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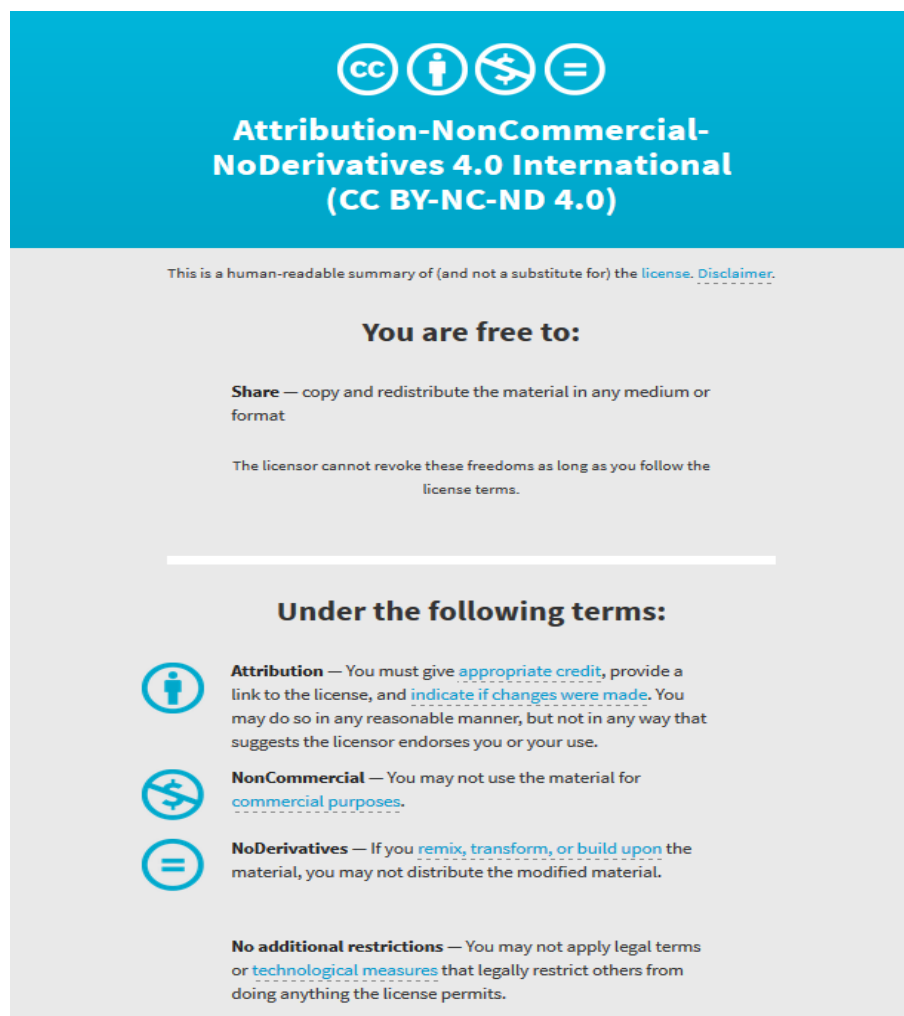
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Sensual feasting:

Transforming spaces and emotions in Lihir

Susan R. Hemer

Abstract

This chapter explores how shifts between differing emotions are mediated spatially and sensually. Drawing on Hochschild's (1979) concepts of 'feeling rules' and 'emotion work', the chapter questions how spatial and sensual aspects of social events may evoke particular emotions and, in turn, how feeling rules for social situations may be transformed in the process. I focus on the case of events surrounding a project for women's development in Lihir, Papua New Guinea, in the early 2000s. One form of anger, a simmering withdrawal, was changed to open conflict following a large feast to mark the opening of a sewing centre. The sensuality of feasting, with its sounds, smells, tastes and crowds, allowed women to take ownership of the centre and of their right to openly express hostility. This case allows for critical reflection on the concept of feeling rules in a setting that places less emphasis on individual emotional management and more on social relatedness.

Introduction

In April 2002, the small boat harbour at Londolovit in Lihir, Papua New Guinea, came alive. Lihirian women took over the normally empty space with its yellow coronous road,

green grass and large white metal building, and changed it into a bustling, noisy area. Thousands of people packed into the space to eat hot tubers and meaty pork, to watch dancers arrayed in neat lines moving to the sounds of beaten bamboo and *kundu* (hour glass) drums, to smell the scent of herbs adorning the dancers and hosts. They watched fashion parades with newly made garments and white wedding dresses, and listened to speeches by dignitaries and songs proclaiming women's togetherness.

