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Colonial Town to Melanesian City
COLONIAL TOWN TO MELANESIAN CITY
Port Moresby 1884-1974
N.D. Oram

Australian National University Press  Canberra 1976
Acknowledgments

I gratefully acknowledge the funds provided by Australian Frontier to enable me to continue my research as an Honorary Research Fellow in the Department of Anthropology and Sociology, Australian National University during 1968-9; and the encouragement given to me by Stephen Boyden at this time and his help in arranging this assistance.

My thanks are first due to those who were either working with me, or on related projects, between 1962 and 1965: Gavera Baru, Susan Faircloth, Nancy Hitchcock, Philip Maimu, Dawn Ryan and Lyn Oeser. They are also due to Alan Rew for his co-operation while he was also carrying out research in Port Moresby. I am grateful to government officials and other residents of Port Moresby, who are too many to mention by name; but my special thanks go to Cecil Abel, the late H.W. Champion, Ivan Champion, the Reverend Percy Chatterton, Dr Alec and Mrs Thelma Price, and Mrs Beth Mylius and members of the Community Development Group for putting their time and knowledge at my disposal. I am grateful to Graham Smith, former Town Clerk, Port Moresby City Council for his unfailing helpfulness since we have been closely associated since 1970. My thanks also to H.T. Kienzle and John Smeeton for their comments on my chapter on World War II.

It is not possible to acknowledge by name all my colleagues in the Australian National University and the University of Papua New Guinea and others who over a period of eleven years contributed in a number of ways. I feel, however, that I should mention Lesley Andrews, J.A. Barnes, Ann Chowning, John Conroy T.E. Dutton, A.L. Epstein, E.K. Fisk, James Gibbney, Helga and James Griffin, D. Hegarty, L. Lewis, Hank Nelson, Terry Standley, D. Van de Kaa and G.R. Ward.

Acknowledgments are due to the cartographer, Department of Geography, University of Papua New Guinea and Linda Allen for the preparation of Maps 1,2,4,5, and 8; to A.V. Surmon and R.G. Ward for Maps 3 and 6 which appeared in Port Moresby 1970; and to the Planning and Survey Section of the Housing Commission and Urban Resettlement Office, Department of Social Development and Home Affairs for preparing Map 7 and Figures 2 and 3.

Finally I am most grateful to my wife, Joan, who helped me to organise my material and patiently typed my drafts, and to my three children, Denis, Janet and Rosemary, who criticised various drafts and assisted in a number of ways.

Port Moresby, 1974

N.D.O.
Abbreviations

A.N.G.A.U.  Australian New Guinea Administrative Unit
A.N.U.  Australian National University
A.R.  *British New Guinea Annual Reports, 1885-1906*
       *Papua Annual Reports, 1907-
C.O.  Colonial Office
D.S.N.A.  Department of District Services and Native Affairs
E.A.R.C.  East Africa Royal Commission 1952-5
G.N.  Government Gazette Notice
H.A.  House of Assembly
H.A.D.  *House of Assembly Debates*
I.B.R.D.  International Bank for Reconstruction and Development
J.P.H.  *Journal of Pacific History*
J.P.N.G.S.  *Journal of the Papua New Guinea Society*
J.R.A.I.  *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain*
L.C.D.  *Legislative Council Debates*
L.M.S.  London Missionary Society
N.G.A.P.S.A.  *New Guinea and Australia, the Pacific and Southeast Asia*
N.G.A.R.  *New Guinea Annual Reports*
N.G.R.U.  New Guinea Research Unit
P.C.  *Post Courier*
P.I.M.  *Pacific Islands Monthly*
P.M.S.J.  Port Moresby Station Journal
P.N.G.  Papua New Guinea
Q.P.P.  *Queensland Parliamentary Papers*
S.P.  *South Pacific*
S.P.P.  *South Pacific Post*
T.P.N.G.  Territory of Papua New Guinea
U.N.O.  United Nations Organization
U.P.N.G.  University of Papua New Guinea
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Introduction

Since the end of World War II, the proportion of the population of the world living in urban centres has been rapidly increasing, especially in developing countries. Between 1920 and 1960, urban populations in East Asia grew four times, in Latin America and Africa five times, and in Oceania two-and-a-half times (United Nations, 1968: 12).

The majority of towns in modernising countries have been either founded by colonial powers or have come under their control or influence. Many are divided into two sectors which I have elsewhere called high-grade and low-grade development sectors. The first sector consists of town centres and richer suburbs in which standards of planning, building and services are comparable to those found in Western towns.¹ The second sector is inhabited by the poorer members of the population and consists either of overcrowded tenements within towns or areas of uncontrolled and congested settlements, inadequately provided with services, on their fringes. Poverty leads to malnutrition and disease. High crime rates, unstable family life and other forms of social disorganisation emerge, although these characteristics are also found in Western towns.

In spite of immense effort in terms of human thought and energy and of expenditure of huge sums of money and masses of materials, social and physical conditions in these towns are getting worse. While a number of writers (e.g. McGee, 1967: 155-70; Juppenlatz, 1970) have recognised various aspects which distinguish the two sectors, the administrative implications of the differences between them have received little attention. If solutions to urban problems are to be found, a new approach is needed and such an approach is proposed in this book. I argue that the problems which arise in Port Moresby are not mainly caused by lack of financial and other resources or by badly executed policies, although these play their part. They arise because administrative institutions

¹. I use the term ‘Western’ as a convenient shorthand to refer to the predominantly Anglo-Saxon industrial culture of northern Europe, the United States and Australia. That it is not synonymous with European, readers of the People of the Sierra by Julian Pitt Rivers (1954) will appreciate.
and policies have been adopted which reflect Western needs and goals, unrelated to the needs and aspirations of the Papua New Guinean population.

Social problems arise when people suffer deprivation, injustice or other ills. As C. Wright Mills (1970: 145) says: 'In our formulation of problems we must make clear the values that are really threatened in the troubles and issues involved, who accepts them as values, and by whom or by what they are threatened.' Problems may be identified in a number of ways. Many problems are partly culturally determined; austere conditions welcomed by a Spartan, for example, would be abhorrent to a modern American or Australian. Those experiencing problems may articulate them, but their understanding of their problems and their felt needs depends on their awareness of their total situation and of the options which are open to them. An observer from outside a society may judge problems in terms of his own values: a Westerner, for example, may \textit{ipso facto} condemn conditions he sees obtaining in a shanty settlement. He may, however, try to assess them in the light of the values of those involved and thereby come to a different conclusion. External assessments may be based on precise scientific evidence: medical research may establish beyond doubt that lack of hygiene in a canoe settlement plays a major part in the aetiology of helminthic diseases (intestinal parasites) which are prevalent among its inhabitants. Yet to cure the disease by removing the residents to better housing conditions away from their main source of protein, fish, and from the security of an established community, might be more harmful to their health than to leave them as they are. I suggest below that problems cannot be identified by participant or observer alone. They can be understood only through continuing interchange between those who experience them and those who are responsible for finding solutions to them.

To analyse a problem, a 'holistic' approach, to use convenient shorthand, is needed. This approach involves taking all variables, however specialist or technical they may be, into account. To understand and overcome the problems of housing the poor, such factors as land tenure, town planning, building techniques, culture, social organisation and administrative systems must be considered. An attempt to present such a synthesis poses many problems. It may be difficult to muster a number of appropriate specialists to work in the same area at the same time. In the unlikely event that such an assemblage is achieved, academics are very reluctant to stray into each others' fields. It is not enough to present a symposium of different viewpoints—a genuine attempt at synthesis is needed. One researcher cannot adequately cover all aspects of development, but he may have to make do with such help as he can muster. Redfield (1960: 19,166) asks: 'can an intuited whole give way, as study proceeds, to one equally comprehensively analysed system?'—but leaves his question unanswered.

Some holistic studies of single towns have been written: the Lynd's \textit{Middletown} (1929) was a study of a single mid-western American town written in the 1930s. These studies are not, however, primarily problem oriented. The
majority of technical studies, including town planning reports, are too narrow in scope to offer any guideline for overcoming major problems, although some town planning studies in Papua New Guinea have made a valuable contribution. The majority of studies have been narrowly specialised and some writers have considered this specialisation a virtue. Some writers on African towns call such independent variables as density of settlement, mobility, and administrative and political limitations ‘extrinsic factors’ (Southall 1961: 5) and Mitchell (1966: 48) ‘external factors’. The latter considers them to be the concern of other disciplines: ‘As far as urban sociology is concerned, we are able to take them for granted and to examine instead the behaviour of individuals within the social matrix created by these factors’. (Mitchell 1966: 48-9)

Yet, if the study is concerned with social change, the process of change can only be understood through analysing the impact of these changing variables on ‘the behaviour of individuals’. It is pertinent to ask who, if not the sociologist, should attempt a synthesis of all relevant factors. Not all scholars take this restrictive view. Gutkind, commenting on Epstein’s broader aim of examining ‘some of the variables that shape the structure of social relations in modern African towns’ (1967: 276) says that: ‘Contributions are badly needed, however, not only from social anthropologists, but also from political scientists, economists, historians, and others who might not cast their conceptualization in such a framework’ (p. 285).

In spite of the immense literature on various aspects of urban development, failure to take a holistic view has led to serious gaps. Academics and others have neglected to study administration as a major determinant of urban development. Many studies of administration in modernising countries, such as those relating to Tanzania by Tordoff (1967) and Dryden (1968), barely mention towns. The few studies of purely urban administration, for example Urban Areas in Indonesia: administrative and census concepts by Milone (1966), are mainly concerned with municipal organisations designed to provide modern urban services. The series of books on urban local government edited by A.M. Walsh and summarised in Urban Challenge to Government: an international comparison of thirteen cities (1969) are broader in scope and provide valuable insights into political and social matters. They are not basically concerned, however, with the relevance of government to the individual’s needs. One book which views administration in terms of the social organisation of an urban population during rapid social change is Royal Capital of Buganda by P.C.W. Gutkind (1963) and C.S. Belshaw (1957) has similarly studied a single Port Moresby village, Hanuabada, but these appear to be exceptions. C. Abrams, for example, is concerned in his Man’s Struggle for Shelter in an Urbanising World (1964) with the effectiveness of administrative machinery, but he does not challenge the relevance of its goals or organisation of administration in relation to peoples’ needs. Valuable insights are to be found in the work of urban an-
thropologists, but they are not primarily concerned with problems of ad-
ministration.

The need to relate administrative activities to needs is beginning to be realised,
for example, in the United Kingdom (Stewart, 1971: 15) but barely in Papua
New Guinea. The first question which must be asked is what the needs are.
How, currently, does government impinge on the people and are its activities
irksome and unnecessary? I maintain that in the past urban administration in
Port Moresby has been concerned too much with bricks and mortar. What is
needed is concentration on the development of an administrative organisation
which enables people to articulate their needs and share in the management
of their own affairs. Solutions are to be sought in distributing scarce resources
of all kinds according to the values of urban populations.

There are urgent reasons why an attempt to achieve a synthesis of the dif-
ferent aspects and problems of urban development should be made. Decisions
are often determined as much by the way in which a decision-maker conceptu-
tualises the town—his ‘idea’ of the town in the Platonic sense—as by his attempt
at a rational assessment of the factors involved. Many decisions of those res-
ponsible for development of Port Moresby suggest that they have viewed it as
an Australian town with fringe areas of low-standard indigenous development.
They ignored the fringe areas because they did not fit their concept and they
assumed that they would eventually disappear as the economy of the country
developed. Some Papua New Guinean leaders have also tended to adopt an
ultra-Western view of urban development, partly for reasons of prestige.

Academic specialisation and lack of problem-oriented studies bring little
comfort to the urban decision-maker. He, whether general administrator or
technical specialist, makes his decisions on the best information available. Ad-
mittedly, government organisations frequently have no machinery for pro-
cessing the results of research, but those results are sometimes available too
late or are in an indigestible form. Government officials may also resent critic-
ism. There may be two reasons for lack of academic contributions (and, of
course, there are exceptions) to the solution of urban problems. One is fear of
making value judgments. The second is lack of a general urban theory as Mc-
Gee (1964: 159-81) has pointed out.

Social scientists are beginning to admit that it is impossible for their work
to be value-free and problems can only be measured in terms of needs which
are hardly susceptible of value-free assessment. Yet few academics are willing
to involve themselves in an assessment of human needs and in declaring the
values which arise from that assessment. Even if doubts are beginning to be
cast on the validity of cultural relativism, the concept still holds much sway
in practice. A book which deals with problems cannot be free from the value
judgments of the author. In this book, as far as possible I pose options: if law
and order are to be maintained, for example, then further restrictions on the
liberty of the individual may be required. It is difficult to state my position
briefly without sounding platitudinous: the aim of enabling each individual to articulate his personality to the highest degree of which he is capable is held by people of greatly differing beliefs and outlook. This aim is only Western in the emphasis given to the individual. I prefer democratic society as the best form of society in the sense that 'democracy implies that those vitally affected by any decision men make have an effective voice in that decision' (Mills, 1970: 209).

I accept that the form of democracy now practised by Western countries is not necessarily suitable for other countries or even for those of the West. Further, the main condition for operating a democratic form of government—a sufficient number of aware citizens—may not exist in many modernising countries. For the rest, while considering a broad distribution of wealth among a population desirable, I am pragmatic and free from dogma in relation to economic systems.

Secondly, there is a lack of an adequate urban model. Nearly all discussion of urban social structure looks back to Wirth's 'Urbanism as a Way of Life' (1938) if only to disagree with him. Many scholars, for example Dewey (1960), Hauser (1965: 504) and Gans (1968: 97) have criticised his theory on the grounds that it was based on the inner town area of a single American city at a particular point in time. They may admit, as do Dewey (1960) and Bruner (1961), that the variables of size, density and heterogeneity are important, but they do not see an inevitable move towards a social structure in which contacts between individuals are 'impersonal, superficial, transitory and segmental'. In spite of these criticisms, many scholars, as McGee (1971: 15) points out, consider that many countries will be dependent for their development not only on adopting the technology of the West but also on their coming to resemble Western societies in social structure. A number of writers have made this assumption in relation to towns in developing countries.

If an understanding of urban problems is to be reached a holistic study must be attempted with all its weaknesses. To redress the lack of interest in these aspects of urban development shown in the majority of studies, concentration is needed on the relationship between administrative institutions and the needs of the urban population. Urban society should be analysed as it is actually developing and not as moving in preconceived directions. Finally the effect of different political and economic philosophies should be considered.

The approach suggested in this book is the fruit of my experience as soldier, administrator and academic researcher in urban areas of a number of developing countries.

My first experience of towns in modernising countries was gained when I was stationed at Ibadan in Western Nigeria for a few months in 1943 as a member of the Royal West African Frontier Force. Ibadan, with a quarter of a million people, had been an important Yoruba centre in the nineteenth century before the imposition of British overrule (Awe, 1967: 11-25). Although superficial, my impression of Ibadan has been among the most significant in
shaping my views: magnificently vital and colourful disorder in which mud huts were intermingled with fine modern buildings; dusty roads and obvious lack of sanitation; and vigorous economic activity. This impression of the vitality of a predominantly indigenous town, fortified later by a military tourist’s view of Indian towns, provided a contrast to the sterile and lifeless indigenous sectors of towns created by Europeans in East Africa and in New Guinea. The quality of vitality cannot be measured by scientific methods. Moreover, concern for the quality of life, expressed in a number of studies of urban areas in the United States and elsewhere, does not yet appear to have found a significant place in studies of towns in developing countries. The contrast demonstrated to me, however, that the reproduction of a Western urban environment may not in itself lead to the emergence of dynamic indigenous urban communities; and that a life of high quality is not necessarily dependent on standards of town planning, building and sanitation, desirable though such standards may be.

As a member of the colonial administrative service in Uganda between 1948 and 1960, I held a number of posts connected with urban administration and also visited urban centres in the Belgian Congo, Northern Rhodesia, Kenya and the Sudan. In 1949, as part of a move to separate the administration of Jinja Township from that of the surrounding district, I became the first Administrative Officer-in-Charge of the town. The Uganda Government, bent on the rapid economic development of the country, was building the Owen Falls dam across the River Nile. It had given little thought to the social and economic consequences of bringing a very large number of Africans to work in the town (Sofer, 1955; Larimore, 1958).

While the African population grew rapidly, large numbers were evicted from land within the town boundary to make room for modern development. Low-cost housing provided by the government did not begin to meet demand and Africans seeking shelter either squatted\(^2\) on government land or settled outside the town boundary. Jinja was administered by several overlapping authorities and was ‘practically devoid of real context and meaning for the mass of the African population’ (C. and R. Sofer, 1955: 35). The local ‘chiefs’ or agents appointed under African district councils, however, provided Africans with a personal and easily accessible system of administration.

From 1952 to 1955 I was an Assistant Secretary to the East African Royal Commission on Land and Population with special responsibility for urban matters and Uganda affairs. I found that conditions similar to those in Jinja existed in other towns in East Africa. When I was required by the Commission to write Chapter 19, ‘Conditions for Urban Development’, of its Report, I was

\(^2\) Throughout this book the term ‘squatting’ refers to ‘the appropriation of another’s land for one’s own use without title or right’ (Abrams, 1953: 12).
able to include three of my own main conclusions relating to urban problems. First, it was unrealistic to try to house and provide services for whole African populations of towns at the standards achieved by Europeans and prescribed by building regulations based on Western models. Secondly, to find a solution to any problem which arose in towns, it was necessary to take all factors determining urban development into account. Thirdly, the form of municipal government developed in Britain did not provide a satisfactory means of administering African urban areas and a more relevant form of administrative organisation was needed (E.A.R.C., 1955: 247, 248, 249).

On my return to Uganda early in 1956, I was attached to the Kingdom of Buganda, which was in a treaty relationship with the British Government, as adviser on urban matters and especially on the development of the Kibuga. The Kibuga was the traditional headquarters of the Buganda kings and at that time formed an administrative sub-division adjoining Kampala Municipality (Gutkind, 1963). I had two main tasks: to promote planned and orderly development and to assist in the establishment of a municipal authority for the Kibuga.

The Kibuga included a number of densely settled, unplanned areas on the fringe of Kampala Municipality (Southall and Gutkind, 1956 passim; E.A.R.C., 1955: 213). My policy was to use first a carrot and then a stick. My first aim was to win acceptance of planning controls by the people through installing basic services in areas where they were most urgently needed. Re-development was to take place with as little disturbance as possible: roads followed the line of existing development and as few buildings as possible were removed. These measures won wide acceptance of the idea of planned development among landowners and residents; but it was not possible to proceed to the second stage, control of undeveloped land, because the attempt to set up a municipal authority brought these operations to an end. The attempt failed because the Protectorate Government, against my urgent advice, insisted on establishing a multi-racial authority which gave Asians equal rights with Africans within the personal domain of the King. The Buganda experience was valuable because it showed that orderly development might be achieved on customary land with the cooperation of the people, but that Western administrative institutions would be ineffectual if they were in conflict with local culture.

The irrelevance of Western administrative institutions to African conditions became further apparent as a result of my membership of the Kampala Municipal Council. The council, with an extravagantly large staff, efficiently developed central areas largely inhabited by Europeans and Indians, but made no attempt to tackle problems associated with Africans living in the town.

My final experience was as the Senior Assistant Secretary, Ministry of Local Government, with responsibility for urban local government, town-planning and co-ordinating all aspects of urban development. This co-ordination at the central government level, as the East Africa Royal Commission had pointed
out, was essential if urban problems were to be effectively tackled. The major stumbling block was the rigid Western attitude of specialist officials and others concerned with urban development. Progress was made in solving the problems of unregulated African settlement within town boundaries (Uganda Protectorate, 1957) and in the field of African housing but, significantly, nearly all those involved had had experience of administering Africans in the field. The main failure was to control settlement outside town boundaries.

At the end of 1961 I was appointed research officer in the New Guinea Research Unit of the Australian National University and given the task of carrying out a study of Port Moresby. The aims of the study were derived from the conclusions reached as a result of my African experiences. Imbued as I was with the need to take a holistic view of urban problems, a study of Port Moresby was planned which would be concerned with the interaction of all major determinants, social, economic, and administrative, of the growth of the town. Research was needed into the standards of development which were appropriate to the economy of Port Moresby. More important there was a need to study the extent to which administrative and legal institutions under which the town was governed met the needs of the urban population.

Port Moresby, the administrative capital of the Australian Territory of Papua New Guinea, presented a number of advantages for such a study. The town was virtually refounded after 1945 and all stages of its development could easily be traced. Its population grew from 4,000 in 1946 to 29,000 in 1961 but it was still small enough for a holistic study to be attempted. Port Moresby shared a number of characteristics with other towns in developing countries: a colonial town founded by the British in 1885, its population formed a plural society composed of indigenous people, Europeans and a few Asians. Population increase among the heterogeneous indigenous population was mainly due to migration from other parts of Papua New Guinea. Economic development was accompanied by rapid social change.

The study began by concentrating on migrant groups settled in Port Moresby, including reasons for migration and the relationships between migrants and those remaining in their village of origin. Nancy Hitchcock (1967) contributed a nutritional and demographic study of a migrant group from the Purari Delta settled at Rabia Camp to which I added an historical account of the process

3. The term ‘New Guinea’ is used in the literature and in common usage in a number of different senses. It may refer to the whole island of New Guinea; to the area, now known as Papua, called British New Guinea while it was under British Imperial Administration from 1884 until 1906; and to the United Nations Trust Territory of New Guinea, which came under German control in 1884, was captured by Australian troops in 1914, and became an Australian mandate under the League of Nations in 1920. Throughout this book it is used, unqualified, to describe the area which forms the Trust Territory. Papua and New Guinea were joined in an administrative union de facto in 1945, and de jure in 1949.
of settlement; Lynn Oeser (1969) a study of migrant women living in the predominantly indigenous suburb of Hohola; and Dawn Ryan a study, which is as yet largely unpublished, of the Toaripi-speaking people living in Port Moresby (1968, 1970). I carried out research into economic migration and social change among the Hula both in their village and in Port Moresby (Oram, 1968a and b). It was hoped that further specialist studies would be carried out, for example into the economic development of the town, but it was not possible to arrange them. I myself examined a number of aspects of the development of the town, including land tenure, housing and administration.

From 1969, when I became a Fellow of the University of Papua New Guinea, I became increasingly involved in public activities. I was chairman of the Citizens Consultative Committee which was set up in 1969 to make recommendations for the establishment of a municipal authority in Port Moresby. In 1971, I was elected a member of Port Moresby Town (now City) Council. I was consultant on housing and land matters to Maunsell and Voorhees who prepared Port Moresby Urban Development Study (1970) and to Russell D. Taylor and Partners, who have prepared development plans for Lae, Madang, Goroka and Mount Hagen (1971, 1972, 1973). I was also closely involved in the development of housing policy and became a member of the Resettlement Co-ordinating Committee established by the Housing Commission.

The regional background and state of societies along the Papuan coast at the time of the coming of the Europeans are briefly described in Chapter 1. Chapters 2 to 6 are concerned with the growth of the town from its foundation to the present day, including social change and the development of administrative institutions. The historical approach is designed not only to show the extent to which past administrative concepts, procedures and legislation influence the present administrative structure, but also the extent to which administrative policies have determined many aspects of the development of the town. In Chapters 7 and 8, the characteristics and social organisation of the town are discussed. Race relations are briefly considered in Chapter 9. Chapter 10 deals with problems of shelter, and in Chapter 11 the administrative organisation of the town is discussed in the light of social conditions. Conclusions are reached in Chapter 12.

This book is concerned with the period from the foundation of Port Moresby to mid 1974 at the end of the colonial period, shortly after formal self-government had been achieved in December 1973. Pangu Pati won sufficient seats at the elections in January 1972 to form a coalition government, with Michael Somare as Chief Minister. They began to pursue new national policies which might affect the future of the town, such as a drastic reduction in the number of expatriate public servants, from the end of 1972.

This study is based on the work of a number of people, whose contributions I gratefully acknowledge, and on my own inquiries into a number of aspects
of the town’s development. I am aware of its imperfections—lack of depth in some areas and neglect of others; and lack of balance and faulty analysis. But it tries to present a ‘comprehensively analysed’, rather than an ‘intuited’, whole. Further inquiry may revise or even destroy the conclusions reached in this book, but it may serve as a foundation on which to build.
1 The Regional Background in Pre-European Times

Port Moresby is situated on the south-west coast of Papua in latitude 9°29' south of the Equator. It is in a number of respects the economic, educational and social centre of a region which comprises the Central, Gulf and Western Districts of Papua and the area so defined is described as the Port Moresby region throughout this book.

The terrain varies greatly. Much of the region is mountainous and Port Moresby is cut off from the Territory of New Guinea and from the Northern District of Papua by the massive cordillera which extends down the centre of the whole island. Some areas surrounding the Gulf of Papua, including the deltas of the Fly and Kikori Rivers, are almost at sea level for 20 miles from the coast. The country inland from Port Moresby is undulating for some 20 miles until the foothills of the Owen Stanley Ranges are reached. Climatic conditions vary greatly. The driest area is a belt, within which Port Moresby is situated, between the Lakekamu and Kemp Welch Rivers with mean annual rainfall of under 40 inches. The wettest areas are found in the Purari and Kikori deltas where the mean annual rainfall is over 200 inches. Port Moresby has a marked dry season between May and November. In the lowlands, mean maximum temperature is about 90°F and humidity is uniformly high at about 80 per cent with little seasonal variation.

Brookfield (1966: 66) has shown that there are severe limitations on the use of land in nearly every part of the region. Rainfall is too high in a wide belt of mountainous country stretching from the Lakekamu River to the Irian Jaya boundary, while much of the coastal area, including the Port Moresby dry belt, is subject to drought. Soil is poor in the western areas and there are also limitations caused by the swampy nature of the terrain in the Gulf and Western districts. Much of the mountainous area is too steep for cultivation. The only areas (Brookfield 1966: 68) with favourable conditions for land use are a small area around Kairuku, an area inland from Port Moresby including the Sogeri Plateau, and a coastal area extending from Keapara Point to Abau.

The broken and unproductive nature of the terrain gave rise to small isolated societies and Port Moresby is situated in a sparsely populated area. In 1971 the total population of Papua was 672,127 and density in the Port Moresby
region was only 5 per square mile. Densities vary within the region: while much of the Western District is virtually uninhabited, the population density of the fertile coastal areas of the Kairuku and Rigo Sub-districts is about forty to the square mile. Throughout the region people live in nucleated villages and before European contact Papuan societies were small. The largest villages probably did not exceed 2,000, and the average size of villages was perhaps 200-300 people. Many settlements, including those in the hinterland of Port Moresby, were only inhabited by a few dozen people.

Isolation of traditional societies was accentuated by differences of language. There are some 500 mutually unintelligible languages in Papua New Guinea (Wurm, 1966: 135). In the Port Moresby region, Austronesian languages are spoken in coastal areas from Cape Possession to Cape Rodney and by people who live to the south-east of Mailu. The two languages spoken by landholding groups in the area within the present boundary of the town of Port Moresby and its vicinity are Motu and Koita. Motu is an Austronesian language spoken by approximately 12,000 people living in coastal villages from Manumanu at the mouth of Galley Reach to Gaba Gaba near Round Head. It is also spoken fluently by a large number of people living outside these villages, including the majority of Koita people. Koita is a non-Austronesian language spoken by 2,250 people living in villages on and near the coast in the same area as the Motu. Koita is part of the Koiarian language family which is spoken by some 15,000 people living in an area which extends from Port Moresby across the Owen Stanley Range to Mount Lamington and the Hydrographers Range (Dutton, 1969: 3).

When the first Europeans reached Port Moresby in the 1870s, they found the cluster of three Motu-speaking villages which are now collectively called Hanuabada. Elevala was situated on the small island of that name some yards from the shore and Tanobada and Poreporena were on the mainland. The inhabitants of these villages belonged to the Western Motu tribe (Groves, 1963: 15), whose settlements extend from Pari, situated 4 miles to the east of Port Moresby, to Manumanu, situated at the entrance to Galley Reach some 30 miles to the west. There were also the villages of Tatana and Vabukori whose inhabitants spoke a slightly different dialect and claimed a different origin from the Western Motu (Oram, 1968c: 79-82).

'The Koita were for the most part to be found living at one end of the Motu villages ... also ... in little groups of a few houses a little way inland, or on a hill overlooking the sea, all through the Motu district' (W. G. Lawes, 1879: 371). At the time of European contact there were four Koita settlements in the Port Moresby area. Kila Kila was situated to the east on the hill above Vabukori. At the western end of the same ridge, Akorogo was situated above the former golf course. Kourabada was situated below the present Hubert Murray Highway on 3-Mile Hill. Baruni was situated to the west of Hanuabada. For a long time, Koita descent-groups had been joining the Motu in their villages and
continued to do so until first contact was made with Europeans. In Hanuabada, there were two Koita settlements: Guriu adjacent to Tanobada and Hohodae adjacent to Poreporena (Oram, 1974a) (Map 1).

Both Koita and Motu chose sites for their villages which could be easily defended and which were near drinking water. Motu villages were built in the sea or on the shore and E eleva, a Hanuabada village, and Tatana were built off the shores of small islands. Koita villages were built on hills and women had sometimes to go a long way to fetch water.

Stone (1880: 48, 139) and Lawes (1876) estimated the populations of the Hanuabada villages as ranging from 600 to 800 people and their estimates for other villages corresponded closely. A reasonable estimate for the total population of the Port Moresby area is 2,000. Stone (1880: 48), writing of his stay in 1876-7, mentions that the population had been halved some ten years earlier by the smallpox epidemic which had affected the whole coast.1

Although they differed in origin and language, the social organisation of both Motu and Koita living together in the same villages in the Port Moresby area appears to have been similar (Seligman, 1910: 41-193). That of the purely Koita villages was somewhat different, partly as a result of the smallness of their settlements. Each village was divided into a number of residential sections which were called *idahu* by both groups. These sections formed residential units: in Motu villages the leader’s house was nearest the shore and the remaining houses extended in a line out to sea; and Koita villages were built with lines of houses on each side of a street. Village sections were corporate groups with assets which might include insignia, a name, fishing and hunting nets, and land.

Primary members of a descent-group were householders whose membership was normally derived from agnatic descent, and those of their sisters who were single, widowed or separated from their husbands. Wives were members of the group only while the marriage lasted, but if they had borne children they might continue to live in the section of their late husband. Others living in the household might include affines, such as the husband of a sister of the householder, non-agnatic blood relatives, friends who had quarrelled with members of their own section and strangers such as refugees from war. Men who were not members of a household by birth might be allowed to establish a household of their own, often after marriage to a woman of a section. They would then be accepted as primary members of the section (Groves, 1963: 16-18). The

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1. Oral traditional recorded in Baruni, Hula, Kila Kila and other villages records an epidemic shortly before the Europeans came. There are a number of European accounts of an outbreak of a disease, apparently smallpox, at this time. See H.M. Chester’s report in *Journal of the Queensland Legislative Council* 1883, p. 63; F.E. Williams, ‘Depopulation of the Suau District (1933: 8); George Hunter’s diary for 6 December 1887 (P.N.G. Archives); and O. Stone, 1880: 48. Seligman and Strong, 1906: 350, mention that the disease reached the islands off the north-east coast of Papua.
MAP. 2 Traditional coastal trading network, major trading links.
majority of village sections were exogamous but marriages within them sometimes occurred.

The number of adult males in a village section rarely exceeded twenty and in many village sections were likely to have been under ten. In a plan of Pari village as it was at the end of the nineteenth century (Seligman, 1910: 46) the largest number of houses in a single village section was thirteen and the smallest four. The number of men in a section might be insufficient to carry out such onerous tasks as making fences for gardens and clearing the ground, or of making large trading canoes, and an epidemic or the failure of male children to survive into adulthood might threaten the village section with extinction as a separate entity. The absorption of new people was therefore often desirable to increase the work force or to maintain the identity of the group. Many Motu and Koita *iduhu* were composed not only of people descended from one founding ancestor, but also contained a number of lineages with different origins.

While there were factors which made it desirable to build up the strength of the village sections, there were also forces which caused them when they became large enough to segment. The social structure of a village was not, therefore, static. There was a constant process, common throughout Melanesia, of expansion followed by segmentation.

In pre-contact times the Koita claimed rights to land as far inland as the Laloki River, while the Motu occupied a narrow strip of land between the hills and the sea. Land was one of the assets held by the majority of descent-groups as corporate groups and in some villages land was divided into *iduhu* sectors: at Pari, for example, the sectors radiated like a fan from the village. Not all *iduhu* held land and not all land was under *iduhu* control. Some lineages within descent-groups appear to have acquired all effective rights to the land. They might, for example, hold rights to land bestowed on women by their fathers at marriage.

A number of distinct interests existed in land. There were rights of control and rights of use. Proprietary rights to land were held by ‘primary’ members of a landholding group, whether *iduhu*, lineage or sub-lineage. Control over the use of land was vested in the head of the landholding group. Other rights included hunting rights, rights to fruit from trees and use of water holes. The most important right, however, was that of making gardens.

