This is a less formal version of a longer research article entitled *Human flourishing and extractive led development: “The mine will give me whatever I like”*, co-authored by Charles Roche, Nawasio Walim, Howard Sindana, and the Wafi and Watut Communities. It is paired with another article *Extractive Dispossession: “I am not happy our land will go, we will have no better life”*. Article numbering relates to the original article, which is an academic and referenced version. Further information and copies of are available from Charles, via charles.roche@murdoch.edu.au or phone +6145901714 or Howard on +675 7141 0311.

Dispela em i sotpla ripot blong wok painim aut em Gutpela Sindaun na rausim risos long nem bilong divelopmen: “Main bai givim mi wanem samting mi laikim”, husat i raitim buk: Charles Roche, Nawasio Walim, Howard Sindana na manmeri long Wafi na Watut komuniti. Displa ol i bungim wantaim narapla hap rait Kamautim, Rausim Risos bilong arapla: “Mi no hamamas graun bilong mipela bai go, mipela bai nogat gutpla laip”. Kopi blong stori i stap long Charles, long charles.roche@murdoch.edu.au o fone +6145901714 o Howard +675 71410311.

1. Introduction

Inspired by the Hengambu, Babuaf and Yanta communities, this research examines mining from the perspective of *gutpla sindaun* (human flourishing). Proceeding mining, the usefulness of human flourishing was developed in partnership with communities, where information was shared, and community views recorded in May/June 2018. The research is designed to help these, and other communities understand how mining will affect their *gutpla sindaun* so they can make informed decisions about mining that will affect them.

1. Tok igo Pas:

Wantaim sapot na luksave bilong Hengambu, Babuaf na Yanta komuniti, dispela wok painim aut/resets lulkuk igu insait moa long kamautim risos long nem blong divelopmen lulkuk igu insait long gutpla sindaun. Wantaim maining gutpla tingting blong Gutpela Sindaun kamap wantaim wokbung bilong komuniti we ol serim gutpla toksave iko kam (infomesen) na tingting bilong komuniti ibin go insait long rekot long May/June 2018. Dispela wok painim aut em bilong helpim dispela komuniti na arapela long luksave olsem wanem maining bai ken bagarapim gutpela sindaun blong ol na ol yet i ken mekim stretpela na kliapela disisen long maining bai kamapim sindaun blong ol long bihain taim olsem wanem.

2. Understanding extractive-led development

Miners, managers and researchers have understood for a long-time that along with benefits, there are many negative impacts, both directly (intentional) from mining and associated (immanent) with mining development. They understand that while the company and country make money from mining, poorer people and particularly women are more vulnerable and experience greater negative impacts than others. Poor mining outcomes for local communities have been documented at Porgera, Ramu and Hidden Valley mines as well as others in Papua New Guinea (PNG). This research uses *gutpla sindaun* to try and understand what will happen to communities if the Wafi-Golpu mine proceeds.

2. Luksave bilong rausim risos long nem bilong divelopmen

Maining lain, managers na researcher/save man bilong wok painim aut i luksave long taim igo pinis long sait bilong benefit, igat planti nogut blong main go strei kampani i min long kamapim nau yet bihainim main divelopmen. Ol luksave taim kampani na kantri mekim moni long maining, turangu manneri; na ol meri em ol isi tru long bungim hevi moa long ol arapela. Stori nogut bilong maining long asples manneri kamap ples klia long Porgera, Ramu na Hidden Valley main na arapela in sait long PNG. Dispela wok painimaut i yusim Gutpela Sindaun long train long luksave gut long wanem samting bai kamap long ol komuniti sapos Wafi-Golpu i lukim wok i kamap.

3. Human Flourishing and extractive led development

*Gutpla sindaun* is a Tok Pisin translation of human flourishing or eudemonia, it is a universal principle that applies all over the world, allowing us to see what mining would mean for local communities. Importantly, while a universal principle, human flourishing is understood and applied differently everywhere, meaning people themselves can only determine that gutpla sindaun, not by outsiders. We used a Western perspective to
help communities engage in the mining assessment processes in PNG. But there are many other ways of looking at the impacts of mining from non-Western cultures that are more similar to the Melanesian way, valuing nature, relationships between people and the land, God and religion. In other research with the Communities we have also explored negative impacts using extractive dispossession and next will use a more Melanesian perspective.

3. Gutpla sindaun na rausim risos kamapim senis
Gutpela Sindaun em wanpela bikpela as tingting olgeta hap blong ples graun save long em. Dispela i mekim mipela lukim wanem wok maining i min long lokol komuniti long Wafi eria. Gutpela Sindaun em wankain olgeta hap tasol olsem wanem Gutpela Sindaun ol manmeri save na kamapim senis i no wankain long olgeta hap. Gutpela Sindaun em ol manmeri yet bai mekim na kamapim ol yet stre t na i no bilong arapela autsait lain. Iagt planti rot bilong lulkuk long bagarap bilong maining na mipela yusim dispela long helimp ol komuniti. Narapela rot bilong lulkuk long maining kam long kastam na pasin bilong tingting bilong ol wait man wankain olsem Melanesian way, luksvae long nature, wokbung namel long manmeri na graun, God na Lotu. Long narapela wok painimaot wantaim ol komuniti mipela wok painimaot long nogut bilong rausim risos na rausim planti samting. Mipela i bin yusim lulkuk blong autsait lain long helimp komuniti mekim wok bilong skelim wok maining long PNG. Tasol iagt arapela rot long lusave long nogut bilong maining long pasin bilong arapela kastam wankain olsem bilong yumi Melanesian pasin na tingting. Givim lusave, namba na rispek long hanmak bilong nature, wokbung namel long manmeri na graun, God na Kristen bilip. Long narapela wok painimaot wantaim komuniti mipela lusave long nogut blong main kili na bagarapim gutpela kastam we yumi i no inap lukim na bihain bai yumi yusim Melanesian pasin na tingting.

