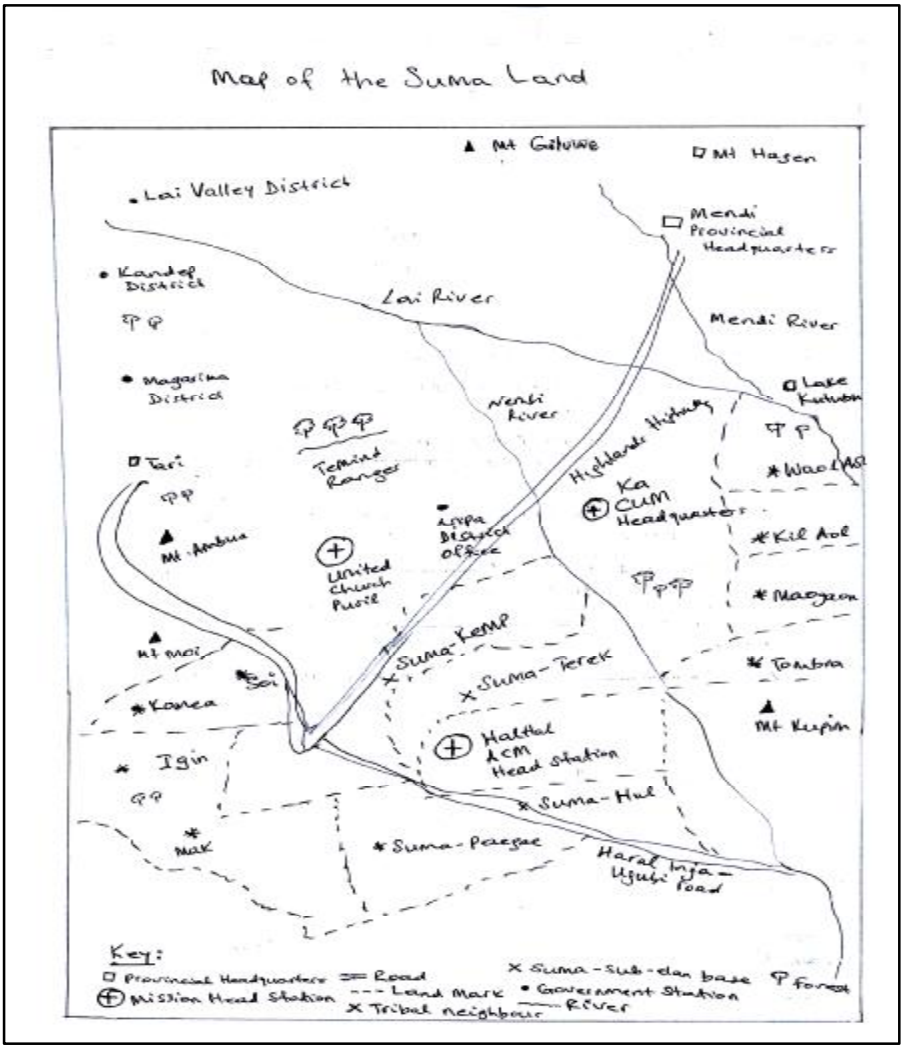
[17] "Health" refers to the economic resources as wealth (see note 18), used in trade between ethnicities, basically, to meet ends for survival.

Everything that was found within the vicinity of a particular tribe's air space, including the birds that fly over it, the rain that drops from the sky, and the clouds that hang over their part of the sky, were part of the *su*. The same concept was applied to claim the right to own the stars, the moon, and the sun, which hang over the air space of a given territory.[18]

In the understanding of Melanesians, *su* also referred to the geographical territory that belonged to a particular tribe, a household, and an individual. In contrast, the Hebrews of the Old Testament used diverse vocabularies to refer to different segments found and used for a particular portion. For instance, in the book of Amos, numerous terms are used to refer to land. נָוֶה (*nāvāh*) is used to mean "pasture or settlement."[19] Bulkeley notes that חֶלְק (*ch^{a}lāq*) "speaks of land as an apportioned 'lot' ". He further states that, according to Amos 4:7, "where the co-text makes it clear that these 'lots' are land that is expected to be agriculturally productive".[20] Other words that Bulkeley highlights from the Hebrew are אֶרֶץ (*erets*) "territory, country, land", and אֲדָמָה (*^{a}dāmāh*) "soil, earth".[21] He also states that, the term כָּל-מָקוֹם (*kāl-māqōm*) was also used as a Hebrew expression to simply mean "everywhere".[22] He further states, "Talk of 'land' leads us through this book [of Amos], but it is [for the Hebrews] understood not as neutral space, nor even as mere human territory, but, rather, it is always thought of as a divine gift."[23]

[18] See figure 2 on p. 23.
[19] Amos 1:2.
[20] Tim Bulkeley, " 'Exile Away from His Land': is Landlessness the Ultimate Punishment in Amos?", in *The Gospel and the Land of Promise: Christian Approaches to the Land of the Bible*, Philip Church, Peter Walker, Tim Bulkeley, and Tim Meadowcroft, eds, Eugene OR: Pickwick Publications, 2011, p. 76.
[21] Bulkeley also notes that both words are common in the Hebrew Bible, "used respectively some 2,500 and 250 times", Ibid.
[22] Ibid.
[23] Ibid., p. 80.

Figure 1. Map of the Suma Land



DESCENT IDEOLOGY AND LAND OWNERSHIP

In traditional Waola culture, the cognatic system is the basic link that relates land tenure to descent.[24] By this, we mean that the Suma community was governed by patrilineal[25] systems, similar to other Pacific cultures, as the founding socialised system, for centuries before they came into contact with ACM. In contrast, Rynkiewich states that, "while a matrilineal system is practised in some Melanesian societies, such as, the Nasioi in the south of the Autonomous Region of Bougainville",[26] the Waola people were strongly affixed to the patrilineal system. Since the cognatic system was the basis on which landholding was formed, the backbone of Suma society, because the categories, and groups of people, were related to through male ties called ***su kilao***. There were grand stories that were passed down from one generation to another, recounting the origins of the four Suma sub-clans, as the landholding units. These units, known as ***aol saem***, explain the origin and distribution of people on the Suma land. Their descendants then birthed ***ank paokao***. Clan founders were delegated particular territories, and given symbols of their linkage with their land. Thus, centred upon this view, the ***Suman su*** (the Suma soil) was sacred.[27] Each ***ank paokao*** holds the land in trust for the living-dead ancestors,[28] and the ***nongnaek*** (children, who are yet to be born).[29] As the population grew, each group of clans (***phratry***)[30] was reminded of their origins, known as ***saem takisao***. The counting of the ***saem***

[24] Michael A. Rynkiewich, "Traditional Land Tenure in Melanesia", in Michael A. Rynkiewich, ed., *An Introduction to Melanesian Cultures: Issues and Contexts, Point* 25 (2001), p. 134. The term "cognatic" refers to a patrilineal land inheritance system, in contrast to the agnatic inheritance system, where a sister's son's children become fully-fledged members of the patriclan.

[25] Patrilineal systems are a land-tenure culture, which authorises land inheritance by the male descent, in contrast to matrilineal practice, where the female descent has the authority to inherit family land.

[26] Michael A. Rynkiewich, "Traditional Land Tenure in Melanesia", *Point* 25(2001), p. 122.

[27] A few concepts and key terminologies were drawn from Ibid., p. 123.

[28] The Melanesians believed that their dead ancestors' spirits were still with them, and actively involved in their daily activities.

[29] Ibid., p. 121.

[30] Ibid., p. 123. "Phratry" is an anthropological term, referring to the founders of large confederations of clans as "big line". According to Grunlan and Mayers, *Cultural Anthropology*, p. 189, phratry is a group of two or more clans, held together, either by kinship, or mutual interest.

takisao took the form of naming the genealogies, either from the present to the beginning, or from the beginning to the present, using all the male ancestral links. The listing of the genealogies was necessary, in order to define who has the right to own land.[31]

THE INTERCONNECTEDNESS OF LAND AND IDENTITY

To the Waola culture, land and identity bore diverse definitions. People's names and characters were identified with the land, from the sacred to the common. The naming of clans, sub-clans, family units, and individuals were intimately linked with their ancestral histories. These histories were also interconnected to folklore and myths of origination. As a matter of clarity, the umbrella clan name "Suma", served the interest of all sub-clans and family units, down to individual members. The four sub-clans, previously defined,[32] were descendants of two prominent *momaolu* (ancestors) called *Suma Ti-Tae*.[33] The name Suma carried four references. The name Suma was the title of the natural land, which the Suma people occupy. Secondly, "Suma" was also the tribal name of this particular people group. Thirdly, the name referred to the ecological elements found on the land, such as, water, rocks, plants, and animals. Fourthly, the name includes the diverse elements of the ecosphere, such as, the air, clouds and rain, stars, moon and the sun, that were found above the air space of the tribe's territory. The names of children born into each of the sub-clans were named identical to each of the Suma sub-clan's name. I would be called Hul Simil, if I were from the Suma-Hul sub-clan. My name Simil was an individual identity; the name Hul indicated which sub-clan I belonged to among the four sub-clans,

[31] Only the offspring of men of the Suma are eligible to be included in the *ank paokao* membership, while female descents are expected to be included under their husband's line.

[32] See p. 7.

[33] John Hip, Suma local pastor of Good News Christian church, interview by author in Neo-Melanesian by questionnaire, March 12, 2012, Nipa PNG. *Ti Tae* refers to the two principal descents, out of which the four Suma sub-clans originated. The words *ti tae* are normally used in the local culture to describe a scene of argument and quarrel. It is also a short expression used in the Angal Heneng vernacular to describe people's disorderly manner of speech and actions. Perhaps the Suma descendants migrated to the current land from somewhere else, after an argument or quarrel with their original tribe, and took refuge by settling here. This could be the most likely reason the Suma tribe got its descent name.

while the general tribal name Suma affirmed it.[34] Some were named after the elements of nature, such as, ***Marumb*** for a female child, in connection with a creek, known by this name. New-born babies were named after their ***momaolu***[35] to keep the link with the living-dead ancestors, and their land. The ***momaolu*** were often held in high regard for having spilled their ***kisep*** (blood), where they fought a decisive battle to either defend their ground, or in an attempt to take over another tribe's land. These were tags of land rights, which were always held high in tribal social connections.[36]

In a sense, the Waola believe, like other Melanesians, that the land was given to them outrightly by their ***momaolu.*** However, the land was also viewed as a borrowed property from the ***momaolu*** as well as a treasure for[37] their ***nongnaek.***[38] In a typological comparison, Wright argues that, "the Hebraic ideology of land and identity has 'three cardinal concepts that stood out as fundamental – but also persistent and together form the essence of what he suggests as a 'theology of the land' in the Old Testament (OT)."[39]

Firstly, "The land was given by Yahweh in fulfilment of the promise to the fathers – the historical tradition. Secondly, Yahweh, however, was still the ultimate owner of the land, a fact which was to be acknowledged in various legal and cultic ways. Thirdly, Israel and its land were bound together as an 'umbilical' relationship, that is, a relationship determined by the nature of Israel's own relationship to God."[40]

In the light of Wright's argument, these three concepts were almost similar to that of the Waola concepts of land, and their identity with the land. For instance, the Hebrews understood that the land of Canaan was rightfully

[34] Some other peoples' names were given in connection with the major tribal name, such as *Suma Peyang.*

[35] *Momaolu* can also mean great-, great-, great-, grand-ancestors, or any persons of ancient descent. It also referred to ancestors of ancient descents.

[36] Henry Paroi, "Melanesian Spirituality of Land", in Michael A. Rynkiewich, ed., *An Introduction to Melanesian Cultures: Issues and Contexts, Point* 25 (2001), p. 179.

[37] The Waola believed that, even though the ancestors have died, they were still living among them, in the form of their spirit, fully participating in tribal affairs.

[38] Paroi, "Melanesian Spirituality of Land", p. 184.

[39] Christopher J. H. Wright, *God's People in God's Land: Family, Land, and Property in the Old Testament*, Grand Rapids MI: William B. Eerdmans, p. 22.

[40] Ibid., p. 3.

given to them by Yahweh, through their forefathers, in contrast to the Waola, who believed that land was rightfully given to them by their ancestors.

The two traditions also share similar thinking in recognising that the land was inherited from their ancestors. Both cultures bear a common understanding of shared ownership of land between the ancestors, the living, and the future children. However, the two also have slight differences. While the Waola believe that land was ultimately given to them by their forefathers, the Jews believe that it was given to them by Yahweh, as a gift to their forefathers. The Jews feel they are accountable to both their ancestors and to Yahweh as an inheritor of the earth.[41] In further comparison, the Waola have a mirror concept of a deity called *yeki*[42] (a male figure), who was referred as *ab* (father). The y*eki*, or *ab*, was believed to be a creator and controller of the land. With the same logic, the Suma believed that the earth was understood as an *am* (mother figure),[43] who feeds and cares for her children. The Waola believed that there was a connection between the land, as *am*, and the sky, as *ab*, both of which were responsible for human sustenance, as their children.[44]

To the Jews, Yahweh was believed to be the creator God, who made the land for man's good, and that He had an ongoing function in sustaining creation, but they were also warned that this creative sustenance could be undone or withdrawn.[45] The Jews understood that Yahweh was the source of blessing through the land, in which He commanded the land to produce for man.[46] According to Wright, "the historical land gift tradition was integrally related to the demands of the relationship between Israel and Yahweh".[47] Wright

[41] Gen 1:26-28; 2:15.
[42] For further information about *yeki*, see pp. 21-22.
[43] For further information on *am* see pp. 21-22.
[44] "Children" may also mean the non-human elements of creation, which depend on the soil, and the cosmic elements of the sky.
[45] Bulkeley, "Exile Away from His Land", p. 81.
[46] Gen 1:28-29.
[47] Wright, *God's People in God's Land*, p. 25.

continues to note that Amos 2:6ff, Hosea 13:4-6, and Micah 6 were oracles of judgment, and were widely accepted as authentic.[48]

We then see that both the Hebrew and Waola concepts create typological cultures, interwoven into both of their ethnic religions. Both have some commonalities and yet slight differences. For instance, one common area they shared was that they both recognised a deity as creator and owner of the soil, and both carried the image of the land as an ultimate source for the people's survival. And these two traditions bore the concept of man, bound to the land, like that of a child, connected to the womb of the mother by the umbilical cord.

However, in this contrast of the two cultures, the Suma clan was accountable to their ancestors, deities, and the future generations, as much as they were accountable to their living kinsmen about the use of the land. Therefore, land in Melanesia, for example, as much as in the Hebrew culture, was understood as communal property as stated by Fager,

> However, the jubilee implies that individual families were allotted particular plots of land, from which they could not be alienated. . . . All the members of the family had equal rights of property to a certain piece of ground. The concept of tribal solidarity, and mutual responsibility, would make the relative strength of the tribe, as a whole, desirable, thus wealth ought to be retained within that broad kinship group.[49]

In the Waola context, it was impossible for one party to do away with any of the land and its resources without the consent of the other parties. The living owners of the land were answerable to the living-dead owners,[50] and to the future generations. However, some of these beliefs and values are fading away, and are no longer held today by some radical Suma, who have grown up in towns and cities. Those who are disregarding the traditional value of land are beginning to take land tenure as only a means of survival. However, the majority of Suma are still keen to hold to the traditional view

[48] Ibid.

[49] Jeffrey A. Fager, *Land Tenure and the Biblical Jubilee: Uncovering Hebrew Ethics through the Sociology of Knowledge*, Sheffield UK: JSOT Press, 1993, p. 90.

[50] Paroi, "Melanesian Spirituality of Land", p. 184.

of land tenure, because, as Longgar notes, "the land is the dwelling place of the ancestors, the totems, cultural heroes, and creator gods, whose footprints the earth still bears".[51] Traditionally, once the property was illegally possessed by other kinsmen, or by an enemy tribe, the tenants were convinced that they were being robbed of their birth right, and the above identities. However, when that did happen, the tenants fought tooth and nail to safeguard their identity, source of survival, and the deities they worshipped.[52]

LAND, ECONOMY, AND GOVERNANCE

Although the concept of land, as an economic commodity, was included in the Waola governance of society, a few things need to be highlighted here. That is, that a thorough understanding of the role that land resources played in the maintenance of Waola culture was rarely sought by those who made land-use decisions. The leadership, provided by the kinship, prepared and implemented plans about the use of the land.[53] Similar to the land leadership provided by the kinship system in the New Guinea Islands of PNG, where the clan controlled all the farm land, the forest's flora and fauna, hunting grounds, sacred sites, ecosphere, and community meeting venues of the Islanders,[54] so it was in Suma society. Kinship controlled the land, and delegated its use, according to individual need. This also served as a social-control mechanism. Property was passed, through patrilineage, from father to son, or, in some cases, older brother to younger brother. All resources remain in the clan, and assure the economic security of the future generation.[55]

---

[51] William Kenny Longgar, "Kaugu Gunan Ma Kaugu Pia"*: My Village and My Land: The Theological Significance of Land in the New Guinea Islands of Papua New Guinea, Point* 32 (2008), p. 71.

[52] Presently, the state, private firms, and the respective churches are yet to work their way around these streams of values, unexpressed by land tenants. This is even becoming a major roadblock for national development in Melanesia.

[53] Colin Filer, "The Social Context of Renewable Resource Depletion in Papua New Guinea", in Richard Howitt, John Connell, and Philip Hirsch, eds, *Resources, Nations and Indigenous Peoples: Case Studies from Australasia, Melanesia, and Southeast Asia*. Melbourne Vic: Oxford University Press, 1996, p. 297.

[54] Longgar, "Kaugu Gunan Ma Kaugu Pia", p. 66.

[55] Ibid., pp. 75-76.

To the Suma, the question of land provides an individual with his social standing, economic opportunity, and position in the political and religious structure. The clan maintains social order through economic and religious controls.[56] The kinship system also cares for the old, the young, the parentless, and foreigners. They were present to provide security, resources, training, and mentoring. The kinship system settled disputes in marriages, between clans, and between tribes. It punished wrongdoers, established rules, and maintained social order. It was a government in its own right. When this was true, his economic advantage lay at the heart of the Suma person's history – all the objects of value, found and produced on his *su*. These, then, were the Waola "money" or "currency" – the objects of value.[57]

THE INTEGRATION OF LAND AND RELIGION

As we have seen in the preceding section, there were social institutions that governed the Waola culture. Another important social institution found in the Suma world was "religion". "To anthropologists, the term 'religion' refers to the shared beliefs and practices of a society. These beliefs and practices form the doctrines and rituals of the religion."[58] In the Waola context, these beliefs and practices made up the doctrinal and ritual components of the religion called *timb*.[59] This elementary form of belief was a myth,[60] built around the totem *phowes.* The tribe believed that they were

[56] The traditional kinship system of government was weakened, and went underground, because of the modern form of nationalisation, and governance from a central administration in PNG. But, due to the state's inability to address root problems in the rural communities, kinship authority has been resurrected, and is used as an immediate consultant to law-and-order issues. Basically, it has been proven to do more good for society than Western legal attempts at conflict resolution, Ibid., p. 76.