This unprecedented event was planned and executed by Lihirian women's leaders to celebrate gaining their own space in Londolovit township. Yet this event was preceded by simmering conflict and followed by open conflict. In this chapter, I unravel this event through an understanding of its emotional, sensual and spatial dimensions. In doing so, I critically comment on the concepts of feeling rules and emotion work.

Senses, spaces, emotions

The last two or three decades have seen an outpouring of interest in emotions, the senses and embodiment in disciplines such as anthropology, geography and sociology. Sometimes these interests have been paired with an attention to space and place and have led to discussions and concepts such as emotional geographies (Davidson & Milligan 2004), topophilia (Tuan 1977; Hastrup 2011), sensuous geographies (Rodaway 1994; Paterson 2009), sense-scapes (Ross 2004) and Feld and Basso's collection *Senses of Place* (1996). These discussions and key concepts all aim, in their various incarnations, to draw attention to the ways senses or emotions are implicated in, evoked or constrained through places.

A few contributions to this area have discussed the ways that people can transform the emotional and sensual spaces they occupy. Matthee (2004) argues that women's engagement in the sensual practice of cooking and eating can reorientate gender relationships and allow women to reappropriate space in the context of Western Cape in South Africa. Wood and Smith (2004) describe the 'sound-space' of music as powerful and transformative of emotions, and they explore the ways it can be actively harnessed through music therapy. This chapter draws on these general understandings of not only the ways that spaces may evoke or shape emotions, but also the ways in which the sensorial and emotional qualities of spaces may be challenged or changed.

A key sociological contribution to this area is Hochschild's (1979; 1983) notion of 'feeling rules', and the 'emotion work' that may be needed to ensure that the rules associated with particular situations, or social spaces, are met. She argued that social situations are characterised by unwritten feeling rules, of which people are consciously aware. Situations have a conventional frame and a sense of what should be felt. Feeling rules specify the extent of feeling, the type of emotion and the duration of feeling (1979:563-4).

We assess the 'appropriateness' of a feeling by making comparison between feeling and situation ... This comparison lends the assessor a 'normal' yardstick — a *socially* normal one. (1979:560, italics in the original text)

When this assessment of feeling suggests that there is a mismatch, then people engage in 'emotion work' to change their feelings. This work is not aimed at simply appearing to feel appropriately — better known as 'impression management' (Goffman 1971) — or 'display rules' (Ekman & Friesen 1975; Matsumoto 1996), but at actually *feeling* appropriately. Hochschild argues that this occurs through deep acting, and efforts to evoke, shape or suppress particular feelings (1979:561-2). In particular, the techniques of emotion work include cognitive efforts to change images, or thoughts to change feelings associated with them; bodily efforts to change somatic or other physical aspects of emotion; and expressive emotion work to shape the expressive gestures of emotion in attempting to change the inner feeling (562).

Hochschild's concepts of feeling rules and emotion work rely, first, on an individual, conscious actor working on their own or someone else's feelings. Second, Hochschild also focuses on feeling rules as given for a particular situation. Both of these assumptions are problematic. What I would like to question here is how the feeling rules for a situation may be actively challenged or changed, and how emotion work may be accomplished at a social rather than individual level. If, in Hochschild's terms, cognitive, bodily and expressive techniques can work to change individual feelings, it would seem that certain aspects of situations would need to be altered to transform the feeling rules of the situations. Here I would suggest that sensorial and spatial characteristics of situations are crucial to their feeling rules, and shifts in these characteristics are key to the social emotion work needed not only to challenge feeling rules but also to transform the emotions of groups. This chapter aims to explore the possibilities for such an analysis through the case study of women's associations in Lihir.