There are six parts to human flourishing, it is; (1) objective, (2) inclusive, (3) individualized, (4) agent-relative, (5) self-directed, and (6) social. When we think of gutpla sindaun, this means: (1) that it is a valuable thing for all people; (2) that living well each day is a part of living a good life; (3) that gutpla sindaun is different for each person; (4) that each person must decide what is good for them; (5) that people have to be in control of their own lives, not have what happens on their land or to their community be decided by outsiders; (6) that people are social, where the village and community, the way things are now, the changes people want to see, are very important in deciding what individual people want.

Iagt sikspla hap bilong Gutpela Sindaun; (1) Objective – As tingting, (2) Inclusive – lusave, (3) Individualized - wanpela tasol, (4) agent relative - wok bung wantaim, (5) Self-Directed - Bel Kirap, (6) Social – Man-Meri/Pikinini. Taim yumi tingim gutpela sindaun, dispela i min olsem: (1) dispela em i wanpla samting i gat moa gutpla bilong en long olgeta lain manmeri; (2) olsem sindaun laif gut long wanwan de i stap olsem hap bilong gut pla sindaun long laif; (3) em olsem gutpela sindaun em i narakain long laif bilong wanwan manmeri; (4) em olsem wanwan manmeri mas mekim kamap tingting bilong ol yet wanwan long wanwan em i gutpla long laif bilong ol yet; (5) em olsem ol lain manmeri mas i kisim kontrol long han bilong ol yet; (6) em olsem ol manmeri ol i save bung hamamas iko ikam, long wanem hap ples na komuniti ol i stap long en, ol samting nau i stap, ol senis ol manmeri i laikim long lukim mas kamap, em ol i bikpla tumas long bai skelim tingting long wanem wanwan lain manmeri i laikim long en.

A large mine, like Wafi-Golpu does not encourage gutpla sindaun because the plans for mining are all about what is good for the company (Newcrest and Harmony). These mining companies make decisions in Australia and South Africa based on following regulations, reducing costs and making more money. Their decisions are not focused on the gutpla sindaun of local communities, which is more focused on the health of communities and relationships between people, the land and their God.

Bikpela main olsem Wafi-Golpu i no sapotim gutpela sindaun long wanem plen blong main em blong gutpela blong kampani (New Crest na Harmony) tasol. Dispela maining kampani mekim disisen long Australia na South Africa pinis bihainim lo bilong daunim kos-prais na mekim moa moni. Disisen bilong ol i no sut long gutpela sindaun blong papagraun wea lusave moa long helt bilong komuniti na gutpela wok bung namel long ol lain manmeri, graun na God blong ol.

4. Methodology
The research was conducted in communities near and downstream of the proposed Wafi-Golpu mine in May and June 2018. The emphasis was on talking to people who felt excluded by the assessment process due to remoteness, a lack of accessible information and little opportunity to participate in discussions or decision-
making. We deliberately engaged women who are often excluded from mining decision-making and denied a fair share of benefits.

4. Ol Rot na Pasin bilongmekim wok
Wok painim aut or resets ibin kamap insait long ol komuniti i stap arere na igo daun long Wara Wafi we main bai kamap, dispela wok resets kamap long May na June 2018. Dispela lukluk moa igo long toktok long manneri husat i pilim ol i no i stap insait long wok skelim long wanem ol i stap longwe, nogat toksave klia (infomesen) na liklik sans long bung na mekim disisen. Mipela igat bkpela bel kirap long wok wantaim meri we plenty taim ol i no save i stap insait long bung blong main mekim disisen nogat benefit blong ol.

5. Gutpela Sindaun
Ol komuniti toktok planti long Gutpela Sindaun. Ol i soim ples klia strongpla laik, laif, sindaun, na wokabaut bilong ol wantaim graun bilong ol, ples bilong ol, na ol pasin tumbuna bilong ol, God na lotu pasin na laif bilong ol;

These responses, which were typical of those focused on the current situation in communities, indicated strong values attached to: tradition; ‘free’ environmental goods such as water, food and housing; quiet; sharing; peace and safety in the village; religion; respect and unity; access to forest commons and the strength and importance of living in community. There were also two longer, listed responses from different villages that were remarkably similar and came across as quite poetic;

“Our livelihood in the past till today was very good it has good water it has good houses it has good forest it has plenty of food and animals it has good ways of respect and also Christian here everything that happen is making us happy for our gutpela sindaun.” “Our life is good, our spiritual life is good plenty of food, very good river, it good land good forest, full of animals everything is good and close to us and makes our living nice and very good.” “Has plenty of fish and also full of gold good houses our food like taro and banana makes us big and strong, good land, good forest, full of animals everything is good and close to us and makes our living nice and very good.”
Ol displa bekim, em i soim ples klia long wanem ol lukluk i sut stret long sindaun insait long ol komuniti, em tokaut strong long pasin bilong tingting i pas wantaim; pasin tumbuna; fri samting olsem wara, kaikai na haus slip; ples i nogat nois; serim samting igo ikam; belisi na gutpla banis bilong laif insait long ol ples; lotu pasin; rispek na pasin bilong bung wantaim; igat pasin bilong yusim bikbus wantaim, na ol strong na bikpla lukluk bilong sindaun insait long komuniti. I bin igat tupla longpla, lista bilong ol toktok bekim i bin kam long ol narapla ples em olsem ol wankain na i bin kam olsem sampla kain tingting na toktok i soim lukluk bilong ol long wanem ol semis i kamap nau long ai bilong ol na wanem kain laif bipo ol i bin sindaun olsem wanem long en;