[57] Concept, and the two key words, "money" and "currency", were borrowed from Bronislaw Malinowski, "The Beginning: Malinowski on the Kula", in *Economic Anthropology: Readings in Theory and Analysis*, Edward E. LeClair, and Harold K. Schneider, eds, New York NY: Holt, Rinehart, & Winston, 1968, p. 39. Despite the modern form of money as currency, land, and its produce, has played a substantial position, as the Waola means of economy, while the populous continues to heavily depend on the traditional form.

[58] Grunlan, and Mayers, *Cultural Anthropology*, p. 234.

[59] *Timb* is the name of the leading cult of the Suma people, symbolised by the *phowes* totem.

[60] Grunlan and Mayers explain that, "myth is used as a free technological concept, and is a value-free term denoting neither falsity nor truth. Myths are also distinct from folklore and legends", Grunlan, and Mayers, *Cultural Anthropology*, p. 241.

spiritually related to this totem.[61] The myths dealt with the supernatural, and were primarily concerned with the origins of Suma ethnicity. This, then, counted down to the origins of the four sub-clans. The sub-clans were then linked to the Suma land distributions.

The *timb* religion of the tribe embraced the *phowes*, which functioned to meet diverse societal needs. Psychologically, the Suma believed that the *phowes* provided support, consolation, and reconciliation, in relationship to the universe, to the spirit world, and in their relationships to humans. The *timb* religion provided spiritual backup to tackle the uncertain, and often hostile, future, such as, sickness, dry spells, and enemy's invasions over their land. Whenever any type of misfortune befell the people, the *timb wesmbao* (head priest) offered sacrifices to the *phowes*, and to the ancestors' spirits, through the *nomong aol* (ritualist).[62] When a person was convicted of unethical behaviour, such as, fornication or breaking taboos, rituals of the *timb* created a bridge for reconciliation, by appeasing the *phowes*. But, in contrast to the *phowes*, the community looked to another favourable deity, *yeki*,[63] as a creator god of the universe, which will be further discussed in the following points. It was through the *yeki* that the chiefs considered themselves to be given extra blessings, and received their status and authority from him. However, it was believed that the blessings through the *phowes* had limitations than that received from *yeki*.

The *timb* cult functioned as a pattern of sacralisation, which legitimated norms and values. While other Waola tribal groups also faced the issues of reordering the individual, to prioritise his good intentions, and the intentions of the clan, the *timb* legitimated Suma clan goals, and the means of achieving those goals. As an illustration, the *timb wesmbao* must perform

[61] "Totemism" is an Ojibwa word, used by anthropologists to refer to the spiritual unity between an animal or plant, and a social group, often a clan, or other kin group. The people believe that they are spiritually related to their totem. This relationship is not evolutionary, in that they believe they have evolved from the totem, but, rather, it is a spiritual relationship, where they see their source of life as being the same as that of the totem, Grunlan, and Mayers, *Cultural Anthropology*, p. 241.

[62] The *timb wesmbao* (head priest) uses the *nomong aol* (ritualist) to perform rituals, using parts of plants and slaughtered animals.

[63] The name *yeki* also bears another component, called *kilaep*. It may also be pronounced as *yeki kilaep*. However, I have used *yeki* to refer to other associates of *yeki*, believed to be controllers of the cosmic forces of the ecosphere.

his duties to appease the *phowes*, not only to gain wealth and health, but also that the enemy tribes' *tomo* might become powerless. Leach explains that, "a sacrificial offering is a gift, or tribute, or fine paid to the gods. The performance is an expression of the principle of reciprocity. By making a gift to the gods, the gods are compelled to give back benefits to man."[64]

THE LOCATION OF THE *TIMB* SHRINE

Geographically, the sacred site of the *timb* religion was located a pocket of a piece of land within the Suma vicinity known as *HalHal*. Later *HalHal* became the mission headquarters of the ACM. In modern terms, the *HalHal* area would be categorised as waste land. However, the shrine was placed at this place for several reasons. Firstly, the *timb* shrine was distanced away from the rest of the community by five kilometres. It was land set aside for the purpose of performing customary and religious rites, or ceremonies in honour of a long chain of ancestors, and local deities, such as, the *phowes*, the *yeki*, and cultural heroes. It was considered as dangerous land. This land was where malevolent spirit powers and *aol wesao* (spirits of ancestors) lurked. Rituals for the fertility of crops and domesticated animals, such as, pigs were also carried out at the sacred site. This site was also the abode of *timb* totems, and the location of the traditional shrine. The indigenes feared this site much more than other portions of sacred land. Secondly, this was where the *phowes* were believed to dwell in great numbers. Thirdly, it marked the tribal borders between the Mak, Waol Aol, Kil Aol, Soi, and Komea enemies. Fourthly, there was a cave-tunnel called *han nda* (stone house)[65] that passed underground. It was here that the *timb wesmbao* used the mouth of the cave to lay offerings and sacrifices. At the mouth[66] of the cave-tunnel, ACM was permitted to establish its headquarters in 1978. As argued by Longgar about the New Guinea Islanders' approach to allocate sacred land to mission settlement, "in many instances, it was the *masalai*,

[64] Edmund Leach, "The Logic of Sacrifice", in *Anthropological Approaches to the Old Testament*, Issues in Religion and Theology 8, Bernhard Lang, ed., Philadelphia PA: Fortress Press, 1985, p. 139.

[65] *Han Nda* can also be understood as the house of rocks, or the home of the rocks. It has come to be a tourist attraction, and even missionaries spend their leisure time exploring the scene. Above the tunnel-cave is where the ACM established its headquarters.

[66] "Head" can also refer to the mouth of the cave, when applied to the context of the place of sacrifice.

'haunted' land, which people gladly gave away to the missionaries".[67] The *masalai*, "spirit" land, of *HalHal* was given to the ACM missionaries as a way of testing the power of the new *Ngaor* (God), about which the missionaries came to tell them. The locals wanted to test out that if the missionaries did not fall ill and die, then their *Ngaor* had proved to be more powerful than the *phowes.*[68] Fifthly, the *han nda* cave-tunnel was known as the *tomo anda* (house of the spirits).[69] Sixthly, because of its strategic location, overlooking the enemy tribes' territories, the Suma believed this was a unique location to launch their attacks against enemies through sorceries. Sorceries began where tribal warfare left off, in most instances. It also played a role as a power encounter against intruding enemy spirits.

THE NATURAL FORCES AND HUMAN, FROM THE WAOLA WORLDVIEW

Kearny's definition is that "worldview is the way people look at reality, consisting of basic assumptions and images that provide a more-or-less coherent way of thinking about the world".[70] Kearny again argues that, "the worldview of the people comprises images of self, and all that is recognised as not self, plus ideas about relationships between them, as well as other ideas, according to their interpretations".[71] In the light of this definition, the Waola understood land as that of a "being", in contrast to a "thing", or an "it". It was conceptualised as a "being", which carried the idea that the earth was taught to have its own life.[72]

The *su* was believed as *am*, which reflected the land, with an image that of a "her" or "she", which portrayed the image of a feminine figure. She was thought to have the role of a mother, with its mirror reading of a feeder, and a source of supply to help people meet their daily survival needs. The

[67] Longgar, "Kaugu Gunan Ma Kaugu Pia", pp. 72-73.

[68] Church growth theorists refer to this encounter between the power of the gospel and traditional beliefs as a "power encounter"; see Donald McGavran, ed., *Crucial Issues in Missions Tomorrow*, Chicago IL: Moody Press, 1972, p. 73.

[69] *Tomo nda* can also be interpreted as the "home of the spirits", or the "dwelling place" of the spirits. Every other kind of spiritual territory has some connotation to it.

[70] Michael Kearny, *World View*, Novato CA: Chandler & Sharp, 1984, p. 41.

[71] Ibid.

[72] There were few other titles given to the soil, uniquely attached with relevant meanings such as *su ingi* (mother earth). This was also a pantheistic view.

people related to *su* as *naon am*[73] (our mother). They believed that the people were breast-fed by *am*. The water the people drink, and the plants the animals feed on, were thought to be the *aondu ipao* (the milk of the mother). *Am* also stored water and minerals for all plants, animals, and humans. Out of this, developed a theory among the Waola that humans and the ecosystem exist in *amon makor aondao* (mother's womb). It was a picture, which carried the image of a mother's womb, where life began and was destined for death.[74] Therefore, owning land was fundamentally essential to the Waola people. Someone living without land was known as *pum haes* (one who has no attachment to his mother's womb).[75] Therefore, every Suma was allotted a portion of the earth, in order to be a legitimate member of the family of the *am* and *ab*.

In contrast, in the land of Canaan, and, as part of Israel's relationship to God, wealth was even more directly linked to land, and to land ownership. Wright states, "For a nation of arable and pastoral farming like Israel, land was the only permanent possession. . . . But, to be dispossessed of one's family land, or, worst of all, to be driven out of the country into exile, was unmitigated calamity."[76]

In this context, the Waola tribes lived with a worldview, which shaped their mindset that both the land and the cosmic forces[77] in the ecosphere were intimately linked, in their daily operations. This belief developed the perception among the inhabitants that space was controlled by *yeki*.[78] The

[73] *Am* also bears the idea of one who is the source of strength, who gave birth to the Waola, and upholds human life, by providing needs from the soil.

[74] *Nongnaek* is also interchangeably used as "children", "baby", "sons", and "daughters".

[75] *Pum haes* can also be known as *pum hae*. The former is used in a past present tense, while the latter is understood from the future-present tense.

[76] Wright, *God's People in God's Land*, p. 4.

[77] Cosmology is a theory of the natural order of the universe and its function. Human beings are also included in this order. Fiona Bowie, *The Anthropology of Religion an Introduction*, Malden MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2000, p. 119.

[78] While the first part of the name *yeki kilaep* bore the *ab* (father) figure, the name *isi* means a "son" parallel as "father-son". It is also pronounced as *yeki isi* in the short form. The Ialibu people of Southern Highlands Province of PNG called the being as *yekili*, and this was used in their New Testament translation to refer to the Father-Son relationship concept of God and Jesus. While the Huli people referred to the being as *Datagaliwabe*, which reflects the mightiness of the literal Tagali River in Hela Province. It is also used in

local culture built theories of the *yeki*, as the super being that controlled the heavens. But, for the sake of this study, I will use the terms *am*, in short, to refer to the land, or *su*, and the word *ab*, in short, for other names, such as, *yeki*, which represents hosts of the controlling figures of space.

All these vital connections were believed to be essential so that the world they lived in could exist in check and balance. The assumptions of the Waola web of culture, which led them to picture themselves as self, and all that is recognised, as not-self, is intimately interwoven.[79] The rituals and prayers of the *timb* religion of the Suma was also made towards the goodwill of the *am* and the *ab*, apart from honouring the *phowes* totem. For the former sacrifice, it was called *su tomo*, which was performed on the ground, with a display of artificial and non-artificial materials. This was an indication that the people sought for the *am* to show favour towards the people. For the latter sacrifice, it was offered to *ab* at the *komae tho*,[80] performed in the tree tops, as an indication that *ab* was high up in the sky. The presentation of both of these sacrifices were meant to seek for balanced weather, abundant wealth and health, and protection against enemy attacks, either in person, or by spiritual means.

In a similar sense, kinship with the land was found in the Jewish ideology of Lev 25-27. While the Waola saw the land from a feminine viewpoint, which was the very earth itself, the view of the Hebrews was of a masculine figure, who managed the land. This was why Habel called it an "agrarian society." Habel further states,

> YHWH is not an absentee landowner, ruling or managing farms from heaven, but a local landowner, who resides in the land, and walks through the land, as a personal gardener. YHWH's continuous presence in the land of Canaan is depicted in terms reminiscent of

---

the Huli Old and New Testament versions. The name is used in the translation to describe God's sovereignty. The *yeki* was believed to be a good spirit, and much more powerful than other spirit beings, which the above tribes worshipped.

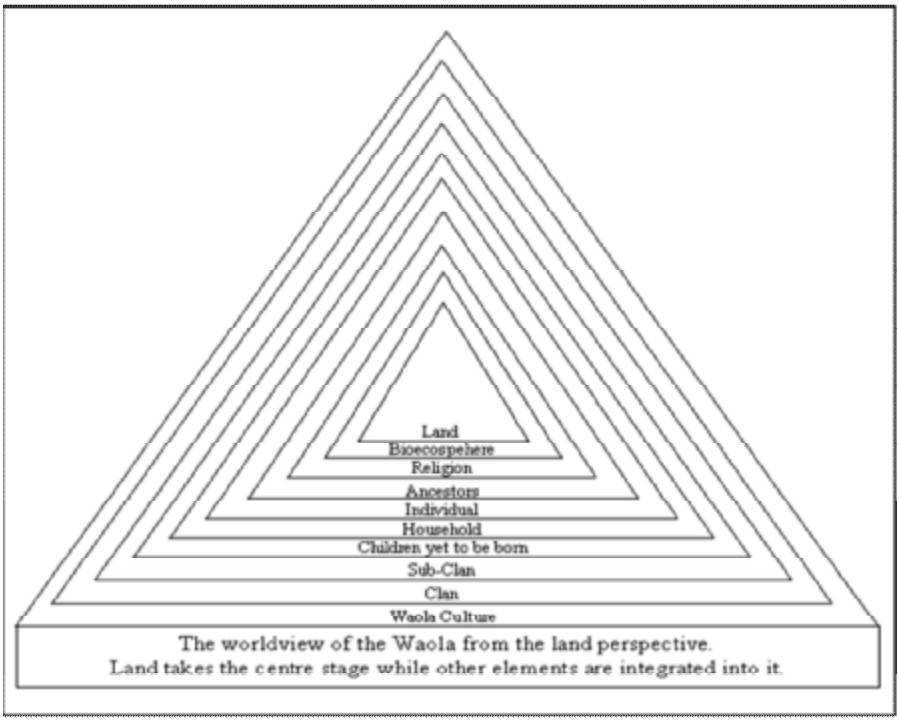
[79] Concept from Kearney, *World View*, p. 41.

[80] The *yeki komae tho* sacrifices were integrated with parts of garden produce, slaughtered animals, human hair, tools, and samples of soil.

> God's primordial presence in the garden of Eden. The land is the chosen abode of YHWH, as the divine farmer par excellence.[81]

In slight contrast, while the Waola saw land as a "being", where man was invited to live off of its produce, the Hebrew viewed the land as an "it" – a "thing". For the Hebrew, this ideology depicts Yahweh as the one who made the land, and actively tends the land, and provides for man through it.

Figure 2. The Worldview of the Waola



THE POSITION AND THE VOICE OF THE LAND

In the light of this Waola worldview, both the land and the sky were, together, held in high regard. The tribal people were governed by the

[81] Norman C. Habel, *The Land Is Mine: Six Biblical Land Ideologies*, Minneapolis MN: Fortress Press, 1995, p. 138.

principles that forbade anyone from destroying the environment in any careless manner. To do so, was to bring a curse upon himself or herself.

The Waola believed, as Bowie states, that,

> A community, whose cosmology represents the world as hostile to human interests, perhaps inhabited by "malevolent spirits, which are nourished on the energies of their human playthings", could indicate a generally pessimistic view of the world, and minimal expectations of a successful interaction with the environment.[82]

In the light of this concept, the Suma, like every other Melanesian society, perceived that the land even had an invisible voice, as a living being, to speak against human hostility for oppressing her well-being. As Longgar analysed, Melanesians believe "that the whole environment is alive, life emanates from everywhere, they feel and live with it. . . . By attributing human characteristics to land, the trees, animals, and everything else, Melanesians believe in the personhood of the whole environment with which they live in harmony."[83] Even the land was believed to have a say, such as, in disputes over ownership of property. Say, if person A wanted to grab person B's land without proper cultural protocols of transfer and ownership, due to greed, covetousness, or jealousy, then the land will speak justice in favour of the rightful owner. How did the people listen to the land's voice of favour or disfavour in such a situation? People watched carefully on the crops planted by person A on the disputed land. If the crops failed to produce, then everyone knew that the land rightfully belonged to person B. However, if the dispute over the land was prolonged, before making final judgment, then the kinship authority said to person A that the land was to be transferred back to person B. This was be done because, normally, the leaders would say, "we have heard the voice of the soil clearly passing judgment". Therefore, land and the ecosphere were to be treated as living beings, in and through which the Waola found intimacy, and they embraced them, as their sole source of sustenance.

[82] Bowie, *The Anthropology of Religion*, pp. 119-120.
[83] Longgar, "Kaugu Gunan Ma Kaugu Pia", p. 70.

THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE SUMA LAND

As we have seen, the 4,800 hectares of the land of Suma was acquired from two main sources. Firstly, some portions were captured from the said surrounding tribes, through warfare. Secondly, most of it was genetically inherited from the *momaolu*. These components formed the clan's geography. The Suma land was distributed in the following manner. Firstly, the Suma-Hul possessed the portions in the southwest territory, bordering the Kil Aol, and half of the Tombra tribes. It included Puripa, Keson, Wari, and Taogaok. Secondly, Suma-Terek territory covered parts of the central Suma community hall.[84] Thirdly, Suma-Paegae[85] [wa]s with Kakte, Puka, and Towan, towards the northeast. It shares boundaries with *the Anja and Maogaon* tribes, towards the northwest. This portion was the largest piece, which covered half of Mt Moi, in the northeast, and Mt Kupim, in the north. Fourthly, the second largest piece is owned by the Suma-Kemp, spreading over half of Mt Moi, in the southeast and southwest territories. Its unit blocks included the Mondpa River, Hukur, Top Te, half of Suma central community area, and *HalHal*. It shared its borders with the Soi-Komea, Waol Aol, and Mak clans.[86]

FOREIGNERS, AND THE ETHICS OF LANDHOLDING IN THE WAOLA CULTURE

It was a common practice in the Waola world that foreigners[87] were welcomed to settle among them. However, certain questions must be answered before a Suma individual, or certain members of the community, invited an outsider. In this context, an individual member of the village was responsible as a bridging person. On what grounds were foreigners given land rights? How long were they expected to possess the property? Because tribal security was important in a hostile world, someone from another tribe was forbidden to set foot on Suma territory. If one was found doing so, it was analysed, in order to define his right to be in the territory. He either came as a thief, a traveller, just passing through, an enemy, or someone

[84] The term "community hall" refers to the central location in the Suma village, in which communal activities take place, such as, marriages, funerals, and legal settlements.
[85] See footnote 9 on p. 7.
[86] See Figure 1 map on p. 10.
[87] "Foreigners" may refer to any person who was not biologically born into one of the sub-clans.

related biologically to the tribe, who has some rights to the land. If someone was caught, and happened to be found guilty, he was legally forced to pay a certain amount of compensation. In other contexts, the offender could face the death penalty, in which case either a tribal war would be ignited, in retaliation from the intruder's line, or sorcery might follow. There were allowances, however, made for settlers to resettle themselves among the Suma. Such an allowance was made, based on certain conditions, in which an allocation of some land to the outsider was always the primary and highest element of the tie, particularly through marriage. If a male member of another tribe married one of the female members of the tribe's sub clans, he had an affinal tie,[88] which gave him the right to own parts of his wife's father's land. In the same way, if a female got married to a male member from another tribe, she has the right to own property from the husband's sub-clan land, and her husband's family property. Both of these practices were common in the Waola culture. Secondly, war heroes were given land as a reward for helping them to win the war. Land offered to warriors depended on two basic conditions. Firstly, that the person was from within the tribe; or secondly, the person was an outsider, who had come to the tribe's aid. If a hero gave his life to save many Suma tribesmen on the battlefield, then his children, or close kin, were rewarded with the best piece of earth.

FICTIVE TIES AND SOCIO-LEGAL CONDITIONS FOR LAND TENURESHIP

In some instances, land was purchased by an outsider, or by an insider-outsider,[89] based on a fictive tie, and social legal conditions.[90] It was allowed to be bought, due to several factors. But the major factor was that the population was scarce at the time, while land was in surplus. However, no matter under what condition land was allocated, the giver would always expect some form of token or land fee to be paid on certain occasions,

[88] Grunlan and Mayers, *Cultural Anthropology*, p. 173. Affinal ties are a marriage bond that exists, not only within the married partners, but also extending to the immediate family members, and relatives of both the wife and husband.

[89] Insider-outsider refers to someone from one of the Suma sub-clans who wants to buy property from another sub-clan.

[90] Fictive tie indicates a socio-legal kinship relationship, in which a person is legally, ceremonially, or religiously, tied into the web of kinship, Grunlan, and Mayers, *Cultural Anthropology*, p. 173.

whenever need arose.[91] The bottom line of the deal was economical gain, based on an exchange ideology. "I gave you my land, and you are benefiting from it, so, in turn, you are to pay me some form of commission." The principal owner does not come directly seeking for payment, but the usufruct has to step in, at the owner's desperate times of need, and indirectly pay something. In the case of his son getting married, the usufruct was expected to contribute live pigs, crude oil, shell money, or some other form of wealth. Often the receiver would not be forced to do so, if they knew he had nothing to offer. At times, the possessor of the property could bring some of the best garden harvests, fuel wood, or building materials to the original landowner, as a token of appreciation. A very familiar fictive kinship tie, among the Waola, was an adoption culture. When a family unit or a clan adopted a foreigner, he or she may be treated like that of a biological kinship, to some extent.[92] The privileges in the relationship were that the adopter was responsible for the adoptee's well-being in the community. If the adoptee was offended by others, the adopter was there to protect his or her life and property.

Furthermore, suppose an outsider spent more than ten years using the land, and wished to pay for the land to further strengthen the tie, then such an arrangement would be accepted. As long as the original owner was happy, given the condition that he had enjoyed the exchange relationship over the years.

TERMS AND CONDITIONS FOR FOREIGNERS AND LAND OWNERSHIP TERMINATION

However, if the outsider wanted to transfer to his own father's homeland, or elsewhere, the property went back to the original owner.[93] But, if the outsider intended to return after some time, prior arrangements had to be made with the original owner, so that he should just be a custodian during

[91] The user of the land often willingly shares any valuables produced on the property, without the original land owner's demand.

[92] Grunlan, and Mayers, *Cultural Anthropology*, p. 173. Although fictive ties are not as strong as consanguine ties (biological ties), they have some strength, if the game of reciprocity is played well, particularly on the side of the outsider.

[93] In comparison, foreign land tenants in the rural Wahgi Valley, in Western Highlands of PNG, have the freedom to sell the resource to a third party. But, in the Waola world, this is unacceptable.

that time. No second payment was required in this case. Nevertheless, the outsider was obliged to pay to the original owner live pigs and shell money if he developed the land in his absence. In such a case, the property was revalued, and an appropriate payment was reached. On the other hand, even if the original owner had watched over the place without developing it, such as building houses and gardens, he still was entitled to be rewarded by the outsider. If the outsider wished to vacate the land for good, then no reimbursement was expected from the original owner. This was so, because the outsider has milked the land, and the payment *iwa* calculated against it. However, if, later, the outsider decided to return and use the land, he was obliged to arrange for fresh payments, and a new agreement can be reached. But the original owner has the final authority to decide either to sell the land back to the outsider, or to reject his request. Basically, the original owner's decision was entirely dependent on his previous reciprocal relationship with the outsider. Priority would always be given to re-purchase of the land, if the outsider's exchange relationship was acceptable to the original owner. However, in contrast to the land of the Wahgi Valley peoples, the outsider, as the usufruct, has the authority to sell it to a third party, if he wanted to. In this context, the original owner has no authority to stop it from being sold away.[94]

YOUTH, LAND, AND EDUCATION

From the Waola perspective, educating children and youth on the importance of land and tribal obligations was as vital as anything in their given context of community and relationship. Valuable aspects of life, which were basic and necessary for human survival, were always a must, to be passed on to the youth, through one or more forms of mediating knowledge. Traditionally, information, relating to the ground, was verbally transmitted to the young people. The elders orally informed the students about essential points, such as, counting the genealogies. Genealogies were traced to reveal how the land was acquired, and to define who owns what piece of soil within the tribal geography. Since the community was illiterate, nothing was written down for future generations to refer to. Instead, all knowledge was passed on from one generation to another through story forms. To

[94] In such a case, the foreigner, who owns land in the Wahgi Valley, is known to be the permanent owner of the land. Due to this condition, many other people, particularly from the Highlands of PNG, have bought and settled in the area.

practically affirm the theory of land, the elders led the young to visit important sites. The elder would point to a tree, planted by the founding ancestor of the clan, to a hill, where the local gods live, and to rivers and rocks, which mark boundaries with other clans. The young then kept these elements, as guarantees, to indicate that this portion of land was part of their landholding and of their immediate tribesmen.

SUMMARY

In this section, we saw that Waola culture, together with other Melanesian cultures, define land as everything in one. Land was viewed as a link between the earth and the sky, the sea, the past, and the present, and the future. The peoples' worldview encompassed land as an inseparable element, ranging from the things on the surface, under the surface, and above the surface of the earth. It was seen as a "being", with life, in contrast to that of a lifeless "thing". The land bore the image of, and functioned as that of, a mother, who fed and cared for humanity in her womb, while space was understood by the Suma to bear the image of a father, who provided necessities for people's sustenance. Land was interconnected with descendants. The living Melanesians believed that it was outrightly given to them by their living-dead *momaolu*, and were held accountable to them, and the *nongnaek*. Therefore, the Suma tribe of the Waola culture took land as the lifeline of the people. The earth was the source of Waola economic and socio-religious life. The kinship system ensured land was equally divided, and protected from illegal land grabbing. Land was the source of wealth and health of the Suma indigenes, so that, if land was grabbed without legal approval, the tenant was ready to fight to safeguard it. Land was seen as a connection between the living-dead ancestors and the children yet to be born, living kin, the cosmic forces, and the deities of the people. In this context, the *timb* religion, represented by the totem *phowes*, played an essential role for land and man. The *phowes* and the *yeki*, as the tribal deities, provided support, consolation, and reconciliation, in relationship to the cosmic elements, the spirit world, and the socio-economic interchange with other tribes. Therefore, land in Suma society, was not taken as a commodity, to be sold. Instead, it was allowed to be used by foreigners, as a link for an ongoing relationship of reciprocity.

THE *HALHAL* LAND FROM ITS HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE AND TRANSACTIONS

PRELIMINARY BACKGROUND TO THE *HALHAL* LAND

The *HalHal* land is the subject of argument between GNCC and the Suma people. The stories, relating to the *HalHal* land, were unrecorded, in terms of any modern form of documentation, by the missionaries, as it was not cultural on the part of the locals at the time. The only things that the young Suma of today know is that the land was culturally agreed to be allocated to ACM in 1978 by the concerned elders, based on two fundamental motives. Firstly, because the Europeans were thought to be richer, with more modern goods than themselves, the locals wanted to increase their trade with them – initially using the land as a bridge. Secondly, that the missionaries' *Ngaor* and their *hor* (Christian worship) could be adopted as a suprareligion over the *timb* cult. However, today, as more children leave the village, to either go to school, or migrate to live in towns and cities, not all of the tribal members treasure the story. It is no longer held high, as it was by their fathers. The dignity that was once given to the missionaries, and their *Ngaor* is gradually fading away. The following pages bring to light the contextual situation of the *HalHal* property, before the mission, and the transaction processes that took place during and after the mission days.

BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF THE ECOLOGICAL STRUCTURE

This section redefines the original ecological structure of the *HalHal* land. Prior to the expansion of the Suma population, the land was covered by natural forest, with diverse flora and fauna. Numerous species of plants were found, which were suitable for both human and animal consumption. As an illustration, the popular *henk* (ferns) dominated the forest, as undergrowth, along with herbal plants that were used for healing. Belts of highlands' rain forest, with diverse species of trees, ranging from softwood to hardwood, were found. The rain forest provided prominent homes for diverse species of insects, animals, and birds, such as cockatoos. In modern terms, it was a small paradise on earth. But, to the locals, the place was a no-man's land. It was regarded as *aol hemen su* (the home of the dead ancestral spirits). *HalHal* was also a dwelling site of the *phowes.* It was a no-go zone, according to their religious knowledge. The inhabitants of the Suma village lived five kilometres away from the vicinity, out of respect for

the *timb* shrine, and its sacredness. While, at the same time, land was surplus, and no one really bothered labouring over the densely-thick forest.

DESCENT OWNERSHIP AND LAND BOUNDARIES

According to local practice, whenever somebody wanted to claim a portion of unpossessed land, certain significant things had to be done. Firstly, the claimant had to choose a desirable site, and build a hut, with special leaf markers placed on it. Secondly, the person had to plant *aekip* (cordyline plant). Thirdly, the claimant had to produce *tim elao* (charcoal), by making a fire in an open place. Fourthly, the claimant had to plant an *ank* tree (pandanus palm) at different sites. Fifthly, the claimant had to put a leaf marker, as an indication of the claimant's ownership over the territory. Sixthly, the person selected some trees, at different spots, and *phaere hae*[95] (removed the bark) of several of them, so that, once the trees dried out, they would serve as a symbol of the claimant. When these signs were evident, the other Suma people knew that this portion of the bush was already claimed by someone.[96]

In years past, as the Suma population grew, a few prominent men from the tribe began to use some parts of the *HalHal* forest for hunting and gathering. Because of its sacredness, the men did not really explore the *timb* site. However, a few of them began to claim prominent spots, much further away from the *timb* shrine area. Suma Alemya, who was descended from the Terek sub-clan, claimed the southwest of *HalHal*, which shared its border with the Kil-Aol. Later, when the mission took over the property, this section was occupied by the mission office. A man named Walbo, who was descended from the Kemp sub-clan, possessed the southeast part of the land that shared its boundary with the Mak tribe. On its fraction, the mission eventually established its residential house. Tol isi, a member of the Paegae sub-clan, claimed ownership of the northeast portion, towards what would eventually become the main entrance to the station. This portion was then connected to the eventual Lae-Tari main highway. An unidentified forefather of the Hul sub-clan took ownership over the northwest part of the forest. Later, this portion was occupied by a new church office and a

[95] Sometime it is also pronounced and spelled as *phaere ha* or *hol hae.*

[96] There are many other land markers in Waola practice, but these are the most prominent ones, used by the traditional owners of the *HalHal* land.

parking area. The Suma-Haral Inja road currently runs through on the outskirts of this portion's boundary. From a verbal interview with Wesao, I learned that, apart from the four plots of sweet potato gardens, each belonging to the four sub-clans, there was not much development put in place on the rest of the *HalHal* property before the mission took over.[97] The gardens occupied only the land around the free zone areas, in contrast to the *timb* shrine zone. But, once the land was transferred to ACM, the mission explored the heart of the *timb* temple area. It was at this strategic spot that the first missionary's house was established. Once the Suma gave away their most-sacred land, they wanted to test the missionaries' *Ngaor* against the *phowes* spirits. However, when the locals learnt that the *Ngaor* of the Christian religion was much stronger than the former, they no longer saw the *HalHal* area as a sacred place of the *timb* cult. And so, that opened the door for the locals to put up their own developments, outside of the station boundary, such as, trade stores, market, and residential buildings.

TRANSACTION FROM CUSTOMARY LAND TO MISSION-HELD LAND

Integrated with this, is the historical background of the original Suma descendants, as inheritors of the land. The inheritors of the land were related to its geographical division among the concerned sub-clans, within the tribal social structure. We then seek to evaluate the basis, on which the *HalHal* property was initially allocated to ACM before the organisation became an indigenous church in 1990. Further, we will explore the types of negotiation used at the time, both by the landowners and the mission-church leaders.

When the first missionaries arrived in traditional Melanesian societies, each ethnic culture received them in different ways. Some societies perceived missionaries as another group of white, foreign invaders coming to invade their land and culture. The missionaries were categorised the same as the explorers and colonial government administrators, who were, at times, hostile to the locals. Rynkiewich argues that the identification was almost immediate that the missionaries' sermons and the government regulations

[97] Wesao Hiaol, Suma-Hul clan elder, interview by author in local language by questionnaire, March 24, 2012, Nipa PNG.

were seen to be the same, to the understanding of the locals.[98] Some of the foreigners paid for the land. The locals were paid with things like steel axes, fishing gear, clothing, and small amounts of cash. As an example, Rynkiewich states,

> The Revd George Brown, of the Australasian Wesleyan Methodist Mission, began acquiring land immediately after his arrival in the Duke of Yorks (1875). He paid people, who did not hold all the rights for a piece of land that others considered a "sacred place", but he got a piece of paper that established his claim *as against other Europeans*.[99]

Benjamin Danks, who followed after Brown, bought land for what he claimed was a "ridiculously small figure".[100] Later Danks was surprised that women and children would not turn up for worship, because the church sat on sacred ground.[101] When Danks built his house, he found that the fence was moved closer each night. So, land problems had been initiated as early as the first missionaries' days.[102]

Since the missionaries came to Melanesia from diverse backgrounds, like England, Germany, Australia, America, and New Zealand, their national ideology of land also varied. In some places, land was bought by pointing at it, or by walking around, and visibly identifying the areas proposed as a boundary. In the New Guinea Islands, some Europeans would hand over trade goods, as indicated above, to the local people, "and would make crosses with a pen they had touched, under the document, establishing the transfer of the land".[103] While such negotiations were true, at the time, in some parts of Melanesia, in other places, land was allocated for mission development, either at a lesser price, or free of charge, but with some

[98] Michael A. Rynkiewich, "Strangers in a Strange Land: Theologies of Land", in Michael A. Rynkiewich, ed., *An Introduction to Melanesian Cultures: Issues and Contexts, Point* 25 (2001), p. 212.
[99] Ibid., p. 213.
[100] Ibid.
[101] Ibid.
[102] Ibid.
[103] Peter G. Sack, *Land Between Two Laws: Early European Land Acquisitions in New Guinea*. Canberra ACT: Australian National University Press, p. 197, quoted in Michael A. Rynkiewich, "Strangers in a Strange Land", p. 214.

underlying ideologies. As mentioned above, the locals' understanding of the foreigners liberated different indigenous cultures across Melanesia. However, with regard to the land transaction between ACM and the Suma tribe, negotiations were carried out between the representatives of the mission and the original landowners of four sub-clans, who held primary rights to the *HalHal* block. According to Hip,

> ACM acquired the *HalHal* land from the Suma people, based on two conditions. The condition was that K200 cash was agreed as a payment to the tribe. This payment was made for both the land and for the environmental damage. The cash values were adjusted, in many cases, to better reflect the open invitation the locals gave for the mission to settle among the tribe.[104]

The missionaries paid K200 to the elders, who represented each of the sub-clans, as the original landowners, who each owned a portion of the property. The amount was lower than one could imagine, in today's context of land values. However, the landowners gave up the land, with little other negotiation than just for the cash payment. The land was marked out by applying five of the many forms of land markers used in the Waola culture.

Firstly, the landowners led the pioneer missionary, Victor Schlatter, by walking around from one corner of the proposed area to the other corners, placing sticks along the way. Secondly, the elders pointed at certain trees, sited at prominent spots, which stood along the proposed land mark. Thirdly, the men also identified the big rock that sits at the entrance of what would be the head station, as one of the markers. Fourthly, soon after it was visibly and mentally mapped out, a few men from the Suma village were hired to dig a three-spade deep drain around it. Fifthly, a number of evergreen trees were planted along the ridge of the drain.[105]

These five main boundary markers were applied, and soon the land was then officially named as the property of the Apostolic Christian Mission. It seems very probable that, at this first scene, most, if not all, of the boundary

[104] John Hip, Suma local pastor of Good News Christian church, interview by author in Neo-Melanesian by questionnaire, March 30, 2012, Nipa PNG.
[105] Wesao Hiaol, Suma-Hul clan elder, interview by author, May 24, 2012, Nipa PNG.

signs were locally applied. I am convinced that the missionary at the time understood that, if the locals did it their way, then it would be much easier for them to honour their commitment, rather than to have them follow the Western method of marking land, as a process of transferring the land. According to my research, the ACM did not process any form of modern legal documents. There are no historical records of the transfer. According to Pis, *momaolum pisa ub pismao*. ("We did the way our ancestors did.")[106]

UNDERVALUING CASH FOR HIGHER NEGOTIATIONS

The land price lacked a high amount of cash payment, or a binding customary form of money, such as shell money, crude oil, and pigs. The landowners relied heavily upon anticipated adjustment of reciprocal relationships, as the real price for the land, to supply their demand for the future. But this does not mean that the idea of a customary price, such as, crude oil, shell money, or live pigs has no effect upon the cash price. Indeed, it still remained an ideal. If the mission had paid the customary price, it would have meant security for both parties to the contract. Sales of land, especially, conformed to the ideal, because, if a cash price lower than the customary way of pricing had occurred, then it would have been understood by the mission that the Suma clan could always ask for the difference, under the threat of repossessing the land, even after receiving the said cash payment.