As Groves (1963: 26) says, the Motu claim that all descendants of the first occupants of the land, both male and female, have the right to use it and descendants of the first Koita occupiers appear to hold similar rights. In practice, the exercise of these rights was limited in a number of ways. People claiming such rights could only exercise them if they lived in the same village as the landholding group or in a village nearby. They would only cultivate the land of another landholding group for a specific reason. People living at a distance who claimed land rights could only exercise them if they returned to the village and their right to live there was acknowledged by the village community. Per-
mission would depend on such factors as acceptance of their claims to kinship, the maintenance of an exchange relationship with their kinsmen while they had resided elsewhere, and their personal reputation.

Traditional systems of land tenure did not provide clear-cut rights and well-defined boundaries. In general, land was plentifully available and there were no pressures which led to a precise definition of rights. Primary members of landholding groups held indisputable proprietary and usufructuary rights, and rights of control were vested in the head of the group. The extent to which others could successfully claim rights to use land, or be allowed to use it, depended mainly on the nature of their relationship with members of the landholding group.

The largest political unit was the village. These were stateless societies which lack centralized authority, administrative machinery and constituted judicial institutions in short which lack government and in which there are no sharp divisions of rank, status or wealth (Fortes and Evans Pritchard, 1940: 5). They did not exist, however, in a state of anarchy and all human beings are subject to some social control. 'A society depends for its existence on the presence in the minds of its members of a certain system of sentiments by which the conduct of the individual is regulated in conformity with the needs of the society' (Radcliffe-Brown, 1922: 233). Social control is achieved in three main ways: by self-regulation, control over the individual exercised by his social group, and external regulation imposed by an outside authority (cf. Lawrence, 1969: 25-34).

Nadel (1953: 24) calls learned behaviour in simple societies 'traditional behaviour' which is either routine because it is seen to provide 'maximum success with minimum risk' or because it is considered to be desirable and good. In societies with very limited technological skills, the only innovations are adoptions of activities which are successful in other societies. In its early impressionable years, a child is taught the norms of its society which it internalises without conscious thought. In the Port Moresby area, children learned the activities of the seasonal cycle, such as gardening, canoe making, hiri expeditions and hunting. They also learned the rights and obligations involved in relationships formed with people who played different roles in their villages: generosity expected towards kinsmen, correct behaviour towards affines and respect for leaders and elders. The general principle was that benefits should be rewarded and injuries avenged. The principle of reciprocity, however, was only extended to those between whom a relationship was acknowledged. No obligations were admitted towards those outside the network of relationships, and they could be cheated or killed without incurring the disapproval of the individual's own group.

Traditional and inherited routines were 'invested with an additional value of sacredness' (Nadel, 1953: 267) and children were also inculcated with religious beliefs. Motu and Koita cosmology did not include elaborate creation myths but the people believed in various kinds of supernatural beings which
had power to influence their lives. The most important were the spirits of the ancestors upon whose approval the well-being of the group depended. Feasts and other social activities involved rituals to honour and appease ancestors. Ancestors were not always friendly and offences, such as failure to perform their mortuary rights correctly or to meet obligations to kinsmen, were sins which could only be expiated by carrying out certain rituals. 'All acts endangering the harmony, strength, continuity and respect of the lineage are considered to be sins in Manumanu' (Groves, 1955: 11).

There was no formal political organisation at the village level within the Port Moresby area and it was rare elsewhere in the region. In nearly every group two kinds of leadership were found. The first kind was ascribed to the most senior male members of descent-groups, unless they were incapable of carrying out leadership functions. Chieftainship was strongest in the Mekeo and Roro areas and among the agricultural villages in the vicinity of Hood Bay. With a possible exception of the Toaripi (Williams, 1936: 39), only Roro and Mekeo chiefs were served by agents who enforced their commands (Seligman, 1910: 219-301, 314; Hau'ofa, 1971). Among the Motu and Koita, as early missionaries noted, there was no form of government and 'the chiefs... do not seem to have much power over individuals' (W.G. Lawes, 1874; also Turner, 1877-8: 495). The main function of the head of a descent-group was to perform the rituals which ensured the success of the activities of the group, especially through honouring the spirits of ancestors. Important activities could only be undertaken after the head of the descent-group had been consulted: no one, for example, could give a feast without approval of the *iduhu* head, in front of whose verandah it would be held (Groves, 1954: 82).

The second form of leadership was achieved by men who had demonstrated their powers in a particular field such as war, fishing or gardening. Such men were able to achieve a following by force of personality and by using their wealth to manipulate the relationships in which they were involved. Through the size of their following they were able to defeat their rivals in any activity. Both kinds of leadership were found among Motu and Koita but with some exceptions, men who were leaders through birth commanded respect and exerted influence, but did not have power to command individuals. The power of leaders who achieved their position through their personal qualities lasted only as long as they could command a large number of clients and would be lost through failure in their enterprises or old age.

Apart from sins committed within a descent-group, various kinds of anti-social behaviour, such as killing, fighting, theft, sexual assaults and adultery occurred in villages. Taboos such as those placed on crops before feasts were broken. In societies where pride was an important value among males, injured people might resort to self-help in the heat of anger. A murder or assault might lead to retaliation, a wife and her lover be killed or beaten, male thieves assaulted and female thieves raped. Breakers of taboos might be beaten. Yet in
spite of lack of leaders with personal authority, there were forces within villages which made for the peaceful settlement of disputes. Village populations were always in danger from famine and from outside attack. A violent quarrel within the village, which disturbed its solidarity as a corporate group, threatened its existence. Desire for self-preservation led to attempts by kinsmen of those involved in a quarrel to arrange a settlement through payment of compensation. There was no concept of abstract justice: the problem was rather, as Fallers (1957: 243) says, ‘to find the most satisfactory means of closing a breach in the social relations of the community’.

Social control might be exercised in a number of ways. Fear of being shamed was a potent weapon exercised by the community. The victim of a theft might punish a thief by publishing his name. Fear of sorcery employed by the injured was a further cause of restraint. Aggression was sometimes institutionalised through the competitive feasts held among the Motu. There were other restraints. Among Austronesian-speaking peoples, a woman might save a kinsman attacked by members of her husband’s kin-group by throwing one of her grass petticoats over him. According to Seligman (1910: 129), if a member of one Koita group killed a member of an allied Koita group, the offending group might surrender the offender with appropriate ceremony. He would then be killed by the injured group. Alternatively they could expect retaliation. The closer the social relations between those involved in quarrels, the more restrained was the violence exercised and the greater the pressures to arrive at a settlement of the dispute.

The economy of the majority of village groups was based on subsistence agriculture, and shifting cultivation was practised. The crops grown varied from area to area, but they included yams, taro, sweet potatoes and bananas. In coastal areas coconuts were an important source of food. In the swamps surrounding the Gulf of Papua the staple food was sago. Some coastal people, such as the Vulaa (Oram, 1968a: 244), possessed little or no land and lived mainly by fishing and trading. The use of metals was unknown and tools and weapons were made of wood, stone and bone.

All peoples were hunters and gatherers. The largest kinds of game were wallaby and pig, but a number of small animals such as bandicoots, and reptiles such as lizards, were also eaten. People living near the coast fished and collected crabs and shell-fish. A large number of wild plants provided food and the edible mangrove and the Cycad palm were important sources of food during times of famine.

Few communities were economically self-sufficient. They frequently had to obtain many commodities, such as wooden articles, salt and valuables from outside the village. Different villages specialised in particular production: while other Motu-speaking villages in the Port Moresby area made pots, Vabukori and Tatana specialised in making beads.

With low rainfall and poor soil, the villagers in the Port Moresby area were
rarely able to grow enough food to last until the next harvest was gathered in April and May. They consequently were involved in a complex network of trading activities, of which the most important was the sago trade which extended from Kikori Delta in the Gulf of Papua to Hood Bay, 80 miles to the south-east of Port Moresby (Barton, 1910: 96-120; Groves, 1972a: 523-7). From August (and exceptionally July) until early December, fleets called *hiri* sailed from Western Motu villages and were carried to the north-west by the south-east trade winds, which occurred between July and December, to the Gulf of Papua. The canoes, called *lagatoi*, were up to 60 feet long and had three or four hulls. After the Motu had exchanged their pots for sago, people of the host villages provided them with logs which the Motu fashioned into additional canoe hulls and attached to their *lagatoi*. The largest recorded number of hulls forming a single *lagatoi* was sixteen (Chalmers and Gill, 1885: 218). The expeditions then returned with the north-westerlies which blow from December to June. Most expeditions reached the Port Moresby area between late January and early March but some did not return until April. Trade was conducted on a considerable scale. The expeditions undertaken in 1885 were estimated by a government official to have carried 20,000 pots to the Gulf of Papua, and to have returned with 150 tons of sago (*A.R.*, 1885: 15). When the *hiri* returned, sago was distributed among those who had contributed pots, and also served as a medium of exchange with other village groups (Map 2).

To the Motu, the *hiri* was much more than an economic enterprise. The history of the long and dangerous voyages, during which lives were frequently lost, confirmed their identity as a tribe. The undertakings themselves were a continuing manifestation of their courage and resourcefulness and those who led expeditions gained great prestige.

Along the length of the southern coast, extensive and varied trading activities were conducted between coastal and inland people. Motu and Koita stood in a symbiotic relationship to each other. The Motu supplied the Koita with fish, pots and sago and the Koita gave them vegetable foods and ornaments such as bird-of-paradise feathers in return. They frequently intermarried and the Motu acquired land rights from the Koita as a result. There was considerable cultural interchange between the two groups and eventually the Koita began to take part in the *hiri* expeditions and their women learned to make pots. Conversely the Motu accompanied the Koita on their hunting expeditions over Koita territory.

As Weber (1947: 185) points out, 'economic activity is oriented to ultimate ends . . . of some kind, whether they be ethical, political, utilitarian, hedonistic, the attainment of social distinction, of social equality, or of anything else'. Many foods were highly perishable, other commodities such as houses and canoes deteriorated quickly, and there were no means by which individuals could permanently accumulate wealth. Once needs of food and shelter were met, the aim of production was to enable the individual to play a distinguished
part in the network of exchange relationships and acquire power and influence. Economic activities were not sharply differentiated from other forms of social activity. The making of a garden was accompanied by magical ceremonies designed to ensure a good harvest and involved the co-operation of a large group of people.

Besides interaction through trade, different village and tribal groups were brought into contact through kinship ties and warfare. Marriage within the village was preferred among Motu, Koita and other societies, but intervillage and intertribal marriages occurred. Intermarriage was frequent between Motu and Koita. Warfare was endemic throughout the region and took various forms including formal battles on pre-arranged fighting grounds, massacres of whole populations, and ambushes in which a single person, who might be a woman or a child, was killed. People lived in constant fear of attack. Fighting was frequent in the Port Moresby area and shortly before European contact the Vulaa attacked at least two Koita villages because they believed that the Koita had caused the loss of sago-bearing lagatoi through sorcery. According to Groves (1954: 78), the Motu at Hanuabada were 'a belligerent maritime power in an area of frequent battles'. The Toaripi, during their trading voyages, terrorised the coast as far as Keapara. They were described by one government official as the strongest tribe on the south coast and a 'regular lot of pirates' (Romilly, 1893: 215). Lawes recorded in his diary for 8 April 1882 that the Toaripi threatened to burn down Hanuabada if the Motu did not fish for them. He said that the Motu feared and disliked them.

The ecology and traditional social organisation of the peoples of the Port Moresby region were important in determining the future development of the town. Port Moresby developed in a sparsely populated area with low economic potential. Indigenous societies were small and stateless rather than the large tribal groups or chieftainships found elsewhere. Many aspects of their social organisation were to affect urban development: flexibility in absorbing new members, trading and other forms of interaction between groups, and systems of land tenure. While there were broad cultural continuities throughout the region, social and economic differences existed between village and tribal groups.

Many societies from within the region and beyond were involved in the growth of Port Moresby. As Southall (1961: 18) and Mitchell (1966: 44) have pointed out, a distinction should be made between two kinds of change: 'situational' change which people experience when they move from one environment to another; and 'historical' or 'processive' change which takes place within a particular society. The urban villagers experienced 'processive' change and the migrants experienced 'situational' change until they formed communities, mainly consisting of members of their own tribal groups, in the town. These communities in turn experienced 'processive' change. While in the process of becoming townsmen they could not replicate their rural societies, their traditional experience profoundly influenced their urban development.
Many towns in the Pacific Islands had developed before European administration had been established. Missionaries began to arrive in Honolulu in the 1820s and the population had reached over 10,000 people, including several hundred Europeans, by the middle of the nineteenth century. The administration of the town remained under the direct control of the Hawaiian Kingdom. There was no municipal administration until after an American administration had been established over the Hawaiian Islands early in the present century (Daws, 1967: 77, 79, 83). The history of modern Apia began in 1836 when the whaling ships began to anchor in the harbour and missionaries settled there. By 1860 there were over 100 Europeans permanently settled in the Apia area. A municipality was established under European control in the late 1870s, but a German protectorate was not declared over Western Samoa until 1900 (Davidson, 1967: 37, 38, 60-1).

The effects on Pacific societies of uncontrolled contact with the West were often disastrous. Populations were often reduced when new diseases were introduced by Europeans: smallpox ravaged Hawaii in 1853 (Daws, 1967: 85) and probably one-fifth of the Fijian population died of measles in 1875 (McArthur, 1967: 26). Firearms changed the nature of indigenous warfare and caused great loss of life in many areas. In Fiji, for example, possession of firearms enabled traditional leaders to extend their authority over much wider areas than they had formerly controlled (Quain, 1948: 21-9). Alcohol proved extremely harmful in areas where it was previously unknown, and an officer of the Royal Navy described alcohol as the curse of the Gilbert and Ellice Islands (Q.P.P., 1882: 451). Trading led to violence; and recruitment of labour from Melanesian and Micronesian islands for the Queensland and Fijian plantations disrupted traditional social organisation and caused great resentment against Europeans (see, e.g., Corris, 1973; Scarr, 1967). Prostitution, with its attendant diseases, was the inevitable concomitant of the presence of large numbers of European seamen, traders, and beachcombers. In the middle of the nineteenth century, income from prostitution helped to right the chronic adverse balance of trade in Hawaii (Daws, 1967: 90).

The experience of Papua was very different and it largely escaped the evils
The first European ships which are known to have sailed along the southern coast of the island of New Guinea formed part of a Spanish expedition under de Prado. In 1606, they sailed past Milne Bay and north-west along the coast until they discovered the Torres Strait, named after the navigator of the expedition. One student of de Torres's voyage has suggested that the expedition anchored off Manubada, or Local Island, near Port Moresby and that Port Moresby harbour was mapped (Parsonson, 1967: 141-2). There was no further exploration until 1842 and 1846 when H.M.S. *Fly* and H.M.S. *Bramble* surveyed the coast from the western end of the Gulf of Papua to Redscar Bay. In 1849, Captain Owen Stanley, R.N., in H.M.S. *Rattlesnake* surveyed the coast from Redscar Head to China Straits but he did not go inside the reef which extends from Galley Reach to Abau.

In February 1873, Captain John Moresby, R.N., in H.M.S. *Basilisk*, anchored in Redscar Bay. 'Up to this time the wild exposed anchorage of Redscar Bay had been the only known shelter for ships on the entire South Coast of New Guinea, east of Torres Straits' (Moresby, 1876: 151). Accompanied by his navigating officer and boats' crews, he set off with a cutter and galley to the south-east. Standing on Pyramid Point, he saw the deep passage through the reef which he called Basilisk Passage. On 20 February, *Basilisk* entered a large landlocked harbour. Captain Moresby's father was Admiral Sir Fairfax Moresby, R.N., and he named the inner harbour Fairfax, and the outer harbour Moresby, in his father's honour. *Basilisk*'s company explored the local villages. Moresby described one of the Koita villages which he found on the hills as consisting of 'about six houses, built on poles, and looking as if they were marching out from the trees on stilts'. He also described Hanuabada. 'The large village at the entrance of Port Moresby, which consists of two rows of well-built houses, separated by groves of coconut trees, was often visited by us. The inhabitants, numbering perhaps 800 of all ages, were well fed, contented looking people' (Moresby, 1876: 155, 156). He saw women making pots and men making string bags and seine nets.

As far as is known, Papuans in the Port Moresby area had never before seen white people although they may have been visited by Chinese traders. Moresby, in his account of the visit, mentioned several times that the Papuans were very friendly, and described how they led an engineer, who was lost, back to the ship.¹ There may have been a number of reasons for his friendly reception. The people of the area had not previously been molested by Europeans. Hanuabada was a powerful village and the protection of the harbour may have given the local inhabitants a sense of security. Culturally, Motu and Koita, especially in the Port Moresby area, seem to have been unaggressive.

¹. See K.S. Inglis (1974) for an account of Moresby's reception by the villagers.
The London Missionary Society was founded by members of several Protestant Churches at the end of the eighteenth century and the first of its missionaries to the Pacific reached Tahiti in 1797. During the nineteenth century the society became predominantly, but not exclusively, the missionary organisation of the Congregational Church. The establishment of French Administration in the Loyalty Islands brought great difficulties to the missionaries of the society, by then strongly represented in the South Seas (Lovett, 1899: 415–31). In 1870 the society decided to open up a new mission field in the Torres Strait and in New Guinea and sent two missionaries from the Loyalty Islands there.

In 1871, the Reverend S. McFarlane and the Reverend A.W. Murray established a base at Somerset on Cape York in north Australia for the evangelisation of New Guinea, and began to install South Sea Island teachers in the islands of the Torres Strait and the coastal villages on the New Guinea mainland. In November 1872, six Rarotongan teachers and their wives were landed at the Motu village of Manumanu, in Galley Reach, north-west of Port Moresby. Manumanu was low-lying and malarious and there was much illness among the teachers. One man and two women died. By May 1873, all survivors had returned to Somerset (A.W. Murray, 1876: 480, 484). In November 1873, four of the teachers who had been at Manumanu and two wives were settled by McFarlane at Port Moresby. Two lived at Elevala and two on the mainland. In November 1874, the Reverend W.G. Lawes, who had had long missionary experience in the South Seas, landed at Hanuabada with his wife and small son. He immediately built a mission house at Metoreia on a ridge above the shore opposite Elevala Island.

The decision of McFarlane and Lawes to establish a mission station at Port Moresby appears to have been based on the enthusiastic description given by Captain Moresby. It was thought to be much healthier than Manumanu. There was, however, much illness among the missionaries. In 1876, Lawes's small son died and in the same year a missionary's wife died shortly after she left Port Moresby. In October 1875, the Foreign Secretary of the L.M.S., Mullens, said that it might have been a mistake to have settled in Port Moresby because it had proved unhealthy and because food was short. He suggested that the mission might be transferred to Yule Island, where Captain Moresby had discovered a good harbour, and where food was plentiful (King, 1909: 93). Lawes had not at first intended to settle at Port Moresby but to push eastward and to move into the interior from there (King, 1909: 122). Lawes and McFarlane considered Hula as a possible site, but they concluded that it was not as suitable as Port Moresby (King, 1909: 123). The missionaries found that Port Moresby had a value as an entrepot where people came to trade and thus learnt about the mission. Lawes found that a knowledge of Motu and Eastern Polynesian dialects helped him to communicate with people as far as the China Straits (W.G. Lawes, 1876). ‘Chalmers agreed that Port Moresby is the most
The important station we have... It is the key to the interior, and a most important political centre' (Lovett, 1902: 206).

The first few months were a period of great danger and difficulty. The people welcomed the missionaries for their goods, but became angry when they would not feed and clothe them all. Their lives were endangered when a European trader wantonly fired at some Papuans and wounded a leading man of a nearby village. They nearly decided to leave after the first fortnight. Lawes complained frequently of constant stealing and considered the villagers to be a race of kleptomaniacs. In a letter dated 30 December 1874, he told Mullens that he could not leave his wife alone for two or three days. He was afraid that, if she allowed Papuans to enter the house, she would not be able to persuade them to leave. In a letter to Mullens dated 8 February 1875, he said that it was not until they had been there three months that the people ceased to threaten to kill them for their goods.

During the early years, Lawes and his family had very little contact with the outside world. At the end of 1875, the Lawes family and an Italian explorer, D'Albertis, were the only Europeans in southern New Guinea. In 1877 the Reverend James Chalmers arrived with his wife, and a partnership between the two men began which ended when Chalmers was murdered on Goaribari Island in 1901. From 1877 onwards, the number of Europeans visiting and living in Port Moresby steadily increased.

The work of spreading mission influence was vigorously carried on and, by 1877, Lawes had established South Sea Island teachers at thirteen mission stations between Redscar Head and Keapara Point. After a European missionary had made contact with the people of a village, a South Sea Island teacher and his wife were left there, often protected only by the uncertain friendliness of a village leader. The majority were men of great courage: by 1889, ninety out of 197 men and women had died of disease or had been killed (A.R., 1889: 20) but there was no lack of volunteers for the New Guinea Mission. The South Sea Islanders profoundly influenced the cultures of the peoples among whom they worked by teaching Christianity, founding schools, teaching new handicrafts and agricultural practices and persuading the people to abandon customs which they thought undesirable.

Lawes considered that the pre-requisite for establishing a Christian church was that the people should be able to read Christian literature in the vernacular. He published a book in the Motu language which was printed in Sydney in 1877, three years after he went to live in Port Moresby. By 1885, he had translated the four Gospels and other religious works into Motu. A school was begun and by 1879 a few children had learned to read and write in Motu. In 1883, a building 66 feet long and 24 feet wide served as church and school. About 120 boys and girls between the ages of five and twenty were divided into classes. The main teaching was done by Lawes and his wife, and by Chalmers when he was in Port Moresby. Each class was presided over by a pupil-teacher and the
majority of these were girls from the Port Moresby area. The brighter children were taught English. Lawes's policy was to adopt Motu as the *lingua franca* for the whole area under the influence of the L.M.S.

For nine years the missionaries made no converts. When he left for Australia in 1876, Lawes recorded in his diary on 30 October that the Papuans manifested no feelings 'except one of disappointment that they could get no more out of us'. Even the children wished to be paid for everything which they learnt. The first seven converts were baptised in 1881 and a further twenty were baptised in the beginning of 1882. The first Christian wedding in which both parties were Papuans was celebrated on 8 November 1882. In May 1883, the first Papuan deacons were appointed. In the Pacific, the L.M.S. had followed a policy of training local people as teachers (Davidson, 1967: 37). In 1883, the New Guinea Institute was opened in Port Moresby as a training college for mission teachers and twelve young men, accompanied by their wives, were admitted as students.

In 1885 when British administration was established, the framework for the future expansion of the activities of the L.M.S. had been built. The mission was firmly established in Port Moresby. Writing in 1883, the Police Magistrate on Thursday Island, H.M. Chester, said that the appearance of the town was much improved.

The Mission premises are situated on a small hill to the westward of the harbour overlooking Ethel [Elevala] Island, and the village built on piles in the sea at its base. They consist of two neat wooden houses with iron roofs, one of which is the residence and the other a training college for mission students, drawn from all parts of the coast, who occupy six neat grass houses on the right of the college. A fence surrounds the whole, and well kept paths, covered with shingle and bordered with handsome variegated crotons, lead up the hill from the beach. (*Q.P.P.*, 1883: 62)

Mission stations had been established along the coast from the Torres Strait to Milne Bay and thus covered what was later to be the sphere of influence of the L.M.S. Much had been done to reduce the incidence of tribal war in coastal areas and to overcome fear of Europeans. In 1885, an area up to 50 miles inland between Redscar Bay and Hood Bay was considered safe for Europeans (*A.R.*, 1885: 17), mainly as a result of the efforts of the mission.

During the 1870s interest began to be shown by Australians in the development of the island of New Guinea, which was believed to be a potentially rich area. For a number of years, pearl shell, bêche-de-mer and turtle shell industries had been developing in the Torres Strait. According to the Government Secretary, Musgrave, whaling ships had used the Woodlark Islands as a resort before 1871 (*A.R.*, 1889: 29). He thought that the first European trader to operate in southern New Guinea had sent a vessel to the Louisiade Islands in that year. In 1873, the first shipment of bêche-de-mer was sent to Australia from the same area. Commercial activity increased in south-eastern New Guinea and in 1888 there were at one time thirty-two vessels with 200 men, mostly 'Manila,
Malays and South-Sea Islanders’ at Joannet Harbour (F. Lawes, 1888). The barren coast of central Papua did not immediately prove attractive to European enterprise and it was not until about 1880 that the first trader established a store and depot at Port Moresby. This was Andrew Goldie, a Scot who had first gone to Port Moresby as a naturalist in 1874. Discoveries of large quantities of bêche-de-mer had already led to the visits of a number of Australian, Chinese and Indonesian ships to the Port Moresby area in 1878. A number of Europeans collected bêche-de-mer between Tubusereia and Aroma and in 1885 there were thirty bags in store in Port Moresby. Bêche-de-mer was collected in the neighbourhood of Port Moresby, and there is a place still called Korema Gabu Gabu at Badili, which means the place where bêche-de-mer was cooked. Europeans also began to prepare copra. The collection of skins of birds-of-paradise and other birds with brightly coloured plumage was another industry carried on by Goldie and ‘Malays’ in the Port Moresby region. Three cargoes of cedar and other wood, cut mainly from the area of Galley Reach, were also exported. The principal buyers of exports from Papua were Burns Philp at Townsville.

Gold played an important but short lived part in the early development of Port Moresby. The existence of gold in the Port Moresby area had been known for a long time. Captain Owen Stanley in H.M.S. Rattlesnake had found a few laminated grains of gold in pottery at Redscar Bay in 1852, and the owner of the private vessel which took off the teachers from Manumanu in 1873 had set out to search for gold in the vicinity. Captain Moresby had found fragments of gold quartz by Fairfax Harbour. In 1877, gold was found by Jimmy New Caledonia near the Laloki River and Goldie announced the find on 28 October. Lawes, who already knew of the existence of gold, wrote in his journal, ‘I am afraid it is “all up” with the poor natives. If there is a rush of white men with gold fever in them, the natives must suffer’ (King, 1909: 159). As a result of warnings issued in Australian papers, the influx of miners was not great and there were some sixty miners in the area in 1878. They formed a company, imposed laws on themselves, and were well behaved. The venture was unsuccessful and within two or three years the miners had left. Subsequently commercial development in the area was slow and, from September 1888 to June 1889, the value of imports to the Territory was £11,108 and of exports was £5,943 (A.R., 1889: 51). In 1888, Goldie was still the only trader who carried on business in Port Moresby. Three other Europeans who had applied to the Administration for sites for stores had not taken them up.

The Port Moresby area was fortunate in escaping one form of trade. In the early 1880s, several shiploads of Papuans were recruited from south-eastern Papua for labour on Queensland plantations. This traffic, often conducted with

2. The majority of people known as Malays came from the area now known as Indonesia.
fraud and even force, produced much resentment among the people of the areas in which labour was recruited and led to the murder of Europeans and hostility towards them (Corris, 1968: 85-105).

From the early 1870s, the eastern Australian colonies had shown an increasing interest in the future of New Guinea and Queensland gradually extended its authority towards the New Guinea mainland. In 1872, the Governor of Queensland had become Governor of islands situated within 60 miles of the Queensland coast with power to annex them. In 1875, a police magistrate was sent to live on Thursday Island and he visited Port Moresby in 1877 and 1878. In 1878, the Queensland Government sent W.B. Ingham as an observer to Port Moresby as a result of the discovery of gold. Although he had no official powers, he formed an embryo government and his action in dealing with Papuan thieves was applauded by Lawes. His activities were considered by Sir Arthur Gordon in Fiji to be an argument for annexing New Guinea.

It is clear from Mr. Ingham's report... that a practical though informal assumption of control over the country is rapidly going on. He holds courts, he punishes natives, he parades an armed force, he registers land titles... These proceedings can have but one issue; and the sooner all these matters are taken in hand in a regular manner the less will be the ultimate embarrassment and expense. (Melbourne, 1926: 296)

In 1875, the Government of New South Wales unsuccessfully asked the Imperial Government to annex the parts of New Guinea not already held by the Dutch together with some neighbouring Pacific islands. Besides putting forward a number of benefits which might be obtained by both Britain and Australia, the request stressed the need to secure the safety of Australia by preventing New Guinea from being annexed by a foreign power (Q.P.P., 1883: 57). In April 1883 an agent of the Queensland Government declared a Protectorate over New Guinea but the declaration was disallowed by the Imperial Government. In November 1883, a Convention consisting of representatives of all the Australian colonies and others, which was held in Sydney, urged the annexation of New Guinea.

In the years between the formation by Gladstone of his first cabinet in 1868 until the end of his second cabinet in 1885, the Imperial Government and a section of informed public opinion in England thought that further annexations of territory inhabited by members of coloured races led to unnecessary expense without compensatory advantages. Britain was, however, becoming involved in the affairs of the Pacific and in 1875 legislation was enacted which provided for the establishment of a Western Pacific High Commission. In 1877, the Governor of Fiji was appointed the first High Commissioner but his staff was small and his limited powers extended only to British subjects. The only armed force at his disposal was provided by the Royal Navy and warships patrolled the Papuan coast, especially after the news of discovery of gold in the Port Moresby area in 1878.

The British Government was prepared to consider the annexation of New
Guinea if the Australian colonies would share part of the cost. After the Sydney convention, the colonies agreed to provide £15,000 annually for the administration of New Guinea. By August 1884, the Imperial Government had decided to declare a Protectorate over the southern and northern coasts of New Guinea. By then the German Government had already sent instructions to its local representative to declare a protectorate over New Britain and the northern coast of New Guinea as far west as the Dutch border. The German action took the British Government by surprise (Q.P.P., 1885a: 72). As the British Government needed Germany's support for her policy towards Egypt, it accepted the German move. In October 1884, only eleven years after the harbour had been discovered by Moresby, Commodore Erskine of the Royal Navy hoisted the Union Jack at Port Moresby and declared a Protectorate over southern New Guinea. By the end of 1884, the Protectorate had been extended as far as the Huon Gulf and included approximately the present area of Papua. General Sir Peter Scratchley, R.E., was appointed Special Commissioner.

In declaring a British Protectorate over part of New Guinea, an important aim of the Imperial Government was to protect the indigenous inhabitants from Europeans. Because of their treatment of their own aboriginal population, neither the Imperial Government (Scarr, 1967: 131-2) nor local British officials (Romilly, 1893: 208-9) considered that Australian colonial governments were fitted to assume responsibility for the administration of New Guinea. In their report, the Royal Commission set up to examine the workings of the Western Pacific High Commission were blunt:

To entrust such control [of large bodies of natives] to the legislature of any Australian colony is, in fact, to entrust it to an oligarchy, in which those governed have no representation whatever, and which cannot but be influenced, in a greater or lesser degree, by its own selfish interests. (Journal of Queensland Leg. Co., Vol. 34, Part 1, 1884: 262)

The Colonial Office instructed General Scratchley to explain to Papuans that he was sent 'to secure to them the safety of their persons, the enjoyment of their property, and particularly to protect them from being deprived of their lands by force or fraud'. The proclamation declaring the Protectorate read by Commodore Erskine said that the Protectorate was declared *inter alia*

for the purpose of preventing the occupation of portions of that country by persons whose proceedings, unsanctioned by any lawful authority, might tend to injustice, strife and bloodshed, and who, under the pretence of legitimate trade and intercourse, might endanger the liberties, and possess themselves of the lands, of such native inhabitants. (Q.P.P., 1885b: 122)

Scratchley considered 'New Guinea must be governed for the natives by the natives' (A.R., 1886a) and his successor as Special Commissioner, the Hon. John Douglas, in a memorandum dated 24 March 1886, wrote that 'native customs must be recognised, natives rights must be respected' (Q.P.P., 1886: 994).
Policies to protect indigenous interests were not formed in a vacuum. Britain had already gained considerable experience of administering dependent peoples in India, where Scratchley had served during the Mutiny, and in other parts of the world. Near at hand, Sir Arthur Gordon had pursued a policy in Fiji which aimed at protecting the indigenous population from the adverse consequences of contact with Europeans, and at the preservation of indigenous social structures. Officials of the Western Pacific High Commission acquired a wide knowledge of the Pacific area and W.H. Romilly, who had been a deputy High Commissioner since 1881, became a member of Scratchley’s staff. In New Guinea, missionaries who spoke Papuan languages and who had gained considerable knowledge of different parts of the Territory, were available to give advice.

From 22 August 1885, when Scratchley arrived in a hired steamer at Port Moresby, until the Territory of British New Guinea was annexed to the British Crown in 1888, only a rudimentary administrative organisation was established. The total revenue, except for a contribution made by the Imperial Government towards the cost of chartering a steamer, was £15,000. According to one legal opinion, the Special Commissioner had no power to make laws or regulations or to impose taxes or import duties. The number of European officials employed at any one time during the Protectorate did not exceed ten, but a number of government stations were established along the Papuan coast.

