Large scale internal migration is comparatively recent in Papua New Guinea and the proportion of the population living in towns is small. Already, however, migration and urbanisation pose serious problems for social and economic policy makers.

This book brings together a number of important papers on internal migration in Papua New Guinea. The fifteen contributions, some reprints of major articles and others written especially for this volume, represent a significant part of the data at present available. The introduction surveys the Papua New Guinea literature on the subject and relates it to overseas studies.

Not only will this collection be valuable to all concerned with the policy implications of internal migration and urbanisation in Papua New Guinea; it will be essential reading for anthropologists, demographers, economists and geographers interested in migration in developing countries.
CHANGE AND MOVEMENT
This book has been published with the assistance of the Republic of Nauru Fund of The Australian National University.
Change and Movement

Readings on Internal Migration in Papua New Guinea

R. J. May
Editor

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Editor's Note

This volume brings together a number of important papers on internal migration and urbanisation in Papua New Guinea. Ten of the fifteen contributions are reprints of articles already published elsewhere (in two cases with the addition of a 1974 postscript). Where it was considered necessary to avoid confusion, minor editorial changes have been made and footnotes added to update material in these earlier papers but in general the intention has been to present them as they originally appeared. The contributions by Conroy (Chapter 6), Young, Strathern and Garnaut were written specifically for this volume, though the first three of these draw on material already published or in press.

Chapter 1 presents a discussion of some of the major historical and spatial characteristics of migration in Papua New Guinea and a brief survey of the Papua New Guinea literature on internal migration, with some reference to relevant studies in other less developed countries. Chapters 2 to 5 are primarily concerned with internal migration and urbanisation: those by the Wards and Conroy reproduce part of a debate which took place in the early 1970s and that by Garnaut looks at the evidence of urban growth from 1966 and 1971 census figures and a survey carried out in 1973-4. The ten chapters which make up part two of this volume deal with particular groups: Conroy presents a longitudinal study of a group of school leaver migrants; chapters by Oram, Ryan, Koroma and the Salisburys look at the situation of migrant groups in three urban centres; those by Dakeyne, Baxter, Young and Harris look at migration primarily from the village viewpoint; and Strathern considers attitudes of an urban migrant group to home. The group studies in part two are not, unfortunately, representative of the country as a whole. Five are highlands groups, with a comparatively recent history of contact and an apparently strong orientation towards the cash economy; two are Papuan coastal groups with fairly easy access to Port Moresby, and two are from nearby parts of the Northern Province. Three of the five urban groups discussed are migrants to
Port Moresby. These studies do, however, represent a significant part of the total data at present available. Other studies are in progress; in the meantime caution must be exercised both in generalising about internal migration and in imputing specific characteristics to particular groups.

Pidgin terms have been used sparingly and explained where they occur (though as may be seen from the discussion of the term by Koroma, wantok is now used to convey a variety of meanings). The term 'Administration' has been retained in references to the national governmental authority before the formation in early 1972 of the coalition government led by Michael Somare, and the term 'central government' is used thereafter. On independence, in September 1975, the twenty administrative Districts of Papua New Guinea were renamed Provinces. Subsequently the administrative sub-units, then known as sub-provinces (formerly sub-districts) and patrol posts were renamed Districts and sub-districts. The new appellations have been used throughout this volume. It should be noted, however, that with the creation in 1973 and 1974 of two new Provinces, Enga and National Capital Province, respectively from within the Western Highlands and Central Provinces, and associated changes in the boundaries of the Southern Highlands Province, references to the Western Highlands, Southern Highlands and Central Provinces before 1973-74 do not correspond to the present Western Highlands, Southern Highlands and Central Provinces. This is particularly important in relation to references to the marked increase in population in the Central Province; before 1974 this included the national capital, Port Moresby, now a separate Province. Papua New Guinea's new currency, kina and toea, was introduced in April 1975 (though the $A remained legal tender until December 1975). Until July 1976 $A1 was equal to K1. All amounts have been quoted here in $A.

References in the text to articles which have been reprinted in this volume give the year of first publication and add an asterisk; page references in such cases refer to this volume. For example, Baxter (1972*:100) indicates that Baxter's 1972 paper, full bibliographical details of which will be found in the list of references on pp. 266-77, is reprinted in this volume (at Chapter 10), and the passage referred to will be found at page 100 in this volume.

Grateful acknowledgment is made to authors, editors and publishers for permission to reproduce papers previously published elsewhere. Specific acknowledgment to the original source is made at the beginning of each chapter.

R.J.M.

Port Moresby
1975
Contributors

M. W. P. Baxter, Research Fellow, Centre for Applied Studies in Development, University of the South Pacific, Fiji.
J. D. Conroy, Senior Lecturer in Economics, University of Papua New Guinea.
R. B. Dakeyne, Director, Student Counselling Service, Kuring-gai College of Advanced Education, Australia.
Ross Garnaut, Senior Research Fellow, Department of Economics, Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University.
G. T. Harris, Lecturer in Economics, University of Papua New Guinea.
Joseph F. Koroma. At the time of writing the paper included in this volume, Mr Koroma was a second year social science student at Goroka Teacher's College.
N. D. Oram, History Department, La Trobe University, Australia.
Dawn Ryan, Senior Lecturer in Anthropology, Monash University, Australia.
Richard F. Salisbury, Director, Programme in the Anthropology of Development, McGill University, Canada.
Mary E. Salisbury, Department of Sociology, Marianapolis College, Canada.
Marilyn Strathern, Cambridge. At the time of writing the paper included in this volume, Dr Strathern was a Research Fellow, New Guinea Research Unit, Australian National University.
Marion W. Ward, Canberra. At the time of writing the paper included in this volume, Dr Ward was Field Director, New Guinea Research Unit, Australian National University.
R. Gerard Ward, Professor of Human Geography, Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University.
E. A. Young, Ph.D. student, Department of Human Geography, Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University.
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Part One  Migration and Urbanisation
Internal Migration in Papua New Guinea
An Introduction to its Description and Analysis
R. J. MAY AND RONALD SKELDON

INTERNAL MIGRATION: CONCEPTS AND IMPLICATIONS

Migration is one of the three basic elements of population change. The population of an area can grow or decline through an increase or decrease in the number of births per head of population (fertility), an increase or decrease in the number of deaths per head of population (mortality) and through the transfer of population from one area to another (migration). Unlike fertility and mortality, which are based on the occurrence of discrete observable events, migration has proved difficult to define. Almost every human being moves during his lifetime but it is not at all clear when a movement constitutes a migration. It will generally depend on the point of view of the observer, the nature of the data available and the level at which the analysis is carried out, whether international, national, regional or local.¹

Each person moves within a certain space which is made up of patterned daily, weekly and seasonal movements. The home or place of residence can be thought of as the centre of gravity of the activity or action space (Hagerstrand 1957; Roseman 1971). A change in the location of the centre of gravity of the activity space constitutes a migration. However, the change of residence, while a convenient definition for the analysis of migration in the urban societies of North America and Europe, is not so satisfactory when we are dealing with population movements in the developing world. Circular migration, which does not involve a permanent change of residence but only a temporary sojourn outside the community of origin of some months or even years, has been shown to be the dominant type of population movement in many parts of the developing world (Bedford 1973a, 1973b; Elkan 1967; Mitchell 1959). Much of the increasing volume of rural-urban movements seems to be due to an intensification of circular

¹The distinction between international and internal migrations is often a division of political convenience within an integrated migration system — for example, the case of labour migration from southern to northern Europe. However, since movements outside Papua New Guinea of native-born Papua New Guineans are negligible compared to the internal movements the relevance or non-relevance of the distinction does not concern us.
migration rather than to a simple rural-urban shift of place of residence (Bedford 1973a).

The case studies of migration in Papua New Guinea provide supporting evidence for the importance of circular migration. The earliest large-scale movements from most communities were related in some way to organised labour migration: before World War II as indentured labour from coastal Papua New Guinea and later from the highlands through the Highland Labour Scheme (see p. 5). This migration, controlled by the government, was primarily circular and the labourers were returned to their home areas. Oram (1968b*), Baxter (1972*) and Young (this volume) show how much of the later independent migration was also circular, although Ryan (1968*), Dakeyne (1967*) and Oram (1968b*) report tendencies towards a more permanent migration from areas they have studied.

Trying to define the lower and upper limits of circular migration has also proved difficult. Bedford (1973a) considers all moves of one month or more part of the mobility system but Chapman (1970), in perhaps the most detailed analysis of population movement anywhere, regards any move of twenty-four hours or more as being demonstrative of a conscious decision to move. If this definition is accepted, the distinction between the daily movements of the activity space and migration fades and for this reason some analysts prefer to use the term ‘mobility’, which does not have any implications of distance or duration of the move. Young (this volume) takes this approach and analyses all forms of mobility in the Agarabi/Gadsup area from brief local visits to markets or hospital to longer-term moves to towns or other places of employment. In the other case studies included in this volume migration is generally not explicitly defined but is considered an absence of unspecific duration from the community.

At the national and regional levels census data are usually the basic source material for the description and analysis of migration. Quite apart from the question of the accuracy of the census, which in a developing country may be of considerable importance, there are problems inherent in the use of such data for the measurement of migration (see Bogue 1959). The data of primary interest are those concerning place of registration at the time of the census and place of birth. According to census data, a migrant is defined as someone who is registered in a census unit other than the one in which he was born. While this records a movement from place of birth to place of registration it may mean a permanent change of residence or only a brief visit. In some censuses, and Papua New Guinea is fortunate in this respect, a question on length of residence in place of registration is included to avoid this problem. Another problem is the size of the areal units chosen for the recording of the census data. In Papua New Guinea place of birth data have been recorded at the Province level. Hence migrants to a particular town who are born in the Province in which that town is located are not recorded by the census. In countries such as Papua New Guinea, where much of
the movement to towns is short-distance, this is a serious constraint to
an analysis of rural-urban migration. Perhaps the most serious disad-
vantage of the place of birth/place of residence census data is that return
migration to community of origin is not recorded as a migration, the
return migrants being registered in the area in which they were born.
Given the importance of circular migration in the developing world,
including Papua New Guinea, this means that only part of the total
migration flow can be gauged from the census. On the other hand, given
that the census is the only data source that covers a country as a whole
and that a census is usually taken at regular intervals, census data will,
despite their shortcomings, continue to provide the basic material for
the analysis of population movements.

A comparison of the general studies based on census and sample
survey data (this chapter; R. G. Ward (1971*); Garnaut, this volume)
with the local case studies will make for a more balanced interpretation
and contribute towards an integrated view of the patterns of population
movement in Papua New Guinea. Although 'mobility' is perhaps the
more satisfactory term, we have retained 'internal migration' in the title
as it implies more forcibly the idea of the redistribution of population
within a country.

Large-scale internal migration in the developing countries is a product
of the twentieth century and is both result and cause of urban growth. It
is result in the sense that it was the urban nuclei established by the
European expansionist powers from the sixteenth to the late nineteenth
centuries which drew on indigenous populations and resources and set
in motion a process which has given rise to vast metropolises such as
Mexico City, Sao Paulo, Lagos, Johannesburg, Calcutta and Bombay. It
is cause in the sense that migration is one of the major components, and
often the major component, of present-day urban growth in the develop-
ing world.

Although the number and proportion of people living in towns in
Papua New Guinea in still small compared to countries in Africa, Asia
and Latin America, accounting for only 9.5 per cent of the total popu-
lation in 1971,\(^2\) the growth of the urban centres is rapid by any stan-
dards: between 1966 and 1971 the indigenous population living in towns
grew by 16.4 per cent per annum, compared with 2.4 per cent per
annum for the indigenous population as a whole. Much of this urban
growth has been due to migration. In 1971 the proportions of inmigrant
population (that population born outside the Province in which the town
is located) of the eight largest towns were: Port Moresby 62 per cent;
Lae 61 per cent; Rabaul 46 per cent; Madang 56 per cent; Wewak 48

\(^2\)This percentage is based on the official Papua New Guinea Bureau of Statistics
definition of the urban population as those living in places of 500 or more inhabi-
tants. If we employ the more common international definition of urban population
as that population living in places of 20,000 or more inhabitants the proportion of
urban population in Papua New Guinea was only 4.7 per cent in 1971 (or 5.7 per
cent if expatriates are included).
per cent; Arawa-Kieta-Panguna 84 per cent; Goroka 50 per cent; and Mount Hagen 44 per cent. The implications and possible future trends of this growth of cities are analysed by Garnaut in this volume.

The patterns of population migration vary from one part of Papua New Guinea to another, making it difficult to compare studies carried out in the coastal areas of Papua with those carried out in the western or southern highlands. Among all the variables which can cause variations in the patterns two interrelated factors are basic to an understanding of the present flows: distance from the major centres of European penetration and history of contact with the colonial powers. At the simplest possible level there is a fundamental contrast between the coastal areas which have been under European influence since the late nineteenth century and the interior highlands which, although contacted in the 1930s, were little influenced until after World War II. The case studies included in this volume cover a wide area with Oram, Ryan, Baxter and Dakeyne studying movements from areas with long-standing contacts with Europeans and Young, Koroma, Strathern and Harris examining migration from more recently contacted regions (see endpaper map). In this chapter we give a brief outline of the development of migration in the country and a general description of the principal population movements which can be inferred from the 1971 census. This provides the spatial and temporal context in which the detailed case studies can be viewed.

DESCRIPTIVE BACKGROUND

Historical perspective

In comparison with most other parts of the world, large-scale internal migration is fairly recent in Papua New Guinea, being primarily a product of the last fifteen years. Before European contact there were no towns in Papua New Guinea and only limited internal migration. Apart from changes in clan and tribal boundaries through conquest, the movement of people was mainly confined to occasional family or group migration in response to local food shortages or disputes, extended trading expeditions and changes in location through marriage. European contact, by gradually putting an end to warfare, removed one cause of movement of people, but against this it led to some village relocation and settlement on formerly disputed land, and movement of people to government and mission stations. More importantly, Papua New Guineans began to leave their villages to take jobs, mostly as plantation labourers, miners, carriers and government employees. Government promoted migration — the introduction of a head tax was seen as a means of encouraging migration (see Vial 1938) — and regulated it.

Before World War II most of the labour force was indentured. Both indentured and casual labour were covered by detailed legislation, which prescribed terms of recruitment and repatriation, the form of labour contract and conditions of employment, including wages, hours, housing
Internal Migration in Papua New Guinea

and health. Limits were placed on the proportion of the adult male population which could be recruited at any time and villages and provinces were closed to recruiters with the intention of limiting the impact of migration on traditional social structures. During the war private employment lapsed but Papua New Guinean labour was widely used by the military forces, who needed carriers. After the war labour policy was substantially revised. Existing indentures were cancelled and the indenture system was replaced by one of agreements; wages and conditions were improved, and better machinery was provided for supervision of the legislation.

In the pre-war period West (1958:91) noted: 'The demand for labour always pressed heavily on the sources of supply, and a high proportion of labour was drawn from the relatively backward or recently opened up areas of the country . . . '. Before 1940 the bulk of labour was recruited in what are now the East and West Sepik, Morobe, Madang, Gulf and Milne Bay Provinces, and was employed either as plantation labour in the New Guinea islands or Central Province or in mines in Central, Milne Bay and Morobe Provinces. Patterns established in this period were an important determinant of migration flows until the late 1950s (Brookfield 1960; R. G. Ward 1971*). The densely populated central highlands of New Guinea were not contacted by Europeans until the 1930s and they were a declared Uncontrolled Area to which entry by non-indigenes required official approval, which was seldom given. This situation prevailed until the mid-1940s when, owing to the scarcity of labour in the islands and on the coast, would-be employers brought pressure on the Administration to open up the highlands to labour recruitment. Initially this was opposed by the Administration, which had anxieties about both the health risks involved in transferring highlanders to coastal situations and about the disruption of traditional social structures that labour recruitment might cause. In 1949 limited and closely controlled recruitment of highlands labour began. All recruiting was done by the Administration and initially free movement of labour and employment of casual labour were prohibited. The history of what became known as the Highland Labour Scheme has been documented by West (1958), the Papua New Guinea Department of Labour (1969a), van de Kaa (1971a) and by Cochrane and others (Board of Inquiry Investigating Rural Minimum Wages 1970).

Under the agreement labour system labourers were recruited for a two-year contract, at the end of which they were repatriated at the employer's expense. After six months they could re-engage for further periods, but the proportion doing so was fairly low. For example, of 1983 recruits under the Highland Labour Scheme who were interviewed in 1968 only one-third were re-engaging (Department of Labour 1970).

For a history of labour policy in Papua New Guinea, see West (1958) and Rowley (1965).

1969a) although in the 1950s this proportion was probably higher.

As early as 1952 there were reports of increasing difficulty in obtaining highlands labour (West 1958; Brookfield 1961). The decline in enthusiasm for agreement labour was due to a number of factors. The difficulties of adjusting to the different physical and social environments of the coast and the sheer drudgery of the labour itself were major contributory reasons. West pointed out subtler aspects. With the suppression of warfare by the Administration agreement labour served as a substitute for this traditional path to manhood and prestige. However, partly because of the nature of the labour and partly because it was realised away from the traditional context the prestige they had hoped to gain failed to materialise (West 1958). It was also noted that returning labourers often had difficulty readjusting to village life and became sources of social disruption. A solution to this problem was seen in the economic development of the highlands. This, however, had further effects on the recruitment situation: by providing an alternative source of cash income to wage employment under the agreement labour scheme, it tended, at least initially, to reduce the supply of agreement workers from the relatively developed areas. By the end of the 1960s the main sources of agreement labour were the Southern Highlands, the remote areas of the Eastern and Western Highlands and West Sepik Provinces, and their main destinations were coconut and cocoa plantations in East New Britain, New Ireland and Bougainville, and rubber plantations in Central Province (R. G. Ward 1970).

By 1968 delays were occurring in meeting employers’ applications for highlands labour under the scheme and the situation became progressively more difficult in subsequent years (Department of Labour 1969a). The scheme also came under criticism, notably from highlands members of the House of Assembly. In 1974 the Highland Labour Scheme was terminated. It was replaced by the Rural Employment Programme, a program organised under the National Employment Service, which removed many of the restrictions of the old system and established common provisions for the recruitment of agreement labour from the highlands and from coastal areas. Now, in the mid-1970s, labourers are being found mainly in the most recently contacted parts of the Southern Highlands and the newly created Enga Province of the Western Highlands. The highlands areas with a more established history of contact with western culture no longer contribute large numbers of agreement labourers. Their populations prefer to engage in cash cropping or other forms of business in the home area (A. M. Strathern 1972, Harris 1972*, Salisbury and Salisbury 1972*), or to participate increasingly in independent movement to urban areas.

If enthusiasm for agreement labour has tended to decline over time there has been an increase in the amount of independent or spontaneous migration. Some has been rural-village to rural non-village but the

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5Ploeg describes three such movements: two to government-supported resettlement schemes (Ploeg 1971, 1972b) and one of spontaneous rural resettlement (Ploeg 1973). Rural resettlement schemes are also discussed by Lea (c. 1966), van
largest, and a steadily increasing proportion since the late 1950s and early 1960s, has been from rural to urban areas. Garnaut deals specifically with the volume and trends of this movement in Chapter 5.

Since European contact there have been profound changes in the mobility patterns of Papua New Guineans. R. G. Ward (1968b, 1971*) distinguishes three broad systems of migration in evolutionary sequence: migration within the traditional society, primarily local intervillage movement; recruitment of contract or agreement labour, mainly village to rural non-village; and independent migration, which is predominantly rural to urban movement. He argues that agreement labour develops soon after the establishment of initial European contact and control. However, after the first few groups return to their communities of origin the numbers volunteering for work decline. This may coincide with the extension of cash cropping or the development of other local sources of cash earning in the home area. Once financial resources increase and the initial enthusiasm for cash cropping is over outmigration resumes on an increased scale but on a spontaneous, independent, non-agreement basis. When the frontier of agreement labour is extended throughout the country, this migration system will decline completely. 'It can only be maintained when there is a labour frontier where men with no experience in wage employment may be recruited' (R. G. Ward 1968b:8). The Papua New Guinea Department of Labour (1969a) and Harris (1971, 1972*) have developed similar sequential models and Young (this volume) suggests a more elaborate six-stage sequence. The sequences have clearly not developed uniformly throughout Papua New Guinea and although no distinction can be made from the census data between traditional, agreement or independent migration some inferences can be made from them. A broad description of the principal interdistrict population flows is presented below.

Spatial perspective

The basic pattern of population migration in Papua New Guinea is centrifugal: a movement from the densely populated centre towards the New Guinea islands and towards the towns of the coastal mainland, principally Port Moresby and Lae. The migration streams observed by Brookfield (1960) in the late 1950s have continued with modifications into the early 1970s: movement from the Sepik Provinces and Morobe to New Britain and New Ireland; and from the Papuan Provinces towards Port Moresby in the National Capital Province (formerly in the Central Province). The source areas for migration to both destinations have become more extensive as, with increasing contact, knowledge of outside opportunities has diffused throughout a greater part of the

Rijswijck (Gostin) (1966, 1972) and Singh (1967).

6The term 'labour migration' is found widely in the Papua New Guinea literature on internal migration. Its use would best be restricted to agreement labour and contract labour as independent movement to urban areas is not a movement of labourers per se but of people who are going to look for work. While labour is an important aspect of this migration it is not the only aspect.
country. The Southern Highlands Province has become a major source of migration to East New Britain, and Chimbu a source for West New Britain. After Gulf Province, the Eastern Highlands and Morobe Provinces have become the principal source areas for movement to Central Province in the 1970s and the other highlands Provinces of Chimbu, Western Highlands and Southern Highlands have also contributed large numbers of migrants to that Province (see Table 1.1).

These are the basic gross flows of population migration as recorded by the 1971 census. The Provinces where migration has had the deepest influence, as measured by number of outmigrants per head of population born in the specific Province, are Gulf, Manus and Chimbu with 20.4 per cent, 14.8 per cent and 12.6 per cent, respectively, of their native-born populations living elsewhere (Table 1.2). However, the character of the migration from these Provinces is different in each case. From Gulf Province 72 per cent of the outmigrants went to the eight largest urban centres in Papua New Guinea, almost 60 per cent going to Port Moresby. On the other hand, only 25.5 per cent of the migrants from Chimbu chose one of the eight largest towns as their destination and 51.5 per cent moved to the neighbouring Provinces of the Western Highlands and Eastern Highlands (excluding the towns of Goroka and Mount Hagen). Outmigration from Chimbu, although pronounced, is primarily short-distance and rural-rural while that from Gulf is mainly rural-urban. The pattern of the pronounced per capita migration from Manus was intermediate between that of Gulf and Chimbu: 43.7 per cent was to the eight largest urban centres and 29 per cent rural-rural short-distance migration to other Provinces in the island group (excluding Rabaul).

The Provinces where migration has made the greatest impact in terms of inmigrants per head of resident population are Central Province, demonstrating the attractive power of Port Moresby (which is now, however, a separate Province), the two New Britain Provinces and New Ireland with their plantation economies, and to a lesser extent Manus and Bougainville, the latter with the mining complex at Kieta-Arawa-Panguna.

Several Provinces experience a high turnover of population with high rates of both immigration and outmigration. The case of Manus with high per capita immigration and outmigration is the most obvious example but the absolute numbers of migrants are quite small. Morobe Province has both immigration and outmigration of more than 18,000 and the Eastern Highlands and Madang each have more than 10,000 inmigrants and outmigrants. Migrants from other Provinces move to

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7On 21 September 1973 the Western Highlands Province was divided into three: the Districts of Jimi, Minj, Hagen and Muglamp remained in the Western Highlands; Wabag, Wapenamunda and Lagaip formed the new Enga Province; and the Hagen Extended (now Koroba) was transferred to the Southern Highlands.

8Much of it is probably rural to rural non-village to the plantations of the Wahgi Valley in Western Highlands Province. Although a large part of this movement was of agreement labourers it was organised through contracts with the particular plantations, not through the Highland Labour Scheme.
## Table 1.1

Indigenous Population, Province of Residence and Province of Birth, Census July 1971

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province of residence</th>
<th>Western</th>
<th>Gulf</th>
<th>Central</th>
<th>Milne Bay</th>
<th>Northern Highlands</th>
<th>Southern Highlands</th>
<th>Western Highlands</th>
<th>Chimbu</th>
<th>Eastern Highlands</th>
<th>Morobe</th>
<th>Madang</th>
<th>East Sepik</th>
<th>West Sepik</th>
<th>Manus</th>
<th>New Ireland</th>
<th>West New Britain</th>
<th>East New Britain</th>
<th>Bougainville</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Western</td>
<td>68,511</td>
<td>313</td>
<td>527</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>149</td>
<td>202</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>34</td>
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<td>746</td>
<td>73</td>
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<td>173</td>
<td>91</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>58,252</td>
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<td>2,103</td>
<td>2,335</td>
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<td>3,887</td>
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<td>153</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>152</td>
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<td>196</td>
<td>241</td>
<td>693</td>
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<td>679</td>
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<td>174</td>
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<td>253</td>
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<td>842</td>
<td>1,946</td>
<td>3,380</td>
<td>85,827</td>
<td>1,014</td>
<td>108,059</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bougainville</td>
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<td>345</td>
<td>663</td>
<td>201</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>777</td>
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<td>1,405</td>
<td>658</td>
<td>1,214</td>
<td>602</td>
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<td>202</td>
<td>190</td>
<td>948</td>
<td>79,507</td>
<td>90,132</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Source: 1971 census data.
the urban centres of Lae, Wau and Bulolo in Morobe or Madang in Madang Province, while others born in these Provinces move out to the islands or other urban centres. A socio-economic analysis of these streams and counterstreams is necessary for a full understanding of the mobility process. The existence of these counterstreams shows clearly that migration cannot be understood as a simple response to economic conditions and distance variables. Migration, if determined purely by available opportunities and distance to those opportunities, would not have produced the high rates of immigration and outmigration in the same area. Aspiration levels, which in turn depend on education level and history of contact with western urban society, must be considered in any explanation of migration.

An examination of the 1966 percentages of immigrant and outmigrant populations shows a similar picture, if less well developed, to that of 1971, with one important exception. In 1966 West New Britain was a net exporter of population but by 1971 it was a net importer of population with the third highest per capita immigrant population. The rural development project centred round the Hoskins oil palm resettlement scheme must explain this quite dramatic reversal. In 1966 there were only 2414 immigrants to West New Britain while in 1971 there were 10,579. This rural resettlement scheme, which has encouraged migrants from other parts of Papua New Guinea to settle in West New Britain, does not appear to have stemmed the outmigration from West New Britain.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Percentage immigrants of total resident population</th>
<th>Percentage outmigrants of total native-born population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Western</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>6.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gulf</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>20.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central</td>
<td>21.0</td>
<td>6.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milne Bay</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>6.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>8.7</td>
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<tr>
<td>Southern Highlands</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>5.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western Highlands</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chimbu</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>12.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern Highlands</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>5.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morobe</td>
<td>7.6</td>
<td>7.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madang</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>6.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Sepik</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>9.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Sepik</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>7.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manus</td>
<td>10.1</td>
<td>14.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Ireland</td>
<td>15.2</td>
<td>7.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West New Britain</td>
<td>17.4</td>
<td>8.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East New Britain</td>
<td>20.6</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bougainville</td>
<td>11.8</td>
<td>3.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: 1971 census data.
Internal Migration in Papua New Guinea

This throws doubt on the contention of Harris (1971, 1973a) and Conroy (1973a*, 1973b) that rural development can stem or even turn the tide of the rural exodus. Ward (1971*) and Young (this volume) consider rural development, at best, of only temporary importance in stemming outmigration although this of course should not be construed as obviating the need to develop the rural areas: quite the reverse. The agricultural production in these areas must be increased to support the growing non-rural population.

As emphasised above, circular migration involving a return to the home community is an important part of Melanesian mobility patterns. Owing to the nature of the place of birth/place of registration census data the volume of this migration is difficult to estimate. However, included in the 1971 census was a question on length of residence in place of registration. The number of immigrants of five years’ residence or more in a particular Province (that is, they arrived in or before 1966) can be compared with the immigrant population for that Province in 1966. This gives the number of migrants who ‘survived’ to be registered in the same Province in the later census period. The same procedure can be used with the outmigrant population. Table 1.3 shows the percentage of the immigrant and outmigrant populations which had been ‘lost’ by the time of the 1971 census. This crude method does not give an accurate measure of the volume of return migration as some of the migrants will have died during the five-year period and others will have moved on to destinations in other Provinces. However, given that the migrant populations are made up predominantly of people of 35 years or less, the probability of their surviving the five-year period is fairly high. We know from the qualitative case studies that circular migration is important and we can perhaps assume with a reasonable degree of confidence that the majority returned to their communities of origin.

Assuming this to be the case, the rates of return migration are very high indeed. After Gulf Province (which has both the most stable immigrant and outmigrant populations), the Provinces with the largest and second largest cities in the country, Central and Morobe, have the most stable immigrant populations. Even in these cases the probability of circular migration is slightly greater than 50 per cent. The island and highlands Provinces’ immigrant populations have attrition rates of

Owing to the confusion incurred through the creation of the East New Britain and West New Britain Provinces out of New Britain Province just before the taking of the 1966 census, the place of birth/place of registration data for that census are not accurate and it is difficult to estimate population movements within the island. Examining migration from West New Britain to destinations other than East New Britain we find that the number of outmigrants increased from 1061 in 1966 to 1498 in 1971, an intercensal increase of 42.5 per cent. While not too much confidence should be placed in this figure, it does suggest that there was no observable tendency for outmigration to decline during the period.

It must also be remembered that the attrition rate of the 1966 migrant population does not give an accurate estimate of the total number of circular migrants for 1966-71. It does not include those people who moved out of their communities and returned home in the intercensal period.
two-thirds and more. Conversely, the outmigrant populations of the three Provinces which contain the most isolated and recently contacted regions in Papua New Guinea, the Western Highlands, Southern Highlands and West Sepik, are among the four most unstable. In each case there was only about a 15 per cent probability that an outmigrant would remain outside his Province of origin in one particular location for more than the five years of the intercensal period. The Provinces of Papua and coastal New Guinea with long traditions of outmigration show the least tendency towards circular movement but even in these cases it usually exceeded 50 per cent.

The differences in the stability of the streams is also reflected in the sex ratios (Table 1.4). Internal migration in Papua New Guinea is dominated by the male migrant but this dominance varies from stream to stream. The outmigration streams with the most ‘balanced’, or least imbalanced, sex ratios are those from coastal Papua and some of the islands while the most imbalanced are those from the Southern Highlands, Western Highlands and the West Sepik. On the other hand, the most imbalanced immigrant streams are to the islands and to Central Province/National Capital Province. Between 1966 and 1971, as independent migration increased, there was a general tendency for the

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Attrition of inmigrant populations 1966-71 number</th>
<th>percentage of 1966 inmigrant population</th>
<th>Attrition of outmigrant populations 1966-71 number</th>
<th>percentage of 1966 outmigrant population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Western</td>
<td>632</td>
<td>77.2</td>
<td>1,160</td>
<td>46.7</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gulf</td>
<td>892</td>
<td>38.3</td>
<td>3,080</td>
<td>32.7</td>
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<td>12,175</td>
<td>50.3</td>
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<td>Morobe</td>
<td>5,461</td>
<td>54.8</td>
<td>7,179</td>
<td>55.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madang</td>
<td>4,357</td>
<td>60.1</td>
<td>3,760</td>
<td>58.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>70.5</td>
<td>6,498</td>
<td>58.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>76.5</td>
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<td>75.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>68.6</td>
<td>1,584</td>
<td>66.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Ireland</td>
<td>5,122</td>
<td>68.0</td>
<td>1,979</td>
<td>68.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West New Britain‡</td>
<td>1,774</td>
<td>73.5</td>
<td>2,173</td>
<td>63.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East New Britain*</td>
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<td>69.4</td>
<td>2,847</td>
<td>62.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bougainville</td>
<td>3,730</td>
<td>86.5</td>
<td>1,091</td>
<td>75.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Adjusted for confusion in place of birth/place of registration in 1966 census data.
†Adjusted for the effect of boundary changes 1966-71 on outmigrant populations.
Source: 1971 census data.
numbers of migrant men per migrant woman to decline although the male dominance was still strong in the later census. However, there were some exceptions to this trend, notably the outmigrant streams from the Southern Highlands, Western Highlands and the West Sepik, which showed greater male dominance in 1971 than in 1966, suggesting that agreement labour was increasing from these Provinces. This conclusion is supported by the high rates of return migration for these Provinces.

These are the very broad characteristics of the internal migration in Papua New Guinea as can be gauged from a brief analysis of the 1971 census data. There are clearly variations in the patterns of migration within the Provinces, which cannot be revealed by the census. The case studies included in this volume demonstrate the intricacies of local patterns. However, the census does provide information on the broad demographic trends to which the detailed studies can be related.

Although it is impossible to differentiate agreement labourers from independent migrants from census data alone, the data on migration attrition and sex ratio point to the Southern and Western Highlands and the West Sepik as the principal sources of this movement. Even the independent migration is still mainly circular, suggesting that Bedford's conclusion for the New Hebrides, that rural-urban migration generally represents an increase in the circular mobility pattern (Bedford 1973a), is also valid for Papua New Guinea. Whether this is a temporary

### Table 1.4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Males per 100 females</th>
<th>1971 Inmigrant</th>
<th>1971 Outmigrant</th>
<th>1966 Inmigrant</th>
<th>1966 Outmigrant</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Western Gulf</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>180</td>
<td></td>
<td>188</td>
<td>266</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gulf</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>162</td>
<td></td>
<td>209</td>
<td>184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central Milne Bay</td>
<td>274</td>
<td>161</td>
<td></td>
<td>400</td>
<td>162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern</td>
<td>226</td>
<td>182</td>
<td></td>
<td>210</td>
<td>247</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern Highlands</td>
<td>159</td>
<td>946</td>
<td></td>
<td>97</td>
<td>535</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western Highlands</td>
<td>243</td>
<td>392</td>
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<td>192</td>
<td>212</td>
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<tr>
<td>Chimbu</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>206</td>
<td></td>
<td>162*</td>
<td>282</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern Highlands</td>
<td>185</td>
<td>370</td>
<td></td>
<td>197</td>
<td>713*</td>
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<tr>
<td>Morobe</td>
<td>221</td>
<td>300</td>
<td></td>
<td>241</td>
<td>439</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madang</td>
<td>232</td>
<td>298</td>
<td></td>
<td>259</td>
<td>338</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Sepik</td>
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<td>337</td>
<td></td>
<td>191</td>
<td>519</td>
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<tr>
<td>West Sepik</td>
<td>171</td>
<td>466</td>
<td></td>
<td>169</td>
<td>414</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manus</td>
<td>310</td>
<td>197</td>
<td></td>
<td>365</td>
<td>285</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Ireland</td>
<td>682</td>
<td>151</td>
<td></td>
<td>868</td>
<td>166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West New Britain</td>
<td>211</td>
<td>248</td>
<td></td>
<td>444</td>
<td>265*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East New Britain</td>
<td>407</td>
<td>175</td>
<td></td>
<td>590*</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bougainville</td>
<td>1,331</td>
<td>235</td>
<td></td>
<td>365</td>
<td>410</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

phase in the migration system as Zelinsky (1971) has hypothesised at the global level and Skeldon (1974) has demonstrated at a regional level, or whether it represents a more permanent feature of the mobility patterns in Melanesia, as Bedford has argued, remains for future researchers to decide. The tendency towards a less imbalanced sex ratio and a more stable type of migration from the Provinces with the longest history of contact with the European urban world suggests that there is a trend towards a more permanent migration (see also Conroy 1972a; Oram 1968b*) but circular migration will probably continue as a major characteristic of the internal migration Papua New Guinea for a good many years to come.

Towards an explanation

Owing to the complexity of the migration process a satisfactory explanation which can identify the principal causal variables is extremely difficult. Migration studies, not only in Papua New Guinea but in general, have been characterised by a marked lack of theoretical orientation. Recent analytic econometric studies have attempted to redress this situation but whether they have in fact identified the principal components of the migration process or merely produced macro-level correlations which have little explanatory value is a matter for debate.

The multi-faceted nature of migration almost dictates that any adequate explanation must consider several levels of causation. Germani (1965) suggests three levels: objective, normative and psychosocial. The objective level involves an analysis of the structural characteristics of the places of origin and destination of migration: the resource base, employment opportunities, availability of housing and services, communications and accessibility, and so on. The normative level concerns the way the migrant groups perceive the migratory process and the institutionalised attitudes which can facilitate or retard migration, while the psychosocial level deals with the various factors which cause particular individuals to migrate. Hutton similarly suggests three levels of explanation which roughly parallel those of Germani: economic condition, differences in the relative level of wants or aspirations of particular groups which are associated with education and the degree of contact with the outside world and, thirdly, ‘a complex of individual motivation and subsidiary factors which vary widely between different tribes and areas’ (Hutton 1969:14). While such division into levels may provide a useful analytic framework, the levels themselves should not be considered mutually exclusive entities. The distinctions between them are not precise. The area of land available to any particular group is generally taken as an objective factor but the actual pressure of

11See Mangalam (1968). Perhaps the only major contribution to migration theory since Ravenstein’s famous laws were presented in the late nineteenth century (Ravenstein 1885) is the work of Hagerstrand (1957).


13The approach of Mitchell (1959) is similar.
population on that land is as much behavioural and normative as it is objective. It depends primarily on the perception of what constitutes a land shortage by the particular group involved, which in turn will depend on the history and degree of contact with the outside world. Similarly, the concepts of employment and unemployment cannot be adequately understood merely as the number of people employed or the number looking for a job, but must be considered against the background of attitudes towards work of the groups concerned.

With these reservations an attempt is made below to summarise the existing information from the Papua New Guinea literature within the framework of an objective level and a normative and individual level (motivation). The distinction between levels of explanation has seldom been made in the Papua New Guinea literature and the majority of studies have concentrated on the reasons for migration as expressed by the migrants themselves. This emphasis on individual motivation, while providing a wealth of detail on why migrants think they migrate, may have diverted attention away from the most important factors which stimulate population movements.

Objective factors can be distinguished in both area of origin and area of destination of migration. In the area of origin, the question of pressure of population on local resources has been discussed in the Papua New Guinea literature but the results are contradictory. Land shortage, which may be aggravated by the expansion of cash cropping, has been cited [by Lea (1964), Brookfield (1968), Ryan (1968*), R. G. Ward (1968a) and M. W. Ward (1970*)] as an important factor in promoting migration and it is perhaps significant that migration has been pronounced from those sago-dependent areas of the Sepik, Gulf and Western Province where subsistence is difficult and alternative sources of income almost non-existent. However, this point of view has been challenged by Conroy (1973a*) and in a study of the densely populated Wosera area of the East Sepik Province, Lea and Weinand (1971) found that relative population density had no observable effects on absenteeism from the area.

Whether an improvement of the resource base in the rural areas can influence the volume of outmigration is also a matter of contention. Harris (1972*) found that outmigration and the number of planted coffee trees were negatively associated, suggesting that the extension of cash cropping in rural areas could retard outmigration. However, he did not argue for direct causation and considered other factors just as important in explaining the observed patterns. Salisbury and Salisbury (1972*) showed that outmigration varied inversely with participation in the rural cash cropping economy among the highland Siane. They found that relatively little migration occurred from communities close to the road, which could exploit their location for the cash cropping of coffee. On the other hand, little migration developed from those areas distant

14See, for example, Harris (1974a), but his review reflects the concern of the literature itself.

15See Hutton (1969), and for a more pointed criticism, Amin (1974).
from the road. It was from the intermediate zone that outmigration was pronounced. Here the adverse location compared to the area close to the road did not permit the development of a prosperous cash cropping economy but enough coffee could be grown to allow the accumulation of the necessary cash for the purchase of an air ticket to Port Moresby. Cash cropping, depending on its viability, can both retard and facilitate migration within a relatively small area. A. M. Strathern (1972) similarly observed that within the Western Highlands Province few independent migrants had come from longer-developed areas although many had come from areas of moderate cash income, while in the less developed areas migration was mostly by way of agreement labour. However, A. M. Strathern (1972:22) commented in a review of the various factors involved that 'it would seem that there is no simple correlation between level of economic development at home and the exodus of migrants from Hagen.' Young (this volume), while recognising the importance of the creation of local sources of employment and income in slowing outmigration and attracting outmigrants back into the area, considers that it will only cause a temporary halt in the flow of rural-urban migration. She also makes the interesting comment that in the Agarabi-Gadsup area of the Eastern Highlands Province cash crop investment now seems to be an added insurance for migrants rather than an alternative source of income which will prevent migration (see also Bedford 1973a). Further research is required on the important question of how rural development affects migration before more general conclusions can be advanced.16

From the viewpoint of the area of destination almost no work has been carried out at the objective level: people migrate, and in particular move to towns, to find jobs but the exact relationship between the rate of creation of employment and migration from rural areas is poorly understood. One of the objectives of the Urban Survey carried out jointly by the New Guinea Research Unit of the Australian National University and the University of Papua New Guinea in late 1973 (see Garnaut 1974a) is to clarify this aspect of urban migration.

The almost universal tendency for migration to flow from areas where opportunities to earn a cash income are few to areas where income levels are higher has led to a number of models of population movement based on wage or income differentials. Todaro, in a series of articles which has made considerable impact on recent research into migration, has presented perhaps the most analytically refined of this group of models.17

Todaro criticised the use of a simple income differential measure of

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16 The results of research in other parts of the world into the effects of demographic pressure in rural areas and on the impact of rural development are also far from conclusive. See Connell et al. (1974); also Amin (1974).

economic motivation in rural-urban migration studies and put forward a probabilistic permanent income model, in which the decision to migrate from rural to urban areas was a function of two principal variables: the urban-rural real income differential and the probability of obtaining an urban job. The potential migrant's assessment of the latter is influenced by current levels of urban unemployment. Migration should therefore increase as urban wages increase relative to rural incomes and decrease as unemployment increases in the urban areas. Quite apart from the difficulties inherent in measuring perceived income differentials, the probability of finding a job in the modern sector and levels of unemployment, the model has been criticised on a number of fundamental issues. It fails to deal adequately with non-wage urban income, including informal-sector income, which accounts for an increasing proportion of urban employment or underemployment. Secondly, the model assumes that migrant decision-making is constant through time (Godfrey 1973) and over space and it cannot take into consideration other variables which might influence the flows of migration. Thirdly, implicit in the model is the assumption that the migrant has the information to plan rationally the economic pros and cons of moving to the city and remaining unemployed for a certain period of time \textit{vis-à-vis} sources of rural income. It seems clear that few migrants have a definite idea about what they are going to face on reaching the city (Little 1974). Attempts to test the Todaro model empirically have produced mixed results, some supporting the hypothesis, other repudiating it.\footnote{Data analysed by Sabot (1972), Annable (1972) and Essang and Mabawonku (1974) are consistent with the Todaro hypothesis while those analysed by Rempel (1970) and Godfrey (1973) are not.} Despite the shortcomings of the model, however, it does provide an insight into how unemployment and the rate of job creation in the areas of destination do or do not produce variations in the migration flows. Papua New Guinea, which does not have a significant informal sector, should provide an interesting test case for the Todaro hypothesis.

Between the area of origin and the area of destination is the important structural constraint of distance. The study of the impact of distance on mobility has produced a vast and varied literature (Olsson 1965, 1970). Very generally, at a macro level empirical studies have shown a fairly consistent negative correlation between migration and distance. In Papua New Guinea there have as yet been few attempts systematically to relate variations in the volume of migration to distance and the basic gravity models wait to be tested against the available data. The data presented by Garnaut (this volume) show that, on a national scale, distance does act as a constraint on the volume of movement to the major cities, with most of the migrants coming from areas relatively close to the towns. However, the evidence from local studies is conflicting. Lea and Weinand (1971), in their study of population in the Wosera area, found an unexpected positive correlation between village absenteeism and distance from the main road. In a more recent study Seiler (1972) confirmed the Lea-Weinand finding for two
parts of the Wosera area but in another council area in the Province obtained the expected negative correlation and in two other council areas obtained no significant correlation. Bouchard (1973) also found a negative correlation between absenteeism and accessibility in the Gumine region of the New Guinea highlands. The case of the Siane studied by Salisbury and Salisbury (1972*) mentioned above is another example of migration and distance not being found in the expected direct negative relationship. Young (1973b, this volume), using an accessibility index rather than linear distance, found a pattern similar to that described by the Salisburys, with little outmigration from the areas close to the town, but reaching its maximum development in the intermediate areas and then declining with greater distance from the urban centre. A. M. Strathern (1972) provided supporting information from the Mount Hagen area in the Western Highlands. A recent report by Townsend (1974) claimed supporting evidence from studies in the Morobe and highlands Provinces. The general conclusion would seem to be that while easy access to an urban centre tends to diminish migration, for villages outside the range of easy access absenteeism is negatively related to accessibility. Cash cropping and other rural enterprises may tend to diminish migration, by providing an alternative source of income, but, on the other hand, may increase migration in three ways: by providing the means for fares; by providing the basis for the sort of ‘investment’ motivation described by the Salisburys; and by providing the migrant with ‘insurance’ against the day he returns to the village.

The negative correlation between numbers of migrants and distance does not necessarily mean that physical distance, and the associated transfer costs, are themselves the obstacle. Stouffer (1940, 1960), in attempting to explain the distance decay function, postulated that it was the number of intervening opportunities between two points rather than distance per se which caused the decline in the number of migrants. However, the existing census data suggest major aberrations from this hypothesis, at least in the case of migration to Port Moresby. Although the number of migrants declines with distance there are more Hageners moving to Port Moresby than to Goroka or Lae and more Eastern Highlanders moving to the national capital than to Lae. This suggests that although the total number of migrants is strongly influenced by distance, those who do move tend to migrate longer distances rather than take advantage of opportunities in intermediate centres.¹⁹ There may even be a tendency for the number of opportunities in the regional centres to decline with the recent exodus of expatriates. The results of the Urban Survey will yield more knowledge about employment opportunities in the smaller towns of Papua New Guinea and make possible a more detailed examination of the impact of urban centres such as Mount Hagen, Goroka and Lae on the migration field of Port Moresby.

¹⁹The one econometric study of the determinants of internal migration in Papua New Guinea (Harris 1974b) from 1966 data found that distance was less influential than in other developing countries.
At the normative and individual levels, dealing with the reasons given by migrants themselves for their migration, the primarily qualitative local studies of internal migration in Papua New Guinea emphasise the importance of economic motivation in explaining migration. The evidence supporting the desire to earn a cash income as being a major controlling factor of both rural-rural and rural-urban movement is prodigious.\(^2\) However, this evidence should be treated with some caution. At least in part it is based on a post facto rationalisation of migration which, as Strathern (this volume) points out, reflects the attitude towards migration and provides a justification for movement which will be found acceptable to peers and kin.

Certainly many migrants move to the city for short-term gain, to earn money for immediate expenditure, but others migrate or prolong their migration with future investment possibilities in mind. The Salisburys (1972*) argue that, while decisions by highland Siane to migrate to Port Moresby can be viewed entirely in terms of short-run financial return, once in the city the migrants are motivated to stay by the prospects of accumulating savings and acquiring skills (such as learning to drive) which can be exploited when the migrant returns to the village. Data on another two highland groups in Port Moresby, collected by Harris (1973b), support the Salisburys' thesis and Baxter (1972*, 1973), while arguing that Orokaiva migration is not for predominantly economic motives, emphasises the significance of migration as a source of innovation and wealth in terms of the home community. Conroy and Curtain (1973) also recorded that school-leavers from the Southern Highlands who had migrated to Port Moresby regarded themselves as temporary residents and seemed to consider urban employment a learning process and an opportunity for accumulation of capital for rural investment in trucks and trade stores. Among rural-rural migrants Ploeg (1972a, 1972b) recorded that many oil palm settlers regarded their blocks as the first step in setting up other business enterprises.

Migration therefore can be seen in part as being motivated by long-term investment considerations. However, just how much money is actually saved for later investment in the rural areas and how much is spent in conspicuous consumption in the city or just disappears because of the high cost of urban living should be a matter for investigation. Many migrants, while claiming to remain in the city to acquire skills which can be used in the village, are merely postponing, often indefinitely, the date of their return; they become virtually permanent urban residents who may never return to live in their village.

Other aspects of the investment motivation have a more social orientation: for example, a temporary sojourn away from the community in order to accumulate money for a bride price (Oram 1968b*). Even investment in rural businesses cannot be considered merely within the

context of an economic motivation but must be seen within the context of the local prestige system. These caveats are not to deny the importance of economic motivation but to stress that any attempt to differentiate purely economic factors from the purely social is deceptive. All migrations have economic and social causes and consequences which belie any simplistic determinism.

Although the economic factors in motivation have been emphasised in the Papua New Guinea literature, other factors, often called social or non-economic, have also been taken into consideration: for example, migration as an expected activity for young men. The prohibition of warfare after European contact left young men without an activity with which to prove their manhood and migration has been seen as both fulfilling this role and as a path to prestige in the local community (West 1958; Zimmerman 1973; Baxter 1973; Harris 1972*). These non-economic factors are largely immeasurable and are often vague, such as the much criticised emotional pull of the ‘bright lights’ of the city (M. W. Ward 1970*; Isaac 1970; Board of Inquiry Investigating Rural Minimum Wages 1970) or the ‘frontier spirit’ motivation of adventure and curiosity (West 1958; A. M. Strathern 1972; Baxter 1973). The dullness of village life (Koroma 1972*; Ryan 1968*) is the rural corollary of the ‘bright lights’ hypothesis which ‘pushes’ people out of the village towards the town. These factors operate primarily on the personal level, explaining why particular individuals move. They control what Mitchell (1959) has termed the ‘incidence’ of migration rather than the ‘rate’ or total volume of population movement. Other personal factors include movement to avoid communal responsibilities or a migration after an argument, threats or fears of sorcery (Oram 1967, 1968b*; Koroma 1972*).

These normative and personal factors must be seen against the background of the structural framework in which they operate for a full understanding of the migration process. Researchers of migration in Africa have found that the analysis of the reasons given for migration by the migrants themselves often obscures the real causes of population movement (Hutton 1969): George Lichtheim’s critical comments on Max Weber’s emphasis on the psychological factors in explaining the emergence of the entrepreneur are pertinent to the analysis of population migration: ‘Once the process has been set in motion, it matters little what the individual agents imagine themselves to be doing, and what sets it in motion is the emergence of a new mode of production’ (Lichtneim 1972:81).

The introduction of nuclei of western capitalist society was the mechanism by which the process of migration was set in motion in the developing world and it is against this background that the foregoing discussion should be considered. This is not the place to discuss the political and ideological ramifications of European economic expansion but its profound influence in generating the patterns of migration in the developing countries cannot be ignored.

The key to the understanding of this contact is the web of information
flows and social networks which develop between the centres of European activity — the towns, missions and plantations — and the rural hinterland. Initial contact with western society may be indirect through traditional trading routes (see Salisbury 1962a) but those which give rise to migration outside the village society are concomitant with the extension of patrols and, most importantly, of labour recruiters. The knowledge brought back by the earlier migrants tends to increase movement since it removes potential migrants’ fears of the unknown (Baxter 1972*; Harris 1972*). With migrant communities established in the towns and information flowing freely back into the hinterland through returned migrants, migration accelerates. Migration is a cumulative process. Researchers in other parts of the world have found from multiple regression analysis that the major ‘explanatory’ variable in accounting for migration from any particular area is the number of previous migrants from that area. This has been termed the ‘migrant stock’ variable (Levy and Wadycki 1973).

Hagerstrand has probably contributed more to the development of migration theory than anyone since Ravenstein, through his conceptualisation of migration as a spatial process within society. He considered that migration was primarily the result of learning — whereby an individual would hear of opportunities in another area and would respond to that information either by migrating to take advantage of the opportunities or by staying in his home town. Studies of economic motivation generally implicitly or explicitly assume that the factors operate independently of the individual or social group. While Hägerstrand still considered the migrant more or less an ‘economic man’, acting rationally to information concerning economic opportunities, this information was not spread evenly throughout the area of origin of migration as had been assumed in earlier (and is assumed in many later) theories. Only those who had access to that information through some kind of contact with the wider world could decide to migrate or to stay. These contacts were built up through previous migrations. Clearly the early migrants from any particular community had no predecessors to follow and these he classified as ‘active migrants’: those who seek out their destiny ‘according to their lights’; while the later migrants are ‘passive’ and follow in the footsteps of active migrants influenced by their choice of destination and the networks already in existence.21

Hägerstrand found that once a migration field, or the destination of any particular community, had been established, it remained remarkably stable over time despite the fact that revolutionary changes in transportation technology had taken place (Hägerstrand 1957; see also Allen 1972 and Patten 1973). This inertia, brought about by contacts with

21See also Petersen’s (1958) division between innovative and conservative migrants. The work of sociologists on adopter categories is also relevant to the acceptance or rejection of information which can result in migration. See Rogers (1962) and Rogers and Shoemaker (1971).
previous migrants, means that migration to a particular destination can continue although the original factors which caused the movement have disappeared. Hence it is important that both the objective and normative factors be examined within the temporal context of migration. The concentration of population itself is a major contributory factor in the location of industry, supplying both a pool of labour and a market, so to talk of the creation of job opportunities in industry and commerce as causing migration is deceptive. Both are self-reinforcing. In Papua New Guinea the importance of these networks to migration has been referred to in the majority of studies of migration but little detailed systematic work has been carried out on the evolution of migration spaces through space and time. The work of Young (1973, this volume) and her continuing research in Chimbu and New Ireland are the first extensive investigations into the evolution of the patterns of migration and the way in which networks of contacts between areas are built up.

The existing literature on networks in Papua New Guinea deals with the social organisation of the migrant communities in the city, primarily Port Moresby (Oram 1967, 1968b*; Hitchcock and Oram 1967; Ryan 1968*; Salisbury and Salisbury 1972*; Baxter 1973). It has shown how the social organisation of the village based on kin relationships is reproduced in the city; and that there is little evidence of 'detribalisation' and social breakdown in the Papua New Guinea context. Social relations between urban migrants and the villages appear to be stronger or as strong as ties between urban groups. Thus the village and the urban migrant group form an integrated social system (Ryan 1968*, 1970; Salisbury and Salisbury 1972*; Baxter 1973). This situation may change in the near future as urban growth continues and a study of the scope of Mayer's (1971) work in East London, South Africa, is required before we can analyse just how this process is evolving in towns in Papua New Guinea.

Migration has been conceptualised above as primarily the result of influences diffusing from centres of European activity: an innovation to be adopted or rejected. One other important innovation spread by the European which is essentially related to migration is education. This has received considerable attention in the literature on migration in Papua New Guinea and elsewhere.22 Education creates aspirations and often income expectations which can only be realised outside the village. It imparts skills for which there is limited demand in the rural areas and makes it easier for the migrant to find a job in urban areas. Most importantly, rural schools disseminate knowledge about the urban way of life and the opportunities available in towns. In this way education acts as a major stimulus to migration. Conroy (1970) concludes that the acceleration of rural-urban migration must be recognised as one of the costs of the expansion of the education system.

However, the process is not simply one way: migration aids the spread and acceptance of education. We have seen above that the earliest migrants from a particular area were agreement labourers or indentured servants, who were usually illiterate. They were exposed to the wider world and saw the benefits which education could bring. On returning to their home communities they will have encouraged their children to go to school so that they would be better prepared to take advantage of opportunities outside the home area. The acceptance of education indicates a change in the traditional society, which has already changed through migration and through other forms of contact with the European. Education neither causes nor is caused by migration but both are self-reinforcing and reflect the profound transformation of indigenous society through contact with the western world.

As outmigration from any particular area increases, the attitudes towards migration change. In the early period the few aspiring migrants are regarded as deviants but as the volume of movement increases and knowledge of conditions in other areas is widely diffused and understood, migration to the cities becomes more and more acceptable to the majority as an alternative to life in rural areas. Lindberg (1930) has shown how migration becomes a ‘fever’ and people are in effect educated to migrate, with the networks between area of origin and area of destination becoming stronger than those between communities in the area of origin. Clearly internal migration in Papua New Guinea has not evolved to anywhere near this stage (except perhaps in some communities in Gulf Province) but this progression should not be ignored as a future possibility.

It has been suggested above that one of the most useful approaches to the explanation of migration is to conceptualise population movement as the result of a process which diffuses through space and time. This approach places the static levels of Germani and Hutton within a dynamic spatial context. The rate and direction of this diffusion process are influenced by the structural factors of distance and the distribution of resources, which themselves are given new meaning by the norms and perceptions of the colonising group. The diffusion of nuclei of mineral exploitation and the diffusion of agrarian capitalism, along with the extension of the western education system, provoke the changes which result in migration. These act as points for the dissemination of information concerning the outside world and cause the dissolution of regional isolation and the linking with the modern world in a complex system of dependence and interdependence. As these foci of activity find their expression in settlement patterns migration is intimately related with central place and social hierarchies (Hagerstrand 1967; Brown, Odland and Golledge 1970; Riddell and Harvey 1972; Skeldon 1974). Papua New Guinea is one of the few remaining countries in the world where the dynamic interrelationships between an evolving settlement hierarchy and migration at an early stage of development can be analysed.
POLICY IMPLICATIONS OF INTERNAL MIGRATION

The redistribution of population is of primary importance to the development of the emerging nations. The movement of people to urban areas has been associated with economic development although the exact relationship is confused and is more often assumed than defined. Very generally, the most highly urbanised nations of the world tend to be the most developed while those with few people living in cities are 'underdeveloped' or 'developing' countries, but whether the existence of cities provides the reason for economic development or whether economic development represents the main cause of cities is far from clear (Mabogunje 1968).

Throughout the 1950s and early 1960s the movement of population from rural areas to towns was commonly regarded as inevitable and as a positive step towards development. 'It was the natural process by which surplus unemployed or underemployed rural labour was transferred from the countryside to provide the manpower needed for industrialisation and capital accumulation in the towns' (Jolly 1971: 119). As such the process was seen to be beneficial. This approach was typified by the writings of the economists Lewis (1954) and Fei and Ranis (1964). Even in the mid-1950s it was recognised by some economists that although a number of cities generated economic development others were parasitic and retarded growth (Hoselitz 1955) and by the second half of the 1960s it was clear that in the third world urban growth was far exceeding industrial growth. The labour demands of the modern industrial sector were not adequate to meet the supply provided by the rapidly increasing urban population. Unemployment and underemployment have recently become major issues in the developing world: 'Indeed, for an increasing number of countries, employment is emerging as a more serious problem than the much more widely canvassed question of the adequacy of food supplies' (Turnham with Jaeger 1971:9). This problem is compounded by the inability of most governments to supply adequate housing for the burgeoning urban populations who have resorted to their own devices in constructing squatter settlements around the margins of most large and medium-sized cities in the third world.

The spectre of political unrest among the mass of unemployed in these settlements brought a variety of responses from governments to try to stem or even turn the tide of migration to the cities. Many of the fears of political chaos have proved groundless; the squatter settlements have been shown to be more a solution to the housing shortage than a problem (Mangin 1967) and unemployment as a major issue has been seriously questioned (Weeks 1971, 1974) but there has still been a continued search for formulae which might control the volume of rural-urban movement. The principal approach advocated is a policy which will decrease the rural-urban wage differential through improving the living and employment conditions in the traditional agricultural sector (Bairoch 1973; Turnham with Jaeger 1971; Todaro 1968, 1969; Frank 1968).
It is interesting that attitudes towards the growth of cities and the control of migration appear to be coming full circle. The latest summary of the results of the World Employment Programme of the International Labour Office looks to an experiment in urban development in Colombia as a possible solution to unemployment. The success of this project would:

- demonstrate the potential advantages of opting for a bold policy of using the urbanisation process as an instrument of development and employment creation — instead of clinging to a fearful policy of seeking to delay the inevitable tide of migration to the cities. (Lubell 1974:9.)

In the Papua New Guinea context there have been ambivalent views towards the role of migration and urban growth. Until the early 1960s government policy tended to discourage urban migration. A variety of legal, social and economic barriers made towns hostile places for migrants (Hitchcock and Oram 1967; Baxter 1973). There appears to have been some change in attitude during the 1960s especially with respect to the provision of services to squatter settlements and low-cost housing, which indicates an acceptance, albeit grudging, of continued urban growth. Several analysts have argued that such urbanisation was inevitable and following a philosophy akin to that of the economists of the 1950s regarded this trend as favourable and as a path to economic development (Belshaw 1963; M. W. Ward 1970*; R. G. Ward 1968a, 1971*).

This position has recently been strongly challenged by Harris (1971, 1973a) and Conroy (1973a*, 1973b), who suggested that policies should be adopted which would favour rural development in the hope of reducing the rural-urban wage differential and slowing the rural exodus. Certainly the government has adopted a firmer commitment to the aim of improving rural living through its Eight Point Improvement Plan and has recently established a Village Development Task Force (renamed Office of Village Development), and the Papua New Guinea Development Bank has given priority in its lending policy to rural development. Whether these approaches will stem the flow of population towards the urban areas can only be a matter for conjecture but rural development and planned rural resettlement projects in other parts of the world have often increased rather than decreased migration to urban areas. It will be folly for planners not to prepare for increased urban growth.

It is not so much a question of whether the expansion of cities stimulates or retards economic growth but which urban system will best serve the future development needs of Papua New Guinea. The growth of service centres is an integral part of the evolution of any functioning national system. The development of a balanced urban hierarchy rather than a series of small centres dominated by a primate city should be a possibility with adequate planning for decentralisation in Papua New Guinea. The Eight Point Plan specifically aims towards decentralisation.
and projects such as *maket raun* (R. G. Ward *et al.* 1974b) are steps towards this objective. However, as pointed out above, the migration fields once established tend to become stable and already areas in the highlands are developing ties to Port Moresby rather than to the regional centres of Mount Hagen, Goroka or Lae. Regional development, not only in rural areas but around the smaller cities, is a matter of prime importance if the dominance of the capital is to be tempered.

We have presented here a very general historical and geographical background to internal migration in Papua New Guinea, with a summary of the existing literature on the topic and brief reference to work carried out in other areas which may throw fresh light on the process in Papua New Guinea. The essays included in this volume represent a first attempt to consolidate our knowledge of this complex process. They form the basis of our understanding of internal migration at the present time. The gaps in our knowledge are great, the need for research pressing. This collection of essays forms but an interim report which, we hope, will stimulate further research and aid the formulation of new questions which may lead to a fuller understanding of internal migration in Papua New Guinea.
2 Internal Migration and Urbanisation in Papua New Guinea

R. G. WARD*

The process of social and economic change that began in Papua New Guinea with intensive contact between the indigenous population and alien visitors in the mid-nineteenth century has continued at an accelerated rate and has had widespread demographic effects. Rising death rates and sometimes falling fertility followed the introduction of new diseases; this situation has now been replaced throughout most of the country by rapidly falling death rates and high to very high birth rates. Papua New Guinea is now experiencing rapid population increase — probably more rapid than at any time since the earliest days of human settlement, perhaps 50,000 years ago.

Along with these changes in size and rate of growth of population have gone changes in the distribution of the people. This redistribution is essential to economic development and it cannot be stopped. This chapter reviews some of these changes and in particular considers the trend for an increasing proportion of migrants to move to towns; it argues that migration and the rapid expansion of towns are essential for economic and social progress and that urbanisation should be facilitated and encouraged, rather than frowned on and discouraged. Increasing urbanisation, and the consequent spread of urbanism (the urban way of life) into the countryside, provide a path to more effective use of some of Papua New Guinea's scarce resources and a faster route to national unity than can be found in the careful maintenance of the rural village ideal. Adlai Stevenson, in his last speech to the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations, developed a similar theme (quoted in Beyer 1967:v):

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For too long we have proceeded on the false assumption that people would really rather live in villages than anywhere and that it is better for society if they did. The trouble is they don't — even when the village is modernized and sanitized and electrified, people move into larger towns and cities.

Some countries have in fact recognized that the problem is not less urbanization but more urban areas — not just one or two in each country. Some are experimenting with regional development programs . . . in an effort to create new urban centers which will not only deflect migration headed for already overcrowded capital cities but will have an impact on the surrounding countryside and improve rural living in a wide area around the new cities. But the process of decentralization is difficult and complex and failures — temporary or permanent — are as common as successes.

Redistribution of population has, of course, taken place in Papua New Guinea throughout the whole period of human occupation. The expansion of villages, the spawning of daughter settlements, and the relocation of settlements under the stress of war, disaster or hunger resulted in the gradual occupation of most of the country. This cell-like reproduction of the village unit is an effective means of coping with population growth provided that ample land is available and the economy is largely self-sufficient. In these circumstances small and scattered settlement units provide a satisfactory means of distributing the people in accordance with the resources they use. The location factors for villages are essentially local — water, soils, building sites, stone and plant resources — and these are relatively ubiquitous in their availability. After the frontier of settlement had passed on, and as demographic processes resulted in increases or decreases in the population of particular villages, inter-village migration allowed adjustments to cope with the changing demands for land, wives, security and material goods.

European contact brought new locational forces into play which were external to the village. Missions and government stations, trading points and employment centres such as plantations and later goldfields, offered opportunities not to be found in the villages. Areas with access to these opportunities were favoured as destinations for migrants from places less well located; people therefore began to move towards the areas of alien-sponsored economic activity.

In the period before 1940 most internal migration was temporary in nature and was based on the contract labour system. Workers were recruited in their home areas, particularly the Sepik, Morobe and Madang Provinces in New Guinea and what are now Gulf and Milne Bay Provinces in Papua, and taken to work for set terms on the plantations of the New Guinea islands or Central Province, or in the gold mines of Central, Milne Bay and Morobe Provinces. Most returned home when their contracts expired; and some re-engaged after a period of rest and recuperation.
This early circulation of labour had two important effects on future migration patterns. First, it fostered a growing desire in the home areas for material goods which could only be obtained by increased labour migration; and secondly, it spread information about particular employment areas to particular source areas. It is the limits of this knowledge which have had a channelling effect on migration flows in both pre-war and post-war years. Even in the late 1950s the migration pattern revealed by Brookfield's study (1960) is one which follows the information flows established in much earlier times. The basic elements are one migration stream from the Sepik and Morobe to New Britain and New Ireland, and another from the outer Papuan districts to Central Province. For the Papuan migrant the New Guinea islands were still largely terra incognita, and likewise few New Guineans ventured across the central cordillera to Papua. One of the critical changes of the last decade has been a breaking down of the separate information fields and the creation of a national field within which migrants move much more freely.