“Laif bilong mipla long bipo ikam inap nau em gutpla tru.” “Igat gutpla wara, igat gutpla haus, igat gutpla bus, igat plenty kaikai na abus.” “I save gat ol gutpla pasin bilong rispek na tu long pasin Kristen long hia wanem ol samting i kamap i mekim mipla i hamamas long gutpla sindaun bilong mpla.” “Laif bilong mpla i gutpla, spirit na lotu laif bilong mpla i gutpla, planti kaikai, gutpla bikpla wara igat planti pis, na tu pulap long gol, ol gutpla haus, ol kaikai bilong mpla olsem tao na banana i mekim mipla bikpla na strong, gutpla graun, gutpla bik bus pulap long ol wel abus, olgeta samting i gutpla, na klostu long mpla, na i mekim laif na sindaun bilong mpla i nais na gutpla stre.”

Together, these responses identify the connection between environment and people, made clear in references to water, land/forest, houses, food (protein, animals, taro and banana), which are further reflected in comments that identify closeness, strength and abundance. The importance of relationships, apparent in daily village life is clear in their references to tradition, relationships, respect and unity. Though having heard, participated in and witnessed the conversations ourselves, it is clear that these words cannot fully describe the collectiveness and intensity of community, together with a connectedness to the natural world, that exists in the villages.

Olgeta wantaim, ol dispela bekim i kamapim ples klia wanem samting i bungim graun, bus, na wara na ol lain manmeri, i mekim kamap klia piksa igo long ol wara, graun/bikbus, ol haus slip, kaikai (abus, wel abus, tao na banana), em ol i soim moa insait long ol toktok i kamapim ples klia dispela bung pas, strong na pulap planti blong en. Bikpela tingting tru bilong pasin poroman, stap ples klia insait long ples laif em i stap klia stre taim ol i mekim toktok igo insait long ol pasin tumbuna bilong ol, pasin bung poroman, rispek na pasin bilong bung wantaim. Maski mpla i harim pinis, sindaun bung toktok wantaim na lukim na harim stre t ol toktok igo ikam mpla yet, em i klia stre olsem olgeta dispela toktok bai noken soim piksa bilong bungim na givim strong bilong ol komuniti, wantaim dispela bung pas wantaim long dispela graun, em i stap laif insait long ol ples wanwan.

Sometimes people’s beliefs covered up their concerns, where a fatalistic trust in God ensuring good outcomes meant that people did not talk about deeply felt anxieties and coming changes. This means that the usual secular approach to understanding impacts from mining could overlook or misread genuine fears and concerns;

“We are concerned about our future. The pastor told us we will be well protected by God, under God’s protection, services we like but I am worried about the bad impacts.”

Sampla taim bilip tingting bilong ol man-meri i save karamapim planti tingting wari, wea displa wanpla trupla tingting long God bai inapim olgeta gutpla kaikai bilong bilip bilong ol i soim ples klia olsem ol manmeri i no bin toktok na tokaut gut long ol tingting wari bilong ol wantaim wanem ol samting bai kamap long dispela senis bai kamap long laif bilong ol. Long dispela as em olsem wanem tingting bilong graun long go bungim wanem ol kisim save gut ol gutpla na nogut bai kamap long wok bilong maining i ken abrusim o lukim krangi ol trupla poret tingting na wari;

“Mpla i wari na tingting planti long bihain taim sindaun bilong mpla. Pasto i tokim mpla olsem God bai was na banisim mpla, aninit long lukaat na banis bilong God, ol sevis mpla laikim tasol mpla i wari stre t long ol nogut pasin na hevi bai kamap bungim mpla.”

Other people the expressed their disappointment at poor services;

“No road, no health center, no school, no doctor and medicine” “No paid teacher, no good aid post, not enough medicine and doctors and nurses, we find it hard when women need to give birth, it is a big problem for us”. “We are living in the big bush; we need to get the road to connect us. “We want our place to be a better place to live, the government has not brought services to us “We live in the thick forest where no road for access, but life is good. And we also need the road.”
Ol arapela manmeri tokaut long hevi blong services i no gutpela;

“Nogat rot, haus sik, nogat skul, nogat dokta na nogat marasin.” “Nogat tisa, nogat gutpla liklik haus marasin, nogat inap marasin na ol dokta na ol nes, mipla i save painim hat tru taim ol meri i laik karim pikinini, dispela em i wanpla bikpla hevi blong mipela.” Mipela sindaun insaIt long bikpla bus; mipela i laik streIt long rot mas bungim mipla.” “Mipela laikim ples bilong mpla i mas kamap wanpla gutpla ples long stap long en, gavman i no bringim ol sevis i kam long mpla.” “Mipela stap insaIt long bikbus i pas tru wea nogat rot bilong kar i go long en, tasol laif em i gutpela. Olsem na mipela laikim rot blong kar.”

So, people wanted development, but they were anxious and unsure about the negative impacts from mining and what would happen to traditional ways, families and the environment. From a comparative human flourishing perspective, several factors illustrate how the usual Western style of development is different from local values. The villagers placed a high value on their traditional lifestyles, with their gutpla sindaun dependent on a healthy environment and access to basic environmental needs. Just as important were community relationships where good relations built on respect and unity were a central part of gutpla sindaun. Religion was also very important with God being a fundamental part of daily life and an evident respect for religious leaders in matters of spirituality, daily life and development. These connective and collective values cannot be provided as benefits from a mine, they are provided by healthy communities living their gutpla sindaun.