There had been considerable discussion relating to the most suitable site for a capital before Scratchley arrived in Port Moresby. The captain of the Queensland Government schooner, *Pearl*, had reported that Hall Sound was a magnificent harbour and that this harbour, and the island of Yule, would form a splendid base for operations should New Guinea be colonised (*Q.P.P.*, 1883: 60). H.M. Chester, the police magistrate at Thursday Island, considered that Hall Sound as a harbour was not to be compared to Port Moresby for a number of reasons. It was difficult for sailing vessels to enter because of the current: the land opposite Yule Island was one vast swamp; and the island itself was so unhealthy that the people had been forced to move to the mainland. Port Moresby was, after eight years, the mission choice, the Motu were great traders and their dialect was understood from Bald Head to Milne Bay. He wrote that: ‘it is the real key to New Guinea, and from it civilising influence will radiate as from a centre’ (*Q.P.P.*, 1883: 63). In March 1885, the Rear-Admiral commanding the Australian station ordered commanders of naval vessels to inquire into the best site for a capital. Criteria were stated to be a central situation for the residence of the Special Commissioner, proximity to the nearest telegraph station at Thursday Island, good anchorages which could be entered at night as well as by day, and a healthy locality. Three sites were considered—Port Moresby, Suau (South Cape) and Samarai. Chalmers, who was asked to state his opinion, thought that for the south-east coast alone, Port Moresby was most central and had the advantage that the Motu were the most influential tribe and,
as a trading tribe, 'can communicate further than any other'. As, however, the Protectorate had been extended along the north-east coast, he considered that Suau was the best site. A naval commander was also in favour of Suau. It was approximately the same distance from Cooktown and Townsville as Port Moresby, but Thursday Island was only 290 miles from Port Moresby, while it was 470 miles from Suau. Suau had as good a harbour and was as healthy as Port Moresby. In comparison, Samarai was further away from Thursday Island and Australia, its anchorage was not as safe, it was unhealthy and lacked fresh water (Q.P.P., 1885b: 128-31).

Scratchley appears not to have hesitated in choosing Port Moresby as his capital.

Port Moresby was established as the seat of government, and the sole port of entry. The reasons for this selection were—1) Because it was the only place where any permanent attempt at civilisation had been made; 2) because of its comparative healthiness; 3) its vicinity and easy access, especially for sailing vessels, to Cooktown, and a telegraph station. (A.R. 1886b: 8)

Scratchley’s successor, Douglas, also considered that Port Moresby should be the future centre of British Administration. While admitting that there were equally fine harbours on the coast, and more fertile and prosperous districts than that surrounding Port Moresby, he preferred Port Moresby because ‘the influences which now prevail have taken most deep root there’, and because it was the seat of such government as had already been established (A.R., 1889b: 7). The Ela area was chosen in preference to Hanuabada because the deeper water made it more suitable for a port and because it was believed to be healthier.

A member of Scratchley’s staff described Port Moresby as it was on 28 August 1885.

On a low hill immediately rising from the sea stood a row of small houses, some thatched, and some roofed, in Australian fashion, with galvanised iron. Seven white people at that time represented the British Empire in the Capital of the Country: Mr. Anthony Musgrave, Assistant Deputy Commissioner; Mr. Lawes, a missionary; Mr. Lawes’ son; Mr. Chalmers; and Mrs. Lawes, the only white woman in the island; Goldie, a storekeeper; and Hunter, who had married a native, completed the seven.

The only buildings in the place were those belonging to the one storekeeper and to the mission, upon whom all visitors were dependent for board and lodging. (Fort, 1942: 44)

Immediately after the declaration of a Protectorate, measures were taken to protect indigenous interests. Regulations were made by Commodore Erskine which banned the sale of liquor, firearms and explosives in the Territory. One of the main anxieties of missionaries (see King, 1909: 167) had been the bad behaviour and influence of white men on Papuans and it became the aim of the Protectorate Administration to prevent such evils. Papuans were to be protected ‘from aggression and violence and usurpation on the part of the whites, but positively also from moral contamination and corruption’ (A.R., 1886a:
To control white immigration, the coast was closed to ships without permits. Employers were obliged to obtain permits to move indigenous workers from their home areas.

An embryo system of administering Papuans was established. The first need of a newly established colonial administration is for local agents through whom it can control the local population. Scratchley considered that this could best be done through the creation of tribal chiefs who would be British officials and ‘trustees for the lands, and responsible for the conduct of, the inhabitants of his district’. He intended to ‘introduce a modified form of the Java system, consisting of minor chiefs, and making the Government-elected chief the recipient of a certain annual payment’ (A.R., 1886a: 15). The first administrators recognised later that ‘these community groups were held together on an enlarged and complicated system of kinship, and as a rule there was no single central authority, or chief, who was recognised as responsible for the behaviour of the community as a whole’ (Fort, 1942: 45).

Boe Vagi was appointed chief of the Motu by H.M. Chester when he declared a Protectorate over New Guinea in 1883. He was one of the leading men in Hanuabada but he was in no sense leader of the whole village. He was one of the first men to become a Christian, and also one of the first deacons who were appointed in 1883. He was given a staff and an old naval uniform by Commodore Erskine, and his appointment was recognised by Scratchley. The original intention that the Hanuabada chief should be the head chief of the surrounding area was abandoned when it became clear that he had little influence even in his own village. At the wish of the people of Hanuabada, his brother’s son Ao Udu succeeded him, but he proved to be a nonentity and had little authority. Chiefs were also appointed in the other Port Moresby villages.

One of the principal tasks of the Protectorate Administration was to try to maintain public order; but uncertainty relating to their legal powers and lack of means of enforcing their authority caused frustration among Protectorate officials. Romilly (1893: 307) complained that he could be tried for murder if a Papuan was killed and that he had no bodyguard or police. In 1887 there were only seven special constables, of whom three were Europeans, three were South Sea Islanders and one was a Papuan. Naval action was often unsatisfactory and sometimes resulted in bombardment of villages from the sea. Scratchley considered that ‘the most effective police would be a selected crew of Samoans or Fijians, under the charge of an English officer, who would be constantly patrolling the coast’ (A.R., 1886b: 8). No police force was established during the Protectorate.

Small areas of land had already been acquired by Europeans before the establishment of a Protectorate. In 1875, the London Missionary Society bought five blocks of land at Hanuabada. A shirt, hatchet, knife, and pocket-handkerchief were paid for one block, while the largest payment consisted of two shirts, two hatchets, and four pocket-handkerchiefs. The carefully recorded
transaction was stated to have had the approval of five named ‘chiefs’ and was witnessed by two officers of the Royal Navy, two officers of the mission steamer Ellengowan, and the Rarotongan teacher Ruatoka (A.R., 1886a: 18). Stone (1880: 217) also bought a block of land during his stay, which he transferred to the mission. In 1878, a number of gold miners had bought land, and one man was said to have bought a square mile of land in the Port Moresby area. These transactions were entered in a register by Ingham, the agent of the Queensland Government. No miners, however, remained in the area to claim the land (Q.P.P., 1883: 63). On 14 May 1878, Goldie acquired land near the mission from village rightholders and also adjoining land from a European called Trotter (I.F. Champion, 1957).

According to instructions issued to General Scratchley by the Colonial Office, he was to inform the Papuan population that,

if it shall be decided to allow Her Majesty’s subjects or others to purchase land, such transactions must in every case be conducted through you; that their wishes in these matters will be respected, and that the purchase money will be paid through you . . . .

(Q.P.P., 1885a: 1639)

Protection of Papuan interests was not the only reason why all purchases of land except those made by the Administration were forbidden. The Colonial Office considered that ‘without the funds arising from the sale and lease of lands, it would be impossible to provide for the government of a country’ (A.R., 1886a: Appendix 13). Under the Land Regulation Ordinance 1888, no Papuan land might be acquired except by the Administration. The Administrator was empowered to negotiate the purchase or lease of native land provided that he was ‘satisfied that such land or the use or usufruct thereof, is not required nor likely to be required by the native owners’. These provisions have remained part of the land law until the present day.

In September 1885, a few days after Scratchley had arrived, two blocks of land were purchased by Anthony Musgrave, Assistant Deputy Commissioner. The purchases had been negotiated by George Hunter, an official who spoke Motu, with the help of Ruatoka. The first block of 8 acres was bought as a site for the government bungalow from twenty-eight Koita and Motu people. Lawes translated for Musgrave and the government appointed chief was present throughout. Musgrave said that he would ‘buy both the bad land and good land when they were inclined to sell’, and that he would try to lead the water into their village to save them trouble in the dry season. Each individual was paid, irrespective of the size of his portion, a ‘tomahawk’, 1 handkerchief and half a pound of tobacco. The cost of approximately 8 acres was £18.2.4. (A.R., 1886a: 16).

3. The term ‘Administration’ refers to British and Australian Colonial Administration and ‘Government’ is reserved for the Somare Government which was formed after the third House of Assembly elections in 1942.
By November 1886, 552 acres near the harbour as well as a considerable area further inland had been acquired by the Administration. The 552 acres included 52 acres in the area of the present Government House, 167 acres in the area of the present main commercial centre and Newtown, and 333 acres at Badili. The reason for the last purchase was to secure frontages by the shore before the Papuans occupied them on the advice of ‘certain Malays and South-Sea Islanders who have taken Motu women as “wives”, and who use some influence over aboriginal villagers’ (A.R., 1885: 16). Scratchley had also been instructed by the Colonial Office that, when purchasing land, ‘he was to explain carefully, and to satisfy himself that, they comprehend that by the sale of land they deprive themselves of all further claim to it, and that it becomes the absolute property of the purchasers’ (Q.P.P., 1885b: 1539). This procedure was at first carefully followed at Port Moresby.

The officers of the Administration well understood the complexities of the land tenure system of Motu and Koita. This knowledge may have largely been gained from members of the L.M.S. whose assistance in land matters they readily acknowledged. They realised that they were not dealing with a system of tribal ownership.

The actual ownership of land appears to be based on the basis of kinship. The land is divided into divisions and subdivisions, owned by groups of individuals, who are all more or less connected by kin. Each member of this family group regards himself as having a distinct interest in the land appropriated to his kinsmen: not only, however, can no one member alienate the land without the consent of the family group, but each member will claim to receive a share of the profits on the sale of such land. (A.R., 1886a: 18)

Two hundred and ninety-two acres were acquired without purchase. Of these 286\(\frac{1}{2}\) acres were on Tuaguba and Paga Hills, ‘the natives themselves ridiculed the idea of the Britanis buying “rocks and stones”’ and Musgrave felt that, as they were practically useless to Papuans, it seemed unnecessary, ‘at any rate for the present’ to buy them (A.R., 1886a: 18). Under the Crown Lands Ordinance 1890, land might be acquired as ‘waste and vacant’ provided that it ‘was not used or required, or reasonably likely to be required by native-born Papuans for building, agriculture or other industrial purposes’. The areas on Paga and Tuaguba Hills, which the Papuan rightholders had told Musgrave in 1885 were not worth selling, were declared to be Crown Land in 1901 on the grounds that Papuans had not used these areas for fifteen years and did not require them for agriculture (G.N., 14 Dec. 1901). The ‘waste and vacant’ clauses were retained in successive land ordinances until the Land Ordinance 1962, in which the position was somewhat modified (Lalor, 1969: 152). No other land appears to have been declared waste and vacant in the Port Moresby area.

The issue of compulsory acquisition was first raised in 1886 when the Administration required land at Hanuabada for a cemetery because they considered that an epidemic had been caused by unsanitary burial practices. Lawes raised the objection that compulsory acquisition would mean breaking the promise,
made to Papuans when the Protectorate was declared, that their land would be preserved to them (A.R., 1886b: 26). Douglas received instructions from the Colonial Office that he was to take no further action unless the land was required for public purposes (C.O., 1886). The land was acquired and has remained a cemetery, but no provision for acquisition of land for public purposes was included in land ordinances until the Land Ordinance 1906 was enacted. Provisions for compulsory acquisition were included for specific public purposes in successive land ordinances, including the Land Ordinance 1962. Hubert Murray, when Chief Judicial Officer, attempted to have a clause inserted in the 1906 Land Ordinance providing for compulsory purchase in the interests of economic development, and even proposed that the whole of Papua should be declared Crown Land; but the proposals were not accepted by the Commonwealth Government (West, 1968: 63, 125).

The Protectorate Administration began the policy of segregating non-indigenous residential areas which subsequent administrations have pursued until the early 1960s. It was anxious to move Goldie from the land which he had acquired at Hanuabada before the Protectorate had been declared. In 1888, after acrimonious and lengthy negotiations, Goldie accepted £400 for his store and 50 acres of freehold land at Badili and three freehold blocks in Granville West in exchange for any rights which he might have had in Hanuabada (I.F. Champion, 1957). These payments and exchanges were made to him *ex gratia* and not as of right. To mark the boundary, a 2-mile fence was built round government land. On 1 September 1886, Robert Hunter wrote to Musgrave, who was then Government Secretary, that he was checking the line of the fence with Cuthbertson and, in the *Annual Report* for 1887 (p.19), Romilly reports that the fence had been finished. According to local tradition, one purpose of the fence was to keep cattle and horses from straying.

Scratchley was determined that the development of Port Moresby should be properly planned from the beginning. As he wrote in his diary (Cooke, 1887:323): 'I attach much importance to planning everything out right from the beginning. One sees the evil in Australia of the principle of hand to mouth, and want of foresight, in regard to such towns as Brisbane, Sydney and others.' Soon after Douglas had arrived in the Protectorate he took the first step in establishing a town by employing W.R. Cuthbertson as a surveyor. Cuthbertson had had previous experience in northern Australia and in North Borneo. He surveyed the land which the Administration had acquired on the Peninsula and laid out two townships: Granville East in the area of the present Newtown; and Granville West, which is covered by the present commercial centre between the harbour and Ela Beach. He followed a gridiron plan for both townships and divided the land into quarter-acre blocks according to the Queensland regulations. Granville West, where the main future development was to take place, was divided into six sections with a total of 107 allotments. He noted that there was a good supply of fresh water at Granville East but that Granville
West lacked water (A.R., 1886b: 14). The Badili lands were divided into allotments of 50 acres or more.

By the end of the Protectorate, the Government Bungalow had been built on the site of the present Government House and there were several buildings in Granville West. Douglas wrote in his journal (A.R., 1887: 16)

Granville West has assumed the appearance of a small township. Mr. Goldie's store is finished, and so are the Government Buildings, including the accommodation house, the customs house and post office, which at present does duty as a store, as well as the building erected.

There was a building with a large reading room where the London Times could be read and Protestant services were held on Sundays. Visitors could stay at the accommodation house, leased by the Administration to a Frenchman for £500 a year, and obtain 'all homely comforts procurable in New Guinea at reasonable cost, special provision being made against the sale of intoxicating liquors' (A.R., 1887: 6). From the early days of the Protectorate there was also a gaol.

The settlement of Europeans in the Port Moresby area was a very gentle process compared with that in other parts of the island of New Guinea and elsewhere in the Pacific. The main Western influence until the establishment of British administration was that of the mission. The L. M. S. had established a Papuan Church and through the training of local teachers and appointment of deacons had prepared the way for greater Papuan participation in its activity. Its influence was largely benign, although in 1875 the mission steamer Ellengowan introduced measles to the Papuan population and a number of people died (Lawes, 1875b) and G.E. (Chinese) Morrison thought the missionaries were wrong to pander to the taste of the native for tobacco (Pearl, 1967: 45). The Papuan population was spared uncontrolled access to alcohol and firearms and uncontrolled European settlement.

The achievements of the Protectorate Administration with its tiny European staff were considerable. A capital was chosen and foundations for the physical development of Port Moresby were laid down which were to last sixty years. Many of the institutions which were to shape the lives of its population in the future were in existence by 1888. A system of administering the Papuan population was initiated and many of its features were to remain intact until the 1960s. The policy of protecting Papuans from the evils which might follow from contact with the West, adopted at the declaration of the Protectorate, was also to continue in force.
Between 1889 and 1941, Port Moresby grew on the foundations laid during the Protectorate. It remained a small, sleepy, colonial backwater, functioning mainly as an administrative centre. It was an Australian town from which Papuans were physically and socially excluded except as workers. Although the Administration was short of funds, modern urban services were gradually provided and European living conditions slowly improved until by 1941 they rivalled those of any small Australian town.

By the end of 1941, when the Japanese were poised to attack New Guinea, there were still only 400 Europeans, a handful of Asians and mixed-race people, and some three or four thousand Papuans living in the Port Moresby area. The slow rate of population growth reflected lack of economic development throughout the Territory. Until 1906, the economy developed very slowly but between 1906 and 1911 it was buoyant and between 1911 and 1914 it boomed. There was a period of stagnation during World War I and between 1918 and 1924 crops continued to fetch low prices. An economic revival occurred from 1924 until the beginning of the world depression in 1929. The economy was again recovering when the Japanese attacked New Guinea in 1942.

Successive administrators attempted to stimulate economic development. Copra and rubber were the most important crops cultivated but sisal, hemp and later coffee were also grown. The Administration tried to encourage European settlement but by 1898 only 6,573 acres had been taken up (A.R., 1897: XLI). The number of European settlers increased in the early years of the governorship of Sir Hubert Murray, but by 1940 only 0.1 per cent of the land area of Papua had been taken by Europeans (Keesing, 1941: 37). The European plantations were mainly on the Sogeri Plateau, near Galley Reach, and the area of Kemp Welch River, which were all situated within a radius of 60 miles of Port Moresby, the area of Milne Bay and on the islands to the east.

Although gold was not mined in the same quantities as in the Australian Mandated Territory of New Guinea, it played an important part in developing the economy of Papua. There were a number of small fields, including the Yodda and Lakekamu fields. Between 1888 and 1898 gold provided 54 per cent of the value of exports (A.R., 1897: XXXVIII), in 1938 gold to the value of
£320,000 was exported, and in 1941 gold was the biggest export (A.R., 1940-1:9). Copper was discovered in the Astrolabe field in 1906 and was mined 16 miles from Port Moresby by the New Guinea Copper Mines Company. The peak value of exported copper was £124,262 in 1926 but prices fell and the mine was closed in 1927. Before the mine closed, the copper township of Tahira, near Bootless Inlet, 7 miles from Port Moresby, was inhabited by 100 Europeans and 1,000 Papuans. There were substantial houses on the ridge above the bay for the managerial staff, good single quarters for the European and Papuan workers, a store, a school and recreational facilities (Stuart, 1970: 322). A report of a government patrol undertaken in August 1928 said that the people of Tubusereia and Barakau, who supplied casual labour for the copper mines, were short of cash owing to the shut-down. Mandated Alluvials operated a small copper smelting plant by the Laloki River between 1938 and 1941. Considerable sums were spent on oil exploration in the Gulf of Papua; oil was discovered on the Vanaba River in 1912 but not in commercial quantities.

In 1894, a Native Regulation was made empowering magistrates to compel Papuans to grow coconuts and the Administration continued to encourage them to grow cash crops. After the policy of developing the country through European agriculture had failed, the Native Plantation Ordinance was passed in 1918 empowering the Lieutenant-Governor to establish plantations on Crown or customary land. The profits from these plantations were to be shared between the Administration and the growers. After 1920, village plantations were developed in a number of areas, and in 1927 plantations developed under the ordinance covered an area of 6,700 acres. Besides coconuts, rice, rubber and other crops were grown but the plantations were not a success. Many were badly sited, supervision was inadequate, returns were small and compulsion was unpopular. By 1941, the proportion of cash crops grown by Papuans was still small. About one-quarter of copra exports was derived from Papuan-grown coconuts and coffee production, amounting to 69 tons, was entirely in Papuan hands (Miles, 1956: 326).

The number of Papuans employed as indentured labourers rose rapidly as a result of the expansion of European agriculture in the years after 1906. The number of indentured labourers was 2,000 in 1907 and 8,000 in 1911 (J.H.P. Murray, 1925: 345). It then gradually increased from 12,000 in 1918 to over 17,000 in 1940. As new areas were penetrated by administrative patrols, opportunities were taken to obtain recruits. The people of Purari Delta were barely under government influence when in 1913 men began to engage in indentured labour (Maher, 1961: 39). Owing to limitations on the number of years for which men could engage, there was a considerable turnover of people employed for wages.

In areas under administrative control, there were a large number of trade stores run by Europeans. Some stores were attached to plantations, and others also served as buying centres for coconuts and other local produce. The amount
of money available to Papuans was not large. Plantation wages were usually 10s. a month, and government regulations tried to ensure that labourers took as much of their earnings home with them as possible. Cash incomes from native plantations and other sources were small. The main commodities purchased were metal tools, some clothing and household utensils, and occasionally food such as tinned fish and tea and sugar. Although average incomes were low, by 1941 a large number of Papuans had begun to be involved in the monetary sector of the economy.

A major factor limiting the development of Port Moresby was the poor quality of communications and transport services linking it with Australia and the outside world and also with other parts of the Territory. Until 1908, shipping was irregular and travel by sea uncomfortable. Port Moresby was so remote from the outside world that one European woman who arrived from Australia to join her husband found that he had died six weeks previously (H.W. Champion, pers. comm.). From 1908 shipping services improved: Burns Philp provided a regular service which was subsidised to carry mail and a Dutch line ran an unsubsidised service. German ships also called at Port Moresby. After the end of World War I, however, the Navigation Act was applied to Papua and New Guinea. This laid down stringent conditions for the operation of shipping and in practice confined Papuan trade to one Australian firm, Burns Philp, and to one Australian port, Sydney. The shortage of shipping was at times so acute that European food supplies were endangered and employers threatened to send their indentured labour to Port Moresby to be fed by the Administration. In 1925, the act ceased to be applied to Papua and by 1941 Burns Philp were maintaining a subsidised mail service every three weeks and ships of a Dutch line called at Port Moresby every two months.

By 1912, Port Moresby was linked by radio to Thursday Island and in 1935 a major wireless telegraph transmitter was established by Amalgamated Wireless (Australia) Ltd. This transmitter was linked to Samarai and to a number of portable radio-telephone sets at government stations, missions and plantations. The most important innovation was, however, the establishment of a regular air service between Port Moresby and Sydney in the early 1930s. Stimulus to development of air transport had been provided by the development of the Wau-Bulolo gold field from 1926 onward. In both Papua and New Guinea planes were used for administrative exploration. With the advent of air travel and, in 1938, of a weekly airmail subsidised by the Administration, the Lieutenant-Governor, J.H.P. Murray, could describe Port Moresby as ‘a distant suburb of the great cities of Australia’ (A.R., 1938: 5). An airfield was established near the present Kila Kila village in the late 1920s and a second airfield was constructed, on the present site of Jacksons Airport, just before the beginning of the Japanese war.

Except for the road to Pari the only motorable road ended at Rouna Falls some 30 miles from Port Moresby. It was extended to Sogeri in 1939. There
were a large number of tracks and, from the early years of the present century, a regular postal service was maintained from Port Moresby across the main range to the Northern Division. The service took a fortnight on foot each way. Rubber from the Sogeri Plateau was carried to Rouna by mule, and horses were only used within a 30 mile radius of Port Moresby. The rugged nature of the terrain made road construction and maintenance difficult and expensive. The cheapest form of transport was by sea; and feeder roads were constructed from plantations, most of which were near the coast, to local seaports. Coastal vessels plied regularly up and down the coast to deliver passengers and to collect agricultural and mineral produce.

Situated in the midst of a sparsely populated and undeveloped region with poor communications, Port Moresby was significant neither as a market nor as an industrial centre. The economy of the town was based on the headquarters of the Administration and on the port. While cash crops were exported, most of the imports were required for the town itself. Before 1900, the volume of trade passing through the port of Samarai was three times that of Port Moresby, and until the end of World War I Port Moresby was the less important commercial centre. The position was gradually reversed until in 1940 about 73 per cent of total exports and about 85 per cent of total imports were handled at Port Moresby (Great Britain, 1943: 236). In 1938, the tonnage of shipping entered and cleared at Port Moresby was only exceeded in the Pacific island area at the Ports of Honolulu, Suva and Rabaul (Keesing, 1945: 311). There were no secondary industries in the neighbourhood of the town although there had been a small tobacco factory on the Laloki River.

The land acquired during the Protectorate proved to be almost sufficient for the needs of the town until 1941, but as the town expanded land was acquired from indigenous owners. In 1898, 75 acres were acquired by the Administration between Granville West road and Badili to link the two areas of government land (P. M. S. J., 6 May 1898). In about 1928 the Administration began to pay rent to the people of Kila Kila village for land for an aerodrome near the present village. Under the Land (Kila Kila Aerodrome) Ordinance 1939, the Lieutenant-Governor declared the aerodrome and two other small sites to be vested in the Crown (G.N. No. 5 dated 7 Feb. 1940). The village rightholders engaged in a determined battle over the amount of compensation payable which they eventually won (67 Commonwealth Law Reports, 1941: 547).

Large areas of land were acquired outside the area of the town. In 1891 the Administration bought from the Baruni and other Koita people 24,994 acres to the north-west of Port Moresby extending as far as the Laloki River. Another large area to the north of the town was bought from the people of Kila Kila and pastoral leases were granted over part of this area. Until the sisal market collapsed in 1926, much of the area between 6-mile and 17-mile was under sisal. Daugo Island was declared ‘waste and vacant’ in 1889, but it was
not declared Crown land in spite of an inquiry by Murray into its legal status in 1907 (J.H.P. Murray, 1907).

As a result of the continued lack of financial and other resources, the Administration was prepared to devote only a minimal share to urban development. Murray subordinated urban development to his basic administrative aims. He compared the German practice of building fine towns first and extending into the hinterland afterwards with British practice which was the reverse (J.H.P. Murray, 1925: 54). His comparison is illustrated very clearly by photographs of the primitive Government House in Port Moresby and of the palatial German residency at Kavieng (Souter, 1964: facing 121). In consequence, standards of building and services were low. In 1910, all allotments were gazetted as first class, with building covenants of £150. By 1931, the highest covenants had been raised to £600 but the lowest had been reduced to £50. Aesthetically the town was unimpressive. An observer (Grimshaw, 1910: 43) wrote in 1911 that 'the little hot box of corrugated iron, set on a baking plain, still continues to be the ideal of the Port Moresby Builder'. There appears to have been little improvement before 1942. Until freehold grants were forbidden by the Papua Act in 1905, some allotments were held in fee simple and there were twelve freehold allotments in 1931. The majority of allotments were leased from the Administration.

After annexation, urban development continued to be concentrated on the saddle between Paga and Tuaguba hills. The number of residential buildings slowly increased and there were about twenty buildings in 1897. Allotments in Port Moresby were advertised in Australian papers but the advertisement met with little response (A.R., 1897: 741). In 1900 there was one store which was owned by Burns Philp. There was no bank and Burns Philp issued £5 and £1 notes which were payable in gold at any of their branches in Australia. The first bank was opened in 1910. The first hotel, on the site of the present Moresby Hotel, was built of corrugated iron and consisted of a bar, a dining room and a bedroom. The bedroom was furnished with 'six stretchers placed side by side, each decently furnished with a straw filled pillow, and with a spittoon within convenient reach' (Lett, 1944: 6). A second hotel, the Papua Hotel, was begun in 1909 and rebuilt in 1941. It also still stands on its original site. In 1910, Burns Philp built their store with a tower, which until the mid-1960s was still the most impressive building in Port Moresby. Other large stores were owned by Steamships Trading Company, the B.N.G. Trading Company, and J.R. Clay and Company, which was later bought by W.R. Carpenter. The number of buildings increased during the rubber boom and the period of mineral discoveries before 1914. By 1916 larger buildings were being built and development was spreading to Tuaguba Hill. A Protestant church was built in 1890 and Anglican and Roman Catholic churches were built after World War I.

There was little development in Granville East. The golf club was founded in about 1930 and the course was in the area of the present transport pool.
The first wireless/telegraph station was in the same area but it was later moved to Granville West. Until the late 1920s there was only one house at the top of Lawes Road and only two or three more had been built by 1941. The town boundary published in a *Gazette* notice dated 8 October 1898 embraced the townships of Granville East and Granville West laid out by Cuthbertson, and his plan was followed with little modification until 1941. This boundary served as the boundary of the Sanitary Board established in 1902. Immediately outside the town boundary, Government House and the police lines were situated at Konedobu. By 1941, there were also in the area four government bungalows including House Champion, owned by the Government Secretary, which had a large garden.

Much of the finance available for developing the town was devoted to improving port facilities. The major harbour installations belonged to the Administration, although in 1896 Burns Philp built a 'substantial wharf' which was subsequently taken over by the Administration. A special grant of £20,000 was made by the Commonwealth Government in 1916 for harbour improvements and in 1929 Murray obtained a loan of £15,000 from the Commonwealth Government for further extensions. In 1940 the main wharf was in the shape of a T with a length of 240 feet to the face of the T and a depth of about 26 feet at low water springs. There were smaller jetties to the east. By 1940 the wharves were lit with electricity and there were tracks for hand-propelled trucks (Great Britain, 1943: 234).

Road construction was slow. In the early years of the present century tall reeds growing in the main street in the wet season provided shelter for frogs and mosquitoes (H.W. Champion, pers. comm.). By 1916, a number of tree-lined streets had been made and some of the trees planted by the then Government Secretary, H.W. Champion, are still in existence. In 1927, the first metalled highway was made from Ela Beach along the southern shore to the foot of Lawes Road. Until the late 1920s, Lawes Road, which linked Konedobu and the harbour to Badili to the south, was a horse-track and it was still a rough and winding motor track in 1941. The number of motor vehicles did not reach double figures until the late 1920s (P. Chatterton, pers. comm.).

The residents obtained their water supply from rain-water tanks attached to their houses. The Administration maintained a small reservoir situated on the slopes of Tuaguba Hill, which was used to supplement individual supplies in the dry season. In 1929 Murray tried to obtain a loan of £25,000 from the Commonwealth Government to improve the water supply, but he agreed to drop the application in return for a loan to improve the wharves. In 1936 the reservoir was in a poor state and in 1940 rain-water tanks on government buildings were being used as an emergency water supply. A new water supply was begun in 1940 which brought water from the Laloki River. It was not completely reticulated before the end of 1941 and there was still barely enough water to supply the town during the dry season.
The disposal of night-soil was by a pan system operated by prison labour, and nearly all manual work in the town was carried out by prisoners (J.H.P. Murray, 1912: 239). The waste matter was thrown into the sea. By 1941, owners of buildings were beginning to install septic tanks on their premises and regulations were made to control their construction in that year.

Various other services were provided. A government school for non-indigenous children was established in 1910. In the estimates for 1909-10, £50 was provided for street lighting. In the same year there were complaints about the state of the Papuan latrine near the harbour and in 1912 a public latrine was built at a cost of £40. Electric power was provided by the Administration in 1925. By June of that year the streets were lit by electricity and 117 consumers had power connected to their premises. Postal services were primitive. 'Immediately inward mail is sorted, Port Moresby Post Office will fly the Mail Flag or Red-light at night' (G.N. dated 2 April 1923). There were telephones in 1908 and trunk lines extended to Rouna, the copper mine and Bootless Inlet.

During the earlier part of the period, few medical services were provided: qualified medical officers were stationed only at Port Moresby and Samarai. In 1904, the European hospital was built on Tuaguba Hill and the native hospital was built at Ela Beach under Paga Hill. In 1918 a separate hospital, costing £315, was built for women. In January 1932, a new European hospital, according to the Pacific Islands Monthly 'an imposing and beautiful building of reinforced concrete', was finished and the building forms part of the premises of the House of Assembly today.

Until about 1900 malaria was prevalent among the European population, but by 1907 it had largely been eradicated in the town. By 1923, Port Moresby was practically clear of malaria and dysentery and there was no typhoid. In 1941 the Administration considered that Port Moresby was a healthy place for Europeans to live in.

Outside the town boundary, Badili continued to develop as a residential centre for South Sea Islanders and other non-European immigrants and their descendants. Fijian and Solomon Islands police who were brought to Papua by MacGregor were given blocks of land. After 1918, an Indian from Fiji, Abdul Rahman, owned a store at Badili corner. The gaol was at Koke: European prisoners and the chief warder were housed on the island and the main prison was on a site above the present market. A narrow causeway was built to the island in about 1936 and at this time a few Hula began to live in their canoes while they worked in the town.

A native labour regulation made in 1910 ordained that all employees except domestic servants should be quartered outside the town area and employers were to provide sanitary accommodation. The majority of employees were housed in labour compounds at Badili. In 1940, one compound belonged to the Public Works Department and five belonged to commercial concerns. In a letter to the Papuan Courier dated 29 March 1940, a correspondent said that
the well in the Public Works Department Compound was unprotected, dangerous, and dirty, and that there was only one latrine in three compounds. Only one of five commercial compounds was passable 'if general dirt and litter and almost inevitable vermin do not matter'. It was no wonder that natives preferred to build their own quarters 'by erecting a crowd of unsightly humpies made from scraps of tin, waste bits of corrugated iron, packing cases and shattered boards'. Replying in a letter dated 30 August, the Government Secretary claimed that the compounds complied with the employment regulations. The natives themselves put up the 'packing case villas' to 'secure more privacy than the regulation quarters permit' and showed much resentment if compelled to take them down.