In addition to the force of the ideal customary price and the law of supply and demand, the prices of the Suma market were influenced by the force of competition among other tribes, and by the status of the mission, as the buyer. Often, but not as a rule, prices tended to be lower if the parties to the sale were close relatives, or because he was a rich man. For instance, in this case, the missionaries were seen to be rich, from the perspective of the local people. Hiaol states that,

[106] Pis Saolo, Suma-Kemp clan elder, interview by author in local language by questionnaire, May 25, 2012, Nipa PNG. Although this is not the major focus of this research, GNCC should consider processing legal title, not only for the *HalHal* properties, but also to safeguard other GNCC lands in PNG from the risk of the ground being lost, in the near, unforseen future.

> *Aol mabaoli kab tob tekel bukbur su kalismao.* ("We gave land to the white man on a least price, with the hope to gain more European goods through trade with them.") *Mende, Ngaoron man turi homobur kalismao.* ("Secondly, we gave the land, because we also loved the Word they preached.")[107]

This was so, because the mission had advanced clothing, instead of aprons and grass skirts, permanent iron-roof buildings, instead of bush material houses, and possessed steel tools, instead of digging sticks. Therefore, the tribe offered the land to the ACM at a bargain, because the community expected future favours, and, secondly, because they felt grateful for the theological aid the mission provided.

There was a difference between the concept of the sale contract in Western society, from which the missionaries came, and its counterpart in Waola society. For example, for Suma, a mutual agreement did not seal a sale. Barter, was expected to begin at the moment of the transfer agreement. In case of later objections to the transaction of the land, there were witnesses, so that disputes could be resolved on the basis of objective evidence.[108]

The Suma designed many types of sale contracts to fit the various types of commodities. The contracts varied in their complexity, according to the value of the merchandise. Although land was rarely sold, the sale of land was provided with several restrictions, of a legal nature. If less than the customary price was charged for the property, the seller of the real estate, or his heirs, could, at any time, either cancel the agreement, or ask for the difference in price. An old man could sell his land validly, without the consent of his son. If he should do so, his heirs could always repossess the land, against a return of the purchased price.[109]

---

[107] Wesao Hiaol, Suma-Hul clan elder, interview by author in local language by questionnaire, May 24, 2012, Nipa PNG.

[108] Edward E. LeClair, "Economic Theory and Economic Anthropology", in *Economic Anthropology: Readings in Theory and Analysis*, Edward E. LeClair, and Harold K. Schneider, eds, New York NY: Holt, Rinehart, & Winston, 1968, p. 196.

[109] Ibid., p. 197.

UNDERLYING CONCEPT OF RECIPROCAL RELATIONSHIPS

With this background, those Suma who sold land, or gave rights to ACM to possess the *HalHal* portion, did so with the ideology of what their ancestors had done with trading partners and fictive relationships in the past. The elders of the four sub-clans, who transferred the land to ACM, had six basic underlying thoughts, about which, I found, the missionaries had no clue.[110]

Firstly, the Suma provided a venue for them to thrive, with the hope that the wealth of the white man could boost the community's commodities: things like steel tools, salt, tinned fish, rice, and used clothing. Not only this, but the locals were perhaps motivated to work at the station as power boys, cleaners, security, and house girls, with the motive of acquiring such goods. According to Peyang, "we have allowed the mission to settle among us, because we wanted to create more wealth and community well-being, which was important in Suma society".[111] In other parts of Melanesia, Ayong and Gardharm argue, "most people, who lived near European settlements and mission stations, maintained good relations for material gain. Some gave away land, only to gain European goods… In other words, conversion, wage labour, and migration all revolved around material gain."[112]

Secondly, since the *HalHal* portion was a sacred place of the *timb* cult, by which their struggle against its spirit forces brought much agony to the spiritual well-being of the indigenes, the mission, who possessed much higher power than the *phowes*, was expected to disempower the *timb* spirits' power. In this way, the people might be spiritually defended from spirit assaults.

---

[110] Amos Takon, pastor and literacy worker of Good News Christian church, interview by author in local language by questionnaire, February 10, 2012, Nipa PNG.

[111] Peyang Hung. Suma-Terek elder, interview by author in Neo-Melanesian by questionnaire, June 22, 2012, Nipa PNG.

[112] James Ayong, and Martin P. Gardham, "Some Land Issues in the Anglican Church", in Michael A. Rynkiewich, ed., *Land and Churches in Melanesia: Cases and Procedures*, *Point* 27 (2004), pp. 173-174. There was a speculation that the goods, which came in by ship, were stolen by the Europeans, which were meant for them, and were sent by their living-dead ancestors, at the sunrise. Other indigenous people began to encourage negative attitudes about the missionaries, by claiming that cargo was about to come to them, but the missionaries disturbed the spirits, by acquiring land, and then capturing the spirits from their sacred places. In that way, the Westerners were able to intervene to change the name of the recipient of ship cargo. (For further information, see Ibid., p. 174.)

Thirdly, since the ***HalHal*** land was a strategic place for intrusion of tribal enemies, the mission was to shield off their entry into the Suma territory; thus providing tribal security. Fourthly, the land was unsuitable for gardening and building, as it was a sacred place, and a waste land, to their understanding. Fifthly, the population was low, and that land was surplus, and, at least, the landowners made money out of it. Ayong and Gardham state,

> Exchanging goods for land was the custom of the day. In addition, exchanging land for a new relationship also has a long and respectable history in Papua New Guinea. In fact, the present generation can scarcely understand the gains that their ancestors received, with the coming of the missionaries and the gospel. The missionaries had a vision of bringing people together from across various linguistic and customary boundaries, and that had not been feasible before. The clan leaders knew the value of peace, and they welcomed missionaries, and the prestige they gained, by receiving trade goods worth over K1,000 today.[113]

Presumably, the ***HalHal*** land was allocated with an unexpressed culturally-based ideology, distinguishing between ownership and the right of usufruct. The land was allowed to be used by the mission, "to gain liquid assets from equity in the land, without selling the land permanently".[114] However, in contrast to the South Wahgi tribe of the Western Highlands, land was sold as a commodity by the customary owner, and yet, the person gaining usufruct rights was expected to exercise reciprocal obligations, when opportunities arise. However, if the person granted usufruct, wanted to sell it to a third tenant, the original owner had no opportunity to either ask for the third tenant to pay for it, nor may the property be taken back. From here then, the customary owner stopped the exchange relationship with the first person granted usufruct rights.

Analytically, this was true of the ***HalHal*** landowners, where accumulation of the white man's wealth, and wage labour expectations, centred around

[113] Ibid., p. 159.
[114] Fager, *Land Tenure and Biblical Jubilee*, p. 90.

their cash deal for the disputed land. However, in those days, the value of K200 was equivalent to about K2,000 today.

LAND TRANSFER FROM MISSION TO CHURCH

The ACM mission and GNCC cannot avoid their past with the customary land owners' tenure arrangements. As a church workman, it seems very probable to me that ACM's involvement included the acquisition of land under conditions that were culturally relevant. However, the Suma allowance of the acquisition of the *HalHal* block, was partly founded on a fictive tie for barter economy, as it was the cultural norm in existence at the time. The community gave the land, with an unexpressed cultural clarification between ownership and the right to usufruct, instead of selling it permanently.[115] Based on this, the legal system for acquiring land was completely Suma. ACM ignored, or perhaps saw no risk in not engaging with, the already-available land legal agencies from documenting the acquisition, either as a mission freehold or mission-lease land. Perhaps, the mission thought its endeavour was for the purpose of evangelising the Waola region, while the legalities of documenting land transaction was of no importance to both the locals and the mission at the time. And, in so far as missionaries agreed to continue to provide services for the locals (a clinic, store, church buildings), then the church's presence on the land can be justified and defended. While this may be true, the landowners perceived that the cash paid was a gift of trinkets, in exchange for land use, while the missionaries assumed the Suma were selling the land to them.[116]

However, like many other Melanesian societies, undergoing gradual change from subsistence to cash economy, both GNCC and the Suma now have entangled themselves in the spiritual, social, and economic networks of meanings. Bearing in mind the fact that land tenurship was a three-party holding concept, where the dead, the living, and future children, were all understood as stakeholders, the transfer of land rights was alien to Suma (as to many of the rest of Melanesian cultures).[117] Undoubtedly, the GNCC

[115] Ibid., p. 119.

[116] Sesengo Narangeng, "Evangelical Lutheran Church Land", in Michael A. Rynkiewich, ed., *Land and Churches in Melanesia: Cases and Procedures, Point* 27 (2004), p. 165.

[117] Rick Giddings, "Land Tenure", in Michael A. Rynkiewich, ed., *An Introduction to Melanesian Cultures: Issues and Contexts, Point* 25 (2001), p. 11.

leaders need to remind themselves, as a church, that the allocation of land rights was not the end of a relationship, as the missionaries assumed it to be. Instead, it was the beginning of an ongoing relationship, as the Suma understood, at the back of their minds. Speaking on behalf of the denomination, perhaps it was up to the GNCC to pick up from where the mission left off, and the reciprocal network must be refurbished, before she forfeits the rights of use that she had gained.

AN ANALYSIS OF THE *HALHAL* LAND AND ITS EXISTING INFRASTRUCTURE

The *HalHal* land, as the church station, consisted of the mission house,[118] a double-story office building, the mission office, a mechanical workshop, a hardware store, and a carpentry shop. In addition, the station had other minor properties, such as a power house, car park, and a semi-permanent transit home. But the first six were the main facilities, especially in terms of generating income. Apart from other non-economic facilities, the following were important to generate income for the organisation. They were the mechanical workshop, the hardware store, and the carpentry shop. The organisation employed eligible people from all over GNCC to serve as motor mechanics, shop assistants, and builders. In the mechanical workshop, vehicles were fixed, and parts were sold. In the hardware shop, building supplies and stockfeed were traded for cash, with the people. In the carpentry shop, furniture was built and sold to customers. The profits of these projects were used to fund monthly pastors' pocket allowances, sponsor students to Bible colleges, and were spent on taxes and fees for the properties.

However, these strategic places of sourcing funding have turned out to be the key areas of conflict raised by the people. The locals wanted to know how much GNCC was benefiting, in terms of profits. In other words, they wanted a share of the profits. The host community was happy that services of this nature were provided at their door step. But they were unhappy if the church did not share its profits. The Suma people also wanted GNCC to employ their own people, with formal education, whether they were Christians or non-Christians, rather than employing people from other tribes, and members of different circuits of the organisation. They were opposed to

[118] See Figure 1 map on p. 10.

having GNCC employ Christians from the Komea, Kil Aol, Soi, and Mak tribes, to be part of the labour force, such as, shop keepers, carpenters, mechanics, and drivers. The locals were even strongly opposed to having pastors from other tribes occupying positions of authority. The complaints were from both Christians and non-Christian members of the Suma. Only a few of the believers and non-believers oppose such ideology. The power base of the opposing group was the claim that they were the landowners, and every privilege was to be given to them. The reciprocal ideology of their forefathers, when they first gave the land to ACM, was still evolving, particularly, in the minds of the young people. But, when this demand was not welcomed by GNCC's leadership, then the matter extended to touching the question of the ownership of the land. The community does not want to have the organisation operate economic businesses, using their original land, if people from their own tribe don't have a part to play. To show their frustration, several times they locked the gate to the station. At other times, people broke in, and entered, to steal valuables. After struggling with the community for years, the church finally closed down the three economic facilities in 1995. Today, the church does not own anything that generated its income to run the necessary programmes. It has been depending on Sunday offerings, the annual thanksgiving funds collected from each circuit, donations from the Apostolic Church Foundation (ACCF) in USA, as the parent church, and gifts and donations from within PNG. As a result of the closure of the facilities, the denomination understudy has suffered much. It has shrunk the denomination's transport system, mission, evangelism, training, administration, taxes, and fees. For example, three church vehicles were grounded in 1997. The generator stopped supplying power to the station, which affected the electronic equipment, such as, computers and photocopy machines. However, due to lack of funding, the GNCC's call to evangelise the Waola region and beyond has stagnated. Church leaders could no longer visit the outlying circuits of the Lai Valley, the Lower Wahgi,[119] the Sumbi and Ugubi areas. As a result, many pastors and congregation members have backslidden, while 20 local congregations of the

[119] There is another place in Southern Highlands Province called by the same name as the Wahgi of Western Highlands Province of Papua New Guinea.

Lower Wahgi circuit have formed their own Hela Good News Christian church (HGNCC).[120]

SUMMARY

This section defined that the *HalHal* land was ecologically a no-man's land, prior to the ACM days. It was covered with densely-thick forest. The property was considered as a land of the dwelling place of the spirits of the dead ancestors. It was a no-go zone, because it was also a sacred place of the *timb* cult. However, as the years went by, prominent descents of the Suma-Terek, Suma-Kemp, Suma-Paegae, and Suma-Hul explored parts of the forest. Due to population growth, it was developed, with landmarks initiated, to identify areas claimed by individuals.

However, in the course of contact with the first ACM missionaries in 1978, the community received them gladly, yet with many unexplained motives. The glad acceptance of the mission was to initiate an exchange of material wealth with European goods, and because the *Ngaor* of the missionaries had proved stronger than the *phowes* spirit. So, the *HalHal* land was allocated to the mission to gain liquid assets from equity in the land, without selling the land permanently, for the K200. In the course of change, when the ACM mission became GNCC, the Suma community continued to expect exchange to refurbish their economic needs. This exchange was expected to be an ongoing basis of the community's agreement, to guarantee them occupying prominent leadership positions, as much as they wanted to be involved in handling cash income from economic projects. Nevertheless, once these expectations were not fulfilled, the complaint spilled over to the usufruct's right to the land, and, as a result, forced the organisation to close down its economic projects in 1995. Today, the church survives on Sunday offerings, donations from the parent denomination in USA, and gifts and donations from other sources in PNG. However, for the lack of sufficient funding, the denomination's call to missionise and evangelise the Waola region and beyond is at a state of stagnancy. For the lack of providing pastoral care and training, several pastors and congregation members of respective areas have backslidden, while others are striving to survive the tragedy. The 20

[120] Some of *the Ugubi* congregations were overtaken by new cult groups, while the Komea and Soi local fellowships lost members to the Revival, Pentecostal, and Seventh-day Adventists churches.

congregations of the Lower Wahgi separated themselves from the original GNCC and formed their own denomination under the banner Hela Good News Christian church (HGNCC).

CONTEMPORARY ISSUES – CAUSES AND EFFECTS FROM A SOCIO-ECONOMIC PERSPECTIVE

This section seeks to elaborate further on why the GNCC, and the local Suma community relationships, have been in opposition over the last 20 years, with the land as an underlying cause of controversy. Numerous conflicts were raised by the host community, even when it came to any form of infrastructure development on the land. Whether it was a cash income activity, or a non-cash income project, it was seen as an employment opportunity, from the community's perspective. It might mean putting up a church building, or maintaining the existing pastor's house. As long as it involved money, and some form of labour costs, the Suma wanted only their own men to do the job, without the involvement of resourceful people from another tribe. In December, 2011, K20,000 was funded by the Moran Resource Development Corporation (MRDC) towards the construction of the new Suma church building.[121] The Tereks wanted to be involved in the spending of this money. When they saw church members from other tribes, such as, Kil Aol, Soi, and Komea were employed, either in an economic context, or to positions of pastoral authority, the landowners were unsettled. From their perspective, any change should have involved them in planning, organising, managing, and controlling stages, in the context of work and management. The non-Waola person may be reminded that the land continues to be revalued, in the light of new developments. More infrastructure for the church means more value added, according to the landowners' perception. However, by every means, the denomination was expected to involve the people in most, or if not all, of the plans for new use of the land. The bottom line was that the land has not been totally separated from the concerned landowners. In such a case, the security of tenureship was in question, in the context of the relationship between the two parties.

[121] Moran Resource Development Corporation is a national company of the Lake Kutubu oil mining area in PNG that funded K20,000 in December, 2011, which was used to rebuild the Suma church building.

THE GENERATION MISSING LINK

One of the major causes of conflict was the missing link between the old and the young in the community. The current generation does not understand the actions and the motives of the past generation of the Suma in allocating the *HalHal* property to ACM in 1978. While GNCC was deeply rooted among the Waola people, issues were raised, as a result of the modern monetary and market economy, with its emphasis on globalisation. Globalisation has forced the younger generation of the clan to overlook certain spiritual and social bonds, in which the forefathers stood, when they gave the land to the mission. Globalisation has created a powerful demand on the population, not only among the Waola, but at the global level.[122] In this context, GNCC has an assignment to assist the older generation to make a vital link between the younger generation, in all aspects of the social, cultural, religious, political, and economic knowledge of the past. If the younger generation was also the GNCC's mission field, the organisation would not want to lose them, for they are tomorrow's community of believers.

The conviction was that the missionaries' *maon* (word)[123] was more powerful than the *phowes* of the *timb* religion. That is, the wealthy, white man would increase the *mok momak* (economy) of the Suma people, in the neighbourhood transactions. *HalHal* was a sacred land, and a waste land, unsuitable for subsistence farming. Waola ways of life permitted fictive ties on exchange terms, and land was made available to strengthen the tie. These convictions of the old Suma tribesmen are fading away, and the new convictions that acquiring cash money, through the use of the land as a form of royalty payment, predominate in the younger minds. The younger people have seen the land royalty payments from mining companies in PNG. They have also seen the state paying so much kina to traditional landowners of certain state lands. And so, the ideology of land compensation has spilled into the churches in PNG, like GNCC, from the young Suma peoples' mind. This could lead to a paradigm shift, which needs to be brought to justice with the new population. The new generation needs to realise how much impact the mission had on them, especially in providing health and education services, which made a positive impact upon their lives, as well as having a

[122] Longgar, "Kaugu Gunan Ma Kaugu Pia", p. 137.