In the post-war period a new type of migrant appeared in growing numbers: he did not sign a contract; he paid his own way to the place where he hoped to find employment; and he did not return home at the end of any set period. This type of migrant brought an entirely new dimension to the scene, one aspect of which was that the preferred destination of half of them was the town. The modern migrants move with more confidence, knowledge and independence; like the East Germans migrating to the west in the days before the Berlin Wall, they are voting with their feet.

Two maps published elsewhere (R. G. Ward 1970:15) show that in general those Provinces with limited indigenous cash cropping and few employment opportunities in expatriate-owned enterprises had a net outflow of migrants in 1966. Of those people born in West New Britain and Gulf Provinces, 18 and 15 per cent respectively had left their natal Provinces in 1966. East New Britain and Central Provinces were the principal destinations for migrants and 22 and 18 per cent respectively of their residents were born in other Provinces. Since 1966 both Bougainville and the Western Highlands have become more important as destinations. Chimbu and Eastern Highlands Provinces figure prominently on the maps (R. G. Ward 1970:15), but the creation of what is now Chimbu Province in the middle of the census period has resulted in considerable misreporting and therefore unreliable data for these two Provinces.

This apparently simple description of migration patterns in the mid-1960s masks an extremely intricate set of migration streams, counter streams and cross currents. For simplicity, however, the present migration complex may be viewed as three relatively separate systems: inter-

1The fact that Central Province is an important source and destination for internal migrants reflects the great contrast in socio-economic conditions in different parts of the Province. It also reflects the 'stream' and 'counter-stream' phenomenon.
village migration, agreement (formerly contract labour) migration, and independent migration.

Relatively little is known about inter-village movement within the traditional realm where the economy is mainly or wholly subsistence. However, one type of such migration which has developed in recent decades has been relocation of settlements following an end to inter-village warfare. In many areas, notably in the densely populated Chimbu Province, land that was formerly unoccupied because of its frontier or ‘no-man’s land’ status between antagonistic groups has now been occupied. Such movement does help alleviate population pressure. Similarly the adjustment of local populations in a traditional way continues. But the relationship of these movements in the traditional sector to the processes of modernisation is slight. This is characteristically short-distance migration. Census data for rural villages in 1966 show that in only two Provinces (New Ireland and Manus) were more than 0.6 per cent of the people born in Provinces other than that of residence or those immediately contiguous. Even in Central Province, which had over 18,000 net immigrants in 1966, only 87 of some 85,000 village residents were not born in Central, Gulf, Morobe, Northern or Milne Bay Provinces. Indeed less than 1.0 per cent were born in any single Province other than Central.

The local nature of this inter-village migration system illustrates the limited horizons of the village and the difficulty of creating a sense of national unity at the village level. Although villagers do return home with news of other Papua New Guineans who live far away, the experience of actually living alongside people from distant areas is simply not available to the vast majority of villagers. And as a channel for the diffusion of technical, social or economic innovations, inter-village migration has a limited role. In the context of modernisation the other two migration systems are much more significant.

The contract labour system and its successor, the agreement system, operating through the government-managed Highland Labour Scheme and through licensed recruiters in non-highland areas, have long been the principal channels through which villagers make their first step into the modern sector. This step, as with any shift of residence whether short or long-term, short or long-distance, requires that the potential migrant weigh up the information available to him about his likely destination and assess whether it offers better prospects than his home situation. If he thinks it does, he must pay the costs and overcome the intervening obstacles between home and destination. The agreement system has made possible long-distance movements from areas whose people would otherwise have no chance of breaking out of the traditional realm. The recruiter (or patrol officer) brings in information about other areas which could not penetrate through traditional channels; no doubt he often tells an over-enthusiastic story and actively persuades the potential migrant to leave home; and the recruiter (or Labour Scheme) removes the individual’s transport problem by organising his passage and having the employer rather than the
migrant bear the immediate cost. There is of course a considerable cost to the migrant and his kin. He has a limited choice of where he goes; in effect the village must subsidise his journey by supporting his dependants in his absence; and, particularly in the past, the rewards for his labour have not been over-generous. Nevertheless, the fact that over 10,000 new recruits sign on each year shows that the system still provides many with an attraction greater than that offered by their home villages. And in 1968 perhaps one-third of those who signed on in the Highland Labour Scheme were doing so for at least the second time.

Fig. 2.1 Movement of agreement workers from Province of birth to Province of employment, 1967. The flow lines are based on a random 20 per cent sample of all agreements entered into during 1967. Source: Department of Labour records, 1967.

Figure 2.1 shows the 1967 pattern of agreement labour migration in Papua New Guinea. Since 1957 (Brookfield 1960:238) there has been little change in destinations, but the highlands have become the major source of agreement workers, with the remoter parts of Morobe Province also contributing a larger number. The Sepik, which ten years ago was a major source, is now relatively insignificant. The reasons for this change are fairly clear: agreement labour is most attractive to people who have had limited contact with the outside world, know little about the range and location of places of employment available outside, and lack the means to pay their own fares. At any time these
conditions exist most obviously in areas of recent administrative control. In areas of longer contact many have been away before, have knowledge of alternative places of employment, and have the cash resources to pay their own way; they may also have developed a dissatisfaction with plantation work and the financial rewards offered by agreement labour.

Fig. 2.2 Model of outmigration from a rural area.

A typical area will send out agreement migrants soon after the establishment of initial contact or control (see Figure 2.2). After the first few groups return there is usually a decline in the number offering for agreement work and this may coincide with the increase in local sources of cash, usually from cash cropping. Agreement recruiting drops to a relatively low and stable level; recruits now tend to be older than previously and a higher proportion are married. Perhaps these are the less adventurous men, preferring security and lack of responsibility to higher wages and independence. Once financial resources in the area increase and the initial flush of cash crop establishment is passed, outmigration is renewed, generally involving larger numbers than ever before, but now on a non-agreement, independent basis.

Viewed another way the changing source of agreement labour can be envisaged as a wave moving across the country. In the last decade the wave has spread out from Goroka and later Mt Hagen, and the crest has now reached the furthest parts of the highlands (see Figure 2.3). The implications of this for the future are clear. Although the current
rate of recruitment may be maintained for a year or two longer it will inevitably begin to fall. Whereas 43 per cent of the total enumerated workforce were employed under agreements in 1960, the figure for 1968 was only 20 per cent. Even in the strongholds of the agreement system, the non-indigenous rural holdings, only 40 per cent of the workforce were engaged under agreements by 1968 and in only five Provinces did agreement workers outnumber casual or day-workers (Department of Labour 1969b:20 and 45).

Figure 2.3 shows the number of agreement workers leaving the Koroba, Mendi and Minj Districts from 1958 to 1969. Of the three, Minj District in Western Highlands Province is the most accessible and has the longest history of contact and administration. Mendi and Koroba, both in the Southern Highlands, have been under administration for shorter periods and the local opportunities for paid employment have so far been more limited than in the Minj District.

The agreement system carries within it the seeds of its own destruction. By spreading information into the remotest areas, it undermines the need for recruiters to act as disseminators of knowledge of the outside world. The information carried by returning workers is more realistic than that imparted by recruiters and allows prospective migrants to discriminate between alternative destinations. By providing a channel for innovations to spread into the villages, the agreement system both creates alternative avenues for earning cash and ultimately
provides the means for further travel to the outside world without the ties of an agreement. Clearly, unless there are radical changes in the conditions of employment under agreements, this migration system will die.

The agreement migration system is being replaced by the third system (see Figure 2.2) which, for want of a better term, I shall call the independent system. In 1967, of the 55,000 enumerated workers who were outside their Province of birth, 59 per cent were 'independent' migrants (Department of Labour, unpubl.). Whereas the agreement migration system is fairly simple to portray, the independent system is much more intricate. Figures 2.4 and 2.5 showing the movement of workers to three Provinces illustrate some of its basic features.

Fig. 2.4 Movement of non-agreement workers to Western Highlands and East New Britain Provinces, 1967. Source: Department of Labour, unpublished tabulations from annual employment returns, 1967.

Western Highlands Province (see Figure 2.4) is now second only to East New Britain Province in terms of numbers employed on non-indigenous rural holdings (Department of Labour 1969b:45), but in 1968 agreement labour accounted for only 7 per cent of the total. Independent migrants come in from surrounding Provinces seeking casual employment on coffee and tea plantations. This sort of situation is now the pattern for Madang, Morobe and Northern Provinces, as well as for the Eastern Highlands. In the case of East New Britain, the
long-established links with the New Guinea mainland coast are reflected in continued independent movement from the latter area; the agreement wave has passed on, but the informational and historical links continue to channel independent migrants along the old routes.

In the case of Central Province (see Figure 2.5) the pattern is rather different, and may indicate certain important trends which will become more obvious in the future. With increasing circulation of people, mail and other news, awareness of the attractions of some employment areas is now spread over the whole country and these areas are beginning to draw their migrants from a truly national field. Central Province is the clearest case, as one would expect from a consideration of the amount of information disseminated from and about each Province.

Figure 2.5 Movement of non-agreement workers to Central Province, 1967. Source: Department of Labour, unpublished tabulations from annual employment returns.

Figure 2.6 presents an information index map which is certainly provisional but does give an impression of the relative amount of news circulating about each Province. It is based on a composite index derived from data from newspaper news items about each Province, the outward flow of mail from each Province, and newspaper circulation to each Province. The correlation between this index and the number of independent inmigrants in each Province ($r = 0.92; p = 0.82$) is indicative of the way in which the flow of information about different areas
Fig. 2.6 Information index by Province, 1968-9. Source: Based on data from the Department of Posts and Telegraphs and circulation data from the *Papua-New Guinea Post-Courier*, Port Moresby.
influences the direction of migration, though deficiencies in the index and the fact that both may be underlain by a common dimension (European activity) mean that too much reliance should not be placed on the correlation.

The great variety of independent migrants makes generalisations about them rather dangerous, for the people involved range from the most highly paid indigenous civil servant to the unskilled youth hitchhiking down the Highlands Highway to seek his first job in Lae. But the independent migrant is certainly a rather different person from the agreement migrant. He generally has more experience of the world outside his village; he has the confidence to organise and the funds to pay for his own travel; he is more likely to remain away from his village for a long time; he is more skilled and receives a higher cash wage; he probably hopes to bring his wife and family to his new home when he can afford to; and he is likely to be urban-orientated, for at least 48 per cent of independent migrants are resident in urban areas (Department of Labour, unpubl.). Incidentally, it is also more difficult to find data on him.

The 1966 census showed that 8.6 per cent of indigenous males were living outside their Province of birth. A much higher percentage had left their natal village. Some indication of the varying impact of outmigration on different areas is provided by Figure 2.7, which shows absentees as a percentage of the de jure male population of working age of each census division. In some census divisions the proportion of male absentees is over 50 per cent and large and widely scattered areas have over 30 per cent away. These are often places which have had long (even if not intensive) contact with the commercial world, and where either the physical environment or relative isolation limits local cash earning. But some of the most developed areas, which do not suffer these disadvantages, also have high absentee rates. Data are not available to account fully for this but two conclusions can be drawn from the evidence embodied in Figure 2.7 and from our knowledge of the changes taking place in the relative importance of the three migration systems. First, the proportion of absentees in many parts of the highlands must be expected to rise rapidly in the next few years. For example, as the Western and Southern Highlands as a whole achieve the level of indigenous cash cropping now enjoyed in the Eastern Highlands, and as independent migration replaces agreement, there will be a greater exodus than ever. Secondly, and this is implied above, there is little evidence that increasing indigenous participation in commercial agriculture in an area will in fact stem the outward flow of adult males from that area. This prediction, a rather gloomy one for those who see the retention of men on the land as being of prime importance, needs more explanation.

Part of the explanation lies in the model of the change from agreement to independent migration (see Figure 2.2). The increase of local cash resources makes possible more independent migration as often as it acts as an incentive to stay. Ten years ago it looked as if the outward
Fig. 2.7 Percentage of the *de jure* adult male population of each census division absent from their villages at the time of the last Department of District Administration village census. *Source:* Department of District Administration records from village censuses. The date of the censuses varies between late 1967 and mid-1969.
movement from the Eastern Highlands might slow down as local coffee production rose (Brookfield 1961:311); today it looks as if local income is providing a secure base from which men (and women) migrate independently, in the knowledge that they can go back to a partially money raising economy if they wish. Certainly the number of workers from Eastern Highlands and Chimbu Provinces employed outside them has continued to rise steadily, and between 1965 and 1968 the increase averaged 8.5 per cent per annum for total workers and 34.2 per cent per annum for non-agreement workers (see Figure 2.8). Brookfield (1968:111) shows how changing aspirations, land-use pressures and changing coffee prices influence this outmigration in part of Chimbu Province. Subjective evidence so far indicates that the wish to return home is not very strong, just as Adlai Stevenson suggested is the case elsewhere in the world (see p. 28).

There are other reasons why the outward flow of people from many rural areas is likely to grow both absolutely and relatively. The process of modernisation, especially the commercialisation of agriculture, has two important effects on the man-land ratio. First a new location factor, accessibility, becomes of prime importance. Without access to markets by road or sea, effective participation in cash cropping is impossible. There are many parts of Papua New Guinea which cannot
expect to be accessible for several decades. Such areas do and may continue to support a subsistence population but these areas can be expected to become less and less attractive as their residents' knowledge of the outside world increases.

Secondly, the desire to engage in cash cropping often causes a change in the appraisal of land quality by the cultivators themselves. Commercialisation of agriculture usually means specialisation and a consequent reduction in the range of soils in an area which are considered valuable. With the varied crops and short cultivation periods of shifting agriculture a wide range of soils and slopes may be used; slopes that are far too steep for permanent cultivation may be used safely with short cropping and long fallow periods. But most forms of commercial agriculture are permanent, and over large areas of Papua New Guinea the pockets of land which are able to support such cultivation are too small and too scattered to make it economic to provide the access which is essential if they are to be brought into the modern economy. At a rough estimate some 250,000 people, or 10 per cent of the population, live in such areas and these areas must be expected to become progressively depopulated. This is happening in most of the larger island territories of the Pacific.

Even in some of those areas with satisfactory conditions of access, a net outflow of population must be expected. This is especially likely in the more densely settled areas, for a change from predominantly subsistence gardening to primarily cash cropping is likely to increase the area needed to support a family and hence to reduce the density of population which may be supported per unit area of rural land.

It might be argued from the nineteenth century Indonesian experience that by a process which Geertz (1966) called 'agricultural involution', a steadily increasing labour input combined with technical changes and skilful elaboration of the agricultural system would allow a steady increase in rural densities without a corresponding rapid fall in levels of living. If Papua New Guinea had a wet-rice agricultural system this would certainly be possible. But as most Papua New Guineans depend on some variety of shifting cultivation, a growing population and larger demands of land per head are more likely to result in longer cropping and shorter fallow periods and generally in a deterioration of the environment and a reduction in its carrying capacity. To change the basic agricultural system to one which is likely to sustain a process of 'involution' would be a very difficult undertaking and indeed one leading to a blind alley in economic development. Papua New Guinea is more likely to follow the other path, whereby the further development of technology in agriculture increasingly limits the number of people who can gainfully live from agriculture (C. Garcés-Vernaza, quoted by Beyer 1967:94).

Where will these people go to find employment, or land? Through resettlement schemes the Administration has been active in attempting to assist in the relocation of rural population and in increasing their
involvement in the modern economic and social sector. In the case of the Hoskins oil palm project such development is essential for the establishment of a potentially very profitable industry. However, resettlement through government agencies is still contributing relatively little towards population redistribution in terms of numbers of people moved. (Of course it should soon begin to contribute very significantly to Papua New Guinea's exports.) Since 1961 some 3750 farm blocks have been made available in resettlement schemes and about 3500 families resettled (Ploeg personal communication, October 1970). In ten years, therefore, resettlement schemes have catered for about three months' increase in population at current rates of growth. In the same period the growth of the indigenous population of Port Moresby alone from 20,000 to about 43,000 represents the equivalent of resettling a considerably larger number of families. If it is to act as a counterbalance to rural-urban migration the resettlement program needs to be greatly accelerated. At present rates of planning it cannot keep pace with the potential demand, and unplanned resettlement of the type going on around the margins of Chimbu Province is unlikely to prove more than a temporary palliative. Furthermore, it still remains to be seen whether the resettlements will be more successful than the villages in retaining people in the rural areas.

So far I have tended to imply that the principal motive for internal migration is the desire to earn cash. To date little work has been done on the motivation of migrants, but it is clear that a whole range of social as well as economic motives is involved. They include the desire to extend one's range of experience; the wish to avoid communal and council obligations and the dullness of village life; the need to earn cash for tax payments; the desire to get children into school or to get further education oneself; the attraction of the variety of town life and the higher level of services, public and commercial, which are available in non-village areas. Until rural areas are able to offer modern social as well as economic attractions, it will be very difficult to stem the drift away from village life.

The recent change in the relative importance of the two main migration systems has been accompanied by changes in the directions of movement. By 1967 about half of the independent migrants were working in urban areas and in 1968, 33 per cent of the total enumerated workforce were in the thirteen main towns (Department of Labour 1969b:22). Insofar as wage differentials influence potential migrants, it is significant that these urban workers in 1968 received over 50 per cent of the total amount of salaries and wages paid to indigenous workers in Papua New Guinea (Department of Labour 1969b:34-9). Although higher living costs in towns reduce the effectiveness of the higher wage, it is likely that the apparent differential is of greater importance than the real differential as an attractive force for potential migrants.

2The labour migration research project (of which this chapter is part) will study motivation more comprehensively.
The 1966 census showed that 5.9 per cent of the total population and 4.8 per cent of the indigenous population were resident in urban areas. These are very low figures compared with other parts of the world, and even compared with other developing countries, especially as the definition of an urban area included several centres with well under one thousand people. At present (1970) we have only a hazy idea of how rapidly the towns are growing. And to attempt to predict with any pretence of real accuracy their likely sizes in, say, 1991 and to suggest what proportion of the population will be urban dwellers by that date is somewhat foolhardy. Nevertheless, I would like to explore some of the possibilities.

Fortunately counts were made in 1970 of the population of Port Moresby, Lae, Madang, Goroka and Rabaul (Bureau of Statistics 1970; Division of District Administration 1970). In 1966 the first four of these towns contained 56 per cent of the urban population. (Rabaul is omitted as the urban boundaries used for the 1966 census were quite unrealistic and excluded considerable areas which were urban in nature.) The total population of these four has increased at a rate of 8.3 per cent per annum since 1966 and the indigenous population at 8.1 per cent. Goroka had the highest indigenous population increase rate per annum, 13.3 per cent, and Port Moresby the lowest, 6.8 per cent. Although estimates of the population of other towns have been made annually by officers of the Division of District Administration it is impractical to use these as an accurate guide owing to problems of enumeration and definition of urban boundaries. However, figures for 11 of the smaller towns (including Mt Hagen, Wewak and Daru) suggest that their total population is probably increasing by over 6 per cent per annum, and it seems reasonable to assume that the total urban population is increasing at about 8 per cent per annum.

If the rate of increase of the four enumerated towns is paralleled by overall urban growth, the mid-1971 indigenous urban population will be 153,000; this would include 6.2 per cent of the indigenous population, using van de Kaa's (1971b) medium projection for total indigenous population. Continued expansion at this rate would mean that by 1976, 7.9 per cent of the indigenous population would be urban dwellers, and in 1991 the country might have 725,000 urban dwellers, or about 16.0 per cent of the projected indigenous population. By comparison it is interesting to note that Fiji reached this level of urbanisation in about 1950 and Western Samoa shortly after 1956; by 1966, 19 per cent of Fiji's population lived within legally delimited towns and 33 per cent in areas which could be defined as urban (Colon of Fiji 1968:6).

The only detailed projection for an urban area in Papua New Guinea is that by Langmore (1970:29) for Port Moresby; this gives a population in 1990 of 270,000, including 252,000 indigenes. The 1970 population enumeration suggests that Langmore's estimate for the 1966-

3These figures make allowance for boundary changes between 1966 and 1970.
80 period may be too low, but provided that Port Moresby remains the capital it will have at least a quarter of a million indigenous residents by 1990. By the end of the century it could have over half a million. And if Port Moresby continues to have a similar proportion of Papua New Guinea's urban dwellers as it does now, a national total of 750,000 persons may be living in towns in twenty years time.

It has been noted that in many countries there is a fairly regular relationship between the relative size of towns and their rank in the urban hierarchy of the country. The 'rank-size rule', in its simple form, states that the size of town number ‘n’ in the hierarchy will be 1/nth the size of the largest town. In 1970 the towns of Papua New Guinea fitted this model fairly well — better apparently than in 1966. If Port Moresby were to continue to grow as predicted and something approaching a rank-size relationship were maintained, by 1991 at least 20 per cent of the population would be urban dwellers.4

It may be argued that these figures of 16 or 20 per cent urbanised require rates of increase considerably in excess of those projected for the increase in the size of the money raising part of the workforce. This is true. But those sectors of the money raising workforce that are urban-based are also those likely to have the highest rates of growth: manufacturing, public authority, transport, storage and communications, mining and so on. This is of course a characteristic of most modern economies.

But there are other reasons why the urban areas are likely to grow at least as fast and perhaps even faster than the rates suggested above — and certainly faster than the rate of increase in urban jobs, even though this will result in large numbers of apparently unemployed people residing in the towns. In many Third World countries urbanisation outstrips the growth of urban employment opportunities. In a western society one might expect the rate of rural-urban migration to fall as urban unemployment rises and a state of over-urbanisation develops; but too often we tend to forget that in Papua New Guinea we are not dealing with a 'western' society, even in those parts of the country which are most urbanised and most modernised.

It might be argued that to be unemployed in town is to be destitute, whereas back in the village land and kin are available for support. Yet one of the most important features of urban areas in Papua New Guinea (as in many parts of the Third World) is that the society is not individualised to the extent that people are left destitute. Reciprocity still operates; kinship and place of origin groups support those in need and income is spread through traditional-type channels. As a result the burden of supporting those who are temporarily out of work is spread widely in what Wertheim called 'shared poverty' (Armstrong and McGee 1968:359). And even if the urban underemployed

4Strict application of the rank-size rule would imply a considerably higher percentage of urban dwellers, but this would require the establishment of a very large number of towns with between 1000 and 5000 residents, and this is unlikely to occur.
went home to their villages it is doubtful if they would be materially better off, unless of course their home area is one where ample land is available for cash cropping, there is good road access to markets, services such as schools and shops are available, and jobs are also obtainable in the long period before coffee or tea or coconuts provide any cash return. These conditions do not exist over much of Papua New Guinea. If many more resettlement-type projects were operating the case might be different, but we are not dealing with a situation in which jobs are readily available in rural areas. To those who have opted out of the mainly subsistence sector there are too few opportunities in the rural areas.

Browning (1967:74) has pointed out in relation to Latin America that ‘any society suffering from overurbanization is one certain to be suffering from over-ruralisation as well’. Labour underused in the town would in all probability still be underused if it had remained in the country. This is the case in Papua New Guinea. As a result the underemployed urban dweller who stays in town is not weighing his urban underemployment against full rural employment, but against rural underemployment. And urban ‘shared poverty’ is often more exciting than rural ‘shared poverty’.

Armstrong and McGee (1968) take over Geertz’s term ‘involution’ to describe the way in which, in Third World cities, the non-capitalist sections of the tertiary sector of the urban economy can continue to absorb increasing labour to an extraordinary extent. The organisation of Koki market in Port Moresby is an example of this situation, and shows how the urban ‘bazaar economy’ interacts with the rural village economy to spread the load of urban support still wider. There is no clearly defined urban-rural dichotomy but rather two separate, interacting forms of urban economy: one is expatriate and capital-intensive, while the other is indigenous and labour-intensive and overlaps into the rural peasant economy. After all, by supporting the dependants of urban migrants the village is subsidising the town just as it is subsidising the plantation. All this means that an increment in the capitalist sector of the town’s economy may well support a disproportionately large increment in the ‘bazaar’ sector. We should be wary of urban population predictions for Papua New Guinea which are tied too closely to estimates of growth in the money sector workforce, for the situation is one in which the relationship between them is not wholly and 4.8 per cent of the indigenous population were resident in urban clear. Experience in other countries suggests that even if the commercial sector of the economy were to stagnate, urbanisation would continue. General unrest in the country may increase the rate, as in Indonesia, where the urban population increased by 231 per cent between 1930 and 1961, although the total population rose by only 60 per cent (Milone 1966:97), and the country’s economy was disrupted by war, the

5This rural underemployment is itself a product of the process of modernisation. It is the introduction of low-cost, factory-made goods which has eliminated the village handicraft industries, local trading systems, and several other labour-intensive activities of the traditional economy.
Internal Migration and Urbanisation

revolutionary period, and the policies of the Sukarno regime.

Other reasons why the towns of Papua New Guinea should grow at a rapid rate in the next few years lie in the sex ratio of the urban population and changes which appear to be occurring in this ratio among migrants to the towns. In 1966 the towns had 183 males for every 100 females. This imbalance obviously depressed the crude birth rate in urban areas. Unfortunately, as birth and death registration is not compulsory, regional differences in the rates cannot be accurately assessed.

It has been a common experience for fertility rates in urban areas to be lower than in rural areas and a whole complex of factors lies behind this. It is a tendency which is encouraging for planners. But there are indications that this is a far from universal situation and recent experience in Latin America suggests that urban fertility rates are rising rather than falling (Browning 1967:87), and the same tendency has been noted in some cities in other parts of the developing world. Van de Kaa (personal communication, November 1970) suggests that this is already the case in Papua New Guinea.

The enumerations of the major towns in 1970 revealed that their indigenous adult female population was increasing much faster than the male; this reflects a growing stability in the urban population with more men deciding their future lies in the towns and bringing wives (and families) to town. As the sex ratio becomes more balanced the urban birth rate is likely to increase, temporarily at least.

The whole question of the permanency of the urban population is a vexed one. Few data are available on the rate of circulation between village and town, but what there are suggest that the urban population is much more permanently committed to the town than is commonly supposed. Ryan (1964) showed that of Toaripi men in Port Moresby in 1963-4, nearly 70 per cent had first left home over ten years previously; approximately 80 per cent were married and had their families with them; and about 75 per cent of the children were either born outside the village or left the village in their first year. These figures appear high but relatively long periods of extra-village residence are recorded by other workers. Oram (1968b*) reported that of those males from Hula village who were over 34 years of age and resident in Port Moresby in 1964, 61 per cent had spent over fourteen years away from the village. Moreover, the fact that many urban residents are temporary does not imply that total urban populations will in future fall, relatively or absolutely. Even if many of the current town-dwellers do return to their villages, it is likely that they will be replaced by an even greater number of new rural-urban migrants.

To talk of temporary urban dwellers with the implication that they will go home in due course is, from what evidence is available, largely wishful thinking. Furthermore, as the degree of permanency increases and crude birth rates rise, natural increase within the towns is likely to go some way towards compensating for any falling-off of rural-urban drift. With their medical facilities, the towns tend to be at least as healthy as rural areas. This is a different situation from that of the
Change and Movement

growing towns of the Old World in the eighteenth century, and it is one which will encourage high rates of natural increase in Papua New Guinea's towns.

The whole trend of this argument leads to the belief that an urban population nearer 1,000,000 than 500,000 should be expected in 1991. But what sort of an urban pattern is Papua New Guinea likely to have? In many countries there is a high level of primacy in the urban structure, that is, a very high percentage of the urban population lives in one town, usually the capital city. For example, in Mexico, Mexico City is about four times the size of the next largest town, and in Victoria, Melbourne is twenty times the size of Geelong. Such a situation may have advantages in a developing country where the high-level skills and technical equipment needed in modernisation are scarce resources, for they may be more effectively utilised within one large urban centre than if spread over several smaller ones. This argument has been put forward in Papua New Guinea in relation to tertiary education: the cost of fragmenting tertiary education in a number of small, scattered institutions results in duplicating of teaching personnel, library resources and classroom facilities, and in significantly higher costs per student. The same argument applies equally to many other high-level services, such as medical, legal and administrative ones. Ideally, we might plan to develop a high level of primacy in our urban structure.

However, a high level of primacy is unlikely to develop. Although the post-war administrative union of Papua and New Guinea has resulted in administrative centralisation, the fragmentation of the country into several large islands, the lack of a unified land transport network, and the high costs of internal transport have all encouraged the development of a number of semi-independent urban centres, each with stronger (and often more direct) economic links with overseas cities than with one another. The urban scene in Papua New Guinea may still be viewed as representing several separate bridgeheads tied to Australia rather than a unified urban hierarchy within Papua New Guinea itself.

This situation is likely to continue until a unified transport network and lower internal transport costs make a national market a reasonable goal for industrialists. Until then, unless the seat of government is moved to Arona or elsewhere Port Moresby can be expected to retain its dominant rank. But Lae, Rabaul (or perhaps a Tolai linear city stretching from Nonga through Rabaul to Kokopo and Vunapope), Mt Hagen, Madang and Goroka are unlikely to drop back in relative size. And in twenty years the Kieta-Arawa-Panguna complex is likely to have 20,000 people. These increases in the present major centres will happen even without much active government encouragement.

At the other end of the urban hierarchy there is need for government encouragement. As the changing pattern of migration shows, it is the towns which are providing the most attractive environment for those who have left the villages. If rural life is to be maintained and modern-
ised, the country should be urbanised as much as possible so that the advantages of urban living are spread as widely as possible; the small towns should be actively fostered and people pursuing both urban and rural occupations should be encouraged to live in small towns wherever practical.

Much could be done without any great increase in expenditure. At Hoskins a large settlement scheme has been developed and some 950 farms (950 families) established. Each farmer has his house on his separate block. He is irrevocably a rural dweller. But if the settlers all lived in central townships there would be many advantages: road costs could be reduced; a piped water supply could be more easily and cheaply installed; electricity supply to houses would not be out of the question; travel to school and to shops would be easier. In other words, the settlers would have the opportunity to enjoy an urban type of life. And there are other advantages — for the speed with which new innovations spread is directly proportional to the amount of contact between farmers. It is easier to introduce new techniques in an urban-type situation than through a dispersed rural population. Of course there are disadvantages in nucleation, but where farms are small and the distance between homestead and farm is not great, these disadvantages are far outweighed by the advantages. The Malayan settlement schemes that form the model for much of what has been done at Hoskins use a nucleated settlement form so that the oil palm farmers can enjoy a small-town life.

Outside the resettlement schemes there are plenty of opportunities to foster the growth of the embryonic central places which are appearing. But this requires regional planning of a type not yet begun in Papua New Guinea.

It is often felt that the allocation of financial resources to urban areas means diverting funds from development needs elsewhere. This may be true, but an urban area also brings very great economic and social benefits to the surrounding rural community in return for relatively little development expenditure. The costs of providing government and social services such as schools and medical facilities are likely to be significantly lower per head for a concentrated population than for a dispersed one. Why not encourage concentration?

Smith (1971:71-2) points to the high cost of raising the proportion of school children in all Provinces to the national average. At present the policy is to hold steady the proportion of urban children who get into school in order to increase the rural proportion more quickly. This finds favour among rural politicians but I would submit that it is far more dangerous politically to leave urban children outside the classroom than to leave rural children without schooling. At least a child of ten in a rural area may be partly productive, but in the towns he is forced to wait until he is sixteen before he can work legally, and without education he is condemned, in effect, to unemployment. The uneducated urban child cannot go back to the land. He has neither the land to go to nor the agricultural background to make him a success-
ful farmer. He is likely to become a very discontented person, and a discontented urban dweller is much more dangerous to the structure of established authority than a discontented villager.

Proposals have sometimes been made to introduce measures which would keep people out of the towns. But even the elaborate measures of the South African pass system and police state have not been able to do this. No country has successfully controlled rural-urban migration. If economic development is fostered with one hand, rapid migration to the towns cannot be stopped with the other. A more positive approach is needed, but this might require a revolution in administrative attitudes and in economic planning — a revolution which would accept urbanisation and would plan for it and use it. There are economic advantages in doing so and the political advantages are even greater.

One of the often heard arguments against urbanisation is that in the towns the traditional values of community life disappear: extended family living with its sense of community is replaced by the nuclear family with its loneliness and isolation; the ideals of mutual co-operation with kin and fellow villagers are replaced by individualism and a hard materialism. But too often this is a conclusion reached by comparing the traditional village with the western city. In the south-east Asian city or the towns of the Pacific Islands, all that is good in the traditional life is not lost.

In a study of Medan, a Sumatran city with 360,000 people in 1959, Bruner (1963:4-12) found that kin ties were still strongly maintained both between city dwellers and between the townspeople and their rural kin. Nayacakalou (1963:34-5) found similar conditions in Suva; and Ryan (1964), Oram (1968b*) and others have shown that in Port Moresby the old systems of social organisation retain much of their vitality. Certainly the linkages are modified, but they are modified in a manner which is vital to the future political development of this country.

For essentially what happens in the town is that the individual widens his concept of kinship or affiliation to include people from other villages and neighbouring areas to whom he would be considered but distantly linked if at home. Regional identity and the prospect of co-operation in wider groups are often forged most quickly among people away from their own region. Such widening of horizons through the finding of common interests by and among people from different regions and language groups is essential to the creation of national identity. If national identity is to be created quickly the best return will be found in the towns where people meet and talk with strangers and not in the villages where only one person in a thousand is a stranger who brings in new ideas. The House of Assembly, the Administrative College, the Institute of Technology, the university, the teachers' colleges, the factories, the army and the political demonstrations, are essentially urban institutions. It is in these institutions, in the towns and not in the remote villages, that the concept of the Papua New Guinea nation will be proclaimed and its reality created. And if the towns are stunted, so will be the nation.
Postscript 1974

This chapter was originally presented as a public lecture in November 1970 in the hope that it would stimulate discussion of certain issues relating to migration and urbanisation. At that time many policy makers in Papua New Guinea appeared to feel that migration from village to town was *ipso facto* undesirable; that migrant settlements (and the migrants) were a blot on the urban landscape; but that, as many people did not stay permanently in town, 'the migrant problem' might solve itself when people went back to their villages. Such a hope was, of course, a pipe dream.

It seemed necessary to draw attention to the likelihood of a rapid increase in the urban population and to suggest that policies should be devised to take advantage of the trend, rather than to view it entirely negatively. By moving, migrants demonstrate something of their assessment of the relative advantages of life in origin and destination areas. Increasingly the destinations are the urban centres, large and small, and peoples’ preferences should be given due consideration.

Some observers seem to equate 'urban' with 'large town'. It should be stressed that in this chapter (following the Papua New Guinea census definitions) small towns, some with as few as 500 people, are considered as 'urban' areas. Function, rather than size, of settlement is the key characteristic. Some commentators on this chapter (e.g. Conroy 1973a*) seem to consider that a policy which gives encouragement to urbanisation must be inimical to rural improvement. However, one of the greatest constraints on expansion of cash cropping and rural improvement in Papua New Guinea is the relative difficulty villagers have in obtaining the services which they need to provide motivation, technical skills and supporting infrastructure for increased cash crop production. Such services, and the goods which villagers may wish to obtain through their cash earnings, are normally provided through *urban* centres. An effective *rural* improvement program must include parallel development of intermediate and low-order urban centres within easy access of the farmers' residences.6 As the Faber Report points out, 'it is not towns in themselves which are objectionable, but the development of urban primacy' (Overseas Development Group 1973:96).

The basic policy question is not a choice between urban or rural development, but what sort of overall program can best serve most people and most areas. In such a program a major aim must be to bring 'urban-type' facilities closer to village dwellers and thus more small towns are necessary. Fortunately, current planning now seems to recognise this7 and attention is being given to integrated regional development. Furthermore, attempts to encourage the urban informal

6This question is considered in R. G. Ward et al. 1974a.
7The Faber Report also favoured an approach to 'urbanise the countryside' by active encouragement of 'a number of regional centres, and . . . a widely dispersed hierarchy of very much smaller towns' (Overseas Development Group 1973:96).
sector and to reduce the legal and social barriers to more effective indigenous participation in urban areas are going some way towards exploiting the advantages and opportunities which towns offer (Central Planning Office 1973).

Criticism has been made of my application of the term ‘underemployment’ to rural areas (Conroy 1973a*). Strictly this criticism is justified as the term is used loosely in this chapter. The situation to which I was drawing attention is one in which people who remain in their villages, or return from the towns, are unable either to find a satisfactory monetary income as wage earners or, as self-employed cash croppers, to attain what they consider an adequate cash return for labour expended over and above subsistence needs. The constraints vary from place to place and include lack of access to suitable land; land tenure problems; absence of roads, market outlets and marketing systems; produce prices which are considered to be low (relative to the social returns of non-monetary activity); uncertainties induced by fluctuations in export crop prices which are little understood by the farmer; and possibly unrealistic expectations. These constraints still operate very widely (R. G. Ward et al. 1974a:12). Rural subsistence is achieved with a surprisingly low labour input in most parts of the country and the constraints on rural monetary sector activities tend to inhibit people from devoting more than a small amount of time to cash cropping. Insofar as many rural dwellers apparently work far fewer hours than the urban wage-earner, they are underemployed either from choice or because satisfactory cash earning opportunities are not available in their area.

The publication of preliminary results of the 1971 census more than confirmed the rapid rate of urbanisation since 1966. Yet when the paper was presented in November 1970, general opinion appeared to be that my estimates for 1971 were too high. In the paper I estimated 153,000 as the possible mid-1971 urban indigenous population — in fact the census gave a figure of 231,873! In July 1971 urban dwellers accounted for 9.5 per cent of the indigenous population (compared with my prediction of 7.9 per cent by 1976!) and 11.1 per cent of the total population. The equivalent figures for 1966 were 4.8 and 5.9 per cent. Between 1966 and 1971 the number of indigenes in urban areas increased by 17.5 per cent per annum8 compared with 1.5 per cent for the indigenous rural population (including ‘rural non-village’). Rural village indigenous population increased by only 0.8 per cent per annum. The total urban population rose by 16.6 per cent per annum compared with my estimate of 8 per cent. The estimated annual rates of growth for several of the major towns (based on 1970 counts) which were used in the paper proved to be substantially lower than those revealed for 1966-71 by the 1971 census. For example, the indigenous population of Mt Hagen grew by 26.2 per cent per annum (estimated at 7.2

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8Between 1966 and 1971, an additional twelve places became urban areas according to census definitions. If these are excluded from the 1971 urban population, the indigenous population of the remaining urban centres increased at 16.5 per cent per annum from 1966 to 1971.
per cent for the paper), Goroka by 20.1 per cent (13.1 per cent estimated), Lae by 19.2 per cent (11.5 per cent estimated), Madang by 13.8 per cent (8.1 per cent estimated) and Port Moresby by 13.2 per cent (6.8 per cent estimated). Preliminary evidence also suggests that, as predicted, urban populations have increased faster than urban employment opportunities. All this suggests that effective policies for 'urban improvement' are needed just as urgently as for 'rural improvement' — but one cannot succeed without the other.

9 The estimates of growth rates for Port Moresby, Lae, Goroka and Madang were based on enumerations made in 1970 in connection with the establishment of urban local government. It is now clear that there was considerable under-enumeration in the 1970 counts.
3 Urbanisation — Threat or Promise?

MARION W. WARD

In August 1969, a motion was passed in the Papua New Guinea House of Assembly indicating that a majority of its members saw urbanisation as a threat to village life and as a cause of unemployment, and requested the Administration to reintroduce restrictions on movements to towns except where employment was assured or for short visits. The discussion on this motion indicated a concern on the part of local government councils that they were losing out on taxes from those who migrate to urban areas, and also a concern about the lack of control over the behaviour of individuals in towns.

The fact that such a motion was raised in the House indicates the concern that exists, though it must be noted that it is felt by conservative rural elders who see their influence lessening as the young men move to a more independent life in towns. It indicates concern, too, on the part of the Administration which has to face the problem in the towns. No one, of course, in this debate spoke for the 100,000 migrants who have responded or will respond in the next year or two to the lure of the bright lights of the towns.

The most serious outcome of this motion would be any attempt to control internal freedom of movement in Papua New Guinea. To attempt to reimpose the controls which did formerly exist would be a most retrograde step, a negation of the basic human freedom to live where one chooses within one’s own country, and would inevitably lead to noisy, unfortunate and justified comparison of Australia as the governing power with South Africa and Rhodesia. Fortunately, the prospects of successfully putting such repressive measures into practice seem limited. Human ingenuity will probably defeat most of the likely means of execution.

My thesis in this article is that urbanisation should be regarded far more positively than appears to be the case in Papua New Guinea at present. Urbanisation is inevitable. Every developing country has experienced it, whether one thinks of countries which began to industrialise a century or two ago such as Britain, North America or Australia itself, or countries such as those of Asia, Africa and Latin

America where urbanisation in the last two or three decades has been proceeding at a tremendous pace. As yet Papua New Guinea remains behind the rest of the world in this, as in so many other things, and it is almost certain that nothing can prevent a great flood of urbanisation in Papua New Guinea in the next few years. There are two basic reasons for this. The first is the increasing commercialisation of agriculture which the Administration is trying so hard to encourage. A natural consequence of this is a need for more land per farmer and the forcing of subsistence farmers away from their land, either to new rural settlement areas or to the towns. Although planned resettlement schemes do assist some to move relatively easily into a fully commercial life, the number so helped is minute compared with the demand. Furthermore, a man who decides to participate in a resettlement scheme must, in theory at any rate, commit himself to permanent residence in a new place away from his home land. The urban migrant does not have to make this decision. Secondly, there are the attractions of the towns themselves, the 'bright lights' which to many villagers exert an emotional pull that must be extraordinarily strong. It does not matter if when a migrant eventually arrives in town he finds that all is not as golden as it appeared from the occasional messages received from friends who have already ventured out; it is the anticipation that helps a migrant make up his mind to leave the village.

To attempt to stem the flow of urban migration is, to me, not only an exercise in Canutian logic, but a move which is intrinsically bad in relation to the political and economic development of this country. Towns are centres of innovation, places where there is a ferment of ideas, a mixing of peoples such as can never take place in villages. It is in the towns that inter-tribal marriage is increasing and where inter-racial marriage is becoming more common than it used to be. The establishment of high schools in the main centres is one element which is contributing to this wider range of social contact. In these high schools boys and girls from many villages are meeting on a scale that would have been impossible 10 or 20 years ago. In the factories, too, men from several Provinces find themselves working beside each other — what is more, they drink together in the pubs and clubs around the town, and there is an exchange of talk, of ideas, of experience, which is very different from the handing on of traditional lore in the village men's house. When their wives can overcome their shyness and their language barriers they, too, are mixing with former strangers in Hohola and other suburbs. It is in the towns that political meetings are held and the political parties formed. Towns are the crucibles of nationhood.

As Robin Hallet put it, writing of West Africa,
Without towns there can be no true civilization. For towns are the natural centres for commerce and for industry, for education, for the professions and the arts. Towns stimulate new ideas, encourage new skills and so promote new wealth. A country without towns is condemned to stagnation, its people to tread the same round for generation after generation. (Hallett 1966:105)
The setting up of effective town government is for these reasons equally, if not more, important than the setting up of local government councils covering large rural areas. The lack of effective town governments in the towns of Papua New Guinea is the most obvious gap in the political development of this country. One is forced to the conclusion that the concentration of Europeans in the towns has more than a little to do with the lack of multiracial town councils, and the lack of an urban rate structure in which these Europeans could hardly hope to avoid contributing financially as in the towns of most other countries.

Probably the most often cited reason why a village dweller wants to move to town is the hope of economic betterment. In the village he has three choices open to him. If his village is within the economic ecumene, he can attempt to grow a cash crop which might be coffee, tea, rubber, oil palm or possibly cash vegetables. Secondly, he can opt to move away from the village. If he does this there are just two places where he can go to seek employment: one of these is the plantation which is likely to be just as far away from his home as any town he would want to go to. At present (1969) some 22,000 farm workers in Papua New Guinea (43 per cent of the total) are employed under an agreement by which they are housed, supplied with rations and certain other prescribed items such as blankets, and $52 cash in the first year, $58.50 in the second.¹

The alternative is to move to the towns. The urban cash wage (that is, the minimum wage which must be paid by law to unskilled adult males) varies from one town to another within Papua New Guinea. In Port Moresby it is $6.50 a week, in Rabaul $6.25, in Lae $6.75, and in Goroka $6.² While these figures are low and it is hard to understand how anyone can provide himself, let alone a family, with adequate food and shelter on such a weekly wage in the towns, urban wage-earners at least are free from the indignity of having ‘rations’ issued by their employer. For this and other reasons many young men opt to move to Port Moresby or to other towns. It is an interesting fact that Port Moresby is easily the first choice of would-be urban migrants, probably because information about Port Moresby is most evenly and widely distributed throughout the whole country. The consequence of this, of course, is that within Port Moresby itself there is a rapidly growing body of migrants from all over the country. In fact, if one looks in detail at the place of origin of migrant workers in Port Moresby one finds that their numbers are proportional to the population of the home districts and inversely proportional to the difficulty of travelling to Port Moresby.

There are employment opportunities in the towns. Many industries are located in urban areas because they are dependent on materials

¹In July 1975 there was a minimum rural wage of K8.50 per week for agricultural workers and K10.20 per week for non-agricultural workers. Both get free food, accommodation and other issues.
²The corresponding wage in July 1975 was K25.80 per week in all four urban centres.
which are brought in or sent out through the ports, or because they produce goods for which the market is largely in the towns, such as building materials, transport equipment, clothing, foodstuffs and so on, or because they are service industries whose market is largely found in the towns. Hotels and restaurants, motor vehicle repair workshops and domestic service are examples. One of the greatest needs in Papua New Guinea at the moment is the further development of secondary and tertiary industries, and it seems inevitable that by their nature most of these will be located in the towns. Apart from industries which undertake the primary processing of agricultural raw materials, or perhaps mineral raw materials, there are very few industries which are not most economically located in centres of population. Again there is the experience of most of the rest of the world to guide us and it is both unrealistic and foolish to think that Papua New Guinea can be any different. While there is considerable unemployment in the towns of this country at present, the best way to meet this is to encourage the establishment of further industries and services, together with much more stringent requirements for employment and training of indigenous people by private industry. Attempts to send people back to villages to which they do not want to go are unlikely to succeed.

To the extent that they actually do succeed, they are likely to create discontented groups in the villages who will tell the stay-at-homes much more about town life and its attractions, and will thereby increase the number of would-be migrants.

One of the major worries that people have about urbanisation is the problem of housing. If one belongs to the Administration or is merely a European resident in a town in Papua New Guinea, one is concerned about the apparent inadequacy of housing for urban migrants. If one is a Papua New Guinean employed in the Administration or in those avenues of employment which provide an income something above that of the urban basic wage, the problem that is felt most keenly is the injustice of a double scale for housing rents. A local officer employed by the Administration is expected to pay $15.95 a fortnight for a three-bedroom house. An overseas officer in the Administration, earning a far greater salary, pays the same rent but receives a housing allowance which reduces the effective cost to $3.68 a fortnight for the same house.3 There is no justice in this situation and the Papua New Guinean feels this very keenly. There is also the view of the housing problem as seen by the newly arrived migrant. He has nowhere to stay when he arrives in town so he finds a wantok, a friend from the same area, and hopes to share his accommodation for a time. Sleeping space for such immigrants is at a premium in Port Moresby particularly, and all too often such individuals find themselves sleeping rough in the folds of the hills about the town.

One of the most serious criticisms of present housing policy in urban areas in Papua New Guinea as I see it is that the sights of the planners

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3The situation is unchanged in 1975.
have been set too high. In laying out low covenant housing areas with rows of neat little bungalows all set in appalling symmetry in imitation of Australian suburbia, the planners have been creating something which is beyond the economic reach of the people for whom it is designed, as well as perpetuating de facto segregation. There is a need for a new look at housing. Fortunately, recent statements suggest that this need is becoming recognised.\textsuperscript{4} One new avenue is the provision of ‘no covenant’ housing areas. The idea underlying these is that the Administration (or ideally the town council) provides at very little cost the most basic services: primarily water, but also perhaps electricity, in the form of street lighting to light a central area (sewerage is not considered necessary in low covenant areas in Port Moresby). The land is surveyed into small plots and these are made available to individuals to build their own houses at their own pace and with whatever materials they can afford. Where such schemes have been tried, as in the so-called Papuan compound at Lae, they have been remarkably successful. There is a strong argument for repeating the experiment many times over in Port Moresby and most other towns of the country. To European eyes the results may not be as aesthetically pleasing as are the serried ranks of little boxes. To Papua New Guineans, and it is for them the towns should exist and will exist in the future, such informal settlements may seem much more hospitable and familiar, having greater similarity to the close-knit village society from which the urban migrants have come. It would be a useful and informative experience for many planners and designers to walk through the canoe settlements at Koki and Badili and experience the vitality and joy of living which is apparent there, an atmosphere which is sadly lacking from the ill-lit streets of Boroko through which the European inhabitants are scared to walk at night.

Another very great need in Port Moresby is for increased amounts of housing for single men. There still exist some appalling corrugated iron barracks sheds in this town with beds crammed into six foot square spaces. There also exists some enlightened provision for housing single men in relatively inexpensive blocks of double rooms with shared ablution and cooking facilities. These at least recognise the dignity of individuals and it is to be hoped that a great many more of them are built in the near future.

And where is the money to come from for the variety of improved housing that is necessary in the country’s towns? One obvious source is to charge economic rents to expatriates and earmark the money into a special fund for housing purposes only. Secondly, I think it is necessary for the government to recognise that more subsidisation than at present is going to be necessary for public housing in the future, and that it should be applied to the provision of serviced sites for people

\textsuperscript{4}There have been substantial changes in housing policy since this article was written. These are documented in the annual reports of the Housing Commission, Papua New Guinea.
whose need is greatest. While such a socialistic viewpoint may be unacceptable in the present political climate, there are many countries throughout the world in which subsidised public housing comes fairly high on the list of priorities and it may be that the political climate will have to change.

To return to the two aspects of the problem of urbanisation which were emphasised in the debate in the House, the concern for the breakdown of social behaviour as it has been known in the past is undoubtedly genuine. It is inevitable that a changing way of life brings with it stresses and strains with which individuals find it hard to cope. Many of these stresses are caused by the present abnormal sex ratios in towns such as Port Moresby, which have an exceptionally high proportion of young, single men in their population. In 1966 there were 172 males to every 100 females in Port Moresby; 186 in Lae; 229 in Rabaul, and 356 in Bulolo. Talk to these men and you will find they do not want to go back to the villages. Even though they may have no apparent means of support and apparently no savings, they are very reluctant to name a time for a permanent return to their villages. Far better then to increase job opportunities in the urban situation and to improve housing to the degree where an individual has some hope of bringing a wife and family to an acceptable home. With the return to a more balanced population structure many of the social problems will decrease. They will not vanish altogether because there will always be social problems in towns anywhere. But to say that because urban social problems are great we should not allow a town to form is, to my mind, a very negative approach.

The second concern was for the loss of local government income from the able-bodied young men who have moved away from the village. One might point out that if they have moved away from the village then they are not sharing in the services provided by the local government council with their taxes and hence the local government councils can hardly complain. More seriously, however, there is a great need for an overall urban tax rate which could well be based on a small but fixed proportion of income for expatriates and indigenes alike. Such tax-money should be earmarked for the provision of services in the towns (as it is in other countries) not simply swallowed into the general treasury. It is unrealistic for Europeans, for example, to complain about the lack of sealing of urban roads when they do not pay local taxes as they would in a Sydney suburb.

A final argument in favour of allowing towns to grow is that it is cheaper to provide centralised services in towns than through a widely dispersed rural population. One can see this already with the location of high schools and large hospitals, and at least token representatives of most government departments in every large town. Commercial services locate in towns because from them they can most efficiently serve both the urban population and the rural population around the town. It is important, however, to get the towns spaced and located properly, so that they can most efficiently perform this service function. Papua
New Guinea's population is becoming increasingly urban. If, in the course of this change, the more remote rural areas become seriously depopulated this may in fact be the best thing that can happen. There are many areas in Papua New Guinea in which it makes little sense for people to live. They are best left to such uses as forestry and mining, nature reserves to preserve the distinctive flora and fauna of the country and to carefully located tourist facilities for both overseas and internal visitors. The loss of the most enterprising young people from the more accessible rural areas is indeed serious for those that remain behind, but on the other hand increasing commercialisation of agriculture is, one hopes, making a better life for them. However much some people protest, the tide of urbanisation is running too strongly for it to be checked in Papua New Guinea in the foreseeable future.

Postscript 1974

This article was written in the heat of the moment late in 1969. Since then there have been many changes of attitude and of political import. Urban squatters are not now regarded as quite such a menacing problem; in other parts of the world at least, if not in Papua New Guinea so completely, they are being seen as actually and potentially useful contributors to the building of a new society.

I remain unrepentant about the likelihood of further urban migration in Papua New Guinea, but I am prepared to recognise that the coalition government's Eight Point Improvement Plan with its emphasis on rural development and self-help, together with enlightened planning for the improvement of life in rural areas such as the proposed Eastern Highlands Development Plan, can do much to increase the attractions of life in rural areas, and hence may possibly slow rural-urban migration. A survey of urban growth and rural achievement in ten years' time will reveal the success or otherwise of the policies and programs adopted now.
Modernisation, industrialisation, urbanisation; these are phenomena which appear, to a considerable extent, to have been co-extensive. The history of to-day’s economically developed nations shows a set of fairly clear and consistent trends which include occupational and spatial shifts of population such that the proportion of people living in rural areas and engaging in agriculture has tended to decline while the proportion living in cities and employed in manufacturing rose. Structural change in the economy, in its spatial, occupational and productive dimensions, is seen as an integral part of the development process and urbanisation has been regarded as a necessary condition of that process.

The view is abroad that Papua New Guinea can best be assisted along the path of structural change and economic development by policies which deliberately foster the necessary condition of urbanisation. Professor Gerard Ward in a widely-discussed and influential paper (reprinted as Chapter 2 in this volume) has argued ‘that migration and the rapid expansion of towns are essential for economic and social progress and that urbanisation should be facilitated and encouraged, rather than frowned on and discouraged’ (R. G. Ward 1971*:*27), while Dr Marion Ward has stated that ‘To attempt to stem the flow of urban migration is . . . a move which is intrinsically bad in relation to the political and economic development of this country’ (M. W. Ward 1970*:53). While both papers are, in part, reasonable critiques of hasty and ill-judged proposals to check population movement by restrictive legislation, the Wards seem to have gone beyond this to affirm positively the developmental stimulus of urbanisation. Urbanisation, one suspects, is to them not merely a necessary condition of development, it is a sufficient one.

Moreover, according to Marion Ward:

Urbanisation is inevitable. Every developing country has experienced it, whether one thinks of countries which began to industrialise a century or two ago such as Britain, North America or Australia itself, or countries such as those of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

For discussions of this tendency see Beltz (1970) and Radford (1972).
*The writer is indebted to Mr E. K. Fisk for comments on an earlier draft.
where urbanisation in the last two or three decades has been pro-
ceeding at a tremendous pace. As yet New Guinea remains behind
the rest of the world in this, as in so many other things, and it is
almost certain that nothing can prevent a great flood of urbanisation
in New Guinea in the next few years (M. W. Ward 1970*:52-3)

But there is an important qualitative difference between what hap-
pended in the nineteenth century and what is happening now. In the
words of another observer, ‘urban growth in the developing world
today is not so much a measure of healthy, inevitable processes of
modernization as a pathological acceleration of urban “cell-creation”
which could put whole societies into a terminal crisis of social and
economic disintegration’ (B. Ward 1969:57). The analogy with the
earlier experience of today’s developed nations is misplaced. Then the
growth of cities was in response to industrialisation, and it is clear that
the stimulus of industrialism preceded the growth of large cities. As
Barbara Ward points out:

In nineteenth century Europe . . . as various countries crossed the
threshold of industrialization, the proportion of the population living
in cities of over 20,000 was invariably smaller than the proportion of
the working force engaged in manufacturing . . . Today in the
developing world the position is almost exactly reversed. In country
after country, the percentage of the population in towns is consider­
ably higher than the percentage of men working in industry. (B.
Ward 1969:57)

The cities have come into existence ahead of the industrial system.
Gunnar Myrdal makes essentially the same point in describing the
countries of South Asia as ‘demographically premature’ in the nature
and extent of their urbanisation which has developed in a manner quite
contrary to western experience (Myrdal 1968:467-8).

What Myrdal calls the ‘ideology of industrialization’ appears to
underlie the thesis proposed by Gerard and Marion Ward. Myrdal
shows that the ideology of industrialisation derives from the concept
of agricultural underemployment, a concept which implies the existence
of a labour surplus in rural areas which can only be absorbed by
industrial expansion. Thus western economists have tended in the recent
past to believe ‘that a radical improvement in the utilization of labour
in agriculture can come about only through industrialization’ (Myrdal
1968:1150). This conviction is held with the greatest strength in areas
where the man/land ratio is least favourable, but Professor Ward has
no hesitation in applying the concept of underemployment to Papua
New Guinea. Discussing the problem of urban unemployment he states
that:

Labour underused in the town would in all probability still be
underused if it had remained in the country. This is the case in
Papua New Guinea. As a result the underemployed urban dweller
who stays in town is not weighing his urban underemployment
against full rural employment, but against rural underemployment. (R. G. Ward 1971*;44)

This is not the place to review the debate on whether the concept of rural ‘underemployment’ is properly applicable, even to the agricultural sectors of countries experiencing genuine population pressure. Sufficient to say that it is a western concept derived from Joan Robinson’s description of a ‘disguised unemployment’ in the urban sectors of advanced capitalist economies during the depression of the 1930s, and that when it is applied to the agricultural sector of less developed countries it is normally understood to imply zero marginal productivity of labour, and to be involuntary. Professor Ward appears to accept the latter condition, but it is not clear where he stands in relation to the former. If the marginal productivity of labour is zero in the agricultural sector this implies that total agricultural production would be maintained despite the removal of some of the surplus labour, if the remainder then ceased to be ‘underemployed’. As Myrdal points out:

The entire approach in terms of the ‘removal’ of a labour surplus in agriculture assumes that the supposedly superfluous workers have somewhere to go. This is consonant with the common, glib preconception that industrialization, by giving employment to the labour moving out of agriculture, is the main solution to the development problem in underdeveloped countries, even in the fairly short run. (Myrdal 1968:2061)

The applicability of the concept of ‘underemployment’ to the agricultural sector in Papua New Guinea (and indeed in Melanesia as a whole) may thus be challenged on two grounds. First, there is the question of the marginal productivity of labour, which cannot seriously be claimed to approach zero in any significant area in the region. While population increase probably makes decreasing returns to labour inputs a fairly general situation (with constant technology and other inputs), it is nonetheless probably true to say that marginal products are strongly positive and not greatly less than the average product of labour.

Secondly there is the question of the involuntariness of ‘underemployment’. Underemployment is a reasonable description of the state of the urban workforce in Papua New Guinea in the sense that many workers experience periods of unemployment, so that at any given time a proportion of the urban workforce is unemployed. Most observers would agree that this unemployment is to a large extent involuntary. But Professor Ward, in the statement quoted above, appears to equate this situation with that existing in rural areas, where the ‘underemployment’ is a voluntary state resulting from a lack of adequate incentives to induce the rural population to increase its labour inputs to agriculture. As Jacob Viner has said of attempts to apply such reasoning to the rural sector:

There is little or nothing in all the phenomena designated as . . . ‘underemployment’ which in so far as they constitute genuine social
problems would not be taken adequately into account by competent, informed and comprehensive analysis of the phenomenon of low productivity of employed labour, its causes, its true extent and its possible remedies. (Viner 1957:23)

While there is no doubt that industrialisation must play a part in the structural transformation of the economy of Papua New Guinea, one may not share Dr Marion Ward's optimism that, 'While there is considerable unemployment in the towns of this country at present, the best way to meet this is to encourage the establishment of further industries and services' (M. W. Ward 1970*:55). One of the reasons for the current reappraisal of the role of industrialisation in development is that it has patently failed to solve the problem of urban unemployment in the less developed countries. As a general rule in these countries the growth of manufacturing employment has been disappointingly slow, partly because a manufacturer who wishes to produce efficiently by international standards has a limited range of techniques available to him, which are unlikely to use the abundant available labour as fully as would be desirable for employment creation. Low interest rates and overvalued foreign exchanges rates have also tended to favour the introduction of capital-intensive techniques of production in many cases, while the wage policies of newly independent governments are often unfavourable to the growth of employment. Another factor, which to a certain extent is linked with the tendency for money wage rates to rise, is a secular improvement in labour productivity which is the result of the development of a more stable and committed urban workforce. Thus industrial employment may stagnate, or even fall, in the face of quite healthy rates of increase in the output of manufactures.¹

Quite apart from these issues, however, is the possibility that even a respectable rate of growth of industrial employment may not serve to reduce the level of urban unemployment, either absolutely or relatively. This will be true to the extent that employment creation in urban areas serves to stimulate the flow of rural-urban migrants. If, as M. P. Todaro suggests, potential job-seekers weigh the probability of their obtaining wage employment as a factor in the decision to migrate, then the combination of urban employment growth and positive income advantages associated with such employment may lead to growing urban unemployment (Todaro 1969:138-48). There is recent evidence of sensitivity to urban employment opportunities and income levels in at least one rural community in Papua New Guinea (see Harding 1971:192-200) and a case for the applicability of the Todaro model to this country would not be difficult to make.

POPULATION MOVEMENT OUT OF AGRICULTURE

Professor Ward's view of the impact of modernisation on the distribution of rural population is set out in his inaugural lecture at the Univer-

¹For discussion of these issues see Frank (1968:250-74) and Knight (1968:267-97).
A Development Constraint

University of Papua New Guinea and is further developed in the paper included in this volume. He examines the impact of social and economic change on a hypothetical highlands community. Pacification, road-building and the introduction of coffee as a cash crop cause movements of population from fertile slopes (formerly used for subsistence cropping and now likely to go out of production) to areas closer to roads.

The density of population now relates to principles of accessibility rather than variations in fertility. But whereas under a subsistence system of agriculture, approximately one quarter of an acre under crops might support one person, under commercial forms, between 1 and 4 acres per head might be required. Therefore a change to cash cropping will require emigration if levels of rural living are to rise. (R. G. Ward 1968a:11,14)

It is not immediately obvious why a switch to the cultivation of permanent tree crops should require the use of much more land than shifting cultivation of a quarter acre per head, especially in areas where a lengthy fallow interval is customary. Moreover, Ward’s model does not allow for any improvement in the technology and inputs used by traditional subsistence agriculture, which might be capable of increasing the carrying capacity of the ‘accessible’ areas to which population is drawn. Finally, there is the question of the degree to which the further extension of road networks would be capable of rendering larger areas ‘accessible’ than at present. These two last possibilities will be discussed in greater detail below.

Professor Ward’s model of population movement is elaborated in his more recent paper. It involves a pattern of response to economic stimuli in which the first waves of migrants from a district are recruited for agreement labour on plantations. The development of local cash cropping causes the supply of agreement workers for this relatively unrewarding task to dry up. In time, however, the process of spatial redistribution of population described above leads to the outflow of waves of ‘independent’ migrants, who are responding as much to a demographic/resource ‘push’ as to the ‘pull’ of urban economic opportunities.

Rigorous testing of empirical data is necessary before such a model can be substantiated. The evidence available so far is too fragmentary or impressionistic, and is by no means entirely favourable to the model. Thus the facts that urban migration may be financed by the proceeds of cash cropping, that migrants may own mature coffee trees at home which are tended in their absence by relatives, and that they may quite consciously be using their urban sojourn to accumulate cash and acquire skills for use in subsequent rural investment projects, do not appear consonant with the demographic/resource ‘push’ which features so prominently in the model. This is especially true if, as the Salisburys claim, the adaptation of some highlanders to urban life ‘is explained by their orientations to the opportunities of a wealthy rural economy’ (Salisbury and Salisbury 1970:11).
Data from the 1971 population census will enable the model to be tested. Some research has already been carried out on 1966 census data. In a recent multiple regression analysis of population flows, cash crop income per capita on a Provincial basis proved non-significant as a variable explanatory of outflow of migrants. Perhaps for the time being it is best to regard the Ward hypothesis as ‘not proven’ in Papua New Guinea.

However, the conclusions which follow from acceptance of the Ward model, and the policy recommendations which the Wards make, are presented in urgent terms: ‘amongst the consequences may be a real reduction in the area of land which is assessed as usable; a new pattern of settlement may develop; there may be a real reduction in the population which can be supported locally by agriculture, and therefore a great increase in the number of potential and actual emigrants who will have to find work elsewhere’. And the policy suggestions: ‘might not direct Government investment in urban and industrial development give better returns in terms of employment and multiplier effects in the overall economy, than direct Government investment in rural development?’ (R. G. Ward 1968a:14). Enough doubt has been cast on the ideology of industrialisation and the difficulties of employment creation in urban areas to make one cautious of accepting such suggestions. The question then becomes one of determining the potential for productive investment of resources in rural development in Papua New Guinea, and the effectiveness of such investment in influencing urban drift.