A group of people from Vailala in the present Gulf District had established a residential settlement at Konebada on Vabukori land near the former golf course at Kaugere. According to the report of a patrol carried out by the Acting Resident Magistrate in 1927, the first Vailala man to settle at Konebada had married a Vabukori woman and the other men had married either Vabukori women or women from other parts of the central Austronesian-speaking areas.

The cluster of villages at Hanuabada continued to be the most important Papuan centre, and the villages of Vabukori and Tatana remained on their pre-contact sites. The Administration persuaded the Kila Kila people to move their village from the top of the hill above Vabukori down to a saddle. In 1925 Akorogo people moved their village, probably because of a number of deaths from disease, from its site in the middle of the Kaugere golf course to a place above Scratchley Road called Korobosea, which was about half a mile from the former site. Kourabada village was abandoned in about 1927 as a result of the building of the road out of Port Moresby, and the inhabitants went to Kila Kila.

Photographs and accounts of villages show that they largely retained their traditional appearance with buildings of unsawn timber and thatch. The ceremonial platforms continued to be built from time to time. There were, however, innovations, which according to the evidence of patrol reports and other documents, were opposed by government officials. In 1924 Murray deplored the fact that 'some dreadful structures are going up in Port Moresby village with roofs, and occasionally even sides of galvanised iron'. He admitted, however, that these houses were waterproof and that the occupants could collect rainwater (A.R., 1923: 6). In 1933 F.E. Williams, as editor of the Papuan Villager (vol. 5: 33), said that he preferred indigenous roofs: 'we like to see the Motu and Koita houses. If you build one like a European copra shed it will not look very pretty'. Churches were built: in about 1906 the people of one village subscribed £100 towards the cost of a new church and in 1933 a new church was built at Kila Kila in European materials. Most villages had cricket grounds. In 1932, an Elevala rightholder gave land for this purpose and the Hanuabada councillors asked the Administration to make a concrete pitch for them.
Hanuabada was the only village to receive any urban services and it and Pari were the only villages to be connected to the town by road. Part of Hanuabada had been supplied with water piped from a well during the Protectorate. In 1919 the Senior Medical Officer considered that 'the present water supply is hardly worth calling a water supply for close on 2,000 people'. He saw a connection between the highest death rate occurring at Tanobada and the fact that the village had the worst water supply (A.R., 1918: 28). In 1931, a 10,000 gallon tank and windmill were installed in Hanuabada but a year later the supply was reported to be unsatisfactory. In 1925, street lighting was provided in Hanuabada and the cost was borne by the Native Taxation Fund. A number of householders brought cash and asked for power to be connected to their houses.

In 1924, the London Missionary Society established a hospital in Hanuabada in charge of a European nurse, for which it received a government subsidy. Tuberculosis spread rapidly among Papuans in coastal areas and in 1938 a hospital was built on Gemo Island, near the entrance to the harbour, for patients suffering from tuberculosis and leprosy. The Hanuabada rightholders gave the land on a 50 year lease. The Administration met the cost of the buildings and the London Missionary Society supplied the staff.

The Administration tried through enforcement of a number of Native Regulations to improve the level of hygiene in the villages. Already, under the Protectorate, the custom of burying the dead under houses had been forbidden and this Regulation continued to be vigorously enforced. Native Regulations empowered magistrates to insist that houses were kept in good repair, to have them enlarged if there was overcrowding, and to order removal of insanitary buildings. Villages were to be kept clean and reports by officials frequently refer to the state of villages. After one inspection in 1899 the Resident Magistrate noted that the water hole at Vabukori was in a 'disgusting state' and all the people were covered in itch; Kila Kila water hole was in good order; and Akarogo village was in a 'disgusting state' (P.M.S.J., Oct. 1899). Native Regulations required that houses of coastal villages were to be built wholly over the sea, so that all forms of waste would be removed by the tide, and villagers were to be encouraged to build latrines over the sea. In 1909, Tatana village was accidentally burnt down, and seventeen villagers were prosecuted for not siting their houses according to the regulations. Until 1941, the enforcement of the regulations relating to village sanitation was a constant concern of government officials.

Regular censuses were not taken of the European population and only isolated and unrelated figures are available. There were about seven Europeans in Port Moresby in 1888, and twenty-five men and fifteen women in 1897 (A.R., 1897: 90). In November 1906, there were forty-one men, sixteen women and twelve children (Mackay, 1909: 165). Thirty-six children were registered at the government school in 1915, but in 1917 it was closed because there were too
few children owing to the war. According to a census carried out by the Commonwealth Government in 1921, the total European population of Port Moresby was 313. Figures for Port Moresby alone are not available from the census taken in 1933, but there had been an increase of only fifty-one non-indigenous people for the whole Census District since 1921. There had been a marked increase in the proportion of women in the population. In 1921, there were 201 men to 100 European women; while in 1933 the ratio for the whole non-indigenous population, the majority of whom were Europeans living in Port Moresby, was 120 men to 100 women.¹ There is no information about sex ratios in 1940, but there were two males to one female for the European population of the whole Territory. The proportion of women is likely to have been higher in Port Moresby than in the Territory as a whole, because conditions were more suitable for women and children than in all other areas except Samarai. In 1940, there were twenty-seven children on the roll of the Government European School and eighteen children on the roll of the Roman Catholic School.

A number of senior public servants and businessmen spent their whole working lives in the Territory, but the majority left to live elsewhere after they had retired. The impression gained from a study of staff lists and other documents such as memoirs is that many Europeans, for reasons of health and inclination, spent only a few years in the Territory.

The dominant group among the European population were the public servants, with the Lieutenant-Governor at their head. There were ten government officials living in Port Moresby immediately after the Territory was annexed and there were between thirty and forty in the years before 1941. Murray suffered from lack of finance and he also wished to build up a public service whose members were loyal to him and to his policies. For these reasons he recruited his service, as far as possible, from among the Europeans living in the Territory. He chose men whom he considered had courage and initiative in preference to people who had received a good formal education. Many such as Jack Hides, who wrote accounts of his patrols of exploration in *Papuan Wonderland* and other books (J. Sinclair, 1969), and J.C.B. Bramell, son of the Commissioner for Native Affairs, were sons of local residents. The most remarkable family was the Champion family: the eldest son of H.W. Champion, a member of the Karius-Champion expedition (Champion, 1932), became senior Land Titles Commissioner, another son became a district commissioner, and his youngest son became Government Secretary. His stepson, grandson of H.M. Chester of Thursday Island, became Treasurer. All were born in Port Moresby. Conditions of service were not attractive. Salaries were low, medical attention

¹ These figures are quoted from the Commonwealth Census returns for 1921 and 1933 in a draft version of Amirah Inglis, 1974.
was not free and no pension scheme was introduced until 1918, although housing at £1 a month was cheap. Recruits were few until the economic depression, which began in 1929, caused men to seek work in the Territory.

The commercial population grew in importance and as the economy developed included managers of large trading concerns, as well as prominent individuals such as Captain Fitch of Steamships Trading Company. There were also a number of Europeans who provided services. Among them was W.C. Bruce, who had been Commandant of the Armed Constabulary until he was dismissed from his post as a result of a recommendation of the Papua Royal Commission of 1906. As editor of the *Papuan Times* he was a bitter opponent of Murray (West, 1968: 182). Professional men included the manager of the Bank of New South Wales, a lawyer and a dentist. There was no doctor in private practice, but government medical officers were allowed to treat patients privately. In 1939 there were two bakers, a photographer, a plumber-tinsmith-carpenter, two owners of workshops, a shipwright, and a hairdresser (*Pacific Islands Year Book*, 1939: 258). The lowest social stratum was composed of people who had drifted into Port Moresby as beachcombers, remittance men and men in search of casual employment. They came from many different social backgrounds.

Living conditions were hard for Europeans, especially in the early days when the whole European population suffered intermittently from malaria. The main cause of discomfort was lack of fresh food. Nearly all food was obtained in tins. In 1900 there was no bread, and cabin biscuits were eaten in its place. A bullock was killed once a year at Christmas and Burns Philp occasionally imported live sheep. Game such as wallaby, and later deer descended from those given by Sydney zoo to the manager of Burns Philp, were shot from time to time (H.W. Champion, pers. comm.). By 1941, there was a cold storage unit and supplies had improved, but fresh food was still hard to obtain.²

European society in Port Moresby resembled, with a slightly Australian flavour, any remote British colonial community in the years before World War II. It made its own amusements, organising dances and a large number of sporting activities. There was a swimming area with shark wires near the present fire station and outrigger sailing canoes were raced with European captains and Papuan crews. Some cricket matches were played against Papuan teams. The social clubs, the Papua Club and the Public Service Club, separated members of the community according to their occupational and financial status. The majority of members of the community was isolated from the mainstream of intellectual life and also from contact with the indigenous population through lack of transport and social barriers current at the time.

In 1921 (A. Inglis, 1974) there were sixteen non-indigenous males and six non-indigenous females who were not of European descent living in Port

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² For an account of living conditions for Europeans, see Ian Stuart, 1970: 122-7.
Moresby. No further figures are available. The entry of Asians, who in a number of colonial territories formed an intermediate racial group between Europeans and indigenous people, was restricted by the Chinese Immigration Ordinance 1898. There were only four Chinese males living in Port Moresby by 1942. Two had been brought as tailors and one as a baker by European commercial companies and one had arrived in the early days of European contact. An Arab seaman, who had married a woman from Daru, lived for some years with the Indian, Abdul Rahman, at Badili.

A few Euro-Papuans were descendants of unions between early government officials and other Europeans and Papuan women. The Administration frowned on cohabitation between European men and local women but it was not in Papua a criminal offence as it was in New Guinea. According to a circular memorandum dated 20 October 1902, European public servants who kept Papuan women were, however, liable to be dismissed.

During the nineteenth century people from Indonesia came to Papua in trading vessels and were locally known as Malays. Some were imported to work on agricultural projects and others engaged in bird shooting and in the bêche-de-mer trade. Many came from Surabaya. There were also several Filipino families who had originally joined the Roman Catholic Mission at Yule Island. A third group were descended from people from the Pacific Islands. The majority of South Sea Island teachers of the L.M.S. came with their wives and returned to their homes when their service with the society ended. Some, however, stayed in Papua and married local women. Fijians and Solomon Islanders who were recruited by MacGregor for the Armed Constabulary and a few other men from these islands settled in Papua.

The non-native status of these coloured immigrants conferred a number of privileges not obtained by Papuans. Many of them were educated at Roman Catholic schools and the Roman Catholic Mission took a special interest in their welfare. They obtained higher rates of pay and filled the middle ranks of the public service and commerce as clerks, headmen and mechanics. Europeans, however, treated them as inferiors. They did not form a corporate social group because they were few in number, differed in racial origin and did not live in the same residential area. They had virtually no political influence and made little impact on the social life of the other racial groups.

There is no record of the number of migrant Papuan workers living in and near the town but the accounts of Europeans living in Port Moresby at the time make it clear that the number was well under 500. Before 1941, there was 'a mere handful of non-local Papuans, mainly cooks from Suau and wharfies from Goaribari' (P. Chatterton, pers. comm.). Movement by Papuans away from their home districts had been controlled since 1888 and the majority of workers were under contract of service. Desertion was a criminal offence. Various provisions exempted Papuans who worked for short periods or near their homes from the employment regulations. From 1906 a Papuan could be
employed for a period of three months without a written contract, and from 1927 he might also be employed without a contract if he worked within 20 miles of his home. The Administration had observed that men from the Mekeo, Gulf, and Port Moresby inland areas were coming forward to work at Port Moresby without recruitment (A.R., 1925: 83) and they looked forward to the time when the contract system might be abolished (A.R., 1926: 2). Many people from coastal areas took advantage of the three months’ rule to come to Port Moresby to earn money to pay their taxes and church dues.

Movement into the urban area was strictly controlled. In January 1900, the Resident Magistrate at Port Moresby ordered Hanuabadans who had brought people from the Gulf of Papua to Port Moresby during a hiri expedition to return them to their homes within a month (P.M.S.I.). Under the Native Regulations of 1926, a magistrate could order any ‘foreign’ native found within 5 miles of Port Moresby to return to his home, unless he ‘gives a good account of himself’ or had a contract of service or was employed by a Christian mission.

The majority of migrant workers lived as single men and spent only short periods in Port Moresby. The 1928-9 Annual Report (p.91) said that there were ‘no detribalized natives except a few houseboys’ in Port Moresby. Employment histories of a number of Papuans show, however, that there were skilled and semi-skilled men who spent long periods working in the town. Three examples of a developing employment pattern can be given.

Iru Kila came to Port Moresby from Hula village in about 1918, when he was about fifteen years old; he had reached standard II or III at the London Missionary School. After working at the Moresby Hotel for about five years, he was employed behind the counter at Steamships’ trade store for two years. He worked in the government shipyard and was a member of the crew of the government launch Elevala when she carried the Karius-Champion expeditions up the Fly River. Subsequently he was quartermaster in two sailing vessels belonging to European traders and cook on two plantations. During the war he worked in the Native Labour Organization near Port Moresby. He married a woman from his own village but he has affinal connections in Vabukori village and has spent much time there.

Athanasius Aoae was born on the mainland near Yule Island in 1896. His mother died in 1904 and his father married again. He says that because no one wanted him at home, his father took him to the Roman Catholic Mission at Yule Island and later sent him to the mission boarding school. He left school in 1911 and describes himself as being apprenticed at the mission as blacksmith, carpenter, plumber, mechanic and stockman. He went to Port Moresby in 1914. After doing a number of different jobs he worked for Ryan, who owned hotels and other businesses, in 1922 and 1923. In 1924 he was inspector-instructor of Native Plantations at Orokolo. In the 1926-7 Papuan Annual Report (p.11) Murray said of him that he ‘can keep his monthly journal and other necessary records in English. He has also some skill in engineering, and can
use and keep in repair a motor car and a Fordson tractor with plough'. He joined the Agricultural Department in 1931 and resigned in 1945. Since his retirement he has lived on 100 acres of land on the Laloki River near Port Moresby which he leased in 1928 and has a market garden. He married a woman from Pari village whose mother's father had been a South Sea Island pastor.

Kaivira was born at Kaimari village in the Purari Delta in about 1905 or possibly later and received no formal education. In about 1917 he was recruited by Captain Fitch of Steamships Trading Company on the first occasion labourers were recruited in the area, and worked for three years on a rubber and coconut plantation. He went to Port Moresby in about 1920 and was employed as a cook, first for a European and then at the Moresby Hotel. He was the cook house-servant of several Europeans and in 1933 he was working in the laundry of the European hospital. He married a widow who was the daughter of a leading man in Kila Kila village. He continued to work as a cook and after the war settled in Kila Kila village, where he is accepted as a primary member of a descent-group.

Population figures are available at frequent intervals only for the Hanuabada villages but other urban villages appear to have followed a similar pattern of population growth. The population of Hanuabada village was 1,310 in 1890 (L.M.S. Annual Report) and had risen to 1,626 in 1915 (A.R., 1914: 27), which represented an increase of less than 1 per cent per year. According to a letter written by a senior medical officer on 20 November 1940 the population had risen to 2,276, which represented an increase of 1.6 per cent a year.

A number of explanations can be given for the slow rate of increase. Informants suggest that before 1945 people were unwilling to have many children as famines still occurred and food supplies were uncertain. In the Annual Report for 1918-19 (p.27) the Resident Magistrate of the Coastal Division deplored the consumption by the people of Hanuabada of such European foods as tea, bread, butter and tinned meats instead of the 'nourishing health diet of vegetables, fresh game and fish'. Women were losing their natural strength, childbirth was no longer accepted 'as a passing incident in life' and he feared that they would be unwilling to bear children in the future. A number of minor epidemics occurred. According to the Port Moresby Station Journal for December 1897, for example, seven people had died of dysentery in Hanuabada. There was an outbreak of measles in 1903 which caused 4½ per cent of the deaths which occurred in Port Moresby in that year (A.R., 1902: 16; 1926: 79). The diseases which caused most concern were dysentery and tuberculosis. In 1897, 9 out of 132 prisoners in Port Moresby died of dysentery (A.R., 1897: XXXV) and in 1915 there was an outbreak of dysentery in the Port Moresby villages (A.R., 1916: 9). Measures taken by the Administration to prevent dysentery were later largely successful. The appearance of tuberculosis was first noticed by the Administration in 1919 and the disease became increasingly prevalent in the 1930s. In 1939 and 1940, 23 per cent of Papuan deaths occurring in govern-
ment hospitals were caused by tuberculosis. Throughout this period, however, there were no major epidemics causing widespread loss of life.

There were a number of debilitating but non-lethal diseases. Few cases of venereal disease, and virtually no syphilis, occurred in the Central Division (A.R., 1917: 59). Diseases caused by intestinal parasites were also rare, especially in the coastal villages. The health authorities attributed the absence of these diseases to the removal of excreta by the tides and to the unwillingness of the Port Moresby villagers to work on the plantations (A.R., 1914: 155). Most villagers suffered intermittently from malaria but there was a falling off in the number of cases during the dry season. Nearly all villagers suffered from tropical ulcers and some suffered from yaws. In 1921, a campaign was carried out by the Administration to treat these ulcers and mission teachers co-operated by sending people suffering from them to hospital for treatment.

Urban villagers continued to have faith in traditional methods of healing. Medical officers noted, in a number of reports up to 1940, the reluctance of urban villagers to go to the government hospital in the town. Nevertheless the establishment of a hospital at Hanuabada by the London Missionary Society, and especially the opening of a child-welfare clinic, is likely to have caused a reduction in the death rate in the last two decades before 1942. A number of migrants settled in the villages near Port Moresby and, although it is difficult to estimate their number, they may have contributed significantly to the increase of village populations.

At the end of 1941, Port Moresby was in appearance and character an Australian town. Its residents were almost entirely European and they enjoyed standards of services and amenities similar to those available in a small Australian country town of the same period. Papuans were rigidly excluded from the town itself. Whether they lived in traditional villages or in labour compounds at Badili, almost their only function in relation to the town was to provide labour during daylight hours.
Between 1888 and 1941, the administration of the urban population was developed along the lines laid down during the Protectorate. Traditional Papuan societies were to be preserved and protected from undesirable outside influences. Yet a number of factors were making for change within Papuan societies. The suppression of warfare, the introduction of a cash economy, Western schooling, and the slow climb by Papuans up the occupational ladder, were all instrumental in producing radical changes in Papuan social systems. These changes were not easily visible when the Japanese brought war to Papua at the beginning of 1942.

Except for a short interval between 1898 and 1906, two administrators dominated the whole period. Sir William MacGregor was a Scot who from humble beginnings had succeeded in obtaining a medical qualification, and had served with Sir Arthur Gordon in Fiji. He was Administrator and Lieutenant-Governor from 1888 to 1898. A man of ability and fierce determination, but with few resources at his command, he developed the administrative organisation of the Territory from the slender foundations laid during the Protectorate (Joyce, 1971: 95-181). Sir Hubert Murray, son of an Australian landowner, had had a brilliant academic career at Oxford. He came to the Territory in 1904 as Chief Judicial Officer after failing as a barrister in Sydney. He died in office as Lieutenant-Governor in 1940. His character was complex and aloof (West, 1968 passim). His aims in administering Papua were to pacify the whole country, to limit the spread of disease and prevent Papuans from dying out, and to encourage the population in habits of industry (J.H.P. Murray, 1925: 253). His attitudes were humane but essentially paternalistic.

It was Murray's ambition to bring the whole of Papua under administrative control but he failed to achieve this through lack of finance (West, 1968: 250). By 1941, however, peaceful conditions had been established in the coastal areas in the neighbourhood of Port Moresby although the process had been slow. In 1906 a Baruni man murdered a European market gardener so that blood could be put on the posts of the new house of the murderer (J.H.P. Murray, 1912: 83). In 1915, Baruni men killed some migrant workers because they wished to be entitled to wear certain feathers as decoration which could only be worn
by homicides; and two men were hanged, which was unusual for the murder of a Papuan, because they were 'now sufficiently advanced to be aware of the heinousness of their crime' (A.R., 1915: 6). In 1920, administrative officers were trying to persuade the people of Koiari villages a few miles from Port Moresby to abandon the practice of wearing feathers as a token of homicide (P.M. Patrol Reports, 1920).

Scratchley had been required by the British Government 'to the utmost of your power, to promote religion and civilization among the native inhabitants of the Protectorate' (Q.P.P., 1885: 36) and a similar instruction was contained in the Royal Instructions issued to MacGregor. Administrators were, however, extremely cautious in the way in which they led their charges towards civilisation. Official views were expressed by F.E. Williams, a distinguished Australian scholar, who was appointed Assistant Government Anthropologist in 1922. He was Government Anthropologist from 1928 until he died in a plane crash in 1943. His views relating to the advancement of Papuans were moderate and somewhat ahead of his time, and are fully set out in his essay, 'The Blending of Cultures'.

If we wish native customs and institutions to survive we must on the one hand guard against too drastic changes in the culture as a whole, such as may remove their motive and support; and on the other hand we must do something actively to encourage and foster them. (1951: 9)

This view of change was accepted by the Administration. Government policies were aimed at preventing the disintegration of Papuan societies and at protecting them from undesirable influences. The first ordinance to be enacted after annexation in 1888 was the Arms Liquor and Opium Ordinance which was designed to prevent Papuans from obtaining these commodities. Among many regulations aimed at promoting Papuan well-being, the most important were those relating to the employment of labour (see Mair, 1948: Chap. VI). Methods of recruitment and length of engagement were controlled and employers were obliged to return workers on contract to their homes. Murray (1912: 355) was opposed to the indenture of women because it would lead to the break up of village life, but he considered that women should accompany their husbands because man and wife should not be separated. A small administrative staff made every effort to achieve these ends by enforcing labour regulations. Government records, for example annual reports of the Rigo Sub-district, 1919-40, show that employers as well as employees were regularly convicted of offences against them. The enforcement of the regulations by the Administration, although they were designed to safeguard the interests of employers as well as employees, provoked strong opposition from members of the European commercial community (West, 1968: 177, 182). Cohabitation between European men and Papuan women was discouraged. Although the wife of a missionary referred to 'the growth of a prostitute class of native women for the use of
the white community, women who were employed chiefly as washerwomen in
the settlements’ (A.R., 1922: 159), concubinage was on a very small scale.

The administration of the town was formally the responsibility of the Re­
sident Magistrate. By 1941, he was responsible for the whole of the Central
Division, with sub-stations at Abau, Rigo and Kairuku in charge of assistant
resident magistrates, and he was directly in charge of the Port Moresby district.
His staff was small. In 1919, the Resident Magistrate had only a Native Labour
Inspector and a clerk in his office at Port Moresby to help him carry out his
duties (A.R., 1918-19: 25). There were no officials who were occupied full-time
with urban duties. The administrative establishment was so small, however,
that the Lieutenant-Governor and other senior officials dealt with many matters
concerning the town and questions of any importance were discussed by the
Executive Council.

Much of the present legal framework under which the town is today administ­
ered was constructed in the years immediately after annexation when British
or Australian legislation was either adopted or copied. Queensland legislation,
collectively called The Town Police Acts, was applied in 1898. It enabled
‘nuisances to be dealt with in a speedy and summary manner’ (Winter, 1898).
The town planning provisions in the Police Offences Ordinance 1912 were
similar to those included in the New South Wales Local Government Ordinance
1906 and other Australian State legislation. Regulations providing for the ac­
quision by private individuals of town allotments were made under the Land
Ordinance. Some control over standards of building and sanitation was provided
by the Health Ordinance 1912, and more effective building regulations were
made under the Building Ordinance 1929. During MacGregor’s term of office,
boards of trustees were appointed for the administration of markets, recreation
reserves and beach reserves. A Sanitary Board was established in 1902. The
provision and administration of services were regulated by ordinances such as
the Electric Power and Light Ordinance 1925. Provision was made for trial
by jury when criminal cases involved Europeans. For white inhabitants, Port
Moresby was administered in the same impersonal and legalistic fashion as
any small Australian township, tempered by frequent personal contacts be­
tween government officials and private individuals. Papuans were little involved
in the system of urban government and were subject to a separate administra­
tive regime. The maintenance of public order among Europeans was not a
problem. MacGregor had praised their good behaviour (A.R., 1895: XXVIII)
and Murray (1912: 49) was also satisfied with their conduct and with their
relations with Papuans.

After annexation, the Administration continued to appoint chiefs. They were
given annual presents of clothes and tobacco but they were not paid in money.
The Administration eventually decided that the attempt to govern through
chiefs was unsatisfactory and the last chiefs were retired in 1906 (A.R., 1906:
46). In 1891, a Native Regulation was enacted which provided for the appoint-
ment of village constables. MacGregor intended that they should consolidate contacts made during official patrols and thereby release the Armed Constabulary for their primary duty of pacification. In 1890, Toua was appointed village constable in Hanuabada, the first in Papua. In January 1897, two mission-educated youths complained that the Chief of Pari was failing to suppress petty theft and suggested that a village constable should be appointed. After careful inquiry, the Resident Magistrate rebuked them for making a false allegation. In June 1897, however, a village constable was appointed for Pari who appears also to have had jurisdiction over Kila Kila, Vabukori and Akorogo. In making the appointment of village constable, government officials chose men who had gained experience of European ways. According to a patrol report written in 1927, Hitolo of Elevala was village constable of all the Hanuabada villages. Rabura Geita of Kila Kila, who because he was an old man was assisted by Henunu Sere of Vabukori, was village constable of Kila Kila, Vabukori, Akorogo and Kourabada. In 1898, thirty out of thirty-three chiefs in the Central Division were also village constables (A.R., 1897: 92).

A study of official reports indicates the extent to which the Resident Magistrate and other officers relied on village constables. An important function was to arrest offenders and in 1892 Toua arrested the Hanuabada chief, Ao Udu, for assault (P.M.S.J., July 1892). Constables were required to make lists of people able to carry and to organise parties of carriers for officials, a highly unpopular task. In 1899, sixteen men of Hanuabada were sentenced to three days' imprisonment for refusing to carry loads for government officials (P.M.S.J., February 1899).

One of MacGregor's first actions after his appointment was to establish an Armed Constabulary to assist in the work of pacification. In 1890, he recruited two Fijian non-commissioned officers, twelve Solomon Islands constables, and eight Papuan constables as a nucleus of his force. In 1896, there were only four Solomon Islands constables and the remaining seventy-four constables were Papuans. MacGregor obtained his recruits from the wild tribes which he discovered and prisoners who had served their sentences were sometimes made village constables. The majority of constables were recruited from Western Papua (A.R., 1897: XXV). Senior non-commissioned officers, in particular, came from that area. In Port Moresby, public order was enforced by the Town Guard whose 'duty is to patrol the town to stop gambling, stealing, assaults on persons, and to protect public property' (A.R., 1925: 57). In 1927 it consisted of twelve men under command of a European constable.

Soon after his arrival MacGregor began to institute a system of courts. Courts of Petty Sessions were established in Port Moresby and Samarai in September and October 1888, and a Central Court, called the Supreme Court from 1930, was established in January 1889 (A.R., 1888: 9). Appeals lay from the Central Court to the Supreme Court of Queensland and in 1905 to the High Court of Australia. MacGregor followed Fijian practice in setting up a Native
Regulations Board in 1889 and Native Regulations made by the board were the principal legal instruments on which administration of Papuans was based. Regulations were later made under the Native Regulations Ordinance 1911. The regulations were administered by Native Magistrates Courts (later called Courts for Native Matters) and the original intention was that they should be presided over by Papuans. These courts were not bound by strict rules of evidence and there were no appeals from them to a higher court. Two traditional leaders were appointed magistrates in the Western Division, but the experiment was not regarded as a success. European officers were then appointed Native Magistrates and became the link between the Native Regulations Board and the Papuan population. For this reason, MacGregor insisted that his officers should study indigenous custom and the results of their efforts appear in the *Annual Reports*.

The introduction of British legal concepts and the establishment of a system of formal courts imposed a foreign form of external control on the Papuan population. Many officials showed a perceptive understanding of the problems which arose from a clash of values. Sir Francis Winter, the Chief Judicial Officer, for example, wrote a memorandum entitled 'The Administration of Justice, in connection with the natives of the Possession, during the last decade' (*A.R.*, 1898: 62). In it he discussed the clash between the obligation to revenge an injury and to support kinsmen who were engaged in retaliation and the prohibition imposed by the Administration on killing and violence. There was no specific legislative recognition of indigenous custom in Papua¹ and, unlike many British territories, offences against custom could not be enforced by the courts. The only exception was adultery, made an offence under Native Regulation No. IV of 1891-2, because it was considered to cause breaches of the peace. In the wide variety of matters which came before administrative magistrates, such as those concerned with marriage, property, and land, local customs were taken into account. In criminal matters, custom was treated as a ground for mitigation of sentence.

The system of native courts, however, proved unsatisfactory in a number of ways. Linguistic interpretation was one major problem: as a missionary wrote, 'I have heard several men interpreting in a way which made my blood boil' (R.L. Turner, 1908). In his circular memoranda, Murray showed that he feared that justice was administered in a harsh and arbitrary way. The most serious weakness of the system was the failure to bring formal justice within the reach of more than a small proportion of people who committed offences, or who sought arbitration in disputes which arose among them. Many disputes and even offences were dealt with by village constables and later by village council-

1. In New Guinea under Australian Mandate, under the Laws Repeal and Adopting Ordinance 1921, specific recognition was given to native custom.
lors, and fines were sometimes levied (A.R., 1927: 28, 32). Thus a system of informal justice developed outside the statutory courts. Murray was convinced that it would be impossible to introduce courts presided over by Papuans: 'I know many intelligent natives, and I think I can go as far as to say that I have many personal friends among them, but I do not know any that I could trust with the trial of a case, however simple' (A.R., 1930: 20). He felt that the kinship system prevented justice from being firmly and impartially administered. The most he was prepared to do was to allow Papuans to sit as assessors. A contemporary, Bensted (1953: 707), has suggested that Murray took a legalistic view which on occasions led to injustice.

The Native Regulations impinged on every aspect of Papuan life. Magistrates were given wide powers under a Regulation made in 1913 which made it an offence to disobey the lawful order of a magistrate. Besides controlling migration into the town, there were further controls of movement in the interests of health. Under a Native Regulation enacted in 1912 no Papuan was to come to Port Moresby from a place where there was dysentery and no one was to go to Port Moresby if there was dysentery within 5 miles of the town. In 1915, it became an offence for a native to be on premises other than those of his employer ('premises' being defined as the whole town area) during the hours of darkness. There were further restrictions to prevent gambling under Native Regulation No. 1 of 1906. Native employees were prohibited from leaving their quarters after 9 p.m. without written consent of their employer because, as Seligman (1910: 135) explained,

The young adults of the Koita and Motu tribes—the class from which the greater part of the servants of Port Moresby are drawn—will if undisturbed, spend the whole night playing this [card] game, meeting under boatsheds or other available shelters, with the result that they are not fit to work the next day.

Other regulations made it an offence for a Papuan to loiter in Port Moresby or to behave disrespectfully to a European. By a regulation made in 1931 Papuans were forbidden to make a noise, beat drums or dance in Port Moresby after 9 p.m. without permission of a magistrate.

The impact of various regulations on the Papuan population is illustrated by the proportion of convictions for different offences. The Port Moresby Station Journal shows that common offences heard before courts for native matters were lying in court, spreading false reports and disobeying various lawful orders. In the town itself, the town guard successfully brought 145 charges in 1926: 115 for gambling, 11 for absence from quarters, 16 for being unlawfully on premises (i.e. for breaking the curfew) and 3 for assaults (A.R., 1925: 57). Cases heard in the Court of Petty Sessions frequently included the offence of being in possession of work goods 'reasonably suspected of being stolen'. According to reports in the Papuan Courier for the year 1936, thirty-one Papuans were convicted of offences in the Court of Petty Sessions. Eighteen Papuans were convicted of theft or being in possession of goods 'reasonably suspected
of being stolen or unlawfully obtained'. Twelve of those found guilty of theft came from the Gulf Division. There were also a number of charges of assault. In December eleven men were convicted of gambling in the Court of Native Matters: penalties ranged from imprisonment for six months to fines of 10s. (Waiko, 1970). Assault included assaults against Europeans. In December 1941 a Papuan was sentenced to prison for one month for slapping a European boy aged eight who, he claimed, had thrown a loaf of bread at him in Steamships Bakery. There were a number of offences against European women including those of 'peeping Tom' type. Serious offences appear to have been few.

Occasionally members of different language groups became involved in brawls: during a fight between Toaripi and Goaribari people at Koke, a number of Toaripi people were badly injured (Papuan Villager, 1933: 22). Migrant workers from the Gulf Division were disliked by government officials for their independence and feared by local Papuans who were 'too scared of the bullyragging ways of Gulf and Northern natives who appear in their midst, even to make any complaint, for fear of reprisals' (Rigo Patrol Report, 2 Feb. 1927). According to oral sources, they were afraid of assaults on their women. In 1932 some Gulf people were evicted from Port Moresby and in 1931 a regulation was made under the Native Labour Ordinance prohibiting people from the Gulf and Delta Divisions from entering the township between the hours of 7 p.m. and 6 a.m.