[123] *Maon* means "Word" or the "Word of God". It can also mean "instruction", "advice", "commandments", and other concepts to do with discipline and training.

spiritual impact. For instance, through the mission's education services, some of the Suma men and women were educated at the Kundi Primary School. The mission truck was used to transport mothers to deliver babies at the Mendi Hospital, after covering unbearable road conditions, when better transport services were still lacking. The community was supplied with bails of used clothing, sent by the ACCF in United States. Small-scale employment, like sawmill operators, cleaners, drivers, carpenters, motor mechanics, and clinic assistants, provided sources of income for the households, which was eventually shared among the whole clan. Above all, the word of peace, preached among the divisive Waola tribes, brought unity among those, who were once dominated by tribal hostilities. These truths about the "how" and "why" of GNCC owning the *HalHal* land needs to be explained to the younger people, so that they might come to value how much both the ACM mission and GNCC have done for them, either directly or indirectly.[124]

GLOBALISATION, EDUCATION, AND COMPETITION

I would like to further define the wider root causes and effects of the land issues caused by the current global trend called "globalisation". Globalisation is defined by different scholars from diverse angles. Longgar defines it as,

> In the south-west Pacific, globalisation means the ever-widening reach of multinational companies to market their products. To others, it conjures up the images of trash from industrialised nations (used automobiles, used clothes, etc.) being dumped into the developing parts of the world, or it represents the ever-increasing domination of Western culture.[125]

According to Snyder, "Globalisation is both the reality and consciousness that the context of life has stretched from one's own city or nation to include the whole earth."[126] In Schreiter's view, globalisation is about, "the

[124] Ibid.

[125] Ibid., p. 146.

[126] Howard Snyder, *The Community of the King*, Downers Grove IL: IVP, 1977, pp. 24-25, quoted by Longgar, "Kaugu Gunan Ma Kaugu Pia", p. 147. Globalisation is thus a change in both perspective and reality.

increasingly interconnected character of political, economic, and social life of the peoples on this planet".[127]

The above scholars' attempts to define globalisation indicate that globalisation is a trend of change that has brought both advantages and disadvantages. Globalisation "brings in progress and opportunities: access to global markets, global communication, transportation and travelling, global education, global justice, and other advantages".[128] On the contrary, there are numerous disadvantages, as commented by Van Drimmelen, "more than one billion people in the South still lack access to basic health and education, safe drinking water, and adequate nutrition. . . . Thus, globalisation is a two-edged sword, bringing benefits to some, and misery to others".[129]

In the light of the influence brought by globalisation, the root cause of church and community conflict over land in GNCC, from its economic perspective, cannot be discussed in isolation, without critiquing the changes affecting the rest of PNG, Melanesia, and rest of the globe.[130] The land issues in GNCC are often an effect and impact of much-wider causes, that is, of global contribution. It is the effect of the impact of the global capitalist economy, influencing the lives of the youth, particularly in the Melanesian region. Longgar says, "What we are seeing happening in our local towns, districts, and villages is the tip of an iceberg of the global nature of the economy, which is forcing people to experience both a positive and negative impact of it."[131]

However, having to observe these different views on the causes, effects, and impacts of globalism and capitalism, we are now able to define why the Waola youth are acting the way they are towards the organisation, when it

---

[127] Robert J. Schreiter, *Constructing Local Theologies*. Maryknoll NY: Orbis Books, 1985, p. 10, quoted by Longgar, "Kaugu Gunan Ma Kaugu Pia", p. 147.

[128] Ibid.

[129] Rob Van Drimmelen, *Faith in a Global Economy: A Primer for Christians* Risk Book Series 81, Geneva Sw: WCC Publications, 1998, p. 10, quoted by Longer, "Kaugu Gunan Ma Kagau Pia", p. 147.

[130] Ibid. Whatever happens at one end of the global village, affects the rest in the global village.

[131] Key terms selected from Ibid.

comes to monetary and marketable resources and projects.[132] In Waola communities, there is an increasing shift from a traditional subsistence economy to a monetary economy, and a marketable economy. As an example, traditionally, the Waola were subsistence farmers. Their marketable economy was garden produce, such as, sweet potato, taro, banana, and sugar cane. Live animals, such as, pigs and dogs, were also part of the Waola peoples' valued resources. These and other riches, for decoration, tools, and artefacts, were used as commodities. However, due to the drastic shift from subsistence to modern economic competition, it has birthed a ruthless competition among the Waola tribes. Most people want to live on processed food products, from within or outside PNG. They want to own permanent homes, built with processed materials, such as, iron roofing, and concrete foundations, compared to the houses built from the bush materials in the past. Although competition creates many advantages, there must be some limitations, to minimise extremes, and cultivate cooperation, to bring a balance.

In Longgar's words, "every human society has room for both competition and cooperation, and economic practice should allow for both, because having both brings out the best in societies".[133] However, in this context, with land as the foundation for relationships among the Waola, where exchange expectations are fulfilled, the effects of globalisation have eroded almost all types of indigenous relationships. Both the market economy and the monetary economy have promoted "individualism, and destroyed the Melanesian spirit of reciprocity".[134] For instance, as much as what is happening in the rest of Melanesia, it is increasingly becoming difficult to seek assistance from a fellow tribesman to help make a garden without initial agreement to be rewarded at the end of the project for his effort. The traditional practice of sharing food and goods with a needy person has shifted to marketing for a cash income, while the less-fortunate individual is left helpless.

[132] Monetary and marketable economy refers to the introduction of the Western system of cash currency, and the modern forms of global economic resources, in contrast to the traditional Waola forms of economy, such as, pigs, shell money, and costumes.
[133] Ibid., p. 156.
[134] Ibid.

PRESSURE ON THE LAND AND CHURCH FROM A DEVELOPMENTAL PERSPECTIVE

Speaking particularly in the PNG context, the booming multi-billion kina liquefied natural gas mining (LNG), and other related projects coming on stream have put a lot of pressure on the land, the Waola culture, and the Christian culture. The current socio-economic changes, brought about by the LNG project exploration, respectively, in Southern Highlands, Hela, Gulf, and Western Provinces, motivated many highlanders in PNG to drive for an improved standard of living. It has created a divisive competition, as "families and clans compete to outdo each other in economic ventures, thus replacing the old values of trust and communalism".[135] Traditional land-grabbing between members of neighbouring clans has shifted to disputes between members of the same clan.[136]

There is a high rate of school dropouts from grades 8, 10, and 12 returning to the village annually. These dropouts get married and raise families who need land to grow a cash commodity like coffee, raise livestock or establish a trade store. Many are returning to the land to achieve their dreams and with the introduction of mining and agricultural businesses promising better financial benefits, the stakes are high.

LNG is demanding huge volumes of local agricultural products, which are unachievable by the rural population, in particular, due to the lack of skills, knowledge, resources, and capital funding. The financial struggle to start up trade stores, poultry farming, vegetable production, guest houses, piggeries, and other agriculture, horticulture, and floriculture[137] businesses makes high demands. Exxon-Mobil, for example, as the developer company of the LNG, is projecting at purchasing 65,000 table eggs per day for its catering in the Komo mining field in Hela Province. The company is currently demanding the entire local population around the mining areas raise thousands of table birds to feed a projected population of "16,000 company workers on a daily basis".[138] *The National* reports that "when the LNG

[135] Ibid., p. 157.
[136] Ibid.
[137] Floriculture refers to flower farming, which is increasingly coming to be a new business venture in Papua New Guinea today.
[138] *Post-Courier* (PNG), May 17, 2012.

pipeline comes on line in 2014, serious royalties of A$15 billion will start to flow in PNG".[139] Kavanamur commented that, "The perceived national growth, at eight percent, bolstered by PNG's LNG-related investments, the country faces the challenges of taking advantage of increased local food demands, and, at the same time, an appreciating kina value, which is both a plus and a minus".[140]

Due to the nightmare of such a demand for agricultural products laid upon an underdeveloped nation like PNG, individuals, families, clan groups, and business houses have increased motivation to comply, "thus putting pressure on the limited land available, leading to land grabbing. Land grabbing is currently one major factor in the interclan conflicts, and those turning the people against the respective church."[141] However, the pressure on young people's lack of skills, knowledge, and seed money to initiate income-generating businesses, is also a grave concern. This defines why many young people from Suma are encroaching on the limited cash-valued job market opportunities available at the ***HalHal*** head station of GNCC. The Suma would want their younger tribesmen with more formal education and wider experience to be involved in the denomination's development matters, with the hope of recoupig cash money to venture into micro-businesses.

In 2003, the CUM headquarters at Ka was asked by the Polso tribe to pay K100,000 as land compensation for the Ka land, which CUM occupied as its head station. However, due to the lack of response from the mission, the facilities were ransacked, and houses taken over by the locals. Due to the pressure, the mission resettled its ministry in the Western Highlands Province of PNG.[142] However, the Suma people's demand is not seeking for the reclamation of the ***HalHal*** land back to themselves, in contrast to the CUM, and the United church of the Tunag. Nor are the people seeking a large sum of land compensation. Instead they want to be involved in the sharing of cash income, and occupy positions of authority.

---

[139] *The National* (PNG), July 25, 2012.
[140] *Post-Courier* (PNG), May 17, 2012.
[141] Longgar, "Kaugu Gunan Ma Kaugu Pia", p. 142.
[142] Source from the author's eyewitness, 2003.

In contrast, in some parts of the Islands of PNG, particularly in the Tunag area of the New Guinea Islands, the United church also wants to benefit from the new economic opportunities brought about by globalisation, therefore, it cannot let go of its lands. When this occurs, the people accuse the United church of being insensitive to their needs, and, in turn, the church also accuses the people of not honouring the commitment of their ancestors, when they first gave the land to the early Methodist missionaries.[143] In such cases, the elders, who are still alive, and active members of the organisation, need to retell the story to the children of those who gave the land away to the Methodist missionaries on behalf of the United church, in the midst of land claims and counter-claims against it.[144]

Generally, these problems have sent a clear message to GNCC to reconsider its stand before the community. This approach is vital, because the differences between the parties are likely to get worse over the years ahead. The arguments raised from the community's side were not about the spiritual nature of the denomination; they were about the developmental aspects of both the Suma local congregation and the wider GNCC church – that it was the income-generating projects that would directly affect the Suma locals, and the rest of the Waola.

SUMMARY

Section three discussed some critical issues that have caused the Suma community to raise land conflicts with GNCC. As long as it involved cash earnings, the Suma locals only wanted their men and women, with informal education, to do the jobs. The host community's reluctance to allow the church to employ members of the neighbouring GNCC congregations has forced the denomination to shrink it missional call to evangelise every ethnicity. More infrastructure for the GNCC means more value added to the land, especially from the local young people's perspective. The generation gap between the old and the young was also one of the major contributing

[143] Longgar, "Kaugu Gunan Ma Kaugu Pia", p. 324.

[144] Similar cases have been heard, as that of the Tunag context, in the Catholic church of the Vunapope area, where economic and political interests have created uprisings in the community against the church, Henry Paroi, "Buying the Faith: Catholic Church Land in the New Guinea Islands", in Michael A. Rynkiewich, ed., *Land and Churches in Melanesia: Cases and Procedures, Point* 27 (2004), p. 131.

factors to the eroding of the relationships and theological ministries. The young do not understand the actions and motives of the older generation in allocating *HalHal* to ACM. The elderly members of the denomination, who are still alive, need to retell the story on behalf of the church in the midst of claims and counter-claims against the organisation. Furthermore, globalisation has brought both blessings and curses on the rest of Melanesia, as much as on the Suma people, which made them shift from a traditional subsistence economy to a monetary and marketable commerce. Although competitiveness creates some advantages, the extremes of globalism and capitalism erode diverse types of indigenous communal relationships. It has birthed individualism against communalism across the Melanesian communities.

Therefore, the pressure on the GNCC, from the land perspective, has generated a developmental demand. Particularly, with the current LNG project and other related projects in PNG coming on stream, have put a lot of pressure on the land, the Waola culture, and the GNCC. Many school dropouts are returning to the customary land to fulfil their economic dreams. But young people lack skills, knowledge, and capital, to commence projects, to fulfil the monetary and marketable demands generated by the nation for agricultural produce. This defines why many Suma, especially young people, are encroaching on the limited cash value jobs available in the GNCC. It is about time to initiate workable strategies for community-based developments, complemented with theology.

TOWARDS DEVELOPING A MISSIOLOGICAL AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC RESPONSE

In this last section, I wish to outline two fundamental proposals on how GNCC might best address the ongoing land-related issues analysed in the last three sections. The critique does not just raise theological and missiological recommendations, but encourages the creation of new socio-economic outlooks, so that the church might be able to survive, and fulfil its biblical mandate, from a holistic approach.

RECAPTURING THE SPIRITUAL INTEGRITY OF LAND, CHURCH, AND COMMUNITY NETWORKS

Why is it essential for the church to relate well with the Suma community through well-defined economic ventures, integrated with theology? Can the spiritual theological development of the church alone fulfil the great commission to "make disciples of all nations"[145] without a theology of the land?

The Suma community's attitude towards localising of God and His economic mission at the *HalHal* land, which stands in direct contrast with the high orientation of Christ's inter-ethnic focus of salvation.[146] If the models of control over the development at *HalHal* continue to hinder evangelism and discipleship, the church must communicate clearly to the Suma locals what it stands for. The Bible teaches that Christ is for all tribes and nations, and that the good news must go to every village and ethnic group, by every means – theological, commercial, and civil. A particular Christian community, occupying a particular space, should contribute to achieving God's global purposes as that proposed by the Abrahamic covenant. The *HalHal* land, in this case, becomes part of the middle section, a temporary means for the accomplishment of the final clause and goal of the covenant promise – all nations should be blessed.[147] Peter Walker comments that, "the New Testament, consistent with the form of the Abrahamic covenant promise, widens the land element of this promise to its full intent, and takes the whole world into the promised blessing".[148] Therefore, none of us has the divine authority to stop the message from reaching out to the neighbouring cultures, administered from any particular land space, such as, the one at *HalHal.*

Suma customary rights to *HalHal* land should not stop the gospel from spreading from the *HalHal* head station. The use of land at *HalHal* must be

[145] Matt 28:19-20.
[146] Habel, *The Land is Mine*, p. 139.
[147] Gen 12:1-3.
[148] Peter Walker, "Introduction", in *The Gospel and the Land of Promise: Christian Approaches to the Land of the Bible*, Philip Church, Peter Walker, Tim Bulkeley, and Tim Meadowcroft, eds, Eugene OR: Pickwick Publications, 2011, p. 67. God called Abraham to leave his original country, in order to possess a new land, through which God was going to bless all nations.

understood within the broader context of God's programmatic agenda, an agenda that culminates in the blessing of all the nations, in line with the Abrahamic covenant. Williamson argues, regarding the land promised in the Abrahamic covenant, "that Abraham was anticipating something rather more permanent than a relatively small parcel of earthly real estate".[149] However, some scholars, mainly on the basis of texts in the latter part of the OT, and in the NT, understand the territorial promise more comprehensively, in a way that transcends geographic and political limitations altogether. For example, Williamson states, "There is at least some indication within Genesis-Kings that the territorial dimension of the promise, while, in one sense, a temporary phase in the outworking of the programmatic agenda, speaks metaphorically of something greater."[150]

Since the latter aspect of the divine plan is not restricted to any one geographical location, the national dimension of the territorial promise should probably be understood as a transitional stage, in the outworking of God's ultimate plan. The territorial promise, in its most comprehensive sense, was not limited by geographical borders. Therefore, such borders should not cause the Jews to narrowly focus on receiving Yahweh's blessings, and keep it within their ethnic boundary. Thus, as understood by Williamson, "Canaan was simply the preliminary stage in the ultimate unfolding of God's programmatic agenda – an agenda, which not only involves all peoples of the earth, but also encompasses all regions of the earth."[151] In the light of this historical context of Israel's perception of possessing the land, and God's perspective of the land in His promise to Abraham, it gives us a clear picture of what the NT Christian Jew had in mind, and becomes an example, out of which the Suma community could picture itself. The first Jewish Christian converts wanted to localise the news of the resurrection of Christ only among the Christian Jews.[152] The Jewish political Messianic concept somehow drifted into conceiving the

[149] Paul R. Williamson, "The Land in Israel's Story: Promise and Fulfilment: The Territorial Inheritance", in *The Land of Promise: Biblical, Theological, and Contemporary Perspectives*, Philip Johnston, and Peter Walker, eds, Downers Grove IL: IVP, 2000, p. 25.
[150] Concept from Ibid., p. 19.
[151] Ibid., p. 22.
[152] Nationalism is referred to as the reason why Christian Jews tried to keep the gospel of Christ as something only for the Jews, and not to be shared with other ethnic group beyond the Jewish politic-religious boundaries.

ideology of political Judaising. They made an attempt to facilitate societal salvation, the coming of the Kingdom of God, along the lines of the Jewish messianic revolt under Bar Kochba, and similar political figures in the 1st and 2nd centuries.[153] They were reluctant to make disciples of all nations, in obedience to Christ's commission. In protest, the numerous Christian congregations encountered Judaism of the Diaspora, especially in Syria, Asia Minor, and Egypt, but also in Rome. The claim of the Jews was to be a chosen people, the sole heirs of God's promises.[154] Despite their reluctance, the Pentecostal power dispersed them into the entire world, through which they were then able to spread the good news of the resurrection.[155] For instance, God had to use the Nero persecution to disperse the gospel message throughout the world, through Christians who attempted to run away from the persecution. Although different scholars argue that the persecution was initiated by other Roman Emperors, such as, Marcus Aurelius, and Domitian, who is mentioned alongside Nero, many scholars agree that Nero's persecution is the one that dispersed Christians from both the Jewish and Gentile backgrounds.[156]

In the same manner, the Suma should be educated to understand that the gospel, both in its theory and practice, is for universal propagation. It should cut through all ethnicities, through an interaction of talents, gifts, and exchange of human resources, to bless one another. Having to base GNCC's headquarters on the soil of the Suma people does not guarantee the community the right to privatise the gospel, in both its spiritual and commercial ministry, while others are in dire need of both. The host community of GNCC need to be challenged to contribute to God's divine intentions for His universal mission call through the church, as His agent to gather lost souls by all means.

---

[153] E. Earle Ellis, *The Old Testament in Early Christianity: Canon and Interpretation in the Light of Modern Research*, Grand Rapids MI: Baker Book House, 1992, pp. 145-147.