INVESTMENT OPPORTUNITIES WITHIN THE RURAL SECTOR

There is a growing consensus among observers of the employment problem in less developed countries that ‘if as much as 60 to 90 per cent of the population depends on “traditional” activities — agriculture in particular — then the economic upgrading of these activities must form the cornerstone of any strategy for solving the unemployment problem’ (Turnham 1970:8). This generalisation applies even to those countries experiencing genuine demographic/resources push in rural areas. It is argued in this paper that circumstances in Papua New Guinea, and in Melanesia generally, are particularly favourable for such strategies. Thus, according to E. K. Fisk,

the factor limiting rural production is not so much the capacity to produce more, but rather the incentive to do so. In most of Melanesia the rural people live in a condition of primitive affluence, in which they produce sufficient traditional foods, housing and other necessities with the utilisation of only a part of the land and labour resources available to them. Even with some cash cropping grafted

2Harris (1974b). The level of aggregation at which this analysis was carried out may, of course, have been too high. It would be preferable to test the relationship between cash cropping and migration at Province or census division level.
on top of this, there are few areas where these resources are fully employed, and with the improvements now available from new inputs and new technologies the productive potential of land and labour can be readily increased. (Fisk 1972:20)

This is the situation which Professor Ward confuses with 'under-employment', but which is analytically quite distinct, as well as distinctly more favourable for development. Fisk urges that priority be given to agricultural research and extension to alter the pattern of subsistence agriculture from shifting cultivation to intensive continuous land-use.

The sooner intensive techniques are introduced the better, for although land is not scarce, the spread of cash cropping forces subsistence cropping onto less productive and less accessible land, and it affects the fallow period and thus productivity long before the supply of virgin land is completely absorbed. (Fisk 1972:21)

This places a new interpretation on the changes in land utilisation described by Ward, and shows emigration of population from affected areas to be not necessarily inevitable. Indeed there is considerable potential for development in rural Melanesia, and at present levels of population density,

whilst 'subsistence affluence' still affords a concealed surplus, substantial agricultural and infrastructure investment from subsistence resources is possible. Such intensification [of agriculture] can then be effected with very much smaller calls on the scarce capital resources of the monetary sector of the economy than will ever be possible again . . . . the extent of the increases in productivity so available is such that it should be possible . . . to increase both the population of the sector and of its living standards. (Fisk 1971:377)

It is implicit in Fisk's assessment of the situation that the intensification of agriculture can only postpone emigration in the absence of a vigorous and effective policy of population control.

A complementary strategy to the intensification of agriculture is to be found in the extension of existing road networks in rural areas. There is evidence that rates of absenteeism in rural villages affected by roads tend to be inversely proportional to the distance of the village from such roads (see Salisbury and Salisbury 1970, 1972*).

The Wosera area of the East Sepik Province is frequently cited as one of the few parts of Papua New Guinea suffering genuine population pressure on land resources. Lea and Weinand, in a quantitative study of population trends in the Wosera, hypothesised that 'With an increasing population there must be either intensification of land use with considerable change in present methods, or movement of people out of the area. One of the cheapest ways of encouraging both is to improve communications so that ideas can flow in and people can readily flow out'. On this reasoning the writers decided to test the
proposition that absenteeism would decrease with increasing distance from the Maprik-Pagwi road. In the event they calculated a significant correlation. ‘However, the correlation is positive, indicating an increase in absenteeism with increasing distance from the road; this inverts our original hypothesis’ (Lea and Weinand 1971:131, 133). Thus it appears that, even in an area experiencing real demographic/resource push, roads are capable of increasing the absorptive capacity of agriculture.

Investment in rural road networks is consistent with the strategy suggested by Fisk who, while pointing to the difficulties associated with the expansion of primary export income, states that ‘The best prospects for Melanesian agriculture probably lie in the ... production of food and raw materials for the internal market, and in those export commodities where the country enjoys special advantages not shared by most other producing countries’ (Fisk 1972:15,16). Perhaps the longer-term outlook for Papua New Guinea’s export crops is not so gloomy as at present appears, particularly in view of her minute share in world production of any single crop, which confers opportunities for relative expansion not available to larger competitors. Moreover, as Meier points out,

Even if the price elasticity of demand for a primary commodity is generally low on world markets, it may be high from any one supplier among alternative sources of supply. If the prices of substitute products in importing countries rise relatively to the price of the primary export, the volume of exports may also increase. A developing country may thus benefit to the extent that it improves its competitive position in export markets and acquires a cost advantage over substitutes by increasing productivity. (Meier 1968:270)

Fisk calls for ‘an increase in production of traditional staples, to replace rice imports’ and ‘an intensive attack on the problems impeding the marketing, distribution, regular supply and adequate storage of those alternative foods’. This is a logical policy because ‘There is virtually no major item of food that Melanesia cannot either itself produce quite satisfactorily or produce an adequate substitute. Nor is there, with the new agricultural technologies now available, such a shortage of land or labour that food can only be produced at the expense of export agriculture’ (Fisk 1972:15). However, this latter observation might not hold good if official policy seeks to ‘facilitate’ urbanisation, as is proposed by the Wards. Fisk sees a continuing role for the subsistence sector in the economic development of Melanesia, since the case for specialisation of farming is less strong than in other areas. A system of mixed subsistence and commercial farming is desirable since the former activity provides a secure base for engaging in the latter.

POLICIES TOWARDS URBANISATION

Geoffrey Harris has remarked that much of the so-called ‘inevitability’ of urbanisation derives from its being accepted as inevitable (Harris 1971:52). It is obvious that the spatial and occupational distribution of
the population will change, although it is by no means obvious that this change will be uniformly favourable to economic development and the improvement of standards of living. Casting the debate in terms of the inevitability or non-inevitability of urbanisation is unhelpful, since what is at issue is not the reversal or halting of urbanisation, but simply the feasibility of controlling the rate of urbanisation.

Any attempt to control rates of rural-urban population movement by means other than compulsion implies a theory of migration and the identification of causal factors. This enables the formulation of policy measures to influence the behaviour of migrants. Marion Ward cites two basic reasons for rural-urban migration, the first of which is demographic/resource push due to the commercialisation of agriculture. Secondly, there are the attractions of the towns themselves, the "bright lights" which to many villagers exert an emotional pull that must be extraordinarily strong (M. W. Ward 1970*:53). It is not immediately clear what Dr Ward means by the 'bright lights', although she does also refer to 'the hope of economic betterment' (M. W. Ward 1970*:54) as a factor motivating migration. The point is not petty. If the lure of the bright lights is associated with a higher real income and material standard of living in towns (due to the availability of a wider range of goods and services from private enterprise and government) then the causal factors are economic as well as emotional.

Similarly, Professor Ward, while emphasising the cash benefits sought by migrants, states that 'a whole range of social as well as economic motives is involved' and adds: 'Until rural areas are able to offer modern social as well as economic attractions, it will be very difficult to stem the drift away from village life' (R. G. Ward 1971*:41).

But of this catalogue of motives few are unequivocally social; most can reasonably be interpreted as seeking a higher real income for the migrant and a higher material standard of living, either present or future. Apart from the dullness of village life and the variety of town life (which are two sides of the one coin) there is the alleged desire to avoid communal obligations. On the other hand, successful entry to urban wage employment may create new obligations for the migrant, and the occurrence of considerable urban-rural cash flow indicates that many are either unwilling or unable to escape these obligations.3 The desire to take advantage of the superior educational facilities available in towns is also capable of an economic rather than a social interpretation, since Melanesians appear to regard education primarily as an act of investment designed to yield income benefits (Conroy 1970, 1972b). Since any investment appears less attractive if the costs associated with it are increased, there is scope for influencing this source of population movement by means of educational policy changes. The desire to extend one's range of experience may also be economically motivated to the extent that migrants view urban job experience as equipping them with skills which may subsequently be employed in rural investment projects (Salisbury and Salisbury 1970, 1972b).

3See, for example, Dakeyne (1967*:158-60).
Paradoxically, this is one motive for rural-urban migration which would become more important if the rural development programs advocated in this paper were successfully implemented.

What then are the ‘bright lights’, and how strong a pull do they exert on rural people in Papua New Guinea? This is an area in which assertion and speculation by expatriates are more common than hard evidence. Such evidence as there is does not always support the proposition that urban life is intrinsically attractive to rural people (Salisbury 1969: Conroy 1970). Under the circumstances the most reasonable assumption is that there is very little in the ‘bright lights’ hypothesis that cannot be explained in terms of a wholly rational and understandable desire for a higher level of real income. This conclusion is supported by the results of econometric studies of census and other data in a number of developing countries, which indicate that income differentials between areas are a major determinant of internal migration flows. Economic costs and returns appear, generally, to dominate the behaviour of migrants.

Michael Todaro has recently surveyed the economic policy options open to governments in situations of excessive migration and urban unemployment, based mainly on East African experience (Todaro 1971). To the extent that dysfunctional urbanisation has proceeded further in East Africa and reflects policy errors which have not yet occurred in Papua New Guinea, his proposals may require modification. They are, nevertheless, instructive for our purposes.

An independent Papua New Guinea must avoid policies which tend to worsen whatever factor-price distortions exist in the economy already. Such distortions tend to slow the growth of modern sector employment, while worsening the disparity between urban wages and rural incomes. An independent government which, for example, maintains an overvalued foreign exchange rate, pursues taxation policies which encourage capital accumulation rather than labour absorption in the modern sector and capitulates to the demands of trade unions and public servants for higher money wages, is encouraging factor-price distortions.

Urban wage restraint must form part of a comprehensive incomes policy. ‘Any serious attempt to tackle the dual problem of massive rural-urban migration and rising unemployment must have as its primary objective the gradual elimination of the substantial and economically unwarranted differential between urban and rural real earnings capacity’ (Todaro 1971). Taxation policy may be framed to complement incomes policy in a number of ways. Apart from favouring labour absorption rather than capital accumulation in modern enterprises it may also discriminate between urban and rural dwellers, and redirect urban tax revenues towards rural sector needs.

There are real difficulties in implementing such policies. Fisk has warned that in Melanesia,

4See, for example, Sahota (1968) and Beals, Levy and Moses (1967).
Rural development, particularly in the fields of communications and amenities, is expensive and difficult. With limited resources, more dramatic effects can be achieved by concentrating development around the main urban centres, where the needs are seen by the largest concentrations of articulate people, and where it favourably affects their standard of living. (Fisk 1972:11)

On the thorny subject of income distribution, Harry Johnson has noted in the less developed countries a growing concern about irrelevant rather than relevant concepts of social justice, ‘evidenced in efforts to fix . . . the wages of particular kinds of labour at what is considered by politicians and civil servants to be a “fair level”. But,’ he points out, ‘there is no such thing as . . . a socially fair wage for industrial labour, independent of rural incomes and the amount of urban unemployment.’ Characteristically in such countries, ‘Development policy has taxed the masses heavily, and particularly it has taxed the rural sector (and the poor and uneducated in general)’ (H. G. Johnson 1971:4, 9).

Todaro emphasises the need for agricultural and rural development programs designed to check migration at its source. This is completely in accord with the intensification of agriculture recommended by Fisk. Along with the extension of rural infrastructural facilities, particularly roads, such measures would act to raise real incomes in rural areas, further reducing the disparity with urban wages. Todaro applauds the harnessing of rural energies by means of labour-intensive rural works programs, a type of activity which has contributed a great deal to development in Papua New Guinea in the past. However, the supply of voluntary labour for such programs appears to be drying up, perhaps because rural people increasingly recognise the opportunity cost of such labour. The mobilising power of local government councils should be employed to the full to maintain this activity and there is a good case for rates of pay sufficient to attract labour and contribute significantly to rural cash incomes. This would be particularly effective in areas where some degree of agricultural seasonality allows an off-season labour surplus to be exploited.

Todaro discusses other policy measures which are essentially long-term in their nature, but no less pressing for that reason. Population control is necessary to prevent the growth of genuine demographic/resource push in Papua New Guinea, and because, as Fisk has demonstrated, population growth acts to reduce the resource surplus concealed within the subsistence sector. Another program which must necessarily have a long gestation period is concerned with the adaptation of imported technology to local needs and resource endowments. This appears to depend on the growth of a cadre of indigenous technical manpower.

The formulation of positive rural development policies should not imply neglect of the real and pressing needs of urban population. However, urban planning must be conducted within the broader context of overall development objectives, and must consider the need for
rural-urban balance. Thus, when Gerard Ward argues for the concentration of services in urban centres because of the economies of scale involved (R. G. Ward 1971*:105), it should be realised that the balance of advantages will be tipped in favour of urban living, with a corresponding reduction in rural services and increased incentive for rural-urban migration. An even more obvious example is provided by Marion Ward’s proposal for state-subsidised housing for low-income urban dwellers (M. W. Ward 1970*:61). The low income rural dwellers who would effectively contribute to such subsidies in an independent Papua New Guinea could hardly be blamed for migrating in order to benefit from them. There is much that can be done to channel the energies of urban dwellers. Urban community development programs and self-help schemes are not expensive. Security of land tenure enables so-called ‘squatters’ to solve their own housing problems in time, while sanitary and water supply services appropriate to the conditions of a developing country can be provided relatively cheaply, although it is important that those who benefit should contribute to the cost. There is no question of neglecting the needs of urban populations, but there is certainly a need to alter the current tendency of development policy to err in the opposite direction.5

This chapter has argued that in the developing countries generally, and in Melanesia particularly, policies designed to facilitate urbanisation will constrain the rate of economic development. This will be true on any definition of ‘development’ other than, perhaps, the most crudely quantitative. Urban growth at present rates poses serious problems, of which urban unemployment is the most obvious. Less obvious, though perhaps even more important at present, is the loss of output associated with the outflow of labour from a highly productive rural sector. It is the exploitation of the potential for development within this rural sector that will act as a catalyst for overall economic development in Papua New Guinea.
Towns are a recent phenomenon in Papua New Guinea and the economic and social changes that have accompanied progress towards national government are most evident in them. This chapter sketches the history of urban growth in Papua New Guinea and the structure of the urban populations, identifies some changes that are in process and suggests ways in which government policy could affect the rate and nature of change.

The small, scattered, subsistence rural communities in which all Papua New Guineans lived until recently contrasted greatly with the enclaves of colonial economic activity that intruded on village society from late last century. Within the colonial enclaves, labour was employed under severe wage contracts and there was narrow specialisation in the production and exchange of a few tree crops, gold or, in the small urban centres, administrative and commercial services.

The towns were the centres of colonial administration and commerce. They existed for the convenience or profit of foreigners and were governed by foreigners' rules. Some Papua New Guineans lived in or near the towns because their labour was useful or because their land had been incorporated in urban areas, but they were usually excluded from official perceptions of urban life and, until 1966, they were not covered by the census. It was illegal for Papua New Guineans to reside in town without work or a permit until the early 1960s. The Annual Reports of New Guinea and Papua repeated through the 1950s the brief comment, 'There is no unemployment in the Territory'.

Papua New Guineans were employed only in jobs requiring relatively simple skills until the late 1950s. Thus until recently the increase in numbers of Papua New Guineans resident in the towns was linked closely to the expansion of demand for relatively unskilled labour.

*This paper was written in 1974.

1See, for example, Department of Territories, Territory of Papua: Annual Report, Canberra, 1954-5, p.55; Commonwealth of Australia, Report to the General Assembly of the United Nations on the Administration of the Territory of New Guinea, Canberra, 1952-3, p.64.
There were a few exceptions to the general pattern of Papua New Guineans participating in the town economies only as unskilled labourers; a few villages adjacent to Port Moresby and Rabaul became intensively involved in the sale of goods and services to the towns and there were instances of migrant groups combining subsistence activities with the sale of goods and labour in the towns (Oram, 1968b*).

The main camps established in Papua New Guinea during the Pacific War were as large as small cities. They were temporary, but some new migrant settlements survived the war. More permanent changes in the structure and growth of the towns became evident in the early 1960s. As with so many developments in the recent history of Papua New Guinea, the Australian recognition that independence could not long be delayed was a turning point that brought with it the realisation that efforts to create a Papua New Guinean administration and a much larger national economy must be greatly intensified. This point was marked by the beginnings of rapid expansion of Papua New Guinean employment in administration and by the reconstruction of the public service in 1963 and 1964.

The number of indigenous administration employees rose by over 40 per cent between 1962 and 1964, compared with a total increase of only 25 per cent over the previous decade. Public sector employment has grown rapidly ever since. Growth in private sector employment accelerated under the five-year development program which began in 1968 and was later modified to incorporate the mining project on Bougainville. The period of the five-year program was characterised by greatly expanded private investment in mining, construction, manufacturing, commerce, tourism and other urban facilities and activities.

The government sector accounted for about half the employment growth in most of the large towns, with private sector growth being more important in Lae (with its rapidly expanding manufacturing sector), Mt Hagen (providing commercial and administrative services to a rapidly growing region) and the towns on Bougainville that were developed with the mine (see Table 5.2).

These developments in administration and in the availability of wage employment were accompanied by a marked decline in the relative importance of formal employment agreements and by an increase in casual employment in the private sector. They signalled growing self-confidence and mobility in the workforce and paved the way for the migration of family groups, which became increasingly important through the 1960s. There was a gradual decline in the proportion of private sector workers employed under agreement, from almost 60 per cent in 1957 to about 50 per cent in 1962. The decline then accelerated, to 41 per cent in 1964 and to very low proportions in later years.

2Department of Territories, Annual Report on the Territory of Papua, Canberra, various years.


4R. G. Ward (1971*) stresses, correctly, the relationship between casual employment and rural-urban migration.
Table 5.1
Indigenous Population by Sector, 1966 and 1971

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sector</th>
<th>Male ('000)</th>
<th>Female ('000)</th>
<th>Total ('000)</th>
<th>Per cent of total</th>
<th>Male ('000)</th>
<th>Female ('000)</th>
<th>Total ('000)</th>
<th>Per cent of total</th>
<th>Male ('000)</th>
<th>Female ('000)</th>
<th>Total ('000)</th>
<th>Per cent of total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rural village</td>
<td>947.5</td>
<td>954.6</td>
<td>1902.0</td>
<td>88.5</td>
<td>968.3</td>
<td>1010.4</td>
<td>1978.7</td>
<td>81.2</td>
<td>20.8</td>
<td>55.8</td>
<td>76.7</td>
<td>26.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban*</td>
<td>68.6</td>
<td>35.1</td>
<td>103.6</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>143.1</td>
<td>88.7</td>
<td>231.8</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>74.6</td>
<td>53.6</td>
<td>128.1</td>
<td>44.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural non-village†</td>
<td>104.3</td>
<td>40.3</td>
<td>144.6</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>151.2</td>
<td>73.7</td>
<td>224.9</td>
<td>9.2</td>
<td>46.9</td>
<td>33.4</td>
<td>80.3</td>
<td>28.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1120.4</td>
<td>1030.0</td>
<td>2150.2</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>1262.6</td>
<td>1172.8</td>
<td>2435.4</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>142.3</td>
<td>142.8</td>
<td>285.1</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Urban* is defined for census purposes to include centres with populations of 500 or more but excludes separately located schools, hospitals, missions, plantations, rural settlements and rural villages, regardless of population.

†Rural non-village is defined for census purposes to include separately located schools, missions, plantations, rural settlements, defence establishments and centres with populations of less than 500.

years. The migration of family groups was also encouraged by rising average incomes as Papua New Guineans entered more highly paid, skilled employment. Belated recognition towards the end of the intercensal period of the need for innovations in urban housing policy to bring accommodation suitable for family groups within the financial means of low income workers contributed to the increased migration of women to the towns.

The 1966 census provides the first extensive data on the indigenous population of Papua New Guinea. The census revealed that slightly less than 5 per cent of the Papua New Guinean population was resident in towns. The towns were less important as places of residence outside the villages than the plantations, missions, small government stations, resettlement areas and other rural locations (the 'rural non-village' category in Table 5.1; see notes to the table for definitions).

Between 1966 and the second census in 1971, the indigenous urban population grew at the phenomenal compound rate of 17 per cent per annum according to the official data. By 1971 the towns held almost 10 per cent of the national population, having grown very much faster than the village and rural non-village populations. The towns accommodated almost half of the national population increase and over half of the increase in the male population between 1966 and 1971.

Urban activity is dispersed through a large number of towns because of the country's geographic fragmentation and the administrative decentralisation forced by expensive internal transport and communications. All seven of the major urban areas listed in Table 5.2 are headquarters of administrative Provinces, of which there were eighteen in 1971. Other Provincial headquarters are towns of 1000 to 3000 persons except that Daru, long established, and with opportunities for subsistence supplements to urban incomes, is somewhat larger.

Port Moresby is the largest town because it has been the main centre of colonial and, now, national administration. Rapid private sector growth in other towns, especially in Lae, Mt Hagen and Arawa-Kieta-Panguna, and the development of new administrative centres, caused Port Moresby's share of the national urban population to fall from 31 per cent in 1966 to 26 per cent in 1971. The several dozen small towns that contribute over one quarter to urban population grew at a slightly lower rate than the total of all towns. The rapid increase in the population of Rabaul indicated by the census mainly reflects a redefinition of the urban area to include the populous villages of Matupit and

5Department of Territories, Annual Reports.
6All census and survey data presented in the remainder of this paper refer only to the indigenous population.
7The official population data on the towns from the 1971 census are about 20 per cent higher than the enumerated totals. It is therefore difficult to be fully confident in the official estimates. The true town populations in 1971 may have been smaller than the official data suggest and the rate of urban growth between the two censuses less impressive.
8There are now twenty, following the establishment of the Enga and National Capital Provinces.
Malaguna. The exclusion of these areas from the town at the 1966 census was somewhat arbitrary.

Wage employment was the most important source of indigenous urban incomes. Only 432 Papua New Guineans were shown as self-employed at the 1966 census and only 1100, or less than 2 per cent of the employed urban workforce, in 1971. These data may exaggerate the situation, however, as there was almost certainly some underenumeration of self-employment in the census. There was some urban gardening and fishing in almost all towns, for example, and this was very important in traditional villages in Daru, Wewak and Rabaul.

In 1966 the ratio of urban wage employment to urban population was almost identical in five of the seven major towns (Table 5.2) where it ranged between 40 per cent and 42 per cent. The deviant towns were Rabaul, the data from which were skewed by the exclusion of important urban villages, and Wewak, with its long-established villages and settlements and lower rate of employment growth. The ratio of employment to population fell sharply in the seven major towns between 1966 and 1971, as sex and age structures in the towns moved closer to the national averages (see Table 5.4). This pattern was not followed in the towns adjacent to the mine on Bougainville, as the many thousands of wage jobs made available by construction at the mine were filled mainly by migrant workers without families.

If the ratio of dependants to persons in wage employment had remained at the 1966 level, the rate of urban population growth in the intercensal period would have been only about half of that which was observed. The growth of wage employment between the censuses would have generated less than two-thirds of the population growth observed in Port Moresby and Lae, and little more than one-third in Madang, Wewak, Goroka and Mt Hagen if there had been no change in the ratio of employed persons to dependants. The decline in the ratios of wage employment to population is analysed in greater detail in the following section.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE URBAN POPULATIONS
The declining proportion of employed persons in the urban populations can be analysed in terms of changes in three other ratios. As shown in Table 5.3, the proportion of males in the urban population fell considerably in each of the seven major towns between 1966 and 1971. The male population was much less heavily concentrated in age groups that are likely to be engaged in wage employment in 1971 than in 1966. Among work-age males, the proportion in wage employment was very much lower in 1971 than in 1966 for six of the major towns and in the seventh, Madang, the ratios were equal in the two years. However, the falling proportion of work-age males in wage employment was offset to some extent by rising proportions of females engaged in wage employment.

Table 5.4 presents more detailed information on the age and sex distribution of the population in the major towns. Children of less than
### Table 5.2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Urban area</th>
<th>Pop. (’000)</th>
<th>1966 Wage and salary employment (’000)</th>
<th>Persons in wage and salary employment per 100 population (’000)</th>
<th>Pop. (’000)</th>
<th>1971 Wage and salary employment (’000)</th>
<th>Persons in wage and salary employment per 100 population (’000)</th>
<th>Aggreg. percentage growth in wage employment (%)</th>
<th>Increase 1966 to 1971</th>
<th>Per cent of population growth due to wage employment (%)</th>
<th>Per cent of population growth due to increased dependency ratios (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Port Moresby</td>
<td>32.0</td>
<td>13.3 (4.6)</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>59.6</td>
<td>20.8 (7.8)</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lae</td>
<td>13.3</td>
<td>5.6 n.a.</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>32.1</td>
<td>10.3 (3.2)</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rabaul</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>4.0 (1.1)</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>22.3</td>
<td>6.0 (2.1)</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>223</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madang</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>2.9 (0.9)</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>14.7</td>
<td>4.0 (1.6)</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wewak</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>2.5 (1.1)</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>13.8</td>
<td>3.2 (1.7)</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>169</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goroka</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>1.6 (0.6)</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>10.5</td>
<td>2.7 (1.2)</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>232</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mt Hagen</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>1.1 (0.5)</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>9.3</td>
<td>2.1 (0.7)</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>232</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arawa-Kieta-Panguna</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>not available</td>
<td>9.0</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>(0.6) n.a</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>n.a</td>
<td>1400</td>
<td>not available</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other urban†</td>
<td>28.7</td>
<td>not available</td>
<td>60.5</td>
<td>not available</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>111</td>
<td>not available</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total urban</td>
<td>103.6</td>
<td>231.8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>124</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*The proportion of population growth 'due to' employment growth is the proportion of the population growth that would have occurred had the ratio of wage employment to population remained constant in the intercensal period.

†Other towns with population greater than five hundred.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Town</th>
<th>Proportion of males in total population 1966</th>
<th>Proportion of males in total population 1971</th>
<th>Proportion of work-age (15-64 years) males in male population 1966</th>
<th>Proportion of work-age (15-64 years) males in male population 1971</th>
<th>Proportion of males in wage employment to male population 15-64 years 1966</th>
<th>Proportion of males in wage employment to male population 15-64 years 1971</th>
<th>Proportion of females in wage employment to female population 15-64 years 1966</th>
<th>Proportion of females in wage employment to female population 15-64 years 1971</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Port Moresby</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lae</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rabaul</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madang</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goroka</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mt Hagen</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wewak</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arawa-Kieta-Panguna</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>92</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Tabulations from 1966 and 1971 census.
Table 5.4
Age and Sex Distributions of Population in Major Urban Areas, 1966-71
(per cent for each town)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Town</th>
<th>0-14 years</th>
<th>15-44 years</th>
<th>45-64 years</th>
<th>65 years and over</th>
<th>0-14 years</th>
<th>15-44 years</th>
<th>45-64 years</th>
<th>65 years and over</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M  F  T</td>
<td>M  F  T</td>
<td>M  F  T</td>
<td>M  F  T</td>
<td>M  F  T</td>
<td>M  F  T</td>
<td>M  F  T</td>
<td>M  F  T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Port Moresby</td>
<td>19.4 17.0 36.4</td>
<td>42.2 16.5 58.7</td>
<td>3.0 1.5 4.5</td>
<td>0.2 0.2 0.4</td>
<td>21.4 18.7 40.1</td>
<td>36.7 18.1 54.8</td>
<td>2.8 1.6 4.4</td>
<td>0.4 0.2 0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lae</td>
<td>18.6 14.6 33.2</td>
<td>45.7 17.4 63.1</td>
<td>2.5 1.0 3.5</td>
<td>0.1 0.1 0.2</td>
<td>20.9 16.9 37.8</td>
<td>39.7 18.6 58.3</td>
<td>2.4 1.2 3.6</td>
<td>0.2 0.1 0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rabaul</td>
<td>13.4 9.8 23.2</td>
<td>60.5 12.0 72.5</td>
<td>2.9 0.9 3.8</td>
<td>0.3 0.1 0.4</td>
<td>23.2 19.4 42.6</td>
<td>31.0 18.3 49.3</td>
<td>4.3 3.1 7.4</td>
<td>0.5 0.3 0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madang</td>
<td>18.6 13.9 32.5</td>
<td>48.8 15.5 64.3</td>
<td>1.9 0.9 2.8</td>
<td>0.2 0.0 0.2</td>
<td>23.1 17.8 40.9</td>
<td>35.9 17.9 53.8</td>
<td>2.9 1.4 4.3</td>
<td>0.6 0.4 1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wewak</td>
<td>20.0 17.1 37.1</td>
<td>37.8 19.7 57.5</td>
<td>3.3 1.8 5.1</td>
<td>0.3 0.1 0.4</td>
<td>23.0 20.3 43.3</td>
<td>29.9 21.2 51.1</td>
<td>3.1 2.0 5.1</td>
<td>0.3 0.5 0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goroka</td>
<td>17.9 12.9 30.8</td>
<td>50.1 17.4 67.5</td>
<td>1.0 0.7 1.7</td>
<td>0.0 0.0 0.0</td>
<td>22.4 16.2 38.6</td>
<td>33.4 20.8 54.2</td>
<td>3.4 2.7 6.1</td>
<td>0.5 0.3 0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mt Hagen</td>
<td>17.3 12.8 30.1</td>
<td>51.7 17.0 68.7</td>
<td>0.9 0.3 1.2</td>
<td>0.0 0.0 0.0</td>
<td>22.1 17.5 39.6</td>
<td>32.3 21.2 53.5</td>
<td>3.4 3.0 6.4</td>
<td>0.3 0.3 0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arawa-Kieta-Panguna</td>
<td>Not available</td>
<td>Not available</td>
<td>Not available</td>
<td>Not available</td>
<td>Not available</td>
<td>Not available</td>
<td>Not available</td>
<td>Not available</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Papua</td>
<td>22.5 20.3 42.8</td>
<td>22.8 21.7 44.5</td>
<td>6.2 5.4 11.6</td>
<td>0.6 0.4 1.0</td>
<td>23.9 21.6 45.5</td>
<td>21.0 20.6 6.0</td>
<td>5.3 11.3</td>
<td>0.9 0.7 1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Guinea</td>
<td>22.5 20.3 42.8</td>
<td>22.8 21.7 44.5</td>
<td>6.2 5.4 11.6</td>
<td>0.6 0.4 1.0</td>
<td>23.9 21.6 45.5</td>
<td>21.0 20.6 6.0</td>
<td>5.3 11.3</td>
<td>0.9 0.7 1.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Tabulations from 1966 and 1971 census.
15 years represented a smaller proportion of the towns' population than of the total, national population, although the differences between their share of the town and national populations were less in 1971. Similarly, persons over 44 years made up a smaller proportion of the town than the national population, although to a lesser degree in 1971. Males aged 15-44 years formed a very much larger proportion of the urban than of the national populations in both census years, representing about one-half of the town but less than one-quarter of the national population in 1966. An especially high proportion of younger, work-age males was in the towns: in 1971, 26 per cent of the national population of males aged 15-19 years and 24 per cent of the national population of males aged 20-24 years were resident in urban areas.

Females aged 15-44 years made up a much smaller proportion of the town than the national population in 1966, but by 1971 they represented similar proportions for the two groups. The age and sex structure of the urban population was, thus, such as would tend to produce similar birth rates in the major towns and in the national population as a whole from 1971.

The age and sex distributions varied widely among towns. In 1971 the distributions in Rabaul and Wewak, with their large traditional village populations, were closest to the distribution of the national population. They were furthest from the national distribution in the Bougainville towns because of the presence of very large numbers of young, single men, employed in construction associated with the mine. Apart from Rabaul, where the data are distorted by the changes in boundaries, the tendency for the age and sex distribution of the town populations to move towards the national average was most pronounced in the highlands towns.

The tendency for the sex and age distribution of the urban population to move towards that of the country as a whole had several sources: the 'urbanisation' of villages adjacent to the towns continued and contributed to the increase in numbers of women and children in the towns; there was considerable migration of women to towns (see p. 83), usually to join males who had established themselves in employment; as the town residents established new families, natural increase contributed to rapid growth in younger age groups; and the tendency for urban residents to become more committed to town life, together with the superior health services and lesser mortality in urban areas, helped to raise the proportion of persons in older age groups in the urban populations.

A high proportion of the town populations are recent migrants. Between about one-third and one-half of residents in each of the seven major towns in 1971 had migrated to the town since the 1966 census. About half the population in five of the towns had been born in the town, in traditional villages or as children of migrants. The proportion of migrants was significantly higher in the largest towns, Port Moresby and Lae, and one-quarter of the population of Port Moresby comprised migrants resident for five or more years. Recent migrants dominated
Change and Movement

Table 5.5
Period of Residence, Persons in Major Towns, 1971
(per cent)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Town</th>
<th>Born in the town</th>
<th>Migrant resident five years or more</th>
<th>Migrant resident less than five years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Port Moresby</td>
<td>38.3</td>
<td>24.7</td>
<td>37.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lae</td>
<td>38.4</td>
<td>16.4</td>
<td>45.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rabaul</td>
<td>51.1</td>
<td>17.1</td>
<td>31.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madang</td>
<td>43.9</td>
<td>17.9</td>
<td>38.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wewak</td>
<td>52.1</td>
<td>13.0</td>
<td>34.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goroka</td>
<td>49.6</td>
<td>10.1</td>
<td>40.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mt Hagen</td>
<td>56.1</td>
<td>9.9</td>
<td>34.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arawa-Kieta-Panguna</td>
<td>15.2</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>80.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Tabulations from 1971 census.

the Bougainville towns.

A considerably higher proportion of women than men had been born in the town in which they were resident. The proportion of women born in the town in which they were resident was 47.4 per cent in Port Moresby, 49.6 per cent in Lae and over 50 per cent in all other towns. A smaller proportion of women than men were recent migrants and a much smaller proportion of women were migrants of five years' standing.

The census data provide little explanation for the decline in the ratio of males in wage employment to male population of working age. The proportion of unemployed amongst males aged 15-64 years, by the census definition of persons actively seeking work, actually fell in all major towns except Port Moresby between 1966 and 1971, although the numbers were small. The proportion of unemployed was very high in the highlands towns in 1966, but fell dramatically in the inter-censal period. Not too much can be read from these data, however, as there are serious problems in the census definition of unemployment.

A broader definition of unemployment was used in a major sample survey of urban households, conducted in eighteen towns in 1973-4. Some results of this survey are introduced in a following section.

The increased participation by women in urban wage employment between 1966 and 1971 reflects fundamental changes in social attitudes and opportunities. A higher proportion of jobs available to Papua New Guineans by 1971 was physically suited to women and more women were educated to levels that allowed them to take advantage of new opportunities in administration and commerce. This was especially important for women in traditional villages near Rabaul and Port

9In Port Moresby, the ratio of males actively seeking work in the week prior to the taking of the census to male population rose from 1.5 per cent in 1966 to 1.6 per cent in 1971. In Lae, it fell from 1.4 per cent to 0.9 per cent; in Rabaul from 1.7 per cent to 1.2 per cent; in Madang from 3.0 per cent to 1.7 per cent; in Wewak from 3.1 per cent to 1.2 per cent; in Goroka from 15.0 per cent to 2.0 per cent; and in Mt Hagen from 6.5 per cent to 1.5 per cent.
Moresby, younger groups of whom were very intensely involved in wage employment. Continued social disapproval of working wives with families may continue to inhibit female participation in urban economic life, although statistical evidence of withdrawal from the workforce upon marriage and motherhood is not yet available.

**THE MIGRANTS**

A majority of urban residents in the major towns are migrants. Slightly less than 60 per cent of the population of major towns in 1971 had been born outside the towns (see Table 5.6). The migrants have tended to come from village areas that are relatively close to the towns. Males of work age have predominated, especially among long-distance migrants. Long-distance migration and movement of women to the towns have become more important in recent years. About one-third of migrants living in major towns in 1971 were from the immediately adjacent Provinces and over 70 per cent were from the immediately adjacent regions (see Table 5.6).

Slightly less than one-third of the migrants in Port Moresby in 1971 had been born outside the coastal Papuan region. But as shown in Table 5.7, the rate of increase between the census years was much higher for interregional migrants. The most rapid increase occurred amongst highland migrants: the increase in the number of highlands-born residents in Port Moresby between 1966 and 1971 was three-quarters of the increase of those from the coastal Papuan region excluding Central Province, compared with less than one-sixth in the period to 1966.

Slightly more than one-third of the migrants in Lae, Madang and Wewak in 1971 were from outside the coastal mainland New Guinea region. But the increase in regional migrants in these towns between the two census years was very much less than the increase from all of the more distant regions. As with migration to Port Moresby, the most notable development in the origins of migrants to these towns was the greatly increased flow from the highlands Provinces. Whereas the total population and the total number of migrants in Lae, Madang and Wewak rose by a little over 100 per cent, the number of highlands migrants rose by over 300 per cent (see Table 5.8).

About 41 per cent of migrants in Goroka and Mt Hagen in 1971 had been born outside the highlands region, the high ratio (relative to other towns) reflecting the region's lesser capacity to supply the towns with skilled manpower. But the highlands stands out as the one region in which the home region's 'share' of migrants to major, regional centres rose after 1966. Between 1966 and 1971, the proportion of coastal Papuans in the highlands towns fell significantly.

Almost half the migrants in Rabaul, Arawa, Kieita and Panguna in 1971 came from outside the New Guinea islands region. There are no 1966 data on the Province of origin of Kieita residents so that inter-temporal comparisons of migration to New Guinea islands towns must be confined to Rabaul. There was less migration to Rabaul than to any other significant town after 1966, the total number of migrants born
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Town of residence</th>
<th>Born in the town(s)</th>
<th>Migrants from surrounding Province to Provincial towns</th>
<th>Other migrants from coastal Papuan Provinces</th>
<th>Other migrants from highlands Provinces</th>
<th>Other migrants from coastal, mainland New Guinea Provinces</th>
<th>Other migrants from New Guinea islands Provinces</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Port Moresby (coastal Papuan town)</td>
<td>M 12.0</td>
<td>M 6.6</td>
<td>M 8.7</td>
<td>M 4.4</td>
<td>M 3.5</td>
<td>M 1.3</td>
<td>M 36.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wewak, Madang and Lae (coastal, mainland)</td>
<td>M 14.3</td>
<td>M 9.1</td>
<td>M 3.4</td>
<td>M 3.1</td>
<td>M 5.9</td>
<td>M 1.5</td>
<td>M 37.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Guinea towns</td>
<td>T 26.0</td>
<td>T 14.3</td>
<td>T 5.2</td>
<td>T 4.7</td>
<td>T 8.2</td>
<td>T 2.3</td>
<td>T 60.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goroka and Mount Hagen (highlands towns)</td>
<td>M 5.4</td>
<td>M 1.7</td>
<td>M 0.9</td>
<td>M 1.8</td>
<td>M 1.5</td>
<td>M 0.4</td>
<td>M 11.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rabaul, Arawa Kieta and Panguna (New Guinea island towns)</td>
<td>M 6.4</td>
<td>M 3.9</td>
<td>M 1.6</td>
<td>M 2.0</td>
<td>M 4.2</td>
<td>M 3.0</td>
<td>M 21.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>F 6.3</td>
<td>F 1.6</td>
<td>F 0.4</td>
<td>F 0.1</td>
<td>F 0.7</td>
<td>F 1.0</td>
<td>F 10.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>T 12.8</td>
<td>T 5.5</td>
<td>T 2.0</td>
<td>T 2.1</td>
<td>T 4.8</td>
<td>T 4.0</td>
<td>T 31.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Tabulations from 1971 census.
Table 5.7
Urban Populations by Region of Origin: Ratio of Incremental Population from Region 1966-71 to Stock in 1966
(1966 stock = 100)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Town(s)</th>
<th>Born in the Province of the town(s)</th>
<th>Other migrants from coastal Papuan Provinces</th>
<th>Other migrants from highlands Provinces</th>
<th>Other migrants from coastal mainland New Guinea Provinces</th>
<th>Other migrants from New Guinea island Provinces</th>
<th>Totals to each group of towns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Moresby</td>
<td>M 77</td>
<td>M 42</td>
<td>M 232</td>
<td>M 62</td>
<td>M 127</td>
<td>M 76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>F 99</td>
<td>F 83</td>
<td>F 661</td>
<td>F 174</td>
<td>F 236</td>
<td>F 104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>T 86</td>
<td>T 56</td>
<td>T 262</td>
<td>T 81</td>
<td>T 151</td>
<td>T 86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wewak,</td>
<td>M 92</td>
<td>M 100</td>
<td>M 299</td>
<td>M 60</td>
<td>M 172</td>
<td>M 96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madang and</td>
<td>F 126</td>
<td>F 126</td>
<td>F 376</td>
<td>F 72</td>
<td>F 136</td>
<td>F 140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lae</td>
<td>T 109</td>
<td>T 108</td>
<td>T 323</td>
<td>T 63</td>
<td>T 159</td>
<td>T 111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goroka and</td>
<td>M 230</td>
<td>M 62</td>
<td>M 89</td>
<td>M 111</td>
<td>M 82</td>
<td>M 153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mount Hagen</td>
<td>F 402</td>
<td>F 65</td>
<td>F 195</td>
<td>F 184</td>
<td>F 328</td>
<td>F 303</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>T 290</td>
<td>T 63</td>
<td>T 121</td>
<td>T 126</td>
<td>T 121</td>
<td>T 215</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rabaul</td>
<td>M 725</td>
<td>M 22</td>
<td>M 198</td>
<td>M 20</td>
<td>M 23</td>
<td>M 150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>F 1268</td>
<td>F 42</td>
<td>F 112</td>
<td>F 117</td>
<td>F 106</td>
<td>F 485</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>T 1030</td>
<td>T 29</td>
<td>T 187</td>
<td>T 31</td>
<td>T 41</td>
<td>T 225</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals from</td>
<td>M 120</td>
<td>M 53</td>
<td>M 204</td>
<td>M 55</td>
<td>M 75</td>
<td>M 99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>each region</td>
<td>F 176</td>
<td>F 88</td>
<td>F 316</td>
<td>F 107</td>
<td>F 147</td>
<td>F 158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>T 141</td>
<td>T 65</td>
<td>T 228</td>
<td>T 66</td>
<td>T 93</td>
<td>T 119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Province of birth</td>
<td>Number of persons born in Province ('000)</td>
<td>Of persons born in Province</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>Percentage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western</td>
<td>73.0</td>
<td></td>
<td>10.8</td>
<td></td>
<td>10.8</td>
<td>13.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gulf</td>
<td>69.1</td>
<td></td>
<td>20.6</td>
<td></td>
<td>20.6</td>
<td>10.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central</td>
<td>147.8</td>
<td>15.2</td>
<td>12.8</td>
<td></td>
<td>28.0</td>
<td>9.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milne Bay</td>
<td>113.0</td>
<td></td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td></td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>8.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern</td>
<td>67.4</td>
<td></td>
<td>10.5</td>
<td></td>
<td>10.5</td>
<td>11.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern Highlands</td>
<td>200.7</td>
<td></td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td></td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>7.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern Highlands</td>
<td>238.1</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td></td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>6.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chimbu</td>
<td>179.3</td>
<td></td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td></td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>9.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western Highlands</td>
<td>334.3</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td></td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>5.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Sepik</td>
<td>98.2</td>
<td></td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td></td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Sepik</td>
<td>191.5</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td></td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>7.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madang</td>
<td>169.0</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td></td>
<td>8.7</td>
<td>11.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morobe</td>
<td>241.4</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>9.2</td>
<td></td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>11.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West New Britain</td>
<td>55.1</td>
<td></td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td></td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>12.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East New Britain</td>
<td>94.7</td>
<td>12.0</td>
<td>8.1</td>
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<td>20.1</td>
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<tr>
<td>New Ireland</td>
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<td></td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td></td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>9.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bougainville</td>
<td>82.0</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td></td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>8.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manus</td>
<td>25.6</td>
<td></td>
<td>19.8</td>
<td></td>
<td>19.8</td>
<td>16.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*The eight largest towns in 1971 are considered to be 'major towns'.

Source: Tabulations from 1971 census. The percentages are estimates derived from the tabulations and from calculations based on the assumptions that 75 per cent of residents in each small town migrated from the immediately adjacent Province, that regional shares of migrants are the same as for large towns within the same region and that each Province's share in migration from a region is the same to small towns as to major towns.
outside East New Britain rising by less than 14 per cent in five years. Highlands-born residents of Rabaul increased by almost 200 per cent, but from a very small base.

Migrants represented a much higher proportion of the population of the Bougainville mining towns than of any other towns. Migrants from outside the New Guinea islands made up 58 per cent of the migrant population and just under one-half of the total. The population structure of the Bougainville mining towns has changed a great deal since the census, with the winding down of the construction effort.

Smaller towns represent about one-quarter of the urban population, but no tabulations of census data on Province of origin were available at the time this chapter was prepared. Data from a household survey conducted in 1973-74 suggest that higher proportions of residents in small towns were born in the immediately adjacent Province.11

People born in the Central, Morobe, East New Britain and Madang Provinces formed the largest numbers of urban residents following the tendency for a high proportion of the population of each town to have been drawn from the immediate Province. However, despite this tendency, the Gulf and Manus Provinces had the highest proportions of persons born in these Provinces who were resident in towns in 1971 (see column 3 of Table 5.8). The fifth largest number of urban residents had been born in the Gulf Province ahead of the Eastern Highlands, East Sepik and Western Highlands Provinces despite the much larger total populations of and the location of the sixth, fifth and seventh towns in these Provinces. After the Gulf and Manus Provinces, persons born in other Papuan Provinces, especially Central, Western and Northern, were most likely to be resident in towns. The proportion of people born in the highlands who were resident in towns was very much lower than for other regions despite the acceleration of migration from this region between 1966 and 1971.

The Provinces in which major towns were located were less important as places of birth for migrants. The largest numbers of migrants were born in the Morobe, Central and Gulf Provinces, and roughly as many migrants were born in Milne Bay, Chimbu, Western and Northern Provinces as in other Provinces that include major towns.

Migration from the villages was not only to the towns; the plantations, missions and small government stations (see Table 5.1) also provided opportunities for non-village employment. The migrants to urban and rural non-village areas differed in clearly defined ways, including educa-


11 For example, in December 1973/January 1974, the proportion of persons aged 15-44 years from the immediately adjacent Province was 55 per cent in Kavieng, 55 per cent in Kundiawa, 65 per cent in Kainantu, 79 per cent in Alotau, 40 per cent in Kimbe and 83 per cent in Daru. This compares with 40 per cent and 35 per cent respectively in the larger towns of Port Moresby and Mt Hagen.
tion, skills and confidence in the less structured social organisation in the towns. Migrants born in the Gulf, Central, East New Britain and Manus Provinces, with their longer histories of European contact and formal education, moved to the towns. Migrants from the highlands, Sepik, Madang and West New Britain Provinces, with a shorter and poorer history of administrative services and education, favoured rural non-village areas.

By 1971, village-born people were least likely to remain in village residence in coastal Papua, East New Britain and Manus and most likely to remain in the highlands. But a marked increase in migration from one highlands Province, Chimbu, caused the rural population of that Province to decline in the intercensal period. The rural village population of the Gulf, East Sepik and Manus Provinces also declined, but by a lesser amount, through this period.

The proportion of migrants in the total urban populations declined considerably between 1966 and 1971. The numbers of town-born rose both through the absorption of neighbouring villages into the towns and through natural increase. The well-established towns tend to draw the economic life of neighbouring villages towards themselves, as villagers enter wage employment or activities that depend on cash flows which originate in the town. This process has proceeded furthest in the neighbourhood of Port Moresby and Rabaul, and has accelerated everywhere with the improvement of roads and the establishment of village-based trucking businesses. There are people who lead very urban lives outside the boundaries of all the major towns and this introduces some arbitrariness into estimates of the urban and the urban-born populations. The exclusion of the highly urbanised villages of Matupit and Malaguna from the Rabaul urban area in the 1966 census arbitrarily raised the official rate of growth of that town in the intercensal period. In 1971 after the boundary changes there was still much commuting to Rabaul from villages outside the census boundaries. The census boundaries of Port Moresby also exclude some villages which participate intensively in urban economic life. A survey in Gaire village, 50 kilometres from Port Moresby on the Rigo Road, indicated that in August 1975, 8 per cent of work-age males who were considered to be residents of the village commuted daily to employment in the town. A further 37 per cent slept in Port Moresby during the week and returned to the village most weekends. Six per cent were employed more or less full-time in trucking and retailing businesses that were heavily dependent on the custom of urban commuters.12

The movement of males has dominated migration to the towns and the proportion of males has tended to be greater over the longer migration routes. The increase in the proportion of women among migrants has been the most significant structural change in migration flows since 1966, but males still constitute a majority of migrants. Amongst persons born in and resident in particular towns, there were 1.1 males per

12Survey conducted by Ivan Jana of New Guinea School Services under the author's supervision, August 1974.
female, a ratio not dissimilar to the masculinity of the national population. But masculinity was much higher for migrants from adjacent Provinces, higher again for inter-Provence migrants from adjacent regions and very much higher for interregional migrants (see Table 5.6 and, more directly, Table 5.9). Masculinity was lower, usually much lower, for the 1966-71 population increment than the total 1971 population for all categories of migrants (see Table 5.9). The decline in masculinity after 1966 was associated with dramatic increases in the rate of female migration, especially from highlands Provinces (see Table 5.7).

DEVELOPMENTS 1971-3

Following the acceleration of urban employment expansion in the early 1960s, a second turning point in Papua New Guinea urban growth can be identified at about the time of the 1971 census. The rapid growth in urban wage employment ceased, urban population growth continued at a reduced rate, and the sex and age distribution of the population continued to move towards the national averages.

The cessation in the expansion of urban wage employment was caused partly by economic events that were well in train before 1972 and partly by the policies of and the business response to the new, national government. The winding down of construction at the Bougainville mine sharply reduced the demand for wage labour both on Bougainville and, through its effects on demand for goods and services, in other major towns. These effects were compounded by exceptionally low commodity prices in late 1971 and 1972, which reduced rural incomes and demand for urban goods and services. Private investment was further inhibited at this time by political uncertainty prior to the 1972 elections, and then by the emergence of the more nationalist, coalition government led by Mr Michael Somare. Uncertainty progressed to realisation that economic policy was undergoing fundamental reassessment in the second half of 1972. Some policies and attitudes of the new government contributed directly to reduced private investment in the towns. The government was cautious about expansion of the manufacturing and tourist industries, both of which had been major growth sectors in the previous five years; the establishment of a second major copper mine was delayed by a number of factors which included uncertainty about mining and investment policy; and the rapid decline in the expatriate population that was associated with the government's localisation policy considerably reduced domestic consumption and employment in industries supplying local markets.

A number of independent data sources together suggest a very low or zero rate of employment growth after mid-1971. Department of Labour data suggest a fall of about 2.5 per cent in urban wage and salary employment between June 1971 and June 1972. Amongst major

13For a discussion of masculinity in Papua New Guinea, see van de Kaa (1971a).
14For a description of these developments, see Treadgold (1974).
Table 5.9
Masculinity, Regions of Birth by Nature of Migration, 1971 and 1966-71 Increment (shown in brackets)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nature of emigration</th>
<th>Region of emigration</th>
<th>Coastal Papuan Provinces</th>
<th>Highlands Provinces</th>
<th>Coastal mainland New Guinea Provinces</th>
<th>New Guinea islands Provinces</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Born in the town</td>
<td></td>
<td>1.1 (1.1)*</td>
<td>1.1 (1.1)*</td>
<td>1.2 (1.1)*</td>
<td>1.0 (1.0)*</td>
<td>1.1 (1.1)*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Movement to town in same Province</td>
<td></td>
<td>1.6 (1.1)*</td>
<td>2.4 (1.1)*</td>
<td>1.8 (1.1)*</td>
<td>2.4 (1.0)*</td>
<td>1.8 (1.1)*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inter-Provincial movement to town in same region</td>
<td></td>
<td>1.6 (1.0)</td>
<td>1.5 (1.0)</td>
<td>2.6 (2.3)</td>
<td>3.0 (0.8)</td>
<td>1.9 (1.3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inter-regional movement</td>
<td></td>
<td>2.3 (1.7)</td>
<td>3.6 (2.8)</td>
<td>3.8 (1.8)</td>
<td>2.0 (2.0)</td>
<td>3.0 (2.2)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Average for 'born in town' and 'movement to town in same Province'.

Source: Data presented in Table 5.6; census tabulations.

towns, there were sharp falls in employment in Kieta, Lae, Wewak and Mt Hagen, but significant rises in Port Moresby and Madang. The data suggest that migrants from the highlands Provinces further increased their share of wage employment in Port Moresby, Lae, Madang and Rabaul through this period. The Department of Labour data, however, exclude employment in domestic service in all years and so tend to underestimate the decline in wage employment.

Independent data are available for employment in several key sectors of the economy. The Papua New Guinea government is by far the largest employer in the country and public sector employment of Papua New Guineans has increased considerably since 1971. The number of salaried Papua New Guinean employees rose steadily from 29,300 in June 1971 to 33,700 in 1973 and an estimated 36,700 in 1974. The increase in public service staff in 1972 was reinforced by an increase in government employment of day labourers from 12,600 in 1971 to 15,700 in that year. However, employment of day labour declined

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15Department of Labour and Industry, Labour Information Bulletin, Port Moresby 1974; 1972 data from unpublished tabulations at the Department of Labour and Industry. These statistical series contain annual variations that are difficult to explain and should be treated with caution.
16Ibid. See Table 6.5, 'Indigenous Urban Workforce in Papua New Guinea at 30th June, 1971 classified by District of Birth and Centre of Employment'.
17Papua New Guinea Budget Papers, various years. These figures include members of the Papua New Guinea Teaching Service, but exclude members of the Defence Force, the Department of Civil Aviation and its successor, and all statutory authorities.
considerably, to 14,900 in June 1973 and possibly to around 13,500 in June 1974. The decline in employment of day labour has been related to an institutional budget constraint and to rising urban wage levels.

Employment in the building and construction sector declined slightly, from 6700 in June 1971 to 6400 in June 1972 and 6600 in June 1973 to 5900 in September 1973, the latest date for which data are available. Employment in building and construction probably rose in Port Moresby at the same time that it fell in other towns. Port Moresby's share of the value of all new buildings under construction rose from 28 per cent in June 1971 to 42 per cent in June 1972 and 53 per cent in June 1973 to 58 per cent in September 1973. The increasing concentration of new building activity in Port Moresby reflects the low level of private investment throughout the economy and the increase in public sector activity in the capital in preparation for independence.

The manufacturing sector was affected in two contradictory ways by economic changes associated with the approach of self-government. Those parts of the sector which supplied the building industry, expatriate consumption or investment and which previously provided the greater part of manufacturing employment, declined; but those involved in the production of items for indigenous consumption, including foodstuffs, beverages and clothing, expanded. There was a slight decline in total manufacturing employment, from 16,336 in 1972 to 16,198 in 1973.

There are no recent official data on employment in domestic service within private households. Employment in domestic service is related closely to the size of the expatriate population, so that variations in the expatriate population provide a guide to employment in domestic service. There were 9800 expatriates and 1600 domestic servants within private households in Port Moresby at the 1966 census. It is likely that the decline in expatriate numbers from over 55,000 in mid-1971 to about 38,000 in mid-1974 was associated with a decline of about 2500 in domestic service employment in the country as a whole. Most of the decline would have occurred in urban areas.

The Urban Household Survey provides recent data on the structure of the urban population (Garnaut and Wright forthcoming). The structural change observed in the intercensal period has continued and in many towns seems to have accelerated. Ratios of formal sector employment to population have declined further and children and females now represent proportions of the urban population still closer to their shares in the national population.

Between June 1971 and December 1973, in Port Moresby, the proportion of children aged 0-14 rose from 40.1 per cent to 43.5 per cent (cf. Table 5.4). The proportion of women rose from 38.6 per cent

19 All data from Papua New Guinea Bureau of Statistics, Building Statistics (various issues).
20 Dixon (1974). These figures are consistent with steady indigenous employment in manufacturing, or even with slight growth, as they cover a period of declining expatriate population.
to 41.6 per cent. Persons 65 years and over represented 0.8 per cent in December 1973, compared with 0.6 per cent at the 1971 census. These rising shares were balanced by considerable declines in the proportion of work-age males. The proportion of males aged 15-44 years fell from 36.7 per cent to 32.5 per cent, and of males aged 45-64 years from 2.8 per cent to 2.4 per cent.

The ratio of persons engaged in wage and salary employment to population in Port Moresby continued to fall at about the rate of the 1966–71 period, from 0.35 to 0.32 (cf. Table 5.2). In the terms used in the description of Tables 5.2 and 5.3 this decline was fully accounted for by the changes in the sex and age structure of the population. The proportion of males in wage employment to male population aged 15-64 years changed very little, at about 81 per cent, and the proportion of females in wage employment to female population aged 15-64 years increased further, from 18 per cent to 21 per cent.

The proportion of unemployed amongst work-age males in Port Moresby, by the census definition of persons seeking work, rose from 1.6 per cent at the 1971 census to 3.8 per cent at the Urban Household Survey. A further 4.7 per cent of males aged 15-44 years would have 'liked a wage job now' at the time of the Urban Household Survey. A total of 18.0 per cent of males aged 15-44 years did not have a wage job, 3.6 per cent of the 9.3 per cent not accounted for as 'seeking' or 'wanting' a wage job considering themselves 'visitors' to town. Amongst Papua New Guinea towns, the proportion of males aged 15-44 years without a wage job ranged from the low levels of 14.0 per cent in Kundiawa and 14.2 per cent in Kimbe to the high levels of 28.0 per cent in Daru, 27.3 per cent in Alotau.

The considerable decline in the ratio of males to total urban population and of work-age males to total male population has several origins. It is a continuation of earlier trends and, in part, has similar origins to them: rising Papua New Guinean income with localisation of more skilled positions in the economy; increased natural increase in the urban population associated with the growing number of adult females in urban residence; further migration of wives to join migrant husbands who have established themselves in urban employment; and continued expansion of relatively low-cost family accommodation.

Several policy initiatives under the new government contributed to rising ratios of urban population to persons in urban wage employment. Sharp increases in incomes of the urban employed derived from greatly accelerated localisation of public sector employment, large rises in the urban minimum wage and a new agreement on public service salaries. The higher incomes facilitated the support of more dependants, whether female and child relatives or unemployed males.

The new government has stressed the encouragement of small-scale business activity in its announcements of policy and in several towns.
there has been some increase in family and self-employment, especially in the fresh food trade. The Port Moresby City Council has provided facilities for decentralised fruit and vegetable markets. It is likely that some hundreds of additional persons were employed in informal food marketing by the end of 1973, many of them frequent, short-term visitors to the town.

It seems likely that the reduced rate of expansion of formal employment contributed to some decline in the rate of migration of males from the villages. The Urban Household Survey provides the first comprehensive data on urban unemployment, so it is not possible to make inter-temporal comparisons. However, the increase in the number of unemployed by the census definition is suggestive. It seems likely that news of increased difficulties in finding urban jobs was transmitted to migrants and potential migrants, and that this influenced migration decisions.

Other factors may have influenced migration during 1973. Inter-ethnic conflict in Port Moresby, Rabaul and Kimbe and associated anxieties about self-government caused urban residence to seem insecure and unattractive to some groups. This seems to have been important amongst some highlanders in Port Moresby and amongst people from several areas in Rabaul. Rural incomes rose remarkably through 1973, as an extraordinary world wide boom lifted commodity prices to new heights. The major smallholder crops — copra, cocoa and coffee — were all affected and the prices of coastal crops rose to several times their levels a year or so before.

The main patterns of urban growth between mid-1971 and late 1973 seem fairly clear, but only continued, careful observation of the labour market will allow the effects of some rather special circumstances to be assessed. The following discussion of government policy is entered with the realisation that we know little about some important determinants of recent urban growth.

WELFARE, POLICY AND THE FUTURE

The massive movement of people to the towns has been the source of the most important social and economic changes in the recent history of Papua New Guinea. If the rate of urban population growth of the inter-census years was restored, every Papua New Guinean would be living in town before children born now had completed high school. But even a greatly reduced rate of town population growth will have far-reaching welfare effects. This concluding section outlines some likely developments, discusses their amenability to policy influence and mentions a few implications for welfare. The outlines are general, bold and preliminary, but they can later be measured against more careful analysis that will be published elsewhere.

23See especially Garnaut and Wright (forthcoming) and the Rural Survey, co-ordinated by Anthony Clunies Ross and John Conroy, within the Rural-Urban Migration Project.
It seems likely that urban type wage employment will again grow very rapidly over the next decade, following two and a half years of little or no growth. The location of urban growth will change, with a high proportion being scattered through a large number of towns servicing resource projects. There is likely to be greatly expanded self-employment in transport, food retailing, accommodation, entertainment and other urban services consumed by Papua New Guineans. The transport and marketing services will often be provided by visitors from neighbouring villages, who will continue to make up a large and important component of the urban population.

The number of Papua New Guineans employed directly by the government may grow from about 50,000 in 1973-4 to about 100,000 in 1983-4 (Garnaut 1974b). Growth of this order is necessary to implement government aims for more widespread provision of basic services and is probably financially feasible. The number of persons employed on resource projects, including construction at new projects, seems likely to rise from a little over 10,000 in 1973-4 to approaching 40,000 in 1983-4 (Garnaut 1974b) with the greatest growth being associated with the timber industry. Together with the expansion of production of goods and services currently supplied domestically, for the larger local market, these developments may lead to a doubling of formal sector employment in urban areas between 1973-4 and 1983-4.

It is possible that the expansion in formal sector, urban employment will be greater than this. There will be opportunities for massive growth in the tourist industry, if this type of development is desired and allowed by the government. Relaxation of the government's strong stand against incentives to modern sector industries could result in considerable expansion of manufacturing employment. Domestic smelting of mineral ores and policy commitment to utilisation of Purari power as an agent of employment creation could lead to considerably expanded employment in processing industries. But these developments would carry social costs, and in the case of manufacturing industry, probably costs to the rural standard of living. At the present time, the Papua New Guinea government is not inclined to accept these costs of more rapid employment growth.

The location of government employment is readily amenable to policy, so that the high level of public sector employment gives the Papua New Guinea government considerable control over the pattern of urban growth. Political and administrative decentralisation, and the implementation of stated government aims on equalisation of services will, if successful, lead to considerable employment growth in small centres. However, independence will increase greatly the functions of the capital and it is likely that the most rapid growth in public employment will

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24This judgment was formed before the 1974 Minimum Wages Board determination and the 1975 agreement on salaries between the Public Service Association and the Public Service Board. Substantial increases in real wages and salaries in 1974-5 will, if maintained, constrain significantly the expansion of government programs and of public sector employment.
occur in Port Moresby. Employment growth in Port Moresby will be
given additional impetus by the town's convenient location as a com-
mmercial, supply and administrative centre for the largest possible
resource developments of the next decade — the copper and gold
prospect in the Western Province and the massive hydro-electric
potential and petroleum prospects in the Gulf. With the greatest
expansion taking place in Port Moresby and in small Provincial centres,
the relative importance of intermediate-sized centres which do not
service new resource developments will decline. Employment growth
will be relatively slow in Lae, Rabaul, Goroka, Mt Hagen and Wewak.

Natural increase in the urban populations, with lower mortality and
similar or higher fertility and proportions of women in childbearing
age groups, will proceed more rapidly than in the country as a whole.
Decentralisation of urban growth and social and political factors asso­
ciated with independence and provincial government may increase the
importance of local migration, and lessen that of long-distance migration.
The location of employment opportunities is unlikely to fit very
closely the distribution of employment needs. People in the Gulf
Province, more intensively involved in rural-urban migration than those
from any other Province, are well placed to take advantage of new
opportunities in Port Moresby and possible energy projects in the Gulf
Province. But other major areas of emigration in the East Sepik and
highlands Provinces, which may be experiencing population pressure on
rural resources, will be isolated from the main areas of growth in
employment opportunities. Demand for urban opportunities in the Sepik
and the highlands will intensify if plantation employment declines.
There will be considerable migration from these Provinces to Port
Moresby, the one centre drawing a growing volume of unskilled labour
from a national market, and there is likely to be less migration from the
highlands rural areas than is warranted by the rural opportunities,
relative to those elsewhere.
The shifting of a substantial part of the functions of the capital to
the highlands would be one means of changing the pattern of urban
growth and could raise welfare in a number of ways. The migrants
would be more likely to originate in poorer areas than if there was an
equivalent additional expansion in Port Moresby's population. The
migration to highlands centres would be more likely to reduce pressure
on land-scarce communities. It may also be cheaper to service and
supply an expansion of urban facilities in the highlands than an intensi­
fication of the rapid population growth which seems certain to occur in
Port Moresby. The functions taken over from Port Moresby could be
assigned to established highlands centres, or to a new centre at Arana.
Some functions of the capital, including administrative overheads of the
rural development effort, are not dependent on day-to-day contact with
the National Executive Council and the National Parliament and so are
candidates for relocation.

As is clear from the above discussion, employment growth has not
determined uniquely urban population growth in the past and it will not
do so in the future. The ratio of dependants to employed persons will continue to rise in all towns. This increase will be especially important on Bougainville, where the demographic ratios were still very abnormal in 1973. In the administrative centres experiencing slower growth (Lae, Rabaul, Wewak, Mt Hagen and Goroka) the age and sex structure will be very close to that of the country as a whole by 1983-4. Newer and more rapidly growing centres — new resource projects and Port Moresby — are likely to have a considerably higher proportion of work-age males than the country as a whole, throughout this period.

The ratios of dependants to employed persons will be influenced strongly by government policy. The new resource projects, especially timber projects, will become the centres of significant towns with normal population structures if they are so planned and administered. Alternatively, under strong company control they could remain dormitories for workers employed by the resource companies, providing few economic opportunities for the surrounding rural population.

The ratio of dependants to employed persons is likely to be related to wage levels in both the resource and the administrative towns. The high minimum wages that are currently favoured by policy will encourage increases in the ratios. It would not be surprising if the proportion of adult males in the urban populations without wage jobs increased markedly following the current round of wage increases accompanied as they will be by large falls in the real price of cash crop exports, and so of village incomes.

In the longer term, conflict is likely between the demands of urban residents for higher standards of living and the claims of the rural population. Tensions associated with these conflicting claims will affect policy decisions, which will in turn influence strongly the rate and pattern of urban population growth.