Murray realised that the autocratic system of administration by magistrates and village constables gave little opportunity for Papuans to express their views to the Administration. He therefore began to appoint councillors 'to act as a sort of municipal council and to make suggestions for the management of village life, either direct to the Government or through the village constable' (J.H.P. Murray, 1928: 137). Village councillors were given a badge but no uniform, were unpaid, and possessed no statutory powers or duties. When the proposal to appoint councillors was first put to them by the Administration, the people of Hanuabada 'flatly refused to have anything to do with such a scheme, and insisted on leaving everything to the Government who, they said, were better able to attend to such matters than they' (J.H.P. Murray, 1925: 279). In 1927, however, ten councillors were elected by the people of a group of villages comprising Vabukori, Kila Kila, Kourabada and Akorogo; and four councillors were elected by the people of Tatana. The twelve Hanuabada councillors were determined that they should act together as a council, and that the conduct of business should be European in form. Many of the councillors were literate and proceedings were sometimes conducted in English and Motu. During a meeting at which Murray was present, they said in English and Motu that 'we have one Governor, one flag and we want one council' (A.R., 1926: 39). They erected a council house, appointed a chairman, vice-chairman and a clerk who took minutes of meetings. Further elections were held in 1929 and 1935 (Papuan Villager, 1929: 2, 1935: 36). Murray appears to have been
surprised at the formality of the proceedings. 'The Chairman and Vice-Chairman may perhaps give an artificial air to the meetings, but after all, something of the kind is necessary, if the meeting is not to dissolve into chaos' (A.R., 1932: 24).

By 1941, the council was playing an important part in the life of Hanuabada village. 'Village affairs are now largely controlled by a vigorous and effective body of Councillors; but the iduhu lohia [leaders of descent-groups] still play their part, and the two institutions seem seldom at cross purposes' (Williams, 1939: 11). Traditional political skills were utilised to achieve power in the community through the new role of councillor. While the election of some members was due to their traditional standing in the community, the election of others was the result of their own ability and enterprise. The strength of the council as an institution lay in the choice of councillors by the people themselves. Official European support could be a significant factor in the achievement of leadership as the career of Ahuia Ova, who wrote his own memoirs (Williams, 1932: 11, 45), illustrates. Beginning his career as a servant in a European household, he became assistant to Seligman when collecting materials published in Seligman's Melanesians of British New Guinea (1910) and was appointed a village constable. He ceased to be village constable in about 1908 and was appointed Court Interpreter by Murray. When he retired in 1918, he continued to be an important man in Hanuabada and to enjoy the support of Murray and other officials. He tried to legitimate his position by claiming hereditary leadership of Hohodae, the Koita section of Poreporena, but his claim was slight. Neither his father nor mother were Koita by descent, and his only connection with Hohodae was through his mother. He became chairman of the council when it was first established but lost his seat when new elections were held in 1929. He nearly left Hanuabada in about 1932 but was persuaded to stay by the resident magistrate. After 1945, Ahuia, in spite of official support, was forced out of Hohodae after a land dispute with his maternal kinsmen and retired to Kila Kila (Belshaw, 1951: 131).

Murray stressed that the main function of the council was to form a bridge between the Administration and the people, and he personally tried to use it for this purpose. He tried, for example, to weaken belief in sorcery in the village. Two other functions performed by the council were perhaps equally important: the first was the exercise of judicial and quasi-judicial functions by councillors; and the second was the provision of a forum in which matters of importance to the village could be discussed.

As early as 1927 Murray noted (A.R., 1926-7: 39) that the council was settling minor disputes, and this was to become an increasingly important function. While the council had no statutory powers and no means of enforcing its decisions, it provided a representative tribunal before whom disputes involving custom in a changing world could be discussed. In 1928, councillors began to act as assessors in the government courts held in Port Moresby town and ad-
vised on such matters as native custom and compensation (A.R., 1927–8: 26). By 1932, they were sitting regularly as assessors: they weighed the evidence, did not always agree with the magistrate or each other, and suggested heavy sentences (A.R., 1931–2: 24).

In their council meetings councillors discussed a wide range of subjects. These included extension of gardens, purchase of seed yams, purchase of lorries to transport produce from their gardens on the Laloki and improvement of water supplies (A.R., 1932: 24). Two discussions, which have been recorded, reveal a clash between traditional and modernising influences on the council. In 1935 the majority of the councillors considered that a recent outbreak of disease had been caused by sorcery. One younger member tried to persuade his colleagues that the amount of illness and number of deaths might have been reduced if the Administration's advice on health measures had been followed (Lett, 1944: 163). There was also a disagreement about the desirability of educating women. While some councillors were in favour, others argued that girls who went to school did not learn gardening or pot-making. They arranged their own marriages, contrary to custom, by writing letters to boys and married women wrote to men not their husbands (A.R., 1932: 24).

However vigorous their discussions and however seriously they set about their tasks, councillors were given neither statutory duties nor powers. Murray, indeed, gave them £100 as an experiment, and was pleased when, after sensible debate, they decided to spend the money on a vessel for a trading expedition and a fence against pigs (West, 1968: 227). The experiment does not appear to have been repeated. The council in some measure fulfilled Murray's intention that it should help 'the Government to a better understanding of the people, and the people to a better understanding of the Government' (A.R., 1926: 39). A most important result of its establishment was that it also helped to promote the unity of the village through its discussion of important local issues and its arbitration in disputes.

The form of direct rule practised in the Port Moresby area under the Murray regime was highly paternalistic but it was also benign. Many of the resident magistrates were able and had a good understanding of Papuan society. Any Papuan could bring his complaints and problems to Murray personally. When discussing in a number of papers the administrative structure established by his predecessors and himself, Murray claimed that absence of chiefs made it impossible to adopt a system of indirect rule on the Nigerian pattern 'but we show our loyalty to the indirect method by our support of native custom in every case where it can be reasonably fitted in with our idea of good government' (1928: 7). In seeing the problems of administration in terms of a dichotomy between direct and indirect rule, Murray overlooked an important aspect of British policy: the setting up in stateless societies of such institutions as indigenous executive officers, councils with specific responsibilities, native courts and native treasuries.
Murray's biographer, West (1968: 271), defends Murray for failing to estab­lish such institutions on the grounds that in British colonies they were not always successful, the British worked through indigenous executive officials appointed by colonial governments, and African circumstances were different. There was, however, a fundamental difference between the attitudes of Murray and those of British officials towards administrative decentralisation. In con­trast to Murray's approach to native courts Lugard, the African pro-consul who first propounded the theory of indirect rule, wrote in a memorandum written in 1918,

It may hardly seem worthwhile to set up a crude tribunal consisting of naked Pagans, who can hardly be called Chiefs, and have but limited control over a few families, but from such small beginnings alone it is possible to create the rudiments of law and order, to inculcate a sense of responsibility and to evolve among a primitive community some sense of discipline and respect for authority. (Perham, 1960: 462)

He impressed on every official that 'even though the judicial work be not so well done as it would be by himself, it is only by the patient training of such a court that better tribunals can be evolved and real progress achieved' (ibid.). In spite of failures, large numbers of people under British rule were given a wide measure of administrative and judicial responsibility which was progressively increased as their countries developed economically, politically and socially. In Papua, however, there were no courts or treasuries, village constables were given limited responsibility and councillors had no statutory responsibilities at all.

All sections of the European community considered that Papuan capacity to develop quickly towards Western levels of civilisation was limited either because Papuans were genetically inferior or because the process of development would take a very long time. Even Lawes advised MacGregor against employing Papuans for certain occupations and the vote for Papuan employees was struck out of the 1891 estimates by the Queensland Government 'as an absurdity' (A.R., 1897: XXVII).

After thirty years of experience of Papuans, Murray concluded that the best Papuans were on the same level of ability as the worst Europeans 'but I cannot think that they are equal' (A.R., 1933: 15). Although Papuans would be capable of filling lower government positions in another generation he did not think that they would 'be capable of filling any of the higher positions until they had developed a sense of responsibility which so far has hardly been awakened' (A.R., 1924: 20). While missionaries do not appear to have expressed their attitudes to indigenous capacity, unofficial Europeans took a much less favourable view than Murray (H.N. Nelson, 1968: 45-7). Europeans had selfish reasons for restricting educational opportunities. Mackay, the chairman of the Papua Royal Commission (1909: 53), found it necessary to defend the training of Papuan craftsmen against the objection that it constituted an interference with
white labour, by pointing out that it was their own country and in justice they should have first claim in their own market.

Murray clearly stated his own views on education. He was 'opposed to the creation of a Papuan intelligentsia, and would rather aim at the diffusion of an elementary education, with a knowledge of English, over as wide an area as possible'. He admitted that it would be possible to educate Papuans to become lawyers and doctors, but he thought it unwise to give Papuans a first class education unless the way of advancement was fully open to them. This would not occur until the colour bar had disappeared, when higher education would become 'a practical and perhaps even a burning question' (A.R., 1927:21). In 'The Blending of Cultures' Williams discussed the aims of indigenous education, and appears to have shared Murray's views. The tasks of education were the maintenance of desirable elements in Papuan culture, the expurgation of undesirable elements such as sorcery, and expansion. The last task involved the encouragement of Christianity, the improvement of agriculture, and limited formal education in which teaching of English would be included.

These attitudes on the part of Europeans were partly the cause and partly the result of the low level of education achieved by Papuans before 1942. Education of Papuans was wholly provided by the missions whose major aim was to enable their followers to read Christian scriptures in the vernacular. The most effective education was provided at mission stations where there were European teachers. The school at Hanuabada was partly a boarding school and, in 1889, there were already children from outside Port Moresby attending the school. In 1890, sometimes only twelve pupils out of a total of 109 pupils on the roll attended school (A.R., 1889: Appendix L) and attendances continued to be erratic. In 1924, a missionary with educational qualifications, the Reverend P. Chatterton, began work at Port Moresby, and he remained there until 1939. By 1925 there were 500 children at Hanuabada School and a Papuan trained at Lawes College was posted there as a permanent assistant teacher. Attendances were between 80 per cent and 90 per cent. Until that year, the highest standard had been standard IV, reached after four years of primary schooling but, as children were beginning to stay after they had passed their standard IV examinations, the mission decided that a standard V should be added. Standard VI was the highest standard reached in mission schools by 1941. There were no secondary schools in Papua until Kwato Mission began to develop one in 1938. It closed in 1939 through lack of finance.² The Anglicans called their senior level schools 'secondary schools' (Dickson, 1970: 29). Schooling was geared to the agricultural, fishing and trading year and was not a full time oc-

2. According to H.W. Champion, former Government Secretary, in conversation a few years ago, Murray said that his 'killing' of Kwato secondary school through failure to support it was one of his two great mistakes. What he considered to be his second great mistake is not recorded. (C. Abel, pers. comm.)
cupation for pupils. Parents opposed the extension of school days from four to five a week because children had to learn to fish and grow food (P. Chatterton, pers. comm.).

Since MacGregor’s time, it had been the policy of both missions and the Administration to teach Papuans English and English was taught in the upper school at Hanuabada (A.R., 1895: XXIV). The Papua Royal Commission had recommended that English should be adopted as the official language of Papua and government officials were subsequently instructed to use English in their dealings with Papuans. In 1937, the Government Examiners wrote that ‘acquaintance with English is one of the chief aims in the education of the natives’ (Wedgwood, 1944). Efficient teaching of English was limited to schools in charge of Europeans and abler Papuan teachers. In 1934, Murray (West, 1970: 171) recorded that a Hanuabada councillor ‘made an excellent speech in English and the clerk of the Council, Igo Erua, translated the memoirs of Ahuia Ova from Motu into English’. The majority of articles in the Papuan Villager were contributed by Papuans who wrote in English. By 1941, a large number of people in the Port Moresby area and beyond had a fair knowledge of English.

School attendance for children of school age (which was undefined) became compulsory in 1897, and under Native Regulations No. 1/1907, it remained compulsory in areas where English was adequately taught. Until 1920, governmental intervention in the field of education was mainly limited to attempted enforcement of the regulation, which it pursued with little vigour and which was virtually unenforceable.

In 1920 part of the proceeds from native taxation, raised under the Native Taxation Ordinance 1918 and from native plantations, were paid into the Native Education Fund. Grants were made to missions from this fund for various educational purposes. One grant was based on the number of school children who passed examinations set by the Administration, and a school inspector was appointed by the Administration. The standards which attracted a grant were gradually raised until the highest standard, standard V, qualified for a grant from 1930. The highest grant, payable annually to any one mission, was £250 excluding technical and miscellaneous grants, and between the years 1920 and 1941 only 30 per cent of the Native Taxation Fund was devoted to education, which included technical, industrial and agricultural education. ‘Thus in theory and fact, Murray placed literary or academic education as last on the list of educational priorities . . .’ (Dickson, 1970: 28, 31).

The Administration encouraged the development of technical education which was already being undertaken by the missions. The 1905 Annual Report (p.18) praised industrial work undertaken at Kwato Mission and in 1915 there was a successful industrial school run by the L.M.S. at Oroko. Individual missionaries and South Sea Island teachers also taught their church members carpentry. In 1922 the Administration gave £100 to the mission at Hanuabada for a building for technical education and missions could obtain special grants
of up to £1,000 a year. One attempt was made by the Administration to provide Papuans with advanced technical training. The Chief Medical Officer, Dr Walter Strong, had been favourably impressed with the work of Papuan medical assistants. In 1933, twelve students, of whom eight came from Hanuabada and two from nearby Pari, were sent for training to the School of Public Health and Tropical Medicine at Sydney University. The experiment was successful but after two further courses it was discontinued. One factor which led to the cessation of the courses was pressure from the European populations of both the Territories of Papua and of New Guinea who disapproved of Papuans being raised to such a level of education and sophistication (H.N. Nelson, 1970b: 27).

By 1941, in spite of a severe shortage of trained staff and materials, the achievement of the missions in giving coastal Papuans a European form of education was limited but real. Large numbers of people of all ages could read and write in the vernacular. Wedgwood (1944:8) estimated that, during World War II, 80 per cent of children in the Port Moresby coastal area were fully literate in their own tongue, knew simple arithmetic including sums involving weights and money, and had some knowledge of reading and writing English.

The educational levels of migrant workers living in Port Moresby varied according to their area of origin. People in coastal villages in which there were L.M.S. schools were as well educated as the Port Moresby villagers. In 1936, for example, only ten children from Hanuabada School passed the standard V examination while twenty-two from the school at Hula Mission Station, where the population was smaller, passed it (A.R., 1935: 12). The teaching methods employed in the Kwato Mission, especially in teaching English, were particularly successful. Not many migrants came from Roman Catholic areas but some were equally well educated. The majority of migrants, however, were illiterate labourers who came from such areas as the Kikori Delta where London Missionary Society influence was slight.

By 1908, there were no Papuan clerks and the only skilled Papuan workers were at Kwato. The Administration employed Papuans only as seamen and police (A.R., 1926: 11). Papuans gradually undertook different kinds of employment and a Vabukori man, still alive and working in 1965, was proud of the fact that he entered the Government Printing Office in 1910. The Administration showed continuing interest in the advancement of Papuans in the public service. In 1916, fifteen Papuans in Port Moresby were assisting European mechanics and three Papuans were working as carpenters (A.R., 1915: 32). In 1925, in the whole of Papua, there were fifty-four trained and skilled native clerks, mechanics, carpenters, engineers, lorry drivers, telephone operators and compositors. This figure excluded seamen, coxswains and interpreters (A.R., 1924: 19). In 1931 twenty-seven Papuan artisans were employed in Port Moresby and included lorry drivers, painters, tractor drivers and stonemasons. There were
also eleven apprentices (A.R., 1931: 9). Papuans in the Public Service were Native Crown Servants and had no security of tenure.

In spite of limited educational opportunities, a number of Papuans achieved considerable skills and even positions of responsibility. (Nansen Kayser, Kenneth Kio and Raho Rakatani were clerks who held responsible posts.) Medical Assistants began to be appointed in 1922. In 1925, five clerks who had been educated by the L.M.S., all of whom could type, were working in the office of the Government Secretary (A.R., 1926: 11). The Native Taxation Office was run by Papuan clerks. The Government Printer and the Posts and Telegraphs Department were most active in advancing Papuan employees (I.F. Champion, pers. comm.). Father Vangeke, from Kairuku District, was ordained as a Roman Catholic priest in Madagascar in 1937 and in 1970 became the first indigenous Roman Catholic bishop. Oala Dagora was sent by his employer Ryan, who owned hotels, a freezer and other commercial enterprises, to Sydney to learn engineering and was earning £25 a month when he gave up his job to own a lorry in 1926 (A.R., 1925: 19). The most responsible job held by a Papuan was that of captain of coastal steamers and of government vessels. They travelled the length of the southern Papuan coast without European assistance, and Steamships Trading Company have recently commemorated the services of two pre-war skippers by naming coastal vessels Pipi Gari and Frank Rei after them.

No figures are available which provide information either about the number of people working in Port Moresby or about jobs which were held by villagers and those which were held by migrant workers. According to a patrol report, many Vabukori villagers were working for wages in 1927. In early days the Port Moresby villagers disliked joining the police and acting as carriers, but were good boatmen and houseboys. They were 'even more averse to discipline and hard work than other Papuans' (J.H.P. Murray, 1912: 156). As their standards of education rose they became craftsmen, interpreters and clerks. Records of Port Moresby villagers who have retired in recent years show that many of them were in regular employment from the early 1920s. By 1941 many, and possibly the majority, of adult males under fifty years of age, had been in employment at some time during their lives and many of the younger men were permanently employed.

The Port Moresby villagers did not, however, have a monopoly of the best-paid jobs, which were shared among all the mission-educated coastal peoples. The second and third courses for medical assistants at Sydney were attended by men from a number of different areas. According to taxation returns, ten men from Hula village on the Hood Peninsula were working in Port Moresby in 1923. Two were members of the Armed Constabulary, two were working in hotels, one was working for the Government Printer and the occupations of the remainder were not stated (Oram, 1968b: 5). Kiwai provided a number of police including non-commissioned officers: Simoi and Gegera were sergeant majors. Police were also recruited from the Northern District. Kiwai and men
from the Gulf were carpenters. A number of cooks and house-servants came from Suau but Motu and members of other groups also entered domestic service. Men from the Purari Delta were regarded by government officials as the best labourers (I.F. Champion, pers. comm.).

There were few employment opportunities for women. Stevedoring work was at first done by local women and, in 1907, Burns Philp employed a number of men and women for their stores and for loading and unloading their trading vessels (Elkington and Hardy, 1907: 29). Women were employed in laundries in the 1890s and Koita and Motu women continued to work as domestic servants. Some mission-educated women were trained as nurses at the Hanuabada Hospital.

Throughout much of the period wages for unskilled labour were 10s. a month with accommodation and rations. Domestic servants were paid between 10s. and £1.10s. a month but some may have been paid more. Clerks received 10s. as beginners and by 1941 could earn up to £10 a month after several years’ service. Preparations for war created a demand for skilled and semi-skilled labour and caused wages to rise. Wages for medical assistants trained at Sydney ranged from £5 to £7.10s. a month and at least two of the medical assistants who had been trained at Sydney left the Medical Department because their wages were too low.

By 1941, people of the Port Moresby villages and of other areas of Papua had considerable experience of wage employment, and many were in occupations which demanded education and skill. Their advancement, however, was limited to the lowest ranks of the official and commercial hierarchies.

Few Papuans undertook money-earning enterprises on their own account. From the late 1920s, the people of the Koita villages of Baruni and Kila Kila were selling vegetables, including tomatoes and pumpkins, in the town. The Vulaa, rather than Port Moresby villagers, appear to have hawked fish for cash from door to door. The action of Oala Dagora in giving up his job and buying a lorry led Murray to comment in an Annual Report (1925: 19) that ‘perhaps Papuans are trying to advance too quickly’. In 1929, the people of Hanuabada and Tatana owned cutters with which they used to obtain sago from the Gulf of Papua. Vagi Rei of Vabukori, as well as exercising his initiative in building a corrugated-iron house, with his brother Airi owned a sailing boat with which they traded kerosene with the people of the Papuan Gulf. According to a kinswoman, he put money in the bank which was ‘unusual in a Papuan’ and this enabled his son to build up his present store. A few other Papuans had bank accounts.

Throughout Papua, the areas most directly under Western influence were Hanuabada and other villages near Port Moresby, which were therefore likely to have experienced the greatest measure of social change. A major cause of change was the introduction of money. By 1910, people of Hanuabada were buying ‘scent, lengths of print cloth, mosquito nets, blankets, beads, sweets,
tobacco, knives and tools’. They had ‘a liking for shirts, singlets, dresses, cotton kilts, but only wear them for ostentation, and as a piece of show-off when they go into the town’ (Grimshaw, 1910: 25). In 1919 the Resident Magistrate wrote in the *Annual Report* (p.27) that ‘Now the males seek employment in the town, and the wife and children live principally on tea and biscuits, with an occasional tin of meat and fish, and the cultivated areas are becoming smaller and smaller.’ Money was also needed to pay church dues and taxes after they had been introduced in 1920. Taxation does not appear to have been resented and in 1933 a Hanuabada councillor praised the wisdom of introducing a head tax of £1 because of the benefits tax money would bring (*A.R.*, 1932: 27).

‘Hanuabada’s economy in those days might be described as a subsistence economy with money as an optional extra’ (P. Chatterton, pers. comm.). Opportunities for gardening increased when the Administration made 1,115 acres of land by the Laloki River available to Hanuabadans in 1930 and in that year according to the *Papuan Villager* (p.7) the villagers were estimated to have produced 50,000 yams. The villagers continued to hunt and fish and *hiri* expeditions continued into the 1930s. Feasts were abandoned by 1927 (Williams, n.d.) partly as a result of earlier mission hostility but mainly because men in wage employment could not spare the time to organise them. Traditional enterprises, however, achieved new forms. In 1932, the people of Hanuabada paid £100 to hire lorries to bring their produce from the Laloki gardens. The value of marriage exchanges increased and began to include money: in 1929, a man involved in a court case said that he had paid £160, forty-two armshells and a pig for his wife (*Papuan Villager*, 1929: 43).

There was a widening of the network of relationships in which the villagers were involved, and the spread of Police Motu as a *lingua franca* assisted this process. Although they were reluctant to leave their homes (*A.R.*, 1937: 12), many did travel to other parts of Papua and beyond. With peaceful conditions, members of distant village groups came to trade in Port Moresby. The Oroko, for example, joined the Toaripi in bringing sago to the Motu villagers, although their management of sea-going canoes was not very skilful (Williams, 1932) and in 1899 Maopa people visited Port Moresby for the first time with armshells which they had obtained from Mailu. Later the Mailu themselves sailed to Port Moresby. The Vulaa gave up their large trading canoes in 1916 but continued to provide fish for the Motu villagers while the *hiri* was away. In 1924, an observer (Lett, 1924) saw never less than eight and sometimes as many as twenty Hula canoes tied up at Ela Beach during the north-west trades season. In 1930, a missionary noted that sixty-four Hula children were staying in Port Moresby and that the average was about fifty (Short, 1930).

A number of men from different districts married women belonging to villages in the Port Moresby area and settled in their wives’ villages. A number of Kiwai police and others from the Daru area married Hanuabada women and several men from the Purari Delta married women of Kila Kila, Pari and Vabukori
villages (Oram, 1967a: 23-4). A new iduhu called Gaeva Gamu was established at Pari as a result of the unions of an Orokolo man and a Kerema man with Pari women.

One important agent of social change was the church organisation which developed in each village. Membership of the L.M.S. increased slowly until 1914, when a number of young educated men became church members. By 1941 a large number of inhabitants of villages in the Port Moresby area had become Christians and about one-third of the Hanuabada villagers were church members (Chatterton, 1970: 78). Descent-groups became the basic units of church organisation. There were also a small number of Roman Catholics in Hanuabada. The Reverend J.B. Clark, in a report written in 1919 (A.R., 1918-19: Appendix 13), said that it had been the aim of the L.M.S. since 1873 to be self-supporting. By 1919 only three out of seventeen villages in the Port Moresby area failed to maintain their own pastors and two only failed by a few shillings. The Hanuabada Church members wished to distribute their contribution by paying the salary of their Papuan pastor, paying for the upkeep of five married students studying for the pastorate and by contributing to the cost of maintaining three evangelists in the Orokolo area of the Gulf of Papua.

Papuan pastors were often a dominating influence in village life. They gradually replaced the South Sea Island teachers and by 1919 only one of seventeen pastors from the Port Moresby area was from the South Seas. The majority were appointed to villages other than their own. They were usually the best educated men in the villages and they began to form an elite group. Many pastors' children were educated as boarders at the mission, pastors' children intermarried and pastors' sons often also became pastors (Oram, 1971: 123).

There were two important groups of laymen. The first was composed of evangelists who, for lack of formal education or for other reasons, did not attend Lawes College and were usually sent to take charge of congregations in remote villages. They are now called lay-pastors. The second was composed of deacons, who were the most important lay members of the congregation. They were chosen by members of the congregation and they were usually elected on a descent-group basis. Much of the work of church organisation was carried out by deacons, including the collection of church dues from members of their descent-groups. While the churches promoted unity within villages, they did little to develop any sense of unity beyond them. Each village, even if they were as close together as Vabukori and Kila Kila, had its own church, its own pastor and its own organisation.

By 1941, the churches in all the Port Moresby villages had successfully introduced for many people a new pattern of life. They had also been partly instrumental in bringing traditional activities to an end. Captain Barton as acting Administrator evoked great hostility from missionaries when he encouraged traditional dancing because the missionaries considered that dancing led to social immorality. The Administration and the L.M.S. continued to disagree
about the effect of dancing. In 1927, the Acting Resident Magistrate, E. M. Bastard, said he thought ‘innocent dancing’ should be encouraged. He noted that a village constable, Rakatani, had been suspended from Holy Communion because he did not stop people from dancing. He was to be admired, because he thought that ‘dances are for the good of the people generally, and [he] will not be talked out of it’ (P.M. Patrol Report, 1927). The old pattern based on the seasons, the trading voyages and the dance, had not yet entirely disappeared, but the churches offered an alternative pattern based on new rituals and new forms of co-operation. They also provided a form of political organisation at the village level, hitherto lacking, in which church members could participate, and through which enhanced status as deacons and as holders of other church offices could be achieved. As the villagers later became increasingly involved in wage employment and the old forms of economic and social organisation began to disappear, the churches were to play an important re-integrative role in village society.

At the end of 1941, European and Papuan inhabitants of Port Moresby were segregated residentially, socially and administratively. Race relations were paternalistic and followed the master-servant model in which the dominant group ‘rationalizes its rule in an ideology of benevolent despotism’ and regards the members of the subordinate group as childish and irresponsible (Van den Berghe, 1967: 27).

Like the British elsewhere, Australians were opposed to indigenous people imitating Europeans. As Williams (1935: 217) said,

> let the native hold to a course of his own, and the white man (I am speaking of the British) will tolerate and even admire him. But let him presume, or ape, or try to be ‘a white man with a black skin’ and the average European in Papua will bristle with suspicion and resentment.

Many of the legal and administrative measures designed to protect Papuans emphasised their inferiority. In 1919, a Native Regulation made it an offence for men and women, with certain exceptions, to wear clothing on the upper parts of their bodies. Rationalised as a health measure, it also prevented imitation of Europeans. In his English language newspaper for Papuans, *Papuan Villager* (1934: 38), Williams told Papuans that they should preserve their dignity by wearing their own clothing. The regulation remained in force until 1939.

Many discriminatory measures were designed solely to keep Papuans in their place. In 1915, legislation was enacted to forbid Papuans trespassing in the Port Moresby swimming pool. Under the Places of Public Entertainment Ordinance 1915 the Government Secretary was empowered to forbid Papuans to attend public entertainments and provided for censorship of films which Europeans and Papuans saw together. According to the *Papuan Courier* dated 30 January 1925, a member of the Chamber of Commerce considered that censorship was not strict enough because ‘some of the pictures were bad for the natives already insolent and out of hand’. Segregation sometimes took extreme forms:
stevedores and other Papuans were not allowed to enter ships by the gangways but were required to use ropes and rope-ladders (I.F. Champion, pers. comm.).

European attitudes were partly dictated by fear. This led to the demand by Europeans for severe penalties to be imposed on Papuans guilty of sexual assaults on white women, although a number of Europeans including Murray (J.H.P. Murray, 1925: 94; Lett, 1949: 236; Bensted, 1953: 707; H.W. Champion, pers. comm.) blamed the women themselves for their careless and provocative behaviour and several were reputed to have had Papuan lovers. In 1926, the White Women's Protection Ordinance was enacted which imposed death sentences for rape and attempted rape, and life imprisonment with or without whipping for indecent assault. Minor punishment only was inflicted on those who assaulted Papuan women. While, in 1940, one Papuan was sentenced to five years' imprisonment for putting his hand under the dress of a European girl aged five, in 1941 another was sentenced to imprisonment for eighteen months for the rape of a Papuan woman (Papuan Courier, 8 March 1940, 7 March 1941). According to Bensted (1953: 707), who was Director of Public Works at the time, 'there was no necessity for the passing of any such law, and Sir Hubert Murray knew it, but bowed to public clamour'. In 1932, the editors of the Pacific Islands Year Book, who put forward the European point of view, observed (p. 199) that 'some of the natives, as they become partly educated and are granted privileges, are inclined to be insolent', for which they blamed the missionaries. They noted with satisfaction, however, that: 'The administration's main concern is to inculcate among the natives a proper respect for the Whites'. The dice were heavily loaded in favour of the European overlords. Murray himself, in a letter to a Swedish member of the Permanent Mandates Commission dated 25 July 1922 wrote: 'It is, in fact, quite impossible to administer even-handed justice in these countries . . ., and a native must have a very strong case to get a conviction against a white man' (quoted A. Inglis, 1974: 79).

By the end of 1941, Papuans were treated as inferiors to whites in many and often humiliating ways. Unlike people such as the Ganda of Uganda, or the Hausa-Fulani of Northern Nigeria, they did not possess a proud, ancient cultural heritage which would support their dignity in face of Europeans. The missionaries unwittingly contributed to their feeling of cultural inferiority by condemning many aspects of traditional cultures. The peoples of the Port Moresby area and elsewhere became convinced that their way of life in pre-Christian times was evil. Today pre-Christian times are still called in different vernaculars 'time of darkness' while the period after the establishment of Christian churches is called 'time of light'. As in other plural societies of this type, where members of each race accepted their roles vis-à-vis the other, race

3. Amirah Inglis, 1974, has made a careful study of events leading up to the enactment of this ordinance and its effects. Her study throws much light on European attitudes.
relations between the European townsmen and Port Moresby villagers appeared harmonious. The villagers 'had not yet developed a sensitivity towards racial discrimination, partly because they were satisfied with their own society and had no wish to be integrated into a European one' and partly because they were proud of their own skills which white men could not achieve (Chatterton, 1970: 79). Migrant workers were too temporary inhabitants of the urban fringe for their opinions to carry any weight.

Factors which make for dynamic social change did not operate in village societies in the Port Moresby area up to 1941. There was no population pressure on resources; opportunities for earning a cash income were limited; and contact with Europeans was restricted and peaceful. If changes were taking place in village society, they occurred within the traditional structure. Church organisation was based on the iduhu, which retained its importance. Traditional leaders lost some of their prestige as they were no longer required to perform ritual functions at feasts and other ceremonies, but the leaders who achieved leadership in new situations gained support from kinship and other traditional bases. Age and maturity continued to command respect; after the council election at Hanuabada in 1928, the Resident Magistrate in a letter to the Government Secretary dated 26 January 1929 observed that Williams's fear that 'young progressives' would be elected had not been realised. Seligman (1910: 132) had written that 'European teaching and example had failed to produce the degradation which the white man's influence so often exerts' in local villages.4 At the end of the period Williams could still write

Poreporena is changing, as every other native community in similar circumstances must: but it has not been changing overfast. It is still very much of a native village outwardly and inwardly. Papua is rather proud, in fact, that the natives at its front door-step remain so little Europeanised. (1939: 11)

The Port Moresby villagers paid a heavy price for the peace and stability which they enjoyed. They were deprived of any effective say in the management of their own affairs. In particular they were no longer responsible for law and order, which was enforced by an alien government. They were denied the use of force, which became the monopoly of the Australian Administration. The sanctions imposed by fear of weakening the group against external forces no longer operated. Although the two new significant institutions, the village churches and councils or councillors, played an important part in village life, they lacked authority. The hiatus in the authority system was to have serious results in the post-war period.