Mining and Lihirian women

The four Lihir islands are home to some 15 000 Lihirians with a clan-based matrilineal society. Prior to the 1990s, Lihirians relied on subsistence production of root crops and other vegetables, particularly yams, as well as some fishing, cash cropping of coconuts, and remittances from labour. Despite matrilineal inheritance, leadership and land management was generally men's domain, with women having few opportunities for control of land or ritual exchanges in their own right (Hemer n.d.; Macintyre 2003). A large gold mine was constructed on the main island of the group in the mid-1990s and began production in 1997, managed by the Lihir Management Company [LMC]. With the mine have come numerous changes, such as improved health and education facilities, a ring road around the main island, opportunities for employment and

business activities, cars, alcohol and migrants from outside Lihir. Despite these many changes, most Lihirians continue to rely on subsistence production from gardens, and this heavily depends on women's labour.

Before mining, women were organised into village-based women's church groups — generally *Katolik Mamas* ('Catholic Mothers') or United Church Women's Fellowship, depending on the affiliation of the village. In the early 1990s, it was decided that an overarching women's organisation was needed to provide a representative body for Lihirian women in negotiations with the company planning to mine gold.¹ Women had very little input into negotiations or political processes on the islands (Macintyre 2002; 2003). So at this early stage the Petztorme Women's Association was begun.² A female consultant to the Community Relations Department of the mine, Suzy Bonnell, worked with Lihirian women to set up the organisation, which could then liaise with the Women's section to address issues affecting Lihirian women. Under Petztorme, the leaders for village church groups became part of the general committee, and all Lihirian women were nominally part of Petztorme.

From as early as 1992, Lihirian women were calling for an area in which they could hold meetings and conferences, and where they could learn new skills. As Petztorme began with little assistance from the mining company or externally, it had no funds with which to construct such a building or space. Instead, it started with the idea of self-help and incremental change (Macintyre 2003:124), with a number of relatively small income-generating projects in the late 1990s and early 2000s. Given the pace of change and development due to mining in Lihir, criticisms arose that Petztorme was 'doing nothing' for Lihirian women.

A new project for women began in 2000 with the inception of a program of sewing training for Lihirian women. An expatriate woman trained as a dressmaker began offering training in sewing with the help of seed funds raised through a cultural exchange program and craft fair held in the mining township. This training program was soon named Tutorme, and had an Advisory Committee set up to manage the programs and funds.³ At the time, I was working on a community health research project for the mining company, and I was invited to become a member of the Advisory Committee, with other expatriate and Lihirian women. Over time, Tutorme provided sewing and home safety training to dozens of Lihirian women, and it outgrew its small building in early 2001. This need for a new space for Tutorme precipitated the

1 At the time, the company in question was Kennecott, then Davey Kinhill Four Daniel. During construction, it was the Lihir Management Company, a wholly owned subsidiary of Rio Tinto; then it was Lihir Gold Limited; finally, more recently, the company is Newcrest Mining.

2 *Petztorme* means 'work together' (*petz* — work, and *torme* — together).

3 *Tutorme* means 'stand together' (*tu* — stand, and *torme* — together). It does not mean 'tutor me' as was the common assumption and mispronunciation by expatriates.

growing conflict between Petztorme and Tutorme, and between expatriate and Lihirian women's views of development. This simmering conflict became the subject of work and transformation at the feasting held to celebrate Lihirian women gaining a space in Londolovit township.

Pre-feasting simmering conflict: *Sa mus*

One of the key desires (*a le*) of Lihirian women was a space in which to conduct meetings, workshops and other activities. *A le* can be translated as a desire, a want or a need, and is etymologically related to the term *leimuli*, meaning to love or desire. Lihirians do not linguistically distinguish between requiring something and simply wanting it. Hence their desire was also understood as a requirement or a need. Their desire or need was for the space to be centrally located for women's access, to have a good-sized area, and to have all groups working for women co-located. Instead, spatially, women were both separated and cramped. In 2000, Petztorme was functioning out of a rusted shipping container in one part of Londolovit township, Tutorme was located in a small building atop the hill near the residential area of the township, and there was also a 'Women's section' located in the Community Relations Department of LMC. None of the groups working for women felt secure, as all buildings were borrowed and on the Lease for Mining Purposes [LMP]. Communication was difficult, with neither Petztorme or Tutorme having a telephone line or vehicle.