The pattern of urban employment expansion over the next decade described above would mean that the greater part of national population growth would be concentrated in the towns. Massive public expenditure would be required to provide the new population with the standard of services previously enjoyed by urban residents. And as is clear from events over the past two years, workers' perceptions of their own relative deprivation are likely to intensify in the climate of increasingly strident nationalism, whatever their objective circumstances. There will be strong pressures for continuing improvement in urban living standards.

The national budget is the logical battleground for conflicting claims on national resources. In many parts of Papua New Guinea, improvement in rural living standards must begin with increased government expenditure and improved government services. Expansion of formal sector, urban employment at 7 or 8 per cent annum, rising ratios of dependants to employed persons and rising urban living standards would place very severe constraints on the financial resources available for rural development. But economic policy-making processes are not very logical when they involve questions of income distribution. If
representative government survives and if an institution like the National Parliament, in which political power is related to some extent to the distribution of national population, continues to exercise a major influence on the budget, then the interests of rural communities will not be completely neglected. But it is possible for urban groups to 'capture' the wage setting processes at the same time as rural communities exercise strong influence on the budget. The wage and budget policy instruments could then be used in contradictory ways. Faced by high and rising wage and salary costs, future governments might seek to maintain planned expenditure programs through deficit budgeting on a large scale, leading to currency devaluation, inflation, and further cycles of pressures for wage increases.

It is just possible that urban groups, who hold great political power as a result of their location and political sophistication, will exercise restraint, and balance pressure for increased minimum wages against acceptance of declining real incomes for skilled and managerial personnel. Some restraint of this type has accompanied recent pressures for increased wages, although the overall effect of recent decisions has been to raise considerably average real urban incomes.

Widening gaps between rural and urban living standards will not lead inevitably to pressures for their correction through the budget. Political developments could effectively 'disenfranchise' the large part of the Papua New Guinean population that has been deprived in the past of administrative, educational and health services, and opportunities for intensive involvement in cash cropping; or widening rural-urban disparities could lead to disillusionment with the village economy, widespread desires to join the urban enclaves and strong pressures to expand urban employment and facilities. Realisation of an unemployment crisis, accompanying abandonment of major rural development efforts and rising urban incomes, would generate strong pressures for abandonment of policies which have restricted employment growth, for increased urban employment at the expense of nationalist and social goals and probably of rural development programs.

Tensions associated with the growth of the towns will occupy the centre stage of Papua New Guinea's political economy over the next decade. The conflicts associated with the claims of the expanding towns on resources are likely to dominate both national and provincial politics. The nature of the resolution of these conflicts will determine the future character of Papua New Guinea society.
Part Two  The Migrants
This chapter reports the results of a survey of the employment and migration expectations of school leavers in Papua New Guinea together with subsequent attempts to trace their migration and employment histories.\textsuperscript{1} The original survey was carried out in the period October-December 1968 and the sample consisted of more than 1200 students in the terminal classes of primary, secondary and vocational schools. Details of the schools visited are contained in the Appendix to this chapter. The sample was purposive, largely because of logistic problems which, especially at the primary school level, rendered a random sample impracticable. Provinces visited were the Central, Gulf, Southern Highlands, Western Highlands, East Sepik, East New Britain and Northern Provinces.

The interviewees formed approximately 6 per cent of primary final examination candidates, 20 per cent of form four secondary candidates and 20 per cent of vocational trainees. In both the Gulf and Southern Highlands Provinces the writer contacted approximately 50 per cent of the eligible standard six primary populations. These two Provinces present a marked contrast in certain important respects (although they have in common the fact of comparatively limited wage-employment opportunities).

The peoples of the Southern Highlands are less sophisticated than those of the other areas surveyed and are probably as unsophisticated as any major population group in Papua New Guinea. At the time of the survey administrative control by Europeans had been established for less than two decades and labour migration on any scale had occurred only within ten years.\textsuperscript{2} On the other hand, the Gulf Province has been subject to mission, government and plantation influences since the late nineteenth century and is notable not only for the large proportion of its \textit{de jure} population absent at any time but also for

\textsuperscript{1}The original survey is reported in Conroy and Stent (1970) and subsequent research in Conroy (1972a) and Conroy and Curtain (1973). This chapter presents a summary of the data recorded in those papers.

\textsuperscript{2}In a discussion of highlands labour movements in 1957 (Brookfield 1960), the Southern Highlands Province is not mentioned.
the tendency of its emigrants to concentrate in urban areas, especially Port Moresby. It was felt that concentration on these two Provinces would provide some test of the proposition that exposure to the formal education system overrides regional differences to establish a generally uniform pattern of aspirations and expectations among the products of the schools.

It might be thought that senior primary school children are too immature to have given any serious thought to their future occupations. Certainly one would have little confidence in the results of such a survey among Australian children of the same ages. However, students in Papua New Guinea are in some important respects more mature than their Australian age-peers and circumstances require them to consider their career choices earlier. No visitor who has seen children at primary boarding schools in Papua New Guinea caring for themselves will doubt their maturity relative to Australian children. Moreover, students were interviewed soon after a major external examination, which served to focus their attention on future schooling and career prospects. At no point in the Australian educational system are children subjected to so severe a hurdle as the primary final examination.

Vocational trainees were included in the survey because, according to the projections of educational expansion in the first Five Year Development Programme (T.P.N.G. 1968), these institutions were to become, in percentage terms, the most rapidly expanding sector in the education system. Designed to admit standard six ‘dropouts’, the vocational centres were established in the hope that most trainees would ‘remain in rural areas to assist in communal cash cropping and business enterprises, or to apply their knowledge to village maintenance and construction’ (T.P.N.G. 1968:101). Vocational students were thus included in the survey to see whether their aspirations and expectations were in harmony with the objectives of their instructors.

The survey instrument was adapted from a questionnaire employed by Philip Foster (1965) in Ghana. The writer’s investigation was conducted in conjunction with a parallel survey by W. R. Stent, the results of which were reported in a joint publication (Conroy and Stent 1970). Following Foster (1965), a distinction was made between employment aspirations and expectations. The former were defined as an ideal and unconstrained choice of occupation while the latter were choices dictated by knowledge of the realities of the labour market. A slight, but significant, methodological change was made in the conduct of the survey. Whereas Foster required his respondents to make realistic career choices on the assumption that they would fail to gain entry to the next higher level of education, no such restriction was imposed on respondents to the writer’s survey.5

3Mean stated ages of pupils were: primary boys 13.96 years, girls 13.82 years; secondary boys 17.37 years, girls 17.63 years; vocational boys 16.02 years.
4Enrolments were projected to treble from 1700 to 5250 between 1968 and 1973 (T.P.N.G. 1968:100).
5See Conroy (1975) for a discussion of the implications of this change.
One result of the investigation was to verify the existence of substantial excess demand for post-primary education in the areas surveyed. Some 83 per cent of standard six boys and 88 per cent of girls wanted to continue at school.\(^6\) Despite the fact that fewer than 40 per cent of the 1968 cohort could be accommodated in form one secondary in 1969, the overwhelming preference of those who wished to continue was the academic secondary stream, rather than the one-year, terminal, vocational course.

The pattern was scarcely different at form four level. There 77 per cent of boys and 68 per cent of girls aspired to continue to post-secondary institutions. Given the wide range of training options open to secondary leavers at the end of 1968, however, these aspirations appeared quite realistic. They are also consistent with experience elsewhere. Thus Foster (1965:261) remarked that ‘once Ghanaian students have been fortunate enough to gain access to the selective secondary schools they become committed to a continuous programme of full-time studies beyond the secondary level’. It was hardly surprising therefore that in 1968, and for several years after, employers in Papua New Guinea experienced difficulty in directly recruiting form four leavers.

When asked to specify a ‘realistic’ or expected occupation, students nominated more than one hundred separate jobs. In order to present the information in a more comprehensive form these occupations were classified into broad categories corresponding to those used in the manpower projections of the first Five Year Development Programme (T.P.N.G. 1968). The employment expectations of each school group are set out in Table 6.17.

Some characteristics of students’ expectations can be discussed here. At the form four level, boys expected to gain a wide range of professional (class A) occupations but girls confined themselves to the medical profession. Among sub-professional jobs, boys opted for a wide range of government employment while private enterprise occupations and teaching were of minor importance. On the other hand, among girls teaching was a major choice at both class B and class C levels. In general, the finding of an Ivory Coast study that ‘Female choices tend to reflect European stereotypes concerning the types of occupation appropriate for women’ (Clignet and Foster 1966:129), holds good for Papua New Guinea. The pattern is repeated among standard six girls, with emphasis on nursing, teaching, typing and clerical occupations. Among the minority of form four boys who opted for class C (skilled) occupations, it is significant that skilled trades were quite as important as clerical work. At standard six level fully 31 per cent of all boys

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\(^6\)The survey by W. R. Stent, which covered somewhat different ground and occurred before the primary final examination, recorded an even more emphatic result: 93 per cent of boys in his sample wished to continue.

\(^7\)Table 6.1 is a revised version of material previously published (Conroy and Stent 1970). Greater familiarity with the procedures of the Papua New Guinea Manpower Planning Unit has enabled the writer to prepare a more accurate classification.
### Table 6.1
**Occupational Expectations by Manpower Class**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Boys Expectations</th>
<th>Girls Expectations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Form four</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>15.2</td>
<td>5.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>43.8</td>
<td>40.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>38.2</td>
<td>47.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>3.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>3.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>16.1</td>
<td>30.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>29.4</td>
<td>23.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>36.2</td>
<td>36.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>11.4</td>
<td>3.8</td>
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<tr>
<td>*</td>
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</table>

*Unclassifiable and ineligible occupational choices. Totals may not sum exactly to 100 because of rounding.*

The classification is as follows (T.P.N.G. 1968:86):

- **Class A**, professional, managerial and related workers;
- **class B**, semi-professional, higher technical and sub-management;
- **class C**, skilled;
- **class D**, semi-skilled;
- **class E**, unskilled (includes farmers whose activities are 'wholly or mainly money-raising').

### Table 6.2
**Percentages of Samples Expecting to enter Farming**

<table>
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<tr>
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<th>Boys</th>
<th>Girls</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<td>0.7</td>
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<td>Vocational</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td></td>
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</table>

expected to enter trade and technical occupations at levels C (skilled) and D (semi-skilled). This is very much the most preferred class of employment for primary leavers, far exceeding either aspirations or expectations for clerical work. It is hardly surprising that among vocational trainees this trend should be even more pronounced; fully 55 per cent expected to find work as tradesmen.

**Preferences for farming**

Farming, fishing and related activities are included in class E (unskilled) employment. Table 6.2 sets out the pattern of preferences.

Table 6.2 appears to indicate the existence of a conflict between the expectations of students and the structure of employment opportunities in Papua New Guinea. The first Development Programme pointed out
that 'the basic wealth of the country is in its agriculture and . . . farming will be the natural (and rewarding) outlet for a large proportion of the output from the schools' (T.P.N.G. 1968:103). It can only be assumed that farming did not seem sufficiently rewarding to all but a small proportion of the primary school leavers interviewed by the writer in 1968. This is despite the fact that a campaign was conducted in primary schools during that year to influence students to choose agricultural careers. Classroom posters depicted the important role of the farmer in a developing economy and teachers stressed the difficulties of finding wage-employment in towns.

It is probably not surprising that so few form four students appeared to be interested in practical farming, given the range of employment and further education options open to them. (However, only about 6 per cent of boys at this level nominated diploma courses in agriculture and forestry as their first choice for further training.) The small proportion of primary leavers interested in agriculture, on the other hand, indicates a serious discrepancy between expectation and reality in the Provinces surveyed, which is all the more disturbing if (as seems likely) it may be taken to reflect attitudes widespread throughout Papua New Guinea.

Although a higher proportion of vocational trainees expressed interest in agriculture, the percentage was still disappointingly small, given the stated aim of centres to encourage trainees to engage in farming and other village enterprises. Even though the vocational centres do not purport to provide the training necessary for the skilled trades, the majority of their students hoped to be so employed — an expectation quite out of touch with the realities of the labour market, even in 1968.

The unpopularity of agriculture is all the more striking in view of the fact that the majority of students interviewed came from farming families. Table 6.3 shows the proportion of students at each level who described their fathers as farmers.

Although the nature of the sample precludes significance testing, the differences in proportions between boys and girls, and between educational levels, are suggestive. Girls enrolled at either level appear less likely than boys to come from farming families, and form four students appear less likely than those at standard six to have agricultural backgrounds. Vocational students appear to have backgrounds of

---

Table 6.3  Percentage of Fathers Engaged in Agriculture

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<th>Level</th>
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<th>Girls</th>
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<td>51.7</td>
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<tr>
<td>Vocational</td>
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</table>

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8In the survey conducted by W. R. Stent only 29 per cent of form four girls described their fathers as farmers. However, a high proportion of unclassifiable responses (17 per cent) may indicate a degree of equivocation by respondents.
lower socio-economic status. Remembering that these students were, in the main, primary school dropouts, it appears that educational achievement in Papua New Guinea may be influenced by economic and environmental factors quite similar to those which are observed to operate in more complex and economically developed societies.9

**Migration patterns**

Students were also asked to state the places where they expected to settle after leaving school. This question was complementary to the one on employment expectations and the results are intelligible in terms of the high expectancy of non-agricultural wage-employment expressed by all groups of students. Thus 50.3 per cent of form four boys and 32.1 per cent of girls expected to leave home Provinces. At the standard six level expectations of migration were even higher; 56.1 per cent of boys and 43.1 per cent of girls expected to leave home to seek employment. Among vocational trainees the figure was 44.7 per cent. The pattern of movements expected by respondents may be observed in Tables 6.4 to 6.8, which are arranged in matrix-fashion to show the Provinces of origin, and of choice, of all respondents to the survey.

The pattern of expectations among primary leavers is particularly interesting, because of both the size of the sample and the Provinces of origin of its members. It is not surprising that students from the Gulf Province exhibited the highest propensity to migrate. Migrants from the Gulf have well-established communities of kinfolk ready to receive them in a number of major urban centres, most notably Port Moresby, while their opportunities for wage employment at home are limited (Ryan 1965, 1968*, 1970). Thus 68.1 per cent of boys and 53.8 per cent of girls expected to migrate from the Gulf Province. In the East Sepik Province 66.1 per cent and 67.0 per cent were the corresponding proportions, and although this Province has a long tradition of labour migration no great reliance can be placed on these results, since the number interviewed was small and confined to three schools.

As with the Gulf sample, Southern Highlands respondents formed about 50 per cent of the eligible population. While somewhat similar to the Gulf in lacking local wage-employment opportunities for the educated, the Southern Highlands has a short history of contact with the monetary economy. Potential migrants from this area also lack the urban contacts which facilitate chain-migration from the Gulf. Despite this, a high propensity to migrate was observed: 51.7 per cent of boys and 65 per cent of girls (the latter a very small sample) expressed the expectation of migration.

Indeed the only exceptions to the general pattern were in the Central and East New Britain Provinces; presumably the existence of major

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9This is not to suggest that educational mobility in Papua New Guinea is restricted by social class to anything like the extent common in industrialised societies.
<table>
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<th>Gulf</th>
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<th>M.Bay</th>
<th>Northern</th>
<th>E.H.</th>
<th>Chimbu</th>
<th>W.Sepik</th>
<th>E.Sepik</th>
<th>W.N.B.</th>
<th>E.N.B.</th>
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### Table 6.5
Form Four Girls:
Pattern of expected migration

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**Standard Six Boys:**
**Pattern of expected migration**

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Standard Six Girls:
Pattern of expected migration

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centres of employment in Port Moresby and Rabaul influenced a majority of students in each case to look within the home Province for jobs. Given the expectations of wage-employment expressed by primary leavers, it seems that, in cases where local wage-employment opportunities for the educated are lacking, migration to centres of opportunities must be contemplated.

Destinations of migrants
Although the general pattern of movements expected by students may be observed from the matrix tables, more precise information concerning destinations of migrants was collected. Respondents were asked to specify the District and Province in which they expected to work. Some wrote ‘Lae, Morobe’, ‘Rabaul, East New Britain’, or ‘Port Moresby, Central’. In such a case it is conceivable that the respondent expected to work at a rural location within, say, Port Moresby District. This must be borne in mind in interpreting Tables 6.9, 6.10 and 6.11.

Students listed in these tables are those specifying Port Moresby, Lae or Rabaul and who in each case had not been born in that District nor were their families living there. Of the sample of 551 primary boys, 126 specified Port Moresby, 63 specified Lae and 32 Rabaul.

Table 6.9
Standard Six Boys Expecting to Work in Major Towns

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Table 6.10
Standard Six Girls Expecting to Work in Major Towns

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</table>
When the number of students disqualified from the calculation by urban birth or residence is considered, it appears that perhaps 45 per cent of boys from outside these three towns expressed the expectation of working there. This is not the only evidence of urban preference; there were 20 boys who opted for Madang (subject to the same caveat expressed above for the three major towns) and a number of Southern Highlanders and Sepiks to whom Mount Hagen and Wewak, respectively, appeared as magnets. Kerema and Mendi were the expected destinations of some students in adjacent Districts.

Standard six girls, selected on the same criteria, chose as follows: Port Moresby 59, Lae 25 and Rabaul 16. In the last case, 14 of these girls lived in Districts adjacent to Rabaul. The same reservation must be expressed about 9 boys who opted for Rabaul. The excellent transport facilities of the Gazelle Peninsula would make it possible for many of these people to work in Rabaul while living at home. On the other hand, there was a sprinkling of support for Madang and for a number of other Provincial headquarters towns. Overall one gains the impression that rural girls have very nearly as strong a preference for migration to urban centres as rural boys and the impression that students seeking work outside their home Provinces or Districts are drawn predominantly to urban areas is strongly reinforced.

Vocational trainees appear to have a somewhat less pronounced preference for employment in urban areas. Perhaps 35 per cent of rural trainees expected to migrate to the major towns. Nevertheless, if this propensity to migrate is representative of vocational trainees throughout the country, there are grounds for concern that the scheme may prove less effective in reducing urban drift than is hoped by its proponents.

**Expectations and realities**

Expectations of future employment and migration, expressed by school leavers in 1968, provided the starting point for a longitudinal study of their subsequent experiences. The 1968 study laid the foundations for a long-term project designed to trace the patterns of occupational and geographic mobility of the survey group.

The project has been restricted to the standard six group for a number of reasons. In the main, primary schools visited by the writer served compact and stable village communities, so that tracing the whereabouts of absentees was a relatively simple matter. On the other hand, vocational centres and high schools drew their students from quite wide areas, which in a number of cases have changed since 1968. Consequently, it was difficult to locate the class of 1968 in subsequent years by questioning children attending the same school. An attempt by the writer to trace the vocational trainee sample in this manner proved a total failure.

It has been possible to obtain some information about the dispersion of the standard six sample in 1969 and 1971. These results have been reported elsewhere (Conroy 1972a). In March 1971 very nearly half
of those boys whose location was known and whose education was complete had left their home villages. Bearing in mind that the mean age of the boys surveyed was only slightly more than 16 years, the legal minimum age for wage employment, the data revealed a very high propensity to migrate. This propensity may increase with time as those remaining at home grow older.

The Provincial totals revealed a number of contrasts. Boys in the Central, East New Britain and Western Highlands Provinces are close to the employment opportunities of Port Moresby, Rabaul and Mount Hagen and exhibited a correspondingly lower propensity to migrate. In the Gulf and Southern Highlands, however, the majority of boys with a completed education had left home for centres of greater economic opportunity. Boys from the Gulf were drawn strongly to Port Moresby, although small numbers were scattered widely throughout Papua New Guinea. A majority of Southern Highlanders had migrated to Highland towns, notably Mount Hagen, while some had gone to coastal towns. Boys absent from the Rabaul area of East New Britain had been drawn in most cases to employment created by the Bougainville Copper Project.

Differing propensities to migrate in the various Provinces support the contention (Conroy and Stent 1970:307) that, where local wage-employment opportunities for the educated are lacking, migration to centres of opportunity must be contemplated. By 1971 contemplation had given way to action for a significant minority of boys. This had not occurred to the same extent among girls, perhaps because of social and customary impediments to their free movement. Despite a slower response among Southern Highlanders it was not clear that in the longer run they would display a lesser propensity to migrate than young people from the Gulf.

Between March and June 1972 members of the group who had migrated independently to Port Moresby were interviewed personally.11

10Of course, in the absence of detailed data on the characteristics of all absentees, this says nothing about the influence of education, per se, on migration.

11The interviews were conducted by Richard Curtain and subsequently reported (Conroy and Curtain 1973). Thanks are due to the following persons who assisted Curtain in locating the respondents: Stanislaus Paisai, Barrii Keviame, Karukuru Sere, Mariosu Avosa, Sepoe Karava and Meokoro Opa.
From the survey of 1971 it was known that the largest single concentration of respondents from the 1968 sample was located there. In the event 50 independent migrants were contacted. Of this number, 40 were judged to be members of the urban monetary workforce in the sense that they were either employed or involuntarily unemployed. The 50 persons interviewed probably represented a substantial majority of all those respondents from the 1968 sample who had found their way to Port Moresby at the time of the survey.

The migrants interviewed came from ten schools in the Gulf and Southern Highlands Provinces, with the former group predominating. The number of Southern Highlanders is too small to enable many conclusions to be drawn but these young men are of particular interest since they are the advance guard from an area which has hitherto yielded few educated migrants to the major towns of Papua New Guinea. The places of origin of the migrants are indicated in Table 6.12.

The discussion which follows draws upon the raw data of the 1968 survey to describe the age, family background and migration expectations of the 50 individuals who formed the survey group. The mean stated ages of the migrants (calculated from their 1968 responses) were 18.8 years for women and 18.2 for men at the time of their interviews in Port Moresby in 1972. The latter figure was significantly older than the mean of 17.5 years for all males contacted in the 1968 survey. This indicated the possibility that age has an influence on migration and that more movement may occur as the age of the group rises.

In 1968, 60 per cent of the migrants had described their fathers as farmers, but it is likely that the fathers of others were also engaged to some extent in agriculture. For example, the fathers of four were village pastors, but they and their families were no doubt largely self-supporting in garden produce. Probably at least 70 per cent of the group came from families whose income was derived largely from subsistence activities.

The information in Table 6.13, extracted from the 1968 data, shows quite clearly that most members of the group contacted in Port Moresby

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>School</th>
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<th>Female</th>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Terapo</td>
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<td>1</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
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<td>Southern</td>
<td>Oiyarip</td>
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<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Highlands</td>
<td>Kagua</td>
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<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>43</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
had made plans to migrate while still at primary school. Only 14 per cent expected to live and work at home while 84 per cent expected to travel away from the home District. Of these fully 60 per cent named major urban areas (Port Moresby, Lae, Rabaul, Goroka, Wewak and Madang), while the remainder nominated various minor urban areas. Nor was there anything very fanciful about these plans; by 1971 various of their classmates were to be found in practically all these places (Conroy 1972a). That these school leavers came to Port Moresby is less important than the fact of their clear intention to migrate in the first place. Once a young person in the Gulf Province decides to leave home, practical considerations draw him almost invariably to Port Moresby. Similar considerations would appear to make Mount Hagen the most obvious destination for Southern Highlanders. None of the four migrants from that Province had expected to move to Port Moresby, but all had expected to leave their home Province. It seems likely that as time passes the behaviour of the 1968 survey group will increasingly support the findings of a long-term longitudinal study of school leavers in the United States that 'levels of migration performance in adult life are substantially influenced by migration expectations in youth' (Yostling and Bohlen 1968:498).

The group's strongly expressed expectation of urban living is intelligible in terms of an equally strong expectation of wage employment in urban occupations. Table 6.14 offers a comparison of the future occupations expected in 1968 with those actually held in 1972 by the forty migrant workers. Only two students had expected to become farmers; the bulk of the group expected to find modern sector jobs of a largely urban nature, or jobs which (as in the case of teaching) would probably necessitate migration from home.

As Table 6.14 clearly shows, the young migrant workers had in 1972 achieved occupational status well below their general level of expectation. None had gained entry to the training institutions necessary for sub-professional status and only one had the training or experience which qualifies a class C (skilled) worker. (Of course this is not to deny that some of their former classmates, who were continuing their education, might subsequently enter the higher level manpower categories.) This is quite apart from the group's experience of unemployment, which had operated overall to reduce the returns from urban wage-labour. For the group of 40 workers as a whole, approximately 17 per cent of the time since entering the urban workforce (in Port

### Table 6.13

**Expectations in 1968 of Future Location**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>Own District</td>
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<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elsewhere within own Province</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Port Moresby District</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other major urban District</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No answer</td>
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<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>50</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The group's strongly expressed expectation of urban living is intelligible in terms of an equally strong expectation of wage employment in urban occupations. Table 6.14 offers a comparison of the future occupations expected in 1968 with those actually held in 1972 by the forty migrant workers. Only two students had expected to become farmers; the bulk of the group expected to find modern sector jobs of a largely urban nature, or jobs which (as in the case of teaching) would probably necessitate migration from home.

As Table 6.14 clearly shows, the young migrant workers had in 1972 achieved occupational status well below their general level of expectation. None had gained entry to the training institutions necessary for sub-professional status and only one had the training or experience which qualifies a class C (skilled) worker. (Of course this is not to deny that some of their former classmates, who were continuing their education, might subsequently enter the higher level manpower categories.) This is quite apart from the group's experience of unemployment, which had operated overall to reduce the returns from urban wage-labour. For the group of 40 workers as a whole, approximately 17 per cent of the time since entering the urban workforce (in Port
Table 6.14
Expected and Achieved Workforce Status*

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<th>Manpower Class</th>
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<th>Achieved 1972</th>
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<tr>
<td>C</td>
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*Applies to workforce members only. The classification is based on the practice of the Papua New Guinea Manpower Planning Unit and the wage rates paid to respondents in 1972.
School Leaver Migration

Moresby and elsewhere) had been spent in involuntary unemployment. A number of generalisations can be made about the experience of these migrant workers. Typically, they spent little time in the village after leaving school. Within a month 67.5 per cent had left home and 75 per cent within two months. Most made the journey with relatives or friends and almost all workers from the Gulf Province were accommodated by close relatives. However, it is an interesting comment on their independence that not one of the respondents, worker or non-worker, was living with his parents.

The workers had been absent from home for periods ranging between three and a half years and one week. In the meantime 15, or 37.5 per cent, had returned to the village for visits. These were during holiday periods or spells of unemployment and were mostly for periods of less than one month. Only three persons had made more than one trip home and in only one or two cases does there appear to have been any attempt by an individual to reintegrate himself into the rural agricultural workforce. On the other hand there is a good deal of ambivalence in their attitudes to residence in Port Moresby, probably reflecting the economic insecurity of town life. Only about 20 per cent of the workers declared themselves to be permanent or long-term residents of the town while 30 per cent nominated short to medium-term stays (from 1 to 10 years). About 50 per cent were unsure of their plans or made conditional statements such as, ‘I'll stay while I have a good job’. Those intending to stay permanently were, for the most part, in relatively secure and well-paid jobs.

The mean wage received by 31 males working at the time of the interview was $20.30 per fortnight, which compared favourably with the Port Moresby minimum wage of $16.00 for adult unskilled males, especially considering the group's mean age of 18.2 years. If salary increases over a period of time are taken to indicate the acquisition of skill and experience on the job, there were 7 males who had improved their workforce status by progressing from a salary below the mean to one above it with their current employer. One of the girls had a similar record. Clerical positions generally paid below the mean and semi-skilled manual jobs above it. Assuming economic rationality and some knowledge of the labour market among standard six leavers, this may help to explain their pattern of employment preferences in 1968.

Motives for rural-urban migration

There is no doubt that social science research in the area of motivation is subject to many pitfalls. The answers to 'Why?' questions may be coloured by ex post rationalisation or by the fact that the person answering has been changed by his experience to the point where his original motives are forgotten. However, the opinions expressed by these young migrants in Port Moresby are rendered credible by the existence of ex ante evidence of their expectations while still attending rural schools. The high degree of consistency between the data collected in 1968 and 1972 render the latter admissible. While answers by inter-
viewees phrased in terms of a single motive seldom tell the whole story, there was, nevertheless, a strong and recurring theme. When asked 'Why did you come to Port Moresby?', 75 per cent of the worker group gave reasons directly connected with finding employment or earning money.

The attitudes of the small Southern Highlands group have been discussed in detail elsewhere (Conroy and Curtain 1973). What follows is largely concerned with the much larger Gulf Province contingent. On several occasions spontaneous group discussions arose which involved the interviewer, some of the respondents, and interested bystanders of the same age-group. On two occasions someone volunteered the opinion that the lack of companionship of his peers at home exerted strong pressure on a young man to migrate. If jobs were readily available at home, many agreed, people would prefer to stay there. One lad suggested that if something like the Bougainville Copper Project were to happen in the Gulf, people now in Port Moresby would go back there.

Three people expressed fear of fighting and 'payback' killing between ethnic groups in town. Several others feared trouble with the police, who were increasingly active in the enforcement of vagrancy laws. This fear is a real barrier to the collection of social survey data and is responsible for underenumeration and inaccuracies in urban census statistics. A degree of suspicion of the motives of the interviewer was evident on a number of occasions but it was normally possible to dispel this by referring to the 1968 survey, which almost all respondents remembered clearly. It was also helpful to have the interviewer introduced to respondents by someone known to both.

Many said that Port Moresby was not an easy place to live in. A person could not save much and it was more difficult than life at home because one needed money for everything. A form three leaver who came from a village with a sawmill would have preferred to stay home and work, if there had been a vacancy, because of greater opportunities to save. However, 19, or 56 per cent, of those employed at the time of the survey admitted they were saving part of their earnings, while only 7, or 21 per cent, claimed they were unable to do so. It was felt inappropriate to ask the remainder questions about savings because of the circumstances in which the interviews occurred. Similarly, the presence of relatives and friends during interviews inhibited the collection of any worthwhile information on the amounts being saved.

In the Konedobu squatter settlement (a settlement on the outskirts of the then Administrative headquarters of Port Moresby), within earshot of the band playing in the nearby Kone Tavern, the interviewer suggested that social attractions, the 'bright lights', influenced people to migrate to towns. A teachers' college student said that he had read of Africans coming to towns because of the music and dancing there and explicitly rejected this as a factor in the Port Moresby situation. A listener jokingly interjected that perhaps people came to town to
hear the guitars in the Kone Tavern, and this suggestion was greeted with great amusement.

As mentioned previously, leisure-time activities take place largely within social networks which are transferred from the village to the town. Even church-going (and more than 80 per cent of respondents attended church services, at least occasionally) tends to occur within this context. This is not to say that people do not enjoy the attractions of urban life, but these may be less central to their experience than is often supposed.

In 1968 the members of the group expressed little interest in farming and revealed strong preferences for urban residence. This might be interpreted as showing disdain for farming and manual work (an opinion sometimes imputed to school leavers) and a belief in the intrinsic superiority of urban life. But these school leavers are willing to work with their hands, as their strong preference for the skilled trades shows. Moreover there is no evidence of a belief in the intrinsic inferiority of farming as a career. A more plausible hypothesis is that school leavers weigh occupations in terms of the monetary reward that may be expected, and that they see the towns as places where most of the well-paid jobs are located. Both they and their parents view education as the medium by which such employment is gained and it is natural that a school leaver should seek wage employment even if, in areas of limited economic development, this involves his leaving home. Conversations with young migrants in Port Moresby, however, do not support the view that it is the town, per se, which attracts them. Rural-urban migration by school leavers appears to be primarily an economic phenomenon, based on the perceived imbalance of advantages between urban and rural life.

This chapter summarises the results of investigations conducted between 1968 and 1972. A further study in January 1974 which located the great majority of the survey group remains as yet unreported. The value of a longitudinal approach to the study of migration should become increasingly obvious as the class of 1968 enters upon adulthood, and the occupational and geographic patterns of the lives of its members begin to emerge. The writer hopes to have the opportunity to maintain contact with them in future years, and to record their experience.
## APPENDIX

**Classification of Sample**

(by education level, Province and school management)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Standard Six</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Vocational</th>
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<td></td>
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<td>Total Students</td>
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</table>
In a previous paper, 'Economic development and migration among the Hula' (Oram 1968a), I outlined the history and economic development of Hula village, which is situated on the coast approximately 110 km south-east of Port Moresby. I described how two separate streams of migration flow from Hula village: one to the towns and elsewhere to seek employment for wages; and the other to Daugo Island (Fisherman's Island), where a permanent base has been established by Hula fishermen for their fishing and trading activities in the Port Moresby area. In this chapter I describe the history of Hula settlement in Port Moresby and analyze the pattern of residence. I also consider in what sense the Hula population of Port Moresby can be said to be urbanised.

Mitchell (1964:14,15) distinguishes between four concepts in relation to urbanisation. Stabilisation is defined by him as an essentially demographic concept which 'refers to the degree to which people are living for longer and longer periods in urban areas as against rural areas'. Involvement refers to the implication of a migrant in urban living 'to the extent that he has brought his wife to town with him, has in fact spent more time in the urban areas than in his tribal area, has lived for comparatively long periods in the towns, and sees himself as living in the towns for a long time in the future'. Commitment is a 'psychological concept and refers to the degree to which people are

*This paper is based on fieldwork carried out as a member of the New Guinea Research Unit of the Australian National University from 1962 to 1965. My thanks are due to my colleagues of the Australian National University, and especially to Ann Chowning, Diane Barwick, E. K. Fisk, J. Caldwell, M. Rimoldi and D. J. van de Kaa for their comments on different drafts of this paper. They are also due to H. Gunther and M. Pancino for preparing the figure and to Susan Faircloth for help in processing statistical data.


1 I use the term 'Hula' to describe the people of the village of that name, and also the language spoken in the eastern part of the Rigo District of the Central Province of Papua. The term 'Vulaa' refers to the people living in six coastal villages, including the village of Hula, who constitute the tribe of that name (Oram 1968a).
emotionally and personally involved in urban living and are likely to remain living in town in the future’. Finally urbanisation ‘refers to the process whereby migrants adopt behaviour patterns appropriate to urban life’.

In this paper I examine these concepts in relation to the Hula living in Port Moresby and contrast their migration patterns with Hula who live in the fishing settlement on Daugo Island.

PORT MORESBY

Port Moresby was, in 1968, the headquarters of the Australian Administration of the Territory of Papua and New Guinea. In common with many towns in developing countries in post-war years, the town has grown rapidly. Population growth is partly the result of natural increase but is mainly due to the immigration of non-indigenous people from overseas and of indigenous people from other parts of Papua New Guinea. In mid-1966 there were 10,000 non-indigenous people (the majority of whom were of European descent), and 32,000 indigenous people living in Port Moresby (Census 1966:3). The indigenous population includes two landholding groups, the Koita and Motu, and migrants.

The Motu are settled on the coast and hold very little land. In the past they were fishing and trading people. They obtained part of their subsistence by making annual trading expeditions to the Gulf of Papua but they no longer do so. The urban villagers are largely dependent on cash earnings, and the Motu villages outside Port Moresby have entered the cash economy in varying degrees.

The Koita are an agricultural people who came down from the foothills of the Owen Stanley ranges and either settled in the hills near the sea or joined the Motu in their villages by the shore. They held land which extended inland as far as the Laloki River and which formerly included the greater part of the area now enclosed by Port Moresby town boundary. Since the establishment of a British Protectorate over Papua in 1884, much of the land within the town boundary has been acquired from the indigenous owners by the Administration and today rights to only about one-tenth of the total land area are held by natives. There remain two concentrations of land to which indigenous people have rights: a smaller area which includes Hanuabada village to the north, and a larger area which includes three Koita villages and the Motu village of Vabukori in the south-eastern part of the town (Fig. 7.1).

I have discussed in detail elsewhere indigenous housing problems in Port Moresby and the policies of the Administration towards migrant settlement (Oram 1964, 1965 and Hitchcock and Oram 1967). Before

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2It is now the capital of Papua New Guinea and constitutes a separate National Capital Province within the Central Province.

3Corresponding 1971 census figures were 16,900 and 59,600.

4The boundary has since been considerably extended and more villages included within it.
World War II, the majority of migrants lived as single men in employers' housing and worked for short periods before they returned home. After the war many migrants brought their wives and children to Port Moresby, and the amount of accommodation provided by employers, including the Administration as largest employer, was inadequate to house large numbers of migrants. As a result, those who were not provided with accommodation by their employers built their own dwellings, either as squatters on government land or as permitted occupants on Motu and Koita land.

In 1964 it was estimated that 4500 people, or 18 per cent of the Papuan population living in the urban area, were living in eighteen migrant settlements in Port Moresby (Oram 1964:41). Most of these settlements were inhabited by members of only one ethnic group: fourteen settlements were inhabited by people from villages in the area surrounding the Gulf of Papua, and two of the remainder were settlements of Hula people on land held by people of the Motu village of Vabukori.

Development in Port Moresby is dispersed and the town is divided into four discrete areas. These are the main commercial centre near the harbour, which is surrounded by a large European residential area and which has a go-down and workshop area on the periphery; the government headquarters at Konedobu and the large urban village of Hanuabada with two smaller villages situated to the north; the large area centred upon the predominantly European suburb of Boroko, which includes the Papuan suburb of Hohola, the commercial, go-down and workshop area at Four-mile, and the industrial area at Six-mile; and the indigenous commercial centre based on Koki which forms a complex of markets, stores, missions and an industrial area. Koki is the centre of an extensive area of indigenous settlement to the south-east, which is inhabited by 32 per cent of the total indigenous urban population (Census 1966:4).

Port Moresby is economically dependent on the presence of a large number of public servants in the town and on government expenditure on buildings. Government expenditure has been the main cause of its expansion since 1945, a large proportion of the workforce being engaged in the building industry. There are no large industries and the majority of employers engage only a few workers.

Port Moresby has no municipal authority and the Provincial Commissioner is responsible for the overall administration of the town.\(^5\) He is assisted by two Deputy Provincial Commissioners. The Central Province is divided into a number of Districts in the charge of Assistant Provincial Commissioners who are especially concerned with Papuan welfare. Port Moresby town is included in Port Moresby District. Although technically the Provincial Commissioner is responsible for the co-ordination of all public services, the majority of urban services are

\(^5\)Port Moresby Town (later City) Council was established in 1971. A ward organisation provides for the representation on ward committees of such areas as Taikone.
directly provided by the central government departments concerned. The government has taken few active steps to prevent the growth of migrant settlements, but it has disapproved of them and has done nothing to develop them or to improve conditions in them. Few services are provided in settlements, and to a lesser extent this is true of villages. Areas of land over which indigenous people have rights are excluded from the Town Planning Ordinance. The Building Regulations administered by the Port Moresby Building Board are applicable in theory to the whole town area, but only since a Papuan assistant building inspector was appointed in about 1959 has an ineffectual attempt been made to control building in indigenous areas. A large number of good standard dwellings have been built by indigenous people themselves and some of these, including a number of houses built on native land by migrants, have been built according to plans approved by the Building Board. Before such plans are approved the Board first obtains the consent of those who hold rights to the land on which the house is to be built.

Law and order among the indigenous population is the responsibility of the Royal Papua New Guinea Constabulary. They periodically attempt to enforce the provisions of the Native Regulations and of the Vagrancy Ordinance which make it an offence for natives to be in the town without lawful cause. Offenders are sentenced to a short period of imprisonment and then are sent back to their home villages. The police also try to suppress gambling. Unless serious crimes are committed police activities impinge very little on villages and settlements.

Until March 1966, when they combined to form one council, there were two local government councils in the urban area. The areas of both councils extended beyond the boundary of Port Moresby, but non-natives and indigenous people living on land acquired by the Administration, who constituted over half the indigenous population of the urban area, were excluded from their jurisdiction.

Except for contributing to the cost of refuse collection and medical services provided by the Administration, the councils' functions were limited to providing minor capital works; and since a new local government ordinance was brought into force in January 1965, the councils have been without law and order functions. When disputes arise in villages within the council areas, committees of the councils or individual councillors attempt to arbitrate. Migrants living in council areas prefer to refer their disputes direct to the District office.

HULA RESIDENCE PATTERNS
The earliest reported Hula migrant who worked in Port Moresby spent six months there in 1906 and returned permanently to his village, but there may have been earlier migrants to Port Moresby who have been forgotten. The first migrant known to have worked for an extended period in Port Moresby (although there may have been a number of others who have since died), is a man who first went there in 1918 or 1919 and who spent most of his working life there. Pre-war taxation
The Hula in Port Moresby

registers indicate that at least four or five Hula per year were working in Port Moresby before World War II. Many Hula were conscripted during the war either as carriers of supplies to front line troops or as labourers, which included employment as clerks and craftsmen, and many were so employed in the Port Moresby area.

Hula migrating to Port Moresby have found accommodation in Motu and Koita villages, in housing provided by employers including the government, in canoes, in the settlements built by Hula and other Papuans on Motu and Koita land, and in dwellings built on leasehold or freehold land within the town boundaries.

Villages

In 1964, there were fifteen Hula men who had settled on village land outside the Hula settlements. All were married and living with their wives and children. Four had built their own houses and eleven were living in houses belonging to their affines, including three who were living in settlements established by migrants from the Gulf Province.

Nine men had married members of the two landholding groups. In pre-contact times Hula came with their families by canoe to the Motu villages in the Port Moresby area, and supplied the inhabitants with fish from November to March during the absence of the Motu trading expeditions to the Gulf of Papua. When the Motu expeditions returned, the Hula were given large supplies of sago. At other times of the year the Hula also gave the Motu fish and other commodities in exchange for pots. Close and friendly ties were established between Hula and Motu as a result. Although individuals continued to visit the Port Moresby area to obtain sago until 1942, the annual trading expedition made by the Hula ended in about 1916 (Oram 1968a) and ties with the Motu have slackened. Intermarriage still occurs between Hula and Motu and in 1964 eight Hula men who had married Motu wives were settled in their wives' villages. One Hula man had settled in the village of his Koita wife. Such marriages are usually the result of long association with the village concerned. One man was a retired pastor who worked for a number of years at the London Missionary Society mission in his wife's village. Two brothers who had married women from the Motu village of Vabukori had been brought up in that village after their Hula father had died and their mother had married a Vabukori man.

Housing provided by employers

In 1964, 35 per cent of the Hula households in Port Moresby were living in dwellings provided by their employers. Thirty-six unmarried men were not living with their kinsmen; twelve of these were living in housing provided by private employers and twenty-four were living in government housing, either as employees or students at educational institutions. Three single women were living in government housing.

The houses of private employers are located in the main industrial and commercial areas, but government employees are housed at the
predominantly Papuan suburb of Hohola (Fig 7.1) — where three Hula men are buying their houses through a tenant purchase scheme — or in other government housing areas such as Kaugere and Konebada.

**Canoes**

According to a government official stationed in Port Moresby at the time, people did not use their canoes as dwellings while they worked in Port Moresby until about 1943. As a result of shortage of accommodation for the large number of migrants who came to Port Moresby after 1945, a number of people from the coastal areas of the Central Province began to live for long periods in canoes both at Hanuabada and at Koki. The small harbour at Koki in particular provides a sheltered shallow anchorage for canoes. These canoe settlements have been described by Belshaw (1952). Some time before 1960, Koki was declared by the then District Officer to be the only authorised canoe anchorage (Foster 1961), but according to regulations made by the trustees of Koki market, canoes must not be drawn up above highwater mark. When the canoes of Hula and others who were living at Koki began to rot they beached them on Koki Island. Some time before 1931 (Nixon, pers. comm. 1965), this had been connected to the shore where the present Papuan market stands by a causeway some 350 metres long which was rebuilt and enlarged in 1958. In 1959 there were thirteen Hula canoes at the anchorage at Koki (Groves, pers. comm. 1962). In the same year all the beached canoes were removed by order of the District Officer on the grounds that their existence encouraged gambling, prostitution and lawlessness. A large number of canoes still afloat continued to be anchored at Koki and in 1964 there were two Hula canoes in which the owners were living with their families.

In 1964 a new canoe settlement was begun by a Hula man at Badili which is some 500 metres away from Koki Harbour. He was followed by a number of Hula-speaking people and in September 1965 there were fifteen canoes on the beach. These included the canoes of two Hula men who were living there, partly because Badili is an excellent anchorage and Koki Harbour has become congested with canoes; and partly because there is now no room for further expansion at Taikone and Vabukori settlements (Oram 1967:21).

**Hula settlements on land of Vabukori village**

Two Hula settlements have been established on the land of the Motu village of Vabukori. The first is on the shore of a small bay called Taikone, which means ‘beach of tears’. Both Vabukori and Hula people say that it is so called because of the destruction in pre-contact times by the Hula of the Koita village of Kila Kila, which was then situated on the saddle above the present Vabukori village. The second settlement is within Vabukori village near the church of the Papua Ekalesia, and sited in a narrow space between the sea and a small cliff.

The land of the villagers of Vabukori was limited in pre-contact times to a narrow strip between the hills and the sea, and sales before
and immediately after World War II reduced the area to less than half its former size. As a result of land shortage, the involvement of the male population in wage labour, and the use of land for house sites, gardening was abandoned as a means of subsistence in 1959, but some householders cultivate small gardens near their houses. After 1945 migrants from different parts of Papua began to settle in the vicinity of the village. Formerly a gardening area, the Taikone area had been used as a labour compound by the Australian New Guinea Administrative Unit after the people of Vabukori village had been evacuated in 1942 and use of the land was not returned to the villagers until about 1953. By 1961 the area was largely covered by house sites and a count of the population made in that year found that there were eighty males living at Taikone. Over half came from the Gulf Province and from other areas adjoining the Gulf of Papua. One quarter, the majority of whom were Hula, came from the Rigo District of the Central Province. The remainder came from Vabukori village or from other parts of the Central Province (Bettison 1961:2).

Rights to land occupied by the Hula settlements

The social structure of the western Motu villages, which include Vabukori, was described by Groves (1963), and closely resembles that of the Hula (Oram 1968a:245). The population of Vabukori village is divided into seven named agnatic descent groups called *iduhu*. Today, land rights are held by lineages within an *iduhu* and by smaller groups of agnatic kin. Both men and women members of an *iduhu* inherit rights to land, but right of control rests with the senior male member of the rightholding group. Among both the Motu (Groves 1963:20) and Hula (Oram 1968a) strangers and men married to female members of an *iduhu* were able to become primary members by accretion if they were accepted by its members and became householders. They thereby obtained land rights which were inherited by their descendants. I have described more fully elsewhere the way in which people became members of a descent group by accretion in relation to land of a Koita village occupied by Purari migrants (Hitchcock and Oram 1967:31).

In 1965 three people held proprietary rights, which they derived from membership of lineages of Laurina *iduhu*, to land which the Hula now occupy at Taikone. The only male rightholder was Peter Stephen, whose father was a primary member of the *iduhu*. Peter’s father’s father had become a member of the lineage by accretion, and the last member of the original lineage had died without issue in 1965. His mother was the daughter of an Indonesian father and a Hula mother. He closely identified himself with the Hula, whose language he spoke, and joined in business and sporting activities with them. He lived by the road 800 metres from the shore. Two sisters derived their rights from their mother who was a member by birth of Laurina *iduhu*. The elder sister lived outside the area. Her daughter had married a Hula man. The name of the younger sister, Vali, is a Hula name given to her by a Hula woman with whom her father had formed a fictive sibling
relationship. She married a man called Maimu Matagu, whose father was a member of Abai iduhu of the eastern village of Tubusereia. Maimu Matagu was accepted as a member of a lineage of the Vabukori iduhu called Lagi. The founder of the lineage was a man from Abai iduhu who had settled in Vabukori after marrying a Vabukori woman three generations ago. In 1963 their son and only surviving child married a Hula woman whose father was then living in Taikone settlement. Vali Kwahi and her husband lived on land to which Vali held rights in a house near the shore 25 metres from the nearest Hula house.

The sisters from time to time tried to dispute the authority of Peter Stephen over the land. They claimed that they had made an agreement with him that the land should be divided between the three of them. When, however, disputes arose, Peter Stephen was able to assert his authority as senior male of the rightholding group.

The Hula are linked with the people of Vabukori by ties of friendship and kinship. There is the long-standing friendship between the two villages arising from the traditional trade relationship described above. The settlers at Taikone have cognatic or affinal connections with the three people who hold rights to the land which they occupy. They also have kinship ties with members of Lagi iduhu who own rights to the beach where the Hula settlers in the village live. These ties are derived from Hula connections with Abai iduhu at Tubusereia in the past and from more recent intermarriage between Hula and Lagi people. These links enabled Hula people to establish themselves on Vabukori land.

**Founding of Taikone and Vabukori settlements**

The first Hula man settled on Taikone in 1954. When the canoes were removed from Koki in 1959, the owners obtained permission from Vali Kwahi and her husband, who live near the beach, to draw up their canoes at Taikone in front of Vali Kwahi's house. According to Vali Kwahi, she gave permission for them to stay initially for two weeks and then allowed them to stay longer. They then began to rest the bows of their canoes on piles. This was against Vali's wishes but the Hula gained the support of Peter Stephen. They later removed the canoes and left the canoe-houses on piles. They have since built eighteen substantial houses on the shore. In 1964 six of the canoe-owners who had been living in canoes at Koki were living in Taikone and four were living in Vabukori village.

In 1962 another group of Hula were allowed by members of Lagi iduhu to beach their canoes on the shore near the church. Up to 1965 they had built six houses on shore, following the process by which the Taikone settlers had gradually improved their accommodation. The smallness of the area, however, has limited the number and size of houses.

At Taikone, relationships between the Hula settlers and the three rightholders, whom they played off against each other, were good. The rightholders joined in the sporting and social activities which took place
in the settlement, and Vali Kwahi's house was a centre of gossip for the settlers. The ban which traditionally was placed by Hula and Motu on the consumption of various crops in preparation for a feast was from time to time placed on the casual eating of coconuts growing near the settlement. The distribution of the coconuts among Vabukori right-holders and Hula settlers was made the occasion for a feast at which the Hula provided fish and the food was eaten communally. As a result of these friendly relations, the right-holders gave permission for two houses to be built according to plans approved by the Port Moresby Building Board. There was also close co-operation between villages and settlers in Vabukori village.

The Hula settlers made no regular payments to the right-holders at Taikone and Vabukori for the use of their land, but the right-holders benefited economically from the presence of the settlers. The Hula at Taikone met the whole of the charges for water drawn from the tap near Vali Kwahi's house for which she was responsible. Small gifts of food and tobacco were frequently made by the settlers to the right-holders. Vali Kwahi's son also owned a trade store which was located in their house, and the Hula paid inflated prices for goods such as sugar and tea which they frequently purchased, rather than buy them more cheaply at more distant stores.

Settlement on alienated land

The lease of a small area of land adjoining the Port Moresby Golf Club was transferred by a European woman to a Suau man and his brothers in 1937. He married a Hula woman and has allowed three houses owned by Hula people to be built on his land.

Several people of Indonesian, Malay and Solomon Islands descent obtained freehold and leasehold land in the Koki-Badili area before World War II. Two Hula families live on some of this land, which is held by people of Malay descent with whom they are affinally connected. A third man has recently married and built a house on the adjoining block owned by people of Solomon Islands descent who were related to his wife.

Settlement on Daugo Island (Fisherman's Island)

Daugo Island lies some three km to the west of Port Moresby Harbour. Some informants say that the true name of the island is Tau Kwarana, and that Daugo refers to the rocky islet close by. It is approximately three km long and not more than 800 m wide at its widest point. The highest point above sea level is 7 m. It lies within the main reef and the sea surrounding the island is very shallow. The eastern shore where the settlements are located is protected from the south-east trade winds. It takes under an hour to travel by outboard canoe to Koki market.

6In 1966, after I had left Port Moresby, I received reports that the Vabukori people wanted the Hula living in the village to leave. Canoes belonging to people from the Hula language area but not from Hula village were being used as dwellings along the whole village frontage, and the villagers were becoming alarmed at the congestion which was occurring.
There is no historical record of any permanent pre-contact habitation of Daugo Island, although Riesenfeld (1950:338) records the discovery of a type of pottery unknown to living natives of that region. Certainly Daugo has long been habitually used by fishermen, including Hula, as a temporary camping ground and for smoking their fish. The Reverend W. G. Lawes (Diary, 6 January 1882) records that in 1876 Hula trading canoes sailed from Hanuabada village to Daugo upon the arrival of a fleet of Keapara canoes, and that the Hula remained there fishing until the fleet had gone. In 1887 the government established a coconut plantation on the northern end of the island (British New Guinea Annual Report 1887/8:103) and in 1890 the island was ‘taken possession of, as being waste and vacant land’. The report said that it ‘was not claimed by any natives although due inquiry was made on that point’. A considerable expansion of coconut planting was planned (B.N.G.A.R. 1889/90:15). Further mention of the plantation was made in the annual report for 1896/7, but it eventually failed. During World War II an airstrip was built in the north of the island, which is still occasionally used. In 1965 a number of villages, including Vabukori, submitted to the Lands Commission claims regarding rights to the island and the matter is still sub judice (Lalor, pers. comm.).

In about 1945 a Hula man named Ara Ralai began to camp with his sons on Lolorua, Manubada, and Haidana islands in the vicinity of Port Moresby. In 1953 he settled on Daugo and by 1956 four Hula fishermen and their families had joined him. In that year they were evicted by the Administration for illegally squatting on Crown land. The settlers returned in 1958 and eviction orders were again issued during 1963. The Administration subsequently decided that their occupation should be made legal, and they were given a communal annual licence to settle there for the specific purpose of fishing.

When the Hula first settled on the island, shelters were made from canoe poles and sails, similar to those erected on the canoes themselves. Rough shacks from old timber, corrugated iron and sacking were then made on land and later some settlers replaced their shacks with more permanent structures. Houses in the settlement are being steadily improved, but three factors discourage building of good quality houses: the settlers’ tenure of the site which they occupy is insecure; there are two brackish waterholes on the island which are not used by the Hula, and as long as water has to be brought from Port Moresby, settlement on the island will not be permanent; and finally there is no school on the island, and the settlers are subject to much criticism by Hula village leaders because a number of the children do not go to school.

Absorption of Hula population in the town

To the majority of Hula who go to live in Port Moresby, accommodation is not a problem. Standards of construction and the number of services provided vary among houses occupied by Hula people but there are few complaints. Most of the houses are below the standard considered acceptable in economically advanced countries. As I have
pointed out elsewhere in discussing housing conditions in Port Moresby (Oram 1965:112-13), housing in hot climates in which much time is spent out of doors does not play such an important part in daily life as it does in colder climates. In the day time people sit under their houses or any specially constructed platforms under the shade of trees; and at night they sit outside their houses or on their verandahs.

Housing is not a problem because so many Hula living in Port Moresby have overcome the shortage of accommodation by building their own houses. In 1964, 39 per cent of males aged fifteen years or above lived in their own houses or houses owned by other Hula; 43 per cent lived in houses provided by employers, including educational institutions; 11 per cent lived in houses owned by non-Hula indigenous people; and the accommodation of 7 per cent was unknown.

The residential location of the Hula population in Port Moresby in 1964 is illustrated in Fig. 7.1. The largest percentage, 40 per cent, were living inside the boundaries of Vabukori village, and two-thirds
were living in the Koki-Badili area and in the area of land, including Vabukori, to the south-east. They form what Leslie has called a 'community of the route' (quoted Epstein 1967:280). Approaching from the east, they obtained a foothold within the town at the nearest point to their own village. They remain on friendly terms with the host group, whose culture and language are similar to their own. In comparison, two groups from the area of the Gulf of Papua are on less friendly terms with the village groups whose land they occupy: the attitude of the rightholders of Kila Kila village to Purari settlers on Kila Kila land at Rabia Camp is ambivalent (Hitchcock and Oram 1967:32) and relations between Vabukori rightholders and Toaripi-speaking settlers are often hostile (Ryan 1964:5). Personal relationships between host and migrant groups, however, may not affect the migrants' security of tenure. The majority of migrants living on native land throughout the town area are in legal occupation of the land on which they are living and the Administration might find it very difficult to remove them (Hitchcock and Oram 1967:33). The Hula people themselves have no feeling of insecurity and constantly improve their houses.

The existence of the Vabukori settlements is an important factor in determining the way of life of Hula migrants in Port Moresby. They serve as bases at which canoes can anchor and goods be unloaded and at which social activities are organised. Unlike Rabia Camp, however, (Hitchcock and Oram 1967:104) they do not serve as a staging camp for migrants when they first go to the town. Such migrants seek out their closest kin wherever they are living and stay with them until they find other accommodation.

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<tr>
<td>60-64</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>65-69</td>
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<td>5</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>312</td>
<td>265</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>392</td>
<td>325</td>
<td>717</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In 1964, 249 Purari people lived with members of two other groups in this settlement (Hitchcock and Oram 1967:50). There were about 2800 Toaripi-speaking people, whose villages are in the region of the Gulf of Papua, in the Port Moresby area in 1964 (Ryan 1964:2).
POPULATION

The Hula population of Port Moresby and Daugo Island is indicated by age and sex in Table 7.1. The figures were obtained during a count which I made of the whole Hula population, whether living in Hula village or elsewhere, as at 1 November 1964. In this paper figures are presented on the same basis as those in my previous paper relating to the Hula (Oram 1968a). All people whom the Hula themselves regard as Hula are included with the exception of 107 Hula women who have married non-Hula men living in Port Moresby. They are excluded because they do not form part of Hula society, although they maintain frequent contacts with their Hula kin living in the town. The non-Hula wives of Hula men are included because they form part of Hula households so defined. The age-sex composition of the Hula population in Port Moresby shows a regular distribution except for the low percentage of males and females in the 15-19 age group. This is due to the absence of a number of boys and girls who are either at boarding schools in different parts of Papua New Guinea or at school in Hula.

The composition of the Daugo Island population appears to differ in some respects from that of the Hula population in Port Moresby, but the smallness of the Daugo population makes it difficult to assess the significance of these differences. The lower percentage of boys in the 10-14 age group is due to the lack of a school on the island; children who go to school must therefore do so in Hula village or elsewhere. There is a slightly higher proportion of men of the age of 35 and above in the Daugo settlement than of Hula living in the town. This may be because younger men prefer wage employment to the traditional occupation of fishing.

There were 1342 males per 1000 females in the Port Moresby Hula population, including Daugo Island, between the ages of 15 and 54 in 1964. Excluding Daugo Island, the ratio was 1325 males to 1000 females. There was marked masculinity but the Hula population was more balanced than the total urban population in the same age groups in 1961. According to a count carried out by the Administration (Bettison 1961:2) the ratio for Port Moresby was then 2820 males per 1000 females.8

The majority of Hula are married according to custom, involving gift exchange. Few Hula marriages are solemnised in London Missionary Society churches. Since 1954 only six couples have been married in the church in Hula, although a few others have been married in Port Moresby churches and elsewhere. Divorce occurs either when couples agree to separate or when one spouse leaves the other and remarries. This may involve making a return of gifts to the man's kin if he is considered to be the aggrieved party.

Both in Port Moresby and Daugo Island, Hula women were married earlier than men. All Hula women in Port Moresby and Daugo of the age of 25 and over had been married; and with the exception of three

8The ratio of indigenous males to females in Port Moresby at the time of the 1971 census was 1590:1000.
men in Port Moresby and three men on Daugo Island, all Hula men aged 35 and over had been married.

At the time the count was made, all but one of the men currently married were living with their wives. The exception was a man living with his sons at Taikone, who worked for periods of up to eighteen months in the town, leaving his wife and younger children in the village. Only 5 per cent of Toaripí had left their wives in their villages (Ryan 1968*: 149) and the Hula and Toaripí figures are low compared with the 1961 figures for the whole indigenous population of Port Moresby, for which the figure was 35 per cent (Bettison 1961:31). Only one man, who lived on Daugo Island, was recorded as being divorced but a small number of Hula men and women had been divorced and re-married.

LENGTH OF RESIDENCE

The majority of Hula men over 15 years of age now living in Port Moresby went to work in the town after the end of World War II. Table 7.2 shows that men left the village soon after they became old enough to obtain employment. There is a great deal of movement between Port Moresby, Hula village and other centres of employment: 48 per cent of the people aged 30 and above had spent one or more periods of six months in the village since they first came to Port Moresby.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age group</th>
<th>Less than 1 year</th>
<th>1-5</th>
<th>15-24</th>
<th>25-34</th>
<th>35-44</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Unknown</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Mean no. of years away</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<td>24</td>
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<td>57</td>
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<tr>
<td>25-34</td>
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<td>31</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>41</td>
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<td>45-54</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>27</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>55-64</td>
<td></td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>32.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Hula population on Daugo Island has increased steadily since 1958 and there has been little movement away from the island. The majority of residents have either gone straight to Daugo Island from the village, or have grown up on the island and work with their fathers. In 1963, out of forty males aged 15 and over, twenty-two had never engaged in any occupation except fishing, seven had worked at other occupations for less than two years, and eleven had had considerable work experience in a variety of occupations.

EDUCATION

The Hula people have achieved a higher level of formal education than the population of the whole country. According to government estimates made in 1964, 80 per cent of the population was illiterate and more than 65 per cent of children of school age did not go to school (van der Veur and Richardson 1965:1). As a result of their
Table 7.3
Education Levels* of Hula Population between the Ages of 15 and 29 (inclusive) Living in Port Moresby in 1964

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>15-19</th>
<th>20-24</th>
<th>25-29</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Attending primary school</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) Mission</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1†</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) Administration</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Left primary school</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) Mission</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) Administration</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attending secondary school</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Left secondary school</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
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<td>Attending institutes of higher education</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attending technical training college</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Not known</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>148</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The highest level reached on leaving school is indicated.
† Roman Catholic School at Badili.
long tradition of education, the majority of Hula men and women can read and write in their vernacular with varying degrees of efficiency. In 1964, all except three Hula children between the ages of five and fifteen living in Port Moresby were attending schools. The level of education achieved by Hula of both sexes between the ages of fifteen and twenty-nine inclusive is shown in Table 7.3. None of the Hula who had reached the age of thirty had attended government primary schools and only one man had attended a secondary school. Below the age of thirty, 34 per cent of males and 18 per cent of females had attended or were attending secondary schools in the town. A number of children of Port Moresby residents were also attending schools elsewhere. Six men and one woman had continued their education after leaving secondary school.

As mentioned on p. 126 the village Hula disapprove of the failure of the Hula parents living on Daugo Island to send their children to school. At the end of 1963 I inquired into the educational position of the children of Hula Daugo Island residents. Out of a total of fifty-two children between the ages of 5 and 18 inclusive, twenty-five were living on the island and had received virtually no education. Twenty of the twenty-seven children who were living elsewhere were at school: thirteen were at school at Hula; four were at primary schools elsewhere; and three were attending secondary schools. In 1964 ten of the fifteen children between the ages of 10 and 14, and all of the twenty-two children between the ages of 5 and 9 inclusive, had received no schooling.

The improvement of educational facilities in town and village has affected the rate of Hula migration to Port Moresby town. Hula informants say that they moved to Port Moresby in the 1950s because there were better schools there. The reason they gave for preferring government schools was that English was better taught in them. This was also the main reason given by members of the Papua Ekalesia who were interviewed by van der Veur and Richardson for sending their children to government schools (1965:76). Nearly all the Hula now occupying senior positions in the public service received their primary education at Port Moresby. Mission and Hula informants say that when the government primary school at Hula was raised to full primary standard, there was a reverse movement and some migrants returned to the village. In 1965 the Director of Education announced that he intended to reduce the intake at the bottom standard of the Hula government primary school, because of a reduction in the allocation of finance to the Central Province. This means that a large number of Hula children would be excluded from the government school and would only be able to enter the mission primary school. This only provides classes to standard three and is unlikely to be able to increase the number of standards. If the Director's proposals are carried out, it is probable that people who would otherwise not have done so will move to Port Moresby to seek better educational opportunities for their children.

9The Papua District of the London Missionary Society became an independent church under this name in 1962.
Table 7.4
Occupational Status of Males after reaching their Fifteenth Birthday, 1964

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>15-24</th>
<th>25-34</th>
<th>35-44</th>
<th>45-54</th>
<th>55-64</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
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<td>A. Clerical white collar</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerk</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>11</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Journalist, cadet</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher trainee</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub-total</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>19</td>
<td>11.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Technical</td>
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<td>14</td>
<td>18</td>
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<td>17</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Port Moresby</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>169</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**OCCUPATIONS**

Table 7.4 divides employment into seven categories, based generally on the levels of education and the degrees of skill of the workers con-
cerned. Those in clerical occupations have nearly all received some secondary education, and the technicians, as opposed to the artisans, have received some technical training. All except one of those who had received secondary education were occupied in white collar jobs. Some of the technicians had started their jobs with only a low level of education from mission schools but had since acquired additional qualifications. The man described in Table 7.4 as a 'Posts and Telegraphs Linesman', for example, left the mission school at Hula on completion of standard three and by attending night school subsequently passed junior secondary standard nine. In 1965 he completed a two-year course at the Posts and Telegraphs College and qualified as a technician.

As a result of mission training the Hula became skilled in carpentry and other trades, and were unwilling to engage in unskilled labour (Oram 1968a:260). In 1964, no Hula were engaged in unskilled occupations compared to 50 per cent of Toaripi (Ryan 1968*:149). Of those of working age, 54 per cent were in occupations demanding manual skills included in the categories of artisan, semi-skilled and self-employed. There is little difference in the levels of skills acquired by artisans and those described as semi-skilled. Men change their occupations within each of these categories and also leave occupations in one and obtain a new one in the other. One contractor, for example, after completing a sub-contract to make concrete house-piles and floors for a European building firm, worked for wages as a carpenter for another European, and one man who was working for wages as a driver was later employed as a carpenter. The number of people described as self-employed fluctuates according to the availability of work and their own inclinations. Several men who had previously worked as building sub-contractors were working for wages in 1964. Others alternated between self-employment and employment for others.

The Hula have no difficulty in obtaining suitable occupations. In 1964, only 3 per cent of the male adult population aged 15 and above were without gainful occupation: one of the five men concerned was over 65 years of age and one man had a history of illness. By contrast, in 1964 20 per cent of the Toaripi males (Ryan (1968*:149), and in 1963 40 per cent of the Purari males living in Rabia Camp (Hitchcock and Oram 1967:58) of the same age group were without gainful occupations.