While difficult to measure, the psychological effect of smothering paternalism was to have even more serious consequences. It led to a passivity and an attitude of dependence in the face of external challenges which were to leave the

villagers defenceless against rapid social change in the future. Urban villagers were to meet their first challenge when the successful Japanese onslaught on Papua New Guinea came within 30 miles of Port Moresby in 1942.
When war was declared by Australia against Germany, Port Moresby appeared prosperous. In November 1939 the Pacific Islands Monthly described Port Moresby as 'a gay and lively little town compared with the somewhat dismal backwater of 10 or 20 years ago'. Some efforts were made to put the town in a state of defence. As early as 1937 surveys had been carried out by naval and military officers and land was resumed or reserved for defence purposes. The site for a military aerodrome at 7-mile was selected in 1939 and it was in use by mid-1941. Port Moresby was fitted out as a fuelling base for the Navy. In 1939, a battery of two 6-inch guns was posted on Paga Hill to command the entrance to the harbour and in July 1940, a detachment of some 150 men of a Queensland militia unit was sent to Port Moresby. There were also small naval and airforce units. In June 1940, the Papuan Infantry Battalion was formed from volunteers from the Royal Papuan Constabulary and Australian officers and warrant officers.

The declaration of war against Germany affected the life of Port Moresby very little. The construction of new buildings continued. Members of the garrison were well-behaved and only a few men were charged with brawling and petty theft. In October 1939 an emergency camp for civilians was established inland from Port Moresby. In March 1941 the Administration began to consider air-raid precautions and in May Konedobu residents were warned that the land on which their houses stood would be resumed under the Land Acquisition Ordinance. In May 1941, the Pacific Islands Monthly considered that evictions were carried out in a 'Nazi style of doing things'. Until the Japanese raided Pearl Harbour, social and sporting activities continued unabated. The last dance was held on 17 October, and on 24 October the Papuan Courier discussed the need for additional changing sheds for ladies at the swimming pool.

The Papuan population knew little about the war until it was upon them. Williams tried to explain what was happening in the outside world in his Papuan Villager but its circulation was limited to a small number of Papuans with a knowledge of English. There is no evidence in patrol reports that officials tried to discuss the war with village populations, but by mid-1941 the people of
Hanuabada were being visited by officials and instructed to dig slit trenches (Robinson, 1975). In contrast to the Trust Territory of New Guinea (Lawrence, 1964: 48), no attempt was made to hide the news of the war from the people.

The Japanese attack on the American base at Pearl Harbour on 7 December 1941 led to the compulsory evacuation of European women and children from Papua and by 24 December 600 women and children had been evacuated. After January, the only white women who stayed in the Territory were members of Christian missions.

Brigadier B.M. Morris, who was in charge of 8 Military District, had few troops. An infantry battalion with elements of a field regiment landed at Port Moresby the day before the attack on Pearl Harbour. There were then 2,158 troops stationed in the Mandated Territory of New Guinea, the British Solomon Islands Protectorate and the Anglo-French Condominium of the New Hebrides. In Papua, 1,088 Australian troops and the Papuan Infantry Battalion, consisting of two companies, defended Port Moresby (McCarthy, 1959: 12). On 3 January 1942, an estimated 5,000 militia troops arrived in the liner Aquitania although the official figure was 3,726 (Barry, 1945: 4). Their equipment was at the bottom of the hold and the 39th Battalion's mosquito nets, cooking utensils and tools for digging latrines were not delivered to their quartermaster for ten days after they landed: one-third of the troops were off duty with dysentery during the next five weeks. One hundred men of the 53rd Battalion had been 'shanghaied' without having an opportunity to say goodbye to their next of kin (Pauli, 1958: 12). The troops were inadequately fed and stores were raided to feed them. The reinforcements had had little training and their officers commanded little respect. The Provost Corps was a 'force for the creating of trouble rather than the preservation of law and order' (Barry, 1945: 4).

During the first three weeks of January life continued normally. In the issue dated 23 January, the editor of the Papuan Courier complained of the 'infernal din' caused by native servants, 'now apparently entirely lacking in control', but such complaints had appeared in the paper before. This was, however, the last issue: on 9 January the editorial, headed 'An altar to incompetence', had criticised the military authorities for leaving a large stack of cement bags exposed to the rain. The military authorities ordered the paper to be closed down.

On 23 January the Japanese occupied Rabaul and there was a false air-raid alarm at Port Moresby. The majority of migrant labourers in the town, already alarmed by the departure of European women and children, ran to the bush. Many of the labourers soon returned but the Administration found it impossible to maintain such essential services as water supplies, electric power and sewage disposal in the town. The military authorities then assumed responsibility for these services.

On 27 January, the Commandant issued call-up notices requiring all European males between the ages of 18 and 45 to report for duty and there were no exemptions. Of the 307 men who reported, 61 were unfit, 156 were granted unpaid
leave because, as officials, they were providing essential services, and 11 were given special exemptions. The remaining 79 were employees of commercial firms and their removal virtually brought the civilian life of the town to an end. The War Cabinet in Australia, out of touch with local conditions, had not intended that all civilian services should cease and the Administration gave instructions that civil administration, banks and other civil activities should carry on. As Brigadier Morris refused to exempt commercial employees, and men over 45 were sent back to Australia, no civilians were available. By 5 February, the Administrator reported that only the Bank of New South Wales was open; and that three large stores opened, in turn, for a few hours each day by pooling the services of one employee. Sales of liquor had ceased and hotels were closed, but the freezer was still functioning. Food depots had been established and a blackout instituted (Barry, 1945: 12). On 13 February, Papuans were still buying food from the one remaining store (White, 1945: 33): it was a time of famine and the greatest sufferers were ‘civilised natives’ who had come to rely on the trade stores for their rice and tinned meats (Johnson, 1942). The first bombs fell on Port Moresby at 3 a.m. on 3 February 1942. Little material damage was done but one soldier was killed and three others wounded. Coastal shipping was immobilised when Papuan crews deserted. A large air-raid occurred on 5 February which caused considerable damage in the town, but there were no casualties. Troops had begun to loot stores and houses after the call-up on 27 January and looting was intensified after the first bombs fell. The contents of stores and houses were taken away or destroyed and the Anglican church of St John was looted and desecrated. The garrison was convinced that the Japanese would take over anything that was left in the town: a soldier working on the wharf was heard by a European to say that they were caught ‘like rats in a trap’ (C. Abel, pers. comm.). A number of Australians asked Papuans how to get away from Port Moresby.

Port Moresby quickly ceased to be a civilian town and was turned into a military base. Europeans were either evacuated or drafted into the army. The military administration distrusted the loyalty of mixed-race people. According to Adrian Matthews (Pacific Islands Monthly, Jan. 1947, p.29) strange happenings in Port Moresby in the confused period after the first Japanese landings in New Guinea caused the Administration to suspect mixed-race people of sabotage. In June 1942, twenty-two mixed-race people were sent to Daru. On 7 August M.V. Mamutu, carrying eighty-three mixed-race people and the former Anglican rector and father of Adrian, the Reverend Henry Matthews, was sunk off Daru by a Japanese submarine and there was only one survivor. The ‘Malays’ living in Galley Reach were allowed to stay on their plantations. In April, Papuans were evacuated from their villages in the Port Moresby area.

On 4 April, the Australian chiefs-of-staff in conjunction with General MacArthur’s headquarters decided that Port Moresby was ‘the critical point for defence of the area Melbourne-Brisbane’ (Milner, 1957: 25). The defences of
Port Moresby were rapidly built up; 155 mm guns were installed each side of Port Moresby in Bootless and Boera Bays. By August, the strength of the Australian and American forces in the Port Moresby area was some 22,000 men. There were four operational airfields and three more were to be ready in September (Milner, 1957: 74). At the beginning of 1942 only one ship at a time carrying up to 500 tons of cargo could be unloaded. By October, Tatana Island had been joined by a causeway to the mainland and port capacity was increased until, by the end of the war, several ships and over 4,000 tons of cargo could be unloaded in a day (Milner, 1957: 75, 103).

The Japanese were determined to capture Port Moresby and by 11 May 1942 had made fifty air-raids which did little damage to the town. Two later raids, however, caused serious loss. On 18 June S.S. Macdhui was sunk in Port Moresby harbour and on 17 August seven Dakota aircraft and eight Flying Fortresses were damaged or destroyed. Loss of these planes upset plans for supplying troops on the Kokoda Trail by air (Paull, 1958: 86,105). The first Japanese attack failed when a convoy of troops intended for a seaborne assault on Port Moresby was turned back by an American fleet in the Coral Sea between 5 and 8 May with the support of R.A.A.F. planes based in Milne Bay and their own airforce. In July, the Japanese began to advance from Buna and Gona along a trail which led over the Owen Stanley Range through Kokoda to Port Moresby. Kokoda was in their hands by the end of the month. On 17 September the Australian forces fell back to Imita Ridge, which was four hours’ march to the road-head at Owers Corner, 20 miles as the crow flies from Port Moresby. With superior air power, fresh troops, two twenty-five pounder guns and an enemy weakened by hunger and disease, the Australians drove back the Japanese and on 2 November re-entered Kokoda.

The Japanese had landed at Milne Bay on 25 August 1942, with the aim of capturing the airfield in preparation for a combined air, land and sea attack on Port Moresby. This invasion was decisively defeated by the first week in September and was the first defeat suffered by Japanese troops in the war. By the end of January 1943 Australian and American troops had virtually cleared Papua of Japanese. The Japanese made their last air-raid, the one hundred and thirteenth, on Port Moresby on 20 September 1943 (Hasluck, 1970: 702 n.2).

In response to the Japanese threat, the United States Advanced Base in the Pacific was established at Port Moresby on 11 August 1942. On 23 September the Australian Commander-in-Chief, General Blamey, went to Port Moresby. On 6 November, General Douglas MacArthur, Supreme Commander and Commander of Allied Land Forces in the Pacific, established himself in Government House.

Port Moresby was not simply a place to be denied to the enemy; it was essential for General MacArthur's strategic plans. He intended to develop this advanced outpost as a major airbase to block enemy penetration of Australia and as a starting point for his return journey to the Philippines. (Morison, 1950: 13)
MacArthur’s headquarters remained in Port Moresby until, in September 1944, they moved to Hollandia in Dutch New Guinea. Many troops passed through Port Moresby and a large base organisation was built up. The headquarters of the military administration were at Konedobu. Several camps and a large base hospital were built outside Port Moresby. In February 1943, rations were provided for 30,000 troops in the Port Moresby area and there were hospital beds for 2,240 men.

This activity involved the employment of large numbers of Papuans as labourers, clerks, craftsmen, cooks and domestic servants. There was a labour camp in Hanuabada village until the village was accidentally burnt down in mid-1943. Other labour camps were at Vabukori and Taikone, near the site of the present Boroko East School, at 12-mile and at Paga Point. The Royal Papuan Constabulary lived in a camp on Hanuabada land. Motu and Hula fishermen were employed in catching fish for the armed forces and, in 1942, the missionary at Hula was asked by the military authorities to provide canoes and nets.

Both Australian and American forces made farms in the Laloki River area. The Australian farm of 160 acres provided 10,000 to 15,000 daily rations in 1944. The American farm covered some 250 acres. Irrigation was used in both farms. In 1944, 100,000 lb of lettuce were thrown into the harbour because refrigeration plants were full and there was no transport available to send food to hospitals elsewhere (Bowman, 1946: 431). The farms mainly provided fresh food for troops stationed at Port Moresby, which continued to be an important base until the end of the war against Japan.

At the end of 1941, Papua was governed by officials who were elderly and ill equipped to deal with the crisis which was to arise. In spite of public demands that a younger man should be appointed (Papuan Courier, 8 March 1940), Sir Hubert Murray’s nephew Leonard Murray, then aged fifty-four, had succeeded him in December 1940. He and other senior officials had had little opportunity of exercising initiative during Sir Hubert’s long tenure of office. After the appointment of Brigadier Morris, the relationship between Administrator and Commandant was distant but correct as the Administrator tried to preserve civilian authority and the dignity of his office against military encroachments. In doing so, the Administrator was obeying instructions, which were often confusing, from Canberra. Friction arose over such matters as the billeting of troops and their use of the recreation reserve. J.V. Barry, K.C., who in 1945 carried out a commission of inquiry into the suspension of civil administration, criticised Murray for his ‘latent resistance’ to the military authorities (Barry, 1945: 4).

The Administrator was not told that on 16 January the Chiefs of Staff had issued a general recommendation that civil administration should continue for as long as possible, but by 26 January he had come to the conclusion that his administration was to come to an end (Barry, 1945: 8). On 28 January the Government Secretary proposed that members of the Royal Papuan Consta-
bulary should be disbanded and that Crown servants and labourers employed by the Public Works Department should be sent home. He also proposed that outstations should be closed because the central administration could no longer send them supplies. The Administrator did not want to accept these proposals but agreed to them when the Government Secretary again put them forward on 6 February. Telegrams issuing these instructions were sent to divisional headquarters without consulting or informing the Commandant. The Administrator said in evidence before the Commission of Inquiry that he had tried to telephone the Commandant and had been unaware that the latter intended to carry on the administration: the Commissioner criticised the Administrator for failing to find the Commandant. On the same day, the Administrator was informed by the Commandant that civil administration was to end. An important consideration in reaching this decision, as stated in a minute by the Chief of the General Staff (Barry, 1945: 17), was that the civil administration would not act 'unless they are fully covered by precise documentary authorization from Canberra'. On 12 February the Commandant ordered the Administrator and members of the Executive and Legislative Councils to leave Papua. Two days later Murray issued a Gazette Extraordinary in which he announced the cessation of civil administration and he left Port Moresby with other members of his Executive Council the next day. Morris then established the Papua Administrative Unit.

Murray appears to have been incapable of making the rapid decisions which the situation demanded. In evidence before the Commission, he said that he thought it would have been wrong for him either to have worked with the Commandant to make urgent decisions or to have sought a free hand. He said that the Minister and the Department of External Territories were 'an integral part of the organization of the Government of the Territory' and he relied on their instructions (Barry, 1945: 52). He admitted to having been afraid of being 'faulted' if he did not carry out instructions or follow regulations. Yet the uncertainties which Murray faced were due to 'the confusion and ineptitude of officialdom in the Territories Branch in Canberra and the Department of the Army in Melbourne and lack of Ministerial direction' (Hasluck, 1970: 701 n.1, 136). While exercising long-range control, these authorities provided no guidance to the respective roles of civil and military authorities and issued conflicting instructions.

The Commission of Inquiry absolved Murray from any failure to carry out his public duty to safeguard the Territory. It severely criticised him, however, for dissolving the whole administrative machine which had been built up over the years and for leaving the Papuan population without control (Barry, 1945: 56, 54). Murray's explanation of his actions throws light both on the aims of the former Papuan Administration and on his own attitudes towards it. It was an epitaph on the Murray regime. He did not consider that Papuans would have suffered much harm from the withdrawal of white officers.
An integral part of our native policy in Papua has been to keep every native's village rights intact... There were no detribalised natives dependent on the white man to live as are found in large numbers in other countries. In any crisis natives who were away from their villages could return to them and resume their village life.

He maintained that the cessation of civil administration would mean that Papuans became self-supporting and that tribal sanctions and the impetus of many years of government control would prevent any outbreak of tribal fighting. The missions had not been ordered out of the Territory and would continue to carry out their work (H.L. Murray, 1945).

There was little interruption of normal government when civil administration was suspended. Administration broke down in Port Moresby after bombs fell on 5 February 1942 and there were only thirty-eight labourers and seventy police left in the town (Pauli, 1958: 15). On 6 February, government employees were released from employment and prisoners were released from gaol. Some 130 police, to their bewilderment, were disbanded after many years of loyal service (Johnson, 1942). The military administration quickly brought the situation under control. Within a few days 120 police had been reorganised and the majority of the released prisoners were gradually rounded up. The prisoners had come back mainly because they were hungry.

By the end of January the outstations in the Trobriand Islands, Misima Island, Samarai and Baniara, had been evacuated on instructions given in a radio message which no one would admit to having sent (Barry, 1945: 19). In most other areas, the telegrams ordering abandonment of outstations sent by the Administrator on 6 February had either not been received or had been ignored and officers stayed at their posts. In the Gulf of Papua, for example, the resident magistrate at Kikori abandoned his station after being instructed to collect his colleagues at Daru and Kerema. The magistrate at Daru, L. Austen, would not leave and the magistrate at Kerema was not collected and both stayed at their posts. Early in February, the Australian National Security (Emergency Control) Regulations were applied to Papua and New Guinea and these gave powers to Morris to ensure the security of the area. On 8 or 9 February he told the Australian Government by telegram that he was about to establish the Papua Administrative Unit and the New Guinea Administrative Unit. On 15 February he assumed all powers of government. On 10 April, the two units were joined to constitute the Australian New Guinea Administrative Unit, known as Angau. As a result of prompt action by Morris, the Trobriand Islands, where there was some disorder for a very short time, and the areas temporarily occupied by the Japanese at Milne Bay and along the Kokoda Trail, were the only areas in Papua where administration ceased to be effective.

Until August 1942, Angau formed part of Headquarters, New Guinea Force and was divided into two sections, District Services and Production Services. It then became a separate command under Morris who was promoted to the rank of Major-General. A large organisation was built up which was responsible
for all the functions of the former colonial administration; for providing and supervising indigenous labour required by the armed forces; for carrying out an operational role; and for maintaining plantation production. At its peak in July 1945, the strength of Angau was 366 officers and 1,660 other ranks (Stanner, 1953: 77).

When military administration was established, all available field officers under the age of 45 were given military rank and kept at their posts. Throughout the period of military government, a large proportion of the field staff had pre-war experience of Papua or New Guinea: in April 1944, 58 out of 178 members had been officials of the civilian field staff before the war, 28 had served in other branches of the public service, 35 had been non-official residents and 57 had no previous experience in New Guinea (Mair, 1948: 194).

Major-General Basil Morris was a professional soldier, 'a gentleman of courtesy and honour', who modelled his administration on that of Sir William MacGregor (P. Ryan, 1969: 533). He acted decisively in setting up military administration and re-establishing control throughout Papua. While all informants agree on his integrity and the excellence of his intentions and Hasluck (1970: 695) describes him as being 'gifted with commonsense', he appears from those who knew him as a somewhat limited man, who was handicapped by his lack of knowledge of the two territories and their peoples. He proposed that troops should follow the same route as Karius and Champion from the Fly River over the ranges to the Sepik River, which would have been an impossible task (J.K. McCarthy, pers. comm.). In commanding Angau he was confronted with two conflicting tasks. His first duty was to organise the indigenous population to help the armed forces win the war. His second, and inevitably subordinate, task was to look after the welfare of Papuans under his charge. In Papua, at least, he achieved some reconciliation of these aims. There was continuity of administration and some services, such as medical services, were probably better than those maintained before 1942. The villages were adequately supplied with food after the confusion caused by the first Japanese bombing attacks had ended.

Yet Morris suffered from a number of disadvantages. Many of his staff were inadequately trained and some, especially his headquarters staff, had served in the Territory in subordinate posts and were ill-fitted to exercise the authority thrust on them. There was ill-feeling between field and headquarters staff. Angau was responsible for undertaking unpopular tasks, from which Australian and American troops were free. These included the recruitment and control of unwilling labour and the arrest of deserters, prevention of theft of military material, and maintenance of segregation of indigenous people and members of the armed forces on health grounds. While Australian troops considered that the attitude of Angau was colonial, un-Australian and called them 'boong-bashers', members of military formations on occasion deliberately foisted unpopular tasks on to Angau (D. Chenoweth, pers. comm.). One unpopular measure was the rein-
roduction on grounds of health of the clothing regulation. All employees, with the exception of certain categories such as clerks, were required to wear waistcloths and to be bare above the waist. This regulation was also regarded as a means of keeping Papuans in their place and was harshly enforced by Angau: police sometimes arrested or ill-treated those who had permits to wear shorts and shirts. Angau was blamed for poor treatment of plantation labour but Morris in his official correspondence constantly tried to defend indigenous workers against plantation interests. He was often unsuccessful because economic policy was not under military control but was the responsibility of the Department of External Territories.

The suspension of civil administration brought to an end the Murray tradition of government and also the Papua field service. The military administration removed distinctive Papuan features, such as the title of resident magistrate, from its organisation and followed New Guinea practice. Many former New Guinea officers derided the milder attitude of Papuan officers towards indigenous people and encouraged the adoption of tougher conduct towards them (I.F. Champion, pers. comm.; C. Abel pers. comm.). Angau officers in charge of labour were not allowed to be friendly with their workers. They were required to refer to American negroes as 'Africa boys' rather than as Americans or negroes (R.L. Pulsford, pers. comm.). Physical violence was often used by officers against the Papua New Guinean population. A prominent Hanuabadan was whipped at Manumanu for an attitude which an officer assumed to be insolent. Indigenous members of the armed services were also unsympathetically treated and towards the end of the war humiliations inflicted on Papuan and New Guinean troops resulted in a mutiny (Barrett, 1969: 495).

In many areas, Papuans actively supported the Australians against the Japanese. Angau reports contain many references to the loyalty of local populations in different areas. Support was most readily forthcoming from areas under strong mission influence. There is little evidence to suggest that the majority of people understood what the war was about. In the Lakekamu District Report for September 1942, the District Officer said that he found that: 'The sophisticated and educated natives are on our side, the rest are just indifferent'. Many Papuans accepted the need to support the war in defence of the existing social order, even if they personally sought to avoid their obligations, although some former carriers from Orokolo say that they would have joined the Japanese if the fighting had reached them (Beier, 1969: 32). Doubts which some felt about who would win were quickly dispelled by Australian victories. Support for the Australian administration was reinforced when news was received of Japanese ill-treatment of the people of the Northern Division, of carriers from New Britain impressed to help them on the Kokoda Trail and of atrocities committed by the Japanese against Suau people during their attack on the Milne Bay airfields.

The loyalty of Papuans was only put to the test in two areas. In the Northern
Division the Orokaiva had had an unhappy experience of contact with Europeans which began with rough miners and heavyhanded magistrates. In the turmoil of the invasion they betrayed Anglican missionaries against whom they felt grievances. After the repulse of the Japanese attack, they co-operated with the authorities. Eight, however, were later hanged and others were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment. In the Milne Bay area the people, especially those under the influence of Kwato Mission run by the Abels, vigorously opposed the Japanese and suffered grievously for doing so.

The villagers were already nervous when the first bombs fell because, as one informant said, they did not understand the European and Japanese way of making war. They stayed awake at night and the Kila Kila people blamed a light in their pastor's new house for the bombs which fell below their village. On the morning after the raid, which was made on 3 February, the majority of villagers left Port Moresby. Hanuabadans made their way to Porebada and nearby villages. The Kila Kila people and others living to the south-east went beyond Taurama Head to Tubusereia and other villages. Later some people returned to their villages and quickly learned to go to slit trenches during air-raids but were unperturbed when they were over (Johnson, 1943: 41-2). In mid-April, the military government evacuated the people of the Port Moresby villages and all coastal villages as far as Boera, because the villagers were a liability and likely to lead to trouble with troops. Part of the population was sent to the north-west. The people of Elevala and Tatana and some people from Poreporena went to Manumanu at the entrance to Galley Reach. The people of Boera and the rest of the people of Poreporena went to Aroa and the people of Porebada and Roku went to Hisiu. Vabukori, Kila Kila and Korobosea villages formed separate settlements near Tavai Creek between Barakau and Gaile, some 35 miles south-east of Port Moresby.

The Baruni people had moved to three settlements south of the Laloki River and the Boteka people lived in two settlements to the north of the river. Patrol reports show that trouble was caused in these settlements by American soldiers, especially negroes, seeking women. A village constable from Haima village said that some negroes had demanded women at pistol point but left when their demand was refused (Angau Patrol Report 7/43-44). To avoid conflict, the people of these settlements were moved away: the Baruni people to Kahira near Lea Lea and the Boteka people to the banks of the Brown River. Only men were allowed to return to make gardens in the area because Americans 'could easily reach them by truck' (District Officer, Port Moresby, 1943).

The preservation of the urban villages as separate entities with economies still largely based on traditional agriculture, fishing and trading, made it easier for their inhabitants to adapt to life in rural surroundings. When they moved to their new sites, the displaced villagers built their own houses and began to make gardens with the help of kinsmen and friends. One Vabukori man says that a friend from the fishing village of Alukuni gave him a canoe to make
floor boards for his new house. At first, as a speaker at the 1944 Angau conference said, 'Great hardships were experienced by old men, old women and children while the new houses were being built on the sites selected for these new evacuees' (Austen, 1944). Many Pari people died at the time (I. and D.L. Maddocks, 1969) and old people and children died at Manumanu. Food was short. Wild fruits and other foods were gathered and the Vabukori people made flour from the Cycad palm, which was until recently a regular source of food for the people of the area in which they had settled. People living at Manumanu were ordered by the Administration to make *biri* mats for walling made from Nipa palm and had no time to make gardens. Later, conditions improved and some people lived in comfort. A naval officer who visited Manumanu was invited to afternoon tea by Gavera Arua, a Hanuabadan leader: ‘They were served with tea in the best china and he noticed good beds in the house covered with clean quilts’ (I. F. Champion, pers. comm.).

The energy expended by evacuee groups in providing for their own needs varied. In 1944, the people of Kila Kila and Korobosea villages were noted in an Angau patrol report dated 6 November as making little effort to grow food. They collected their rations each month and spent much of their time visiting friends in the district. By contrast the Vabukori people had a well-fenced garden and were attempting to become self-sufficient. They exchanged surplus rations with inland peoples and willingly agreed to receive only half-rations.

When European women and children were evacuated from Papua in December 1942, the London Missionary Society ordered the women belonging to the mission to leave, but the men stayed. Roman Catholic nuns, as well as men, stayed in Papua. In December 1942, according to the Angau War Diary, there were 112 missionaries including a large proportion of nuns concentrated in the Kairuku area. Both men and women of the Anglican mission stayed at their posts and some were killed by the Japanese to whom they had been given up by the Orokaiva of the Northern District. The Seventh Day Adventist missionaries left their missions and returned to Australia. The missionaries remaining in Papua with reduced staffs strove to meet the needs of the troops who passed through their areas and to support the war effort as well as carry on with their normal duties. The training college of the London Missionary Society continued to take in recruits and indigenous pastors carried on with their duties.

Mission schools were kept open under great difficulties and educational standards suffered. Schools were re-established in the evacuated villages. In 1944, the children of Vabukori, Kila Kila and Korobosea villages evacuated to Tavai were taught in a single school, but a new building to serve as a second school for the last two villages was nearly finished (Wedgwood, 1944: 3). At mission stations, hours of teaching were reduced and in other schools classes were held for two hours in the morning and two hours in the afternoon on three days a week. European missionaries were able to carry out only a few tours of inspection of mission schools. The teaching of younger children and
the wider education of women suffered from the absence of the European women. The call-up of young men caused their education to be cut short and girls were needed to work in the gardens. Above all there was a shortage of equipment of all kinds. Forty infants at the school at Tavai were seen to be copying from two slates, each twelve inches by eight inches, propped against a fence (Wedgwood, 1944: 8).

The Division of District Services carried out the functions formerly performed by the civil administration. They also carried out such duties as labour recruiting, issuing rations to the indigenous population and managing trade stores. One of their main concerns was the maintenance of law and order, but this caused few problems in Papua. Shortly after the establishment of the Papuan Administrative Unit, the officer in charge of the Rigo area reported that the inhabitants were showing signs of restlessness and were under the impression that there was no government (Angau War Diary, 17 Feb. 1942); but he later reported that 'the native inhabitants of the Rigo District behaved well and they were never out of hand and gave no cause for anxiety' (Barry, 1945: 32).

In a letter to district officers dated 20 August 1942, Morris pointed out the value to their cause of a loyal and law abiding native population. He said, however, that 'national patriotism cannot be expected from the primitive native' and that it was necessary to appeal to his interests. Various forms of propaganda were employed by the military authorities. In an undated circular addressed in 1943 to all village constables and councillors, Morris wrote that 'the Japanese have yellow skins and have for long been known as cruel people who like to make war on other people and take their land from them'. He said that the British had not been prepared because they wanted peace. In a circular dated 12 June 1943 he said, 'Let the natives know that many natives have been sentenced to death by hanging because they killed our soldiers and people when they thought that the Japs would stay for all time'.

The major factor in keeping the Papuan population peaceful and co-operative was continuity of administration. District Officers were given the powers of Supreme Court judges and subordinate officers were given lesser magisterial powers. Village constables and councillors continued to carry out their functions. New police posts, for example at Manumanu, and new patrol posts, as at Mirigeda near Bootless Bay, were established. The Native Regulations, such as the regulation which required houses to be kept in good repair and villages clean, were enforced. Disputes between individuals were investigated. The adequacy of food supplies was checked. The health of villagers was of particular concern and by April 1942 fifteen warrant officers, after receiving brief medical training, had been sent as medical officers throughout Papua. Medical patrols treated such diseases as yaws, ulcers, malaria and gonorrhoea. A hospital for Papuans was established at Hanuabada in 1943 and seriously ill villagers were sent there.

Angau officers were particularly concerned with relations between villagers and allied troops. Pursuit of Papuan women by American troops, and especially
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Negro troops, continued to be a constant concern. The difficulties of Angau officers were increased by instructions not to upset the negroes or to antagonise the American authorities. In 1944, officers attending an Angau conference considered it undesirable for villagers to return to the Port Moresby area because of the presence of negro troops. Troops continued to visit villages to obtain such curios as grass skirts and model lagatoi, which became an important village industry for the duration of the war, but there are few reports of miscegenation or disputes with local people.

Angau officers were also concerned to keep Papuans away from military camps, which were put out of bounds. A major reason for segregation was safeguarding the health of white troops. ‘The presence of endemic infections in the natives made it imperative to maintain a barrier between the white troops and natives’ (Walker, 1957: 279). In March 1943, the Adjutant-General issued instructions that segregation was to be maintained and that indigenous people were to be segregated in camps. They were not to serve in general hospitals and in other situations where they would come into contact with Europeans (Walker, 1957: 279). Military records and oral accounts provided by Papuans agree that the regulation was strictly enforced in Australian camps. Americans, however, were unco-operative and villagers worked and stayed in their camps. Americans freely gave food, clothes and money to Papuans.

The dual need to supply forces in the field and to maintain production of economic crops created an immense demand for indigenous labour. The flight of Papuan workers from Port Moresby at the end of January and beginning of February 1942 created panic among labourers on plantations in the Galley Reach area and elsewhere. A number of employers abandoned their contract workers without payment. Workers made their way to their homes and some died on their way to their villages by the Gulf of Papua (Barry, 1945: 30; Beier, 1969: 31). Resident magistrates claimed that they were prevented from arresting deserters by an instruction from headquarters which said that fear of war was a reasonable ground for desertion (Angau War Diary: Appendix 68). Some magistrates acted on their own initiative: a party of men who left Port Moresby after the first bombs fell were arrested on the road by the Assistant Resident Magistrate at Rigo. The military administration quickly collected deserted labourers and by the beginning of April there were 800 men working in Port Moresby (Angau War Diary, 7 April 1942). In May, an instruction was issued that men were to engage for two years and there was to be a limit of 25 per cent of available manpower. They were only to work in their home districts, except in such exceptional circumstances as attachment to the Port Moresby labour pool. In June 1942, however, Morris issued his Native Labour Contract Termination Order (No. 5/1942), which said that all existing contracts were to be terminated and provided for conscription of such labour as might be needed. Angau Administrative Instruction No. 14 laid down rates of pay with a maximum of £2 and a minimum of 10s. a month and a fortnight’s paid leave was
to be granted for each year served. In practice, labour had been conscripted since the beginning of military administration. Instructions were issued by the Papua Administrative Unit that labour should first be recruited from the ‘Far West’ but ‘difficult labour such as Gulf Division Units’ would be recruited last (Angau War Diary, 1 March 1942). Recruitment of labour appears to have been carried out without serious opposition. The Assistant District Officer at Kikori reported that men were quite content to accept compulsory service but would not volunteer. Once conscripted, men remained in service until mid-1945 and harsh measures were sometimes taken to ensure that they re-engaged (Mair, 1948: 183). The number of Papuans recruited steadily increased. In 1944, 28,000 Papuans were employed compared with a pre-war maximum of 10,000 men (Mair, 1948: 190).

The number of active men who stayed in the villages at any given time varied. A patrol report submitted in August 1943 said that 50 per cent of able-bodied men of one village near Port Moresby had been recruited. In one Orokolo village in the Gulf Division, forty-three men were recruited as carriers, two became soldiers and sixteen adult men remained at home (Beier, 1969: 31). At times the proportion of men absent from some villages was much higher but, although the labour force was greatly reduced, there were always some men, including mission workers, in the villages. When district officers had complained that lack of men was affecting village food supplies and it had been found impossible to release men, they were supported by the Director of District Services. The Director, in his comment on an Angau patrol report of November 1942, said that ‘it seems to me that if the Force insist upon 100 per cent call up from these areas, then we must be prepared to feed them. It is little enough return for the magnificent service they have rendered’. Rations were then issued to villages where serious shortages existed.