Olsem na, ol manmeri i laikim divelopmen (senis) tasol ol i tingting planti na ol i no klia gut long gutpla na nogut bilong wok maining bai kamapim long ol na wanem samting bai kamap long pasin tumbuna bilong ol, famili; na bus, graun, wara bilong ol. Long pasin bilong skelim lukluk bilong gutpla sindaun, sampla hap samting i soim piksa bilong tingting na pasin bilong ol wait man lai o auatui lain em i narakain long pasin na tingting bilong ol lain asples manmeri. Ol lain ples manmeri i putim antap tru luksave bilong ol long ol pasin tumbuna laiF bilong ol, kamapim ples klia gutpela sindaun bilong ol i stap gut wantaim gutpla bus long kisim na yusim isi tasol. Wankain tu long gutpela pasin i stap namel long manmeri wantaim pasin rispek na wok bung wantaim em as bilong gutpla sindaun. Lotu laif tu em bikpela samting wantaim God i stap nambawan long olgeta de na pasin bilong rispektim ol sios lida long wok bilong Spirit long olgeta pasin na divelopmen. Olgeta dispaI bilong wantaim pasin tingting bilong gutpla pasin em wok maining bai na inap long kamapim na givim olsem gutpla igo long ol manmeri, ol komuniti husat i stap gut ol tasol i ken mekim kamap dispela gutpela sindaun.

6. The future, mining and gutpla sindaun

When asked for initial reflections on gutpla sindaun many of the participants wanted to immediately talk about mining. After 40 years of exploration, many people could not see a future without mining, they spoke of waiting for the mine, though their ancestors neither fully understood the impact of mining, nor consented to mining. So, while they waited for the mine, they were also anxious about what it would mean for their communities.

6. Bihain taim bilong wok maining na gutpela sindaun

Taim ol i kisim askim bilong wanem stat tingting na lukluk antap long gutpla sindaun planti lain manmeri long bung i laikim streIt long kirapim toktok bilong wok maining hariap streIt. Bihain long 40 krismas olgeta long wok bilong wok maining i mekim wok painim ol samting long graun, planti manmeri i no nap lukim gut bihain taim sindaun bilong ol wantaim nogat wok maining moa, ol i toktok long ol i wait long wok maining bai mas kirap, maski ol tumbuna bilong ol i no biin kisim klia gutpla save long gutpla na nogut bilong wok maining, na tu ol i no klia long givim tok orait bilong ol long wok maining mas kirap. Olsem na, long taim ol i wok long weIt stap yet long wok maining bai kirap, ol i sindaun wantaim planti kainkain tingting krangi na wari olsem wanem tru bai ol komuniti ken kisim long dispela wok maining.

Often-participant comments about mining suggested naivety and expectation, with a common theme of having high hopes for mining despite knowing very little about mining. One young participant captured the sense of expectation and unknowing, saying; “I hear that mining will come to my community and I thought it would bring money and make life easy to live a good life – I don’t really know about mining.” This confusion about development was also apparent in conflicting beliefs where mining was going to make life good and easy while at the same time they identified already existing anxiety about future impacts and mine-related social breakdown. Some were very aware of what they didn’t know, one participant said; “…we have no educated men or women, we are hopeless and voiceless in the mining activities”. This was supported by others, which spoke of an absence of information and understanding, with one saying; “We really don’t know all about what is
mining.” Together these comments capture how a lack of information and the ability to interrogate it created a sense of powerlessness. Several participants identified the authors as the only source of independent information about the impact of mining on the community.

Planti taim-ol lain manmeri long bung i bin mekim planti ol toktok long wanem ol tingting ol i gat long en i tokaut olsem tingting sot na lulkuk bilong ol, wantsaim wanpla lulkuk bilong igat bikpla tingting i sindaun antap long wok bilong maining maski ol i negat wanpla gutpla save long wok bilong maining. Wanpla yangpla bilong ol lain manmeri long dispela bung i kisim tru tingting na lulkuk na pasin bilong i no luksave, em i tok; “Mi harim olsem wok maining bai i kam long komuniti bilong mi na mi ting olsem em bai bringim moni na mekim laif isi long stop long gutpla laif – mi no klia tumas long wok bilong maining.” Dispela faul tingting long divelopenmen wok i sanap ples klia long kainkain pait tingting bilip wea wok maining bai mekim kamap gutpla laif na isi long wankain taim tu ol yet i luksave ples klia kainkain tingting wari long bihain taim gutpla na nogut na wanem ol samting i pas wantaim wok maining bai ken kamapim bagarap long pasin sindaun bilong ol. Sampla long lain manmeri i save pinis long wanem ol samting ol i no save long en, wanpla bilong ol i tok; “mipela i nogat save man o meri, mipela i nogat olgeta na nogat nek na maus long toktok insait ol long wok bilong maining.” Dispela hap tok em ol arapla i sapotim tu, em i tokaut long nogat gutpla save na toktok igo ikam, wantaim wanpla moa i mekim tok tu olsem; “Mipela trutru i no save stret long wanem kain samting em wok maining.” Olgeta wantaim ol dispela toktok i kisim stret olsem i negat gutpla rot bilong toktok na save bai senis igo ikam na wanem stia o strong bilong kisim ol dispela tingting na save i kamapim pasin bilong nogat strong olgeta. Sampla ol lain manmeri i kamapim luksave olsem ol lain i raitim dispela ripot em ol displa lain tasol i kamapim ples klia olgeta tingting na toktok igo ikam long wanem tru ol gutpla na nogut bilong wok maining bai kamapim long ol komuniti.