The spatial and communication difficulties made co-operation essential to the functioning of the women's groups. Initially, the relationships between the two women's organisations in Lihir had been positive. Petztorme provided some funds for refreshment for the Tutorme training classes, and acted as the means by which information was distributed to women in villages about the training courses on offer. Women's church groups in villages also cooked lunches for training sessions for a fee. In turn, Tutorme provided the Petztorme Executive with information about the progression of classes.

In 2001, LMC offered to find a large building, and donate it for the use of Lihirian women, as they were keen on supporting Tutorme. This seemed the ideal opportunity for Lihirian women to co-locate those working for women's development. LMC offered a spacious unused building near the small boat harbour in Londolovit township. Located in a place that had excellent boat and road access, this seemed the answer to women's needs and desires. Yet LMC appeared to see this as an opportunity to provide Tutorme with the space and resources to make a successful sewing and training centre, rather than a general centre for women. They did not want to co-locate Petztorme and the Women's section of LMC with Tutorme.

Relations between Lihirian women and LMC deteriorated. Petztorme withdrew support from Tutorme, and some women talked about boycotting the Centre.

Eventually, the women agreed with LMC that Petztorme could choose either to have an office space within the Tutorme building, or have a small building constructed where they chose.⁴ Petztorme chose the latter option, and positioned their new building in front of the new Tutorme building, hence achieving the desired co-location of women's organisations, and their accessibility to Lihirian women in a prominent public site.

Yet despite this apparently amicable solution, relationships between Lihirian women's leaders and LMC remained strained. What ensued was what can be termed *mus*, a form of withdrawal and a simmering silence. Lihirian women would either not attend Tutorme Advisory Committee meetings, or would attend but not oppose moves instigated by expatriate women on the committee. Seeing the meetings as particularly formal and public, chaired by an expatriate woman and with minutes formally taken by myself and distributed later, Lihirian women felt only able to voice their opinions in the Advisory committee meetings when matters were raised as questions or suggestions. When matters were raised more forcibly by expatriates, Lihirian women would show little sign of dissent and would certainly not publicly disagree. For example, the value of the Advisory Committee was questioned in February 2001 and again in August that year, and on both occasions Lihirian women suggested that the committee was still needed. Yet when the Chair of the Committee announced the abolition of the Committee in February 2002, Lihirian women acceded. Privately they were furious.

Mus is a behaviour seen as arising from anger (*lil tua*), and is understood to be a common and appropriate response of women to slights from another party (Hemer 2013). It is often not seen as appropriate for women to express anger in more open forms such as verbal or physical aggression, particularly when there may be differentials of status. In the case of *mus*, the person who is the cause of the *lil tua* needs to rectify the injury rather than apologise for wrongdoing. If this cannot be done, then the *mus* will just gradually disappear with the passing of time, or, alternatively, it can be indicative of a more long-term breach in social relations. In the case here, neither LMC nor the expatriate women on the Advisory committee seemed willing to be more accommodating of Lihirian women's desires for development in the particular way that they understood it.

This withdrawal by Lihirian women was taken by expatriate women on the committee either as disinterest or tacit agreement with whatever plans were put forward. There appeared little understanding of the ways by which Lihirian women might negotiate through informal and lengthy meetings in order to resolve issues of contention. It appeared to me that the likely course of action from this point was further withdrawal of Lihirian women from the role of organising the work of Tutorme.

4 This was to be based on the design of houses built by LMC within villages as part of their village development scheme. These houses are high-set wooden constructions, with a number of internal rooms, but no bathroom facilities.

It was at this point, in early 2002, that the opening ceremony for the Petztorme and Tutorme buildings began to be planned, through the Advisory Committee of Tutorme and the Executive of Petztorme. Even in the weeks leading up to the opening celebration, relations were poor, and the expatriate manager of Tutorme was concerned that the celebrations were going to be a complete failure. Instead, the opening was one of the more memorable occasions in Londolovit township.

Sensual feasting and *sa ngat*

The opening celebration for the Petztorme and Tutorme buildings was no small affair. Lihirian women's leaders, following Lihir custom, planned the opening as a *karot*, a major event comprising the gathering of many people, the contribution of dances by those coming to the feast, and the consumption of pork. Each ward on Lihir had provided feasting food for the opening including pigs, and, as is the custom on Lihir, each contribution of a pig was accompanied by a dance (*a ngues*, or, in Neo-Melanesian Tok Pisin, *singsing*). *Karot* are typically the scene for the transformation of relationships. The various mortuary rituals (*Mbiektip*, *Pkepke*, *Tunkanut*), opening of new men's houses (*Imaziarib*), and major church celebrations (such as confirmation; see Hemer 2011) are all *karot*, and perform a shift in relations, such as the movement of a person from childhood to adulthood, from life to death, or the transference of rights in land (Hemer 2013).