Earnings from employment ranged from $6 to $46 a week. The highest salary was earned by a mechanic who had worked for the Royal Australian Navy during World War II. There is little correlation between type of occupation, responsibility and earnings. The highest paid public servant was earning $40 a week, which was less than some artisans. The net earnings of some self-employed were lower than those of a number of artisans working for wages.

The effect of the increased educational opportunities provided by the Administration is reflected in Table 7.4. The majority of men aged 35 and over were employed in occupations demanding a low level of formal education for which ability to speak English was not required.
Of the men between the ages of 15 and 34 who were included in the white collar and supervising categories, 28 per cent were in occupations which demanded a higher standard of education and a reasonable knowledge of English, or were being trained for such occupations.

EMPLOYMENT OF WOMEN

Until about 1963, with rare exceptions, the only occupations undertaken by Hula women had been those of government or mission teacher and nurse. By 1965, there were twenty-two Hula women employed in a variety of occupations, of whom fourteen were under the age of 20. These occupations are indicated in Table 7.5. No Hula women in Port Moresby had previously been employed but were no longer in employment. The figures therefore suggest that an increasing number of women will obtain employment in the future. Two of the women were married with children. All the women were employed in occupations which required some education and fourteen of the women, or about two-thirds, had attended secondary schools. Hula women were not employed as domestic servants, whereas in 1965 a quarter of the employed indigenous women in Port Moresby were so engaged (information provided by the Department of Labour). All the women had a knowledge of English which was adequate for them to carry out their duties. A number of the women had been at boarding schools and four had travelled overseas to attend conferences and courses. Nine lived with their parents in Port Moresby, five lived with relatives, two lived in mission hostels and six lived in accommodation provided by their employers, including accommodation at educational institutions.

Table 7.5

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>19 years and under</th>
<th>20 years and over</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Shop Assistant</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Typist</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Librarians (trainee)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preschool teacher (trainee)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nurse (trainee)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girl Guide leader</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Figures in this table and information recorded in this section are derived from an enquiry carried out by Mrs Susan Faircloth in 1965.

The reasons given by the women for wishing to work in the town included a desire for money, the need to help their parents and, among those who were living away from their parents, the wish to free themselves from the restrictions of village life and to experience life in the town. Some spoke of parental opposition to their continuing their education outside the village and to their leaving the village to work in Port Moresby, but as an increasing number of women achieve high standards of education and obtain employment such opposition is breaking down. The employment of an increasing number of women
will have an important effect on the social and economic organisation of the Hula living in Port Moresby. The women will achieve greater personal independence and varied experience of life, and will make considerable financial contributions to the households in which they are living.

The pattern of occupations in which the Hula were engaged in 1964 is markedly similar to that of the people of the village of Matupit near Rabaul, who are another coastal group with a long history of contact with Europeans. According to Epstein (1963:198), few Matupi were engaged in unskilled labour in 1960, the largest single category of employment consisted of artisans, and the evidence pointed to the emergence of a white collar class. The Hula, like the Matupi, ‘appear to stand out as an occupational elite’.

STABILISATION AND INVOLVEMENT IN URBAN LIVING

The migration of Hula to Port Moresby only began to take place in large numbers after 1945. The indications are that the majority spend a large part of their working lives in Port Moresby and in other centres of employment and then retire to Hula village. In 1964 there were, indeed, sixteen men and women over the age of 65 staying in Port Moresby. They were, however, living in the houses of their closest relatives and were in the town for this reason, rather than because of a preference for town life. As long as security in sickness, unemployment and old age is to be found in Hula village, the majority of Hula migrants are likely to return there. Statistical evidence is insufficient, however, to determine the degree of stabilisation of the Hula population in Port Moresby in the demographic sense.

A large number of Hula, as Table 7.2 shows, are spending long periods in Port Moresby accompanied by their wives and children. They have little difficulty in finding accommodation and in finding work which is suited to their level of education and skills. They form a migrant élite in the town and exhibit a high degree of involvement in urban living.

Hula settlers have only lived a few years on Daugo Island. The majority are living with their wives and children and they give indications that they intend to stay there. A number of factors, discussed on p. 200, is likely to determine whether the present pattern of migration and duration of residence is likely to continue.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC ORGANISATION

In a previous paper (Oram 1968a: 245-7) I described how traditional Hula social organisation had been based on groups of agnates who co-operated in fishing and trading activities. Non-agnatic kin and affines also joined in these activities. The population of Hula village is today divided into five corporate descent groups called kwatu and membership derives basically from agnatic descent. Formerly each descent group lived as discrete residential units in houses built over the sea. Many individuals now build their houses on their own blocks of land which may be intermingled with the land of members of other
kwalu. Kwalu closely resemble Motu iduhu in membership and structure.

The economy of Hula village is no longer entirely based on fishing. While nearly all Hula fish, the only groups of agnates who with other kin and affines regularly co-operate in fishing for the market are comprised of 'professional' fishermen who own powered canoes and expensive fishing equipment. Other Hula make gardens in the village and engage in wage employment elsewhere. Membership of the two occupational categories is fluid and men frequently change from one to the other.

The division is reflected in the composition of households. Traditionally a household was composed of some of the married sons of the household head with their wives and children, his unmarried children and other kin. Today 45 per cent of the households in Poerupu kwalu are composed of nuclear families consisting of mother, father and children. Married sons are living in only eight households (with two married sons living in each of four of these households). The five households whose numbers are composed of people engaged in 'professional' fishing all include married sons living with their families. The remaining married sons are either living away from the village or have built their own houses which are not necessarily near their fathers' houses. There were, however, a number of grandchildren living in Poerupu households whose parents were living elsewhere. The majority were attending the village school.

The settlers on Daugo Island reproduced the traditional form of social organisation by living as agnatic residential groups whose economic organisation is based on fishing. The settlement is divided into four residential sections. Three of the sections are composed of old men who founded the settlement, their sons with their wives and children, unmarried children and other kin and affines. The fourth section is agnatically linked with another section but is physically separated from it. Sixty-one per cent of households consist of simple primary families. The main reason lies in the sizes of the houses, which are often little more than small shacks, although the mean number of occupants of each house is little less than that of Hula village. Married sons have built their houses close to those of their fathers. In one group, the head lived in one house with his wife, his son and his son's wife and children. Three married sons each lived in their own houses nearby and the head's brother and his wife lived with one of the sons. The son of a brother of the head, who was not living in the settlement, lived in a fifth house. The houses were built about 2 m from the next house. Three heads of sections are closely related through non-agnatic ties. Many residents are closely related.

Kinship appears to have played little part in bringing members of Taikone settlement to live together in the same settlement. Among eighteen Taikone households, the only close kinship ties between households were between four pairs of siblings, who were not related to each other. At Vabukori, however, four of the six heads of house-
holds were brothers and a fifth head was married to their sister. There was a similar proportion of lineal descendants of household heads in Taikone and Vabukori households as there were in Poerupu households but the majority were unmarried children. The householders were men of working age and few had grandchildren. The married sons of householders had found employment elsewhere and were not living with their fathers. Collaterals of the household head formed 13 per cent of the household members as opposed to 2 per cent on Daugo Island and none in Poerupu kwalu; and head's affines were 23 per cent of household members as opposed to 13 per cent on Daugo Island and 8 per cent in Poerupu kwalu. Only 33 per cent of urban households consisted of simple primary families. Householders were providing their close agnatic and non-agnatic kin and affines with accommodation when they came to the town to work for wages. They accepted the obligation to do so without resentment. Some householders said that they welcomed the opportunity to share their houses because their relatives contributed to food and other expenses.

Changes in the economy have undermined the consanguineal basis of traditional social structure. In Hula village there is a change, in Linton's terms (1936:159), from a society in which families consist of 'a nucleus of blood relatives surrounded by spouses' towards 'a nucleus of spouses and their offspring surrounded by a fringe of relatives'. This change is indicated by the recent adoption by the Hula, when speaking their own language, of the English word 'family' to embrace agnatic and non-agnatic kin. While the two forms of social organisation occur side by side in Hula village, the settlers on Daugo Island retain the traditional consanguineal structure and the town-dwellers have adopted the newer conjugal structure.

SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS

In the network of relationships in which the Hula living in Port Moresby were involved a number of distinct bases can be distinguished (Barnes 1968; Oram 1967:22). These include kinship and affinity, neighbourhood, the work situation, church membership and associations. The most frequent contacts were between close kin, especially parents and siblings, whether they were living in Port Moresby, Hula village or elsewhere. Distance was not a barrier to maintaining contact. In 1965, a woman living in Taikone was asked by her father who was a resident of Hula village to visit her sister living in Rabaul, because of the latter's marital troubles. She travelled by air and stayed in Rabaul four weeks until her sister's husband paid her return fare. Contact with other kin was maintained as a matter of choice or for specific purposes. One man visited a kinsman to obtain timber which the latter's employer had given him for building his house at Taikone.

Contact with affines and the meeting of reciprocal obligations plays an important part in social relationships. One man living in Taikone wished to contribute to the marriage exchanges of a kinsman who also lived in Taikone. He visited his married sister and her husband who
lived in a coastal village some 150 km away and obtained a pig from
them.

Visits are exchanged between men and their married sisters in the
urban area, and a man can always look to his sister's husband for
assistance. Parents of married women living in the urban area travel
regularly from their villages to visit them.

There are frequent opportunities for kinsmen living in different areas
to meet each other. Until the end of 1965 the majority of Hula travelled
between the villages by canoe and if weather conditions were favour­
able the journey lasted less than ten hours. As a result, the majority
of Hula people visit the village frequently: for example, 46 per cent
of males who had left the village before 1960 visited it between 1960
and the end of 1964, and many visited the village every year.

There is a constant movement of people between Hula village,
Daugo Island and Port Moresby. As I have described elsewhere (Oram
1968a:269) there is a stream of casual visitors who may come to the
town for some specific purpose or merely to visit. Throughout the year
Hula men fish in the neighbourhood of Port Moresby for the market,
especially towards the end of the year when money is needed for local
government taxes, church dues and Christmas celebrations. They often
use the Daugo settlement as a base and visit the Vabukori settlements
when they market their fish at Koki. Some people travel by canoe from
Daugo Island to Port Moresby daily to sell fish and to obtain water
and supplies, and they come into contact with other Hula while doing
so. Organised visits by, for example, basketball teams accompanied by
spectators, are exchanged between the three areas.

Except in the settlements where neighbours are also members of
the same village group, the Hula in Port Moresby associate with other
Hula living in the same area, rather than with their neighbours as such.
A larger number and variety of group activities are carried out in the
Hula settlements, especially in Taikone and on Daugo Island as there
is little space for such activities in Vabukori. Activities include rites
de passage, church services, canoe races and feasts. Dancing takes
place whenever opportunity arises. Weddings and mortuary rites are
conducted in the same way in the urban settlements as in the village,
and kinsmen from the village attend ceremonies held in the town.

The majority of Hula living in Port Moresby are engaged in skilled
employment, and they tend to associate at work with a limited group
of skilled people, many of whom are culturally and linguistically
similar to themselves. Most contacts made at work are not renewed
outside, but there are exceptions. A carpenter with an Indonesian
father and Papuan mother married the sister of a Hula man with whom
he had worked on the same building. The skilled nature of their
employment and the absence of large-scale industries also means that
Hula are frequently involved in face-to-face relationships with their
European employers and supervisors. Such relationships are sometimes

10 The construction of an all-weather road between Port Moresby and Hula
village, which was finished in 1966, makes it possible to reach the village by
motor vehicle in two to three hours.
multisplex: they take their employers on fishing and shooting expedi­
tions, and these Europeans are known among the Hula as ‘So and so’s
European’.

The most important voluntary association of which the Hula are
members is the Papua Ekalesia. The majority of Hula in Port Moresby
are members. Those living in the migrants’ settlements do not attend the
church of the Vabukori Congregation but attend the church at Koki,
which is in the charge of a European missionary assisted by a Papuan
pastor. Five deacons who help in the organisation of church activities
are elected by the Hula living in Port Moresby. At church services,
members of the same migrant groups, including the Hula, sit together:
services are conducted in Motu, the lingua franca of the church, and
English, but hymns are sung in the languages spoken by different
migrant groups. There is little intermingling between the groups. Four
of the Hula deacons live at Taikone and they, together with the Hula
living there, form an unofficial congregation. The senior deacon is the
leader and another deacon is the treasurer. They organise church
services and religious instruction for children in the settlement. Social
activities, such as Christmas parties, are carried out in the name of the
church. The deacons also take the lead in a number of purely secular
activities. Three of the deacons were officials of the canoe racing club
in 1964. The Hula settlers on Daugo Island built their own church in
1962 and steadily improved its construction. Two of the original settlers
on the island were the first deacons, but in 1965 two younger men were
elected. The church organisation in the settlements provides a focus for
communal activities and a forum for the discussion of matters of
common interest. The church organisations at Taikone and on Daugo
Island keep in constant touch with each other and with the village
congregation at Hula through the interchange of visits by deacons,
pastors and church members. Annual subscriptions are often paid by
Hula living in Port Moresby to the congregation in the village, and
sums are being donated for the building of a new church there.

The other kind of associations which many Hula join are those
formed for sporting purposes. Teams are formed among the Hula
themselves but some join other clubs. Many cricket and football clubs
are interracial. These activities provide interest and recreation, but the
relationships formed as a result are not continued outside them and do
not appear to be important.

Few Hula take part in urban leisure activities but spend their spare
time in fishing and canoe making, and in taking part in the dances,
fishing competition and canoe racing organised at Taikone. In 1964
four of the thirty-four men living at Taikone regularly visited bars
licensed to sell alcoholic liquor, but the Papua Ekalesia disapprove of
the drinking of alcohol and few church members do so. Some of the
younger people occasionally go to the cinema but few show a strong
interest in films. The younger Hula men living at Hohaia and at the
Teacher Training College nearby have formed a guitar band which is
popular with the younger Hula.
ECONOMIC ORGANISATION

In the course of my investigation into Hula economic behaviour and attitudes, I recorded the budgets of four households in Taikone for one week in October 1963, and for a further week in January 1964. I also compiled tentative budgets for the whole of the year 1963 for the same households. In November 1965 I recorded for one week the budgets of two Hula households living in canoes at Badili. The majority of households which form part of a modern western economic system are mainly dependent on the earnings from the main occupation of the householder and members of his family for their income. Among the Hula, earnings from gainful occupations may form a minor proportion of total income. They formed one-third of the total income of the budgets of four households during one week in October 1963. An important part of their income is received in kind. During the same period, receipts in kind formed 79 per cent, 46 per cent, 32 per cent and 24 per cent of incomes of four households. Additional sources of income were gardening, fishing, proceeds from other spare time activities and transfers such as gambling and gift exchanges.

A number of Hula people living in the settlements and in other parts of the town cultivated small patches of gardens in which they planted manioc and sweet potatoes. These produced a considerable amount of food: estimates, which must be treated with caution, of the value of food obtained by the households from this source in 1963 are $212, $120 and $84. Fishing, in which nearly all the residents of the settlements and many other Hula living elsewhere in Port Moresby engage, was also an important source of income. When catches of fish were made, however, much of the catch was distributed among kinsmen and neighbours. On one occasion, fish worth $8 out of a catch worth $20 were distributed. Such distribution makes estimation of the value of fish obtained over a long period difficult. All households regularly consumed large quantities of fish. Fish was rarely sold except to obtain money for a special purpose, such as food for some social activity. One household said that in 1964 he only once received money from the sale of fish: after he had gone fishing with his sister’s husband, his sister sold fish for $16 and gave him $10.

Income from spare time activities includes payments for canoe-making: during one week in which his budget was recorded in 1963, one householder received $12 for his work in making a canoe. Another householder owned a double canoe with an outboard motor, which his wife’s father was operating. On one occasion his father-in-law gave him $26 out of the proceeds. Both these transactions formed part of a wider system of exchanges and can only doubtfully be included as earnings. The man who was paid for his work on the canoe was not earning an income from any other source, and he claimed that he had made an agreement with the canoe owner (who was the male rightholder of land in Taikone) that the latter should pay him a fixed sum for his work. It is probable that the canoe-owner gave him money because he needed it, in recognition of the continuing relationship between the two men,
and not as a formal payment. The son-in-law used the English word 'business' when speaking Hula to describe the operation of his canoe by his father-in-law, but the transaction is more appropriately regarded as part of gift exchanges between relatives by marriage. Other minor sources of income included the sale of bottles, which were collected by children in Taikone and in Vabukori village.

Until drastic efforts were made by the police to suppress it in 1965, gambling was rife in the settlements and elsewhere. In Taikone every morning after 10 a.m. two or three gambling schools composed of up to ten women and one or two men would be formed. In the evenings and at weekends more men joined the schools. Gamblers were unwilling to discuss how much they won or lost, but bets were made in ten shilling ($1) and one pound ($2) notes and participants won or lost several dollars in a day. Gambling took place in connection with canoe races, which also provided valuable prizes. Each entrant paid up to $2 to enter a canoe, and prizes varied according to the race, the maximum being $10.

Nearly every kind of relationship involved exchanges. One man who, given a bunch of betel nut at work by his 'friend', later gave him $1 in return. Food and money were exchanged between kin and Hula neighbours in the settlements and elsewhere in Port Moresby, but the most important exchanges took place between town and village. In 1963 one householder estimated that he had received food to the value of $100; and another received food to the value of $126 from the village. Another source of income was from marriage exchanges.

Expenditure patterns differed from those in the majority of western households. While food was an important item of cash expenditure, little money was spent on housing, except by those living in government housing in Hohola. Expenditure on clothes and household goods was also low. An exception was the clothing of children, who were always well dressed when they went to school or to church. Children living at home were given biscuits and cordials, and were sent to school with ten or twenty cents for their lunches. Children at boarding school were provided with pocket money and other small luxuries. Children were also an important reason for the transmission of money to Hula village. In 1963 one man said that he had sent $200 for the maintenance of his daughter, who was living with his parents. Strong emphasis was placed by Hula residents in Port Moresby on the duty to support parents. One man said that he tried to send $10 every month to his parents. People visiting relatives in the village felt obliged to take food, worth between $5 and $10, which they had brought as well as gifts of money. As I mentioned in an earlier paper, a number of people elsewhere contributed materials, money and sometimes labour to the building of houses for their parents (Oram 1968a:269-70).

Expenditure was also incurred to gain prestige. This appeared to be the motive which induced one painting contractor, whose income in 1963 from all sources was $1650, to give $130 towards the cost of building a new church in Hula village.
Many people were unwilling to discuss their savings and this reluctance was probably due to a fear that they would be obliged to distribute them among their kin if the amount was known. Nearly all households accumulated some savings but these were often fully disbursed when some exceptional occasion, such as the need to contribute to a marriage exchange, arose. Savings were also spent on the gradual improvement of houses, and in 1965 two houses in Taikone were rebuilt to a high standard of construction. It was the ambition of many Hula to own a double canoe with an outboard motor and several of them saved enough money to acquire them. Since the construction of an all-weather road from Port Moresby to Hula, their aim has been to own a truck. In 1966, a savings society was formed at Taikone which collected $1200 towards the purchase of a truck.

Hula living in Port Moresby are not entirely dependent on earnings from gainful occupations for their livelihood and this enables them to leave or take up employment at will. Their lack of dependence on a cash income is indicated by the fact that the incomes in October 1963 of three households in which the householders were unemployed were higher than that of the one household in the sample in which the householder was earning a cash income. A high value is set on leisure. The man cited on page 134 as earning the highest wage among the Hula left his job with a firm with whom he had worked for ten years, because he felt that he was doing too much overtime, and that he was tired.

The system of exchanges appears to ensure that Hula living in Port Moresby, especially those living in the settlements, enjoy approximately equal living standards because it leads to a redistribution of incomes. The Hula themselves recognise this. They say that gambling is acceptable within the group because it leads to the sharing of money among them. Entrepreneurs living in the Daugo Island settlement charge very high prices for commodities such as water, cigarettes and food which they bring from the mainland, but the settlers jokingly say that they do not mind because the money which they pay is recovered through the network of exchanges among kinsmen.

Available evidence suggests that the balance of goods and services exchanged between people living in town and those living in Hula village was, translated into cash values, in favour of the latter. Both sides greatly benefited from the exchange of goods and services, however, and the value of the services rendered by the people living in Hula village cannot be measured in terms of cash.

Hula in Port Moresby were involved at the same time in both modern and traditional sectors of the economy. The economic exchanges, which formed an integral part of the system of personal relationships in which they were involved, formed a large proportion of their economic activities. Their economic goals did not appear to be the achievement of a European and urban standard of living. Rather, as I have suggested elsewhere (1967:49), they aspired to play a notable part in the system of exchange relationships in which they were involved.
THE STRUCTURE OF HULA SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS

In terms of frequency of contact, persistence and economic content, kinship is the most important basis for relationships among the Port Moresby Hula. Included in this category are affines and relationships based on fictive kinship. Second in importance as a basis is membership of the western Vulaa community. It is important because of the services rendered by the Hula to each other as neighbours, because of the hospitality afforded in the absence of kin, and because of the frequent social activities in which the people of Hula village and other Vulaa are involved. This includes people from Hula village and from the Western Vulaa settlements of Alewai, Irupara and Kaparoko. While acknowledging their common origin, the Western Vulaa exclude the Eastern Vulaa from their community.

In West Africa, church membership has enabled migrants from rural areas to enter a new urban form of community (Fiawoo 1959:87). The majority of Hula are members of the Papua Ekalesia before they go to Port Moresby, and church membership is not for them a specifically urban form of association. They regard their church activities in the urban area as an extension of those organised by their village congregation to which they still owe allegiance. Except for church membership, relationships based on association play little part in the lives of Hula in Port Moresby.

Epstein (1961:43) describes how the economic and administrative institutions of a Northern Rhodesian town provided 'a basic institutional framework, moulding and at the same time circumscribing the pattern of social relations amongst Africans in the town'. The Hula, owing to their need to earn money, are affected by urban economic institutions. Wage employment, however, is not as important to them as it is to those who are entirely dependent on wages for their livelihood. There are no monolithic industrial organisations in Port Moresby, such as mining companies, to which workers are subject. There are no government agents, such as ward headmen, below the headquarters level, and administrative officials are rarely seen in the settlements or elsewhere. The most frequent contact which they have with government officials occurs when they take disputes which arise among themselves, and between Hula and members of other groups, to the District office for arbitration. They appear willing to refer even disputes among kin to the District office. Local government makes very little impact on the Hula, and the majority pay their taxes to their rural local government council.

Mitchell (1966:43-8) has stressed the danger of confusing processes or historical change, which takes place independently in rural and urban societies, and the situational change which the individual experiences when he moves from one kind of society to another. He is assuming that there exists a cultural discontinuity between the town and the region in which it is rooted and that migrants are involved in an 'urban system of relationships'. When Hula migrants reach Port
Moresby they step into another Hula community, and wherever they live in the town they associate with other Hula people. The majority of those who are unmarried live in a Hula household. Nearly all men living in the town work for wages while few do so in the village; but to those who have been subject to the discipline of the school and church bell, submission to regular working hours requires little adjustment. They have already come into frequent contact with European traders, missionaries and officials before they come to the town. Their involvement in a modern monetary economic system is greater in the town than in Hula village, but this is a matter of degree. The situational change which Hula experience when they migrate from their village to Port Moresby is slight and there is little conflict of norms.

The Hula cannot be described as urbanised in the sense of the term employed by Mitchell. They are not, however, encapsulated in their own society. They are involved in a network of relationships, with its greater density in Port Moresby and Hula village, which extends through affinal and cognatic links and through traditional trading relationships through the Austronesian-speaking areas of Central Papua and beyond. Except that they are not involved in urban employment, the Daugo Island settlers are involved in the same network.

COMMITMENT TO URBAN RESIDENCE:
THE FUTURE OF HULA MIGRANTS IN PORT MORESBY

The foregoing discussion suggests that the Hula settled in Port Moresby are not psychologically committed to urban residence. Economic and other factors, however, may in future increase their involvement in, and possibly their commitment to, urban residence.

The Hula settlement on Daugo Island is unlikely to survive in the long term. While the settlers say that they come to the island to earn money and its proximity to Port Moresby is convenient, they could fish equally profitably and their wives could make gardens if they lived in Hula village. The main attraction of life on the island appears to be that they can follow fishing as a way of life with virtually no outside control. As educational standards rise, however, the number of people with little formal education whose only skill is fishing is likely to diminish. Economic factors, such as the introduction of a capital-intensive fishing industry, could destroy their source of livelihood.

At the end of 1965, Hula living in Port Moresby were a stable element in the urban population. They were better educated, employed in jobs with higher wages, had less fear of unemployment, and were more secure in their occupation of native land than other migrant groups living in the town. Hula migrants could alternate between town and village without having to make more than a slight readjustment: a carpenter returning to the village might suffer no more than a little mockery for his loss of fishing skills.

Belshaw has put forward the hypothesis that ‘when towns undergo rapid spurts of growth based upon immigration, the motivation for that immigration is not based entirely, and perhaps not even primarily,
upon job-hunting in a simple sense. The primary motivation is to share in a new and exciting way of life' (1963:20). Town life provides very little excitement for at least the older Hula and the majority of them are accustomed to visit the town from their early childhood. The Hula migrate to Port Moresby, as they say themselves, to earn money. They need money to pay their church dues and taxes, to meet their obligations to their kinsmen, to bring up their children in a way which they consider desirable, and to maintain the standard of life which is current among them both in the town and in the village. As long as they can most easily earn money by working in Port Moresby and other towns, they will continue to do so.

There were also reasons why one individual rather than another left the village. Several people admitted that they had left their place of residence because they were afraid of sorcery, and many informants mentioned other people who had migrated for this reason. I have also recorded examples of Hula leaving one town for another because of sorcery said to have been practised in a town. The immediate cause was invariably the sudden death of a near relative.

By the year 1965 Hula living in Port Moresby were achieving higher standards of education than hitherto and this was bringing about a change in employment patterns. A group of people who have completed tertiary education is emerging and this group will be enlarged as students complete courses at the new University of Papua New Guinea. Because they will command high salaries they may achieve a higher standard of living and their aspirations towards European standards may conflict with their kinship obligations. Such conflicts are already arising. Higher standards of education may produce new forms of association and a desire for specifically urban forms of leisure activity. Changes which weaken ties with the village may be counterbalanced by other factors. An increasing number of Hula can be expected to own motor vehicles in which they make frequent trips to Hula village. Village life may be made more attractive by, for example, the mechanisation of agriculture: in 1965, members of a small religious sect owned a mechanical cultivator with which they ploughed gardens for a standard charge of $2.

The future of the Hula population of Port Moresby will mainly depend on the relative economic opportunities offered by the village, Port Moresby and other areas. I have discussed elsewhere (Oram 1968a: 270-1) the way in which economic development in Hula village could affect emigration. Development in urban areas, and especially in Port Moresby, has hitherto largely depended on a high level of government expenditure. Curtailment of that expenditure would reduce job opportunities in the town, especially among skilled workers. Failing the operation of such imponderable factors, however, Hula living in Port Moresby will become increasingly committed to urban residence, and their ties with the village will either weaken or assume a new form.
In recent years, Administration officials in Papua New Guinea have been increasingly concerned about problems associated with migration to the towns and the effects of this migration in both village and urban areas. For all the discussion, however, not much is actually known about the people who leave their home areas and come to live in the towns. The aim of this chapter is simply to give a general description of a group that is conspicuous in most Papua New Guinea towns, the so-called 'Keremas', people from the Gulf Province in Papua.

'Keremas' are in fact mainly Toaripi-speakers, from the eastern end of the Gulf. The language group is sub-divided in various ways, but for convenience I shall describe the whole group as a unit, using the general label 'Toaripi'.

There is an overall absentee rate of 25 per cent in the home area, and Toaripi make up 15 per cent of the migrant population of Port Moresby. Their numbers are smaller in other Papua New Guinea towns, but the group is still important because the men make up a significant proportion of the skilled labour force.

Reasons for leaving home and going to the towns are easy to find. The people have a long history of contact and are by Papua New Guinea standards educated and sophisticated. Money is as much a necessity as housing, fishing equipment or garden tools. In addition, the whole population aspires to a way of life that approximates that of Europeans, and the younger people are no longer prepared to live in the village because it is too dull.

The Toaripi, however, live in an area where sago is the staple food, and this means that freshwater swamps abound. There is very little land that is suitable for any kind of cash cropping, and there is no guaranteed market for anything that might be grown. The chief source


I carried out field work in the Gulf Province between 1960 and 1962. Between 1963 and 1965, I worked with Toaripi migrants in Port Moresby and Lae. Although I use the present tense in much of the article, I am referring to the situation in 1964-5.
of cash income is copra, but this work does not give people a chance to participate in a way of life different from the ordinary village round. The alternatives are to stay at home, make sago and catch fish, and get a little money from copra; or leave the village and try your luck in the town.

PORT MORESBY

There are now approximately 3000 Toaripi in Port Moresby. Some live in government housing, others live in quarters supplied by private employers. Two-thirds, however, live in twelve settlements scattered all over the town area, on other people's land. The great volume of migration and the growth of permanent settlements began about twenty years ago.

Before the war, Toaripi youths signed on for two years' indentured labour on a plantation and after this experience in the outside world most returned home and settled down in the village.

During the war, there was no fighting in the Toaripi area, but there was an Australian Army camp there. Most of the men and youths left the village and worked as carriers, an experience that enabled them to move around and see much more of the country than was possible as plantation labourers.

After the war, a number of Toaripi stayed in Port Moresby and helped with reconstruction work. At that time, Papua New Guineans with trade skills were badly needed and Toaripi were one of the few groups able to supply them. They had acquired the skills partly as a result of the London Missionary Society's efforts to train youths in the Gulf Province, and partly through having picked up some knowledge around army camps.

Several Toaripi set up as independent contractors, taking sub-contracts from the Commonwealth Department of Works for jobs that ranged from digging ditches to building houses. This kind of work enabled a contractor to operate with a minimum of supervision by Europeans, and also enabled him to provide jobs for kinsmen. Housing, however, was a problem; no one was responsible for accommodating the contractor and his labourers, and they had to make their own arrangements at a time when there was a shortage of housing all over Port Moresby.

In many cases, Toaripi appealed to Motu landowners for permission to build a house near a village. There were many longstanding ties of friendship and obligation between the two groups, based on the traditional hiri trade. In addition, individuals had formed friendships as they worked together during and after the war.

Permission to build a house was usually granted, and these buildings were the start of the migrant settlements. The original settlers asked the landowners for permission to build more houses for their relatives; existing houses were extended; later, new buildings were put up without

2The Motu people took pots and armshells to the Gulf, and brought back sago and canoe logs.
consultation with the landowners. By the early 1950s the Toaripi settlements were pretty well established in their present form.

Shortly after this, the post-war building boom in Port Moresby ended, and most of the contractors were out of work. Many of the men joined the Commonwealth and Papua New Guinea Works Departments as tradesmen; some waited around for more contract work; others moved to other towns, where there were better employment prospects. A larger number, who had been contractors’ labourers, had to take unskilled jobs. Very few returned to the villages.

By this time the Motu landowners were both worried and angry at the way the settlements had grown. Despite their concern, however, they seemed unable to decide on action to get rid of the migrants. Similarly, the Administration’s solution to the ‘problem of shanty settlements’ consisted of cutting off water supplies, refusing sanitary and garbage service and preventing the migrants from building any more houses. The idea was apparently that they would all go home if life in town were made uncomfortable enough.

This, of course, did not happen. Toaripi who were Administration and Commonwealth employees were gradually moved out of the settlements into Administration housing at Kaugere and Hohola. Still the settlements did not fade away, but actually increased in size.

Having outlined the factors that promote migration and shown how the settlements grew up, I shall now describe the present situation.

First, it is notable that the Toaripi migrants in Port Moresby are long time absentees from the village and are living in the town with their families. A little over two-thirds of the men first left the village more than ten years ago, and only 5 per cent of them are married but do not have their families with them.

At any time, approximately 20 per cent of the men are unemployed. Of those who are working, 50 per cent gross less than $10 per week. The men work in unskilled and semi-skilled jobs in which the pay is low and the chance of dismissal high. Even those with the skill to work as painters and carpenters are now in a highly competitive labour market and are not sure of being able to work regularly. There are now far more men seeking jobs than there are available places, and no Papua New Guinean outside the Public Service is sure of keeping his job. Furthermore, there are now many more Papua New Guineans with trade skills than there were twenty years ago, so that the Toaripi no longer have any edge over other groups in the labour market. Hence the change from a group of fully-employed, independent and generally prosperous tradesmen to one that is economically depressed.

A settlement is usually composed of people who come from the same village, or villages that are linked in some way, and in many ways it functions as a village. A settlement contains many people who are kin, and whose kin-groups have been linked in the village. Exchanges of

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3 Two areas in Port Moresby originally designed to house Papua New Guinean public servants. It is now possible to buy houses in Hohola, and some private firms have bought houses to accommodate their employees.
goods and services link the households in a settlement in patterns of reciprocity very like those in the village. In addition, most people have kinsmen in a number of settlements and in the Administration housing area, so that they have ties of various kinds all over town. Those who have secure and/or well-paid jobs help to look after those less fortunate, and the latter are able to count on some aid when they need it. People thus share housing, food, money and services according to obligations incurred through kinship ties and through help given and received in the past.

This in a sense is a re-creation of the village in the town, and means that a person who honours his obligations will receive help when he needs it. It also means that very few are able to take advantage of a better paid job to enjoy a higher standard of living, apart from their fellows. This is not because the alleged 'native custom' of sharing all you have has some mystic compulsion. The reason is that no one knows when he is going to need help, and that help can be obtained only from those he has helped in the past. Furthermore, cutting yourself off from all contact with your friends and relatives is a high price to pay for the pleasure of having a few electrical appliances.

There is constant traffic of people and letters between the villages and Port Moresby, but few goods are exchanged. Not many of the migrants earn enough to be in a position to send money regularly to kinsmen in the village. Indeed, some have no close kin in the village, and have been away too long to feel that they need send gifts to distant kin. For the same reasons, those in the villages send little produce to Port Moresby.

People who come to Port Moresby, however, have no difficulty in finding somewhere to stay. Accommodating and feeding visitors is an important way of acknowledging ties between the town dwellers and their kinsmen in the village. The size of the Toaripi group also means people who come to town looking for work usually have several kinsmen on whom they can rely for food and shelter while they are job hunting. Similarly, if a family that is living in town loses its accommodation for any reason, there are usually kinsmen who are able to offer them shelter. It is in fact quite common for migrants to move from one house to another, or even from one settlement to another. This means that newcomers are not left to fend for themselves, and that very few migrants are left without accommodation. It also means that news of the difficult employment situation in Port Moresby does not deter people from coming to try their luck: they know that someone will look after them. Thus the stream of migrants continues, and the resources of the town-dwellers are spread more thinly.

The people in Port Moresby maintain an interest in village affairs, and are well informed about them. Funeral feasts, marriage payments, allocation of house sites and serious land disputes frequently involve people in both the village and and the town. Despite this interest, however, few migrants return to the village either for a holiday or with the intention of staying there permanently.
Although a large number of the migrants have lived in Port Moresby for more than ten years, there is little contact with people of other language or cultural groups. A Toaripi settlement rarely has outsiders in it; Toaripi who live in Administration housing areas have little to do with neighbours who belong to other groups. Feasting, visiting, drinking and gossiping take place almost entirely within the language group. Indeed, the number of migrants is so large that most people are able to associate almost exclusively with those who come from the same cluster of villages.

Marriages are usually contracted between people who come (or whose parents came) from the same village. Youths may return to the village to look for a wife, or they may marry a Toaripi girl who is living in town. Marriages between people from different villages are fairly common, but marriages to people outside the language group are rare.

The Toaripi in Port Moresby live in houses built of scrap iron, on land which does not belong to them, and are constantly threatened with eviction. The men work in low paid jobs which have little security. As migrants they cannot participate in local government councils and obtain a hearing for their special problems and points of view.

Yet most of these people are indeed townspeople. Despite the many disadvantages and hardships of life in Port Moresby, very few return to the villages. They stay in the town because the village now offers very little to them or their children. Most of them left because they did not want to be subsistence farmers; that is all the village offers even today.

Large-scale migration of Toaripi to Port Moresby has been going on for twenty years. The relationship between town and village is by now a longstanding and complex one. A wholesale return to the villages would change the location of social problems rather than solve them.

A first step in solving 'urban problems' concerning the Toaripi would be to accept the fact that most of these people are in town to stay. This has many implications for town planning, financing and policy making which I am not competent to discuss. But I repeat that these people are not villagers who have come to look at the bright lights and then return home, and to think of them as such is to misunderstand the whole situation.

LAE

Lae and Port Moresby are very different towns in their general characteristics and this difference is reflected in some of the contrasts between the Toaripi groups in the two places.

About 300 Toaripi live in Lae, all but about half-a-dozen families in the 'Papuan Compound', an area that has been set aside by the Administration for Papua New Guineans prepared to lease a house plot and who can afford to build. The houses are built pretty much as the owners wish, so long as they conform to health regulations.
Thus, about half the Toaripi families live in houses which they own, built on land to which they have a title. Nearly all the men are tradesmen working with the Commonwealth Department of Works and various private firms. Only two are contractors.

There is a great deal of construction work going on in and around Lae, and tradesmen are in demand. Unemployment scarcely exists among the Toaripi, and about half the men have been in the same job for at least five years. Because there is a shortage of skilled workmen, a tradesman who is not satisfied with his job can leave it and go and bargain for higher pay and/or better conditions elsewhere.

About half the men earn at least $18 a week, and money goes further in Lae than it does in Port Moresby. There is little need to spend money on bus and taxi fares, because the town is much smaller, and because many employers collect their workers in the morning and bring them home in the afternoon. In Port Moresby, on the other hand, a man may have the choice of paying 30c-40c a day in fares, or walking 8 km to get to work. The market in Lae has a wide variety of good quality fresh food at reasonable prices. In Port Moresby, on the other hand, the range of food available in the market is limited, the quality is often poor and the prices are exorbitant.

Materially, the Toaripi in Lae are considerably better off than those in Port Moresby, and the Administration seems to be prepared to allow migrants of good character who have secure jobs to make their home in the town.

The movement to Lae, like that to Port Moresby, began very soon after the war. A couple of men just stayed on when the war ended, and others joined them soon afterwards. When the building boom in Port Moresby ended, some tradesmen came to Lae and were joined by others who heard of the better job prospects.

In the late 1950s, however, the Administration took action to prevent the growth of settlements like those in Port Moresby and many people who were unemployed or for other reasons seemed undesirable were told to leave town. The 'Papuan Compound' was set up, and people began to build there. Although employment prospects are better in Lae than they are in Port Moresby, and the Lae migrant group is more prosperous than the Port Moresby group, there has been little influx of Toaripi since 1960. The reasons for this are several, and I shall discuss them a little later.

As in Port Moresby, most of the migrants are people who have been away from the villages for a long time, and are now living in town with their families. Few of the men came directly to Lae, but spent some time in Port Moresby and other towns first. Once they left Port Moresby, the migrants' direct contact with the village decreased sharply. Now, Toaripi in Lae maintain few links with the villages, either through visiting or writing letters. News from the home area which

4There is in fact a large collection of migrants' houses next to Butibum village; but it is just outside the town boundary and thus technically perhaps not an urban settlement.
reaches them usually comes via people in Port Moresby. They are not consulted about village affairs and do not attempt to participate in village activities by, for example, making a separate funeral feast for a kinsman who has died in the village.

Although they number only 300, the Toaripi have little contact with people outside the language group and present a united front to Europeans and other Papua New Guineans. Within the language group, however, there are several divisions, based mainly on villages of origin. These are further divided into families. A group of four families is linked by close consanguineal and affinal ties and there are three households in which two brothers-in-law and their families live together. These families often care for each other's children, share food and exchange other goods and services, but this kind of network does not reach out to other families in the town.

Because there is little unemployment, and wages are by Papua New Guinean standards good, a family seldom needs to give or receive aid in the form of food or money. Feasts are usually held only to mark events that occur in the Lae community (death, completion of a house, a child's birthday), so that people seldom need to co-operate in the preparation for these events. Few people have pre-existing ties of kinship and obligation to each other and the situation in Lae does not lead to the building up of a network of ties between households of families. The families that share one house make up the important social unit: help during sickness, child care and other services are most commonly exchanged within this unit.

Housing is very scarce in Lae, because there have been long delays in processing applications for house plots and because many people have been frightened by housing regulations so that they do not apply for plots. Nevertheless, people continue to marry, have children and send for their families to join them, so that many houses are filled to bursting point. This means that a family which quarrels with others in the same house has no alternative accommodation. The migrants do not offer to house others, partly because there is seldom room, partly because there is no sense of obligation stemming from previous exchanges of services.

The housing situation also affects the pattern of visits to Lae. Chiefly because of the distance and the cost of travel, the constant traffic between town and village which is such a feature of Port Moresby life is absent here. The air fare from Port Moresby to Lae is beyond the means of most villagers and Port Moresby residents, so that the people in Lae actually choose their visitors, and determine the timing and duration of the visits. People who do not have their own house are unwilling to invite visitors. Those who own houses which are already crowded risk friction and quarrels if they invite others to join them.

5The regulations require that improvements to the minimum value of $1200 be made within twelve months of taking up the lease on the house-plot.
Visitors are similarly constrained by the housing shortage and the small number of Toaripi in the town. If a visitor quarrels with his hosts, or if the hosts decide that he should leave, he has little chance of being able to call upon anyone else in town to house him. For similar reasons, it is difficult for people to come to Lae just to try their luck at finding a job.

Cost makes it difficult for people in Lae to travel, especially with their families. If they are unable to offer or promise hospitality to people who want to go to Lae, it is difficult for them to ask people in Port Moresby or the village to accommodate them. One of the effects of these factors is to cut down the chances of interaction between the Toaripi in Lae and those in Port Moresby and the village.

Thus, the Toaripi group in Lae contrasts in many ways with that in Port Moresby. The people are more isolated, and are in a real sense lost to the village; and there has not been any kind of re-creation of village life in the town. Most of the adults have not been back to the village for eight to ten years; they take no part in village affairs and have little knowledge of what is happening there. Few of their children have ever seen the village; some speak Pidgin as well as they do Toaripi.

Again, these people are undoubtedly townsmen; but here there is a question of their continued identity as Toaripi. They share a language and a common cultural background, but they have not made these the bases of a new community life in Lae, nor does it seem likely that they will continue to identify with village interests, even in their present limited fashion.
Labour Migration in Papua New Guinea:
A Case Study from Northern Papua

R. B. DAKEYNE

Migrant labour has long been established as an integral part of the modern social system of Papua New Guinea. This present study examines the attitudes of a group of Papuan villagers to migrant labour and its effects upon them.

The Yega are a small sub-group of the Orokaiva people living in the Mt Lamington area of northern Papua. They have been subjected to a long process of acculturation as a result of which they have shown a marked willingness to change their traditional subsistence economy and to adopt the techniques, attitudes and mores of Europeans. Their attempts to increase their cash earnings have resulted, since 1945, in a series of land use changes including the establishment of an agricultural cooperative, the inauguration of a coffee-planting scheme and more recently a cocoa project. They have also shown increased interest in paid employment. At the present time (January 1967) almost one-third of them are absent from their home villages, working, studying, or as dependants. Forty-four per cent of all Yega men are away working, those who are married being accompanied in almost every instance by their wives and children. This situation represents a marked change from the pre-1940 years when many Yega men worked as indentured or casual labourers. Then, wives and children were left behind in the villages, but nowadays most Yega work in semi-skilled or skilled occupations in which family accommodation is often provided by employers. Even if accommodation is not supplied, the breadwinner’s earnings are apparently adequate to provide living quarters for his wife and children.

The occupations of Yega working in paid employment have undergone considerable change. Before the war, most of them were employed in jobs requiring only a low degree of skill, but post-war change has been towards more highly skilled occupations (Table 9.1).


Rowley (1965, Chapters 5 and 8) gives an excellent account of the historical background and present ramifications.
Table 9.1
Job Categories of 80 Yega Men Working in Paid Employment
Compared with the Previous Experience of 30 Villagers over 40 Years
of Age Who Engaged in Paid Employment in Past Years

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Unskilled*</th>
<th></th>
<th>Semi-skilled*</th>
<th></th>
<th>Skilled*</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>no.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>no.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>no.</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) Eighty men working away from village</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>81</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) Sample of 30 men over 40 years of age now in village (previous employment)</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Categories are as follows:
Unskilled: Plantation labour, village constable, wartime labour, wharf labour.
Semi-skilled: Police, army, carpenter’s assistant, plumber’s assistant, driver, mechanic, Department of Agriculture Stock and Fisheries (DASF) field worker, cook, gardener, boat crew.
Skilled: Clerk, teacher, medical orderly, laboratory technician, malaria control assistant, W.T. operator, survey assistant, draftsman, freezer operator, trainee forest officer, deacon, storeman, salesman, airline steward, geologist’s assistant, assistant agricultural officer.

Five trainees are included in the semi-skilled, and six in the skilled categories of group (a).
The categories used were correlated with the classifications used by another researcher in order to make results comparable. Thus, although a mechanic or a DASF field worker may very easily be more skilled than a malaria control assistant, a medical orderly, or a storeman, it is not possible without a detailed knowledge of the individuals concerned to categorise occupations in an entirely satisfactory manner. In any case, the same categories apply to both groups selected, so there is comparative value in the table, even if the absolute figures are debatable.

The main factor in the marked improvement in the skills of Yega workers is education. The educational opportunities which have been available to the Yega for nearly fifty years have been exceptionally favourable, when compared with those available to most other Papua New Guineans. A mission school has operated in the area since 1909 and since 1932 (except for war years) it has had at least one European teacher permanently on the staff. This educational background has enabled the younger generation of Yega men to take advantage of opportunities for employment in posts of responsibility and higher income which have become available in increasing numbers during the post-war period.²

Some paid labour is available to the Yega within walking distance of their homes. During 1962 a number of men obtained two months’ work, paid for by the government, repairing the Popondetta-Gona road; a few men work as wharf labourers when coastal trading vessels call at Cape Killerton; and one man earns his living managing a co-operative store. Work is also available on the European plantations near Popondetta but even unskilled Yega men refuse to accept plantation work, partly because of the low wages paid and partly because of the monotonous nature of the work, but mainly because they now consider

²Hogbin (1964) presents a study of a contrasting group who have had poor educational opportunities. There men seek plantation employment when it is available.
Labour Migration

that they can earn more by growing cash crops themselves. In a recent paper Howlett (1965) recorded a total of 512 general labourers employed on the twenty European managed plantations near Popondetta. Although 257 of these labourers were from the Northern Province, not one is a Yega. Thus, apart from the very limited opportunities outlined above, paid employment implies absence from the village. Rowley discusses at some length the shortcomings of plantation management in Papua New Guinea which have led to its rejection by many indigenes (Rowley 1965:107).

The current absentee situation is analysed in Table 9.2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 9.2</th>
<th>Absentees from Yega Tribal Lands, compared with Total Yega Population (August 1964)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All Yega</td>
<td>Total 880</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adult males (17 years and over)</td>
<td>228</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adult males of working age (17-56)</td>
<td>195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adult unmarried males</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adult unmarried females</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Large numbers of Yega are absent from their home villages. In late 1964, 30 per cent of the total population resided outside. The proportion of working-age males living away from the villages was over 50 per cent and of this group twenty-three men had been away for ten years or more; in four instances divorce from the village situation was virtually complete, three having never revisited the village and one only once in thirteen years.

Recent research by other workers indicates some variability in the pattern of migration to urban areas. Ryan (1968*) found that the Toaripi-speaking people from the Gulf Province of Papua leave home virtually for good when they migrate to the urban areas. Oram (1968a, 1968b*), on the other hand, found in his study of the Hula migrant community in Port Moresby that very few had severed their ties with the village. Although there are variations between these two groups and the Yega in the degree to which the village ties are maintained, there is one aspect in which they are similar. They cannot now be classified as 'target' workers; that is, although many men look forward to spending a comfortable retirement in their natal villages, they regard their town jobs and homes as permanent, at least for the duration of their working lives.

A significant figure in Table 9.2 is that relating to adult unmarried males, 77 per cent of whom are absent from their traditional lands. A more detailed analysis of unmarried males is made in Table 9.3.

In the present-day Yega society, virtually all young unmarried men seek paid employment away from the village. The two main reasons for their economic behaviour given by young Yega employees may be summarised. First there is a desire to conform to an already established pattern. The desire for money and what it can buy and for experience
of life outside the village are strongly reinforced by friends who come home for holidays smartly dressed, bringing presents for all their relatives and friends, telling exciting tales of their doings in the outside world and having cash to spend in the local trade stores. Secondly, there is the influence of older relatives whose unskilled labour now yields so small a return that they no longer reckon it worth while to go away to work; instead, these older villagers live, at least in respect of imported commodities, on the gifts of money and goods sent to them by the younger men working for cash wages away from the village.

From the point of view of the village, then, the overall effect is that the skills and potential labour of its most active, educated members are lost to it except for brief holiday periods. On the other hand, there is the advantage to the village of the cash flow of gifts remitted by ‘outside’ workers to relatives and friends. The extent of this inflow may be gauged from the details given by a random sample of eighteen paid employees as summarised in Table 9.4.

The young men who gave the information contained in Table 9.4 remitted an average of 18 per cent of their total incomes to relatives and friends who remained in the villages, the range being from 5 per cent to 52 per cent. As can be seen from Table 9.5, these gifts constitute the greater proportion of all cash (and manufactured goods) received by the older village people from any source.3 For the middle-aged and older Yega, the post-war period has provided less opportunity than for the younger people. Most of the men in the older group travelled fairly widely in Papua New Guinea either during the war or before it. They are worldly-wise and desire a share in the material goods of the modern world, but they have no present means of obtaining such a share. Some have planted tree crops (particularly cocoa), but for the present their main source of cash income remains the gifts received from migrant workers.

Among the Yega the established pattern is for all the young men to leave the village to work for wages. Many remain absent for long periods although the majority return for regular holidays. When married, most workers take their wives and families to live with them in the towns.

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3In Kerema, Hogbin (1964:77-82) found the reverse situation. There the villagers who earned incomes of $30-$50 per month from the sale of rubber gave large sums as gifts.
Table 9.4
Cash Inflow to Yega Home Area for Sample Group of Young Yega Men in Paid Employment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Informant</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Marital status</th>
<th>Employment</th>
<th>Employer</th>
<th>Salary $ p.a.</th>
<th>No. of gifts</th>
<th>Value of gifts to relatives $</th>
<th>Value of gifts to non-relatives $</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>426</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>414</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>Lab. Asst</td>
<td>DASF</td>
<td>434</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td>Mission</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Ag. Asst</td>
<td>DASF</td>
<td>392</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>204</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>Draftsman</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td>520</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>60</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>Lab. Tech.</td>
<td>DASF</td>
<td>1054</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>Lab. Tech.</td>
<td>DASF</td>
<td>480</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>248</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Clerk</td>
<td>Local Govt</td>
<td>336</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Storeman</td>
<td>Admin.</td>
<td>492</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>40</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Malaria C.</td>
<td>Public</td>
<td>1664</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>126</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Clerk</td>
<td>Labour Dept</td>
<td>642</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>188</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Tech. Asst</td>
<td>DASF</td>
<td>1184</td>
<td>5</td>
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<td>140</td>
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<td>14</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>App. Draft</td>
<td>Public</td>
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<td>70</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>Steward</td>
<td>Trans Australia Airlines</td>
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<td>102</td>
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<td>16</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Orderly</td>
<td>Local Govt</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Priest</td>
<td>Mission</td>
<td>364</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>Res. Asst</td>
<td>New Guinea Research Unit</td>
<td>476</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>86</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mean $</td>
<td>592</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

See p. 160 for interpretation.
Interpretations to table 9.4.
Salary includes value of rations or cash in lieu of rations where applicable for government employees.
Number and value of gifts were in some instances only estimates on the part of informants.
Informant no. 9 was paying bride price in 1962. He did not give other gifts. He was reluctant to state the amount paid in bride price.
Some gifts were made in kind, mainly clothing, but also food and tobacco. In such cases the value of the gifts has been estimated.
Informant no. 13 paid, in bride price during the year, $108 in cash and an estimated $32 in kind. This has been shown in the last column.

Table 9.5
Cash Incomes Received during one Calendar Year by the Family Heads of one Yega Clan

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Informant</th>
<th>Paid work</th>
<th>Sale of produce*</th>
<th>Monetary gifts</th>
<th>Gambling</th>
<th>Withdrawal from savings</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>$</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>$</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>6.80</td>
<td>12.3</td>
<td>24.60</td>
<td>44.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>12.30</td>
<td>82.6</td>
<td>2.60</td>
<td>17.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>2.40</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>36.60</td>
<td>50.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>3.80</td>
<td>14.8</td>
<td>21.90</td>
<td>85.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>15.0</td>
<td>12.7</td>
<td>2.20</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>101.00</td>
<td>85.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>5.00</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>15.0</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>27.50</td>
<td>191.70</td>
<td>24.0</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Means</td>
<td>2.80</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>4.60</td>
<td>31.10</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proportions</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>64%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Includes proceeds from the sale of fish, vegetables, copra, coffee and handicrafts.
Estimated cash value of gifts received in kind has been included in the above list as part of cash income.
At the present stage of development in Papua New Guinea as a whole, the Yega are an atypical group; their opportunities for educational advancement have been greater than those of most other Papua New Guineans. The effect of this situation, allied to the recent encouragement given by the Administration to the planting of cash crops by indigenes, has been a withdrawal from the unskilled labour market of almost all Yega, whatever their degree of skill. With greatly increased opportunities for education now being offered to larger numbers of children throughout the country, large-scale employers of unskilled labour may, in the near future, be forced to consider offering greater inducement in order to attract and hold their workers.

The practice of permanent migration from the traditional rural environment to the sources of cash income is becoming so well established that, should economic development begin to lag seriously behind social development to the extent of creating an over-supply of well-educated but unemployable young people, serious dissatisfaction and unrest is likely to ensue. Moreover new patterns of leadership in village life are already appearing. Traditionally, improvement in status was associated with the ceremonial distribution of goods: the recipients were placed under obligation to repay in similar kind at some future date, or else lose status. Among the Yega, the older recipients of gifts in cash or manufactured goods find it impossible to repay such gifts. As a result there has been an increase in the prestige of young or middle-aged educated men. A recent instance of this trend was the almost unanimous election of such a person as the Yega’s first councillor on the Oro Bay Local Government Council in 1964.
The aims of this chapter are to outline the residence patterns and mobility of a group of Orokaiva, to show how these patterns have developed, and to suggest how the apparently differing attitudes to the village and the towns on the part of the Orokaiva resident in each have come about and how they might alter. An adequate description of the present diverging modes of existence depends considerably on subjective analysis, but as a number of authors have suggested (Oram 1968a, 1968b*; Dakeyne 1967; Ryan 1970; Germani 1965; Zaidi 1970), any study of migration is incomplete without a degree of subjective analysis.

This paper is based on the people of Barevoturu-Timbeki (shortened to 'Barevoturu' throughout this paper) and Kiorota villages in which live the Isivita 1 group of Williams' 'Wasida' Orokaiva (Williams 1930:6). The Orokaiva number about 25,000 and occupy the coastal plain to the north and east of Mt Lamington, and the volcanic northern slopes of the mountain, in the central Northern Province. Contact with Europeans and peace were established early in this century but despite considerable ideological and economic change there has been no fundamental change in Orokaiva culture. Social organisation is primarily patrilineal and residence and exchange are the next most important bases of interpersonal relations. Traditionally wealth is uniformly distributed among the village society and leadership is highly specialised and localised, being acquired in a specific field through the possession of knowledge relating to that field. In terms of subsistence production the Orokaiva territory is manifestly well provided for; nowhere is there more than the occasional seasonal food shortage.

The rural setting
Barevoturu and Kiorota are in fact conglomerations of the numerous Isivita 1 villages that were relocated following the 1951 eruption of Mt...
Lamington which killed more than 3000 Orokaiva but few Isivita people. Because of this they are the largest Orokaiva villages (in 1970, 861 and 947 people respectively), though each has a small part of its population living in affiliated hamlets. Both are about 24 kilometres from the Provincial commercial and administrative centre, Popondetta (population 2139 in 1966), and are connected by short (about 5 kilometres) most-weather access roads to the Province's chief arterial road between Kokoda and Oro Bay. People will walk part of the way to Popondetta if there is no transport available, but most take passenger vehicles after walking to the main road; the fares vary, but are no more than 40c for people living in Kiorota and 50c for those in Barevoturu.

Cash has a superficially pervasive position in the village economies. The Isivita Co-operative Limited with paid-up capital of $3108\(^1\) operates a store in Barevoturu that had a turnover of $13,584 in the twelve months to March 1971. The chief source of money is the sale of coffee. During the 1970-1 season the co-operative, as an agent for the Orokaiva Coffee Growers' Society, bought $7000 worth of coffee (this included all the Barevoturu coffee sold and a portion of that of Kiorota). Although in relation to the coffee-picking and selling habits of Orokaiva in general this is a large harvest, it probably represents only about half of the potential crop. Other sources of money in the village are sales in the Popondetta market (which often barely cover the return fares to Popondetta, but which may sometimes net $10 with the sale of betel nut) and the wage employment of either villagers\(^2\) (in January 1971 eight men from Kiorota were working on the main road as labourers) or absent kin. One villager, the Member of the House of Assembly for Sohe Open, receives a substantial regular income, but this is not significant in the total economy of the villages. Most adults in Kiorota have accounts with the Kiorota Savings and Loan Society (registered in 1970 but operating unofficially since 1964) and average about $20 credit. In both villages most adults possess a savings account. The amounts in these rarely exceed $10 and they are characterised by one or two initial deposits and then either no later attention or total withdrawal.

An Anglican mission station and school were established among the nearby Sangara people fifty years ago and in 1929 a school was founded at Isivita, mid-way between the present two villages. Though not as educationally advanced as some other coastal Papuan and New Guinea island people, the Orokaiva posses a uniformly high standard of education and above-average competence in English. This degree of education and the links provided through affiliation with the Anglican church are of some significance in the present pattern of residence and mobility.

\(^1\)The share and capital distribution of the Isivita Co-operative Limited in December 1970 was: Barevoturu, 175 shareholders and $2439 capital; Kiorota, 32 shareholders and $347 capital; and others, 27 shareholders and $322 capital.

\(^2\)Villagers' is used to describe those people resident in either of the two villages.
Urban contacts

Since contact, Orokaiva have migrated temporarily to live and work in a non-traditional context. Most men today alive in Barevoturu and Kiorota who were adults before World War II have worked as indentured labourers on plantations in the Central, Milne Bay or Northern Provinces, or on the Misima or Yodda goldfields. Most were recruited for a second and sometimes third term after village stays. The one exception to this pre-war pattern of labour was a man employed as a ‘gaoler’ at Daru and then as an interpreter at Kokoda and Buna. By 1942 he was resident in his village. During the war possibly eighteen men saw service in the Pacific Islands Regiment (one claims to have made a parachute jump) in the Northern, Central or Morobe Provinces. The majority of the remainder worked at some time as carriers or labourers for the armed forces. Though closely attached to his land, then, the Orokaiva has not rejected the opportunity to travel.

It has been suggested (R. G. Ward 1971*:28-32) that three different forms of migration are discernible in Papua New Guinea — ‘traditional’, ‘contract’ and ‘independent’. It is not my intention to examine this contention. However, I am largely concerned with Ward’s ‘independent’ migrant and it will become apparent that such a classification needs some refinement, particularly in the way that independent migration develops.

In Barevoturu and Kiorota contract labour effectively ended with the war and its only apparent relation to post-war movements is that it established an awareness of the utility of goods that could most readily be obtained away from the village. The war had greater influence on both the desire and the ability to obtain these goods: it showed that the European was not as hostile or as possessive of his wealth as had previously been believed; also, wartime travel experience in traditionally hostile areas and the learning of basic skills either as soldiers or through work at the military bases equipped the Orokaiva for travel and employment. But movement to obtain and enjoy these goods was not yet possible and the period between the war and the eruption of Mt Lamington was characterised by little mobility, though heavy employment of Timbeaki men with the Australian Petroleum Company in the Gulf and Central Provinces in this period suggests that people were willing to take advantage of any means offering to experience the wider world. More independent movement was restricted by physical, legal, social and economic barriers.3 While these obstacles remained it was not only difficult to travel and to obtain employment, but there was also little enjoyment in living away from the village for extended periods. Post-war changes in living conditions in towns and the increasing labour demands that the Orokaiva have been able to meet are basic to the present residence and mobility patterns.

Much of the post-war urban labour demand was met from areas 3A curfew, dress restrictions, segregation of recreation and entertainment facilities, regulations against ‘unemployment’, the prohibition of alcohol and the absence of many other Orokaiva, made towns unpleasant and hostile.
adjacent to the towns (for example by the Hula), but by 1950 six Barevoturu and Kiorota men had been employed in the Northern Province and sent on to work in stores in Port Moresby. These first points through which other villagers might have established links in the town were not used, however, as the men were sent home after the eruption of Mt Lamington.

Throughout the 1950s the Anglican mission was an important source of employment and movement beyond Papua. The four men who have been absent for more than fifteen years and who established residential points in Madang, Goroka and Mt Hagen were all in the first instance transferred by the mission to work on stations in the New Britain, Madang and highland areas. In all areas the mission was important as a source of accommodation and a means of communication.

Until the first independent migrants were established in New Guinea and Port Moresby, the skills learnt in plantation stores or on the plantations themselves could be used to obtain employment in Popondetta and then, often, to transfer to other centres. Today such employment opportunities are usually utilised by villagers to meet specific requirements rather than as a training ground for further movement. Over the past decade the availability of technical education and the earning power of the villager have reduced the significance of Popondetta and the European plantation-business infrastructure to movement out of the Province.

Since the war there has been a constantly increasing, highly selective migration from both villages. In most cases this movement has resulted in villagers earning a cash wage and, more recently, living in an urban environment. In both relative and absolute terms this migration is at present at its highest point (see Tables 10.1 and 10.2). Of a total population of 1808, 449 people were absent from the two villages in December 1970. A further sixty-five people were attending educational institutions apart from the three local primary schools. Twenty-two of the total were non-Orokaiva wives; 282 were accompanying dependants of the 153 married and single adult male and 14 single adult female absentee. No adult absentee was born outside the Northern Province (with the exception of some children of former mission staff who are now living in the villages). At the time of this count, ten of the absentee (excluding dependants) were unemployed.

Comment on these figures needs to be made in three respects. First, while the figures do not include women who have married and reside

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4The dichotomous ‘rural-urban’ concept inadequately describes the distinction between the village ‘rural’ existence and the form of life generally led away from the village. A more apposite distinction among the Orokaiva is one between rural living where cash is almost an auxiliary aspect of the economy and the wage labour situation. Wage labour for Barevoturu and Kiorota is becoming synonymous with urban living but this is a recent development. Other aspects of the rural-urban dichotomy (the position of migrants and the description of urban types) are examined by McGee (1964).

5All figures of Isivita population are based on field-counts rather than the annual Administration census of the villages.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Married (with wives in Isivita)</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>Total Adult</th>
<th>Child</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Responsibility for initial movement out of the Northern District†</th>
<th>Own</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>Other</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<td></td>
<td>17</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>43</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wau</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lae</td>
<td>8, 4</td>
<td></td>
<td>15, 7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>42</td>
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<td>Port Moresby</td>
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<td>40</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
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<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>Elsewhere (BSIP)</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Non-urban area§</td>
<td>17, 1</td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>43</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total: 76, 13, 64, 14, 76, 206, 243, 206

* Absentees comprise adult males, single adult females, and accompanying dependants (excluding people attending educational institutions).
† The number of unemployed are shown in brackets.
‡ In Madang.
§ Either in Milne Bay Province or Northern Province.
Table 10.2
Absentees attending educational institutions, 1970*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>Absentees</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Popondetta</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Port Moresby</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milne Bay Province</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern Province</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central Province</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morobe Province</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technical/vocational</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern Province</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madang Province</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Excluding those undergoing paid training courses, dependants of absentees and children attending local primary schools as day or weekly boarders.

outside the village, these women are important in explaining the pattern of movement and the location of absentees, for much of the migration takes place through kin-related channels and there is considerable movement of people travelling specifically to visit these women. Secondly, the figures do not indicate that almost the entire adult male population has at some time been outside the Northern Province and that there is a considerable temporary movement of people who are in most other senses permanent village residents. Thirdly, the nature of movement and the distribution of people from Barevoturu and Kiorota do not appear to differ markedly from among other Orokaiva. This is important both in movement to centres where there are few Isivita people and in the relations of Isivita people in these centres. There are three basic forms of movement: people leaving the village to take up a pre-arranged job, travel to which is usually arranged; people leaving the village in search of employment or who leave the village for other reasons but end up employed, who organise their own form of transfer; and those who leave the village to visit kin, who also organise the transfer. Except in the third type of movement, girls are generally excluded from this mobility, except as wives.

Popondetta is significant to migration patterns in that there otherwise unskilled villagers may be able to pick up basic trade skills so as to be classified as a "carpenter" or the like when they move out of the Province and seek employment; it is also the only urban centre which girls are readily able to visit — almost all marriages with non-Orokaiva husbands were contracted in Popondetta; and it is the one urban centre in which people can live and maintain close physical links to their village, for example in the form of food and coffee gardens. The Popondetta Isivita community is the most stable in terms of the length of stay in the

6An insignificant number of non-Isivita men have married and now live in Barevoturu and Kiorota.
town. This stability may be attributable to the married nature of the population, though it also reflects the differing attitudes to urban dwelling and wage-earning held by Orokaiva in other centres.7

The most accessible area, the Lae-highlands region, accounts for the greatest number of absentees. The boat fare to Lae is about $3 and a number of Orokaiva drivers (including three from Barevoturu and Kiorota) make the cost of travel throughout the highlands negligible. The people in other areas are all employed. Visits to relations are confined to those kin living in Port Moresby and Lae-highlands. There were three such visits in progress at the time of my survey (January 1971).