Some people were very optimistic, seeing benefits and opportunities from mining associated development; “Mining project change gutpla sindaun – good road link.” “Mining must plan for our education from primary to university.” “When I have a good house, electricity and money it is a good life.” “WGJV sponsoring children school fee is gutpla sindaun.” “We will have to bake well and sell donuts and bread to earn cash income.” “We must have education so will help gutpla sindaun.”

Samples manmeri ol i bin soim strongpla na wanbel lulkuk blong ol long bihain laif na sindaun displa wok bilong ELD bai kamapim, long lulkuk blong displa ol kaikai na rot blong kisim ol gutpla blong displa wok maining we i bungim divelopenmen;

“Maining projek bai senisim gutpla sindaun – gutpla rot bai kamap.” “Maining mas plenim edukesen blong mipla long praimeri igo long yunivesiti.” “Taim mi gat gutpla haus, pawa na moni em i wanpla gutpla laif.” “WGJV bai sponsorim ol pikinini long skul fi em i gutpla sindaun.” “Mipla bai mas kukim gut ol donut na bret long salim na mekim moni” “Mipla mas kisim gutpla skul na save long helpim gutpla sindaun.”

At times, however, the belief in mining as the answer to all development needs was unrealistic and sure to leave the people disappointed; “Mining will bring everything into my life for my gutpla sindaun.” “From my view when the mine operates I will have money and will travel. I will request WGJV to help my school. The mine will give me whatever I like.”

Long sampla taim, maski olsem wanem, ol bilip tingting bilong wok maining olsem em i ansa bilong divelopenmen long mekim kamap em i no tru stret;

“Maining bai bringim olgeta samting ikam insait long laif bilong mi long gutpla sindaun bilong mi.” “Long lulkuk blong mi taim main i wok mi bai gat moni long mekim ol wokabaut na raun blong mi. Mi bai askim WGJV long helpim skul blong mi. Main bai givim mi wanem samting mi laikim long en.”

There was also a clear recognition of existing and coming change;

“My life is connected with the environment and it makes my life really good, but today the mining come and change many things. Now I see that many things we should depend on is starting to leave us and the mining did nothing to support us.” “Western (development) model came and change the lifestyle of our gutpla sindaun, of our life.”

I bin gat klia luksave long ol wanem samting i stap pinis na wanem ol senis bai kamap bihain;
While the exact changes in the first statement are unspecified, they could simply reflect more general concerns over loss of traditions, modernity and globalization rather than specific mining impacts. But in an area of low development, the dominance of WGJV meant that it has become the virtual face - if not the actual cause - of change. The second statement identifies a distinct difference in development that speaks directly to the self-directed and individualized conception of gutpla sindaun. Neither positive nor negative about change, the statement identifies how the Western model of development will change local communities gutpla sindaun.

Long wankain taim yet ol dispela senis insait long nambawan ol hap tok i no stap ples klia yet, ol i ken kamapim lulkuk bek gen moa long ol bikpla tingting wari antap long lus bilong ol pasin bilong ples na tumbuna, igo insait long nupla pasin bilong laif na bikpla moa lulkuk na tingting bilong displa graun olgeta na maski long ol lulkuk bilong wanem ol gutpla o nogut bilong wok maining tasol. Tasol insait long wanpla hap ples bilong eria i nogat wanpla wok developmen, displa bos pasin bilong WGJV i ken soim olsem em yet i kamap giama pes – o sapos nogat em i kamap trtru mak bilong – ol dispela senis bai kamap. Dispela nambatu ol hap tok i kamapim ples klia wanpla narakain lulkuk insait long developmen em i toktok streng iogol wanpla na strengpla tingting i sut streng gutpla sindaun. Em i no gutpla streng o nogut streng long ol dispela senis, dispela hap tok o ol tingting i kamapim ples klia ol tingting na pasin ol wait man lain i save yusim long en em i ken senisim ol lokol komuniti wantaim ol gutpla sindaun bilong ol.

Then there were others who clearly identified existing and future loss and anxiety from mining, saying:

“Our living today is we are connected to every environment which make our living good. Today we are afraid that WGJV will come and destroy everything and everything will leave us.” “I am not happy our land will go, we will have no better life. “The mine will bring more outsiders into the community. The youths will get drunk, marriage breakup, men will bring sickness (STD’s, HIV Aids) to us women. The young people will not participate or go to church.” “The bad side of the development is here for us to worry about the environment.” “We fine today, mine will destroy us.” “WGJV came and took every good thing already.”

Na i bin igat ol arapla husat i bin soim ples klia olsem igat ol samting i stap pinis na bhain bai gat bikpla lus pasin na wari tingting planti bai kamap moa long wok maining, ol i tok;


These statements cover future, present and past, with varying focus on religion, marriage, disease, land and life. Together they illustrate a situation of great stress and anxiety where a strong sense of powerlessness and voicelessness evident during the sessions is suggested in the resigned acceptance of impacts over which they have little control.

Olgeta displa toktok i karamapim taim bai kam bhain, long displa taim tu, na long bipo taim wantaim, wantaim kainkain lulkuk long pasin lotu, marit laif, sik bilong bodi, graun na laif em yet. Olgeta bungim wantaim i soim piksa olsem wanpla kain taim bilong bikpla hevi bilong tingting na wari wea wanpla strongpla nogut tingting bilong nogat pawa o strong na nogat nek na maus bilong tokaut i stap ples klia long taim bilong ol toktok igo kam em i soim insait long tingting bilong nogat strong moa na ol i kisim tasol wanem ol bagarap bai kamap antap long wane long laif na sindaun bilong ol na ol i nogat kontrol long en.
Others identified general concerns, attributed to a lack of development despite 40 years of mining exploration activities in their area:

“We are living in the big bush; we need the road to connect us.” “Religion and faith will go away.” “Our way of living goes worse.” “No good health centers for women delivering babies, mother dies, and child dies.” “Today we still have no school or health (facilities), our road is no good and it still need maintenance.”