The sensorial aspects of this feast link it to previous *karot*, and hence provide participants with the situational guides for feeling rules. Some *karot*, such as *Pkepke*, are characterised by the singing of the sad *yiargnen* songs that mark mourning, and either slow dances or none at all. This *karot*, however, had much more in common with the noisy, bustling *Tunkanut*, where debts to the deceased are finished, people feel relieved, and new relationships between young people are kindled. The feeling rules for *karot* such as this are to be happy (*sa ngat*), evoked by the vigorous dancing, the upbeat music and colourful decorations.

Like many *karot*, this event was spread over two days. The first day, a Friday, was the more low-key, with tours of the two buildings, a fashion parade of garments made by Tutorme, speeches by the President of Petztorme and by the President of the New Ireland Women's Council, and singing by many choirs. Lunch was provided by the local catering company, NCS [Niolam Catering Services], paid for by Petztorme Women's Association. This first day was particularly aimed at the Seventh Day Adventist members of Petztorme and Tutorme, who would not be able to attend the final day due to religious restrictions.

The final day was a sensual feast. Thousands of people attended, crowding the area at the small boat harbour. Security working for the mining company had hoped to control the area with both barricades and their presence, with dances carefully organised

to occur on the field area behind the buildings one at a time. Yet instead the day took on a life of its own, with two or three dances on at any one time, positioned between the buildings or on the road in front of them, and none in the field. In the afternoon, the area was packed tightly with people surrounding these dances, as new dancers marched into the area to begin, and women of the organising committee walked around each dance to welcome it with shell money and calls of '*A ginas!*' ('Happiness!') or '*Berksien!*' ('Sisters!'). This movement and crowding is in sharp contrast to the empty stillness of the area normally, and is characteristic of feasting in Lihir.

Visually, the day was a spectacle, and Lihirian women were on show. During the tours, visitors were treated to a visual history of Tutorme in photographs, and displays of the clothes and goods they had made. Once again there was a fashion parade of garments made by Tutorme, modelled by Lihirian women and members of the township. Then there were the dance performances: the male Lipuko culture group were painted half in red and half in white, with beaten bark pants; other dance performances were by groups in brightly coloured *meri*-blouses, or dressed in matching *laplaps* with colourful decorations of dyed feathers. There was a total of twenty-nine performances across the two days by men's and women's groups, marking the significance of this event.

The smells of feasting are quite distinctive, and arise from a mixture of cooked yams and sweet potato, cooked pork, the wilted leaves used to cover the ground ovens, and the heady scents of the herbs used by people for decoration.

Odors lend character to objects and places, making them distinctive, easier to identify and remember. (Tuan 1977:11)

These scents are in the air before the food is fully cooked, but strengthen as the ground ovens are opened. *Karon* (*Euodia hortensis*) and *zingil*, a local herb that smells like a cross between basil and marjoram, are used for decoration, and give off strong scents as people brush against one another in the crowded feasting area. For this feast, *karon* was worn by members of the organising group including myself; it is said to demonstrate that one is *sa ngat*, or happy. For people at the feast, these scents link this event to ones they have attended in the past.

Food is crucial to the definition and transformational aspects of a *karot*. As for most *karot*, for this feast, groups that provided a traditional dance (*a ngues*) also brought at least one pig. These groups tended to be either male or female, and were village-based, rather than clan-based as is the case for many feasts. Each ward in Lihir also provided a range of vegetable foods, mostly yams, mami and sweet potatoes. This food was cooked in large ground ovens, and during the final day was distributed to all ward groups, who then subdivided the food for all those attending. There was plenty of food, a crucial sensorial aspect for creating a memory of this feast as an efficacious event (Eves 1996).