The men are most commonly employed as clerks, barmen, drivers and as semi-skilled tradesmen. Salaries range from $5 to $60 a week, the average being about $15. The single girls are nurses or office staff. With the exception of a recently married nursing sister, no wives are engaged in wage employment. Educational qualifications as reflected in employment are of increasing significance in the movement: occupational channels of movement are becoming more commonly used and leave conditions of such employment enable employees to make more frequent home visits than people responsible for their own fares. Six people with secondary education have visited Australia, one Tahiti. One man is in the British Solomon Islands Protectorate. About two-thirds have been absent for less than five years and one-sixth for more than ten years without a home visit, though these figures do not disclose recent high rates of movement. There is no direct correlation between the cost/difficulty of travel and the length of absence: there are as many long-term absentees in Lae as in Madang or Wewak, and sometimes available leave fares are not used to return to Popondetta. Some leave is taken in other centres staying with relatives. The ease or difficulty of communication is not directly related to the regularity of communication or to the amount or number of remittances. There is practically no movement of goods from the villages to the absentees.

A number of general points can be made about this movement and mobility before examining the attitudes of the Orokaiva to towns and the way in which these attitudes affect the movement. First, the movement from the village is not made for predominantly economic motives. For most, employment provides the means of staying in towns, but employment in larger centres where there are a number of Orokaiva and where food is plentiful (Lae rather than Port Moresby) is not particularly necessary. Nine of the twenty-seven men in Lae are unemployed. Two of these are on short-term visits to see people, but the remainder have been unemployed for some months. And one has not worked for nearly three years (he plays cards).

Even among those holding jobs, no great priority is given to saving.

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7As my data on Popondetta are incomplete, I shall concentrate on the people outside the Northern Province. Of those classified as 'non-urban' in Table 10.1, six men owned resettlement blocks at Sangara, thirteen worked for the Anglican mission (one in the Milne Bay Province), chiefly as teachers, and nine were employed at points on the Kokoda-Oro Bay road.
A few men have accounts of over $500 (all of them say they want to invest the money either in Popondetta or village-based enterprises) and one has joined a Trobriand Island-centred savings and loan society, but many have less. In societies undergoing modernisation and allowing geographic mobility, modernisation and acculturation may be expressed spatially through the differential migration of segments of the society. However, both in the Isivita villages and in the town, and between the two areas, there are only slight differences of acculturation and of wealth (excluding savings). At present, villagers and absentee{s} share similar economic conditions.

Secondly, the movement out of the village to find employment or to visit is confined to single or recently married men whose presence is not demanded economically or socially by their families, and there is no economic or social difficulty in moving at least to Lae and the highlands where most of the initially unemployed movement is first directed. Those at present accompanied by wives have generally married during their employment. Kin ties remain of basic significance to the pattern of movement, and even where they do not affect the pattern (for example, in an occupationally organised move), they form the basis of social relations in all centres.

Lastly, town-dwellers do not see their living conditions as being oppressively bad, while most regard them as indisputably better than village living conditions. There is a general consensus that it is difficult and dangerous to raise a family in a town; the only people who seem to disagree with this are those with families in towns. No one living away from the village is unable to return, and no one expresses a desire to return in the immediate future. Although there is a high degree of interest in village affairs (marriages, births, deaths, quarrels, the cooperative society, grading of the access roads) and contact is readily possible through personal exchange, mail, telegrams and telephone, and despite the fact that innovation in the village has always depended on travel, there is an effective gulf between town and village. This gulf is epitomised in the desire and expectation of villagers for their relatives in towns to return in the immediate future, and the absence of this desire among the town-dwellers.

This contradiction in expectation is readily apparent. On the one hand, there is a body of relatively widely travelled village dwellers who are content to stay semi-permanently in the village and who generally expect the stay of their town-dwelling kin to be relatively short. On the other hand, few of the town-dwellers view their absence as being specifically limited and none see their existence being worse materially than that they would have in the village. Is there a basic difference of attitude between the two groups, or, as the absentee{s} on the whole have similar standards of education, employment potential and overt acculturation as the villagers, and as the majority of the younger villagers at least have been town-dwellers, are there even two discrete groups? It is clear that except perhaps very recently, though increasingly so, there has been no significant difference between the two groups in these three characteristics or in age, and there is no marked difference in the standard (not 'style') of living between the village and town.
The people of Barevoturu and Kiorota have long been aware of the benefits of involvement in the introduced monetary economy; the patterns of their residence and mobility since contact are no more than the spatial representation of an evaluation and subsequent exploitation of resources to maximise these benefits. Resource evaluation and exploitation take place within the parameters of the social environment. The social environment does alter and so the form of exploitation will alter. From this viewpoint the course of migration and involvement in and attitudes to non-traditional lifestyles are important.

A long history of temporary movements from the village, never involving entire families, has shown that land rights, wealth and status in the village community are not adversely affected. And as such movements have served as the chief means of introducing innovation and as a major channel in the introduction of wealth, migration is accepted as making positive contributions to village development as demanded by both Administration and mission personnel. Cash cropping provides a viable means of meeting the minimal requirements of cash, but so far it has not provided the conditions that may be enjoyed in towns (though it does provide the means to reach the towns). While it has been shown that few can enjoy the most desired aspects of the monetary economy (motor vehicles and considerable amounts of cash), the growth of towns and the amenities that they support has enabled people to benefit to some extent at least through a relocation that can be made with no hardship. No longer is life away from the village difficult, dangerous or lonely: it is enjoyable, sometimes exciting, potentially economically rewarding, and instructive.

Migration retains its significance as a source of innovation and wealth, although this and the entire nature of the movement reflect the changing circumstances in which the migration takes place. People accepted contract agricultural labour because it was the only means to see the new world and to receive the desired knives, axes, cloth, mirrors, lamps and so on. Today's equivalent necessities can be bought from village labour or in a more congenial environment than that offered by the rurally located labour gang.

Improved transport and the presence of relatives at known points means that it can cost less than $5 to travel from the village to Mt Hagen. It is more difficult and expensive to travel beyond this Lae-highlands area, but it is not impossible. Over the past year there has been at least one person visiting Port Moresby at any one time. And new areas are being opened to potential travel through the transfer of young, technically qualified men; only one of the four men now in Kieta has been there longer than one year.

Whereas previously villagers have been the passive receivers of innovation and instruction, it has now become possible to search deliberately for solutions to problems. In 1969 a group of Kiorota men believed that they had found gold but, as they suspected would happen, the Popondetta expatriate community was both disbelieving and hostile;
one man, more persistent than the others, was ejected from a large company's store in the town. Not to be denied his wealth, this man, another, and three single boys went to Wau where they stayed for three months at the Anglican church being fed by a policeman from Bare-voturu. After being shown techniques of gold mining by an expatriate employee they returned to Popondetta (via the highlands) to undertake an extended prospecting trip. Also, over the past two or three years a number of married men who are in all senses permanent village residents have spent some months travelling throughout the highlands to see the country they have heard so much about.

As stated above, traditional leadership in a particular field is in the hands of the man with the greatest competence in that field. So it is with introduced activities. The office-holders in the village-controlled co-operative and savings and loan society, as well as the chief spokesman for village improvement, have all travelled extensively, and the three leading men in these fields have all made non-business trips to either Port Moresby or Lae-highlands in the past year. In non-traditional fields of village activity one must have experience before being able to act with authority.

That the economic benefits of wage labour and urban dwelling are generally slightly valued is suggested not only by the low saving priorities of people so involved and by high overall mobility. For the concern of both the villager and the urban dweller for economic development within a village environment has also some significance in this regard. Within the village this concern is characterised by the belief that economic development can be achieved only through the adoption of the methods and ends of government and mission teaching, acceptance of the local government council as the chief source of direction to the new age, and an emphasis on co-operative activity. The broadening world as epitomised in mobility is seen to be of relevance to this new age of village living through being a source of knowledge and wealth.

This co-existence of seemingly contradictory life-styles within a shared concept of ultimate existence has come about for three reasons. First, the selectivity of migrants has meant that the level of subsistence in the village has not declined and that their interests are not damaged through absence. Secondly, there is little difference in the wealth or acculturation levels between village and town. Wages in relation to expectations have resulted in a low-wage/low-productivity situation which has most commonly been met by the view that the greatest gains to be had from the towns are non-economic, an attitude which in turn results most commonly in a curtailed period of town dwelling. Finally, and related to this second point, is the slight inter-cultural difference between rural and non-rural Orokaiva. This is both a cause and a product of the social or

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8 The nature and implications of such a belief come within the domain of the anthropologist. There has been a detailed study of the related Isivita 2 people (Schwimmer 1969 and n.d.) and I base my comments on this and on my own observation. For the present purpose it is adequate to note that this ideology is based in part upon incorrect economic assumptions and facts.
economic unprofitability to behave otherwise. Clearly, as I have suggested above (n. 4) ‘urban’ to the people of Barevoturu and Kiorota is not what a westerner understands by the word.

The present pattern of movement and the attitude towards it will be maintained so long as these three conditions operate. But signs of divergence from this model can now be detected. There is developing a differentiation of skill that is being reflected in considerable salary differences both among the wage-earners, and between these people and the village dwellers. This trend is too recently and weakly developed at present to allow anything but guarded comments: but it is clear that if such differences are maintained it is possible they will become reflected in different interests, norms of conduct and power bases, and so destroy the conditions upon which town and village have so far co-existed relatively harmoniously. The utility of wage employment and non-rural living will be re-evaluated. If it is accepted that the pursuit of wealth can be a rewarding and not unpleasant existence there may be some finality in the movement from the villages.
This paper examines patterns of population movement in rural areas of the Agarabi/Gadsup region of the Eastern Highlands of Papua New Guinea. Throughout the forty-year period that has elapsed since outsiders entered and settled in the highlands, the lives of indigenous rural villagers have changed radically, and one of the most obvious effects of this change is the increase in their mobility. The establishment of administrative centres, mission stations and plantations, and the construction of roads and airstrips have broken the physical and psychological barriers which once isolated tribal groups, and streams of people now move constantly between villages and non-village centres in all parts of the country. They move for a variety of reasons — to find jobs, to trade, to meet friends, to make use of social services and entertainment facilities, and merely to satisfy their curiosity about aspects of western culture. Some of them settle in these places while others make only brief visits and then return to their villages with tales of their experiences.

Population movements vary spatially, temporally and individually, to form a complex system of human interaction. Most studies of population movement concentrate on one or two specific types, arbitrarily defined by spatial or temporal boundaries; for example, migration is a movement which implies at least a semi-permanent change of residence, whereas commuting is a daily movement involving no change of residence. In this study several different types of population movement are considered under the general term of 'population mobility', and no spatial or temporal restrictions are imposed. This has been done for several reasons.

First, it is extremely difficult to define permanence in a meaningful way in the Papua New Guinea situation. Although people may have been absent from their villages for several years, they still regard them as home and retain strong ties with kin and friends still resident there. Many people 'circulate' between town and village. Secondly, because

1A more detailed account will be found in Young (1973b),
communities were formerly so isolated, traditional movements occur within a very confined space, and the use of even detailed administrative boundaries to define movement would discount many of these. Thirdly, I have included casual moves in this study because I consider that they are important in the process of familiarising village people with life in other areas, and that they may instigate further more permanent moves. These moves cannot be described as migrations.

The following are the main types of movement which together form the system of population mobility in the Papua New Guinea highlands.  
1. Traditional. Most of the moves of pre-contact times were between the settlements of groups linked through intermarriage. Such moves are still important and are either permanent, such as marriage migration where the women usually move to their husbands' villages, or casual, such as brief visits to attend social gatherings or to trade.

2. Non-traditional. After contact, movements developed between villages and non-village centres, both within the home area and further afield.

(a) Moves to adjacent centres within the home area. Two different types of move are considered within this group. First, there are casual visits paid to adjacent urban centres; these visits are made for a variety of reasons and, because few women have yet entered the workforce, they are the only type of non-traditional moves which most women make. Secondly, there are moves to adjacent sources of employment. These sources of employment include plantations, mission stations and construction camps as well as towns, and most of those who move there are men.

(b) Moves beyond the home area. Because moves beyond the home area are expensive and involve an individual commitment to what may be a lengthy absence, they are rarely casual. Most of them are undertaken primarily for the purpose of finding work although there are usually additional secondary reasons and, again, most of the individuals involved are men. Many men from the highlands have made these long distance moves as indentured labourers under the Highland Labour Scheme and have not had a free choice of destination or period of absence. A distinction is therefore made between these moves and those made on an entirely voluntary basis.

Figure 11.1 shows hypothetically the extension of population mobility from the traditional network of pre-contact times to the complex networks of today. It indicates that the earlier types of movement have not been eliminated by the growth of more extensive later types, but that all types co-exist. Within any area, individual villages will have different patterns of population mobility depending on their interaction with each other and their accessibility to non-village centres. There are, of course, other variations caused by differing individual responses to situations which may stimulate or prevent movement of population but, for the sake of clarity, they must be omitted from the model.
Fig. 11.1 Systems of population mobility.
Change and Movement

Explanation of Figure 11.1

Stage 1  Traditional population mobility — essentially rural-rural movement between groups linked through intermarriage; A and C; B and D.

Stage 2  Mobility in early contact phase — although traditional rural-rural movements remain important, early rural-urban mobility develops between those groups on the road network (A, B and D) and the new administrative centre.

Stage 3  Later contact phase (A) — as links are established between the new administrative centre and other similar centres, people from A, B and D begin to move out of the area.

Stage 4  Later contact phase (B) — group C becomes involved in non-traditional mobility, through the establishment of a road link; the total volume of outward movement increases greatly, movers being of two types — independent movers from accessible group A, and movers under recruitment schemes from less accessible groups B, C and D.

Stages 5 & 6 Changes in the mobility system caused by the introduction of a new source of local employment — workers are attracted from nearby groups B and C, and people from these groups who have previously left the area, return home and are content to stay. As the novelty of working at the new centre wears off, absenteeism increases and employers come to depend on labour from external sources. Overall mobility patterns then revert to stage 4.

In the remainder of this paper this hypothetical model is used to examine data on the population mobility of the Agarabi/Gadsup speaking peoples of the Eastern Highlands. This is a suitable study area for three reasons. First, the people have been in contact with outsiders for a comparatively long period of time; their territory includes a variety of rural non-village centres and a small urban centre, Kainantu (population 2145 in 1971), and they have been and still are involved in migration through indentured labour schemes as well as in independent migration. All the different types of movement considered in the model are therefore included. Secondly, although the road network of Agarabi/Gadsup is more comprehensive than that of many highlands areas, there are widespread variations in accessibility between rural areas and non-village centres. There is therefore plenty of scope for examining spatial variations in mobility patterns and comparing these to the model. Finally, the area includes the construction site of the Upper Ramu Hydro-Electric Scheme, commenced in 1971 and due to be completed in 1975, and this gives a unique opportunity to examine how the establishment of a new rural non-village centre affects existing mobility patterns.

Two different types of data were used in this study. First, data collected by the Administration which show how, since contact, villagers have gradually extended their movements both within their home area and beyond it. These data were taken from village books, from patrol reports and censuses of the Department of District Administration, from the records of the Highland Labour Scheme and from miscellaneous records held by the Department of Agriculture, Stock and Fisheries. Since these data are concerned mainly with employment they apply almost entirely to the adult male population between the ages of 15 and 44. Because the records which remain are incomplete and contain inconsistencies these data sources can only be used to give
a general picture of population mobility in Agarabi/Gadsup.

Secondly, the results of a sample survey of the present movements of Agarabi/Gadsup villagers conducted in thirteen villages between 1971 and 1972. This survey, covering approximately 6000 people, both males and females of all ages (over 25 per cent of the Agarabi/Gadsup population), collected information on demographic characteristics, mobility within the home area, migration and employment histories, and the location of absent members of the family. There was no attempt to study motivation in the major part of the survey, but a more detailed sample survey of one village attempted to clarify factors affecting the decision to migrate. These sample surveys highlight many of the characteristics of population mobility which are suggested by the Administration data.

LAND AND SETTLEMENT OF AGARABI/GADSUP

The Agarabi/Gadsup people live in the northern and eastern parts of the Kainantu District of the Eastern Highlands, approximately 190 km from Lae and 90 km from Goroka on the Highlands Highway. Their territory consists of three grass-covered, broad valleys — the Arona Valley, the Kainantu Basin and the Aiyura Basin (Figure 11.2), altitude 1200 metres to 1500 metres above sea level — each of which was formerly occupied by a lake. These valleys are drained by the eastward flowing Ramu River and its tributaries and are separated from each other by ridges rising to over 1900 metres. Formerly these ridges were

![Map of Agarabi/Gadsup](image)

Fig. 11.2 Agarabi/Gadsup — settlement and communications.
thickly forested but today much of the forest has been cleared for gardening and only the summits are tree-covered.

The people live in large nucleated villages\(^2\) with populations ranging from under 100 to 700. Most villages are still on traditional ridge-top sites, above the floors of the main valleys, although a few newer settlements have been built in the lower areas to be nearer the road. In the past, settlement was probably more dispersed than it is today and even now most large villages are split into several hamlets.

The village people still depend largely on subsistence cultivation of sweet potato, yam, taro, sugar cane, and other more recently introduced crops such as maize, beans and pumpkin. Gardens are generally close to the villages on well drained sloping ground and forest areas provide timber for fuel and constructional purposes, and birds and small mammals which supplement the predominantly carbohydrate diet. Many villagers also grow coffee as a cash crop and coffee gardens with casuarina shade trees surround most settlements.

Only a few Agarabi/Gadsup villages are not connected to the main road network by vehicular tracks, but some tracks, particularly those built and maintained by the village, are difficult to negotiate during the wet season.

**CHANGING PATTERNS OF MOBILITY SINCE EUROPEAN CONTACT\(^3\)**

*Pre-contact mobility*

Traditional population movements were, for most people, confined to small groups of villages linked through intermarriage. Although these links were not permanent, a certain stability did exist, and village books show that the alliances of thirty or forty years ago, for example Isontenu/Kainantu village and Bilimoia/Unantu, were the same as those which still exist. Some villages were tied more closely to one another than others, because new autonomous settlements often formed through the break-off of large hamlets. Villages near the boundary between the two language groups were usually bilingual and intermarried with one another.

Today traditional population movements are still important and most social interaction occurs through these networks. But barriers between formerly alien groups are less strong and in villages near Kainantu more outsiders are marrying into the community.\(^4\)

*Early contact and population mobility 1932-1952*

After the patrol post was established at Kainantu in 1932 the Administration employed labourers from adjacent villages. As contact extended to more distant areas, labourers were employed from a wider variety of villages because the Administration felt that this was the best

\(^2\)The term 'village' is used here in the administrative sense — a unit considered for purposes of census, provision of facilities, etc. as an entity in itself.

\(^3\)Data from Administration records.

\(^4\)There is a large village east of the town also called Kainantu and this will be referred to as Kainantu village.
method of establishing firm control and diffusing the ideas of western culture. Labourers were also required in other non-village centres — the mission stations at Kambaira, Omaura and Raiapinka; the government-run agricultural experimental station at Aiyura; the gold miners' camps at Yonki, Omaura and Barola. Most of these employers employed only people from the nearest villages because, unlike the Administration, they were not interested in extending control through wage-earning experience. But employers did not rely on local labour for long. By 1939 (Kainantu Patrol Report, August 1939) they were importing labour from beyond the Kainantu area because of the high rates of absenteeism among the local workforce. Even at this stage, when mobility was still limited to within the home region, the existence of a non-village centre did not necessarily mean that people from adjacent villages moved there to look for work and Agarabi/Gadsup people already had to compete with outsiders for jobs within their own area.

Wage-earning caused an inflow of cash and material goods into villages and it affected people's lives in other ways. Men came into contact with others from alien and unknown areas, they learned to communicate with each other in Pidgin, and they learned about foreign culture and foreign places. The desire to move beyond the Agarabi/Gadsup area must often have sprung from the early experiences of working in the home area, and, mentally, people must have become much more orientated towards increased mobility.

Later contact and population mobility 1952-1972

In 1953 the first group of Agarabi men were recruited under the Highland Labour Scheme to work in rubber plantations in the Central Province. This departure marks the next stage in the changing pattern of population mobility and links were formed between Agarabi/Gadsup villages and non-village centres beyond the highlands. Not all men left the area as agreement workers. Some moved independently to urban centres and the completion of the first Highlands Highway in 1953, linking Kainantu to Lae, must have encouraged such movements. Since 1953 the numbers of village absentees, predominantly young men, working in coastal or island areas have steadily increased, causing distortion to rural age/sex structures.

Within the Agarabi/Gadsup area, population movement beyond the highlands varies in two distinct ways. First, some villages have had much larger numbers of absentees than others. Throughout the twenty-year period from 1953-72 the villages with the lowest rate of absenteeism were those close to Kainantu and those in isolated areas. The four peri-urban villages — Kainantu, Kainoa, Anona and Tuempinka — have had low rates of absenteeism, probably because of the proximity of the town offering some stable employment opportunities and other facilities. For the same reasons the Aiyura villages also have

5Some illegal recruitment had occurred earlier and groups of men had gone to the Wau/Bulolo goldfields and Rabaul (Village Books, Aiamontina and Arona; Kainantu Patrol Report, December 1951).
had few absentees. Isolated areas of eastern Gadsup have had relatively few absentees because, until recently, people have had only spasmodic contact with the Administration and they have not been aware of the possibilities offered by increasing mobility. In contrast, villages with high rates of absenteeism were those which were neither isolated nor close to Kainantu. Their inhabitants, who were fully aware of the opportunities offered by towns and other non-village centres, could not take advantage of these chances without leaving home and because opportunities within the home area were limited, they were forced to go to more distant parts. Rates of absenteeism have not risen steadily throughout the twenty-year period. Between 1962 and 1966 most Agarabi villages had fewer absentees than in the preceding five years, possibly because at this time coffee cash cropping was increasing rapidly and early plantings were just beginning to show a return, but since then absenteeism has increased everywhere and there was little evidence to suggest that it was markedly affected by differing levels of village income. In both Agarabi and Gadsup cash crop investment seems to be now an added insurance for migrants rather than an alternative income source which will prevent migration.

Secondly, the Highland Labour Scheme is still important in some villages, but in others it is no longer attractive.

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<th>Table 11.1</th>
<th>Highland Labour Scheme Recruits: per cent of all Absentees</th>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total area</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Table 11.1 shows that recently the Highland Labour Scheme has played a much smaller part in population mobility than it did in the early years of recruitment and that in Agarabi it is now comparatively unimportant. But in Gadsup, until 1967, more than half the absentees were with the Highland Labour Scheme and between 1962 and 1966 the percentage was actually greater than during the preceding five years. The first large exodus from most of the isolated eastern Gadsup villages took place during this period and today it is those same villages which provide the bulk of agreement workers. But in some more accessible areas, notably the Akuna villages in Gadsup and the Five Mile villages in Agarabi, recruitment has remained consistently popular throughout the last twenty years. Recruits from these areas must have had favourable experiences which have encouraged others to continue to sign on rather than to take the risk of moving independently.

The distinction between absentees who are agreement workers and those who are independent migrants is important. The agreement worker is absent for a set two-year period; he has little choice in his destination, he cannot take his family with him and, although he receives payment in a lump sum at the end of his contract, he is not paid enough during his absence to assist with the maintenance of his family. The indepen-
dent migrant can be absent for any length of time, he chooses his
destination, he usually earns more and he can take his dependants with
him if he so wishes. But he faces more uncertainty, particularly if he is
unskilled and uneducated. Because of this the would-be migrant with no
skill, no education and no experience will often opt for the Labour
Scheme but, as he becomes more adventurous, independent migration is
more attractive to him. In the present example, men from the more
accessible, and therefore more sophisticated Agarabi group, are mostly
in this category.

Although the most notable development of this later contact period
was the extension of mobility networks beyond the highlands, continual
movement still occurred within the home area. Social inter-village move­
ments on traditional networks existed as before, and non-village centres
also attracted people. During the early 1950s, the main period of land
alienation in Agarabi/Gadsup, coffee plantations and cattle stations
were established in the Arona Valley and eastern Gadsup. However, as
in the pre-1950 period, their permanent labour force was often from
other areas of the highlands and only during busy times such as coffee
flush did they rely fairly heavily on labour from adjacent villages. Over
75 per cent of the workers employed at Aiyura agricultural station
between 1960 and 1972 were from highland areas outside the Kainantu
District. Thus these non-village centres did not offer permanent jobs to
many Agarabi/Gadsup men and the only other work available was
spasmodic employment in road-building. Kainantu itself grew in size
and offered more jobs and more amenities but, because it functioned
primarily as an administrative centre, its opportunities were limited.
Even in 1971 over 43 per cent of the men working in the town were in
government jobs (1971 census). The end result has been that most men
seeking employment have had to leave the area and by 1972 population
mobility networks were dominated by the flow in both directions of
Agarabi/Gadsup men to other parts of the highlands and to coastal and
island towns and plantations.

**POPULATION MOBILITY, 1972/73**

The preceding summary gives a general picture of changes in population
mobility throughout Agarabi/Gadsup and suggests important spatial and
temporal variations within the region. The data collected from the
sample survey give more detailed information on these variations at
individual and village level and clarify the factors which cause them.

The thirteen villages covered in the sample survey were grouped into
four sample areas. These areas were specifically chosen because of (a)
their position with respect to Kainantu; (b) their position with respect
to other non-village centres; (c) their general accessibility. The general
survey had already indicated that these could be important factors
explaining variations in population mobility. The sample areas are as
follows (see Figure 11.2):

---

6Data from sample survey.
Area I: three villages, all within one hour's walking distance of Kainantu. These villages, Anona, Kainantu and Kainoa, have had a long and close contact with the Administration, and their people are accustomed to frequent movement in and out of town. Many people have earned wages and their nearest source of employment, Kainantu, is comparatively stable. Proximity to town has also given them greater educational opportunities than other groups.

Area II: five villages lying on or close to the Highlands Highway between Kainantu and Yonki, the construction town for the Upper Ramu Scheme. Administrative control of these villages, Doienakenu, Isontenu, Punano 2, Sosointenu, Yauna, was tenuous until after the war and until the new Highlands Highway was built in 1964-6 there was no road. There have been few sources of local employment apart from some plantations and cattle stations in the Arana Valley and local wage-earning experience has been very casual. Before 1960 there were no schools, although nowadays villages near the Swiss Mission primary school are well catered for.

The Upper Ramu Scheme has already had considerable impact on this area. All except one village, Isontenu, sold land to the Electricity Commission and many men had worked there in the twelve months preceding the survey.

Area III: four villages close to a major secondary road which links Kainantu to the south side of the Arana Valley. Akuna, Amamonta, Onamuna and Woepa lie about 13 to 16 km from Kainantu but only about 5 km from Aiyura. Not surprisingly this area has been under close Administrative control for a very long time and a Lutheran missionary from Finschhafen has been resident in Akuna since the 1920s. Although these people are more mobile than most other Gadsup groups, they do not have as many opportunities to use motor transport as the people of either Areas I or II because they live near a secondary road instead of the Highlands Highway. They are close to long established non-village centres — Aiyura, Omaura and Ukarumpa — and many men have been casually employed. Village mission schools started in the 1940s and since 1963 there has been a primary T school at Akuna.

Area IV: one village, Bilimoia, lies at the end of a minor secondary road about 25 km from Kainantu. Unlike the road that serves Area III, this road has many steep gradients and a rough surface which makes it impassable at times during the wet season. There are two large hamlets, one at the end of the road, and the other about 500 m below the road, half an hour's walk from it by bush track. Bilimoians are more isolated than people from the other sample areas and, during the last twenty years, the only non-village centres close to them have been the camps of spasmodically operating gold and copper mines. Although there is no school in the village, the primary T school at Punano 1, opened in 1960, is only about 8 km away.

The populations enumerated in Areas I, II and III were of similar size — between 1600 and 1900 — but Area IV only covered
approximately 500. In that more isolated area the population is much more sparse and dispersed, and the survey resources would have been extended too far if 1600 people had been included. In all the statistical tables it must be remembered that Area IV has a small sample size.

Four questions in the survey dealt directly with population mobility. They were birthplace, which indicated patterns of intermarriage; mobility, which indicated patterns of casual visits to towns easily accessible from Agarabi/Gadsup (Kainantu, Goroka and Lae); employment, which indicated movements of a more permanent nature, often to areas inaccessible to Agarabi/Gadsup; and absentees, which indicated the extent of current family networks.

Mobility information was analysed by individual characteristics — age, sex, village of enumeration, education and literacy — and in the final tabulations villages were combined into their sample areas. In addition, because population mobility is age/sex selective and must affect the basic demographic structure of villages, estimates were made of fertility, mortality and growth rates of the resident population.

The demographic structure of Agarabi/Gadsup villages

Table 11.2 shows the distribution of survey population by sample area. A dominant characteristic is the unequal balance of males and females, due primarily to male selective absenteeism. When absentees are excluded, the sex ratio for the total area is below unity and is particularly low in Areas III and IV, but the inclusion of absentees brings the total ratio above unity and area ratios above unity in all areas except Area IV. The sex ratio of 1.06 for the whole area compares well with the 1971 figure for the whole of Papua New Guinea (1.08).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Ex.</th>
<th>Ab.</th>
<th>Males With Ab.</th>
<th>Females With Ab.</th>
<th>Total With Ab.</th>
<th>Male/female ratio</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>830</td>
<td>900</td>
<td>766</td>
<td>792</td>
<td>1596</td>
<td>1.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>951</td>
<td>1048</td>
<td>962</td>
<td>979</td>
<td>1913</td>
<td>.99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>732</td>
<td>851</td>
<td>835</td>
<td>848</td>
<td>1567</td>
<td>.88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>221</td>
<td>261</td>
<td>273</td>
<td>279</td>
<td>494</td>
<td>.81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2734</td>
<td>3060</td>
<td>2836</td>
<td>2898</td>
<td>5570</td>
<td>.96</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Absentees

Figure 11.3 shows the distribution of population by village and area in five-year age/sex groups. These distributions must be regarded with caution because age enumeration was certainly full of inaccuracies and no age smoothing was carried out. The age/sex structure for the total population is fairly regular, although the rapid decline in the percentage of people in the 15-19 age group as compared to the 10-14 group is a

7The questionnaire used can be found in Young (1973a).
8In this question the information on time elapsed since visit was used to show frequency of visiting, because a direct question on frequency would inevitably give inaccurate results.
9For fuller discussion of problems and methods of analysis see Young (1973a).
feature. Areas II, III and IV all have fewer males than females between the ages of 15 and 34, an expected characteristic of young male selective movement. Area I, however, has more males than females in this group indicating either slight inward movement of males to these villages adjacent to Kainantu, or outward movement of young adult females. Because of the small sample sizes age-enumeration errors are even more significant in the case of individual villages, but here there are some outstanding sex discrepancies in the 15-34 age group, particularly in Doienakenu, Sosointenu, Yauna, Amamont and Wopepa.

![Village population by age and sex](image)

Fig. 11.3 Village population by age and sex.

A second dominant characteristic of the age/sex structure of the population is that young people of both sexes make up a very high proportion of the total. Almost half the population is below the age of 15 and the dependency ratio (1.71) is much higher than the ratio for the Eastern Highlands District (1.36, 1971). This suggests that rates of absenteeism in Agarabi/Gadsup must be above average for the area.

The rate of growth of the survey population cannot be calculated by normal methods because this is the first detailed census of the area. However, using techniques developed by Brass (Brass et al. 1968, Chapter 3) it is possible to estimate fertility and mortality rates using data on the numbers of children, both living and dead, ever born to mothers, and the number of children born during the year immediately preceding the survey.
The following are the major demographic characteristics of the sample population.

- Crude birth rate: 41.68 per thousand
- Crude death rate: 10-11.5 per thousand
- Annual rate of population growth: 3-3.5 per cent
- Life expectancy — male and female: 55-60 years
- Mean age of marriage — male: 23.71
  — female: 19.61

Compared with van de Kaa’s estimates (1971a), which were based on data from the national population census of 1966, the rate of population growth is high, fertility rates remain persistently high, mortality is declining, and life expectancy is increasing. Age specific fertility is highest for the 15-24 age group, of whom most married by the time they were 20, and thereafter declines, but by the time a woman is over 50 she has, on average, borne over six children.

**Population mobility: Traditional mobility networks**

It has already been established that traditional mobility patterns in Agarabi/Gadsup corresponded largely to kinship ties established through intermarriage. Table 11.3 shows that even in 1972 the majority of people (90 per cent) were born within the village, but more women than men are incomers, because on marriage a woman normally moves to her husband’s village. Although the differences between sample areas are small, Areas I and II do have more outsiders than Areas III and IV. This may indicate that in these more accessible areas close to the Highlands Highway there is more marriage outside the traditional clan systems and that barriers between non-traditional partners are breaking down.

| Area | Village M | F | T | Same lang. M | F | T | Kain. Sub-Dist. M | F | T | Highland M | F | T | Other M | F | T |
|------|-----------|---|---|-------------|---|---|------------------|---|---|-------------|---|---|--------|---|---|--------|---|---|
| I    | 90 83 87  |    |   | 7 12 9     |    |   | 1 2 1           |   |   | 1 3 2      |   |   | 2 1     |   |   | 1 2     |   |   |
| II   | 90 87 88  |    |   | 8 11 10    |    |   | 1 2 1           |   |   | 1 2 1      |   |   | 1 2     |   |   | 1 2     |   |   |
| III  | 94 92 93  |    |   | 4 6 5      |    |   | 2 1 2           |   |   | 2 1 2      |   |   | 1 2     |   |   | 1 2     |   |   |
| IV   | 99 92 95  |    |   | 1 8 5      |    |   | 1 2 1           |   |   | 1 2 1      |   |   | 1 2     |   |   | 1 2     |   |   |
| Total| 92 88 90  |    |   | 6 9 8      |    |   | 1 2 1           |   |   | 1 2 1      |   |   | 1 2     |   |   | 1 2     |   |   |

M — Male, F — Female, T — Total

Most of the outsiders belong to the same language group as the village where they now live, and in practice some of them are not outsiders because some formerly large villages have been split by the Administration into two units. Doienakenu/Sosointenu and Akuna/Amamonta are each single groups and therefore, for example, Sosointenu women in Doienakenu are not outsiders. Altogether, language seems to be a strong barrier to intermarriage, except where villages are located near the boundaries of language groups.

In Area I incoming Agarabis come from fifteen other tribal groups, much more widely scattered than the normal traditional network, which
suggests that there had been some inward migration. This is not surprising because the area is close to town and it is likely that some men marrying Kainantu or Kainoa women have moved to their wives' villages instead of following the normal practice of taking their wives to their own villages. It is also likely that Area I women, through the inevitable contacts made in the nearby town, have met and married men who come from Agarabi villages beyond their traditional network.

Very few village people have come from other parts of Papua New Guinea. In many villages the only incomers are teachers or lay missionaries although there are a few cases of intermarriage between foreigners stationed in Kainantu and local women.

From observation, inter-village mobility conformed closely to the patterns suggested by intermarriage. For example, during the field survey, exchange feasts involving the killing and eating of cows took place between Bilimoia and Pomasi 2, and a death in Punano 2 saw the departure of most of Yauna for a feast lasting several days. Recently there have been signs that traditional links may soon become less rigid. Within recent years commercial singsings have become very popular and villages are inviting participants from other formerly alien groups.

Unfortunately the survey did not cover marriage patterns of absentees but it is probable that many of them are married to people from other parts of Papua New Guinea and that, through this, they have created kinship links between Agarabi/Gadsup and distant areas.

Population mobility to non-village centres: Casual movements to adjacent towns

Within the home area most casual movements, apart from traditional inter-village movements and movements made to places of employment, were between the village and Kainantu. But the improved road system also allows people to make casual trips much further afield to other towns like Goroka and Lae, and these have become known to villagers who have never been resident outside the village. Table 11.4 shows the casual movements made by the survey population to these centres.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Kainantu</th>
<th>Goroka</th>
<th>Lae</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Nowadays most adults have been to Kainantu (88 per cent) and, although the percentage of female visitors is slightly lower than that of males, and the percentage of Area IV visitors slightly lower than that of Area I, there is little difference between the sample areas.

Goroka and Lae, 85 km and 216 km respectively from Kainantu, are
much less well known and have been visited by only 30 per cent and 19 per cent of the population. Here there is a much greater contrast between males and females, as is shown by the sex ratio of visitors, 3.6 in the case of Goroka and 5.3 in the case of Lae. There is also a greater contrast between sample areas. Forty per cent of Area I villagers have been to Goroka, but only 19 per cent of Area IV; in the case of Lae, Areas I and II have considerably higher percentages of visitors than Areas III and IV. Few of the women of Area IV have ever been beyond Kainantu.

These differences suggest that with more distant centres accessibility is still an important factor influencing casual movement. For example the highest percentage of visitors to Lae comes from the villages of Area II which lie within sight of freight trucks and passenger motor vehicles (PMVs) going up and down the Highway. This is an example of the direct influence of accessibility on mobility. Indirectly, accessibility influences mobility because inaccessible areas are less highly developed, and the people are not so interested in moving. This is probably the main reason why Area IV villagers rarely go beyond Kainantu, although their opportunities are also more limited because they live at a road end with little passing traffic.

Table 11.5
Time of Last Visit: Per Cent of All Visitors

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Kainantu</th>
<th>Goroka</th>
<th>Lae</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mth 0-1</td>
<td>mth 0-1</td>
<td>mth 0-1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1-11 1-4</td>
<td>1-11 1-4</td>
<td>1-11 1-4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4+</td>
<td>4+</td>
<td>4+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 11.5 shows that, although most people know Kainantu, people who live near the town had been recently but others had not been for some time. A high percentage of villagers from Areas I and II had been to town within the last month, and further analysis revealed that, in Area I, over three-quarters of these recent visitors had been only one week ago. Ten per cent of the men went every day, mainly to work. Certainly the continual movement of people in and out of town is a striking feature of the Highlands Highway near Kainantu. Although people from other sample areas had not been to town quite so recently, over 80 per cent had been within the last year.

The difference between Area I and the other areas is caused by accessibility. When people live at least two hours walk from town they prefer to go by motor vehicle and will only walk if their visit is essential. If transport is available people will take advantage of it to make casual visits. This became very clear during the field survey when the presence of the researcher with a truck meant that many people, particularly from the isolated Area IV, made unplanned casual visits to Kainantu. In Area II, people from Yauna and Punano 2, where several scattered
hamlets are about an hour’s walk from any road, had made far fewer recent visits to town than those from Doienakenu, Sosointenu and Isontenu, all of which are on the Highlands Highway.

As one would expect, visits to both Goroka and Lae had taken place much less recently, and only 40 per cent of all visits to Goroka and 28 per cent of those to Lae took place within the last year. Surprisingly, the highest percentage of visits to Goroka within the last year was from Area IV, but this was because a group of men from Bilimoia went to the Goroka show to sell handicrafts.

In all areas, although men had visited the town more recently than women, the contrast between the sexes was not great. This is not surprising in the case of Kainantu, because most of the sellers at the market are women, and in the case of Lae and Goroko visits had frequently been made by the whole family.

Mobility differs by age group. The most mobile sections of population, both male and female, are those in the productive age range from 15 to 44. In this group almost all the men and over 95 per cent of the women had visited Kainantu and a relatively high percentage had also been to Goroka and Lae. In the older age groups most people had been as far as Kainantu but few over 55 had been further. An interesting feature is the relative immobility of the 10-14 age group. Young people of this age probably have little reason for going to town, although girls from the nearest villages do accompany their mothers to market. Their brothers, if not at school, go to Kainantu mainly to meet friends and watch the world go by. Very few have been further, but it must be remembered that the group of absentees included all students at Goroka High School, the most mobile of the youngest age group.

Table 11.6
Age of Visitors, Per Cent of Each Age Group, Total Area*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Group</th>
<th>Kainantu</th>
<th>Goroka</th>
<th>Lae</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-14</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-24</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-34</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-44</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45-54</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55+</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Because there was little contrast between the areas in age characteristics or reasons for moving, Tables 11.6 and 11.7 cover the total survey population.

Table 11.7
Reason for Visit, Per Cent of all Visits, Total Area

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason</th>
<th>Kainantu</th>
<th>Goroka</th>
<th>Lae</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visiting</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hospital</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buying/Selling</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meeting</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other*</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Main other reasons: local sports festival, Goroka show, school.
So far results indicate that where people can reach an urban centre easily, they do not need a strong reason for going there. This impression is confirmed by Table 11.7, which shows that for all centres the main reason for visiting was to see friends and relatives. This suggests that, although people say that their visits to town are often purely casual, they are really making moves which exploit their network of contacts with friends and kin.

Kainantu market was an important attraction. More women than men go specifically to market, not surprisingly since most of the sellers are women, and more people from Areas III and IV gave this as the main reason. This may be because people from Area I are so close to town that they visit Kainantu market if they happen to be in town on market day, but it need not be their main reason for going. Many Area II people are now using the new market at Yonki Town, but the only market available to people from Areas III and IV is Kainantu. Goroka and Lae markets are not important attractions for people from this area.

Only a small number of men, almost all from Area I, go to Kainantu to work. People from other areas are unable to commute and therefore must live in the town. Both Goroka and Lae, with more employment opportunities and fewer casual visitors, were more important as potential drawers of labour.

Many women went specifically to the Kainantu hospital, particularly from Areas I, III and IV. As with the market, these answers might depend on the day of the survey in comparison to the day of health clinics in town, but it is to be expected that women make special journeys to the hospital either to have babies or to accompany sick children. A fairly high percentage also went to Goroka hospital, probably because it is the general hospital for the area and takes any Kainantu cases with complications.

One final point is that Goroka attracted many people (16 per cent) for other reasons. Most of these were visitors to Goroka show, and high school or technical school students.

Reasons for visiting urban centres also varied by age and sex. For men, work was a more important reason for the 25-44 age group than for any other, many of the younger men from 10-24 went to town to visit, which probably means hanging around the trade stores and cinema with their friends, and more of the older men went to hospital. Many women in all age groups from 10-44 visited Kainantu market, which implies that young girls often accompany their mothers to town specifically to go to market but young boys seldom do. Many women visiting Kainantu hospital were in the child-bearing range 25-44, but Goroka hospital also attracted a fairly high percentage of women over forty-five.

On the whole these results show that economic motives are not the sole reason why people move within their home area and as the communications network improves they move more and more casually. Although the most mobile group are men of the productive age range, most of the women do visit urban centres from time to time and many
from some more accessible villages travel as far as Lae or Goroka.

**Moves to adjacent local employment centres**

The previous analysis was concerned with a non-village centre which attracts for many reasons besides employment. There are, of course, other local centres where employment is the sole attraction, and consideration of these shows additional networks of local population mobility. Because the introduction of a new source of local employment at Yonki in 1972 gives an opportunity for detailed study in mobility changes, movements to Yonki are excluded from the following analysis.

**Table 11.8**

**Percentage of Workers who have Worked within the Home Area**

(excluding Yonki workers)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Group</th>
<th>Area I</th>
<th>Area II</th>
<th>Area III</th>
<th>Area IV</th>
<th>Total Area</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>15-24</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-34</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-44</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45-54</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55+</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*The home area is defined loosely as the area which centres on Obura, Noreikori, etc.*

Table 11.8 shows that half the men from the survey population who have ever worked for wages have worked locally, but there are variations on a basis of age and sample area. Over 60 per cent of the older men have had local jobs, mainly because by the time the first large-scale employment movements took place about fifteen years ago, a man now 45 years old was married, with children, and an established position in the village. He would be less willing to seek employment outside the home area than a younger man less set in his ways. The percentage of workers with local experience in the 25-44 age group is below average, because these men entered employment after the growth of networks of movement to areas beyond the highlands. Slightly more of the youngest men have worked locally, many of them probably in their first jobs.

An outstanding feature is the lack of local employment experience for the men of Area II. A high percentage of Area I men have had local jobs, particularly in Kainantu, and many from Area III have worked on coffee plantations. The number in Area IV who had ever worked was rather small and therefore this figure should be treated with caution.

The main reason for these contrasts is the differing stability of local employment sources. Area I, close to Kainantu (over 80 per cent of the local jobs held by Area I men have been in Kainantu), is favourably placed to take advantage of a job source which is more stable than other sources, such as coffee plantations. Other non-village centres where Area I men have worked are Commonwealth Department of Works camps at Kassam Pass and Yanta, coffee plantations at Korona, Noreikori and Aionara, and alluvial gold mines at Tuempinka (Figure 11.4).

In Area II local opportunities have been much more limited. In the 1940s and 1950s several men worked on plantations at Aionara, Arona
Fig. 11.4 Local employment sources — areas I and II.
Fig. 11.5 Local employment sources — areas III and IV.
and Aiyura and between 1964 and 1966 some were employed on the construction of the new Highlands Highway. Thereafter there was no local employment until the beginning of construction at the Upper Ramu Scheme in 1971 and few young men have ever had local jobs. A feature of the local mobility network of these villages is the influence of the Swiss Mission in attracting people to the centres at Yauna, Kassam and Obura.

Area III has had a more extensive network of local employment mobility. The main movement has been to Aiyura or Ukarumpa (Summer Institute of Linguistics), and Aiyura was particularly important in the 1940s and 1950s. Many men have also worked on other coffee plantations (Korangka, Korona, Noreikori); they have taken part in the gold mining (Tombena, Omaura) and they have gone to nearby mission centres (Raiapinka). In the year preceding the survey many had been working on large-scale improvements on the secondary road through Akuna and Amamonta.

In Area IV, the proportion of local workers was similar to that of Area III, but the actual number of employment centres, apart from the copper/gold mining area at Bilimoia itself, was limited. Some men had previously worked on plantations at Tuta, Punano and Aimontina; one man had been gold mining at Yonki with the Finschhafen miners; and during the survey about ten were employed on resurfacing the road near the village. As was noted in the previous section, many Bilimoia men travel to Kainantu and it is not surprising that some of the men now back in the village have previously worked in the town.

In the survey area as a whole, population mobility associated with employment at local non-village centres forms an extremely complex network of connections. The pattern of this network varies between sample areas, and each area has particular employment sources of which it has taken advantage. These have in many cases been the sources in closest proximity to the village, for example, Kainantu for Area I; Aiyura for Area III. Sometimes men who have gained skills through past experience in particular jobs have formed links between their villages and certain non-village centres, for example men from Area III, who gained early experience at Aiyura in tending coffee, have gone to work in other coffee plantations. In other cases links have formed through the mission background of the village, for example Area II men have been working in Swiss Mission centres outside their home area.

Since the 1930s, only Kainantu has been a stable source of employment. All other non-village centres have fluctuated in importance, either because the industry has declined, for example gold mining, because employers have come to prefer labour from outside the area or because rates of absenteeism are lower, or because Agarabi/Gadsup villagers now prefer to leave the Kainantu region to find work. Because these sources are unstable, local networks of population are extremely dynamic. In early 1972, only men from Area I could hope to find anything other than casual work on the roads or in the plantations and for
more permanent jobs men seeking work would have to go further afield.

Movement beyond the home area: Experience of those resident in the villages at the time of the survey

Agarabi/Gadsup people now make moves to most Provinces of Papua New Guinea. Although most of the people who have actually visited more distant centres are adult males, even those villagers who have never been beyond Kainantu are affected by this non-local network, because they have friends and relatives who have travelled, and stories of past experiences and of the fortunes of absent kin are important topics of conversation.

As was previously indicated, most people who left the Kainantu area were primarily job-seekers. Until the Highlands Highway was improved this remained the main reason for leaving. Table 11.7 suggested that nowadays people take advantage of easy movement along the Highway to pay more casual visits to Goroka and Lae. But it does not indicate that visits to these towns are not made to seek employment; it only shows that nowadays these places are so accessible that people go for many other reasons, and that these other reasons are now dominant. When centres lie beyond the Highlands Highway, like Rabaul or Port Moresby, these other casual reasons become insignificant because travel to these centres involves a large cash outlay and a longer absence. Inevitably most of the people going further afield are men and only seven women in the entire survey population of 5570 have ever been to Port Moresby.

Table 11.9
Employment Outside the Area*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Percentage of workers who have been away</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*The area is defined as the Kainantu sub-district.

As Table 11.9 shows, a high percentage (65 per cent) of all workers have been beyond the home area, but there is a marked contrast between Area I and the other areas. These figures are complementary to those of Table 11.8, which showed that the greatest experience of local employment was in Area I. It appears that workers from Area I have felt less inclined to move long distances to find jobs, probably because they have more opportunities for employment nearer home. The figures also emphasise that there have been very few local jobs available for people in Area II.

Most men who have left the Kainantu area have gone to the Islands and the Port Moresby area. Through the Highland Labour Scheme many from Areas II and III have been to the coconut plantations of Rabaul/Kokopo, Kavieng and Bougainville, and the rubber plantations
Area | Local area | Other highland | Coastal | Islands | Port Moresby area
--- | --- | --- | --- | --- | ---
I | 78 | 25 | 6 | 6 | 8
II | 22 | 14 | 11 | 49 | 34
III | 56 | 7 | 12 | 37 | 30
IV | 65 | 11 | 2 | 9 | 45
Total | 50 | 14 | 9 | 30 | 26

*This includes the rubber plantations of Central Province.

Table 11.10: Areas Where People Have Worked: Percentage of Workers

Experience of those absent from the village at the time of the survey

The location of current village absentees also indicates the extent of mobility beyond the Kainantu area. Sixty-four per cent of all absentees were outside the Kainantu sub-district, in three main areas: other parts of the highlands (including the remainder of the Eastern Highlands); the New Guinea Islands region; or Port Moresby. Absentees in the New Guinea Islands, most of them recruits from Area III, were mostly in the Rabaul area, with some in Kavieng and Buka. The Port Moresby area was the main destination for Area IV but was fairly important for all other areas. Many men from Areas I and II in Port Moresby were independent movers in town and some of them were undergoing further education, but the group from Area III included a small number of agreement workers then at Robinson River, Abau.

Coastal absentees were in Madang, Lae, Popondetta, Wewak, Milne Bay and Western Province. Apart from the Popondetta group, again agreement workers, they had moved independently. Many of the men in Lae were from Area II, which emphasises the accessibility of this area to Lae, and the strong connections which the Swiss Evangelical Brotherhood Mission maintains between the Area II villagers and the
mission headquarters. This connection also explains the presence of young Area II men at Balimo in Western Province where they attend the Swiss Mission High School.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Local</th>
<th>Kainantu District</th>
<th>E.H.</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>Coast</th>
<th>Island</th>
<th>Port Moresby area</th>
<th>Other</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Absentees in other parts of the highlands are scattered with a major concentration in Goroka, particularly of people from Areas I and II. This group included a considerable number of secondary school students and, from Area I, a group of young people training to be nurses and teachers.

The evidence from the sample survey confirms the patterns apparent from general administrative data and shows that Agarabi/Gadsup people now have travelled to many other parts of the highlands, to coastal towns like Lae and Madang, to Bougainville and Rabaul and to Port Moresby. On the whole, villagers who are further from Kainantu have, through participation in agreement labour, been to more distant areas than those who live close to the town. Recently, more men from the peri-urban Kainantu villages are leaving the area to find work but instead of travelling directly to Port Moresby or the islands they are going to Goroka and Lae. This may indicate the beginning of the growth of 'stage' migration, as contrasted with the direct movement of village people to distant towns and plantations. If this is so, it could be an important sign that rural and urban environments of the highlands may in the future become more closely integrated.

THE IMPACT OF THE UPPER RAMU HYDRO-ELECTRIC SCHEME ON PATTERNS OF POPULATION MOBILITY

The last two stages of the mobility model (Figure 11.1) suggest that, when a new source of local employment is established, absentees will return and look for jobs. After some time employers at the new source will begin to import outside labour because rates of absenteeism among the local labour force are too high, and men will again have to leave the area to find work. The following account examines how the new centre of employment at Yonki has affected mobility patterns in neighbouring villages.

In 1966 financial aid was granted by the World Bank for the construction of a hydro-electric scheme at the northern end of the Arona Valley. During the initial stage of construction an underground power station with access tunnels and shafts was built; the second stage will be the building of a dam and creation of a reservoir which will flood
the valley. In 1970 the Administration bought the land required for the reservoir from local villagers. There was little disagreement over the land purchase, partly because the population live above the floor of the valley and did not have to resettle and because a large area of the land required had already been alienated for coffee plantations and cattle stations. Village groups who had to sell land were assured that they would be given preference in employment as casual workers on the construction site.

In 1971 work began on building the construction town, Yonki Town. The town was built for the Electricity Commission by Morobe Constructions and Lucas and Ducrow and in early 1972 personnel began to move in. These people were employees of Morobe Constructions, Lucas and Ducrow, the Electricity Commission, the Commonwealth Department of Works and Hyundai Construction Company. The Electricity Commission and the Commonwealth Department of Works employed mainly professional, skilled and semi-skilled Europeans and Papua New Guineans, and took on a fairly small number of local unskilled workers. Hyundai, the Korean main construction company, had a skilled staff from Korea and employed a much larger number of unskilled workers, initially about 100 and by late 1973 over 300. Unskilled men also worked for Morobe and Lucas and Ducrow.

The construction site is close to the villages of Area II (Figure 11.6). All these villages except one (Isontenu) claim land in the Arona Valley and had to sell land to the Electricity Commission. Except for Yauna,
they all lie on or close to the Highlands Highway and, since Yonki Town is on the highway, they are accessible to both the new town and Kainantu. By 1971 Yauna, Punano 2 and Sosointenu already had hamlets established on their Arona Valley land and therefore had bases where workers could stay. Doienakenu people had no such base but around April 1972 they began to build a new hamlet (Doinonafa) beside the highway overlooking the construction site, and since then many of them have moved there. These bases have been vital for the local workers because no facilities or accommodation were provided for them in Yonki and they were not permitted to settle near the construction camp.

Previous evidence has shown that the people of Area II had very limited opportunities to find jobs near home. They had become accustomed to moving to the coast or islands, often as agreement workers. But, as Table 11.12 shows, the situation changed radically during 1972.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Per cent who have worked during year before survey/all workers*</th>
<th>Per cent of recent workers who have been at Yonki</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>34</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Because the survey took place at two different times — November 1971/February 1972, November/December 1972 — this period is the year 1971 for Areas I and III, and 1972 for Areas II and IV.

In 1972 Area II had a larger percentage of workers employed than any other region and 90 per cent of those workers were at Yonki. From the end of 1971 to the end of 1972 the percentage of Area II workers who had jobs in the home area increased from 25 to 59.

The main survey did not provide information which could show whether absentees had returned to Area II because they heard there was work. But the rate of absenteeism in Area II at the time of the survey was the lowest of the four sample groups and, since the administrative data show this to have been an area of high absenteeism between 1967 and 1971, it appears that people may have returned. In the detailed survey of Doienakenu, village respondents said that they had not come home specifically because there were jobs at Yonki but that the chance of working at Yonki had made them content to stay in the village when they might otherwise have left. The impact of the new employment source has been rather negative in that it has not actually pulled people home but it has at least postponed the decision of others to leave.

The separate villages of Area II have responded differently to the opportunities at Yonki. By December 1972 men from all five villages had worked there but in the earlier part of that year most employees had been from those villages which were compelled to sell some land. They had formed two distinct groups corresponding to their traditional
alliances and, while Yauna/Punano 2 men had worked for Hyundai, Doienakenu/Sosointenu men had worked mostly for the other companies. By December only 30 per cent of those employed at Yonki during the year were still working, and most of these were from Doienakenu/Sosointenu. This was due to a fatal accident to a Yauna man in October, which resulted in most Yauna/Punano 2 men leaving work. Their places were taken by men from Isontenu. By the time of the sample survey in Doienakenu (May 1973) only 9 per cent (five men) of those who had worked at Yonki during the previous 18 months were still working.

These figures demonstrate an employment situation which is unstable for two main reasons. First, a major construction of this type is carried out in different stages by different companies. Men employed by Morobe Constructions in building the town were paid off when the town was completed and either could not obtain or did not want other jobs; the completion of the power station will mean that Hyundai pays off its workers, and the same situation will occur. Secondly, instability is caused by a fundamental difference in attitude towards work by the employers on the one hand and the employees on the other. Employers want a workforce which stays on the job as long as it lasts, has a good record of attendance, and sees wage earning as the most important activity in life. But the men from adjacent Agarabi villages do not have to depend on cash earning to survive; they often only want to work until they have earned enough for a specific purpose and they are frequently absent whenever they become involved in village activities. They also are superstitious about working in the underground tunnels. These problems are increased by the language difficulties, particularly the lack of communication between the Koreans and their workforce. Most of these problems would apply to any unskilled employees from the highlands but, to decrease the problem of casual absenteeism, employers have come to prefer labourers from outside the adjacent Agarabi area. By mid-1973 Hyundai were relying on labour from Henganofi and, reputedly, from parts of Chimbu, while the Doienakenu men stayed in the village and philosophically ‘watched’ the work going on below them.

It is hard to predict what will now happen in the villages of Area II. Although hardly anyone was employed at Yonki in mid-1973, there had been no large-scale movement out of the area. Several Doienakenu men said that they were content to stay at home meanwhile, and if a recruiter from Yonki came and asked them to come and work, they would work. They were not willing to go actively hunting for jobs. It seems that the novelty of the work had worn off for them, but they were still enjoying the excitement and intense activity round about them. Ultimately the decision to leave once more will be based on individual reactions to the advantages of wage-earning or staying at home; and reactions to being involved in the village community or finding that life elsewhere would be more exciting. This examination of the impact of a new source of local employment on population mobility within
adjacent villages reveals a situation which is not new. Although employers may initially take on men from nearby, they soon go to more distant villages to search for labour because, by western standards, a local labour force is unreliable. This situation cannot change until a compromise is reached between the attitudes of employers and employees and until this time population movement to local sources of employment will continue to be discontinuous.

**INDIVIDUAL CHARACTERISTICS AND POPULATION MOBILITY**

Although there was little attempt to discuss motivation behind movement the survey does highlight some of the characteristics which distinguish mobile and non-mobile people. These are as follows.

*Age.* The most mobile people are between the ages of 15 and 44. Older people were already married and involved in village affairs when the first large-scale exodus of Agarabi/Gadsup people took place. Some of them who have had jobs locally have moved extensively within the home region, but others have never been further than Kainantu. Most current absentees are in this 15-44 age group, and in some villages a high percentage of these people are living elsewhere.

*Sex.* Men are much more mobile than women. Older women in particular scarcely leave the village except to take part in traditional social activities and many of the others never go to any towns larger than Kainantu. Very few resident village women have ever been in wage-earning employment and even now a large number of female absentees are not working, but have left with their husbands after marriage.

When age and sex are considered together it is clear that rates of absenteeism among adult males in some villages are extremely high (Wopepa — 39 per cent; Akuna — 33 per cent; Doienakenu — 29 per cent), and these rates must have a considerable effect on the normal functioning of village life.

*Education/Skill.* There is little doubt that people with some education or training are generally much more mobile than those who have never been to school. But the main reason why an educated person must leave the village is that there are no satisfying occupations available to him if he stays at home. The peri-urban villages of Area I have the highest percentage of people with some education but because there are jobs in Kainantu for some of these people they are able to commute from the village. Thus not all educated people must leave Area I. On the other hand, many of them are absent because a large percentage of Area I absentees are young people in secondary and tertiary institutions. None of the other areas have openings to satisfy educated people and, in addition, far fewer of them have had the chance of going to school. In Area II, where agreement labour is no longer popular, many absentee were prob-
ably educated, and in Doienakenu only 19 per cent (15 men) of males resident in the village have any education but 84 per cent (26 men) of male absentees have reached standard five or higher. Area III absentees are, in contrast, largely agreement labourers and there is no distinction between current residents and current absentees in level of education; the same applied to Area IV where, although absentees are not agreement workers, men have left in a group to stay with friends in Port Moresby, and where general levels of education are low.

Marital status. Although many absentees are married and have left their dependants in the village, the results from Doienakenu suggest that men signing as agreement workers were usually unmarried. After return they often married and for this reason were unwilling to sign further agreements. But if they acquired some sort of skill they would leave independently, often accompanied by their families. The main barriers to the mobility of married unskilled men are housing difficulties and job uncertainty. More highly educated absentees are far less likely to leave their families behind when they move, because they have more stable jobs and fewer problems in finding housing in towns.

Wealth and status in the village. There is no significant difference between mobile and non-mobile people in the amount of cash investment in the village. In Agarabi/Gadsup coffee cash cropping has been established for a comparatively long time and most families have coffee gardens. When garden owners are absent the crop is gathered and processed by friends and relatives and the proceeds are kept for them. Although some families need lump sums of cash for school fee payments and other costs, they often rely on contributions from friends and relatives and there is little more pressure on them to leave to find work than there is on those with no such commitments.

In former times men with high positions in the village were probably less likely to leave for the coast, but within the home area they were more mobile than others because they were well known and well connected. Today the families of these men are likely to be absent because their inherited status has put more pressure on them to prove themselves through education and cash earning.

CONCLUSION

The purpose of this study was to show how contact with outsiders has extended traditional systems of population mobility in formerly isolated village communities. In the Agarabi/Gadsup area patterns of population mobility shows spatial variations, because of differing accessibility to towns and other non-village centres; temporal variations, because of differing contact experience; and individual variations, because of differing responses to situations which encourage or discourage movement. But, in general, the situation approximates to that suggested in the hypothetical model. Unfortunately this model cannot be applied
throughout the Papua New Guinea highlands because there are such wide variations in accessibility, stage of contact, and general development. However, it may be that other areas which are less developed than Agarabi/Gadsup have systems of population mobility which fit more closely to the earlier stages in the model; as they change, they may not necessarily progress through all the stages, but their total mobility systems will include most of the aspects described here. This will not become clear until far more evidence is available from detailed micro-studies in other areas.
Bundi is situated on the northern edge of the Bismark ranges in the south of the Madang Province, close to its border with the Chimbu Province, at an altitude of 600-2000 metres. The landscape is rugged and deeply divided by turbulent streams. It is cold at the higher altitudes and mists rise daily from the swamps of the Ramu River. Population is about 7500, of the Gende and Biyom language groups. In pre-European times Bundi was on the direct trade route from the north coast to the highlands (Goroka, Chimbu and Wahgi). First contact with Europeans came in 1932. A government station and hospital were opened in 1956 and a mission primary school was opened two years later. The future of Bundi seems dull, as economic development is hampered by the rugged terrain and lack of a road into Bundi; access is only by foot and light aircraft.

With the coming of the first white man came pacification and acceptance of external rule and law. The Bundi people then became aware of the outside world. Many young men were recruited for coastal plantations and many of these went as far as Kavieng and Port Moresby. Others worked on contract on the Bulolo goldfields. When they came back with their newly acquired wealth the rest of the Bundi became more aware of the outside world so many abandoned their parents, villages and clans to seek their new fortune. By this time urban areas such as Goroka, Kundiawa and Mt Hagen had also come into being in addition to the coastal towns, so migration began.

Today Bundi would be found in most urban areas of Papua New Guinea and the township of Goroka caters for a large number of them. Goroka is the easiest town to get to from Bundi except for Kundiawa. It takes two days to walk from Bundi to Goroka and only fifteen minutes by air. The following is a general study of the Bundi people in Goroka taking into particular account their settlement pattern, why they come into towns other than just seeking fortune, the changed way of life in town, why few go back home, social organisation within the town and the wantok (extended family) system. I know the attitudes
and values of these people quite well because of my association with
them; in addition I myself am a Bundi.

Why they came to towns

Most hypotheses state that many of the village people, the young people
in particular, flocked to town areas because of the town’s ‘bright lights’.
However, in my research I tried to get away from this generalised
approach and it was surprising to find that many of the people I inter­
viewed did not come only because of the town’s ‘bright lights’. They
also came to escape from the evils and burdens that existed in their
villages. Others could not fully cope with the requirements of village
life. Typical answers I received from married people as to why they
left home include:

‘We could not stay in the village because the sorcerers were always
after us’.
‘We were waiting for the old people to die [referring to their parents]
and once they died we saw no point in staying on in the village’.
‘All our pigs died on us and we figured that a sorcerer was behind
all this and once he killed off all our pigs we knew he would be
after us, so we had to flee’.
‘It is very hard to earn money in the village so we came here’.

Bundi offers very little in the way of economic wealth owing to its
ruggedness and climate and the future seems dull for Bundi, especially
since the proposed Madang-Highlands Highway plan has now been
shelved. In many cases a newly wedded couple cannot run their affairs
as well as the old people could. For example, the young wife’s attitude
to looking after the pigs and caring for gardens is not as good as that
of older women. This results in their pigs taking longer to grow if they
do not die early in life. The weeds seem to engulf their gardens sooner
because the young woman’s time is interfered with by having to wash
and keep clean, and there is also a lack of interest. All this adds up to
embarrassment to the family and rather than stay there and become a
subject of village rumours they flee to the towns, hoping to better
themselves through cash employment because they have been unsuc­
cessful in the traditional activities.

The young people have an additional reason for leaving home.
Primarily they are envious of people who have been outside the area
and at times when these return home their physical cleanliness and their
garments make the village boys feel somewhat inferior and this in­
feriority feeling compels them to leave home. In addition to that most
of the village children are enrolled in Pidgin schools, run by the
Catholic Mission. Here they learn to read and write in Pidgin. On
feast days and at several other times of the year these village school
children are expected to gather at the mission headquarters at Bundi
and work in aid of the mission, but mainly to help Bundi’s only English
school, which is a primary boarding school run by Divine Word mis­
ionaries which enrolls over three hundred children. To get to the
Fig. 12.1  Bundi settlements in Goroka.
central mission station most of these village school children have to carry their own food to last them several days or even a week and they have to travel many hours to and from the mission station. This is a tiring procedure because for all their efforts and sacrifices they make no personal gain and only know that what they are doing now is for the betterment of Bundi in the future. Village school itself is often stern in its regulations. It is compulsory for all children in the village if they are not attending the English school at the central station to attend the village school. Basically they are students enrolled to learn Pidgin but some of the children feel that they are used by the mission to do whatever it feels necessary. They come to consider that being literate in Pidgin does not put them in a better position locally. So they come to towns where they seek jobs that would earn them money while at the same time freeing themselves from the strictness of the village school and the formalities and fears of the village way of life. Council work and taxation are two other factors which encourage men to leave their village. It is hard to find money at the village level and council work, which requires men to build roads with picks and shovels, is a tiring job.