[154] Karl Baus, "From the Apostolic Community to Constantine", in *Handbook of Church History (History of the Church)*, Hubert Jedin, and John Dolan, eds, New York NY: Herder & Herder, nd, p. 130. Further reading can be found in Ibid., p. 124, about the controversy between Christianity and Judaism, on the concept of the Jewish idea that, at first, it might, rather, be called a "theology of Jewish Christianity".

[155] Acts 2.

[156] Ibid., pp. 130-131.

CHURCH, LAND, AND COMMUNITY STRUGGLES, DEFINED FROM AN ECONOMIC PERSPECTIVE

When we look deeply into the matter, the decrease in positive relationship between the denomination and the community is not only spiritual. The nature of the issue also demands economic answers, which require the leadership of the GNCC to consider. However, speaking as a church man, I would encourage GNCC to understand the felt needs of the Suma and their present viewpoint, to create a balance. It demands dynamic leadership, to discover and utilise the strong points of the people, as well as to bring the church's best to them, in order to effectively disciple them.[157] However, as an impact of globalism, there are many new things affecting the denomination that have both a positive and negative impact on the church and the community. For instance, huge parts of Waola villages are less isolated than formerly. A fast application of the mobile phone system is covering almost every tribal village. The higher evolution of machinery importation, aiming for diverse forms of socio-economic development is creating more employment opportunities. Even better road networks, rapid transit, increase of trading methods, and other related impacts, caused by globalisation, may result in the generation of larger gaps of relationship between GNCC and the Suma community. People are now living under more nearly urban conditions, owing to modern permanent buildings, the ownership of private vehicles, and businesses stemming from rural locations.[158] While written more than a century ago, John Mott's words are still relevant, "On the other hand, these new conditions have linked the rural villages to the centres of contagion and contamination in towns and cities as never before."[159]

To add to the seriousness of the situation, it should also be pointed out that the body of Christ is growing weaker in the ever-changing Waola culture. Too many believers have followed the calls of the alarming changes, leaving local churches with empty pews. Even pastors and clergy have divorced themselves from their pulpits, rather than holding their ground, and continuing to serve a remnant people in want of spiritual shepherding.

---

[157] Concept from John R. Mott, *The Future Leadership of the Church*, London UK: Hodder & Stoughton, 1909, p. 28.
[158] Key words extracted from Ibid., p. 30, author's paraphrase.
[159] Ibid., p. 35.

In Hela Province, where most of the LNG development and cash flow is booming, many denominations have lost prominent leaders and followers. Yawai argues that, "around the Komo oil field area, the ECPNG church has lost ten local pastors, and hundreds of followers. They have left church life in pursuance, either for employment, or engagement in marketable activities."[160] It was a serious fact that the church has not, in the most recent years, adapted to meet the changed conditions. There was nothing which the Waola people need as much as the organisation to disciple its followers. The people should be taught to uphold high ethical land-related ideals, in order to promote the social and civic betterment of the population, as part of Christ's call. Christ has authority to rule and dominate every level of society, such as, the socio-economic, cultural, religious, and political structures. Surely, therefore, the prolonged land-related questions, between GNCC and the Suma indigenous people, are a matter of concern to the denomination that bears the name of Christ. However, Christ is also concerned for the human relationships provided by the land and its produce, to suit human needs. Christ claimed that He came to offer life in abundance.[161] As Wright argues, "Now this oneness of believers in Christ is no mere abstract 'spiritual' concept. On the contrary, it has far-reaching practical implications in the social and economic realms, both of which are included in the New Testament understanding and practice of 'fellowship'."[162]

SOCIAL REDEMPTIVE ACTIONS

If the GNCC, as Christ's servant, will continue to fulfil its call to theologise and missionise its audience, by every means, this will then be manifested in diverse practical ways. Moreover, the land issues presented can be taken as one of the grand opportunities in the church to discharge itself more fully in her missional responsibility, which can be blanketed by social redemptive actions.

The relationship between human economies and the economy of God's wider creation, consists both on the land, under the earth, and the ecosphere.

[160] Verbal report by Olene Yawai on the impact of LNG on the Hela churches, presented at CLTC, Banz PNG, on July 23, 2011.
[161] John 10:10.
[162] Wright, *God's People in God's Land*, p. 112.

DeWitt defines this relationship as οἰκουμενη "*oikoumenē* 'the inhabited world')",[163] over which man is the steward. DeWitt also argues that man's part is to manage the οἶκος (*oikos* "household"), which can mean land, the ecosphere, and all that they contain.[164] "Our human relationship, within and among these households, is described by ὀκονομία (*oikonomia*), or stewardship."[165] Stewardship is man's use of, and caring for, the household, on behalf of the Creator. Thus, the universal church "economy is necessarily part of God's economy".[166] This suggests that the universal church's economy must be justly designed within God's economy.

The creator of all things, whose divine economy is the parcel, in which human economies must operate, is the only one who merits worship. GNCC's worship of God, and it's just stewardship of God's world, should go hand in hand. We must make an effort to develop the workings of God's economy in creation, including the land.[167] According to Wright, "the Greek root κοινων- (*koinōn-*) in the New Testament reveals that a substantial number of the occurrences of words formed, or compounded from it, signify, or are in contexts which relate to, actual social and economic relationships between Christians".[168] It also bears the idea of "fellowship and togetherness".[169] Thus it relates to the practice of a caring community of believers, right at the beginning of the gospel movement, ensuring that nobody was in need.[170] In Rom 12:13, believers were urged to share hospitality κοινωνοῦντες (*koinōnountes*) with the saints.[171] The same reciprocal relationship principle applies in the relationship between the teacher and the taught.[172] The extent of this ideology, in the NT understanding of fellowship, was deeply rooted in the socio-economic ethics of the OT. The Jews, for instance, after the Exodus, enjoyed the rich

[163] Calvin B. DeWitt, *Caring for Creation: Responsible Stewardship of God's Handiwork*, Grand Rapids MI: Baker Books, 1998, p. 33.
[164] Ibid.
[165] Ibid.
[166] Ibid.
[167] Ibid., p. 34.
[168] Wright, *God's People in God's Land*, p. 112.
[169] Ibid.
[170] Acts 2:44-46.
[171] Wright, *God's People in God's Land*, 112.
[172] Gal 6:6.

blessing of God in His good land. However, the concept of divine ownership of the land reinforced the demand for justice among the Jews. The jubilee rested upon the assumption that all Israelites were attached to family land, allotted to several families at the time of the conquest of Canaan. Therefore, there was the basic presupposition that God willed all Jews to have a relatively equal opportunity to share in the richness of the land. For the Jews, the sale of land rested on the belief that Yahweh, as ultimate owner of both, had the privilege of sovereignty that could not be avoided. As Fager described, "God was portrayed as 'the liege Lord', who owned the land, and its produce, and the people, and their service."[173] The priests also emphasised the relationship between Yahweh and the Jews as one of patron and student – the Jews were "sojourners" with God.[174] So then, this is one way in which the socio-economic thrust of OT ethics feeds through into NT, and is made available for Christian ethical reflection. The GNCC has a social basis under Christianity, which has transcended the land and kinship structure of OT Israel, and the Suma culture. However, not in such a way as to make those original structures of the two cultures irrelevant. In this, as in so many other ways, Christ and all His attributes fulfils the OT, and the Waola culture of land ethics. For example, Christ exemplified this when He fed the hungry multitudes,[175] and healed the deaf mute.[176] He was not only interested in the spiritual aspect of humans, because, without bread, humans cannot possibly serve God meaningfully. This can be transformed into something that can be the experience of GNCC. Therefore, the approach to tap into both the economy of God, and the human economy, may also be viewed as the fulfilment of God's intentions for a productive use of the land, and for the give and take relationships between the GNCC and the Suma of both believers and non- believers.

CHRIST IS ALL IN ALL

The Christian view of land involves the concept of purpose and design. Paul looks forward to the time when God will be "all in all".[177] The "all things" to come under God's sovereignty was spoken in the wider context of Christ's

[173] Fager, *Land Tenure and the Biblical Jubilee*, p. 109.
[174] Ibid.
[175] Matt 15:32-39.
[176] Mark 7:31-37.
[177] 1 Cor 15:28.

defeat over death, which guarantees that believers will be resurrected.[178] But the textual problem in 1 Cor 15:27, which raises arguments among scholars was about Paul's sudden change of tone, by the way he uses the tenses. Morris states that, "Paul [is] pointing us to the single, once-for-all act of subjection".[179] According to Morris, the phrase "He has put", in 1 Cor 15:27, is an aorist, pointing to a single event. But Paul's change of tense to "has been put under Him", later in the verse "includes the thought of the permanent act of subjection".[180] Morris makes further comparisons that in 1 Cor 15:28, when Paul states, "When He has done this", and "will be made subject", that both translate the verb that was three times translated "put under" in 1 Cor 15:27.[181] This then creates the difficulty of interpreting the phrase in 1 Cor 15:28 "then the Son Himself will be made subject to Him, who put everything under Him, so that God may be all in all." This appears to some scholars that one member of the Godhead is seen to be inferior to another. But Morris says that,

> He [Paul] is speaking of the work that Christ has accomplished and will accomplish. He has died for us and has risen. He will return, and will subdue all the enemies of God. The climax of this whole work will come when He renders up the Kingdom to Him who is the source of all.[182]

And, on the same note, Fee argues that, "Paul's point is that, in raising Christ from the dead God has set in motion a chain of events that must culminate in the final destruction of death, and thus of God's being, once again, as in eternity past, 'all in all'."[183] The last words "all in all" are, in Fee's words, "Pauline idiosyncrasy, and . . . '*are to be understood soteriologically, not metaphysically*' ".[184] And this "all" includes Christ's

---

[178] 1 Cor 15:20.

[179] Leon Morris, *1 Corinthians*, Tyndale New Testament Commentaries, 2nd edn, Leicester UK: IVP, 1985, p. 213.

[180] Ibid.

[181] Ibid.

[182] Ibid.

[183] Ibid., p. 759.

[184] Gordon, D. Fee, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, New International Commentary on the New Testament, Grand Rapids MI: William B. Eerdmans, 1987, p. 760, italics are from C. K. Barrett, *A Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians*, Harper's New

sovereignty over the church, as one of the pivotal elements of the "everything",[185] and the creation at large.[186]

For all things are Christ's subjects, and they function in accordance with His will to serve Him in diverse forms. Even the trees of the forest clap for joy, in celebration of His greatness.[187] Revelation looks forward to the new creation, a new heaven, and a new earth.[188] Land, in the context of redemption, is, in Christian theology, to be extended to the whole divine purpose. That means temporal property must be used by the church to bring to birth new possibilities, at present unknown, and enable the local people to reach new heights of material prosperity, as a holistic approach to evangelism.[189] Throughout the scripture, nature is not seen isolated from the salvation of the God of the Jews. With the Psalms' outlook on nature, we touch upon the Jews' psalmodies, and upon the songs of praise of the Lord's people. This always evidences a relationship to the revelation of God's salvation upon earth.

Berkouwer believes that God "reveals and expresses Himself in the sum total of what is, and what takes place in the universe," and "unfolds His being in the visible reality".[190] "We hear an identical note in Scholten . . . 'God's activity, therefore, is not supernatural, but *natural*, for the simple reason that *nature* is the word used by science to designate the collectivity of all operations in her realm.' "[191] That is why I argue that, since God reveals Himself in everything, then people and creation must work together, including in the economic development of land, as an integral part. However, we do not want to believe like the pantheists. Pantheists believe that, if everything is God, then, humans should worship every element of

---

Testament Commentaries, New York NY: Harper & Row, 1968, referenced in Fee, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, p. 760.

[185] Eph 1:22.

[186] Rom 8:19-22; Col 1:15-20; 3:11.

[187] Ps 96:12; 97:7-9.

[188] Rev 21-22:5.

[189] DeWitt, *Caring For Creation*, 34.

[190] G. C. Berkouwer, *General Revelation*, Grand Rapids MI: William B. Eerdmans, 1955, p. 121.

[191] Jan Hendrik Scholten, *Supranaturalisme in verband met Bijbel: Christendom en Protestantisme*, Leiden NL: P. Engels, 1867, pp. 5-7, Scholten's italics, quoted in Berkouwer, *General Revelation*, p. 121.

creation.[192] For example, they emphasise the "adoration of the sun, moon, stars, and the entire earth, in its orderings, as the divine mother of all things".[193] However, this view is contradictory to Paul's intention, when he said, "Christ is all in all". To adore the elements of creation, as if all were God, or gods, would be against God's intention, when He said, "Do not make for yourselves images of anything in heaven, or on earth, or in the water under the earth."[194] Instead, what GNCC should encourage the Suma community to do, is to work the land within the limit of God's mandate to live off the soil, as a real fulfilment of His command of offering a holistic worship.

COMMUNITY-BASED PROJECTS AS STRATEGIES FOR LONG-TERM SOLUTIONS

The central issue of this scenario is that the church, as the agent of the gospel, needs to take into account the speed of market and technological change. But, now that the church is exposed to a faster-moving world, GNCC might fail, if it does not want to make a radical paradigm shift to flow with the current transformations, via new strategies of restructuring church, land, and community relationships. As an example, considering the emphasis given to innovating improved village economic ventures may be an encouraging sign for the future of improved relationships between GNCC and the community. This may even require the sacrifice of time, personnel, and other related resources, particularly from the church's side, as it implements land-issue settlements for the long-run benefit of itself and its followers.[195] GNCC needs to ease down the pressure on the land, and the Suma, from an economic perspective, while, at the same time, focusing on a wider theological and missional influence. The bottom line is that land conflict is an issue of development.

In the concluding part of Longgar's research on the theological significance of land in the New Guinea Islands of PNG, Longgar emphasises a few

[192] Ibid.
[193] Ibid.
[194] Ex 20:4 (GNB).
[195] John P. Kotter, *Leading Change*, Boston MA: Harvard Business School Press, 1996, p. 55

notable recommendations for the wider church to adopt. Longgar states that,

> The church's ministry on the Islands is to present a clear biblical and teaching on land. . . . The teaching must address the relevant cultural and religious aspects of land, in order to give the people the sense of: (1) the origin of the land, (2) how they received the land, (3) the purpose for them receiving and being on the land, and (4) the future of the land.[196]

These recommendations require the Islanders to take a step forward in "renewing a deep sense of the cultural, social, and religious significance of land, as an integral part of a whole way of life, not a commodity to be sold, and bought, to satisfy the greed of a rich and powerful minority".[197] Instead, Longgar wants his audience to know that the "underscoring theological significance of the land is a gift from God, through their ancestors, for the benefit of all people".[198] Longgar also inspires both the church and the community that they must be "laying a foundation for a theology of development on the Islands that respects the cultural values of the people, and embraces the teaching of the scriptures."[199]

The above remarks of Longgar are theologically sound, particularly in the light of OT theology of land. Yahweh was the ultimate owner of the land, who gave to Israel the land of promise. The occupants were only custodians, and sojourners of the earth and its produce. On this basis, land was not a marketable commodity, to be bought or sold to anyone, as a permanent possession. In line with Longgar, Fager argues that, "there was the presupposition that God willed all Israelites to have a relatively equal opportunity to share the richness of the land".[200] And "the jubilee then became a mechanism whereby the original will of God was not thwarted by misfortune or failure of an individual, on the one hand, or by greed, or speculation on the other".[201] On that basis, Fager argues with Longgar that

---

196 Longgar, "Kaugu Gunan Ma Kaugu Pia", p. 255.
197 Ibid., p. 254.
198 Ibid.
199 Ibid., p. 255.
200 Fager, *Land Tenure and the Biblical Jubilee*, p. 110.
201 Ibid.

"if Yahweh was the ultimate owner of the land, and it was impossible to buy or sell it, then land could not become a commodity, an object of individual greed".[202]

Longgar's argument is also theologically in parallel with that of Fager. Both of these scholars' critiques endorse the OT and NT concept of God as the owner of creation, while humans are stewards of creation. Both are scripturally relevant in their orientation. However, according to my observation, the one weakness in both of these critiques is that they lack an outline of practical concepts. As an illustration, the arguments need to show how the church should play its part, in practical terms, to assist the wealthy to see how best they could help the marginalised landowners. How the teaching on theology of land will be achieved, in practical terms, needs to be outlined, to bring a viable complement to their argument. This component can be vital, in the Melanesian context of the theology of land, which can best be rooted through practice. Teaching the theology of land as a theory, without the church's practical involvement, could initiate a vacuum for a non-contextual approach to the Melanesian way of learning and change. Melanesians can be good teachers and learners, through the combination of oration and pragmatism. Therefore, I would love to encourage GNCC to use existing cultural strengths to help the locals develop the land, to alleviate themselves from their commercial and economical struggles.

ECONOMIC AND SKILLS DEVELOPMENT

Longgar also discusses the problem off wealthy foreigners taking advantage of disadvantaged Melanesians by buying land cheaply. The church must analyse why the land is sold. Possibly, land was sold by indigenes, not only in the New Guinea Islands, but across Melanesia, due to underlying burning economic challenges. As an illustration, due to globalisation, people are desperate for food, clothing, school fees, and other basic daily needs for survival. However, at the bottom line is the lack of knowledge, skills, and necessary facilities, to equip themselves to develop their land, and get the best out of it. And so, for the want of such skills, the land was sold to outsiders, in an attempt to make fast cash. Some of the property was sold to non-Melanesians, such as, the Asian business people. Longgar argues that,

[202] Ibid.

> There is a considerable commercial interest in Papua New Guinea on the part of the Asians, and this has seen an influx of Malaysians, Singaporeans, Japanese, and Indonesians into the country. The Asian monopoly over the retailing businesses and the logging industry are telling factors. The indigenes are used as "economic pawns" by Malaysian and Singaporean businessmen to achieve their economic agenda; land, on many occasions, is acquired for personal use, in the name of the local clans.[203]

As in the Islands of Papua New Guinea, the land issues of GNCC are due to the lack of basic skills of the Suma to develop their land. Once a particular denomination was seen to produce more cash income, that is where the problem begins – demand for more land compensation from the primary landowners. The mentality of the local people is that you are gaining more than I anticipated, then you should give me more, as my share out of the land that I gave you.[204] To minimise such a problem, the respective churches must equip their members with every possible skill, training, know-how, and facilities, as a vehicle for economic growth. As the saying goes, "Feed a man a fish, and you feed him for a day, teach a man how to fish, and you feed him for a life time". Which is better? The latter approach would bear more fruit than the former. I believe Yahweh's emphasis for every Israelite to own a piece of land, and not to sell it, was so that everybody might have access to land, as a means of survival, so that they were dependent upon God alone, and not upon the whim of a few wealthy men. After all, was it not the same principle Yahweh of Israel gave to the Waola people in their traditional days, before their *su* ideology was fully revealed through the gospel at the coming of the ACM mission? That every Suma was to own a portion of land, and to work it, using the skills and knowledge, passed from generation to generation, so that no human was in want.