Like many *karot*, this feast was characterised by the sounds of music and song. There were many choirs for the two days, and the organising committee sang a song specifically written for the event, which contained a line stating: 'Petztorme, Tutorme, arise and join together; to raise the name of Lihir, we will be happy'. One of the choirs sang condemning domestic violence. The music was generally upbeat, with the use of *kundu* drums, bamboo clappers, and even electric guitars in one performance. The use of conch shells was avoided, as these signal sadness. As Wood and Smith state, 'musicians actively create emotionally charged contexts' (2004:537). This *karot* was clearly a time for celebration: this was a distinct break with the anger and withdrawal that had characterised the previous months.

In key sensorial ways, this event was a *karot*, and one which was celebratory. The crowds, smells, feast food, dances, songs and music evoked *sa ngat*. People's behaviour reflected this feeling: towards the end of the final day of feasting, there were shouts and laughter as members of the organising committee started a spontaneous dance. This included both Lihirian and expatriate women who had been at odds for months and even in the days leading up to the feast. The sensorial aspects of the feast had accomplished the social emotion work needed to evoke feelings which were appropriate to this event. I also joined in and we all boogied around between the Petztorme and Tutorme buildings to some music while the crowd watched. We were elated at how well the event had gone, and partially exhausted after months of planning.

While clearly linked to other *karot*, this feast was in other ways unique and prompted new understandings of Lihirian women. In verbal terms, in speeches, this event was on the one hand dedicated to a celebration of Christian togetherness and blessing; on the other hand, it was a platform for talking about women's roles, and the relationship between women and men. Hence Bishop Ambrose Kiapseni of New Ireland Province held an outdoor church service, and then blessed both buildings while we sang *Bless this House*. There was a speech by a Lihirian woman who thanked God for this opportunity, and then argued that Lihirian women could contribute more to communities than just housework. Sir Anthony Siaguru, Papua New Guinea statesman and member of the Board of Lihir Gold, gave a speech arguing that men should be more supportive of women. Margaret Elias, secretary for the Department of Labour and Employment, talked about women's role at the National level in Papua New Guinea and argued that men should not beat their wives, and then she cut the ribbon to officially open the buildings. Such public statements about women's roles and domestic violence were unprecedented in Lihir, and clearly marked this out as a women's feast. All the organisers, or *hukarot*, were women, a distinguishing feature of this feast.

Many sensorial aspects of this *karot* linked it to past *karot* and to feeling rules which evoke *sa ngat* or happiness; however, particular verbal and organisational aspects challenged accepted understandings of Lihirian women. On the final day itself, it was

clear that there was some process of transformation underway: that is the core work of all *karot*, and is particularly highlighted through the killing and consumption of pigs. Feasting in Papua New Guinea is well understood to be more than simply a gathering with food, and scholars have consistently noted the work that feasts do in processes of social reproduction and transformation (for the New Ireland context, see Bolyanatz 2000; Brouwer 1980; Eves 1996; Foster 1995; Wagner 1986). Sensorial aspects of feasting are crucial to these transformations, as Eves argues, particularly in terms of the sense of fullness and overeating for the Lelet area.

Just what aspect of social relations was being changed in this context was unclear, however. At the feasting, Lihirian women clearly demonstrated their capacity to be united and organise a major event. This directly contradicted the accusations often levelled at women by Lihirian men that they cannot co-operate. They were supported at this event by both the mining company through its presence, including the Board of Lihir Gold, and by Lihirian men through both their presence and their contributions of dancing and food. These factors, and the open statements about male-female relationships, suggested to me that there might be a transformation of gender relationships in Lihir following this event. It was only in the months following this event that it became apparent that this was not the case.

Post-feast open conflict

In the weeks following the opening celebrations, there seemed to be a shift from the former state of *mus*, or simmering withdrawal, to one of engagement. Things appeared to be functioning well. Petztorme and Tutorme were located near each other at the small boat harbour. The committee that had functioned to plan the celebrations was retained as the Advisory committee to Tutorme. Women continued to attend training at Tutorme, with some 200 being trained on domestic or industrial sewing machines in 2000-01. Some women gained employment with Tutorme, and were filling contracts for the public or for LMC (for example, making curtains or embroidering names on shirts). Petztorme, meanwhile, was busy with its income-generating projects, such as the market in Londolovit town, and by mid-2002 had some PNG K50 000 in the bank. With the spatial linking of Petztorme and Tutorme, there was an expectation that social relations would mirror this.