The flow of young men into towns at an increasing rate is evident. The young women have begun to travel more widely than ever before in search for men even though they might claim they are just visiting wantok. Many of these girls who come to town get married not only to Bundi; some, seeing they are free of their traditional bonds from their villages, are able to choose their own husbands regardless of where they come from. If she was at home the girl would have little say in the choosing of her life long partner. In most cases when they get married in towns the traditional rituals of bride purchasing are not practised. The transactions consist of money and store goods. This is different from tradition where more emphasis is put on pigs, both live and cooked. Traditionally the bride very seldom went to live in the bridegroom's house before her full payment was made, but in towns a girl's payment in most cases is made much later, after the girl has been residing with the man for some time. In many cases payment is not made until several children are born.

Settlement patterns

'The white men came, bringing with them pacification and the words of the 'Big Men'. I was forced to lay down my bow and arrow and my aggressive instincts and more peaceful living followed until I realised I would be dead before I knew it because I was being preyed upon by sorcerers. I moved to various parts of the village but still the hungry sorcerers kept tracking me so I had to flee somewhat far and Goroka has been the destination of my flight. I have been here three years now and I don't see any reason why I should go back. I seem to have grown younger during my stay here and I'll remain here for a long time. My wife I believe has returned to her own people's village but that is no big concern to me because I am
already making preparations towards marrying a local woman.'

The above passage is from Aruna, the oldest Bundi immigrant living in one of thirteen squatter type buildings below the Goroka Hotel. He does not work but the wantok system keeps him going. The Bundi call this area below Goroka Hotel, Banden. This is the largest Bundi squatter settlement within the vicinity of the Goroka township. There are thirteen thatched roof buildings plus four rooms allocated to Bundi employees in the house supplied by Goroka Hotel. One might say there are seventeen houses because the rooms in the Goroka Hotel indigenous employees’ residential building are more spacious than the other traditional type buildings, which are small, weak in structure and poorly sited.

Banden is primarily a settlement for married couples. It is believed squatting began there because when the Goroka Hotel was first opened several Bundi worked there and one of these employees got the sack. This meant that he had to abandon the room given to him by the Goroka Hotel but in order to keep close to his other wantok still employed he built himself a house nearby. Another purpose was so that if anybody else got the sack then he would seek to fill his place before anybody else beat him to it. In each of these houses permanent dwellers average around five, which in most cases is the family with some close friends. Young men flock to Banden during the evening hours to eat the food provided by their particular 'guardian mothers' and then most go off to sleep somewhere else. I counted sixteen married couples, most with children. However, it was said by many single Bundi that even though they live away from Banden they considered Banden as being their home because that is where they go to get food. On Saturdays and other market days the single men would give some money to their guardian mothers so that food could be bought at the market. Therefore I estimated the number of people living in Banden and the people who got their meals from Banden as being somewhere around eighty to ninety in all.

Families are scattered throughout the town particularly in West Goroka and about the Zokozoi River but the next region where a fair number of Bundi are found is in North Goroka. There are two settlements. One is just below and on the eastern side of the Teachers' College. The Bundi call this settlement area Poinom. I believe settlement began here about six years ago when the present Bundi councillor in the Goroka Local Government Council, councillor Guiba (who lives in West Goroka), settled on this piece of land after an agreement with the owner of the land that rent would be paid him for his land every year. His settling there brought other wantok who saw him as a figure-head and felt some form of security being near councillor Guiba.

Poinom now consists of eight shanty buildings of traditional material, with corrugated iron and cardboard pieces adding the extra ingredient. In settlements like this the wantok relationship takes in a wider group and people who otherwise would be reasonably isolated from each other back home become very good neighbours. This has been shown by the
fact that if a woman bears a baby she normally names him or her after the neighbouring man or woman. The people, numbering around thirty, are disadvantaged by the fact that streams in which they can do their washing flow on both sides of the settlement but are not always clean. Forty-four gallon drums serve as water tanks. Water from a small nearby stream also serves as drinking water. In Banden all the washing is done by tank water as the nearby stream is frequently too dirty because of pigs digging at its headwaters. The men are the ones who 'work for money' and these may work as domestic servants as far away as West Goroka and around the town's commercial centre, but distance does not seem to matter so long as they live with other Bundi, who are particularly good neighbours. Most of these people living in Poinom have, on the average, been living there for at least three years. Unlike Banden, the young people in Poinom all seem to live there. Hardly any single person goes to eat in Poinom and live somewhere else. I think this is so because of the greater distance away from the town itself. Banden, compared to Poinom, is a less reputable settlement because it seems to be a settlement in which there is more conflict among the Bundi. The problems of drunkenness and family quarrels which sometimes lead to fights are more prominent in Banden than in Poinom. I believe this is so because of the greater variety of clansmen that form the Banden settlement. In Poinom there is less variety and their neighbourhood is more peaceful and understanding. One example which enhances this tighter social structure in Poinom is that, if one family runs out of food, they can easily get some from the neighbours, whereas this practice is less obvious in Banden.

The third recognisable Bundi settlement lies above the Teachers' College near the water tower. This settlement consists of six houses housing about twenty-five to thirty people. It is recognised as the 'Emegari Settlement' because the body of families forming the core of this settlement are Emegari people, Emegari being one of the tribes at the Bundi Patrol Post. This settlement has become strictly Emegari not because these people are prejudiced but because in the old days before the missionaries came to Bundi nearly all the other tribes were at war with the Emegari tribe and this tribal difference still has meaning; few, if any, outside clansmen have gone to settle amongst the Emegari. The reverse also applies. Hardly any Emegari settle among other Bundi. Even in Banden where a large variety of people are found living side by side I found no Emegari in this melting pot. Like Poinom the Emegari settlement is peaceful. There are hardly any single young men working within the town because all fled early in 1972 when an Emegari driver was involved in an accident in which the truck he was driving overturned and killed a young man from another tribe who was driving with him. The young men working in town feared any of them could be the victim of payback (the practice of inflicting retribution or seeking compensation for the death of a relative) so they fled either to home or to other towns. I believe some even fled to Port Moresby. Several of the married Emegari men work as cooks in the Teachers' College. Another works in
the Goroka Base Hospital. I noticed that this settlement looked less like a squatter settlement because their houses were spacious and were similar to those buildings owned by the usual Goroka villager. They seemed more at home, stable and self-sufficient, particularly as far as food is concerned. One could sense this air of maturity about the settlements; the Emegari make a community effort to keep their area clean.

Scattered families include those living near the Technical College. Two families are found here. The male member of one works as a cook at the Technical College and the male member of the other is one of the senior cooks at the Goroka Teachers' College. Other families include those in West Goroka where some of Bundi's most reputable men live. First is councillor Guiba, who has been here since 1945. He claims he came here with the soldiers during the war as a cook boy and now he has become quite a figure amongst the Bundi. The idea of not letting betel nut be chewed inside the market area was his and he enforced it in the council. The council has now given him a council house in the market in which he sells hamburgers and soft drinks. Councillor Guiba works in the Goroka hospital. Two other notable figures also live in West Goroka in houses supplied by the government. These three are notable figures because of their status and their seniority. It seems that the type of job one is employed in immediately distinguishes one as a respectable citizen or as just a common labourer. Another factor is the period of time one has been in Goroka. Along these lines the senior men are distinguished from the rest, who are often on the move from town to town and from settlement to settlement. Some Bundi work in town but live in one of the nearby villages. The Goroka villagers have come to accept them and they live with them. One man in such a situation was telling me how he threw a big party costing around $300 in final payment for the land on which he was building his house. There are hardly any families living within the town of Goroka other than in the settlements and areas mentioned above. I am not sure of the precise figure but I estimate the population of the Bundi within the Goroka town boundary or just out of the boundary as being around 200 to 250. If the rest of the Eastern Highlands Province were taken into account I have no doubt this population number would at least double if not more than double. Wherever I go in the Eastern Highlands, to Bena, Kainantu, plantations and factories, I see many Bundi; some I have seen before but most of them I have never seen previously. I am taken by surprise when they speak the Bundi language or introduce themselves as being Bundi.

Change

The Bundi villager whose daily life was based on self-sufficiency, tradition and clan loyalty brought himself to the white man's big place (town) to have superimposed on him a way of civilisation which he could not fully cope with. Consequently the villager finds it inevitable to change so as to be more in tune with the townspeople and their way of life. In the following lines I will put more emphasis on the change
that comes upon the women, their roles when in town and when they are home and the changes, which might seem simple but are in fact quite complex, that overcome the womenfolk when they leave home to live in town areas.

The Bundi village woman almost forms the backbone in the family although one often assumes the father should be the breadwinner and rule-maker. After the man has cleared the bush, with some help from the woman, it is left to dry. Once it is dry it is the woman’s duty to burn it, clear it and plant whatever is to be planted, with sweet potato being the basic crop. It is the woman’s duty to keep the garden clean and maintain it. The woman is responsible for the children and, in addition, she is responsible for rearing the pigs. Therefore, in a village situation, the role of the woman is vital and if it was not for the women in the community playing such a dynamic role, the community organisation would be significantly different.

Leaving all that behind, the Bundi women who reside in town areas live a totally different way of life. Once they come they realise this, they will have to change. Away with the pulpul (a possum fur and bark skirt) and bare breasts, they have to fit themselves into skirts, blouses and laplaps. A woman or a young girl who has never had any idea about wearing brassieres is now confronted with the idea of having to wear one. Potentially independent people at home, they realise that in the town they cannot eat and would have very little without their husbands working. Hardly any of the Bundi women in Goroka allow themselves to be employed. This is because very often husbands quarrel with their wives, saying that the wife is going after other men if she is not at home.

Generally most married women have children to care for and are often happy enough to stay at home and rely on the husband for all the money. They become totally dependent on their husbands and on their wantok if the husband is out of employment. The women become virtually idle. They spend most of their time making string bags and just sitting about the house if not visiting friends in other parts of the town. They do the washing of clothes and crockery and other normal house chores which include keeping the house clean and shopping. Women say that now that they are in town they regard money as being their ‘food garden’, which stresses their dependence on money. Wednesdays and Saturdays are two special days in the week in which most women go to market to purchase food and vegetables, usually enough to last three or four days, but the quantity purchased is largely dependent on how many mouths there are to feed. The market is the centre of discussion where Bundi from all over the town and many out of town come ‘to see the people’. Even people who do not have any intention of doing any buying come to the market area where they can share betel nuts, lime and pepper, and join in common discussions. They usually group in customary areas and this is the time when the councillor delivers his messages whenever he has any. Not only are the discussions brought up here sound, but this is also the place where concerned menfolk get
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together to discuss payback. Recent visitors from Bundi inform the people of the goings on in Bundi. Arguments and brawls sometimes begin and end here. Bride purchases and bride payments are popular topics often discussed in the markets. For the women this is totally different from the village situation where a woman finds little time to sit around and talk. The market plays a major role in the life of the Bundi in Goroka. However, some women realise the danger in relying too heavily on the market so they have made sizable gardens in their settlement for additional food supplies. These women say that sometimes they do not have enough money to keep them going on a full stomach so gardens of sweet potato come in very handy.

No doubt much tradition has been lost and a significant change is in the bringing up of the children. Very few Bundi speak to their children in the Bundi language. Instead Pidgin is used and even though some of the children seem to understand some of the Bundi language, their response in speech is always in Pidgin. As these children grow older and get further and further away from their parents, their mother tongue will become less used and eventually will be lost to them completely. Many of these children are never taken to their parents’ home in Bundi so I think that even though the children know that their descendants are from Bundi it will have little meaning for them as they do not know their language, stories, crafts and dances, in fact the whole life style.

Not all marriages amongst Bundi are restricted to the Bundi people. Many Bundi men have married women from other Provinces and many Bundi women have married men from other Provinces. The children of such parents are in a position where the parents often compete to socialise their children into each of their different cultures and traditions. The children are at crossroads, not knowing which one to follow, or are unfortunate because they only know the ways of one of the parents — the parent who is usually dominant in the family and this need not necessarily be the father. Not many parents send their children to school. This seems to depend largely on the job the father is employed in. The few that do send their children to school are all employed in the public service. They can rely on their jobs and know they will be around for some time so they feel safe in sending their children to school. Others, because of their short-term jobs and continuous shifting from area to area, find it unwise and expensive to send their children to any school.

The wantok system

'I welcome all wantok to my house and be hospitable to them as much as possible. There might not be any money to give them but the least I can offer them would be food and a place to sleep', says one woman living in the Poinom settlement. On the other hand a woman in Banden says ‘anybody would think my house is a compound. The food I buy caters for lots of people and I’m fed up with the whole system of wantok.'
These are two viewpoints from two women but the menfolk think *wantok* are good to have and the more one has the better it is. Obvious functions of the *wantok* system include assistance with bride purchasing, helping the *wantok* in brawls and the bailing out of individuals who are taken to the guardroom. All Bundi are *wantok* because of their common background and language but within this the *wantok* system is sometimes narrower. For example, when buying a bride only the immediate friends who are either relatives or someone from the same village play the key role in the purchasing. Whoever contributes towards the bride's payment is either a member of the same clan or, if not, a good friend from some other clan. The bride price amount is decided by the bride's people and often the amount requested does not come up because either the boy has few *wantok* or he is one who is not very popular even amongst his own *wantok* and they are reluctant to contribute. Therefore a popular young man noted for his generosity and sociability often has the security with his *wantok* and whenever he is in need they will be there to help him out, whether he be in the guardroom, at bride purchasing or in a brawl with others.

Another significant feature of the *wantok* system is that when people come from home they immediately find accommodation somewhere. The visitor is taken home, fed, and often is supplied with some money. Then he/she stays on till the next pay day when he is given some more money and often his fare is bought to go home by plane. The visitors from home usually come for many reasons but more than three-quarters give as their reason that they come for money in one way or another. They need the money for some particular purpose at home, and seeing it is very hard to find money at home they come to the stations where a relative of some sort is working. Even if a Bundi marries outside his tribe he or she is still bound to the *wantok* system and feels it a duty to contribute if another *wantok* is in need of aid. It seems that once a couple are married the *wantok* of the husband automatically become the wife's *wantok* and vice versa. They know quite well that they will never go back empty handed so they come with confidence and leave with their expectations at least partially, if not wholly, fulfilled. One would be embarrassed if one did not give any money to a visitor who was either a relative or a close friend. When these visitors go home they praise the kind and generous people to the other villagers and the not so good person is denounced, so this is one of the reasons why a working man gives without any thought as to how he is going to get his money back. They feel it is good to be popular on the home scene because someday they are bound to go back to the village, if only temporarily, and they would be reluctant to go home when they think they will not be warmly received in the village. When they go on leave they will not have a garden of their own and will be relying heavily on their relatives and other villagers, so it is unwise not to give when a relative or a close friend from the village does come to town in search of some money. A villager seldom comes to town just for the sake of coming or because he wants to tour around.
There is much to be cared for at home and he just does not get up and decide to go for a walkabout. He must be motivated by a purpose to go anywhere. Primarily, I think the word *wantok* refers to people of the same linguistic background but I think this concept is now widening and could well refer to groups who have some understanding between them, groups which get along well, and this can even extend to the situation where a friend, regardless of background, is called *wantok*, but is not tightly bound to the rights and obligations of the traditional *wantok* system.

**Social organisation in the town**

The Bundi are not a highly organised group in town — but I do not think they are the only poorly organised group. In many cases they are more organised than some other groups. The Bundi have a soccer team which competes in the town competitions. They have a councillor who cares for their welfare in general. He has convinced the people that they just cannot go on living in squatter settlements and has started the Otto Association. This association collects an annual subscription of $6 from each of its members and hopes in this way to build up its funds so that in the future it will be able to afford to tender for any land that is placed on the market. If the association can obtain land then it will put its members into low- or no-covenant dwellings on the land and so guarantee its members a permanent settlement which they lack as squatters.

Records of the amount paid for bride prices are kept in case the marriage breaks up later. The amount of money paid for the bride will then be refunded. In Poinom the residents co-operate particularly well and always pay the landlord their rent ($52 per year) for the use of the land. When a general meeting is called it is usually held near the Provincial office or in one of the settlements, particularly Poinom, or at the councillor’s residence in West Goroka. If it is heard that any form of trouble is brewing the councillor often tries to consult with the people so that they do everything within the law. He encourages sick people to be reported to him and they are immediately admitted to the hospital if possible. If any sector of the Bundi community is buying brides and if they think the cost is too much, they inform the councillor and the *komiti* (council ward members), whom they hope will negotiate to decrease the price requested. So to most Bundi councillor Guiba is ‘the man’ in town and if he dies or leaves this town I can see a couple of men who could succeed him, but I think they will be less dynamic than councillor Guiba.

**Why not many go home, even for holidays**

In addition to leaving the comforts and standards of the towns, there seem to be several reasons why many married couples are reluctant to go home. To many of us there seems to be no place better than home but to some of these people home is a place they dread. When asked they will say there are too many sorcerers at home and it is certainly no
place to bring up children. The Bundi concept of a sorcerer is a superhuman being endowed with the power to bring sickness and death upon a person regardless of relationship. Characteristics of a sorcerer are said to include: the ability to fly in space in the form of a comet with a flame trailing behind; the ability to transform into animals, especially birds or dogs; it is believed that they eat the flesh of both dead and live human beings.

Sorcery is often a practical way to get revenge because of greed and jealousy. For example, if a pig was killed and cooked within the vicinity of a sorcerer, male or female, who looked forward to a share of the pork but who in fact did not receive a share, the sorcerer might bring sickness or even death upon one of those who had had some of the pork. The sorcerer acts by extracting part of his or her victim's flesh and the flesh extracted is always internal, therefore invisible. It is also said that sorcerers are a danger to those who have been in towns because most sorcerers are flesh hunting and those who have come from towns are more fleshy than the thin people from home. That is why town-dwellers are reluctant to leave for home at times.

Many of these people have been away from home too long and are worried as to how they will settle down when and if they do go home. For many of these people their lands are probably claimed and used by people living at home and if they went back and made an attempt to regain the ownership of the land it is suspected that they will fail because the *kiap* (the officer of the Division of District Administration) and the council at Bundi would probably speak and act in favour of the present holder of the land. Another obvious but underlying problem is the couple's re-adaptation to the village. The woman will have to do much labour, raising pigs, children and attending to the gardens while the man will cut down bushes for gardens, build houses and construct fences. They might try to settle down and gradually meet the village demands but at some time or other they will feel the burden of village life more so than the older villagers. These couples have known 'better' days while they were in towns so they will get restless and before one knows they will be back in town and this indicates the changed values of these people.

As for the young people, they seem to seek variety in their life. In addition to the fears of sorcery and the shortage of young girls at home the young people regard town life as an escape from the dullness of village life, from the village Pidgin schools and from council taxes and work. The days when it was usual for young men to go hunting equipped with bows and arrows and as their father's helpers seem all a novelty. Once in town they are already some way on the road to finding western wealth and because they do not really miss village life they do not see why they have to go home, to lead a village life again.

**Conclusion**

The Bundi people of the Madang Province form a minor section of
the urban population in Goroka and are sprinkled throughout the urban and semi-urban areas surrounding Goroka. I believe that there will always be many Bundi here and there is no doubt that the number will increase as time goes by. The people, compelled to come here for some reasons which we know and some which we can only guess at, will continue to maintain this system of group living within the wantok system. As time goes on I think they will realise the benefits of being an organised body and will finally end up in some settlement where they will become a greater but more closed group, more powerful in their ability to realise their motives, whether they be for good or bad. It seems contradictory to say that the wantok system will become more closed after having stated earlier that the definition of the term wantok is expanding but judging from present conditions, the crime rates and the flow into towns in years to come will supersede present conditions and I feel there will be a need for a more closed wantok system if certain sectors of the community want to keep their identity, pride and security. Thus the wantok system, I believe, will exist for a long time because it is largely based on the have and the have not and for the sake of popular support for the individual or family.
Many studies of migrants to cities treat the behaviour observed as an adaptation to new conditions, modified by cultural survivals from the individual's rural past. Successful adaptation in the city is then viewed as the individual's becoming 'urbanised' or as adopting values different from those which were adaptive in the rural context. This paper suggests that at least some urban migrants may successfully adapt to the urban situation without any adoption of so-called 'urban values'. Their goals remain the same as before. Their strategies of choice between alternative behaviours while in town continue to aim towards ultimate success in a rural context and are conditioned by the alternative courses of action open to them in their villages. Yet individualism, entrepreneurship, involvement in activities, and much use of urban facilities occurs without signs of anomie.

This rural strategy of urban adaptation as found in Port Moresby may occur in part because highland New Guineans, such as the Siane, have begun migrating to the town only in the last fifteen years and have been flooding in since 1962. Partly, it may be due to the affluence of the town and its relatively easy interracial mixing in sports, churches, bars and schools; to the newly founded university which opened in March 1967; and to the House of Assembly. In part, it may be due to the comparatively greater economic and social advantages available in rural areas of New Guinea where affluent subsistence economies are rapidly becoming affluent peasant societies with every man owning land and

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growing cash crops. People feel the worth of village life and want to return, bringing the advantages of the town with them.

Our recognition that rural strategy is being used is due to our long involvement with Siane in their rural environment since 1952. While we lived for seven months in 1967 at the newly founded University of Papua New Guinea in Port Moresby, we unexpectedly met numbers of old Siane friends.\(^1\) These ranged from Members of the House of Assembly (MHA) to semiskilled electricians and drivers to unemployed and unskilled labourers. We had kept in touch with many of them for over fifteen years, while some who had been small children fifteen years earlier still remembered us, though we knew their parents better. Our 1967 visits to the Siane area to continue the collection of longitudinal data provided an occasion for carrying messages (and goods) to and fro. Our house became one of the many foci for Siane activity in Port Moresby, and we became involved in other Siane activities. Looking at these activities with a knowledge of their rural background provides a basis for understanding that a student with knowledge of only the town does not have. As the Siane themselves all look at the town through eyes trained in a rural context, the perspective on their urban behaviour, gained by an anthropologist who has also worked in a rural context, may indeed be closer to the correct interpretation of that behaviour than is an interpretation based only on the urban behaviour. Even if it is not possible for every student of migration to have previously studied the areas from which migrants come, the present study suggests that this would be a desirable ideal. Such a study permits one to see the process of adaptation to urban living as a matter of individual choice among a whole series of options, including that of a return to specific opportunities in the rural area, rather than as the fitting of a rural individual into a structured ‘network’ of relationships determined by the urban context alone.

**BACKGROUND**

Port Moresby, since 1947 the capital of the combined Australian Territories of Papua and New Guinea, was before World War II the administrative centre of the smaller Territory of Papua. The major employer has always been the government, although European government officials have always employed servants. The port itself, though backed by steep hills and having no hinterland, has been, since the 1880s, a headquarters for trading companies, and they, in turn, have employed ships’ crews and dock workers. Two hotels have long been prominent features. Until 1940, Port Moresby's main links were with nearby coastal villages inhabited by Motu and Hula peoples, for whom it provided a market for their produce and occasional labour (Belshaw 1957).

\(^1\) Salisbury (1962a) presents some basic ethnography on the Siane. The extensive intermarriage of Siane and Dene speakers, and our own links into Dene villages, made it more meaningful to discuss the two linguistic groups as a single entity. Salisbury (1962b) describes these language group links.
World War II brought a huge influx of military personnel, overflowing the sleepy coastal strip and constructing roads, military camps, and airstrips in the semi-desert valleys behind the coastal hills. Most of the military establishments were abandoned in 1945, except for the main airstrip and those that could be used for peacetime 'total institutions' (the hospital and a teachers' college). However, the coastal town remained at its inflated size, as the administration of the Territory of New Guinea was removed from Rabaul to Port Moresby. The bureaucracy more than doubled its pre-war size and increased the importance of the town for villages along the coast. Migrants began to come from more distant groups to live in houseboat settlements (Belshaw 1957) or shanty towns (Hitchcock and Oram 1967.) Employment began to diversify as service industries developed, the largest being a brewery.

In 1959, a reoccupation of the inland savannah valleys began with the construction of housing estates. These housing estates were mainly government owned or were on sites leased by the government to large private companies to provide housing for their employees. There was virtually no privately built housing as almost all land is either owned by the Motu 'under native custom', which precludes its sale except to the government, or was acquired by the government in the nineteenth century and was Crown land. This was the case with most savannah land which, although Motu hunting territory, was appropriated as 'unoccupied land'. The Motu were thus unwilling to agree to any further land sales and opposed squatting except by kinsmen from nearby villages. The government only leased land to persons able to construct expensive buildings and it enforced strict zoning and covenant provisions. Even though this policy constricted the potential growth of the town there began a dramatic expansion of building by expatriates.

After 1959, the centre of gravity of the town shifted to the inland area where hospitals, shopping centres, army barracks, motels, football stadiums, cinemas and a drive-in theatre, and, in 1967, a university followed the first development along the wartime road. Construction in 1967 was booming, as was the light industry which supports it — cement block manufacture, glass louvres, steel frame making, etc. As all the workers, Papua New Guinean and expatriate, demanded stores, bars, restaurants, entertainment, schools and transportation, service industries expanded exponentially. The total population grew from 1500 in 1939, to 25,000 in 1963, while a guess would be that it had reached 40,000 by 1967. By then the town sprawled for more than 11 kilometres along the road from the airport to the old centre, and a further 5 kilometres along the coast. New developments were rapidly filling in the gaps between each settled area of savannah.

Highland migration in general, and Siane and Dene migration in particular, mirrors this history. The first migrant workers left the newly opened highlands in 1948 for work as indentured labourers on plantations, and not as migrants to Port Moresby. A few highlanders visited Port Moresby briefly on government business before 1959. Thus, the
local member of the 1968-72 House of Assembly, Yauwe Moses, was brought down for the Coronation celebrations in 1953. A few policemen and trainees arrived after 1955. Around 1959, some Siane indentured labourers, en route for Papuan plantations, passed through Port Moresby, and on their return to the highlands began to talk about its employment possibilities. The vast majority of highland migrants, however, continued to sign indenture contracts to work for plantations, which paid their round trip air fares back to the villages when the contract expired.

After 1960, several men with plantation experience decided to use their earnings from coffee growing (and virtually every Siane male has land on which coffee is grown) to pay their own air fares to Port Moresby, there to seek employment on a casual labour basis. As they and the few government employees provided links from particular villages to town, so a growing proportion of those seeking work outside the Siane area have come to Port Moresby rather than going to plantations. Many, especially youths with rudimentary literacy, now come to Port Moresby as their first experience away from home. In 1967, about 500 of the rural population of 20,000 Siane and Dene speakers were away from home; almost half of these were in Port Moresby, and the number was increasing throughout our seven-month residence. Known arrivals outnumbered known departures by four to one.

Our statistics were compiled partly from our own participant observation and inquiries about residence, employment, and migration history, and partly by employing Siane assistants to widen our networks by obtaining names and background information about other Siane in town. As our illiterate assistants had little knowledge of calendar dates, the recording of their data took much time and needed considerable elicitation to put in standard form. Over time, however, data collection improved, and we feel confident that for the last few months of our stay every planeload of immigrants and most individual returnees were recorded. The names of 275 Siane and Dene were recorded as being in Port Moresby for some time during this period, including returnees and seven short-term visitors who had mostly paid their air fares merely to visit the city and friends. Though the accuracy of figures based on early periods of the survey is questionable and omissions were still being discovered in the last week of our work, we feel confident that the final figures are about 90 per cent complete.

THE PATTERN OF MIGRANT LIFE:
A NETWORK ANALYSIS

The network concepts of analysts of African migrant labourers enable us to describe ‘the type and the channels of interaction between persons, and the extent of regularities which given a minimum of order and coherence to social life in communities which have no clear structure of discrete groups’ (Southall 1961:25). They provide a way of descriptively summarising how Siane migrants ‘behave, the sorts of residential units in which they live, the activity spheres which link them to other
town-dwellers and the channels which they can optionally activate for different purposes.

Five main categories of persons were included in our list of 233 Siane and Dene known to be in Port Moresby on 3 December 1967, and the behaviour of each category was markedly different. Eleven were wives and children, including three youths boarding at the Anglican school. They, with the thirteen whose employment was not known, will not be considered in the following figures. Gang labourers, working either for large trading companies, construction firms, or such government departments as Public Works, numbered 116 (55 per cent) of the workers. Unskilled workers for small private employers numbered 37 (18 per cent). Twenty-two Siane (11 per cent) had somewhat more skilled or responsible jobs. Thirty-two (15 per cent) were unemployed, but to these may be added the two in gaol.

The gang labourers sleep in labour compounds (kompaun) and are issued either cooked or uncooked rations. A group of workers from a single Siane village, sometimes supplemented by affinally related individuals from other villages, but still numbering between three and ten persons only, tends to form a single unit (lain). They generally occupy one section of a sleeping hut and are detailed together as a work group, with one person acting as a spokesman. During off-duty hours, the group splits into small friendship units. There is little interaction with other employees of the same firm, most of whom are non Siane or Dene speakers. Occupants of the same sleeping hut rarely know even the names of occupants from a different linguistic group.

Persons who work for private employers (termed haus boi), sleep in accommodations, adjoining the employer's house, or in his place of business if he is a storekeeper. Such workers interact mainly with their employer, often quite intensely. Their relations with household servants working nearby tends to be distant, unless the servant is from the same language group (wantok). In a new housing area, such as that built by the university, it was possible to observe how news of available servant or gardener positions is spread. Once the signs of expected new occupants are noted, an already employed servant brings an unemployed fellow villager to await the newcomers' arrival and coaches him on the technique for manipulating the employment interview. There seemed, however, to be a ceiling on the number of men from a single linguistic group employed within one neighbourhood. Servants rarely referred wantok from villages other than their own and were selective regarding which of their own villagers they referred, so that the number rarely exceeded four. There is considerable evening visiting for talk, card playing, and singing among such small groups of wantok, but otherwise the life of a household servant involves long hours and solitary evenings.

The twenty-two more skilled or responsible workers filled a variety of positions and lived in a variety of accommodations. Five had risen to the rank of foreman (bosboi) supervising labour lines for large employers; another six were semi-skilled workers, carpenters, drivers, or plumbers, with similar employers, while one (with an exceptionally high
education) was a clerical worker in a large store. The remaining ten were in the police force or the army. This category of worker has a focal role in the network of Siane interaction in town. A bosboi, or skilled employee of a large firm, is usually put in charge of a sleeping hut in the firm’s compound; after several years the employer may provide him with a separate house to which he may bring his wife if he is married, or where he may live with other semi-skilled workers in less crowded conditions. In the police, or the Pacific Islands Regiment, there is the same pattern of barracks living for the person with limited service, with separate married housing for more senior workers.

The focal role of these workers is clearest in relation to the unemployed (pasendia — from English ‘passenger’), who include both newcomers who have not yet found work and resident unemployed. When a newcomer arrives in town, having paid his own fare, he finds his way to the house or hut of one of the senior Siane, where he is treated as a visitor and lodged — unbeknown to his host’s employer. Other fellow villagers come to hear his news and to tell him of possible jobs. Within a week, he begins looking in earnest for a job. A bosboi may obtain a position for him within his own work gang, or a servant or gardener job may be available. More frequently, however, he goes on a personal door-to-door inquiry for work or applies to the official employment office. As soon as a job is found the newcomer moves into the living accommodation provided by his employer.

If he does not find work after two weeks or so, he still moves out of his temporary quarters. He continues roving in search of work, but each night a friend feeds and lodges him, either surreptitiously or after asking the bosboi of the hut. No friend can afford to house such a pasendia for more than one night, so the resident workseeker moves on each night, his only ‘home’ being the bag of personal possessions left in the care of his closest employed friend. Pasendia status is seen by Siane as degrading, and after a month of it even the most persevering job seeker begins trying to borrow the air fare home from a clansman.

The ties which pasendia activate are principally those of being fellow clansmen, sister’s sons, mother’s brothers, sister’s husbands or wife’s brothers of the individual whose hospitality is being sought, although casual hospitality is also occasionally offered to a completely unknown individual. The same channels are used by employed Siane who wish to stage a party. Most commonly an individual decides to ‘feed’ all men whose mothers came from his clan — all his ‘sisters’ sons’ — as is his traditional obligation and privilege (Salisbury 1962a). The sisters’ sons, in turn, are obligated to give valuables to members of the village from which their mother came. In the urban context this is interpreted to mean a gift of cash. The Siane man wishing to accumulate cash can collect food and give a party; in return the recipients of food will soon thereafter give him money. In this way, he can collect the fare home should he decide to return, or, if he is an entrepreneur, he can entertain frequently and profitably.

There is thus a range of behaviours usable by different Siane. Those
who are active, initiating meetings, visiting isolates, and inviting them to parties, tend to draw money (or food in the case of *pasendia*) away from those who are less active. Gregarious Siane can walk the streets from compound to compound or from pub to pub ‘shouting’ drinks or being ‘shouted’ as long as their earnings last. Pay days come every two weeks, and the succeeding weekend is time for such people to settle debts and create new ones. The less gregarious, and those concerned about saving their earnings, must stay at home in their bunks if they are to avoid being invited to parties or involved in other expensive exchanges. For those who have already attained wealth, and who are active enough to avoid being drained of it by the less wealthy, gambling parties are the most actively social occasions. When one is searching for a big gambling friend, everyone whom one asks knows where the action is — or was — for like Damon Runyon's floating crap games, the action has always moved by the time the non-gambling visitor arrives.

Generally, however, life for most Siane is a rather isolated one of close friendship with one or two fellow villagers, and a superficial though frequent acquaintance in a barrackslike hut with co-workers or co-residents, most of whom come from other linguistic groups. The population of almost 250 Siane can be visualised as very widely dispersed over the whole town area and even out into the countryside, for some plantation owners 60 km from Port Moresby recruit labour through the Port Moresby Employment Office. The largest units found are the groups of up to ten workers from a single village, forming part of an unskilled labour gang. Almost as many individuals live alone (or with wife and children), and even the larger groupings split into pairs or groups of three friends for leisure time activities. Eighty per cent of the groupings consist of members of single-clan villages, with the balance being matrilateral or affinal kinsmen of the group core. Each villager knows and interacts with other members of his home village first. He may know somewhat less well the migrants from three or four other Siane or Dene villages to which he is related and he may recognise migrants from other villages as speaking the same language, but he knows by name only the important men — the *bosboi*. He relates to individuals in terms of kinship and only rarely on the basis of common language or wider political ties.

Sporadic contacts outside his close group provide the circulation of gossip and news during working hours — for example a servant accompanying his employer shopping who meets a Siane store cleaner, a works department gang waving and yelling news as they go by on a truck, or a *pasendia* greeting other Siane at a building site as he walks by in search of work. Weekend trips to the trade store area, an evening visit of someone planning a party, or a Sunday walk out for 16 km to visit a fellow villager employed as a servant at the Laloki mental hospital or the Bomana police training centre provide the main communication opportunities in a life where sleeping in one’s bunk is the most common and least expensive pastime.
The information flow can be extremely rapid nonetheless, despite the narrow range and small number of types of individual ties. As every individual of each village has a different set of villages to which he is related, a group of eight fellow villagers may, on pooling their circles of acquaintance, know over half the Siane in town. Within a day everyone can learn important news.

**THE DYNAMICS OF MIGRANCY:**

**A FORMAL ECONOMIC ANALYSIS**

Although network analysis gives a clear descriptive picture of migrant life, it is less satisfying for understanding why the observed pattern occurs and how the pattern would change given such external changes as a decrease in the Australian subsidy to Papua New Guinea, most of which is used to develop Port Moresby. For such purposes, we propose to use an analysis of the alternatives open to migrants (and prospective migrants) on both a long- and a short-term basis, together with an analysis of the calculations made by Siane in choosing among these alternatives. In short, what the present study attempts is a consideration of some of the economic choices and long-term strategies underlying migrant behaviour among the Siane.

The first choice to be considered is why the migrants come to Port Moresby from Siane. The choices available are to work at home as a subsistence farmer growing coffee as a cash crop, to migrate to plantations as an indentured labourer with the employer paying travel costs, to obtain relatively skilled employment elsewhere in the highlands, or to come to Port Moresby paying one's own air fare. None of these options involves a decision to leave the highlands permanently.

The choice among the options can be viewed as one made entirely in terms of the short-run financial return. Most workers in Port Moresby receive the official minimum wage, at present (1971) $6.50 per week or 93 cents per day. Plantation workers earn about 25 cents per day, after their board and lodging is paid. In Siane villages there is little paid employment, but our calculations of the rate of return for work on personally owned coffee groves yield an average of about $1.80 per day. The figure is higher the closer one lives to the main highlands road where costs of transporting coffee beans to the factory in Kundiawa are low. In areas far from the road, the 1967 return per man-day was less than $1.20, and, as would be expected, less coffee was grown there.

On the other hand, few Siane have planted sufficient land to give them full-time employment. The decision by administration mediators that land title can be given to people with only usufruct rights if they are using land has made trustees of clan estates unwilling to allow individuals to plant coffee freely and has lowered the rate of planting (Salisbury 1964). Many individuals own trees which are not yet bearing, while others have been able to plant enough to provide only a few weeks of work each year.

It would be expected on this basis that only those Siane with low coffee incomes would migrate and that the preference would be to go to
Port Moresby. The need to pay the air fare from Goroka to Port Moresby, which in 1967 was $30.40 on a regular flight, complicates the picture. It would then be expected that only people with some local source of cash would go to Port Moresby, while those with no rural income would leave for plantation work.

This is indeed the observed pattern. Virtually no Siane from villages near the highlands road go to Port Moresby. The few migrants from those villages are in relatively skilled employment in the highlands. Villages a little distance from the road have sufficient money available to pay the fares, but the individuals who migrate are those who do not have enough coffee to occupy themselves fully at home. They are either landless boys of about seventeen; recently married youths who have planted areas of coffee and have left their wives to tend the bushes until the coffee is harvestable; or older, but not yet important, men whose dependants are able to do the part-time work of picking and drying small amounts of coffee to earn a small income, while they, the household heads, go to town to earn a cash nest egg for investment at home on their return. Few migrants come from the distant villages where there is insufficient cash for the fares and where indentured labour is the quickest way of earning cash.

Changes in the figures of the individual's expected rate of return for work, coupled again with the need for paying air fares, also explains why particular individuals return home. If an individual becomes unemployed, his expected return from staying in Port Moresby drops below the average figure of 93 cents. Especially if he has a part-time income in the village, he tends to leave for home before a week of unemployment and job hunting has passed. For men whose coffee was not yet bearing when they travelled down, the maturation of their coffee trees raises the rate of return for work in the village. Though they rarely quit a steady town job merely because their coffee trees have matured, when this has happened, the arrival of news that a wife is threatening to run away, that a mother is sick, or that a brother is beginning to harvest the coffee is enough to persuade such a person to return home immediately. For those with a lower income prospect at home, the tolerance of unemployment in Port Moresby is greater, but even for them there is clearly a point at which the prospective return from staying drops below the known return from subsistence farming. Obtaining a loan of the air fare is then the only barrier to return.

A second series of choices can open up after a migrant has been in Port Moresby for some time — the possibility of higher paying employment or of entrepreneurial profits from investment in the highlands. These possibilities are widely discussed even when monetary wage figures are not precisely known. A truck driver in Siane could earn $25 a week in 1967, while the net annual profits of a businessman owning a truck, employing a driver, and buying coffee from the growers for resale to the coffee factories can amount to over $2000 p.a. (Finney 1968). Wage rates for such occupations tended to be lower in Port Moresby, and, as the skills were more widely available, a higher level of ability
was demanded. But for the young arrival in Port Moresby, the possibility of learning to drive while working for a trucking firm or learning how to run a trade store while cleaning the floor of a supermarket is a major incentive to stay, even while earning only unskilled pay, until those skills are learned. A long period of *pasendia* status may be endured with this possibility in mind, while employment that would provide cash, but not even fanciful possibilities for acquiring skills, may be refused. Probably a third of all jobs are chosen in terms of acquiring skills that might be used at home. At the other extreme, the cash felt to be sufficient (even if mistakenly so) to provide capital for a trade store or a coffee pulper may lead a regular and apparently committed worker to quit and return home unexpectedly. To date, however, such departures are rare — only two occurred to our knowledge in 1967 — for reasons which will appear. Nonetheless the adoption of frugal habits by many Siane, and of what Europeans would consider 'rational' desires for self-improvement possibilities in a job, is in fact justified by a long-term strategy of returning home.

There are two categories of migrants, however, for whom the average rates of Port Moresby and the highlands have little bearing on their choices — the government employees (policemen and soldiers) and those who have achieved relatively responsible or skilled private employment. Both categories include in their choice-options alternative occupations back home, but the comparison between their current occupations in town, their future occupations in Port Moresby, and their possible occupations at home are long-range ones that include considerations other than money.

Let us consider the government employees first. Their earnings are well above the dollar per day minimum, and may even be above the $1.80 maximum expectable income for village farmers. They have no immediate financial stake in returning home, but have a considerable stake in returning home on retirement (or when they have amassed savings) to a position that gives more than financial rewards. It is such people who tend to return to become entrepreneurs, politicians and influential (and wealthy) village leaders (Salisbury 1962a). But to achieve such positions — and again Finney (1968) gives recent examples — involves the judicious financing of enterprises, the recruitment of labour from supporters, and the acquiring of land rights from obligated friends. In short, it requires that an aspiring individual in Port Moresby must maintain his political ties with influential figures from the home area and with up-and-coming newcomers. The periodic grants of paid leave for government servants permit these ties to be established and the relative ease with which they obtain married housing permits the ties to be maintained in Port Moresby. There is a flow of village councillors, or wealthy relatives of migrants, and of important local political figures visiting the capital for periods of a week or so. The visitors always bring news and presents from home. Naturally they stay with government officials in married housing if possible, and the officials show them around. To the officials’ houses also come the ordinary
migrants, eager to hear the important men of their villages, and even while the official himself is away at work, his wife and the visitors may be surrounded by a crowd of migrants. A kettle full of tea is always available.

Such entertaining might be expected to create a constant drain on the resources of officials, but the drain is recognised and is kept within close limits. While the crowd of Port Moresby migrants is present only tea is available; when the distinguished visitors only are present, bottles of beer or lemonade are brought out — four bottles of beer represent a day’s pay. When the host suggests taking the visitor to see the sights he may well propose a visit to a football match or a movie — the price of admission is a reasonable long-range investment against retirement and is a short-range reciprocation for gifts brought from home. When the crowd reaches the gate, only those who can afford to pay their own admission enter with the distinguished visitor. Afterwards, the events of the day provide conversation for all the migrants and memorable occasions for the visitors. In short, officials with a long-run commitment to saving and to establishing themselves politically at home tend to associate mainly symbolically with the mass of Siane migrants, but to place a considerable emphasis on the visits of important men from the villages and on actions which symbolise adherence to Siane political unity. It was such an official who collected bride price contributions for a Siane man marrying a girl from a coastal Hula village, and another who organised a meeting to collect a highland council tax from absen­tees in Port Moresby.

The position of a skilled or responsible worker in private employment is complicated by his higher wage and by lack of leave provisions in most private firms. As soon as his wages in town exceed about $2 per day, a return to coffee growing becomes an unreasonable option, and only the possibilities of skilled employment or business investment in the highlands are significant. Yet at the same time he does not have open the opportunities of a government official for retaining village political ties — the leave home and often the married housing. To maintain the possibilities of ultimate success as a Siane businessman he can, however, cultivate ties with younger migrants. As a bosboi he can entertain newcomers to his hut, and his employers may welcome this political success, insofar as it means that the bosboi keeps control of his work gang and can recruit new and manageable workers. Unfor­tunately, such a bosboi may find that he cannot achieve the social distance from his supporters that enables a government official to remain solvent. Entertaining new arrivals may tax his finances.

However, financial success is vital for the skilled worker as he will have to achieve political renown among senior Siane after his return, and not before. The bosboi, to gain outstanding financial success, turns to entrepreneurial behaviour in Port Moresby. He organises food parties and collects cash returns; he becomes a gambler; he organises un­licensed taxi firms for chartering cars to groups of Siane migrants or for teaching them to drive. Purchases of secondhand cars for about
$500 or $600 by partnerships of such Siane entrepreneurs were common in 1967, and all the participants described partnerships in glowing terms as leading to the purchase of trucks in the highlands. Unfortunately two of the cars so bought were shown to us as wrecks, needing repairs that would have cost as much as buying another secondhand vehicle. The nest egg that would permit a return home usually remains a cuckoo's egg.

This entrepreneurial attitude towards other Siane seems also to be correlated with the move of a *bosboi* from heading a hut in a compound to living in a separate house. In such a situation he switches his behaviour to one of social distance from other Siane. He greets every Siane he meets, but no longer has time to stop and talk; he is always busy, on the way to a destination elsewhere. He does not deny the claims on him of other Siane, but he delays responding to those claims as long as he can with decency. Most are successful in this, and it is mainly bookkeeping or mechanical catastrophes that are the threat to urban entrepreneurs among the Siane.

Should the entrepreneur lose a regular job at $20 a week or should his car become a total loss, such a worker is in a very difficult situation. Returning to the highlands has become infeasible as he now feels he is 'above' the maximum income scale of farmers. The fortune that would make his triumphant return possible is now remote and he has no private housing in Port Moresby that would permit him to become a full-time entrepreneur there. Yet to accept an unskilled job at the minimum wage would mean losing all the prestige he has earned in relation to the general run of migrants. He may look for an offbeat position that offers prestige (even if little pay) — one man had turned to professional boxing — and until such a position turns up his only prospect may be to lose himself from general view. Alternatively he can try to gain high returns from a position without prestige, such as fringe operators profiting from activities that border on (or may entail) illegality, like smuggling in playing cards from visiting ships' crews. Although such skilled 'dropouts' are statistically very few in number, there are likely to be many more as Port Moresby develops and the number of skilled workers increases. They will be the real casualties of urban migration; they are the people for whom the rural strategy of adaptation has become an impossible option.

**Conclusions**

An analysis of Siane migration to Port Moresby in terms of individual economic strategies does more than throw light on the dynamics behind the present patterns of behaviour. It enables one to predict how migrant behaviour would change in response to eventualities such as a decline in the availability of unskilled work, an increase in the Port Moresby wage scale, or a change in the legislation which at present (1967) up when a focal member, such as a *bosboi*, gets private housing all

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2 Until 1974 the import of playing cards was illegal. Gambling remains illegal.
effectively prevents the building of private housing for unskilled Papua New Guinean workers.

The small size of residential groups, their scattering, and their break-up make sense in terms of the economic calculations of different categories of migrants: the newcomers looking for established acquaintances who can tide them over the first search for employment; the more established workers trying to save money and to limit their Siane interaction to a few close friends, except on special occasions; the bosboi earning job promotion by widening his contacts among migrants; the skilled or responsible worker establishing social distance while becoming a part-time entrepreneur in anticipation of achieving importance in his village; and the established urban government employees cultivating ties with high-status rural Siane, but keeping lower-status urban migrants at a distance. It is not merely that such behaviour makes sense within the urban context, but that it makes sense only when both the urban and the rural contexts are considered together. What might be interpreted as 'highly urbanised' behaviour in some situations and 'irrational survivals of rural values' in others, in fact can be viewed as a single consistent and rational rural-oriented strategy of choice, applied in an urban context by different categories of workers.

The strategies, it would be predicted, will continue to be used even if the urban parameters change. Let us consider only one of the parameters that condition the actual choices that the rural strategy gives rise to—that of housing availability. It is the virtually complete unavailability of housing, except that of an employer, that makes pasendia status so degrading to Siane, that makes the role of the hut bosboi so important, and that gives the man with married housing such status. If the regulations governing the sale and use of land were to change the present analysis would lead us to predict that the Siane who would take advantage of the new regulations would be the privately employed senior workers, who would build not for themselves, but as entrepreneurs. They would offer housing to other Siane and would expect payment for it — especially from 'sisters' sons'. Unemployed workers would continue to be under pressure to return home, but the pressure of the constant payment of rent would be more calculable. The length of time needed before the pressure became intolerable would be determined by the willingness of fellow clansmen, including the entrepreneur himself, to pay the rent for an unemployed person. That, in its turn, would depend on the level of rent charged, as would the nature of Siane networks in Port Moresby. With low rents there would be a strong tendency for Siane to stick together and for the unemployed to be supported by groups of friends. With high rents there would tend to be much fragmenting of the Siane population. Individuals would be inclined to live apart from other Siane for fear they might be involved in expensive support of nonworkers, and when unemployed they would be under stronger pressure to return home. It might well be that speculative Siane building entrepreneurs would tend to rent to and overcharge non-Siane. In short, low rents would be charged by entrepreneurs
oriented more to permanent town living, and this would tend to encourage 'tribalism' by Siane tenants in town. Those entrepreneurs oriented to quick profits and a rapid return home would tend to discourage interaction among Siane migrants.

The final example enables us to see more clearly the relationship between a network analysis of personal relationships and a formal economic analysis of individual options. The best prediction based on the first analysis is that of a continuation of the use of existing network channels, but this tends to be less accurate than one based on a formal analysis of options, since the latter enables one to consider the dynamic effect of quantitative changes. But both analyses are necessary. The former analysis permits one to describe the existing parameters within which choices are made, and only on the basis of such a description can one analyse quantitatively which factors affect choices. Before being able to predict the effect of changing parameters one must also proceed to the level of analysing individual choice options, but the predictions one makes can only be put into specific descriptive form if one knows the nature of existing networks. While network analysis alone may remain descriptive and provide only *post facto* explanations, without network analysis a formal economic analysis is not possible. Both analyses, when combined, yield a balanced picture of the dynamics of migrant urban behaviour.
Labour Supply and Economic Development in the Southern Highlands of Papua New Guinea*

G. T. HARRIS

This chapter provides some information on the flow of migrant labour from Koroba and Pangia Districts in the Southern Highlands Province of Papua. Drawing on the work of other researchers, I aim to present a descriptive model typifying the transition of highlands societies from pure subsistence to societies in which a significant proportion of resource allocation is made with the aim of securing a cash return. This is not to suggest an artificial concoction of stages; rather, I intend to show, given the existence of certain important features inherent in highlands economies, together with the sorts of pressures likely to occur, both a feasible path of development and the reasons for change occurring.

Migrant labour from the highlands can be of two types. Agreement employment occurs with the Highland Labour Scheme, under which expenses of travel, medical examination and care, food, shelter, clothing, equipment and repatriation are provided by the employer, normally a coastal plantation. Independent migration occurs when an individual on his own initiative leaves his village and travels elsewhere, normally to an urban centre.

There are several historical features of the supply of labour that provide a useful background for this investigation. First, there has been the historical trend for recruitment to move into more remote areas as it reaches a limit and then falls off in the current areas. This fall-off has been taken to imply that Papua New Guineans are either migrating to satisfy some sort of adventure or curiosity-urge, fulfilling some sort of expected role, or alternatively working to acquire a given amount of cash perhaps to make some specific payment, for example tax or bride-price, or to make some particular purchase. Once these motives are satisfied, migration dwindles.

*This paper is based on a study of economic development in the Koroba and Pangia Districts of the Southern Highlands. I visited the area in January and February 1971, as a member of the Economics Department of La Trobe University. I was supported by the Joint Schools Research Committee of that university. I am indebted to W. R. Stent and A. Strathern for comments.

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Secondly, and associated with this, is an apparent inverse relationship between the supply of contract or agreement labour from any area and an increase in economic opportunities such as casual labour and cash cropping within that area (Dept of Labour 1969a: 14-16). This suggests that once labour has been experienced, migrants want to return home and transfer their attention to casual employment and cash cropping. From this security they may then make independent migrations to centres of employment, normally maintaining strong links with kinsmen and the home village to which they aspire to return.

Several studies (Oram 1968a, 1968b; Epstein 1969; Salisbury and Salisbury 1970) indicate that even though migrants see themselves as temporary sojourners in an urban environment of greater economic opportunity, they still may stay for the rest of their working lives. Nor is a semi-mercenary motive the only or probably the major motive in maintaining village ties. It is in his village that a Papua New Guinean is rooted and grounded and has his being. Thus, for example, Koroba's first university student was moved to visit the District office prior to his departure in 1970, in an attempt to safeguard his landholdings during his absence.

This chapter examines the evidence available in an attempt to answer the 'why' implicit in these hypotheses and therefore provide a basis for policies to encourage, discourage, or more effectively channel such labour flows, thereby providing enlightenment on the process of development in the home District. The second section provides a background to the two Districts; in the third section migration data are presented; the fourth section evaluates these data and presents an alternative to the economic opportunities explanation of migration for newly-contacted regions; the fifth section builds a model of village cash crop development, and the final section makes some concluding remarks.

Background

Before assessing the trends of labour-supply movement, it will be useful to examine selected features of the Districts' history and socio-economic framework. After initial penetration by Hides and O'Malley in 1935, the Southern Highlands was virtually untouched until the 1950s; District headquarters were established at Koroba in 1955 and at Pangia in 1961. Fighting continued well into the late 1950s. From the early 1960s the reports speak of a keen desire by indigenes to obtain cash and a clamour for the introduction of suitable cash crops. Enthusiasm was soon to wane. An illustration of the rapidity of assimilation of European ideas is given by the fact that the headquarters station and Lutheran mission sites at Pangia were purchased in 1961 with mother-of-pearl shell, but by 1965 only cash was acceptable for

1There are two groupings in Koroba, the Huri (also referred to as the Huli) and the Duna. They are compatible and sufficiently similar to be treated as one for the purpose of this chapter. See, for the Huri, Glasse (1959a, 1959b, 1965, 1968); for the Duna, Modjeska (1969); for the Wiru of Pangia, A. Strathern (1968, 1970a, 1970b).
transactions, with some traditional exceptions. The development of cash crops has been hindered, however, by the distance to markets and consequent high cost of transport, particularly in Koroba.

The economies are largely based on subsistence sweet potato cropping; small quantities of pitpit, native cabbage, some European vegetables and sugar cane are also grown. Tinned fish and meats and rice are popular tradestore purchases, but most families have such luxuries rarely, particularly in Koroba, where there are few stores. Yields from the volcanic soils are high, gardening occurs all year round and land is plentiful. An able-bodied man is capable of producing his requirements with only a moderate expenditure of time and energy.\(^2\) He is, however, obliged to provide one day’s paid work a week on road construction and maintenance and one day on developmental activities (almost inevitably pasture improvement and fencing for cattle projects), and he may be further obliged to assist the local missions with manual labour. It is a common complaint that such demands are excessive. The villagers give them as an explanation for the famines of sweet potato, which recur every two or three years.

In Koroba in the last two years extensive indigenous participation in cash producing has occurred with the introduction of cattle projects. Cash cropping was begun in earnest in 1965 with the planting of coffee; the local government council enthusiastically hired three agricultural field workers and the prospects looked promising. Plantings ceased in 1967 with the Papua New Guinea-wide curtailment caused by world market uncertainties.\(^3\) Despite numerous suggestions, nothing seemed promising, and cash earning from agriculture has been limited to market sales.\(^4\)

In mid-1960 the infectious excitement of the arrival of the first twenty head for cattle projects, plus the appointment to the District of an African-experienced Rural Development Officer, saw the beginnings of an upsurge in development, particularly in cattle. In January 1971 there were 239 cattle in 50 projects, and projections to 1974 predict 2000 head and an annual income from cattle of $40,000.

Teams of agricultural trainees entered Pangia District in 1963, but their efforts in distributing vegetables and other seeds had little effect. Coffee was planted extensively as a cash crop from 1966 onwards and, unlike that planted at Koroba, has been maintained with enthusiasm, mainly due to continued Department of Agriculture, Stock and Fisheries

\(^2\)Men spend on an average day from dawn until dusk in their gardens. However given the time travelling between various plots, in conversation, eating and resting, I would estimate a day’s work at a maximum of between four and six hours. Fisk (1968: 7-8) has termed this state a ‘primitive affluence’. The brunt of the gardening work load of tending and harvesting falls on the women once the clearing, fencing and ditching have been completed.

\(^3\)In January 1971 there were 6413 trees, a few of which were bearing; and six growers earned small amounts of cash.

\(^4\)During the 1960s at one time or another the following have been suggested or attempted: tea, pyrethrum, cinchona, chillies, assorted European vegetables, fish, pigs, passionfruit, cattle, mint, pepper, tobacco, silkworms, poultry, and peanuts.
encouragement. In late 1970 there were 1147 growers and 127,000 trees, 40 per cent of which were mature. Cattle projects began in mid-1968, when 21 beasts arrived for local owners; in 1970 there were 190 head owned locally, 78 by the sole expatriate farmer, and 22 by missions.

The local government councils, set up in Koroba in 1964 and in Pangia in 1965, have exercised a persistent and important role in the development of their Districts.5

One year after its start, the Koroba Council employed agricultural field workers, and currently it subsidises the purchase of fencing materials for cattle projects, operates a sawmill and distributes vegetable seeds. In Pangia the council has established a poultry project with slaughterhouse facilities and spends extensively on economic development. Table 14.1 reveals the dramatic increase in such expenditures over the last few years.

Table 14.1
Pangia Local Government Council: Expenditure on Developmental Projects

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1966/67</td>
<td>1100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967/68</td>
<td>2269*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1968/69</td>
<td>4429*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1969/70</td>
<td>14,000*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Comprises $12,600 on cattle projects, $1200 on poultry and $200 on coffee.

As far as cattle are concerned, the involvement of the councils has been slightly different, but profound. In Koroba the land to be used is arranged by communal decision; in Pangia it is leased from the council with communal approval, and groups of lessees must include a man trained in cattle management. Cattle purchases are facilitated by the councils acting as agents for the buyers, though the owners borrow directly from the Development Bank.

The expatriate-owned cattle in Pangia are run on an estate of over 40 ha originally acquired by the Administration for lease for tea planting.

Markets for cattle are at present confined to local consumers and Pangians have demonstrated a high demand for beef. Pangia envisages a market in Mt Hagen in the future, pending better road access, and Koroba looks to possible substantial copper mining developments in the Western Province as a future market for beef and agricultural produce.

Councillors play a prominent role in recruiting for the Highland Labour Scheme, particularly in Koroba, where alternative employment is limited. Once a demand for labourers is made known to the Department of District Administration, the councillors are informed, and they

5The council at Koroba was undoubtedly assisted by the presence of a member of the House of Assembly, who was also the Assistant Ministerial Member of Lands and a resident.
individually pass the word round their constituency. Not unnaturally, they are able to exert a dampening effect on recruitment; in particular they have been hostile towards the practice of paying-off labourers outside their home Districts. This resulted in rapid and often wasteful spending in urban centres and penniless returnees. The practice ceased in November 1968, when they began to be paid their deferred earnings in the Southern Highlands, partly as a compensation to their home areas.6

The amount of cash is increasing rapidly in the Districts. One indicator is the increase in the tax charges; in Koroba from 30 cents per able-bodied man in 1962 it has risen progressively to $3 per head in 1970-1. There has never been difficulty in collecting the tax, nor is such envisaged in the future. The source of money in the absence of cash crops has been limited to the sale of garden produce at the markets held weekly at Pangia and bi-weekly at Koroba and possible earnings from casual labour and fortuitous land sales to the Administration. There is one private employer in Pangia and none in Koroba; the Administration, local government council and the missions are the only other local employers. The other alternative is migration under the Highland Labour Scheme. There is evidence of considerable hoarding. At one small village in Koroba a fête to support the local school raised $460 and the collection of large sums for cattle projects has been easily accomplished. Administration land purchases, at approximately $7 an acre, have resulted in considerable accumulated hoardings and in addition Pangians hold some $10,000 in savings bank accounts.

The Pangian economy, because of its proximity to Mt Hagen and its base in both coffee and cattle, seems to be in a superior position to that of Koroba. Wilson (1972) has presented a model of village industry development which may well have considerable validity with respect to the cattle projects at present capturing the villagers' imagination. From an assessment of some case histories of village industries, Wilson formed a generalised model that emphasised the following characteristics of village industry schemes.

1. Initial enthusiasm and willing contribution of money to the project with advice from an external agency, 'under the reiterated pressure of villagers' desire for the scheme'.
2. Long delays in setting up the project and consequent lapse into apathy and demands for return of money.
3. Disputes as to ownership of the land to be used.
4. Considerable expatriate oversight when the project gets underway.
5. Willing work by participants for a time, then pressure for higher returns.

6Even so some returnees pay the single air fare ($10 from Pangia and $30 from Koroba) to Mt Hagen to spend their accumulated earnings. It is thus over-optimistic to regard all the deferred earnings as an injection into the home area. An individual worker's deferred pay amounts to approximately $70 to $80 from two years' employment.
6. With returns regarded as inadequate, there is pressure (which will probably be successful) for the closing of the project and the disbursement of the materials and equipment.

In explanation of this pattern, Wilson points to the expectation that returns will be quick and substantial and that if they do not materialise the desire for distribution leads to the break-up of the project's assets. That this could prove to be significant in agricultural projects is evidenced by the fact that coffee plantings and tending in Koroba fell away markedly when the agricultural officer's encouragement was withdrawn.

Cattle projects could well be subject to similar pressures; returns are slow (one beast slaughtered per fortnight in Pangia), though substantial (averaging a little less than $200 per head). Unless the scale of operations, and hence returns, is increased by opening of new markets, it will be tempting for indigenes to lose the momentum of enthusiasm and to satisfy their urge for distribution in less economic ways. Already there have been a number of cases when the pigs normally presented at feasts for prestige purposes have been supplemented by cattle. This would seem a potential danger to the future stability of cattle projects and education as to the special nature of cattle as valuable property and as an earner of high returns seems essential. There has been, however, a change of some key variables, to be investigated in a later section. This will possibly mean that the effect of loss of initial enthusiasm, and slowness of return, will have a much lesser impact in the 1970s than previously.

The data

In order to discover trends and motivations to the supply of labour, I examined Highland Labour Agreement forms for the two Districts for the years 1966 and 1970; there was an insignificant number of independent migrants other than those visiting urban areas for a short stay. As will be seen from the data, the typical migrant is under 25, unmarried, and invariably illiterate. Absentees from Pangia formed 16 per cent of the male population aged 16 to 45 years in 1966 (34 per cent of those aged 16 to 25 were absent) and 19 per cent in 1970; for Koroba the figures were 7 per cent and 23 per cent respectively.

A number of features are revealed by a comparison of migrants over the five-year period. The first is the dramatic increase in the participation of older (30 years and over) married men in the Highland Labour Scheme.

From approximately 6 per cent in 1966, males aged 30 years or more

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7 The years 1966 and 1970 are used to refer to the number of residents of Koroba and Pangia Districts who actually entered agreement employment in those years.

At any point of time there will be many more than these absent, i.e. those recruited less than two years previously; approximately 1000 men were absent from Koroba in 1969/70.

8 It is conceivable, of course, that some of the increase is represented by second-time migrants, who in 1966 fell into the 25 to 29 age group.
came in 1970 to constitute 32 per cent from Koroba and 20 per cent from Pangia. The corresponding relative decrease came mainly from the 20-24 age group and, in Koroba, also from the 16-19 age group.

Table 14.2
Age Composition of Highland Labour Scheme Migrants*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1966 %</th>
<th>1970 %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Koroba</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16-19</td>
<td>27.15</td>
<td>19.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-24</td>
<td>52.96</td>
<td>13.74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-29</td>
<td>13.71</td>
<td>16.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30+</td>
<td>6.18</td>
<td>32.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pangia</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16-19</td>
<td>19.62</td>
<td>25.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-24</td>
<td>52.15</td>
<td>36.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-29</td>
<td>22.25</td>
<td>18.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30+</td>
<td>5.98</td>
<td>20.30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The 1966 totals were for Koroba 372, for Pangia 255. The 1970 percentages are based on samples of migrants (167 out of a total of 536 for Koroba and 399 out of 484 for Pangia), being those belonging to groups of 10 or more who entered employment at any one time with a common employer. It is apparent that in 1970 many more migrated in groups from Pangia than from Koroba, a fact for which I can offer no explanation.


Table 14.3
Marital Status of Highland Labour Scheme Migrants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1966 %</th>
<th>1970*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Koroba</td>
<td>10.92</td>
<td>24.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pangia</td>
<td>24.40</td>
<td>23.31</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The age distribution of these groups was little different from that of all migrants from the Districts.

Further, there was a significant increase in the percentage of migrants who were married.\(^9\)

Why is employment in coastal areas more attractive than remaining in the village? Several plausible factors can be suggested by way of explanation, though these will be later modified to some extent.

First, there has been an increase in available information concerning coastal employment and the unknown has become less awesome. Secondly, clear evidence is at hand of the fruits of the two-year absence in terms of goods and cash. Thirdly, there has been a challenge to the traditional authority of the older men by the young returnees and the beginnings of the recognition of the importance of cash as the future determinant of status. Cash has challenged the traditional framework, and the older men are not slow in perceiving the importance it will assume and hence desire to acquire it. Fourthly, money is required to participate in developmental projects, particularly cattle, which are popular in both Districts. The second feature is a marked increase in

\(^9\)It is likely that a number of married migrants have claimed single status, given the hostility of local government councillors to married men leaving their responsibilities.
the numbers of migrants who leave the same village and join up with the one employer.

In Pangia in 1966, 20 per cent of labourers migrated in groups of ten or more from one village; in 1970 the figure was almost 70 per cent. Initially, then, the flow of labour apparently resulted from the decision of individuals and small groups from a large number of villages and, as we have seen, these were typically unmarried men in the 20-24 age group. Perhaps for the reasons previously noted, a major part of the supply now results from groups of ten or more moving from the same village. Migration seems to have become much more a group decision, although there are also numerous individual migrants.