Several of the young men knew of potential problems from mining, indicating a general awareness of some of the many problems between mining companies and host and downstream communities in PNG, saying:

“I see in Madang what mining do to landowners, then relocate them and live in tent ... I really don’t want that to happen in my village.” “I saw in Ok Tedi the big mining pollution fallout because of sedimentation build-up. With Wafi-Golpu they must make a good place for their waste.” “I see the biggest pollution at Hidden Valley and mining problems. I don’t really like that same thing to happen in my village and affect my life and connection to the environment.”

The was also strong concerns about the impact on marriage, relationships and the impact on women;

“Mining is good and bad, the good is school, health and road. The bad is man losing his wife, marry other women, get drunk and getting STDs/HIV Aids.” “Marriage will breakup, men will misuse money.” “In the past women marry inside community, but last year, 2017, five outside men marry into the community.”

Together the participants’ views paint a complex picture, where development is sought but also feared, indicating a high level of mis-understanding, made worse by a lack of information. Most participants were focused on immediate needs or problems, meaning that communities were still focused on overcoming today’s needs rather than basing their responses on a long-term understanding of impact and opportunity from the Wafi-Golpu mine.

Olgeta wantaim ol displa lain manmeri na lukluk na tingting blong ol i kamapim wanpla kain hatpla piksa, wea wok divelopmen ol i laikim tru tasol ol i gat bikpla poret wantaim, ol i soim stret wanpla bikpla hap mak bilong
krangi tingting i kisim strong long kainkain sot bilong givim na kisim gutpla na trupla toksave. Planti ol lain manmeri long bung i lukluk moa long wanem ol sot bilong ol long displa hap taim tasol, as bilong em olsem ol komuniti ol yet i lukluk yet tru long abrusim ol sot bilong displa hap taim na ol i no putim ol tingting bilong ol long ol wanem samting bai kamap long bihain taim luksave bilong gutpla na nogut na wanem ol arapla rot bilong kisim helpim bai kam long Wafi-Golpu wok main.

7. Discussion
This action-research was undertaken with and for communities, with *gutpla sindaun* chosen as a more comprehensive way of understanding impacts than the usual management focused assessments processes, such as the EIS. It shows that the western model of extractive development is inconsistent and in conflict with local values and ways of being.

7. Toktok igo ikam
Displa wok kamap-painimaut i bin go wantaim na bilong ol komuniti, wantaim *gutpla sindaun* i bin kisim luksave olsem wanpla bikpla rot bilong luksave gut long ol hevi antap moa long pasin bilong lukuaim na skelim ol wok olsem EIS. Em i soim olsem displa autsait piksa bilong kamanaim na rausim wok dvelopmen i no kamap gut tumas long mak bilong en na insait long pasin bilong kamapim hevi wantaim pasin blong tingting na mekim wok na pasin bilong ol asples lain.

7.1 Gutpla Sindaun and ELD
The communities demonstrated that the concept of *gutpla sindaun* was useful in helping them understand the less talked about impacts from mining – that given the opportunity, participants, especially women, spoke up strongly for themselves. With *gutpla sindaun* giving participants an enlarged perspective so they could understand what mining would mean to their lives and not just focus on what was important to the WGJV.

7.1 Gutpla Sindaun na ELD
Displa bel kirap wok na tingting blong ol komuniti i soim tu olsem displa kain tingting bilong *gutpla sindaun* i moa gutpla na i helpim ol long kla na luksave gut moa long ol hevi wok maining i ken kamapim – taim ol kisim displa sans long gat tok long mekim, ol man-meri, na antap moa em ol meri yet i bin kirap sanap na mekim ol planti toktok long laik tru, na tingting blong ol stret. Wantaim gutpla sindaun em i givim ol lain man-meri wanpla bikpla kla rot stre long olsem ol yet ken luksave gut wanem kain ol hevi na bagarap na gutpla wok maining bai mekim stre long laif bilong ol na i no long lukluk long wanem samting i bikpla tru long WGJV tasol.

Participants clearly identified locally valued inclusive goods, services, virtues, ideals and relationships that are vital to daily life and the achievement of human flourishing. This enables those from other cultures to see how positive outcomes from mining can benefit, while impacts will diminish daily life. Perhaps most aptly summed up in the observation “WGJV came and took everything good already” a view, which counters the practical benefits WGJV, has delivered to communities. The sheer variety of comments, from positive to negative and from specific to philosophical illustrates how human flourishing must be individualized and agent relative. Making it clear that any attempt to deliver the usual development based on outsiders’ values would ignore diverse local values that differ not just from Western values, but also from each other.