Yet all was not well (Macintyre 2003:130). The Women's section of LMC remained located in the Community Relations office away from the small boat harbour. While it had occasional access to a car, both Petztorme and Tutorme did not, which hampered their efforts to work together. Although Petztorme and Tutorme had been co-located, this did not seem to signal similar shifts in relationships. Petztorme leaders continued to feel that they did not have a significant input into organisational issues in Tutorme.

While the Advisory Committee of Tutorme had once functioned as a decision-making entity to which the Co-ordinator reported, from 2002 the Advisory committee only provided general advice on cultural matters related to training and sewing, such as the days or hours that women were available. It became an informal committee, with no Chair, no Secretary and no minutes recorded. In the four months following the opening celebrations, there was only one meeting. Instead, decision-making powers from 2002 were held by a Financial Management Committee largely composed of LMC representatives and the Co-ordinator of Tutorme, with two Lihirian women present in their roles as employees of Tutorme or of the LMC Women's Section.

Lihirian women privately spoke of their anger (*lil tua*) at the direction that Tutorme had taken. *Lil tua* is the expected response to what is perceived as the denial of social relationships and mutual obligations (Hemer 2013). In this case, women felt that there was an obligation for LMC representatives and expatriate members of the Financial Management Committee to share knowledge and decision-making powers about Tutorme. Instead, women felt excluded from knowing about the financing of the Centre and about its plans for the future, despite it being expressly for their benefit. Unlike with the situation before the opening celebrations, however, this *lil tua* did not result in *mus*: instead, it became open conflict.

Lil tua can lead to a number of courses of action. Some of these actions seem indirect, and *mus* is one of these, as was seen before the opening celebrations for the Petztorme and Tutorme buildings. Other somewhat passive actions associated with *lil tua* are *eretek*, a form of barbed joking at someone else's expense, and *tetnge piel*, or gossip. Both *eretek* and *tetnge piel* are ways of expressing anger such that the object of the anger may become aware of a critique of their behaviour without being directly confronted. While there was some gossip about the state of Tutorme and the actions of the Co-ordinator prior to the opening celebrations, most angry action was in the form of *mus*. What was seen after the feasting, however, were more direct forms of angry action. This was not in the form of violence (*eresas*), which is one possible way of expressing *lil tua*, but instead was a public critique.

About two months after the opening celebrations, Lihirian women held a meeting at the Petztorme building and discussed courses of action. They resolved, at that meeting, to call for the sackings of both the expatriate female Co-ordinator of Tutorme, and the Lihirian male Manager of the Business Development Section of LMC. They believed that both were not working in a frank and sincere manner in the best interests of Lihirian women. There was concern that the current status and future of Tutorme was being concealed, and that there was a lack of input into decision making about the Centre. They drafted the letters, a group of women present signed them, and they sent them to the mining company.

At the same meeting, the option of placing a *golgol* (or, in Tok Pisin, *gorgor*) on the gates of the Tutorme building was discussed. This would effectively shut down the operations of the Centre. In Lihir, a *golgol* is a ginger plant that is tied onto or around objects to prohibit use or action of those objects. While when tied to things that are in the process of being made or built it signals the need to stop work and negotiate, when tied to trees it prohibits use of their fruit. There is a clear understanding in Lihir that, in order to be able to place a *golgol* on a tree, garden or building, one needs to believe that one is the rightful owner of these things; if that is not the case, one is liable to a fine of a pig. Hence the women discussing the possibility of placing a *golgol* on the Tutorme building were making a clear ownership claim — ownership that was earned through the performance of *kastam* work at the opening celebrations. These two forms of public critique were aimed at clearly expressing the women's anger, while trying to change the situation or gain some level of control over it.

Despite the shift from simmering withdrawal to actions of open conflict, there was no satisfactory resolution of the conflict surrounding Tutorme. The *gorgor* was placed on Tutorme, and remained for some four months. During this time, LMC investigated the role of the Lihirian female leader of the Women's section in potentially instigating and encouraging the conflict. It did not remove either the Co-ordinator of Tutorme or the Manager of the Business Development section; nor did it engage more with Lihirian women. Eventually, the leader of the Women's section resigned to more fully support Lihirian women. Hence, as a strategy, open conflict was a failure due to the lack of political power of Lihirian women in the face of a multinational mining company. Yet this does not detract from the analysis of the role of sensual feasting in transforming Lihirian women's relationship to the space at the small boat harbour, and the emotional tone and actions of Lihirian women.