Such decision-making is not unusual and is also seen in the clan involvement in cattle projects. It seems reasonable to assume, in the light of the points mentioned previously, that this is inspired by common motivations rather than a multiplicity and that these are more significant for the older age groupings; their response, on hearing of opportunities, has been more positive. An alternative explanation is that one or more migrants with previous experience have led a group of new recruits, though the available evidence was inconclusive.

A third factor studied was the influence of experience as a factor influencing decisions to migrate. There was no previous experience recorded in either of the Districts in 1966, but for 1970 Table 14.4 shows that 16 per cent of Koroba migrants and 12.5 per cent of Pangians had previous experience. There was no notable tendency for the source of these re-signings to be concentrated in particular villages.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 14.4</th>
<th>Previous Experience, 1970 Migrants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Koroba %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One previous term</td>
<td>12.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two previous terms</td>
<td>3.54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Three previous terms</td>
<td>0.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Four previous terms</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This would appear to indicate that the economic and/or social motivation can be satisfied in the majority of cases by one term of employment. There are also indications that re-signers are likely to be older single men, who are perhaps less likely to be restrained by obligations and attachments in their home villages. Non-marriage may in fact be one symptom of a lack of status, which will probably stimulate mobility or at least not retard it.

A fourth notable feature is that agreement workers with previous experience appear to discriminate among employers and with respect to proximity to urban areas. Employment on the Gazelle Peninsula was preferred by 49 per cent of the re-signers for Koroba in 1970, compared to 20 per cent of the whole of Koroba’s agreement labour in that

10 Some villages supplied all their migrants for the year in one batch to one place of employment. The meaning of these figures may be less clear than at first sight, since many people use the name of a central place or mission as their ‘place’, whether it is their home or not.
year. For Pangia a similar pattern was evident but an additional feature shown in Table 14.5 was the number of experienced migrants who favoured employment under the scheme with the Administration, mainly, though not exclusively, on reafforestation work in the highlands.

Table 14.5
Pangia 1970: Occupation and Proximity Choices of Experienced Workers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Experienced</th>
<th>Percentage experienced</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Administration</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>66.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gazelle Peninsula (cocoa/coconuts)</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>25.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kanosia (rubber)</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>41.38</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Coastal plantations producing cocoa, copra and rubber, the traditional large-scale employers of the unskilled, are the main employers of Southern Highland labour. In the case of Koroba, the establishment of a special relationship between the District and the Mosa Oil Palm project in West New Britain is dramatically illustrated in the 1970 figures.11

Table 14.6
Occupations: Percentage of Total Employment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>1966</th>
<th>1970</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Copra and cocoa</td>
<td>57.28</td>
<td>49.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oil palm</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>31.77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rubber</td>
<td>36.17</td>
<td>16.73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Factory operative* (desiccated coconut)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>6.56</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pangia</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Copra and cocoa</td>
<td>47.20</td>
<td>54.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rubber</td>
<td>39.49</td>
<td>9.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tea</td>
<td>5.84</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reafforestation/land utilisation</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>20.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Factory operative</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>15.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>7.48</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Rural workers, as employed under the Highland Labour Scheme, are defined as those working outside the thirteen Papua New Guinean towns with populations in excess of 2000 persons. Thus rurally-located factories can pay the rural minimum wage — about $4.54 in 1970 — instead of the urban minimum of approximately $7.00.

Discussion
There are three basic motivations proffered for migration of labour. The economic motive refers to the desire to earn cash either not available or not available rapidly enough at home. The social motive covers a complex of factors such as the pull of the bright lights of towns. These first two motivations can be termed the investment and consumption determinants respectively.

11In fact, this relationship was abruptly terminated in 1971, after an incident in which Southern Highlands employees attacked and killed a coastal foreman; sixty were jailed and the remainder repatriated.
There was a clamour for the provision of cash crops in the years soon after the Districts were opened up. Centuries-old political, social and economic patterns came under pressure to change, and it is in the economic sphere that its outworking is strongest. If other areas in Papua New Guinea can serve as a guide, farming will come to have the character of a base from which to venture out into the modern sector and an insurance policy in case of failure (as the foray will probably be hampered by inadequate education and an inability to compete for modern-sector employments).

A third explanation proffered is the unrealistic aspirations motive, when educated or partly-educated young men proceed to urban centres where the chance of obtaining preferred or desirable employment is greatest even if still remote. Since there are as yet very few educated to a sufficient level in Pangia or Koroba, this cannot figure largely in these two areas. The school-leaver problem does, however, exist elsewhere in Papua New Guinea and will probably become a significant cause of migration from the Southern Highlands (Conroy 1972a).

In seeking to explain the interaction between economic development in the home District and the level of migration therefrom, Papua New Guinea’s history of labour supply records that on initial contact large numbers of men enter agreement employment but that with a rise in economic development and sophistication migration falls off. Faced with such a clear inverse relationship, it is tempting to posit causality (for example Barber 1960; Dept of Labour 1969a).

In fact, a simple regression of coffee trees and migrants in each of the thirty-seven census villages in Pangia suggested that 70 per cent of the difference in migration rates between the villages could be explained in terms of the number of coffee trees planted.\textsuperscript{12} The problem with this sort of approach is that co-variation does not mean causality and that both cash cropping and migration behaviours can be explained in terms other than economic causation. This is particularly the case in an area with high migration and low cash cropping. The former might be motivated by a desire to see the world, to enjoy the facilities of an urban life; low cash cropping might be due to the lack of agricultural extension activities.

As an alternative to such an explanation, I suggest that the relationship between home development and migration lies in the challenge provided by the younger men on their return and the response of the older men to it. Social prestige and leadership status are the goals at which an ambitious young man directs his efforts.

In pre-contact times, ability in making war was one of the two basic factors that accorded this status. A large part of the highlander’s life was dominated by the fact that he was continually either in a state of

\textsuperscript{12}Y = 5.77 - 0.5026X  
Standard error: 0.1092  
r^2: 0.6914  
where \(Y\) = rate of migration from each village and \(X\) the number of coffee trees in each village.
war, in preparation for defence or attack, or in negotiations of recon­struction after warfare. With the cessation of inter-tribal fighting, the younger men's appetite for adventure, and their chance of obtaining prestige by this method, has largely disappeared. Of the large number of younger men and adolescents to whom I spoke, all expressed dissatisfaction with the monotony and lack of excitement in the village.

Subsistence farming is distinctly unexciting; coffee and cattle provide returns but slowly and only in association with a mass of others and, in the case of cattle, under the control of a traditional leader who secures the largest part of any glory. Add to this the monotonous Administration requirements of road building and maintenance and it is not surprising that large numbers of young men, particularly the unmarried, opt for employment and the excitement of new places and a substantial amount of cash. Migration to employment has filled at least part of the void occasioned by the absence of warfare.

Agreement labour has probably been of little value in terms of acquiring skills and knowledge useful for development. Most men are employed at menial tasks like planting, weeding and grass-cutting. However, their experiences enable them to observe coastal and western economic and social behaviour; they see that economic power in the form of cash and goods is correlated with authority. In consequence they feel disinclined to heed the older men who, as they see it, are a relic from the past. The traditions, spiritual beliefs, and practices of the older men come to be criticised, or at least not taken seriously. On returning home the youngsters face a clash of interests with the older men. Such cash as the older men have needed, for tax purposes for example, could be met from payments for road work, sales at the market, or possibly land sales.

Now the returnees begin to exert a considerable influence on leadership patterns; it is they, rather than the traditional leaders, to whom the rising generation pay heed, particularly if the former's experience is reinforced by employment with a mission. Not unnaturally, the common attitude of the older men, particularly those who have not travelled, is that the young men are lazy shiftless big-heads, unmindful of the respect due to the elders or the obligations to their families.

The second source of prestige is pig ownership. There is a positive relationship between the number of pigs owned and status. A wealthy pig owner can kill large numbers for feasts and thus acquire a reputation for generosity. One of the main sources of resentment is marriage, where older men, by virtue of their pig ownership, dominate the market. It takes some years for a young man to accumulate an appropriate number (from fifteen to twenty pigs) to be able to pay a bride price independently. He therefore becomes indebted to an older man and must support his interests. Further, marriages are arranged as an investment to secure political and economic advantage. For these reasons, plus a possible devaluation of pigs, older men are disinclined to allow bride price payments in cash. The clash between returnees and the authority of the older men can be coped with so long as the number
of returnees remains small.\textsuperscript{13} Social ostracism and environment overcomes the rebels. However, when many young men are involved, and some villages have well over 30 per cent of their young men absent, the weight of pressure becomes too great for the old men to handle. Cash is reluctantly granted status alongside traditional media of exchange and from then on there is an increasing movement favouring earning power and wealth in the form of cash.

The next stage, of crucial importance, is a non-traditional response by the older men to the economic gauntlet thrown down by the returnees. The older men can migrate, as we saw, but the protection of their positions in the villages requires their presence. In consequence, there is further pressure for cash crops. This is the one clear way that older men can see to meet the cash-oriented challenge of the young men. For this basic reason cattle and coffee farming are now being carried on largely by men in the older age group. Cattle projects in Koroba, for example, are largely the interest of the 30- to 35-year age group. A further piece of evidence pointing to the strength of the older men's desire to enter cash-earning fields is that groups have been sent out under the Highland Labour Scheme sponsored by the older men of a village in order to acquire funds to begin cattle projects.

The inverse correlation explanation can now be seen in a different light. The Highland Labour Scheme migration has an essentially social explanation and the development of cash crops and cattle in the District is essentially motivated by economic considerations, albeit much more complex than previously stated. Cash cropping and cattle farming are an appropriate response by the older age group to a challenge. They undertake these things in order to compete with the rising economic power of the youngsters. If this explanation is close to reality then it would explain the failure to maintain enthusiasm in coffee in Koroba in 1967 once official encouragement ceased. The old men could easily handle the pressures exerted by the then insignificant number of returnees. But now that conditions have changed cattle farming will be continued. The slaughterings of the beasts and their line-up with pigs at feasts is the result of their acceptance as part of the modern sector and a desire to link them with traditional prestige ceremonies.

\textit{Highlands development — a model}

The majority of returnees, after their first taste of agreement employment, are not inclined to commit themselves again to the restrictive and unexciting physical work. Even where earning opportunities are limited, there are not many highlanders keen to re-sign. As mentioned above, historically areas reach a peak in their supply of agreement labour and then fall away. On the other hand, returnees may not feel amenable to full re-integration into village life, with its implied acceptance of traditional authority, and many aspire to urban employment. Some sign on for agreement labour with the intention of deserting to an urban area.

\textsuperscript{13}For an earlier account of this conflict in the highlands see Salisbury (1962a:126-31).
A few of the more prudent may have retained sufficient cash to migrate independently and for the more fortunately located independent migration is possible on foot. A very few obtain work with a local council or the Administration, and the most enterprising may begin a trade store.

The basic desire is to obtain more cash in order that the eventual move back into the village environment can be made from a position of strength. On the other hand, some returnees fit relatively easily back into the village environment, with its minimal uncertainty, and join in the activities begun by the older men. There are thus two basic avenues open to the returnees determined by the subjective valuations placed on urban and rural work. The former aspiring group, given their high valuation of urban living and its earning opportunities, are likely to migrate to a major town; the satisfied group remain in the villages. It is interesting to note that Koroba people are journeying via the Highlands Highway to Lae at an estimated rate of about 200 per month; 150 leave for home within a month, and the others remain in variable employment statuses housed by their employers or living with employed kinsmen unbeknown to the latter's employer.

Employment prospects for the illiterate highlander in the urban areas are at best chancey. Unemployment rates in Port Moresby in the 1960s were commonly high (up to 40 per cent) for the educated élite (Ryan 1968*:149; Hitchcock and Oram 1967:62). High unemployment rates may, however, have little influence in deterring urban migration, particularly if it is possible for the unemployed to obtain support from employed relatives. Rural underemployment is thus converted to overt urban unemployment, with attendant social problems. See House of Assembly Debates II (6):1461-70, 20 August 1969.

Meanwhile, in the village development is proceeding. Marketing considerations are crucial: distance and transport access will determine the degree of economic success. Groups close to major urban centres can grow staple food crops for sale to Administration and other employers, as with the Lowa Marketing Co-operative near Goroka, or contemplate the sale of beef to the Mt Hagen market as in the case of the Pangia District cattle projects. Other groups will be forced to specialise on higher weight for value goods, unless incorporated into some marketing body such as Waso Ltd, which operates a vegetable purchase scheme in the western section of the Western Highlands for sale on the coast.

It is likely, given their low probability of success in obtaining urban employment, that most of the urban-oriented young men will find sooner or later the divergence between themselves and the older men has narrowed and that they will in consequence be willing to re-enter

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14This view is supported from the destination end. In an investigation of educational influences on urban drift Conroy (1970:508) concluded that urban drift into Port Moresby is economically motivated rather than from a desire to escape tedious rural life or pay a temporary visit to the bright lights. Two facts, however, should be noted: the interviewees were largely (67 per cent) literate Papuans, not illiterate highlanders, and they were unemployed, a status which highlanders contemplating migration hope would be only temporary.
the village economy, now at least partly oriented towards cash cropping. The other alternatives facing all returnees are dependent on the proximity of their village to employment opportunities, principally expatriate plantations where casual labouring, much of it seasonal, is available. Temporary employment is preferred to anything more permanent, with both generally regarded as less desirable than cash cropping, provided land is available. This is basically because of higher returns and the greater security provided by land. There is evidence of a strong preference for a rural livelihood once urban living has been experienced, as shown in a survey of attitudes of oil palm settlers in West New Britain, and further a strong preference for self-employment (Ploeg 1972a). However, the results of this study must be treated with caution since these were biznismen who were seeking a high return from settlement blocks planned for oil palm cash cropping, somewhat different from young men planting cash crops on fragmented land holdings in their own village area.

We may assume, then, that most of those returnees who originally sought urban employment go home and are available for involvement in cash cropping. They have to compete with the older men and their contemporaries who began earlier but are likely to be able to accomplish this fairly easily. There may, however, be unwillingness by the Administration to develop an area for geographical reasons; this leads to discontent and movements to earn cash outside, likely to be seasonal.

A situation of quasi-equilibrium is likely to result, with villagers willing to allocate a limited number of hours to their crops, given that they also have subsistence requirements to meet. It is a quasi-equilibrium because it may be upset by downward price fluctuations, by the rural cost-price squeeze in general, and by population growth and consequent land shortage. Faced with factors such as these, the normal response has been to migrate, sometimes seasonally to expatriate plantations in rural areas, sometimes to urban areas in the hope of securing employment. A possible alternative is the development of village industry projects as an employment-creating measure, particularly if population growth occurs in an area not favoured with the geographic advantages requisite for successful cash cropping.

However, in most areas well before this stage is reached there is likely to be another type of economic activity — small-scale investment in transport equipment, trade stores, and agricultural processing machinery. The work of Finney (1969) provides considerable illumination. He suggested that Gorokans are, by virtue of several factors in their pre-contact social make-up, very ready for participation in economic development. These are: (a) an emphasis on wealth and on the prestige accruing through its acquisition and control; (b) facilities for pooling wealth and other resources for specific goals; (c) an entrepreneurial style of ambitious and status-seeking men. He observed that without

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15Estimated weekly cash returns for coffee, the chief highland cash crop, is $9.41, compared to the average rural wage (1970) of $4.54. See Board of Inquiry Investigating Rural Minimum Wages (1970:49).
Administration sponsorship Gorokans invested in trade stores and trucking, 'a product of the perception by Gorokans of opportunities to invest their capital and talents and their desire for economic achievement' (Finney 1969:16).

Furthermore, he found that Gorokans did not greatly change their consumption habits but rather emulated European behaviour in investment behaviour, so much that he suggested 'conspicuous investment' as a useful description of Gorokan economic behaviour. He recognised that the features of society to which he accorded such importance in motivating investment are not exclusive to the Gorokans but have a much wider applicability.

It is certainly true that other highland societies display similar features, and we can expect, *ceteris paribus*, a like degree of economic growth. However, the geographic advantages of Goroka, evidenced by vigorous expatriate involvement, are not present in many other areas.

In Goroka the big men are those whose previous work experience, linguistic ability, and in some cases schooling, have resulted in considerable acquaintance with the outside world. However, in attempts to attain big-man status in the business sense, aspirants have used traditional methods to gain modern economic ends. Fellow villagers have been recruited, not unwillingly, to work without payment of a direct wage. Such action is reciprocated or paid for at a later date. Cash crop revenue has been used to start enterprises, normally by a pooling of funds under the effective control of one leader.

In the Southern Highlands and other more recently contacted areas, the big men are normally local government councillors who exert the main development influence, often operating at the suggestion of local Administration officials. There has not yet been sufficient time or opportunity for more than a handful of men to gain the employment experience of the Gorokan big men, though returnees, particularly if later employed by a mission, are the forerunners of an entrepreneurial class, often being assisted in trade store development by missions. The individual councillors are often the former traditional leaders and they, given Administration advice, are currently the chief instigators of development. Cattle projects are almost exclusively the result of councillors' energy if only because their influence tends to override the otherwise inevitable land disputes.

Finney's derivation of the entrepreneurial energy of the Gorokans from characteristics of their pre-contact culture obscures the fact that only a very few became entrepreneurs. An alternative explanation, which is also consistent with his data, is that certain individuals, by virtue of their aspirant characters, and relatedly the range of socioeconomic contact they have experienced, have the ability of being able to perceive and construct from the environment available to all entrepreneurial opportunities which others either do not perceive or are not sufficiently motivated to act upon.

This is not unrelated to traditional social organisation, which, however, seems to me to be a facilitating rather than an initiating factor. A
question immediately raised is why other regions of Papua New Guinea have not responded to the same extent or with the same speed as the Gorokans. I would contend that other highlands areas have or will match Gorokan entrepreneurial experience. As for the coastal areas, these were opened up under much less favourable conditions. The attitude of both Administration and plantation owner before World War II was that the proper role of Papua New Guineans was purely as suppliers of labour for expatriate plantations. The opportunity for entrepreneurship was therefore largely denied and the retarding impact has continued to operate.

Conclusion

The Southern Highlands is likely to experience a drive for investment in the next few years, as have other Provinces. This implies that there will be an increase in independent migration as a means of providing funds for investment projects.

Educated or partly-educated young men are not only likely to feel out of place in their home villages, however, but to see the urban areas as the only places where they have a chance of making good, no matter how slim the chance.

As mentioned, there seems to be a danger of oversupply in the types of investment likely to appeal to highland big men — trade stores and trucks. This has costs in terms of forgone outputs. Low returns and lessened prestige will reduce investment in these fields and lead to a search for other opportunities. The planning of village industry may thus assume considerable importance. The alternative may be a growing disparity, in economic terms, between these partly cash committed areas and the urban areas and consequent large-scale population shifts; if not, then extensive poor areas may mean the lack of a strong rural sector on which to base economic development.

On the other hand, as we have noted, education provides a stimulant to permanent absence from the rural areas; if widespread education is continued, population in the rural highlands may be expected to dwindle. There seems good reason to suggest that education is less valuable than agreement labour experience in encouraging the development of the home area, since it will precipitate a drain of potential big men to urban centres. There are good reasons for encouraging a strong rural sector in which under employment can reduce unemployment and act as a base for development.

As the number of educated increases, dissatisfaction with the prospects in subsistence farming will increase; the perceived gap between the utility of farming and that of urban occupation will increase, and the movement from such Provinces to employment centres accelerate.

16 Powerful Toyota diesel trucks are the most prestigeful buy in Mt Hagen despite their mechanical complexity, excess supply, and the suitability of much smaller and cheaper vehicles.

17 In mid-1970 there were in Koroba five mission and three Administration schools with 800 students and in Pangia four mission and two Administration schools.
The bulk of future migrants will probably be of two types; the Highland Labour Scheme variety (assuming this continues in something akin to its current form\textsuperscript{18}) working short terms on plantations as part of satisfying the urge to adventure, and educated or skilled men going to urban centres on a more permanent basis, taking their wives and families with them.

On the other hand, it is likely that as cash cropping becomes more established then, once the initial urge to adventure is satisfied by a term's absence, uneducated young men will find that the position of the older men and their own, in terms of both recognising the strength of economic power, have drawn closer together, and further that the probability of their competing successfully for any type of urban job is very small. They will be more likely to expand their energies on cash cropping and may, given official encouragement, commit themselves almost wholly to commercial agriculture. This leads to a final important point concerning the periodic famines of sweet potato in the Southern Highlands. Every two or three years a sweet potato shortage exists. This results in an overall lack of food since the potatoes provide approximately 90 per cent by weight of the diet. A number of theories have been put forward to explain this, but several factors are clear. First, new gardens are not cleared as often as they should be and yields from the same plot inevitably fall over time. Secondly, the farm management practices of the Southern Highlanders are inadequate; new plantings tend to be made only when it becomes apparent that old ones are almost exhausted, and there is virtually no planting of soil-assisting plants in sweet potato gardens. One way of encouraging the rapid move into cash crops is to ensure, by way of improved farm-management practices, that the staple food crop is adequate for subsistence needs.

A new equilibrium, based on economic determinants, which for the uneducated villager will provide security and, given markets, a chance of a reasonable income, may then be attained. The formation of this new class of rural entrepreneur relying on cash crops will be of crucial importance to the Province's development.

\textsuperscript{18}See above chapter 1, p. 6.
There has been a tradition in Papua New Guinean studies of population movement between countryside and town that has a fundamentally economic bias. The very phrase 'labour migration' identifies people in terms of employment and job opportunities. In order to subsist in an urban environment the migrant usually needs to seek paid work, and he may even explain his departure from home in terms of a quest for money. There is no doubt that a demographic shift from rural to urban areas has economic consequences. It affects the development of commerce and industry, and the earning capacities of individuals. Yet we should not necessarily take consequences for causes; nor people's economic-style explanations ('We are in town to earn money') for personal motives.

This chapter raises a theoretical point about the kinds of inferences which can be made from migrants' statements about their motivations. It is prompted by a Port Moresby study of a small group of men drawn from the former Hagen sub-district of what was the Western Highlands District. Over 1970-2 they numbered some 360, of whom roughly two-thirds were in unskilled occupations, from a home population in the order of 90,000. In comparison with other Papua New Guinea towns-men they are unusual in their small numbers — small both in Moresby town and in proportion to the home population (a characteristic they share with some other groups in the Western Highlands, but not with highlands populations as a whole); in the background from which they come, where people, sometimes to a quite passionate degree, discourage outmigration at the unskilled level; and in the fact that there is neither any compulsion to leave home (because of land shortage), nor is sojourn in the capital city regarded as educative or prestigious. Home

*My thanks are to the Hageners in Moresby for letting me participate a little in their society, to Andrew Strathern for many discussions and Christine Nolan for comments on this paper; and to the New Guinea Research Unit, The Australian National University, for practical assistance.

1The ethnographic present refers to the period 1970-2, over which field work was carried out (two months in the Hagen area and seven months in Port Moresby).
attitudes are less harsh towards the educated who make use of their qualifications in a career. Such persons, it is appreciated, are embarking on a ‘road’ valid in its own right. My concern is with the position of unskilled migrants, whose wage-earning does not fare well in the comparisons which people at home make with their own economic enterprises.

Hagen migration patterns are probably not very typical of Papua New Guinea as a whole. Any general validity in my remarks will be to the extent that the rather unusual circumstances of Hagen migrants pinpoint certain methodological factors which must hold for any investigation into rural-urban migration. These can be subsumed under the simple proposition that people’s statements about their actions must be related to the context in which they are made. Thus, although a number of migrants who leave Hagen are escaping from home contraints (and they formulate it like this), each one of them knows very well what people there think. Rationales given for their behaviour have to be understood in the light of this. In the same way, attitudes towards home are to be understood in relation to the kind of urban society people make for themselves in town.

My argument falls into two parts. The first takes certain ideas which migrants express about home as they are reflected in communications with folk there. The act of maintaining links can put the migrant into something of a dilemma; and the strategy implications this has for individuals are described. The second part considers the idioms by which Hagen migrants voice this dilemma. Two significant sets of statements are: (a) many of the unskilled say they came to Port Moresby to ‘find’ money, and this has a corollary, that they cannot go home because they have not saved enough yet; (b) the majority (there are exceptions) say they intend to go home, at a date which may be precisely or vaguely defined, but is often put at a few months from the time when the statement is made. Although the idiom employed here is one of personal intention and motive, and in some cases appears to correspond with past or future behaviour, the full force of such remarks cannot be understood without realising that they have an ideological or mythical dimension. Coming to town to earn money may be one among several of a migrants’ motives. Its verbal prominence should be taken as just that: in relation to the kinds of things which are talked about, as much as to the kinds of things in people’s minds. One might speculate that different ethnic groups will show different ideological ‘needs’ (because of their values and social categories), but this is an implication I do not follow further.

Much of the quantitative and anecdotal material on which my observations rest is given elsewhere (A. M. Strathern 1975). The migrants’ explanation of their own behaviour in terms of money, as much as the stated intention to go back, takes the rural society as a reference point.

2No further references are made to this, though many of my points are expanded and argued in detail there. Proper names follow the usage also adopted there.
We are thus dealing with attitudes towards home, though some of these are less consciously formulated than others. In this respect the paper is a companion to an earlier exposition which was concerned with home attitudes towards migrants (A. M. Strathern 1972).

WHEN ALTERNATIVES BECOME DILEMMAS

Communication

Hagener have been coming to Moresby since the late 1950s, although in numbers only since the mid-1960s. Many return home, but there is a growing core of men who plan at least a few years more of town life, although almost all aver that they will go back at some stage. At the moment of leaving home departure is envisaged as temporary, a short spell away from the responsibilities which adulthood will bring and which the migrant will later take up. Few at that point are men of low status. Indeed most depart before such a judgment could be made: the majority of migrants are young (late teens and early twenties), male, either newly married or more often on the verge of marriage, and most leave behind good prospects to which they see themselves as shortly returning. It is their staying away — almost invariably longer than intended — which alters these. Among the core of town-dwellers who forever postpone their return are both persons who could still go home to a viable life in rural Hagen and persons who by their prolonged stay in Moresby have jeopardised what were formerly reasonable prospects.

Evidence has already been given (A. M. Strathern 1972) for the general Hagen disapproval of outmigration except for the well educated. Indeed, the pertinent question to ask is not so much why migrants come to town as why so many of their brothers do not. A low evaluation of unskilled wage-earning must be understood in reference to high value put on local business enterprise (bisnis). One element is the place of money in a subsistence economy (a valuable to be used in capital and social investment) by contrast with a wage-based economy (where it has to be spent on subsistence). As we shall see, however, the migrants' use of money is rather more complicated than the simple model people at home construct about it.

Social interaction between home and town comprises the following: visits from home; visits home by migrants; the return of migrants; the repercussions of politically significant events in either area; sending home small gifts; the conveyance of messages. This section will be concerned mainly with the last.

Material goods — gifts, money — are usually sent back home with returning workers or else with visitors, a social situation which breeds its own complications (the status of the gift, whether it is to be returned later, whom it is intended for). Migrants do not regularly entrust others with presents for their own parents or other kinsmen and the most direct and frequent communication with them is either by letter or by verbal message, on whose delivery one can depend more reliably. The amount of correspondence engaged in varies enormously. A notion of reciprocity is involved, so that if someone does not receive an answer
to his letter fairly quickly he suspects a slight. Lapsed correspondents may complain that they gave up writing because they never had any replies. Others stop writing (or say they will) because all they get are requests for money. Both at home and in the town it is fairly easy to find Hageners who can write in Pidgin; but it is the literate (including the self-taught) who are the most prolific correspondents. An energetic man in a prominent position, and who therefore relays messages on the part of other migrants as well, might write three or four letters a month.

There is quite a strong notion that it is the duty of immediate kin at home to keep the migrant informed of demographic events — births, marriages and deaths. Marriage is crucial, for the transactions involved in the bride wealths of his brothers and sisters affect the migrant's own potential position. Migrants may complain quite bitterly that they are being cut off by their kinsmen if they happen to hear not directly but by a roundabout way of the marriage of a close relative. They may also use such evidence of neglect to bolster their own independence. In one conversation between a migrant, Gerry, and a visitor from his abandoned wife's clan, the visitor began by asking why Gerry had left his wife, and when he was going to go home. Gerry gave evasive replies; when his visitor began pushing for a positive promise to return, he successfully deflected the conversation by saying that he had heard that his brother-in-law's daughter had been married off and he had not been informed. The visitor, admitting this was true, was now on the defensive, apologising that he thought others had passed the message on. Gerry had managed to insinuate that he was being neglected by his affines. His refusal to promise when he would come was thus unanswerable.

A migrant is suspicious of any indication that in forgetting him his kin have also somehow sprung a trick. When he hears that his father or brothers have given away all their pigs in moka (ceremonial exchange), it can look as though the promises which they have been making ('Come home soon — we have our pigs ready to get you a wife') were more devices to persuade the migrant to return than genuine expressions of support. Indeed, migrants seem very sensitive to the idea that they are being neglected or discriminated against by their relatives; a sensitivity which I would put down to the freedom this also generates for themselves ('Oh well, if they are not thinking about me at home, I shall not think about them'). Yet equally they distrust home pressure in general. While a worker may be upset to hear a rumour of sister's marriage that he has not been told about, if the message he does get attaches pressure to the information he is likely to ignore it. Parents do inform their sons of what is happening and cannot resist adding the plea that they come home and enjoy the benefits of the bride wealth. Sometimes a sister herself sends word that she does not want to marry till the brother is back; but he is as likely to react to the coercion as to the sentiment in the message. We could sum up the migrants' attitude by saying that they want to think of themselves as having a place,
perhaps a marriage, to return to in the future, but resent this being used by others to influence the timing of their decision.

Many migrants, then, are subjected to considerable psychological pressure from their kin to return. This is not true of all: although in a general way home folk would like to see all migrants again, the few now ageing men who would be of low status were they to go back, a context invariably compounded by absence of close kin or sponsors, are not treated to the constant personal pressure which plagues the lives of young men with good prospects there. The pressure becomes threatening if the migrant has left a wife behind (‘Your wife will divorce you if you do not come at once’). There is, however, a communications gap between home and town. A migrant’s relatives will send the strongest pleas they can, and often these refer to marriage: if the migrant does not come soon his wife will run away, or the bride wealth they have collected will get dissipated, or now is the time to obtain him a wife and they are ready to start negotiations, and so on. But a strong bachelor ethos in the town (described in the second part of this paper) insulates the migrant from such pleading. Some give as reasons for coming in the first place that they were not ready to marry and these may still hold good; more rarely the migrant looks to town friends to find a consort, Hagen or non-Hagen, so that he will enjoy some aspects of marriage without incurring the responsibilities which going back home to marry would entail.

The migrant may regard such persuasion as quite unfair, without actually rejecting the legitimacy of the relatives’ claims. Not long after receiving a letter from a clan brother with a request for money, Brian was visited by his own elder brother. He had spent a number of weeks out of work and his present job was not well paid. The elder brother tried to make him come home. Brian became angry (popokl). After his brother left he began to suffer from illness and sores, all of which he put down to his feelings of resentment at the brother’s strong words.3

Rather under half of the unskilled migrants are said by people at home to have pigs there. In the case of unmarried men these would be animals looked after by their parents, either just mentally put aside or else the product of a specific transaction. Where the person minding the migrant’s pigs is not an agnatic kinsman (who has ultimate obligations to provide for the lad in any case), he may be especially well looked after should be visit Moresby, for the relationship must be kept alive by solicitous transactions. Thus Mitchell’s widowed mother was living with her brother, and his pigs were looked after by one of the sons of this man. When the son came to Moresby, Mitchell made the most substantial gifts of any of the migrants in town, more than twice the amount which the visitor’s own younger brother (Brian) gave him. In fact the visitor soured his relations with Brian.4 As far as I know

3Ancestral ghosts observe these feelings in a person’s heart and reveal them by making the victim fall ill. The ghosts’ action may be regarded as a mark of sympathy or pity (as the migrant would interpret it) or as punitive (as his brother might interpret it).

4Another brother and a later visit than the previous one.
nothing was said to Mitchell about coming home; but the elder brother tried to influence Brian, saying that his kinsmen were ready to obtain him a wife, and that in any case the boy's pigs were getting into everyone's gardens and being a great nuisance and he should return to sort his affairs out. Brian's reaction was to say he would come home later, not yet. He regarded the news about the pigs as an attempt to put pressure on him. In actual fact that brother's wives were not looking after his pigs; they were being cared for by one of his father's wives (his own mother was dead) who was not even living in their settlement. Since she was looking after Brian's pigs all by herself, the men were not really supporting her, and therefore had no grounds here by which to pressurise him. It was the elder brother's claims to authority which Brian openly resented.

Occasionally pressure dissolves into fiasco. Roderick, well established, with his wife living with him in Moresby, was visited by her brother, Ben. Previously Ben had come as arranged by letter and Roderick had given him $100 in acknowledgment of their relationship. This time he arrived unannounced. One of the messages Ben brought was from his father (Roderick's father-in-law), repeating a request already sent by letter, that the older man hoped to purchase a pig and wanted monetary help from his son-in-law. But fast on Ben's heels was his mother, who flew down by the next plane. She came because she did not want to see all her son-in-law's money going to the men (her son and husband). The son was furious; the daughter disappointed, because she had been putting aside various things to take when she went home later and the mother had come and (as it were) snatched them before they could be given. Roderick, the son-in-law, was in a quandary. Now the old woman had come, what were they to do? He could send a little money to his father-in-law, or buy the return ticket for his mother-in-law, but not both. This became a general complaint that people in Moresby could not be expected to be constantly sending things if visitors came so frequently. Other migrants related to Ben and his mother were annoyed because the situation was so embarrassing (they could not fail to send the old woman back, and she knew it). There was a lot of talk about people from home who did not understand what wage-earning was like. Some quite close relatives simply avoided the visitors.

When in late 1971 I went to Hagen, I was given a number of messages; and even more by the relatives of migrants to bring back to Moresby. In many cases these repeated items which were also sent by letters or through others. I must have in addition artificially stimulated communication where there was little otherwise. Messages from the rural kinsfolk overwhelmingly made a plea for the migrant's return; reminded him of transactions in which he might be taking part, such as bride wealth or moka, and of the state of health of his parents (a covert threat at what might happen if he did not return quickly); and there were also specific promises to find a wife or set aside gardenland for cash cropping, as well as frequent admonitions to save the money
earned in town. Requests for material goods were few. What were the migrants' reactions to such messages?

Fifty-five messages were sent through me from fifty-eight people at home to forty-two migrants from two tribes, Tipuka and Kawelka. In some cases a 'single' message was composed by several people — perhaps the migrant's two parents and a father's brother — while in others one person sent news to many migrants. The messages themselves can be broken up indefinitely into the items of which they are composed — a plea, a request, a piece of news and so on. The unit referred to in the figure fifty-five is the total information received by one migrant from one source (one or several persons composing a message on one occasion). It is an arbitrary definition, and I do not attempt any statistical breakdown, but simply comment on the townsmen's reactions to these messages (recorded for thirty-seven of the fifty-five).

To give an idea of the actual degree of communication between home and town, I cite four examples considered over a period of about three months, including the messages conveyed by me. The four migrants are: Roderick, a foreman of a gardening team, whose wife had been in Moresby and went home to have a child; Simon, a driver, with a wife at home who had virtually divorced him; a domestic servant, Brian, unmarried but with a wealthy father and brothers; and an office worker, Francis, also unmarried but sponsored by his mother's brothers. Roderick: over this period Roderick received at least six letters and messages via at least two other carriers than myself. He heard from his wife, mother-in-law, father, mother, a married sister, two brothers-in-law and one time exchange partners and two clansmen. Simon: his parents, married sister and a clansman all sent messages via myself, and his father's message was repeated via another carrier later. Brian: heard from his father, an elder brother and a clan brother, through three carriers including myself, the father repeating his message three times. Francis: heard by letter and through another carrier as well as myself from both mother's brothers and their mother (who had brought him up) and a clan brother.

Reactions. Parts of several messages contained straightforward descriptions of home events and these were received with interest but little comment. Sometimes I conveyed already stale news, as in one instance of a migrant hearing again that a former 'girl friend' (courting partner) was married.

A number of the migrants were moved at the thought that I had seen their parents and the reminder put a few into an apparently intolerable position. One man refused to listen, saying he had heard it all before; while another burst into tears at the sight of his mother's photograph and others said he was popokl (angry, upset, resentful, pressurised) because it had been so long since he had actually seen her.

The reception of actual demands or pleas that the migrant return home (a component of most messages) fell into two classes. Some men listened attentively and responded sympathetically; some re-
jected the sentiments expressed by their kinsfolk. The typical response in the first group was that the migrant was indeed intending to come home, but had no money yet. So he was forced to delay. One said that he would go back, but was on the verge of getting a promotion in his job here and had no *bisnis* at home, so what would he do there? Another that it was entirely his own inclination when he went (*laik bilong mi*, ‘it’s up to me’). It was pointed out that people cannot save money in Moresby as they do at home. The group responded in a negative way, in some cases to almost identical news. When Simon heard that his parents were getting old and sick he said positively that he knew this, and would go and look after them. He proffered the information that his other brothers did not care for them at home and he should therefore return to do this. But Adrian, a friend and clansman of his, on learning that his two wives were sick, dismissed the issue angrily (unfair pressure?) — the insinuation was that they were ill because he had been away and not completed certain funeral rites for a child of his who had died. The migrant said that it was nothing to do with him; women always get sick because they become angry over pigs and things and it was no concern of his. The sickness arose because of troubles at home and nothing he had done.\(^5\)

Where pleas to come home were accompanied by promises of transactions — a debt would be repaid, bride wealth raised — those whose response was negative poured derision on the intentions of their kinsfolk. Several said the kinsmen were just lying and their words were devices to entice the migrant back. Information that the migrant’s actual wife would go off if he did not come back soon was a ‘trick’ to make him return. Actual suggestions that the kinsfolk wanted to find the migrant a wife might be met with a laugh and the short comment that he was not yet thinking about women. Gerry, whose wife at home was on the verge of leaving him, gave the stock answer that he would like her to come to Moresby but had no house. He had been saying this for many years and had made no attempt to find accommodation: I suspect he was just waiting for the woman to go away. The most positive response to the question of future marriage came from Matthew, who was in fact a renowned saver, and had made very specific and large investments in visitors. He said he knew that when he went home his brothers would find him a wife and he was looking forward to this.

Reactions to the suggestion that a particular kinsman might come on a visit to Moresby were almost unanimously negative. (As expressed to me; migrants would be more circumspect in their direct response.) The typical attitude was: why on earth should he come? a mixture of surprise and chagrin. This was often linked directly to the tacit purpose of the visit, which would be to raise money to take home, and migrants pointed to their own poverty. They would have

\(^5\)This would be understood as partly in anger at his neglect.

\(^6\)Both these migrants were still in Moresby at the time of writing, some three years later.
no alternative but to provide, entertain and give — but how could they do this properly? The only proposed visit which was contemplated with equanimity was from a ‘brother’ (mother’s sister’s son) who said he would bring down pork from an impending feast; and who also said that he had not forgotten how much the migrant had helped him last time. There were some outright requests for money, mostly received rather impatiently (‘All they can talk about is money!’). One or two migrants noted that people at home did have their much vaunted *bisnis* to produce money for them after all. The few requests there were for things — a gun, furs from the market — were met with much less heat.

A final class of messages to consider were those concerned with on-going transactions at home. The response was often positive. Thus Adrian, who reacted so negatively to the news that his wives were sick and who regarded further information that his father-in-law might withdraw one of them as a malicious threat to make him go home, was also very positive towards news about various *moka* relations. He admitted to certain pig debts and had sent his wife instructions to handle one of these; he was interested to hear about the stage which *moka* plans had reached, because he had been a donor on a previous occasion and was now ready to receive. He also detailed quite precise intentions of what he would do with the pigs which he did get saying he would go home when the time for the prestation grew near. There were thus two distinct elements in his reactions: resentment when folk at home tried to tell him what to do and interest in rural events which indicated a continuing involvement there. His desire was, as it were, to participate without responsibility, to profit from home connections without having his freedom diminished by his family’s expectations. In general migrants were quite interested to hear about *moka* plans, although the plea that they come to swell the line of dancers made little impact.

From the tone of the migrants’ reaction some emphases can be extracted: pressure on the migrant to return home is very strong and may be met with sympathy (when it is interpreted as an expression of sentiment) but also with resentment (insofar as the home kin show authoritarianism which threatens the migrant’s freedom of action); although a migrant may be anxious that his kin are not giving thought to him, promises of future marriage payments are likely to be received with indifference; there is some interest among the migrants in maintaining exchange transactions with partners in Hagen, though direct requests for money are grudged; and most are receptive in general to news and information from home, even if they object to the influence particular individuals try to exert. There is thus a kind of elasticity in the extent to which the townsmen see themselves as attached to or free from rural society. One can look at this in two ways: as a product of the ambiguous social situation migrants put themselves into by coming to Moresby, so that they swing back and forth from one viewpoint to
another in judging their personal situation. Or more positively, as a product of the way in which links with home are in fact relevant for the definition of the urban society. In the statement 'I want to go home but cannot', we may be dealing both with a personal dilemma and with a set of ideas about the relationship between home and town. This is treated in the second part of this chapter.

The migrant’s dilemma

The build up of an urban Hagen community in Moresby could almost be described as a case of migration without motivation. People at home discourage outmigration, and those who leave seem to do so for trivial reasons. To justify their departure, most migrants phrase their aims in terms of seeking money. They say they plan to go to Moresby for a while, save some money and then return. The town offers another avenue for gaining wealth. But what at home seemed an alternative in the sense of an enlargement of scope of money-raising activities, and of a person’s social field, in town becomes an alternative of a different kind. The migrant has not enlarged his contacts so much as temporarily eclipsed his home ones, based in the rural society, by his involvement in an urban society.

This is true in several ways. If money is given as a reason for coming to town, it is also the reason which prevents people from returning. From the point of view of home it might have seemed that the youth, leaving before he has become involved in bisnis, is simply maximising his chances of doing well at a stage in life which his contemporaries spend largely in self-amusement. But the longer someone is away the more he jeopardises the possibility of in actuality being able to return and pick up from where he left off. While in terms of a subsistence economy wages are an ‘extra’, and money can be used for the furtherance of prestige, in town the migrant finds that he has to spend what he earns. He has to spend it not only on subsistence, but on maintaining his urban network. The genuineness of a migrant’s desires to keep up contacts with home is linked in their eyes to the vigour with which he maintains strong relations with other Hageners in town. But investment in the urban network (which thereby declares his continuing Hagenness) costs money. The dilemma is that the migrant cannot draw upon differentiated assets — behaving in these terms to people at home, in those to people in town — because he has only this one resource at his disposal. Money is very much a limited good, and expenditure in one direction must be at the expense of others.

People intending to go back home do not abandon Hagen acquaintances in town, for this would imply abandoning rural connections too; and they take a lively interest in home political events. But their very involvement in home politics may turn into another factor which inhibits

7Although the ambiguities have been largely demonstrated by considering the reactions of several individuals, it can also be shown that single persons are inconsistent in the views they hold: most entertain a mixture of positive and negative attitudes towards home.
them from actually returning. Mitchell said he had decided to stay on for a bit because the town was safer than Hagen, where there had been a recent resurgence of fighting between tribes; then escape becomes a trap. Migrants find that the longer they stay away the more vulnerable they become should they return, because their information will be out of date and inadequate. They will not know the ins and outs of local enmities, will not be able to recognise their current enemy. Moreover, accidents in the town are taken seriously by folk at home and one or two migrants who have been associated with the deaths of fellow Hageners would find it virtually impossible to travel back with impunity.

In the Salisburys' (1970) terms, Hagen migration looks at first like a rural strategy. Home remains a reference point for many things and people do not readily admit to any other long-term intention than to go back. But what begins as an alternative in terms of a career, money earning and politics, becomes a dilemma. It is not a dilemma for everyone. There are those whose chief desire is to see the city and who return after a while. But the man who stays, and who usually frames his reasons in terms of wage opportunity, finds himself increasingly in a situation where the cost of his decision to leave home mounts up: cost in terms of the *bisnis* opportunities he has forfeited, in terms of the ends to which he can use money, in terms of political security. What he buys is a viable life in town. Consider now various of the elements here summarised from the viewpoint of the individual migrant from another perspective, that of Hagen urban society.

WHEN INTENTIONS BECOME IDEOLOGIES

*Attitudes*

While my aim is to contrast the attitudes of people at home with those of the migrants, it should not be assumed that the comparison is between two world views of comparable order. For a start, there is an imbalance between the receptivity of each side. The migrant, because he does after all share with them common origins, is more familiar with the viewpoints of home people than they are with his. Home is very relevant to the urban society; but Moresby life impinges little on rural society (except over certain events, such as a homicide with all its political repercussions). Secondly, home people are extremely articulate about their criticisms of migrants, drawing on dogmas and widely agreed upon values to support their position; but the migrants lack a coherent ideology of their own. Urban Hageners make the most precise definitions of identity in opposition to the rural society, a device which simply gives negative values to home ideas. Knowing full well that kinsmen want them to return as soon as possible, they say they will go back later, or when they feel like it. In a manner which they realise people at home find uncongenial if not distressing, they defiantly subscribe to the ideal of personal autonomy (‘I shall do what I like when I like’) and avoid questions of social responsibility (‘We are all on our own here; no one is going to tell me what to do; if my wife at home
wants a divorce that is up to her; I know my mother may be ill — yet I can't go home, I don't have any money'). But because home views are the more articulate, migrants paradoxically also sometimes choose to see things through rural eyes. They may disparage the town in precisely the same terms as visitors do (hot, expensive, without good food). When they send the message that so-and-so is not to come to visit them because they have no money, they are recognising the obligation to look after visitors. When they say they cannot come yet because they have not saved enough money, they are acknowledging the demands which will be made upon them, and which they agree are, at least in part, legitimate.

Migrants' attitudes are thus a mixture of home views and opposition to these. Lacking is any positive evaluation of town-dwelling. One may infer from their behaviour that they derive satisfactions from being in town, but it is hard to appreciate the terms in which they see it. There is little dogma about the idea of urban living as an end in itself, and really no image of townspeople as mature, whole persons on a par with rural adults. This absence of an urban ideology may be summed up in another way. Rather than categorising themselves as townspeople with this or that specific attribute, migrants seem to formulate their position in highly individualistic terms, individualism itself being given positive value (an aspect of autonomy, 'I shall do what I want'). The result is that when one asks people about living in town, the reply is likely to take the form of self-opportunism ('I'll stay in this job until I find a better paid one') or personal intention ('I'm pretty fed up and plan to go home at Christmas').

The attitudes of migrants towards home are not, then, simply the urban counterparts of rural values. Migrants do not formulate their position as coherently: in the absence of a counter-ideology, there are only the stated intentions of individuals. And to a degree they actually share home values. Either these are openly accepted and the return home is planned with greater or lesser enthusiasm or the migrant says that they do not really affect him just at this particular moment: not that he is never going back, but it will not be now. The constant stream of visitors reinforces the rural evaluation of money; visitors are also a considerable source of irritation to the migrant. The divergence from what is expected of him (that he think of his kin and save money for their use) and what he actually does (spends money and puts off going home) is revealed to them.

What people say about their motives and preferences cannot really be placed as private intentions in contrast to public attitudes, for the latter hardly exist. Perhaps we should look again at the personal statements and ask if they do not also embody tacit values about urban

8These elements in themselves constitute a certain social style — cf. Douglas's (1970) analysis of anti-ritualistic societies. I am grateful to Sue Robertson for drawing my attention to this point. Ideologies do of course have to be coherent in the sense of consistent; I mean that migrants fail to employ social values which would give some systematic shape to their viewpoint beyond reference to the value of autonomy and individualism.
life and the identity of town-dwellers. They may be couched in an individualistic idiom, but the regularity with which Hagen migrants make the same observations of why they came to town and why they cannot go home is itself a phenomenon and amounts, meagre though it is, to a set of symbols about the urban society.

**The repercussions of disapproval**

Migrants are quite aware of the disapproval bestowed on their staying in town, and this colours their own attitudes towards home. It reinforces certain aspects of their situation, some of which they talk about openly, others of which are to be inferred.

It is not unusual for a migrant to speak of leaving home as an act of escape. Any particular reason is likely to have been selected from a multitude of factors. One may suppose that such selection will be biased rather than random: thus a gloss which recurs quite often is the desire to avoid marriage. The youth who says he came to town to avoid getting married is giving an explanation which also has considerable symbolic value for his present status in town.9 Marriage stands for the general assumption of domestic responsibilities which a young man must start to face at that time. Entry into adulthood is marked by no ceremony or form of initiation. It is marriage which brings both responsibility and the chance to embark on a proper career — taking a part in public affairs, becoming active in ceremonial exchange, and so on. First marriages are generally arranged by a youth's elders. The migrant's protest is not against such an arrangement or against particular matches, so much as against the idea of 'settling down'. Although when they depart youths intend to return, the fact that they leave at this stage strongly suggests an avoidance of paternal authority, which is beginning for the first time to take a directive effect in the young man's affairs. The expressed disapproval of migration must reinforce the migrant's own idea that he is escaping from conditions which are irksome. Leaving home itself becomes an assertion of autonomy. Migrants may lack an urban ideology (one directed towards urban life-styles) but they do have, as it were, a migration ideology, whose central component is the idea of personal independence.10 There seems to be an obvious connection between the urban migrant putting a high value on personal freedom and formulating his reasons for leaving home in terms of escape.

A related aspect, but not admitted in so many terms, is that in prolonging bachelorhood youths are also prolonging adolescence. The majority of unskilled migrants come to Moresby when they are just eligible for marriage, and may not return till they are really beyond the optimum age (early twenties). The ethos of adolescence, derived from home, is highly adaptable to town conditions. Adolescent styles include

9He would mean that he did not feel ready for marriage at that particular juncture — not that he was against the institution. The idiomatic explanation is that one is 'too young' and 'not ready'.

10This of course influences their behaviour in town. Their time-scale as *migrants* is a highly significant element in attitudes towards employment.
thinking mainly of oneself; joining peer groups which emphasise
equality and play down leadership; not taking the adult world too
seriously; spending a great deal of time on amusement (card-playing,
drinking); experiencing a freedom from domestic obligations; feeling
diffident about participating in public affairs which involve speech-
making, though being enthusiastic about dancing and courting sessions.
It should be added that there is considerable adult tolerance of this
kind of behaviour at home; also that although marriage itself marks the
beginning of this phase's termination, it does not bring about an abrupt
break and young married men often continue for a while in their old
ways. Apart from participating in dancing and courting sessions,
urban migrants are able to pursue a style of life which has a strong
adolescent flavour. The shift from a rural to an urban context seems
further to mean that the adult world and its obligations become largely
identified with home (from which the migrant has 'escaped'), to the
extent that even those in town who do marry and perhaps have a child
are able to perpetuate many, though not all, aspects of bachelorhood.
Having a wife in town carries fewer social implications than at home;
and in any case home is where the real adults are. There is a kind of
equation between staying on in the town and not becoming mature,
though this is to be inferred from people's behaviour rather than their
statements. I would judge that many look on being in town as simply
a phase (as adolescence is a phase) which they will grow out of. Those
who continue in Moresby into middle age may still talk of themselves,
a little impishly, as insouciant children. What there does not seem to
be is any ethic of maturity.

At home male maturity is marked by assuming responsibility for
one's wife's gardens, obtaining live stock for her to care for, deploying
valuables in transactions, and gradually becoming prominent in public
affairs. Indeed, the adult world is competitive where the adolescent
world is egalitarian. Status distinctions between those who are or are
becoming nyim (of significance) and those who never achieve this
(korpa, rubbish men) are highly prevalent at home. One could talk
there of a kind of ethic of maturity, which includes the idea of using
one's capacities to the full and which is evinced at least in interest in,
if not always accompanied by success in, self-advancement and public
prominence. Migrants avoid talking about people in status terms (as
nyim or korpa). They stress equality among themselves ('We are all the
same'), or in reference to the claimed superiority of people at home,
their common low status ('We are all korpa here'); are reluctant as
individuals to be seen to be prominent; have no real leaders. They

Thus marriage stands for future responsibilities rather than any kind of
immediate enforcement of duty. One might say that all the statements which
point to a desire to stay 'young' in rural terms (independent, irresponsible)
amount to an ideology and, for this category of persons, comprise a 'public
attitude' (see p. 258). If these are shared values, however, they are tacit rather
than overt ones.

Employers are sometimes treated as parental figures also. If migrants in home
eyes are 'absentee businessmen' (A. M. Strathern 1972), home folk in the
migrants' eyes are 'absentee adults'.
organise exchanges and public occasions but do not make formal speeches at them. In disputes issues and relationships are reduced to their simplest rather than (as often occurs at home) being blown up to their most complicated form.\textsuperscript{13}

The known attitudes of men at home again affect the migrant's own position. Visitors who come to Moresby are frequently persons of substance, the leaders; they are articulate, sometimes heavy-handed. Often they are appalled at the migrants' lack of political sense, ignorance, and above all inability to speak in public. They come bringing with them involved stories of events, with every drop of political meaning squeezed out of them. This scares the migrants. The politics of the rural world seem dangerous and ramifying. They are of it enough to appreciate the kinds of insinuations that are produced by and manufactured out of particular incidents (a car accident; a theft; a big man falling sick); but they have been away too long or are too far removed to feel they have any control over the repercussions. There are migrants like Mitchell who say quite openly that they are afraid now to go back home: since they are out of touch with the local political scene how can they possibly know who their current enemies are? News travels frequently between home and town. But migrants can never know more than the general outlines, not the little details upon which realistic decisions rest. There is enough congruence between events at home and in town for cries to be mutually relevant; but too much distance for the migrant to feel he can ever grasp enough information to make rational judgments. His reaction is likely to be withdrawal; to say that he is not affected, since he belongs to the town.

When visitors come to Moresby, they are entertained as guests and generally keep explicit expressions of disapproval to themselves. But their very presence and demeanour can be something of an imposition. Certainly felt as such by their hosts is the expectation that visitors come to take home the migrant's savings. Among the uncomfortable reminders of rural life which the guest brings is his general air of prosperity. Some arrive with quite lavish amounts of spending money; and both sides know it was not obtained from wage-labour.

\textit{Money}

Money is a bridge between home values and town behaviour. When talking about why they came, rather than why they left, migrants say over and again that they heard Moresby was a place where money was to be found. The significance of this idiom is that it to some extent justifies their position in the eyes of people at home. Here, statements about money are as much a matter of ideology (relating behaviour to certain values) as of economics.

That non-economic factors have a role to play in migration has been generally considered (cf. Harris 1974a).\textsuperscript{14} The point to add is

\textsuperscript{13}The contrast can be summarised in the remark I have heard urban Hageners make at beer distribution. 'We are all brothers here; there is nothing to be said', at home its analogue would be, 'We are all brothers here, so let's use the opportunity to say things . . .'
that even statements of an economic kind ('I came to Moresby to earn money') may also have non-economic implications.

For a migrant to phrase his being in town as a matter of economic motivation makes reasonable sense to people at home. Unfortunately in using an idiom which will elicit a little approval ('At least he is earning money'), the migrant lays himself open to an exploitation from which it is almost impossible to extricate himself. His kinsmen really only regard the migrant as justified in earning money this way, and not some other, if he saves substantial amounts and invests it in rural social relationships by sending the money back to them. What the migrant finds hard to make his relatives realise is that money cannot be used in the same way in town as at home. Hagen townsmen complain strenuously about spending on subsistence — shelter, food, electricity, transport. In actual fact their budgets suggest that the highest costs are in the fields of (a) urban luxuries and entertainment (cars, cards, beer); (b) social transactions in the town (loans, contributions towards car purchases, and parties, some of which are modified forms of ceremonial exchange); and (c) gifts to visitors and returning migrants. Visitors approve of the last type of deployment; anything else is 'waste' — they regard luxuries as extravagance, and do not seem to see or notice expenditure on urban social relationships. Indeed, all three types of spending have implications for the maintenance of urban ties: for example entertainment has an obvious effect on sustaining links among friends. Most of a migrant's friends are fellow Hageners.

The Hagen-ness of urban society is thus maintained in part by an expenditure not appreciated at all by home folk. They regard it simply as a drain on resources, receiving with impatience the wage-earners' explanation that they cannot give any money just now because it has all been spent. The very fact that the visitor who comes to town finds Hageners there in contact with one another, that the friends of his own acquaintances will help him and that he may be entertained by a range of persons wider than his immediate relatives, is due to the relationships migrants have set up among themselves, and which are given value through financial transactions (contributions, loans) or costly entertainment (beer, cards). The friend of a friend who contributes $2 towards the visitor's plane fare back is doing so for the sake of the urban friendship as much as in expression of links with home. For many visitors return to Hagen with their fares paid by migrants and with extra money besides, generally raised from a number of men. The visitor may be a close brother of one of them, a co-clansman or tribesman of others. But often he is also given small monetary gifts by men from groups which at home he has little contact with. The contributors are helping one another: later, should a close brother of theirs come to Moresby, they may reasonably hope for help from their friends in return.

14Though it is arguable that the inherent contrast between economic: non-economic factors is a highly ethnocentric ordering of the likely variables.
15(This is most true of the unmarried wage-earner.)
Interestingly, then, the presence of visitors does stimulate the migrants into giving money. It may not be as much as the visitor wanted; sometimes he finds that his brothers have nothing saved, though are willing to let him have the next fortnight’s wages. People who plead that they have no money may still find a dollar or two. In the presence of men from home, the obligation to send money back is appreciated. Very little is remitted otherwise.

Why does the migrant respond? Why does he bother to send money home (and a few have given several hundred dollars in one way or another)? It is legitimate also to ask why they explain their own behaviour in terms of economics. The questions can be answered in various ways, and have to do among other things with Hageners’ perception of social change and modernity. Here I want to stress that the migrant’s financial transactions are invariably two-sided. Contributing to the home-going plane fare of a friend’s brother both recognises that it is incumbent on the wage-earner to send some of his money home and strengthens intra-urban ties between the friends. And the spending on urban friendships among fellow Hageners in town, to which people at home seem quite blind, has the effect of reinforcing intra-Hagen bonds within the town, which in fact makes it more likely that the migrant will think of home from time to time.

In using the idiom of money, in drawing attention to how much he has or has not saved, how much has been spent, what makes it hard for him to go just now, the Hagen migrant is also reminding his home acquaintances that he belongs to something of an alternative society. Nevertheless he needs to keep open the option of returning to the rural society should he wish. The small gift, handed over with an apology that it is not bigger, expresses this perfectly.

Home orientation and the urban society

The majority of migrants state that they intend to go home. Although the intention may be dated to within a few months hence, in their timescale we may call it a long-term one. With this long-term expectation goes a readiness to entertain visitors, to listen to news about relatives, and to keep up with gross political developments. Many (though not all) out-of-work relationships involve other Hageners and it is to them that a migrant who seriously plans to go turns for support. It is the custom for fellow migrants to raise a sum, which may cover the cost of the air fare (approximately $50) or exceed it, to give to the intending returnee. Even though this is unlikely to match his relatives’ hopes, the returnee is generally enabled to take something. Most migrants also have some savings, and there are probably few who could not actually raise the home fare if they needed to.16 Paradoxically, then, many migrants could gather if need be from their own resources and financial transactions with others, sums in the order of $100–$200. They do not

16In fact the system only works because returnees do not go very often. If everyone were to decide to depart at once the situation would be altered. When visitors from home come too fast on one another’s heels, the latecomers find the migrants both unable and less willing to be generous.
need to make the solid effort at private saving, which is what they say they find so hard to do and which keeps them in town (‘We cannot save much and so cannot come home quickly’).

In addition to the specific debts he can call in, the returnee will also hope for gifts from his friends. As at home, friendship is defined in part in transactional terms. Not all can depend to the same degree on financial support from others. Those to whom contributions will be most forthcoming will be men who have over the years in town participated actively in the Hagen network, who have invested in their fellow migrants, who have spent on urban luxuries and urban relationships, participating in parties, in judicious social drinking, in the organisation of large-scale events such as funeral feasts, buying cars and so on. The occasional lone person who tends not to help others cannot expect much himself. In short, in order to raise a sum of money appropriate to his going home, the migrant has had to manage his urban relationships, which may mean that it is in his interests not to save.17 This is the common pattern rather than the universal case.

There are migrants who return only on their savings. But interestingly enough, someone who does not broadcast his intention to depart may be criticised by others for not giving them the chance to contribute to his home-going gifts. What does this mean? A man who participates actively — though it need not be exclusively — in Hagen social life in the town is in the end ensuring that he will probably go home. Conversely, in identifying themselves in relation to this ultimate intention (however many times the actual event may be put off and however personal and individualistic the sentiment may appear to be) urban Hageners are defining their Hagen-ness. Reference to home thus has an ideological significance.

The intention to go home is to be found even among those who from their behaviour seem most settled and entrenched in urban society (and it is highly likely that the number of semi-permanent Hagen residents will gradually increase). It is partly a product of the migrant regarding his sojourn in town as no more than a stage in life, the ‘real’ adult world being elsewhere. In the meantime, however, a little ‘home’ is constructed in the town, so that he can through his personal associates continue being a Hagener though he is no longer in Hagen. The idea of returning is also two-sided. Although it is usually cast as a short-term prognostication, it indicates a reliance on long-term eventuality — that some time in the future the migrant will have to go back. And while it is home-oriented, it has significance for the way in which migrants think about their social life in town. Many migrants have non-Hagen contacts and friends, but the most easily activated friendships come from fellow Hageners,18 and Hagen migrants in Moresby regard them-

17 The account is necessarily simplified here. The most successful are those who manage to both save privately and spend lavishly in the town; but for many there has to be a choice between one or the other, and most migrants seem to opt for the latter. There are also a few renowned savers.

18 I do not enter into the details of subdivisions here. It is obvious that the Hagen migrant does not espouse all Hagen (=rural) values. See the section on his status as an adolescent.
selves as an ‘ethnic’ body. When they talk about links with home they are emphasising common cultural origins and one rationale for town-based relationships (co-tribesmen etc.), and also the extent to which their interests as migrants differentiate them from members of the rural society. People there do not realise the pressures which exist in the town — how ‘impossible’ it is to save money. They are also criticised for making large issues out of trivial events; and for everyone thinking he is a big man, whereas of course in town men are rubbish. Home society thus provides a reference point for conceptualising elements in their position as migrants which gives some grounds for feelings of common identity. The most prominent element is an appreciation of the financial predicament of town-dwellers in relation to rural expectations. The man who says he has no money to buy a ticket home is also identifying himself with his fellow migrants. He may even add: ‘I am not coming home yet because I am waiting for my friend X. When he is ready to come, I will too.’

If one does not grasp the ideological significance of what appear to be statements of personal intent one might misjudge the migrant’s position. It is not unusual to find a Hagener who asserts very firmly that he will be departing home in a short while, and who is heavily involved in intra-Hagen relationships in the town, but who may also be thinking of obtaining a Papuan wife or buying a truck (both indicators that he is unlikely to go just yet). He is both differentiating himself from the rural society and relating himself to it. His attitude towards returning is as much an element of his urban social life as his truck-purchasing plans. Indeed one tends to find that it is the most energetic individuals, those interested in making social capital out of their relationships, who are likely to face in all directions — to be the most emphatic about going home and the most involved in town life.19

CONCLUSION: THE DISCONCERTING TIE

My title is meant to draw attention to similarities between some of the points discussed here and Silverman’s (1971) description of the Banaban people, who had to move their society from one location (in the Gilbert and Ellice Islands) to another (Fiji).20 In talking about the ways Banabans think about their situation, Silverman uses Schneider’s contrast which can be expressed as being between identity, the idiom in terms of which relatedness is perceived, and code, the rules which affect the conduct of relationships.

When Hagen migrants think about home, they dwell on their personal situation, the actual ties they maintain or would prefer to let lapse, and attempt to imprint on the situation ‘rules’ for its conduct. Thus many subscribe to the idea that if they send money home their

19Cf. Oeser’s (1969) findings for women in Hohola. There are parallels here in Harris’s (1974a:175) perceptive observation that lack of involvement with other ethnic groups cannot be taken as indicating a lack of urban commitment if it is a matter of style (the kind of life people see themselves leading).

20Silverman’s book is called Disconcerting Issue.
kin will be obliged to help them when they decide to go back themselves.Visitors are treated with hospitality, and there are rules here too: it has become customary to send them home with presents. Migrants refer explicitly to the 'law' (rules, customs) they follow in dealing with the despatch of corpses. But 'thinking' is a matter of cognition as well as perception. In addition to the way particular relationships are perceived because of their implications for behaviour ('Yes, my father is old; I shan't stay here for ever'), they have an identity aspect ('Yes, I drink beer with that man because I am related to him through my father'). The second part of this paper tries to show how one set of relationships (ties with home) can be looked upon as an idiom in terms of which another set (intra-Hagen ties in town) receive identity. The significance of ethnic origins for urban associations is an old one to the study of migration. Among Hagen migrants, however, ethnicity as such is of little relevance for urban strategies against other ethnic groups; it is most significant for the individual's own self-definition. It is not surprising that people's remarks are couched in the personal idiom of preferences and intentions ('Oh, I'll go when I want to'). What is clear is that the degree of stated commitment to home cannot be used as an indicator of disassociation from urban life where it also serves an ideological purpose.

Hageners indeed find their ties with home disconcerting — both necessary and irksome; they appear now as unalterable givens, now subject in their maintenance to a novel degree of choice. They are disconcerting to the investigator as well. If expressions and explanations of personal intent are in part a matter of social and group identity, their relationship to individual motivation may be highly obscure.

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21It by no means follows: those who go back with nothing are also welcomed; while those who have sent money home find they have discharged a perceived debt rather than put themselves into credit, or have given to the wrong people, and so on.
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