---

[203] Longgar, "Kaugu Gunan Ma Kaugu Pia", p. 40.

[204] Asians and Westerners buy land in Melanesia, and develop it to an extreme, because they have the skills and financial capacity. Once the locals see them make more money out of the land than what was paid for it, the locals can cause conflicts. Both the church and the government of Melanesia need to train their citizens, in practical terms, to develop their land to the best of their ability. In this way, we might see land issues in the region minimised, in dealing with private firms, church, and the state. It may also become a stepping stone for commercial prosperity, thus mitigating poverty at the same time.

As we have seen, just focusing on teaching the theology of land will not, in itself, heal the community's economic needs. Ignorance, lack of skills, and poor training, all increase the threat. These cycles of deprivation need to be broken. We need a holistic approach. Micro-finance, income-generation schemes, and other self-help programmes, have a vital role to play. They have a role to contribute, not only in raising general income, but also in helping those broken societies avoid spiritual poverty.[205] According to Habel, "Yahweh is not an absent ruler in heaven, but a local landowner, who walks through the land, and establishes a presence there; the land is Yahweh's extended sanctuary."[206] For Israel, "the projected land economy keeps land usage in the hands of traditional peasant families, and prevents large landholdings, or land control, by urban rulers or landowners".[207]

If the GNCC implements such a strategy, it might become a powerful tool, not only to assist the people for economic empowerment, but also as a new strategy for evangelism and mission as that of Jesus' principle of discipleship. Jesus and His disciples gave regular gifts of cash or kind to people so that their immediate needs could be met, while, at the same moment, the masses were fed with food for the soul.[208] Jesus' encounter with Zacchaeus, the tax collector, is an example. Zacchaeus was confronted about the importance of identifying the immediate needs of the people in his own community, and Jesus wanted to show him the importance of meeting their needs. The rich tax collector was encouraged to redistribute his riches to the poor, so as to even make restitution to the community for the extortion he had committed.[209]

Thus, the land-related issues in GNCC are not new. As we have seen, the United church in the New Guinea Islands has experienced such challenges. However, in the case of GNCC, land conflicts are much easier to deal with, because direct cash flow exists, due to the modern economic developments in the area. The community needs to attempt a concentrated and serious effort

[205] Patrick Dixon, *AIDS Action*, Brentford UK: ACET International Alliance, 2010, p. 57.
[206] Habel, *The Land Is Mine*, p. 114.
[207] Ibid.
[208] John 12:4-6; 13:29.
[209] Luke 19:1-10.

of income-generating development, oriented to generating a local economy, which is sustainable in the long run.

THE YOUTH AS A TARGET

Along with other Christian churches in PNG and across Melanesia, GNCC has several positive opportunities. A positive opportunity to help her host community's economic demands, especially in regard to the youth. Youth, as defined by the National Youth Commission of Papua New Guinea, are "any persons ranging between the ages of 12 to 25".[210] However, it is also acknowledged that "there is no single definition of youth that would be appropriate, in the PNG context".[211] Any programme, aimed at the youth, affects almost every age group. The country is bursting with cash. For example, Oil Search Limited, a mining company, in conjunction with the operator, Esso Highlands Limited, one of the key stakeholders to the PNG LNG project, has indicated that there is "an increase in the capital budget from US$15 billion to US$15.7 billion".[212] The PNG LNG workforce is continuing to grow, with more than 14,300 people employed by the project at the end of 2011, of which over 8,500 are PNG citizens. In line with the project's commitments on national content, almost US$1billion (K2.1 billion) was placed with local contractors and suppliers during the year, and in the training of PNG nationals.[213]

In the context of such projected cash flow in PNG, it was a ripe time for GNCC to initiate community projects, aimed at generating cash flow income, as a proactive measure to minimise land and economy pressure from the locals. Such a step might not only minimise the said pressures, but it should also create employment opportunities and skills training, with the ability learn. The national government has extended its invitation to the churches in PNG, as one of its key partners in nation building through the nation's Medium-Term Development Strategy (MTDS) 2007-2017,[214] and to partner in delivering services to meet its 2050 Millennium Goal Plans

[210] *National Youth Policy 2007-2017: Ministry for Community Development*, Waigani PNG: National Youth Commission of Papua New Guinea, Ministry for Community Development, 2007, p. 12.
[211] Ibid.
[212] Oil Search Limited, *Building Our Future: Annual Report, 2011*, p. 13.
[213] Ibid.
[214] *National Youth Policy*, p. 3.

(MGP) under the United Nations Human Development Strategy (UNHDS). Together with the government's vision of improving the quality of life of the young people, the general focus of this direction of the body of Christ in PNG was geared towards creating appropriate opportunities that will help develop their full potential. As Kidu argues,

> The process by which this would be achieved is through a holistic, cohesive, and coordinated approach, through the creation and implementation of programmes that will improve their *individual* lives, households, *clans*, and *regions* thereby contributing towards building a better future.[215]

AGRICULTURAL INNOVATIONS

Agricultural innovations in community development, which GNCC could adopt, are a vast opportunity in this curve of time and change. Almost every Suma individual owns a plot of land, on which a viable and sustainable agricultural and horticultural project could be initiated, aiming at channelling the projected cash flow from the different projects in the nation. Both government and non-government organisations in the country are pushing hard for improvements in the agricultural industry, so the chances are readily available for GNCC, and other churches, to tap into it. As an example, the sisters of the Catholic Archdiocese of Port Moresby have looked and listened to the community around them. They have encouraged the development of Basic Christian Communities among the local people. Their understanding of such communities were that they should not be simply "spiritual", but cater for the various human needs of their immediate community in the Central Province. The Goilala people, in the Tapini area, were vocationally and educationally empowered to farm rice in 1996. "The people provided all the labour, and the church gets all the produce. The Catholic church sells the rice crop, and puts money into a community fund, that they draw upon for various needs."[216] The National Agricultural Research Institute (NARI) says that NARI wants to,

[215] Ibid.

[216] Michael A. Rynkiewich, "New Initiatives by the Church and Landowners", in Michael A. Rynkiewich, ed., *Land and Churches in Melanesia: Cases and Procedures*, *Point* 27 (2004), pp. 294-295.

> With the economy projected to grow at 8.5 percent, and the LNG and other related projects coming on stream, PNG has more favourable environment and opportunities now than ever before, for all stakeholders to make a positive contribution to innovative agricultural development.[217]

Educationists have urged that, "agriculture has to be made a compulsory subject in schools, because it will be the major source of income for students who drop out from the formal education system".[218] About 90 percent of the grade 10 and grade 12 students are not selected for further studies each year. Students returned to the village, because of the change in the education system. Therefore, to help them become useful citizens, students had to be equipped for village life.[219] However, in the light of this change in PNG, the use of community development, as a vehicle for Christianising people, is to be balanced by teaching the respective church's followers on important improved agricultural subjects.

To comprehend the likely effects on communities, such as the Suma, GNCC needs to look at the major income projects the church could assist the locals to venture. For instance, meat-bird farming is tending to become a fast industry in PNG. Peoples' diets have changed drastically, including the rations involved. From the 1970s to 1990s, families in the Waola villages favoured tinned fish and rice as a sustainable food over sweet potato. From the 1990s to 2012, it has enormously changed from tinned fish to chicken and rice. Due to this change, the demand for chicken meat is high at the moment. To cater for such a market dilemma, the three major poultry organisations in PNG have recently increased their production capacities. Niugini Tablebirds (NGTB), as an example, has extended its day-old-chicken production from 20 percent to 40 percent.

Thus, LNG, and other related projects, will bring a high cash flow to the Waola people, in an area of still relatively low cash flow. I use the term "low cash flow", because income levels in the region are already much higher now than they were few years ago, as a result of oil and gas

[217] *The National* (PNG), April 25, 2012.
[218] Ibid.
[219] Ibid.

exploration. In recent years, large numbers of people, within the available workforce, have been employed in exploration-related activity.

In the light of this change, GNCC will only need to help make connections for the Suma community. GNCC should make vital connections with both non-government organisations and statutory bodies, which are related to agriculture. For example, the church should make links with NARI to either bring training to the village, or to send out people for full-time training on meat-bird farming. Due to the ignorance of the Waola, they do not know much about the agricultural training opportunities provided by institutions aimed at developing semi-educated people.[220]

This programme, which will also cater for poultry farming, is something GNCC should consider. This is not only because of the dependence of the Suma people on agriculture, but also because of the church's untapped, but realisable, potential. This potential could secure many advantages, such as, to assure food security. Secondly, it would improve cash incomes, and provide comfortable livelihoods. Thirdly, it also would bring more prosperity, and sustainable development, to PNG. Fourthly, GNCC members will then have sufficient funds to support the church. Fifthly, and most importantly, the economic pressures, through land issues, will be minimised, and relationships might improve.

COMMERCIAL PROSPERITY AND RISK MANAGEMENT

Once people are empowered to be successful in their money-making projects, all might reap the benefits of improved relationships between the GNCC and the Suma tribe, in particular. Not only this, but, by now, people should know the secrets of making proper use of their land. The church's economy could even increase, as members want to give, as it was previously the normal Waola culture of reciprocity. *Sios helpim mi long painim gutpela sindaun na nau bai mi helpim sios*. ("The church helped me to prosper; now it is my turn to help the church.")

[220] One possible avenue would be to have the able young Waola believers trained at CLTC. The College not only provides theological education, but is now in the process of introducing a Diploma in Community Development (DCD) in 2013, "Academic Advisory Board Minutes: Update on Office of Higher Education Accreditation", Banz PNG: Christian Leaders' Training College, March 8, 2012, p. 3.

However, once people are successful in this endeavour, many might lose interest in their personal spiritual life, and in the general denomination's activities. The more cash they acquire, the more beer they may buy, and the more wives they may marry. Therefore, the denomination's ministry of development should always keep checks and balances between spirituality and economic prosperity. It should be the church's theological business to keep reminding the locals to take heed of God's warning to the Israelites. Yahweh warned the Israelites that, once they were given the land, and the land make them prosper, they should not lose sight of the giver of the land, and begin to love the produce of the land. To do so meant a form of idolatry, and brought a curse on themselves.[221] The tenants of the Suma land should be reminded constantly that the soil they work with belongs to God. The goal of improving its fertility is not simply to obtain a better standard of living for themselves, but to glorify God. The community must also be reminded that we should not lose sight of our God-given Melanesian reciprocal cultural mandate. Since pre-Christian days, our Melanesian society has always been a sharing, communal, and family community, for its own sustenance and self-support. Boseto argues that,

> We affirm that, since God is the community-creating God, our traditional communal responsibility for one another must not be distorted and divided by imposition of any foreign organisations, which are not readily responsive to develop God's Kingdom within our already given structure of His sharing community.[222]

WORK AND WORSHIP

After all, it is work and worship that the fathers of the modern mission movement have emphasised in their theological and missiological endeavour among the indigenous churches of the third world from the 17th century to the 20th century. For example, Walls agrees with Buxton, who believed that an economic institution could only be developed by an economic initiative. He was convicted that the solution for Africa lay in developing its own resources. Africa would be reborn by the Bible and the plough. "So came

[221] Deut 6:10-15.

[222] Leslie Boseto, " 'Your Kingdom Come': Bible Studies and Affirmations of a Melanesian Workshop", in John D'Arcy May, ed., *Living Theology in Melanesia: a Reader, Point* 8 (1985), p. 118.

to birth the doctrine of the Three Cs – Christianity, Commerce, and Civilisation. The basic law was that the interest of all three lay in the same direction."[223] The Church Missionary Society (CMS) was able to prove the effectiveness of the Three C's in its Yoruba mission, not many years after the Niger expedition. Old chiefs were soon saying that the mission-sponsored cotton industry brought more benefits than all the slave trade."[224]

These fathers of the mission movement pushed for a balance between the so called "Three Cs".[225] These three C's gave birth to the "Three Ss", namely, the Self-governing, Self-supporting, and Self-propagating of the indigenous churches. The Cs and Ss were implemented effectively across Africa and the Pacific. As a result of their emphasis, they have seen indigenes raised from poverty to prosperity. For example, Walker, an English missionary from the London Missionary Society (LMS) pioneered mission work in the Torres Straits and Papua in the early 1900s. He saw the necessity to provide some useful occupations for the Christianised local people, for the uplifting of their material, moral, and spiritual life. Walker believed and preached, "There is a gospel of works as well as a gospel of worship. We aim at combining the spiritual and the physical."[226]

His belief resulted in forming and registering the "Papuan Industries Mission Limited" in 1904, under the motto "Faith and Works". Among several other projects, about 10,500 coconut palms were planted, followed by 2,000 rubber trees, and 1,000 fruit trees. In all these, the natives were trained and equipped to meet their commercial need, civilise themselves, to meet their material need, and Christianise themselves for their personal salvation.

[223] Andrew F. Walls, "The Outposts of Empire", *The History of Christianity*, A Lion Handbook, Berkhamsted UK: Lion Publishing, 1977, p. 561.
[224] Ibid., p. 162
[225] Civilisation was concerned for the material well-being of the converts, with items, such as, clothing, education, and hygiene. Christianisation aimed at conversion and spirituality, while commercialisation was driving for economic gain, trade, business, and agricultural development of the indigenous converts.
[226] John M. Hitchen, "Theological Roots of a Nineteenth-Century Missionary Worldview", in *Stimulus* 7-2 (May 1999), p. 42.

Through such a holistic approach to doing theology, the indigenous believers became self-supporting, self-governing, and self-propagating.[227]

Today, GNCC shouldn't fail to link itself to its theological and mission roots. Instead, it should consider reconnecting a theology of the land, to be truly integrated with the Three Cs and Three Ss. If Christ is all in all, then both humans and creation should enjoy the mutual fellowship of a give-and-take relationship. GNCC should extract itself from the land headache with the Suma flock by integrating, not only the theological and missiological outlook of her ministry life, but also by meeting the socio-economic gaps, to effectively empower its followers to be truly civilised, Christianised, and commercialised. Then the church shall reap the fruits of a self-governing church, self-supporting denomination, and a self-propagating community, through the development of the land, as its fundamental link.

SUMMARY

All this means that the GNCC must remain in relationship with the community, for it is only in a give-and-take dialogue that the relationship remains healthy. Only the body of Christ has the agenda to promote and protect the land, as a place to be in mission. Others in the clan and community have other interests. The denomination here must be clear about its use of the land, and its plans for the future. The GNCC must serve the needs of the Suma, and rest of the Waola people, from their three perspectives – spiritual, economic, and socio-cultural. Ultimately, Christianity, through GNCC, as a local body of Christ, should be working towards the Kingdom, and she must focus on the integral activities that will add the kingdom values of self-supporting, self-governing, and self-propagating, in her mission and theological endeavour, using the land as a bridge to bring Christ, not only to her immediate people, but far and wide, as part of her global missional call.

CONCLUSION

After introducing our study in section one, we then saw in section two that the Waola culture, together with other Melanesians, define land as

[227] Frederick William Walker, *Industrial Missions: Papuan Industries Limited: Its Progress and Aims*, pamphlet 15-5, Solomon Islands: nd, 1907, p. 6.

everything in one. Land was viewed as a link between the earth and the ecosphere, the past, and the present, and the future. It was seen as a "being" with life, in contrast to that of a lifeless "thing". Land was interconnected with descendants, who believed that it was outrightly given to them by their ancestors, and were held accountable to them, and the children yet to be born. From the worldview of the Waola, land was intimately linked with their *timb* religion, in which the *yeki* and *phowes* deities played an essential role, for the diverse welfare of the people, as their subjects, in response to the *timb* rituals. The kinship leadership, as the political head of the Suma, was responsible for the fair distribution of the Suma land, interconnected to each sub-clan's descent identities. Land was the source of wealth and health for the Suma people, which was not to be taken as a marketable commodity. However, if there was any land given away to an outsider, particularly based on fictive ties, it was done as a link for an ongoing relationship of reciprocity.

In section three, among the huge Waola tribes, we saw that the Suma clan was selected as my research base for the ongoing land-related conflicts between the GNCC and the Suma. This section defined that the *HalHal* land was ecologically a no-man's land. It was a rain forest, and a place of the *phowes* spirits, which the Suma worshipped before the land was allocated to the ACM. However, in the missionaries' first contact in 1978, the locals received them gladly, to initiate exchange of European goods, and because the *Ngaor* of the missionaries was more powerful than the *phowes'* power. Based upon an exchange ideology, the *HalHal* land was given for K200. After the mission days, GNCC was then engaged with an economic-related land conflict with the host community. As a result of the conflict, in which the Suma wanted to have their own people occupying strategic economic and pastoral positions, the wider body of the outlying GNCC congregations have suffered much, with pastors and Christians backsliding, and technical services closing down in 1995.

In the section four, we showed that the contemporary land issues, raised with the GNCC and the Suma locals, were a result of the socio-economic changes affecting local communities throughout the Melanesian region, and particularly in PNG. Globalisation, education, and economic competition were analysed as being a few of the major contributing factors creating

pressure on the limited cash and marketable jobs in PNG and the GNCC, respectively. The increase in cash flow and marketable employment, through the LNG, and other related industries, in PNG, has raised developmental concerns among the young Suma people, in particular.

In section five, we considered an alternate step to develop community-based economic projects, for the GNCC to adopt, in order to keep itself in mission, and to effectively create a biblical relationship with its host community. I have defined that the relationship must be developed, from the perspective of a land theology, through meeting the economic demands of the locals. The GNCC, here, was challenged to adopt a new developmental strategy, as that of the three Cs and the three Ss of the mission strategy of the 19th and 20th centuries. And a community of believers in Christ must maintain that relationship, in order to bond their daily life to the deeper economic and theological sensibilities of value. As a bottom-line, it was stressed that God should be the sovereign head over everything, as the consumption of His redemptive programme, which includes the useful and careful development of the whole of creation, for He is all in all.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BOOKS AND ARTICLES

Ayong, James, and Gardham, Martin P., "Some Land Issues in the Anglican Church", in Michael A. Rynkiewich, ed., *Land and Churches in Melanesia: Cases and Procedures*, *Point* 27 (2004), pp. 142-160.