Conclusion

Prior to the sensual feasting commemorating the opening of the Petztorme and Tutorme buildings, it was clear that relationships among Lihirian women, and between them and mining company representatives, had particular spatial and emotional dimensions. Spatially, there was separation among the different women's groups, Petztorme, Tutorme and the Women's Section, and this separation caused concern. Emotionally, there was considerable anger expressed in the form of *mus*, or simmering withdrawal. *Mus* is, in fact, a lack of sensorial engagement with the target of the anger, and hence the spatial, emotional and sensorial aspects of relationships at this time were characterised by separation.

With the opening celebrations, there was a clear shift in spatial and sensorial organisation, with a bustling and crowded small boat harbour that was sensorially enriched by the sights, smells, sounds and tastes of feasting. These changes evoked

transformations in the emotions of Lihirian women, particularly those women of the Advisory or organising committees. Happiness — *sa ngat* — was expressed through statements, through decoration and through spontaneous dance. The feast was highly successful in achieving this emotional shift, and in the recognition of the efforts of Lihirian women through Petztorme and Tutorme.

While the sensorial and spatial transformations inherent in the feast passed — the area became quiet and uncrowded once again — the effects of this shift remained. Lihirian women did not return to their former state of *mus*. Instead they held greater expectations of co-operation and control; when this was not forthcoming they were able to express their anger in more direct forms, having earned this right through the transformative spatial and sensual properties of their *karot*.

Feeling rules are not just relevant to an individual's emotional state in particular situations. While for Hochschild, her focus was on an individual measuring their feelings against a set of rules, and then individually working to shape appropriate emotion, in the case above, feeling rules constrained women's ability to directly express anger to people in positions of power or with greater social status. Advisory Committee meetings were formal spaces with a subdued atmosphere. Women needed to follow the often unspoken rules regarding addressing a meeting through the Chair. This constrained their ability to disagree, and encouraged the experience of anger as *mus*. The sensual feasting, once again, carried its own feeling rules regarding the requirement to be, and express, happiness. The feasting also worked as a social form of emotion work not only to produce this happiness, but also then to allow women to express anger more directly in the months following by changing women's status through ownership of space.

Rather than rely on cognitive, bodily or expressive means to achieve emotion work as Hochschild argued is the case for individuals, social emotional work, I would suggest, relies on sensorial elements. These sensorial elements, such as movement and crowding, odours and flavours, sounds and music, are able to impact upon groups of people: they are shared experiences. Hochschild uses the example of being sad at funerals as a feeling rule (1983:63-8). But how is it that we know we should be sad at a funeral? At least partially it is by culturally accepted sensorial cues through particular styles of dress, of music, perhaps processions, and flowers. These sensorial elements evoke the emotions for both individuals and groups in a way that need not be consciously known. Events such as funerals or feasts do the emotion work sensorially for the groups of people who attend these social situations to ensure they comply with feeling rules.

Yet feeling rules should also not be seen as static and given. Clearly, the rules for social situations shift over time, and with the particularities of any given situation. So there are funerals which convey a more celebratory atmosphere than usual, or are more

formal. Some deaths carry more weight of sadness than others. Shifts in feeling rules are marked by sensorial shifts in the social situations, and such sensorial shifts provide cues or evoke the appropriate feelings, as well as their intensity and duration. This can be seen in the case study in this chapter through the changes in women's right to openly express hostility.

Postscript

On my return to Lihir in 2011, I found that the Tutorme building at the small boat harbour had been condemned and abandoned. I knew that the Co-ordinator had left Lihir in 2005, and, as women had predicted and feared, Tutorme's continued existence was unsustainable without the driving force of the Chair of the Advisory Committee and the Co-ordinator. The industrial and domestic sewing machines, bought with LMC money, were stored in shipping containers in front of the building. While there was some talk of reinvigorating the Tutorme Sewing Centre, it seemed unlikely in the short term. While Lihirian women were unsuccessful in acting to gain control of Tutorme in 2002, their exclusion from knowledge and decision making clearly had longer-term consequences.

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