Large numbers of men were needed to support the armed services and carriers were required to supply troops in the front line. There were three main lines of communication. The first was the Bulldog Track from the Lakekamu River to Wau. Men from the region of the Gulf of Papua and the Kairuku area were employed in building a motor road along the Bulldog Track. The second was the Rigo line extending from the American base known as ‘Kalamazoo’, near Kapa Kapa, to Jaure where it was intended that the Americans would carry out a flanking movement. The third and most important was the Kokoda Trail, which was the route of the main Japanese attack. Lieutenant H.T. Kienzle, who owned a plantation near Kokoda before the war, was ordered by his headquarters to build a road to Kokoda. He was also responsible for building shelters along the track. He was only able to build a road to Owers Corner but he improved the track across the mountains. According to a report by Kienzle dated February 1943, all available men were used at the time of the Australian advance in October 1942. Although plantation workers were employed on the trail, only about 1,000 were available while an estimated 5,000
men were needed. The alternative to using carriers was to transport equipment and stores by air. D.C.3 aircraft, known as 'biscuit bombers', were used for the first time in New Guinea to drop supplies to forward troops. The capture of the Kokoda airstrip by the Japanese and the loss of planes in air-raids limited supplies by air and very large numbers of carriers were needed.

Carriers on all the trails suffered from cold, hunger and disease. At the end of July, Kienzle reported that on the Kokoda road 'many difficulties were experienced—natives deserted, the sick increased to an alarming degree, and food supplies became a major problem with a consequent decline in native morale'. The carriers also faced danger. A Keapara man was killed by a free supply drop from the air at Ioribaiwa and a Hula man by a bomb near Buna, but the number of casualties caused by enemy action was not great. As a paper delivered at the Angau conference in February 1944 said, not many carriers died on the Kokoda Trail but the after effects 'of this splendid work' caused a heavy toll. Unfit men were recruited and 'the ration scale was not of the best and over a period of months the effects were very pronounced until the scale was improved'.

Although the Orokolo carriers denied that even an isolated incident while they worked on the Bulldog Track gave them happiness (Beier, 1969: 35), others were more resilient. An Angau report dated 22 December 1942 said that in spite of difficulties of working on the Kokoda Trail, 'it was not an unusual sight at night to see groups of natives gathered round a fire singing and laughing as if the hard days work just completed was an everyday occurrence in their lives'. Former carriers say that at night they used to box with bare fists and that the serious injury of one man led to an outbreak of fighting between two village groups.

The military authorities wished to show their appreciation of the work done by Papuan carriers and on 6 November 1942, Major General Vasey gave medals, a knife and a waistcloth to each of five outstanding carriers. He told them that without their help the troops would not have been able to cross the Owen Stanley Range (Norris, 1970: 172).

From the beginning of the emergency in February 1942, the military administration was anxious to maintain production of rubber and copra. As early as 24 February, the Assistant Resident Magistrate at Kairuku was ordered to re-open the Galley Reach plantations, which had been abandoned by the labourers, and three weeks later they were operating with a normal labour force (Barry, 1945: 31). In July 1943, the economic functions of Angau became the responsibility of the Production Control Board, with the principal staff officer of Angau, Brigadier Donald Cleland, as its chairman. P. Ryan (1969: 533) considers that 'few officers could have done better' than Cleland or even 'have made Angau work at all'. In July 1943, Morris allowed twelve planters whom he considered to be suitable to return from Australia and fifty others were released from military service. By 1944 production of rubber had reached a record level.
These achievements required large numbers of Papuan workers, and their recruitment and discipline remained the responsibility of Angau. A native labour service was established in June 1943. Apart from service in the war zone, work on plantations appears to have been the most unpopular form of labour, and conditions as revealed by inspection reports were often deplorable. In December 1943, an officer reported that at a Sogeri plantation ‘there are no fresh foods or fats included, and I do not think the meat ration (one tin of corn beef a week) is sufficient at this altitude’. Blankets were of poor quality. Workers could not make fires in their houses and they were cold and wet. Many were not robust. He added that they were generally happy although there was much sickness and some deaths. Other reports describe poor rations, lack of clothing, blankets and mosquito nets and the absence of medical attention. In April 1944, one inspector said that the men on a Galley Reach plantation complained that they were caned and forced to work when unfit and that a dog was set on them. As a result, there was mass desertion and the majority of deserters went to complain to the Angau officer at Kila Labour Camp. Officers in charge of labour tried to improve working conditions but they were given only limited support by their superiors. In 1944 in the interest of European planters the Production Control Board, for example, forced a return to an inferior ration scale for plantation labour in spite of medical objections that it was inadequate (P. Ryan, 1969: 544). Under an order issued by Angau on 3 November 1943, officers acting as magistrates heard charges brought against employees without delay but they were not allowed to bring charges against employers until permission from headquarters had been obtained (Stanner, 1953: 80).

Papuans were not only employed as carriers and plantation workers but also in a wide variety of other occupations. Many Papuans went overseas as members of ships’ crews. In 1963, five out of the twenty-five adult males living in the Hula settlement at Daugo Island had sailed overseas during the war. A man from Hula village said that he had visited several eastern countries before he was discharged in 1945 and that he had spent three months in Sydney on full pay with no work. According to one Papuan informant, there were forty Papuans working on the wharves at Sydney when his ship berthed there. The most remarkable example was a Purari man, Tommy Kabu, who sailed with some Australians to Cooktown when Samarai was abandoned, lived for a time with the family of an Australian naval officer as his orderly and served at sea in an Australian destroyer (Maher, 1961: 55-6; Oram 1967a: 8).

A number of Papuans were employed in the armed forces. The Papuan Infantry Battalion became an efficient unit led by experienced officers. The first commanding officer was Major Logan who had served in the police force and the second-in-command was Major Watson, who had been much decorated in World War I. Many of the recruits, including those from the Royal Papua Constabulary, came from the area surrounding the Gulf of Papua. Many districts were represented and a few people from coastal areas joined the battalion,
including eleven men from Hanuabada, three of whom became sergeants (Robinson, 1974). A number of members of the battalion won decorations for valour (Barrett, 1968: 494). After the Papuan Infantry Battalion had been formed, its main duties were to guard vulnerable points such as the power house and the artillery camp. When the Japanese war began the battalion was employed on labouring duties. Following the battle of the Coral Sea, its members walked across the ranges to Buna and platoons were posted along the coast on observation duties. Some units clashed with the Japanese after they had landed. The battalion took up defensive positions as the Australian forces retreated along the Kokoda Trail, and acted as stretcher bearers after the first Australian troops arrived from the Middle East. After the return of the battalion to Port Moresby, they were sent by sea to Kairuku and then marched to the Mambari and Waria rivers to the north-west of Buna. They rejoined the detachment which had been left at Waria and were given an observation task (F.W. Wort, pers. comm.). Contemporary accounts agree that they were well led and performed valuable service after the dispersal and retreat following the Japanese landings on the north coast. Many of the early recruits to the Papuan Infantry Battalion came from the area surrounding the Gulf of Papua and a number of them settled in Port Moresby after the war.

The police continued to be the mainstay of the administration under Angau. At the beginning of March 1942 there were 114 police at the depot at Sogeri, including 14 New Guinea Police. Only forty police remained in Port Moresby where 'morale was low and discipline was poor' (Angau War Diary, 7 April 1942). The Papuan and New Guinean police forces were amalgamated during the war. 'The Papuan Force gave the Unit its name and the European officers of the New Guinea Police Force dominated the organization'. Large numbers of police were required but 'the standard of the Native Constabulary was not raised during the War. The urgent need of quantity rather than quality was responsible for a lowering of morale' (Downes, 1947: 61). The police enforced the orders of the Administration, rounded up deserters, arrested offenders and were put in charge of carrier lines. They also served as skippers of launches and undertook operational patrols against the Japanese.

As far as possible, Angau made use of the various skills possessed by Papuans. In May 1942, an order was given by Angau headquarters for all engineers and lugger captains among villagers evacuated to Hisiu to be sent to Port Moresby. Papuans were employed as clerks, carpenters, plantation overseers, cooks and in a number of other skilled and semi-skilled capacities. One, Toua Kapena, who had received medical training in Sydney, served as a medical orderly near the fighting line at Ioribaiwa and later became a labour supervisor in the area of Galley Reach.

Possibly the most difficult task faced by Angau was the recruitment and administration of labour and the rounding up of deserters. A very large number of men tried to avoid conscription. Some hid in the bush by day and returned
to their homes at night: one man is said by members of a Hood Peninsula village to have spent several weeks living in a coconut palm. Many deserted from lines of communication and from plantations. At the end of 1942, 1,138 men in the Rigo Sub-district were employed. During the year, 629 had deserted but 614 had been caught. Angau maintained efficient records and it became increasingly difficult to avoid service. There was no solidarity among Papuans against the military administration, and people of one village were willing to report deserters from another village. In September 1943, according to an Angau patrol report, the village constable at Tubusereia reported seeing six Hula men riding towards Hula on bicycles. They were chased by the police but they escaped.

The churches supported authority. An Aroma pastor, George Geno, was given a loyal service medal for helping to rescue allied airmen and to round up deserters. There are a number of tales of the means employed by Angau to keep people at work. According to a number of oral accounts (Beier, 1969: 34; Robinson, 1974) deserters were held over drums and beaten and one informant described how, as a clerk stationed at Kairuku, he carried out the beatings himself (Parao and Davis, 1972: 31–7). Informants from the Rigo Sub-district say that wives of deserters were impounded in Hula resthouse and elsewhere officers threatened to take adolescent boys if the men did not return.

On 30 October 1945, a Provisional Administration was established in Papua and in part of New Guinea and the Emergency Regulations were revoked. The military administration in Papua ended, as it had begun, in confusion. On 15 October 1945, all existing labour contracts were cancelled by the Commonwealth Government. The government argued that these contracts were no longer binding with the cessation of military administration, and its action was also an expression of sympathy for the plight of the indigenous population. The first announcement was made in Motu on the Port Moresby radio. Nearly all labourers left their employment and plantation production came to a halt in many areas. In Port Moresby, it was necessary to use prisoners to man government launches, and the entire staff of Port Moresby's only hotel went home (Mair, 1948: 210). The day became known among European residents as 'Black Monday'. Many workers did not wait for transport: they made their own way home.

Early in 1945, the villagers who had been evacuated to the north-west camped at Malara near the present village of Koderika some 10 miles to the north of Port Moresby. When they returned on 15 December 1945 Hanuabadans found that the police were still occupying part of their village area. The villagers coming from the south-east also made temporary camps: the Kila Kila people did not return to their old site on the hill but settled near the small bay called Iriu Laguta below.

In 1971, over 80 per cent of the indigenous population of Port Moresby were born in Papua, and of these 70 per cent were born in the Central and Gulf Districts. When assessing the significance of the war for the future development of
Port Moresby, its impact on the areas from which the urban migrants were to come must therefore be considered. Several writers, Lawrence on the Rai Coast (1964: 124), Read in the Markham Valley (1947: 56-116), and Mead on Manus Island (1956: 168-84), have studied the impact of the war on specific populations and overall views have been provided by Mair (1948: 198-203), Stanner (1953: 86-91) and more recently by K.S. Inglis (1969). These studies, however, are mainly concerned with New Guinea where the war had a more drastic effect. The impact of the war on different parts of Papua was determined by a number of variables. One important factor was the nature of pre-war contact with Europeans—early European treatment of the Binandere was very different from the treatment of the Motu. The level of cultural development varied greatly: the people of the coastal areas under London Missionary Society influence and the coastal peoples of the Kairuku area under the Roman Catholics were among the most sophisticated in Papua and New Guinea, while inland societies had changed little as a result of European contact. Temperaments of tribal groups differed and affected their reactions to wartime experiences. As in previous contact with European administration, Elema people from the Gulf of Papua were more aggressive than Central Austronesian-speaking peoples when faced with regimentation by military authorities.

The wartime experience of different Papuan tribal groups varied greatly. In Papua, only small areas were the scene of fighting or were occupied by the Japanese and then only for short periods. Even peoples of remote areas, however, were recruited as labourers. The Suki from the Fly River, for example, were employed in large numbers in Port Moresby during the war, but later in peacetime there was no transport to enable them to leave their villages (C. and J. Van Nieuwenhuijsen, 1965: 375). Different peoples came into varying degrees of contact with allied troops. Carriers on the Kokoda Trail met mainly Australian troops whom they greatly admired. In the Milne Bay area, American troops were the first people to treat the local inhabitants as equals and ‘American’ became synonymous with ‘good person’ (C. Abel, pers. comm.). Elsewhere, Americans were held in high esteem, partly because Angau was unable to prevent Papuan access to them. Among the English-speaking Papuans educated at Kwato, the cultural level achieved by American negro troops made a great impression (C. Abel, pers. comm.) but in other areas the problem of the identity of negroes caused a sense of bewilderment.

From the beginning of 1942 to the end of 1945 the situations in which individual Papuans found themselves varied from year to year and from month to month. The Kokoda campaign only lasted for a few months and only Papuans in the armed forces followed the fighting as it receded along the north coast. The majority of Papuans employed by Angau then worked at military bases and staging camps. Food supplies improved in the later stages of the war. The proportion of adult men remaining in villages fluctuated and by 1944 workers were regularly going on leave. The war brought disturbances to the lives of the
people but not, for the majority, radical change. Many men had worked away from their homes before 1942 but during the war they were away for longer periods. Treatment of labourers was often harsh before 1942 and, while brutal treatment by Angau officials is frequently mentioned when the war is discussed, the difference was one of degree.

Papuans indeed remember the war as a time of hardship and deprivation. Like conscripts and mercenaries everywhere in the world, however, they regarded the task which confronted them as a challenge to their manhood. Many faced danger and discomfort with courage and fortitude and regarded harsh treatment by superiors as incidental to their lot. It was a time of adventure and variety involving travel to new places, often far from their homes, and meeting with men of different races and tribes. Before 1942, few Papuans came into contact with Europeans and then only as remote masters. During the war, Papuans and Europeans faced hardship, fear and danger together. Papuans found Australian and American soldiers friendly and without attitudes of superiority.

As with other mercenaries and conscripts, the grievances which they recall with most bitterness relate to their economic interests. The ruthless removal of money and goods from workers by Angau officers is still remembered with indignation. Gifts of food, clothing and even cigarettes from allied soldiers and money earned from the sale of artifacts were confiscated. Vincent Eri, in his novel *The Crocodile* (1970: 169), describes the confiscation of money by an Angau officer. Searching of villages for stolen military equipment by Angau officials also caused indignation. A further cause of bitterness was the very poor rewards paid to those who worked for Angau. A number of plantation owners also abandoned their contract workers in 1942, without paying them and after two or three years' service, many workers had only a few pounds to show for their labour (K.S. Inglis, 1969: 512).

While the war acted as a catalyst on the Papuan population, its effects were neither dramatic nor obvious. Many men were content to stay quietly in their villages after it ended. As a Koiari village constable said:

> We are glad that the war is over in Papua for when the Japanese came we were all frighten­ed and ran away and hid in the bush. We do not want the Japanese because they are bad men. We are happy that the Australians are here, for they came to Papua a long time ago, and we are used to them and their ways. After the war we want to remain peacefully in our villages. Some of our boys will go to work on plantations and others will look after our villages. (Angau Patrol Report, 5-21 June 1944)

The war interrupted the limited progress made before 1942 in the fields of education, employment and administration. In spite of disruption caused by the war, the people of the urban villages were consolidated as distinct communities during their exile. The reinforcement of solidarity helped to preserve

1. In the present writer’s experience this was also true of African troops.
2. Recorded by R.T. Galloway, later District Commissioner.
elements of their traditional social structure in the period of rapid social change to come. Throughout Papua, the importance of the village as a social and economic unit was enhanced during the war.

When the war was over and a civilian town grew rapidly, the indigenous population was very different in character from that of pre-war days. The urban villagers and post-war migrants, who were mainly from the Gulf and other Papuan coastal areas, had all experienced the war in different ways. Their horizons had been widened. Many, as soldiers and carriers, had been in situations in which they felt themselves to be the equals or superiors of Europeans. Some had held positions of considerable responsibility. Many had developed skills as tradesmen such as carpenters, clerks, supervisors and storemen which were urgently needed to carry out the expansion of the town.

The majority of leaders in post-war Port Moresby had had significant war experiences which gave them confidence in their capacity to manage their own affairs. With the exception of Tommy Kabu, their initiatives were confined to their urban villages and residential tribal settlements. They were receptive, however, to the new institutions such as local government, which the Administration was to introduce, and were prepared to be critical of the failure of such institutions to meet their needs.

The war did not give rise to anti-colonial political activities. In British territories in Africa, the grievances and demands of ex-soldiers were a potent force making for political change. Whatever resentment was felt by Papuans against the military administration, it found little political expression after 1945. The main impact was economic. Angau pursued the ideal of the former Papuan Administration of preserving traditional village communities. At the Angau Conference in 1944, an officer expressed the hope that ‘Again when freedom comes once more, and the fear of insecurity has gone, money making will have lost the glamour it now had’ (Austen, 1944). Travel abroad, close contact with Europeans and the sight of large quantities of military equipment gave rise to new economic aspirations among Papuans. Many interpreted the promises which were made to them by senior Angau and other military officers that Australia would help them after the war (Oram, 1967a: 9) to mean an immediate raising of their living standards. A number of economic associations were formed and an increasing number of men turned to wage labour as a means of satisfying their wants. When widespread changes began to occur in Papuan society a number of years later, they were the result of a changed attitude on the part of the Australian Government towards the development of Papua and New Guinea rather than of an upsurge of activity by the indigenous population. The Australian Government developed a new sense of responsibility towards Papua and New Guinea, and began to devote increasingly large sums to the economic and social development of the two territories. An important element in this development was the expansion of Port Moresby as the administrative capital.
6 Expansion of Port Moresby 1946-1974

Between 1946 and 1971, the population of Port Moresby grew from under 5,000 to nearly 77,000. Development of the town was slow until 1950, owing to shortages of men and materials and to uncertainty over the site of the capital. The decision that Port Moresby would be administrative capital of Papua and New Guinea was not announced by the Prime Minister of Australia until 15 March 1949. After 1950, the town grew rapidly and between 1966 and 1971 the population grew at an annual rate of 11.7 per cent.¹ In 1971, its population was about twice the size the size of Lae, the second largest town in Papua New Guinea (Table 1).

Communications between Port Moresby and the outside world improved greatly, both as a result of economic development and as a factor giving rise to it. There was a rapid increase in the number of shipping services between Port Moresby and other New Guinea ports. Between 1955 and 1967, the Administration provided a subsidy to Burns Philp on condition that they maintained a service of three passenger ships sailing between Australia and New Guinea. The China Navigation Company also maintained a passenger and freight service to New Guinea and ships of both lines called at Port Moresby. In 1967 there were thirteen shipping services which connected Port Moresby with Europe, The United Kingdom, New Zealand, Japan and other Asian countries. In 1971-2, 227 ships from overseas called at Port Moresby.

The development of air services has had a greater impact on the development of Port Moresby. Two airlines run daily services from Australia. The majority

¹ The first serious attempt to enumerate the indigenous population was a count made in 1961 by the Department of Native Affairs. It was analysed by D.G. Bettison and P.R. Richardson (1962). The first census of the whole Port Moresby population was carried out by the Bureau of Statistics as part of a Papua New Guinea-wide census in 1966. It was published in Preliminary Bulletin No. 23, Central District, and additional tabulations were made available to me (Bureau of Statistics, 1966a and b). A further count of the whole urban population was carried out by the Bureau of Statistics in 1971 but owing to census-taking problems revised tabulations are only becoming available as this book goes to press. All figures are of limited accuracy. I am indebted to Dr Lawrie Lewis and to David Lewis for help in making tabulations available to me and for analysing them.
of planes travel between Sydney, Brisbane and Port Moresby, but some call at Cairns and Townsville. In 1965, travelling time from Sydney to Port Moresby was reduced to under five hours and from Brisbane to Port Moresby to less than three hours.

**TABLE 1**

Indigenous and non-indigenous population of Port Moresby 1947-71 and projected population to 1986.a

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Indigenous</th>
<th>Non-indigenous</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1947</td>
<td>5,750</td>
<td>1,480</td>
<td>7,230</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1954</td>
<td>12,000</td>
<td>3,700</td>
<td>15,700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>22,600</td>
<td>6,400</td>
<td>29,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964</td>
<td>25,800</td>
<td>7,700</td>
<td>33,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td>31,985</td>
<td>9,865</td>
<td>41,850</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>42,616</td>
<td>13,590</td>
<td>56,206</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>59,563</td>
<td>16,944</td>
<td>76,507</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>92,500 i</td>
<td>18,800 j</td>
<td>111,300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>142,100 i</td>
<td>20,000 j</td>
<td>162,100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1986</td>
<td>198,500 i</td>
<td>20,000 j</td>
<td>218,500</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**NOTES:**

a These figures do not take into account boundary changes which have not greatly affected the overall picture.
b Minutes of Port Moresby Town Planning Conference, 1956.
d D.G. Bettison and P.R. Richardson, 1962, and Bureau of Statistics?.
e Sippo, 1964.
g Commissioner for Local Government, 1970.
i L. Lewis, pers. comm.,
j Langmore, 1972: 75. Expatriate projections are independent of past performance and political and other factors have to be taken into account.

Planes also travel from Lae to Irian Jaya and from Port Moresby and Rabaul to the British Solomon Islands Protectorate. The number of passenger miles flown between Australia and New Guinea increased from 38.2 million in 1951 to 153.2 million in 1969 (A.R., 1951: 1968).

One important development is the establishment of an overseas telephone service. The number of telephone calls and cables between Australia and Papua New Guinea is the fourth largest of those made from Australia after Great Britain, America, and New Zealand. A large percentage of these calls are be-
tween officials in Canberra and officials in Port Moresby and reflect the close ties between the two governments.

Since 1945, the isolation of Port Moresby from its region and the rest of Papua New Guinea has been reduced. Coastal shipping services have been extended and in 1965-6, nearly 60,000 tons of goods originating within Papua were handled at Port Moresby. The main development affecting the Papuan population has been the adoption of the outboard-motor as a means of propelling their canoes. The use of outboard-motors began in the 1950s and, by 1963, some villages such as Hula had abandoned the use of sail. The design of double-canoes, on which the motors were mainly employed, became increasingly sophisticated. The latest models are decked with sawn timber, are provided with sidewalls, and have large cabins with louvre windows. Some canoes are over 50 feet long and can carry up to twenty-five passengers. More recently, canoes have become less important as a form of transport following the extension of coastal roads.

There was little extension of the road network until the mid-1960s. In 1955, there were 1,179 miles of vehicular roads in the whole of Papua and by 1968-9, the distance had been increased to 2,164 miles. Only 1,470 miles, however, were passable in all weathers and 35 per cent of all-weather roads throughout Papua were situated in the Central District. From 1942 to the end of 1965, there had been only a slight increase in the road network extending from Port Moresby. By 1974, rough roads had been built to the Hood Peninsula to the south-east and to Bereina to the north-east but the longest all-weather road from Port Moresby did not exceed 100 miles. The Somare Government, partly owing to political pressure from Papuans, has undertaken a vigorous program of road building. The road to Marshall Lagoon will be finished by the end of 1974 and the Hiritano Highway to Bereina will be finished during 1975. The government plans to extend roads to the north and south and is considering building a road from Bereina to Lae to connect Port Moresby to the Highlands Highway (Map 4).

Air transport has made Port Moresby quickly accessible to many parts of its region and beyond. Two airlines operated regular services to nearly every government station in Papua until late 1973, when a national airline, Air Niugini was formed, and other airlines operate charter services. Throughout Papua there is one aerodrome, Port Moresby, suitable for heavy aircraft, fifteen aerodromes suitable for medium aircraft, and 77 aerodromes suitable for light aircraft. In 1968-9, 30,495 passengers were carried within Papua and 180,736 passengers were carried between Papua and New Guinea, most of whom embarked or disembarked at Port Moresby.

Air transport has its limitations and Port Moresby is still isolated from mainland New Guinea and from Papua. In the absence of roads, other centres throughout the country can only be reached by air, which is expensive and benefits a limited number of people, or by sea, which is slow. Many areas, even in
Expansion of Port Moresby 1946–1974

Map 3. major centers, Port Moresby, 1974
the Central District, are still accessible only by foot. The cost of air travel restricts the movement of Papuans, although many travel by air.

A new stimulus to the economy has been the large financial grants-in-aid made by the Commonwealth Government to the country. In 1946, the Commonwealth grant was $505,000, which represented 79.4 per cent of total revenues. Grants for the year 1969-70 had risen to $96 million in the form of a direct grant which comprised 57.8 per cent of total revenues. Thirty-two million dollars were also expended by other Commonwealth agencies. These Commonwealth grants led to a large increase in the scale of expenditure by public authorities. By the year 1962-3, such expenditure accounted for half gross monetary expenditure (Fisk, 1964: 29).

The monetary sector of the country's economy has developed rapidly since about 1949: the value of exports, for example, increased nearly eight-fold between 1948 and 1966 and 2.8 times between 1958 and 1968. The economy has continued to be based on primary production and, until 1973, development in Papua New Guinea depended on increasing production of cash crops. Coconut products, including copra, remained the most important single export and while rubber declined in importance, production of coffee and cocoa increased. The economic future of the country would have been unpromising if it had continued to depend on world prices of cash crops. Howlett (1973:273) suggests that a state of 'terminal development' has been reached in the Goroka Valley in the Highlands and this may apply to other areas. In 1972, manufacturing industry contributed 6.3 per cent of the gross national product (P.N.G., 1974). The development of manufacturing industry received little encouragement from the Administration (R.Kent Wilson, 1968:40-7) partly because some industries such as sugar would have competed with Australian industries. Although the government has recently given much thought to the problem of import replacement and some increase in manufacturing is probable, it is unlikely to become a major element in the economy (Garnaut, 1973: 181).

The profoundest changes in the economy have been brought about by recent mining developments and mining is likely to play a dominant part in the economy in the future. In 1948, 27 per cent of export income was derived from the sale of gold, the only significant mineral then mined, but between 1967 and 1971 the value of gold had fallen to 0.9 per cent. Mining of large deposits of copper on Bougainville Island began in 1972 and profits for the first full year of production, 1973, reached $158 million. Further large deposits of copper have been discovered in the Star Mountains in western Papua and in the Sepik area and exploration continues. Mining is beginning to revolutionise the economy.

Papua has shared little in this development. With 48 per cent of land area, the population of Papua was 27 per cent of the total population of Papua New Guinea in 1966, and produced only 18 per cent of the value of exports. Production of coffee and cocoa was negligible, but Papua produced nearly all the rubber and 13.6 per cent of copra grown in the territory.
Some indication of this lack of development is given by a comparison of the amount of land alienated to private persons, nearly all of whom were non-indigenous; between 1948 and 1965, land leased in New Guinea increased by 257 per cent while in Papua it increased by 23 per cent. The greater part of the economic development which occurred in Papua took place in the Central District. By 1965, 62 per cent of land alienated in Papua for agricultural purposes was situated in the Central District, mainly in the Sogeri, Galley Reach and Kemp Welch areas. Port Moresby stands in the midst of a sparsely populated and undeveloped area and a Papuan separatist movement, Papua Besena, has arisen as a result of popular discontent with present lack of development in Papua. The potential for further development is considerable. Besides copper, there are considerable reserves of natural gas in the Purari Delta and the government has said that it will undertake a $1,200 million hydro-electric project in the same area.

The majority of Papua New Guineans are still mainly subsistence cultivators and, in 1972, subsistence crops were estimated to form 23.3 per cent of the gross national product (P.N.G., 1974). The majority of the indigenous population are, however, involved to a varying extent in the monetary sector of the economy and their involvement has been increasing.

After the war ended in 1945, several indigenous leaders founded movements which aimed at achieving European standards of living through the adoption of European techniques and the reform of their own social organisation. When these methods failed to achieve their aims, some movements, such as those led by Yali of the Rai Coast (Lawrence, 1964) and Paliau of Manus (Mead, 1956), turned into cargo cults which sought to achieve their aims by supernatural means. In the Milne Bay area, the local people invested the compensation for war damage received from the Administration in a Development Company which was establishing local industries which would provide members with a cash income (Belshaw, 1955). In the Gulf District, Posu Semesevita, an ex-pastor, formed the Toaripi Association in 1947 (D. Ryan, 1963: 11-15). Other groups undertook various forms of economic enterprise. Two villages in the Western Division, for example, bought luggers (A.R., 1974: 32).

The most widespread of the Papuan movements and of particular interest because of its activities in Port Moresby was the movement led by Tommy Kabu from 1947 to 1956. After his discharge from the Royal Australian Navy, 2 Kabu sought to raise the living standards of his people by reviving the traditional sago trade with the Motu on a cash basis and by exporting other crops to Port Moresby. The movement established a depot near a wharf in the Purari Delta and a marketing depot, known as Rabia Camp, in Port Moresby (Maher, 1961: 55-77; Oram, 1967a: 10-28).

2. Kabu was given discharge papers by the Navy although he appears never to have been formally enlisted.
Map 4. Mainland roads, Papua New Guinea, mid-1974
The Tommy Kabu movement and other movements failed to achieve their economic goals for a number of reasons. All the movements suffered from lack of technical knowledge, especially of accounting. The traditional system of exchange made it difficult to prevent officials and members of the movements from helping themselves to cash and other assets. Some officers of the Administration were sympathetic to the movements, but many officials felt that they were politically dangerous. Other officials stifled their growth by trying to impose Western standards of efficiency on them. The main cause of failure, however, was the absence of readily marketable cash crops which could provide the villagers with an income commensurate with their aspirations. In spite of these failures, the desire for Western goods and Western living standards persisted.

The Administration tried to guide the members of different movements towards the formation of co-operative societies. In March 1969, there were 158 marketing and retailing societies in Papua and seven secondary and one tertiary society. While operating successfully, the benefit of their activities to individuals is limited. In the twelve months ending in March 1969, the total mean rebate to 32,264 members was only $2.50 a head (A.R., 1969: 93). The small scale on which the co-operative societies have developed is also mainly due to lack of cash crops or other marketable produce.

Papuans own some 6 per cent of rubber acreage and in 1968-9 produced 42 per cent of the coconut crop. In the Port Moresby hinterland there is some production of minor crops. Considerable quantities of areca nut and accessories are sent to Port Moresby by Mekeo producers in the Kairuku Sub-district, and some vegetables are also sent by air from Efogi in the Owen Stanley Range. The construction of new roads radiating from Port Moresby has led to the production of vegetables for the Port Moresby market by indigenous and European growers (M.W. Ward, 1970: 76). A cattle industry is also developing. Indigenous involvement in the cash economy is mainly confined to villages near the coast but is also found in a few inland areas such as Bakoiudu in the Kairuku Sub-district, where Kuni people have re-settled (van Rijswijck, 1967).

Owing to the absence of other forms of economic enterprise, employment opportunities in villages are very few and those who wish to earn money migrate to centres of employment. Increase in the number of indigenous people in employment has not been rapid. In 1969, the total number of indigenous people in employment in Papua was 35,379 compared with 25,565 people in 1955. Of these just under half were working in Port Moresby.

Levels of social and economic development vary greatly among village groups throughout Papua New Guinea. All areas of Papua have now been brought under administrative control but access to parts of the Southern Highlands was restricted until the 1960s (H.N. Nelson, 1970a: 4-8). Administrative patrols began to bring the last sizable group of about 100 people living in the Western District under administrative control at the end of 1971. Those coastal
areas which have long been under mission influence maintain their lead but levels of acculturation vary, even from village to village (Oram, 1967b: 8).

In spite of progress since 1945, Papua New Guinea is a largely undeveloped country greatly dependent for its advancement on grants made by the Australian Government. This applies particularly to the Port Moresby region with its limited natural resources and sparse population. In contrast to towns such as Rabaul, which has a heavily populated hinterland, Port Moresby stands almost in isolation. Its growth owes little to its position as a marketing centre for its sparsely populated region. In 1966, only one-third of the non-indigenous population of Papua lived outside Port Moresby and only 8 per cent of vehicle licences were issued at other centres. The economy of the town continues to rest on the twin bases of its port and the headquarters of government.

After 1945, the wartime harbour created by the Americans at Tatana was abandoned. The town docks were enlarged and in 1965 the International Bank Mission (1965: 242) considered that Port Moresby was the only major port with adequate facilities in Papua New Guinea. In 1968, however, the Administration announced that $1,320,000 would be spent on extensions to the wharves (S.P.P., 11 March 1968) and these are currently being undertaken. The wharves are still not deep enough to accommodate the largest ships.

The nature of the economy of the town is demonstrated by the excess of imports over exports. The value of imports for the year 1965-6, for example, was nearly six times the value of exports. Main exports are rubber and coconut products (mainly copra), which together formed 82.2 per cent of the total value of exports from Port Moresby in 1966. Other important exports are crocodile skins, which are declining, and beer. Major commodities imported in 1966 were food, tobacco and beverages, which together formed 20.9 per cent of the value of total imports. The next most important commodity was machinery, which formed 12.2 per cent of the total. The majority of the items imported were required to serve the needs of Port Moresby itself (T.P.N.G., 1966).