Barrett, C. K., *A Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians*, Harper's New Testament Commentaries, New York NY: Harper & Row, 1968.

Baus, Karl, "From the Apostolic Community to Constantine", in *Handbook of Church History (History of the Church)*, Hubert Jedin, and John Dolan, eds, New York NY: Herder & Herder, nd.

Berkouwer, G. C., *General Revelation*, Grand Rapids MI: William B. Eerdmans, 1955.

Boseto, Leslie, " 'Your Kingdom Come': Bible Studies and Affirmations of a Melanesian Workshop", in John D'Arcy May, ed., *Living Theology in Melanesia: a Reader, Point* 8 (1985), pp. 95-123.

Bowie, Fiona, *The Anthropology of Religion: an Introduction*, Malden MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2000.

Bulkeley Tim, " 'Exile Away from His Land': is Landlessness the Ultimate Punishment in Amos?", in *The Gospel and the Land of Promise: Christian Approaches to the Land of the Bible*, Philip Church, Peter Walker, Tim Bulkeley, and Tim Meadowcroft, eds, Eugene OR: Pickwick Publications, 2011, pp. 75-85.

Chapman, Colin, "Getting to the Point: Ten Questions for Christian Zionists", in *The Bible and the Land: An Encounter*, Lisa Loden, ed., Jerusalem Israel: Musalaha, 2000.

Cook, Scott, "The Obsolete 'Anti-Market' Mentality: A Critique of the Substantiative Approach to Economic Anthropology", in *Economic Anthropology: Readings in Theory and Analysis*, Edward E. LeClair Jr, and Harold K. Schneider, eds, New York NY: Holt, Rinehart, & Winston, 1968, pp. 208-227.

DeWitt, Calvin B., *Caring for Creation: Responsible Stewardship of God's Handiwork*, Grand Rapids MI: Baker Books, 1998.

Dixon, Patrick, *AIDS Action*, Brentford UK: ACET International Alliance, 2010.

Donais, Rosalie M., *As Many as Received Him, to Them Gave He Power: to Become the Sons of God, Even to Them That Believe on His Name, John 1:12*, Tremont IL: Apostolic Christian Church Foundation, 1987.

Dowley, Tim, ed., *The History of Christianity*, A Lion Handbook, Berkhamsted UK: Lion Publishing, 1977.

Ellis, E. Earle, *The Old Testament in Early Christianity: Canon and Interpretation in the Light of Modern Research*, Grand Rapids MI: Baker Book House, 1992.

Fager, Jeffrey A., *Land Tenure and the Biblical Jubilee: Uncovering Hebrew Ethics through the Sociology of Knowledge*, Sheffield UK: JSOT Press, 1993.

Filer, Colin, "The Social Context of Renewable Resource Depletion in Papua New Guinea", in Richard Howitt, John Connell, and Philip Hirsch, eds, *Resources, Nations and Indigenous Peoples: Case Studies from Australasia, Melanesia and Southeast Asia*. Melbourne Vic: Oxford University Press, 1996, pp. 289-299.

Fee, Gordon D., *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, New International Commentary on the New Testament, Grand Rapids MI: William B. Eerdmans, 1987.

Gardner, Helen Bethea, *Gathering for God: George Brown in Oceania*, Dunedin NZ: Otago University Press, 2006.

Giddings, Rick, "Land Tenure", in Michael A. Rynkiewich, ed., *An Introduction to Melanesian Cultures: Issues and Contexts, Point* 25 (2001), pp. 147-167.

Grunlan, Stephen A., and Mayers, Marvin K., *Cultural Anthropology: A Christian Perspective*, 2nd edn, Grand Rapids MI: Zondervan, 1988.

Habel, Norman C., *The Land Is Mine: Six Biblical Land Ideologies*, Minneapolis MN: Fortress Press, 1995.

Hitchen, John M., "Theological Roots of a Nineteenth-Century Missionary Worldview", in *Stimulus* 7-2 (May 1999), pp. 40-47.

Kearney, Michael, *World View*, Novato CA: Chandler & Sharp, 1984.

Krech, David, Crutchfield, Richard S., and Ballachey, Egerton L., *Individual in Society: a Textbook of Social Psychology*, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1962.

Kotter, John P., *Leading Change*, Boston MA: Harvard Business School Press, 1996.

Leach, Edmund, "The Logic of Sacrifice", in *Anthropological Approaches to the Old Testament*, Issues in Religion and Theology 8, Bernhard Lang, ed., Philadelphia PA: Fortress Press, 1985, pp. 136-150.

LeClair, Edward E., "Economic Theory and Economic Anthropology", in *Economic Anthropology: Readings in Theory and Analysis*, Edward E. LeClair, and Harold K. Schneider, eds, New York NY: Holt, Rinehart, & Winston, 1968, pp. 187-207.

Litteral, Robert L., *Community Partnership in Communications for Ministry*, Wheaton IL: Billy Graham Center, 1988.

Longgar, William Kenny, "Kaugu Gunan Ma Kaugu Pia"*: My Village and My Land: The Theological Significance of Land in the New Guinea Islands of Papua New Guinea, Point* 32 (2008).

Malinowski, Bronislaw, "The Beginning: Malinowski on the Kula", in *Economic Anthropology: Readings in Theory and Analysis*, Edward E. LeClair, and Harold K. Schneider, eds, New York NY: Holt, Rinehart, & Winston, 1968, pp. 17-39.

McGavran, Donald, ed., *Crucial Issues in Missions Tomorrow*, Chicago IL: Moody Press, 1972.

Morris, Leon, *1 Corinthians*, Tyndale New Testament Commentaries, 2nd edn, Leicester UK: IVP, 1985.

Mott, John R., *The Future Leadership of the Church*, London UK: Hodder & Stoughton, 1909.

Narangeng, Sesengo, "Evangelical Lutheran Church Land", in Michael A. Rynkiewich, ed., *Land and Churches in Melanesia: Cases and Procedures, Point* 27 (2004), pp. 161-195.

Narokobi, Bernard M., "The Concept of Ownership in Melanesia", in Darrell L. Whiteman, ed., *An Introduction to Melanesian Cultures: Issues and Contexts, Point* 25 (2001), pp. 80-112.

National Youth Policy 2007-2017: Ministry for Community Development, Waigani PNG: National Youth Commission of Papua New Guinea, Ministry for Community Development, 2007.

O'Faircheallaigh, Ciaran, "Negotiating With Resource Companies: Issues and Constraints for Aboriginal Communities in Australia", Richard Howitt, John Connell, and Philip Hirsch, eds, *Resources, Nations and Indigenous Peoples: Case Studies from Australasia, Melanesia and Southeast Asia*. Melbourne Vic: Oxford University Press, 1996, pp. 184-201.

Paroi, Henry, "Melanesian Spirituality of Land", in Michael A. Rynkiewich, ed., *An Introduction to Melanesian Cultures: Issues and Contexts, Point* 25 (2001), pp. 168-193.

———, "Buying the Faith: Catholic Church Land in the New Guinea Islands", in Michael A. Rynkiewich, ed., *Land and Churches in Melanesia: Cases and Procedures, Point* 27 (2004), pp. 88-141.

Piddocke, Stuart, "The Potlatch System of the Southern Kwakiutl: A New Perspective", in *Economic Anthropology: Readings in Theory and Analysis*, Edward E. LeClair, and Harold K. Schneider, eds, New York NY: Holt, Rinehart, & Winston, 1968, pp. 283-299.

Rynkiewich, Michael A., "Traditional Land Tenure in Melanesia", in Michael A. Rynkiewich, ed., *An Introduction to Melanesian Cultures: Issues and Contexts, Point* 25 (2001), pp. 113-146.

———, "Strangers in a Strange Land: Theologies of Land", in Michael A. Rynkiewich, ed., *An Introduction to Melanesian Cultures: Issues and Contexts, Point* 25 (2001), pp. 210-232.

———, "New Initiatives by the Church and Landowners", in Michael A. Rynkiewich, ed., *Land and Churches in Melanesia: Cases and Procedures, Point* 27 (2004), pp. 290-306.

Sack, Peter G., *Land Between Two Laws: Early European Land Acquisitions in New Guinea*. Canberra ACT: Australian National University Press, 1973.

Schlatter, Victor, "Third-World Awakening: Greek Roadblocks or Hebraic Road?", in *Melanesian Journal of Theology* 20-2 (2004), pp. 79-89.

Scholten, Jan Hendrik, *Supranaturalisme in verband met Bijbel: Christendom en Protestantisme*, Leiden: P. Engels, 1867, pp. 5-7.

Schreiter, Robert J., *Constructing Local Theologies*. Maryknoll NY: Orbis Books, 1985.

Silliote, Paul, *Made in Niugini: Technology in the Highlands of Papua New Guinea*. London UK: British Museum Publications, 1988.

Snyder, Howard, *The Community of the King*, Downers Grove IL: IVP, 1977, pp. 24-25.

Van Drimmelen, Rob, *Faith in a Global Economy: A Primer for Christians* Risk Book Series 81, Geneva Sw: WCC Publications, 1998.

Walker, Frederick William, *Industrial Missions: Papuan Industries Limited: Its Progress and Aims*, pamphlet 15-5, Solomon Islands: nd, 1907.

Walker, Peter, "Introduction", in *The Gospel and the Land of Promise: Christian Approaches to the Land of the Bible*, Philip Church, Peter Walker, Tim Bulkeley, and Tim Meadowcroft, eds, Eugene OR: Pickwick Publications, 2011, pp. 1-13.

Walls, Andrew F., "David Livingstone", *The History of Christianity*, A Lion Handbook, Berkhamsted UK: Lion Publishing, 1977, pp. 563-564.

———, "The Outposts of Empire", *The History of Christianity*, A Lion Handbook, Berkhamsted UK: Lion Publishing, 1977, pp. 549-568.

Williamson, Paul R., "The Land in Israel's Story: Promise and Fulfilment: The Territorial Inheritance", in *The Land of Promise: Biblical, Theological, and Contemporary Perspectives*, Philip Johnston, and Peter Walker, eds, Downers Grove IL: Apollos, 2000, pp. 15-30.

Wright, Christopher J. H., *God's People in God's Land: Family, Land, and Property in the Old Testament*, Grand Rapids MI: William B. Eerdmans, 1997.

Young, Douglas, "Church and Land Conflicts: Questions in Need of Answers", in Michael A. Rynkiewich, ed., *An Introduction to*

Melanesian Cultures: Issues and Contexts, Point 25 (2001), pp. 40-59.

Zuck, Roy B., *The Speaker's Quote Book*. Grand Rapids MI: Kregel Publications, 1997.

INTERVIEWS

Hiaol, Wesao, Suma-Hul clan elder, interview by author in local language by questionnaire, March 24, 2012, Nipa PNG.

———, Suma-Hul clan elder, interview by author in local language by questionnaire, May 24, 2012, Nipa PNG.

Hip, John, Suma local pastor of Good News Christian church, interview by author in Neo-Melanesian by questionnaire, March 12, 2012, Nipa PNG.

———, Suma local pastor of Good News Christian church, interview by author in Neo-Melanesian by questionnaire, March 30, 2012, Nipa PNG.

Hung, Peyang, Suma-Terek elder, interview by author in Neo-Melanesian by questionnaire, June 22, 2012, Nipa PNG.

Menger, Simon, pastor of Christian Union church, interview by author in local language by questionnaire, March 2, 2012, Mendi PNG.

Saolo, Pis, Suma-Kemp clan elder, interview by author in local language by questionnaire, May 25, 2012, Nipa PNG.

Takon, Amos, pastor and literacy worker of Good News Christian church, interview by author in local language by questionnaire, February 10, 2012, Nipa PNG.

INTERNET

"Pacific Island Culture and Society: The Papers of Revd George Brown", internet accessed, May 21, 2008, http://www.ampltd.co.uk/digital_guides/pacific_island_culture/publishers-note.aspx.

REPORTS

"Academic Advisory Board Minutes: Update on Office of Higher Education Accreditation", Banz PNG: Christian Leaders' Training College, March 8, 2012.

Kaupa, Anton, "Poultry Department Report for Christian Leaders' Training College Council Executive", Banz PNG: Christian Leaders' Training College, August 26, 2012.

Oil Search Limited, Building Our Future: Annual Report, 2011.

Yawai, Olene, verbal report on the impact of LNG on the Hela churches, presented at Banz PNG: CLTC, on July 23, 2011.

TABLE OF ABBREVIATIONS AND TERMS IN THE SUMA LANGUAGE

AAB	Academic Advisory Board
Ab	Father
Ab sumb	Descent(s)
Ab sumb om sand bubur mi	Ancestors, who shed blood to take charge of the enemy's land
ACCF	Apostolic Christian Church Foundation
ACM	Apostolic Christian Mission
Aekip	Cordyline plant
Am	Mother
Amon aondu	Mother's breast milk, or milk from the mother
Amon makor aondao	Includes parallel definitions, such as the womb of the mother, in the womb of the mother, or like the mother's womb
Ank	Pandanus palm
Aol mbaoli	European
Ank paokao	Sub-clan(s)
Aol saem	Descendants of a people group
Aol sao	Man of the above, or metaphorically speaking, as a man of the sky, attached with a singular masculine figure; also a word play to mean *yeki kilaep*, s*aekil aol*, and *yeki*
CBC	Christian Brethren churches
CLTC	Christian Leaders' Training College
CMS	Church Missionary Society
CUM	Christian Union Mission
ECPNG	Evangelical Church of Papua New Guinea
GNCC	Good News Christian church
HalHal	The land, on which the ACM head station was established in 1978

Han nda	Stone house, house of stones, home of the rocks
Henk	Fern
HGNCC	Hela Good News Christian church
Hor	Christian religion
ILG	Incorporated Land Group
Kisep	Blood
LMS	London Missionary Society
LR	Land Registration
Mango	Umbilical cord; see *marnu*, and *su mango*
Marnu	Placenta
Maon	Word, advice, command, instruction, Word of God
Mok momak	Economy. See also *top tekel*
Momaolu	Founding ancestor(s)
Momao	Grandfather, great grandfather, also referred to as *momaolu*
MGP	Millennium Goal Plan
MRDC	Moran Resource Development Corporation
MTDS	Medium-term Development Strategy
NARI	National Agricultural Research Institute
NARIIS	National Agricultural Institute Innovation Show
Ninao su	My land
NGTB	Niugini Tablebirds
Ngaor	God
NLDP	National Land Development Programme
Nomong aol	Ritualist, healer, sorcerer, and magician
Phaere hae	Removing of tree bark, also refers to land edges, hill sides, and drains
PNG	Papua New Guinea
Phowes	The title given to numerous spirits the Suma worshipped as part of their *timb* religion, represented by several rocks in different shapes, as a totem preserved in the *timb* temple
Post-Courier	A newspaper in PNG
The National	A newspaper in PNG
TRP	Rice Training Programme

Saekil aol	Masculine figure in control of the other unnumbered hosts of beings. (The being is also believed to have control over cosmic forces, such as, rain, clouds, lightning and thunder, air, and imagery masses of related elements in the cosmos.)
Saem takisao	Descent ideology
Saekil ten	Feminist figure in control of the earth, land or the ground
Su aol ipao	Land, as man's blood stream, life line, or source of survival
Su kilao	Descent landowners
Su	Land, soil, earth, waters, any elements of biodiversity found on Suma land, either on the surface, under the surface, or the biosphere
Suma	Name of the tribal group, with which the ACM missionaries had the first contact, to establish its mission work among the Waola people
Suma alemya	Descent of the Terek sub-clan
Suma Hul	The fourth sub-clan of the Suma tribe. (There is no prioritised order of listings and pronunciations for these sub-clans. They can be listed and pronounced in any order, such as, Hul Suma. But, when it comes to the order of descent, they must be put in the order of births of these ancestors.)
Su ingi	Mother of the Land; also refers to ***saekil ten*** or s***u saekil*** (are used interchangeably)
Suma Kemp	Third sub-clan of the Suma tribe
Su mango	Centre of the earth; used for anything to do with a central location or strategic area; also carries the idea of originality; connotes an image of an umbilical cord and placenta, from which life is conceived; see ***mango*** and ***marnu***
Suma Paegae	Also known as Suma Tol isi, the fourth sub-clan of the Suma clan
Su saekil	Metaphor, meaning the mother of the land, also means ***saekil ten*** or ***su ingi***
Su taomb	Land boundary or land marks
Su tomo	Sacrifice made to mother earth
Suma Terek	First sub-clan of the Suma tribe
Suma tol isi	*Tol's* son; the fourth Suma sub-clan; see Suma Paegae

Thul isi	Name of the tribal spirit resembled by a rock with human-type face totem of the Komea clan
Tim aolao	Wood charcoal, or a burnt rock, referred to identify land marks and land ownership
Timb	Religious title, under which the Suma worshipped the *phowes* spirits; see also *tomo*
Ti –Tae	First two principal descents of the *Suma* tribe
Timb wesmbao	Head priest of the *timb* cult
Tokpal mund	Liver-shaped rock that symbolised the tribal totem of the Tombra clan
Tol	Descent of the Paegae sub-clan
Tol isi	See Suma tol isi and Suma Paegae
Tomo	Spirits of the *timb* cult
Tomo anda	Dwelling place of the spirits, house of the spirits, or the territory of the spirits
Top tekel	Barter economy, or trade; see also *mok momak*
Tungi aol	Men of the sky; a host of masculine beings; it can also mean y*eki ao*; see also *yeki kilaep*
UNHDS	United Nations Human Development Strategy
Yeki	Super spirit, which the *Waola* people believed in, apart from other spirits; see y*eki kilaep* and *yeki komae tho, tungi aol* and *ab*
Yeki aol	A masculine band of warriors; an unnumbered hosts of army as servants of the y*eki kilaep* who are ever-ready for his service; can also mean *tungi aol*
Yeki isi	Son figure of the y*eki kilaep* who stands along with the y*eki kilaep* – the father figure
Yeki kilaep	A masculine head figure in charge of the y*eki aol*; word play also meaning s*aekil aol, tungi aol* and *ab*
Yeki komae tho	A sacrifice offered to the y*eki* spirit on the top of a special tree; to seek for wealth and health
Walbo	Descent of the Kemp sub-clan
Waola	The umbrella culture that governs the Nipa people, of which the Suma tribe is a part