Ol lain manmeri long bung i soim ples klia stre olsem ol samting long ples bilong ol yet, ol sevis, ol strong na bilip na wok poroman wantaim bilong ol em ol displa i strong na trupla long wanpla long wanwan de laif bilong ol na em i kaikai bilong gutpla sindaun. Displa i helpim ol arapla bilong arapla pasin tumbuna tingting long lukim olsem wanem bai gutpla kaikai bilong wok maining bai ken kamapim gutpla long ol, long wankain taim yet ol gutpla na nogut wantaim i ken daumim isisi laif long wanwan de. Ating planti i soim gut klia tingting insait long ol lukluk olsem “WGJV i kam na kisim olgeta gutpla pinis” em wanpla lukluk nau, wea i soim narapla satt bilong trupla kaikai bilong wok bilong WGJV, i bringim go pinis long ol komuniti. Displa stretpla ol kain toktok, i kam long stretpla na igo long nogut na i kam long wanpla kain tingting igo long bikpla hap tingting i soim wanpla kain piksa olsem wanem bai gutpla sindaun mas kamap olsem samting bilong wanwan man yet o bai bilong narapla lain man. Em i mekim kla olgeta olsem wanem kain tingting bilong bringim ol wok dvelopmen sindaun antap long tingting bilong ol autsait lain man wantaim tingting bilip bilong ol em bai no nap givim luksave blong em long ol pasin tingting bilong ol asples na em i narapla kain stre long pasin tingting bilong ol wait man, tasol em bai narapla kain olgeta long wanpla na arapla.
7.2 Human Flourishing

Human flourishing was chosen as a concept because it is both universal and specific, allowing communities the space to identify their own values, desirable goods and outcomes, and visions of the future. It is used in direct opposition to the overt management focus of problem identification and solutions that rob local peoples of control over their own lives. A process where transient and external actors make decisions with long-term ramifications for the communities, but of little consequence to themselves. There is no doubt that the 40 years of anxiously waiting for development has resulted in a culture where WGJV has become a seemingly unchallengeable authority. Somehow, whether deliberately or not, the process to date has robbed the community of voice and power, where they expect the decisions that will affect them to be made by others. Many were troubled by this and repeatedly sought information from the authors with regard to specific issues such as the value of gardens, resettlement, and house design and as the process by which values of graves and gardens were determined.

7.2 Gutpla Sindaun

Gutpla sindaun em ol i bin makim olsem wanpla tingting long wanem em i karamapim olgeta manneri bilong dispela graun na tu i sut stret long wanem kain ol lain manneri, em i larim ol komuniti dispela spes long painim na luksave long ol pasin tingting bilong bilong ol yet, ol gutpla kaikai bai kamap long en, na wantaim wanem ol lukluk bilong em, na arapla driman tingting na lukluk bilong taim bai kam bihain. Em ol i yusim insait long givim stia long bamim tingting bilong wok lukaut bilong skelim ol hevi na wanem rot blong kamapim gutpla ol rot bilong stretim ol hevi em ol displa i stilim strong bilong ol asples manneri long igat strong long kontrolim laif bilong ol yet. Wanpla rot bilong larim ol arapla lain ausait long mekim kamap ol tingting wantaim longpla taim gutpla bilong ol komuniti, tasol bai no nap kamap hevi long sait bilong ol. I nogat wanpla tubel tingting olsem displa 40 krismas long pasin bilong weit longpla taim tumas long wok developmen mas kamap i kamapim kaikai bilong pasin bilong tingting olsem WGJ i kamap wanpla kain bikpla birua samting wea yumi no nap salensim em. Long narapla sait, maski em i sut stret long en o nogat, displa wok i ron i kam inap nau em i stilim nek na maus bilong ol komuniti long autim tingting bilong ol, wea ol i lukluk tasol long ol tingting bai kamap long ol mas bihainim tasol em ol arapla lain bai mekim bilong ol. Planti lain manneri i wari tru na tingting planti long dispela kain pasin i kamap na ol i painim kainkain rot bilong kisim save long ol lain i raitim displa ripot wantaim wanem ol tingting i sut stret long ol samting i stap olsen ol strong bilong ol asples kain olsem, ol gaden kaikai, wanem ples o graun ol bai go sindaun long en, na ol kainkain haus slip, na wanem kain rot ol bai mas bihain long stretim ol ples matmat na ol gaden em ol bai mas skelim moa long en.

While the relationship between community and personal flourishing may be questioned by secular, individual and materially focused Western perspectives, it required little explanation in the communities we visited. Participants responded positively to examples from elsewhere, perhaps because Ubuntu, Buen Vivir and Samak Kawsay reflected similar sentiments to the Melanesian Way, and are also reflected in the preamble to the PNG constitution with its specific references to; integral human development, equality and participation, natural resources and PNG ways. Many comments identified connections and relationships, both human and non-human. It is vital these less visible social interactions are carefully protected and nurtured when planning for, designing, implementing or measuring outcomes and impacts from mining.

Long wankain taim tu pasin poroman namel long ol komuniti na wanwan pasin bilong gutpla sindaun bai gat askim i kam long ol arapla lain ausait olsem tu, wanwan yet na pasin bilong ol wait man lain na lukluk bilong ol long kain ol samting olsem, em i mas kamapim liklik tok klia bilong em insait long ol komuniti mipla i bing go bungim ol long en. Ol lain manneri long bung i bin bekim ol tok gut na street olsem bhainim ol sampla tok piksa i bin kamap long ol, kain olsem wanem Ubuntu, Buen Vivir na Samak Kawsay i soim piksa long ol wankain tingting long tingting na pasin Melanesia, na ol i soim bek tingting na pasin i stap long tok igo pas insait long mama lo bilong PNG na ol pasin bilong en. Planti ol toktok i kamapim ples klia ol tingting na pasin bilong poroman wantaim, long ol man tru na arapla samting i no gat laif long en. Em i wanpla bikpla samting olgeta displa ples klia pasin na tingting bilong pasin bilong bung wantaim i mas igat strongpla banis lukaut bilong ol na i mas igat gutpla pasin bilong lukautim na kamapim gut long taim bilong kamapim gutpla tingting bilong gutpla piksa, na mekim i kamap o soim sampla kain mak long ol kaikai bilong em na ol gutpla na nogut bai kamap long wok maining.

But perhaps the most immediately important result from using gutpla sindaun based engagement was the enlarged perspective it provided to participants to think about their own community. Rather than be constrained
by a focus on issues important to mine management and/or documented in the EIS; this expanded view allowed a much larger exploration of well being for individuals and communities. An expansion which empowered participants as they shifted focus from what the mine wanted and controlled to what they wanted for their own community, now and in the distant future.

Tasol dispela bikpla moa luksave i kamap long gutpla sindaun i kamapim bikpla lukluk em i soim igo long lain manneri long tingim ol komuniti bilong ol yet. Na maski long pasim ol yet long wanpla lukluk tasol long wanem ol samting ol i tingim osem em i bikpla long ol boslain bilong wok maining na/o ol toktok ol i pasim na putim long pepa insait long displa EIS; dispela bikpla skruim bilong lukluk bilong ol i larim wanpla rot bilong painim aut moa long gutpla bilong wanwan yet na ol komuniti bilong wantaim. Dispela skruim tingting em i givim moa pawa na strong long ol lain manneri taim ol i senisim lukluk bilong ol long wanem tingting bilong wok maining i laikim long en na laik kontrolim long en igo long wanem ol samting ol i laikim long en bilong ol komuniti bilong ol yet, long dispela hap taim nau na igo insait long ol taim bai kam bihaih.

7.3 Extractive led development at Wafi-Golpu
This research shows that after 40 years of waiting for mining, Communities are unable to see other development opportunities and, being relatively unaware of how profitable the Wafi-Golpu site is, had limited ambitions, such as roads, school and health center in relation to the massive wealth that exists in the mineral deposits on their land. This means that even the ‘usual” benefits of mining for local people are much less than they could be. A reality built on asymmetries of power, knowledge, influence and information that neither WFG nor the Government has managed to overcome. This uneven situation and relationship has reduced the ability of communities to participate properly in the mine project design (including alternatives), assessment and negotiations resulting in a flawed and inadequate process that delegitimizes any claim WFG or governments can make to the impacted communities giving free prior and informed consent.

7.3 Rausim risos kamapim senis long Wafi-Golpu
Dispela wok painimaut i soim osem bihaih long 40 krismas long weitim wok bilong maining long kirap, ol komuniti i no nap tru long lukim ol narapla dvelopmen wok na, osem ol i no klia na save osem wanem displa Wafi-Golpu ples bai kamapim kaikai bilong wok olsem wanem, wantaim liklik save na toktok long ol rot, skul na helt sena igo wantaim bikpla moni-kago samting wea i sinaun wantaim ol displa bikpla gol na kopa samting aninit long graun bilong ol. Dispela i minim osem ol wanem displa kaikai bilong ol wok maining bai igo long ol asples lain manneri bai liklik tru.
Samting tru i kamap insait long ol rot na mak bilong pawa, save, osem WFG o gavman i no bin lukaunit o menejim gut long kamapim gutpla na bikpla luksave. Displa wansait pasin o tingting na wokbung pasin i no gutpla na i daunim olgeta strong bilong ol komuniti long kam na bung na toktok gut insait long displa main projek wok kamap wantaim ol arapla wok bilong en tu long skelim gut na tromoi tingting na toktok igo ikam wea i kamapim sot na liklik rot wea i soim osem ol displa wok i no stret long ai bilong lo sapos wanem tingting na toktok WFG o gavman ol i mekim igo long ol lain manneri long ol displa ples osem ol i bin givim fri na klia tok orait na wanbel osem wok bilong maining i ken kamap long graun bilong ol.

Our final observation is that the process of securing community consent for the mine is flawed. Based on our community engagement, which occurred just weeks before the environmental impact statement (EIS) was released, it is clear that while anxious about impacts, the communities are ill-prepared and ill-equipped to understand the long-term outcomes of mining, let alone understand, or respond to, the assessment, approval and regulatory processes. This undermines the communities’ ability to leverage positive, intentional development outcomes and leaves the many risks from immanent development unacknowledged and unaddressed. Indeed, far from making a case for Wafi-Golpu to proceed, the twenty-four-chapter EIS report, its additional five attachments and twenty-six appendixes serves to illustrate how inaccessible and dispossessive Western impact assessment processes are.

Laspla lukluk bilong mipla em i osem dispela wok bilong banisim ol komuniti long kisim tok orait bilong ol long kirapim wok maining em i abras pinis. Antap long wok na bung bilong mipla wantaim ol komuniti, em i bin kamap sampla wik pastaim long wok bilong skelim graun, bus, na wara (EIS) ripot i bin kamap, em i stap ples klia olgeta osem long wankain taim ol komuniti i bin tingting wari stret long wanem ol samting bai kamap long wok bilong maining, ol komuniti i no bin redi gut na i nogat wanpla gutpla klia save long ol longpla taim kaikai bilong dispela wok maining, na tu ol yet i nogat gutpla save, o wanem bekim bai ol i ken givim igo bek
In short, genuine community concerns about impact or opportunity are magnified by an inaccessible process that renders communities’ powerless to challenge and change the mines development outcomes – with the usual mining approval processes in PNG reinforcing rather than overcoming these deficiencies. Before Wafi-Golpu proceeds, the massive asymmetries of power, information and influence will need to be overcome if the mine is truly to help local communities flourish. For if the mine is approved now it will entrench inequalities by prioritising the financial rewards of other stakeholders over the gutpla sindaun of local communities. To be clear, we are not saying the communities have rejected the mine; indeed they seek the usual benefits from development. Rather, it is clearly apparent that there is significant conflict between the planned mine and local values and aspirations, that must be addressed if the Yanta, Babuaf and Hengambu communities are to experience gutpla sindaun in the future.