While the port plays a vital role in the economy of Port Moresby, activities connected with the port do not in themselves play an important part in the expansion of the town. In March 1965, only sixty-eight indigenous men were employed as stevedores and thirty-one were employed as shipwrights. To these must be added officials employed by the Division of Marine, customs officers, and a small number of men employed by the Administration and private enterprise in storing and transporting goods.

When part of the Territory came under civil administration in October 1945, Port Moresby was the only major town not in ruins and was the obvious choice as capital of the Provisional Administration. The decision to retain Port Moresby as the administrative capital was made mainly on political grounds. Papua was a Crown Possession, whereas New Guinea was a Trust Territory under the United Nations, and this appears to be the most important factor determining the decision (J.K. Murray, pers. comm.). The experience of the war against
Japan had made Australians aware of the strategic importance of Port Moresby (Barry, 1945: 55). The cost of moving the temporary capital was a further important factor. The Administration nearly decided to build the capital in the cooler area of Sogeri but the proposal was opposed by the Director of Public Works (J.T. Gunther, pers. comm.).

The establishment of the headquarters of the Administration in Port Moresby was critical for the development of the town. The increased scale of governmental activity led to rapid expansion of the administrative organisation. The number of established public servants throughout Papua New Guinea rose from 1,280 in 1951 to 15,712 in 1966 (N.G.A.R., 1950-1: 51; 1965-6: 228). The proliferation of government departments led to a large increase in the headquarters staff. From 1961 to 1966, the number of public servants at headquarters alone doubled from 888 men and 314 women to 1,689 men and 645 women (A.R., 1961-2: 184; 1965-6: 228). In 1966, 53.6 per cent of the non-indigenous work force of Port Moresby, and 34 per cent of the indigenous work force, were employed in the public sector (Langmore, 1970: 20, 27). Compared with some other modernising countries, the size of the public service in Papua New Guinea is highly inflated (Oram, 1973b: 7).

Since 1950, the Administration has incurred heavy capital expenditure in the urban area. It has built public buildings and offices, dwellings for public servants, and has provided services such as roads, drains and water supplies. Between 1964 and 1968, defence expenditure within the urban area was considerable. These expenditures have provided continuing employment for building contractors and in 1966 nearly 23 per cent of the work force were employed in the building industry.

A number of institutions, such as the House of Assembly, the Administrative College and the Papuan Medical College, are housed in Port Moresby because it is the capital, and this concentration of institutions has tended to have a snowball effect. Port Moresby was chosen as the site for the University of Papua and New Guinea, for example, because 'an effective Council' was unlikely to be found anywhere else and because it was necessary for the university to be 'in the marketplace, in close contact with affairs' (Commission on Higher Education, 1964: 65). The attraction of Port Moresby as a capital is also felt by commercial interests. In 1966, the headquarters of 507 companies, out of 1,119 companies throughout the whole Territory, were situated in Port Moresby.

A large proportion of those not employed in the public sector are engaged in providing services. In 1971, 7,786 people, or 13 per cent of the indigenous population, were living in quarters provided by employers of domestic servants. Other services included a wide range of stores providing food and other commodities; personal services such as those of hairdressers and photographers; and professional services provided by doctors, lawyers, and accountants. A large number of service industries including transport, motor repairers, and
joineries, cater almost entirely for the needs of the town. There are four hotels and a number of motels, guest houses and restaurants which cater both for the resident population and for the large number of visitors who come to Port Moresby on business and pleasure.

Only 7.4 per cent of the work force are engaged in manufacturing industries and in 1968 there were 44 concerns which were 'processing and or fabricating assembly or similar operations producing material goods for sale'. These included a brewery, ten joineries, five engineering concerns, three paint factories and ten factories which made cement goods (R. Kent Wilson, 1968b). All these concerns are small. In 1967 the brewery, one of the largest concerns, employed between 120 and 140 indigenous people and twenty-five Europeans holding senior positions (Rcw, 1970: 47). A clothing factory which employs 200 people, 99 per cent of them local, was opened in 1971.

Port Moresby, besides being the economic centre for a poor region from which it draws the majority of its migrants, provides administrative, legal and other services for the whole of Papua New Guinea. While it is impossible to measure the origin of its flows of income, the economic expansion of the town has been mainly based on expenditure by the Administration and by the Commonwealth Government.

At the end of the war, expatriate residents re-occupied the old town at Ela and buildings at Konedobu. Port Moresby then spread, first along the coastal hills towards Koke, and then in the level areas of higher land to the north and east. The main nodes are the old town, which remains the central business district, Koke-Badili, Boroko, Gordon, Waigani and Gerehu.

In 1945, Port Moresby consisted of many of the pre-1942 buildings in varying degrees of disrepair and of a number of army camps. At first re-development proceeded slowly and residents lived in great discomfort (Stuart, 1970: 147). There was a shortage of materials and of skilled men to use them; lack of surveyors, for example, delayed the planning of the town (A.R., 1947-8: 19). Many temporary houses and buildings were constructed. Government officials contributed $400 towards the cost of houses with re-inforced paper walls which the Administration built for them at Kaevaga, Ela Beach and elsewhere. Some of these houses remained in existence until 1957. There was an acute shortage of accommodation and newly-appointed officials were sent to hostels in Spring Garden Road which were known colloquially as 'House Belsen' and 'House Pig' (R. Ralph, pers. comm.). From the mid-1950s onwards, houses occupied by Europeans were built to higher standards and, by the mid-1960s, were equal in construction and amenity to many middle-class Australian suburban houses.

In 1945, the Administrator returned to live at Government House and the area below at Konedobu became the site for the headquarters of the Administration. Former military buildings were used and paper houses were built which were later replaced with huts with corrugated-iron roofs and fibrolite or cor-
rugated-iron walls. From the late 1950s onwards, permanent buildings, including some large three-storey buildings, were erected in the area. The headquarters of the Administration remains, however, a motley and congested collection of buildings arranged without plan. The pre-war residential area nearby at Kae-vaga, where House Champion and House O’Malley had been situated, was occupied by a number of senior officials. The old town again became the central business district. Until the early 1960s, the area had changed little since 1942 and Burns Philp’s tower continued to dominate it. Extensive new building and re-development then occurred and led to a rapid expansion of the commercial area. In 1967, a ten-storey building was built on Tuaguba Hill. The central business district continues to house the District Court and the District and Sub-district Offices, and a number of government departments now have their headquarters in the area. Many of these organisations will move to the new town centre. The area surveyed by Cuthbertson as Granville East, which is now known as Newtown, developed partly as an industrial and partly as a residential area. Residential development continued to take place on Paga and Tuaguba hills. Until 1951, Lawes Road was still a horse track and there were only two houses on the southern side of the hill. A large number of buildings were later erected from Lawes Road along the coast towards Koke, and the process of filling the whole area of the peninsula with residential buildings has continued until the present day.

The Koke-Badili area became the indigenous centre of the town. Until the mid-1950s, the only commercial activity at Koke was the store owned by one of the few Chinese men living in Papua. Koke and Badili then developed as the major commercial and social centre, not only for the large indigenous population living in Koke-Badili and the area to the west, but also for Papuans living throughout the town. The heart of the area is to be found in Koke market, which was established in 1953. Koke had been declared by the District Officer as the only canoe anchorage and a market grew up on the shore. In February 1959, nearly 32 acres of land surrounding Koke Bay were resumed by the Administration and, in September 1959, market trustees were appointed. Market buildings were erected and a sea wall was built around the northern end of the bay.

All major missions have churches in the area. The Roman Catholic Mission also maintained a maternity hospital at Badili until it was removed to Hohola in 1970. In 1958 the Salvation Army obtained a lease of land for a hostel for Papuans and for a school. The descendants of Solomon Islanders and other early settlers re-established themselves on their freehold land at Koke and a number of Papuans, the majority of whom came from the Kairuku Sub-district, also settled there. The land which had been acquired by the Crown at Badili in the days of the Protectorate, including the land held by Goldie, was developed as an industrial area. The South Pacific Brewery, Australian Petroleum Company, a tobacco factory, a large joinery, and a number of smaller workshops
were established in the area. The houses of European employees and the labour lines of Papuan employees of the larger commercial concerns were interspersed among industrial buildings. In Koke and Badili, a number of stores were built along the main road, called the Hubert Murray Highway, which connects the central business district and Konedobu to the airport. Except for Steamships Trading Company’s store at Koke and a few others, the majority of these stores are owned by Chinese.

Until 1951, development followed the pre-war pattern with centres at Konedobu, Ela and Koke. The town then began to expand away from the harbour into new areas, known as Boroko and 4-mile, on the plateau inland. In January 1951, twenty-two residential allotments were offered by the Administration for tender and from then on, large numbers of sites were developed by the Administration and by private enterprise to the east of the Hubert Murray Highway. In December 1951, thirteen shop sites were advertised in the main shopping centre at Boroko and subsequently this has grown into an important commercial area. It includes the General Post Office, the headquarters of the Papua and New Guinea Electricity Commission, a hotel, a cinema, and some thirty stores. The largest belongs to Burns Philp and Company and the majority of the remainder are owned by Chinese. Other shopping centres in the area are very much smaller, being planned to provide basic needs for each suburb.

The main airport was located at Jackson’s Aerodrome in the area known as 6-mile. This area has developed as a light industrial area interspersed with residential accommodation. Adjoining this area is a recent residential development called Gordon on 903 acres of land which was resumed by the Administration on payment to the European leaseholder of £31,200 (H.A.D., 7 June 1968:52). To the west of this area an educational complex has been developed. A Teachers’ Training College was built adjoining a wartime airstrip called Ward’s Strip; in 1964 the building of the Administrative College was begun in an area to the north-west; and in 1967 the building of the new University of Papua New Guinea was begun nearby. A new civic and administrative centre is now being developed in this area. Gerehu is a new suburb to the north.

The development of the town so far described followed a Western pattern and residential and commercial development was carried out predominantly by, and for, Europeans and a few other non-indigenous people. Standards of building and services are high in all non-indigenous areas. As in other port towns, the percentage of the population living in the peninsula and the area surrounding the harbour has steadily declined as the town has spread inland. The non-indigenous population of the peninsula fell from nearly 27 per cent to 17 per cent between 1966 and 1970 and only 22 per cent of the total population lived there in 1970.

The village populations, after living for a year or two in temporary shelters made of materials left behind by the military, re-built their villages on more permanent sites. The Hanuabada villages were re-built in the sea a little to the
west of their former site and the village has spread onto the land. Korobosea
moved from the slopes to the top of a hill overlooking the Hubert Murray
Highway. The village of Vabukori was built in the pre-war area, but on land
instead of in the sea. Kila Kila village split into two: the majority of villagers
built a new village along concrete plane bays near the pre-war airstrip, but
members of one descent-group moved to the top of the nearby hill and their
village became known as Mahuru or Kila Kila Number 2.

While the inhabitants of other urban villages re-built their houses with money
they had received individually as war compensation and with wartime building
materials, the Australian Government allocated the sum of £118,000 for the
re-building of Hanuabada village. In 1950, the building of 520 houses in the sea
by the Administration began. A number of people did not qualify for a house
because they were government employees working elsewhere and had not
maintained a house at Hanuabada. In 1951, Belshaw (1957: 97) estimat­
ed that half the families in the village were not re-housed by the Administration.
Those without houses built their own on land. In 1970, 2,778 people lived in
houses in the sea and 1,614 were living on land.

Migrant workers and their families formed an increasingly important element
in the urban population until, in 1966, approximately 80 per cent of the popula-
tion were migrants from other parts of Papua New Guinea. At first there was
no policy for housing migrants and they occupied any empty buildings and land
which were available. The Kila labour camp at Taikone remained in being and
in 1946 housed 230 men. The houses were in bad condition and in 1947 a house
collapsed and nine people were injured (Interdepartmental Committee on Native
Welfare Minutes, April 1949). The camp was closed in 1951. There were twenty-
four out of 100 males were government employees and a large percentage of the
inhabitants came from the Fly River and Delta areas. In 1949 and 1950, Moveave
and Miaru people from the Gulf District were told by the Administration to
occupy huts left by the army at Vanama near Konedobu. According to one
official, these people were encouraged to bring their wives and children to live
with them.

Under legislation governing the employment of certain categories of workers,
employers were required to house their employees but this regulation was never
enforced. In the years after 1945, skilled men and materials were lacking and
only a few employers provided accommodation for their employees. The
Administration also failed to provide accommodation for its own employees.
Until the early 1960s servants’ quarters were built adjacent to public service
housing and similar accommodation was attached to most private housing but
the practice was then discontinued. According to the ‘Survey of Native Affairs’
made by L.R. Foster, Acting District Officer, in 1956, about half the indigenous
population of 12,000 were accommodated by employers and the proportion has
since continued to fall. The mass of the work force who were not provided with housing were forced to seek accommodation elsewhere.

Papuan migrants who could not find accommodation in employers' housing or in the settlement at Vanama sought to establish themselves in the urban villages as migrants had done before 1942. In 1952, an official noted that some migrants 'had managed to force their way into existing native villages' (Govt Sec., 1955), and later migrants continued to do this. In the village of Vabukori in 1964, for example, two householders came from other villages, three migrant men were affinally connected to the owner of the house in which they were living, and nine migrant men were unrelated to the house-owner. These men came from a wide variety of ethnic groups. At the end of 1965, Hanabada councillors asked the Administration to remove the large number of people from the Kairuku Sub-district who were living in their houses. In recent years a few migrants from New Guinea have married village women and established their own households in villages. Village populations are becoming increasingly heterogeneous and some include a number of European husbands of village women.

A second and more important process of settlement developed out of the traditional acceptance of non-related persons as residents in a village. Migrants who had formed relationships with a rightholder or a group of rightholders obtained the permission of the latter to build a house on their land. The first settler was then joined by members of his family or by people from the same village and they also built houses on the same site. The bases of the relationships which resulted in the grant of permission to settle vary. Until 1965, nearly all migrant groups, with the exception of inland groups from the Kairuku and Goilala Sub-districts, had traditional trading relationships with people of the Port Moresby villages. Some were connected through marriage and friendships also occurred between individual migrants and villagers. Tommy Kabu, for example, obtained a site for his trading depot successively in Pari, Vabukori and Korobosea villages by appealing to traditional trading ties between the Purari and the inhabitants of the villages. In each village, the villagers became alarmed at the size of his settlement and he was forced to remove his depot. In 1947, a Purari man who had married a Kila Kila woman obtained permission from Kila Kila rightholders for Tommy to establish Rabia (Sago) Camp on their land at Kaugere. The site was bought by the Administration in 1954 but the Kila Kila allowed the settlers to re-establish Rabia Camp above the previous site (Oram, 1967a: 16, 26). In 1959, the District Officer evicted some Hula men from their canoe settlement on Koke Island because he considered it had become a centre for prostitution, drinking and gambling. The Hula who were evicted had ties of kinship with the Vabukori landholders at Taikone, near Vabukori village. The Vabukori righholders allowed the Hula to beach their canoes at Taikone and they have gradually improved their accommodation until a number of substantial modern houses have now been built (Oram, 1968b: 6, 10). Iokea
craftsmen from the Gulf District who were living at Kila Labour Compound at Taikone had become friendly with other Vabukori rightholders during the war and were allowed to build houses at Taikone when the compound was closed. An Iokea settlement similar to that of the Hula has developed there.

The settlement populations grew rapidly. In 1956, fourteen migrant settlements had been established with an estimated population of 1,850 (Foster, 1956: 1). In 1964, there were eighteen settlements with a population of 4,500 (Oram, 1964: 40). By 1970, according to the District Office, there were 40 settlements with a population of over 12,000. Until the mid-1960s, nearly all the settlements were situated on the areas of customary land near Hanuabada to the north-west and land belonging to Vabukori, Kila Kila and Korobosea villages to the south-east. There were canoe settlements at Koke and Badili inhabited by people from the Hula-speaking area to the south-east and Vulaa fishermen settled on Daugo Island. The majority of residents of settlements came from the Port Moresby region and, in 1964, the inhabitants of over three-quarters of the settlements were born in the Gulf District (Oram, 1964: 41). Since the early 1960s, there has been an increasing influx of people from the mountains of the Goilala Sub-district of the Central District, from the Highlands and from elsewhere in New Guinea. These migrants have built houses on any unoccupied land which they have been able to find but their settlements have been mainly concentrated in the 6-mile and Gordon areas to the north of the town. Between 400 to 500 Chimbu from the New Guinea Highlands live in a settlement of some thirty houses near 6-mile, which was occupied by Goilala until they were removed by the police after an affray. Some settlements are large—Koke canoe settlements and Horse Camp are each occupied by more than 1,000 people—but many consist of only a few houses. There are four or five such settlements on the ridge above the suburb of Gordon, which house a number of domestic servants for whom accommodation is no longer provided on their employers' allotments.

As a result of its lack of a housing policy and preoccupation with other matters, the Administration did little to help the Papuan population obtain houses. Settlements were established at Taurama on the site of the present hospital and Gabutu to satisfy a direction of the Minister for External Territories, P.C. Spender. In 1949, the Administration acquired 26 acres of land on the hill at Gabutu and sites were leased to mixed-raced people who could 'afford a reasonable type of building'. The area has continued to develop as a predominantly mixed-race suburb. In 1949, the Administration built twelve Hanuabada-type houses and in 1951, a further twenty-eight quarters in Gabutu to re-house the inhabitants of the settlement at Koke and of Kila compound. Thirty higher standard houses were built at Kaugere in 1955 for more senior Papuan government employees, and a further six houses were built to accommodate the residents of the Taurama settlement, which was demolished to make way for the new hospital.

By 1955, the Administration was aware that a serious housing problem was
arising. Officials estimated that 239 single Papuans and 227 families, besides 76 families which had not been re-housed in Hanuabada, were living in 'substandard and disgraceful conditions' (Acting District Officer, 1955). They saw that the measures which they had taken hitherto were inadequate. In 1956, land was acquired at Hohola from the people of Hanuabada. As a result of a direct instruction from the Minister for External Territories, contracts for fifty houses were let in 1959, which were ready for occupation in 1960. While the scheme was based on the purchase by tenants of houses built by the Administration, sites could be leased by private developers. In 1963, there were 299 houses and, in 1966, there were 500 houses at Hohola.

Residence at Hohola was not restricted to Papuans. In 1964, there were nearly 1,900 indigenes, more than 200 persons of mixed-race, and a small number of Europeans, Asians and Pacific Islanders (Van der Veur and Richardson, 1966: 13). In 1966, 6 per cent of the population were non-indigenous and, as Europeans continued to take advantage of the low building covenants to build houses, the non-indigenous population rose to 10.4 per cent in 1970. The area was designed as a neighbourhood and, by mid-1962, there were four stores owned by Chinese and a bakery. Later more stores and a cinema were built. A community centre was established in 1964 and there is also an infant welfare clinic. Churches and a Salvation Army hostel have also been built. In a search for means of housing the poorer members of the population, the Administration established a site-and-service scheme for low-cost housing at Sabama, near Kila Kila village, in 1962. Only ten houses had been built by mid-1967 and the site-and-service scheme proved unsuccessful. The Housing Commission has since built a number of low-cost houses in the area. Since 1971, no-covenant areas have been developed in which Papua New Guineans with low incomes can build to a standard which they can afford. These areas have been established in June Valley and at Morata near Waigani.

The most striking aspect of Port Moresby is the dispersed nature of its development, which does not conform to any theory of spatial distribution. Discrete residential and commercial areas are scattered within the town, interspersed by stretches of undeveloped land. The overall density of population within the 1968 town boundary is 1,833 persons to a square mile. Topography has been an important factor in determining the spatial distribution of the population. Hills cut off the peninsula-Konedobu area and the Koke-Kaugere-Kila Kila area from the areas of new development to the north. A large proportion of the town area is on slopes of more than 20 per cent, especially on the coastal hills. The authors of the Port Moresby Development Study (Maunsell and Voorhees, 1970: 10) considered that such slopes are too steep for development, but development has already taken place on Tuaguba Hill and similar areas. Systems of land tenure and land legislation have also contributed to dispersal. Areas of customary land have been almost entirely confined to indigenous residential development and the Administration has only been able to acquire customary land where right-
holders have been willing to sell. The main determinant has been the unrestricted power of the Administration to determine the location and type of development on alienated land, which constitutes some four-fifths of the area of the town.

There is a large measure of residential segregation of the indigenous and non-indigenous sub-populations, as Map 5 indicates. In 1971, 75 per cent of the non-indigenous population lived in high-covenant dwellings. With the exception of 7 per cent who lived in low-covenant dwellings, the remainder of the non-indigenous population lived in high standard buildings. In 1971, only 2.5 per cent of the indigenous population lived in high-covenant buildings. In 1966, approximately 16 per cent of the indigenous population lived in villages and 16 per cent lived in urban settlements. These were mainly situated in or near the customary land surrounding the villages of Vabukori, Kila Kila and Korobosea and in the area surrounding Hanuabada. Forty-six per cent of the indigenous population lived in predominantly indigenous areas such as Kaugere, Hohola and other government settlements and employers' compounds. The Administration deliberately sited Kaugere, Hohola and Sabama away from European residential areas. When land at Kaugere was acquired for local government employees, the local newspaper noted with satisfaction that: 'The site of the proposed settlement is not visible from the European houses of the Boroko Estate' (S.P.P., 18 May 1951). Thus nearly four-fifths of the indigenous population lived in almost entirely segregated areas and the pattern was unchanged in 1971. The remaining 22 per cent lived in houses provided by employers, including quarters for domestic servants, in predominantly non-indigenous areas, such as Boroko and Gordon. In these areas, indigenous people may be in a majority, but they are segregated by social distance even if they are residentially intermingled. In 1968, a Housing Commission was established and it began to develop racially-integrated housing areas. Integration is not always complete and segregation in smaller clusters has been achieved. At Tokarara, for example, low-cost houses occupied by Papuans and New Guineans are sited in swampy hollows while more expensive houses are built on hill slopes.

Within predominantly indigenous areas, a large proportion of the population live in tribal or regional clusters. These clusters are found not only in villages and migrant settlements but also in government housing areas. An examination of districts of origin of inhabitants of Hohola recorded in 1967 shows that members of the larger tribal groups lived in such clusters. Six out of eleven households which originated from the Northern District, for example, lived in one out of thirty sections; and twenty-one out of thirty-four households originating in the Rigo Sub-district lived in three contiguous sections while three of the remainder lived in another section. Similar patterns appeared markedly

3. For the purpose of this book a term is needed to describe groups and categories of people who share a common language culture and sense of identity. As a general term, 'tribe' seems preferable to 'ethnic group'.

MAP 5. Port Moresby population by race, 1971
among groups from the Morobe District and the Daru, Samarai, Kukipi, Hula and Kerema areas.

There are a number of institutions in Port Moresby which cut across the main residential patterns; 12.7 per cent of the indigenous and 12.5 per cent of the non-indigenous population lived in institutional housing in 1971. Port Moresby is a garrison town with two barracks. Both have racially and ethnically mixed populations, but that of the headquarters of the Pacific Island Regiment at Taurama is predominantly Papua New Guinean and the Waigani complex educational, the university and Administrative College. The staffs of these institutions are still predominantly European with students drawn from all over the country.

The town is divided into two main sectors. The first comprises the planned area which is developed to western standards of building and services. The inhabitants are still predominantly European although, with rapid localisation, an increasing number of Papuan public servants are also living in government houses. In spite of the considerable number of indigenous people living in servants’ quarters, the sector is European in character. Predominantly indigenous areas, such as Kaugere and Hohola, can be included in this sector. They are planned but developed to lower standards of building and services. Over one-third of the indigenous population live in the second sector, which is mainly situated on customary land. Development is unplanned, few urban services are provided and much housing is of a low standard of construction.
7 Characteristics of the Port Moresby Population

As well as largely determining the physical development of the town, government policies greatly influenced the racial composition of the population and the extent of indigenous participation in its economic life. In 1945, the Labor Government at Canberra appointed Colonel J.K. Murray as Administrator of Papua and New Guinea. Murray had been Professor of Agriculture at Queensland University and Chief Instructor at the Army School of Civil Affairs. As stated by the Minister for External Territories, E. J. Ward, in the House of Representatives on 4 July 1945, the policy of the Labor Government was to develop the country through the agency of Papua New Guineans with possible limitations on European enterprise. This policy aroused great hostility from Europeans with interests in Papua New Guinea. The Liberal Country Party Coalition came into power in 1949 and P.M.C. Hasluck became Minister for External Territories. Within a year, Murray had been dismissed and Brigadier Cleland became Administrator. Hasluck continued the policy of developing Papua New Guinea with finance provided by the Australian Government, but he placed less emphasis on indigenous participation in the process. He considered that the British in Africa and elsewhere had been forced to grant self-government prematurely as a result of the pressures exercised by educated élites. In his speeches, he constantly advocated a policy of uniform development accompanied by a very slow advance to self-government. In 1958, he still spoke in terms of Australian tutelage of Papua New Guinea for a further thirty years (Hasluck, 1958: 86).

Pressures for more rapid political advance became too strong for Hasluck and for C.E. Barnes, who succeeded him as Minister in 1963 and whose outlook was highly conservative. In 1961, Hasluck admitted that political independence was likely to come sooner than the Australian Government would have wished if its objective of preparing the people and the economy were to be properly realised’ (Hasluck, 1961). In 1964, the first House of Assembly consisted of fifty-four members elected by universal suffrage and ten official members. By 1970, the Administrator’s Executive Council was operating as a quasi-ministerial system. Internal self-government was achieved on 1 December 1973.

1. He was not related to Sir Hubert or Leonard Murray.
The rapid growth of the urban population has been little influenced by boundary changes. Natural increase has been an important factor in urban villages and among long established migrant groups. The overall rate for the whole urban population has been 2.6 per cent (L. H. Lewis, pers. comm.) but it has been higher in some areas. The population of Pari village, for example, has been growing by natural increase at an annual rate of 4.2 per cent since 1961 (Maddocks, 1971). A similar rate is likely to have occurred in other villages and long established settlements, well above the national average of approximately 2.5 per cent. Continuing migration makes it impossible to calculate the part played by natural increase in the expansion of the population as a whole. Migration is the main cause of population increase.

In 1971, people of European descent formed 88.7 per cent of the non-indigenous sub-population and nearly all adults were born outside Papua New Guinea. Three-quarters of the Europeans born outside Papua New Guinea were born in Australia and just over 16 per cent were born in Europe. Eleven hundred and seven mixed race people formed 6.5 per cent and 618 Chinese formed 3.6 per cent of the non-indigenous sub-population. In 1957, Chinese residents in New Guinea were allowed by the Commonwealth Government to apply for Australian citizenship. Some of those who were successful moved to Port Moresby and a few Chinese have come from Australia. As the total population has increased, non-indigenous people have continued to form approximately one-quarter of the total. A large number of Europeans have left Port Moresby as a result of the localisation of their jobs, but it is not clear to what extent there has been an overall reduction in the number of Europeans.

In 1961, 80 per cent of the indigenous population of Port Moresby were born in the Port Moresby region; in 1966, the figure was 77 per cent; and in 1971, the figure was still as high as 73.6 per cent. In 1971, 56 per cent were born in the Central District. Port Moresby is still a Papuan town. Place of birth does not necessarily indicate the village groups to which migrants consider they belong. A majority of indigenous children in Port Moresby consider themselves and are considered by others to belong to the groups of their parents. The proportion of people who consider that they belong to villages in the Gulf District is considerably higher than 16 per cent. In 1966, 14 per cent and in 1971, 18.2 per cent were born in New Guinea. In 1966, 4.4 per cent and in 1971, 9.1 per cent were born in the four Highlands districts but labour returns and the establishment of a number of new residential settlements suggest that there has been a large influx of Highlanders during the last three years. Because Highlanders form a higher proportion of males of working age than any other section of the population, the percentage of Highlanders in the work force is higher than in the total indigenous population.

Many writers seek a dominant determinant of migration to towns. Belshaw (1963: 20), for example, wishes to establish the hypothesis that 'when [Pacific] 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'.

A large number of variables should be considered when reasons for indigenous migration from any particular areas are sought. These include the extent of population pressure and of economic opportunity, level of education and social organisation at the village level and the nature of the opportunities and attractions found in the town. Direct population pressure on land has not hitherto been a significant cause of migration, although it may become so in some areas such as the Chimbu District. Nearly all people living in rural areas can produce the food which they need. Few indigenous people, except the residents of the Port Moresby urban villages, are forced by lack of subsistence to seek paid employment outside their villages. The majority of migrants from the Port Moresby region move to centres of employment because they lack opportunities to earn money. Many who have reached higher primary grades and above at school can only exploit their knowledge through migration.

The reasons for the recent influx of migrants from the New Guinea Highlands are more complex and vary from area to area. In the 1950s, a few Highlanders came to Port Moresby either as agreement workers, policemen or visitors. Since the early 1960s, there has been a large number of migrants who pay their own fares (Salisbury, 1970: 6; Strathern, 1972: 20). Many agreement workers also left their plantations near the coast before their agreements expired and sought work in Port Moresby (S.P.P., 5 April 1968; Strathern, 1972: 22). According to Strathern, 'there is no simple correlation between level of economic development at home and the exodus of migrants from Mount Hagen'. Migrants who live near Hagen had an unpleasant experience of unskilled labour when they were required to carry loads in the early days of contact and have easy access to the urban amenities of the town of Mount Hagen. They are unwilling to migrate to Port Moresby as unskilled workers. People of the Dei area live further from Mount Hagen and were not required to carry. They are prepared to migrate to Port Moresby as unskilled workers in the expectation of accumulating wealth, although they might achieve higher cash savings if they stayed at home (Strathern, 1972: 22). The 'push' factor may be greater among the Chimbu and in the Eastern Highlands District where there is an incipient land shortage. Salisbury (1970: 8) found that among the Siane of the Eastern Highlands District, those without land or whose coffee was not yet bearing or whose income from coffee was not great tended to migrate. All migrants needed some income from coffee to invest in an air fare to Port Moresby.

The importance of a desire to escape from traditional social controls as a factor giving rise to migration varies from society to society. Urban Kuni, for example, are reluctant to return to their own group, 'where we will be bossed around by old men and leaders with outdated ideas' (van Rijswijck, 1967:467). Attractions of the town must be measured over a period of time. There were few
Pyramids of Papua New Guinean (L) and expatriate (R) population, 1971. P.N.G. Census
'bright lights' in Port Moresby to attract migrants until the mid-1960s, when town life began to be more interesting for them. As standards of education rose, indigenous people began to appreciate Western forms of entertainment which became available to them. The higher standards of urban, as compared to rural, schools attract migrants. The influence of varying educational opportunities in town and village can be traced in the changing rates of migration from Hula to Port Moresby (Oram, 1968b: 19). In 1964, 42 per cent of a sample of 111 families in the three main towns had at some time boarded additional school children from rural areas (van der Veur and Richardson, 1966: 40).

Yet economic factors appear to be the most important cause of migration. An inquiry carried out in seven districts in 1968 into reasons why children continued their education beyond the primary level found that 56 per cent of children of both sexes thought that further schooling would help them to get a job. 'A large majority of migrants expressed a preference for village life over town life' (Conroy, 1970: 502, 508). Among the Yega of the Northern District, the older uneducated men found the rewards of unskilled labour too small to tempt them to leave home while all the younger unmarried men, in an area of exceptional educational opportunities, left to take up skilled jobs (Dakeyne, 1967: 153-5).

A distinction should be made between underlying economic causes of migration and the reasons why one individual rather than another leaves home. The latter may include personal qualities of ambition, sense of adventure, and inability to fit in with rural society; and such factors as fear of sorcery as a result of unexpected deaths, quarrels with kinsmen and offences which cause shame and the displeasure of the group. Personal reasons for migration may affect the length of stay in the urban area and willingness to return to the village.

The term 'urbanisation' has been given a number of meanings. Here use will be made of three concepts discussed by Mitchell (1969: 470-93). 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'. Commitment 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 area than in his tribal area, has lived for comparatively long periods in the towns, and sees himself living in the town for a long time in the future'. Finally urbanisation refers to the process whereby migrants adopt behaviour patterns appropriate to urban life.

The European sub-population is highly urbanised and the majority of its members have had experience of town life before they came to Papua New Guinea; but it does not form a stable element within the total population. The age pyramid is fairly regular except that there is a low percentage of members of

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2. In his earlier paper Mitchell distinguishes between commitment as a psychological concept and involvement: in the second paper he gives both terms as an alternative. Commitment is used here as being more appropriate.
both sexes in the under twenty age-groups because many European children are sent to Australia to school. The sex ratio for the non-indigenous sub-population was 138 males to 100 females in 1966 and 115 males to 100 females in 1971. Over 30 per cent of European males and 16 per cent of European females over the age of 20 were unmarried in 1966, reflecting the large number of young single men and women who came to Papua New Guinea for the sake of employment. The evacuation of the civil population in 1942 destroyed the continuity of residence of the European population. In 1966, only thirty-three Europeans born outside Papua New Guinea had lived there before World War II. In 1971, 75 per cent of expatriates had spent under five years in Papua New Guinea. While figures for length of residence in Port Moresby are not available, much shorter periods are often spent in the town itself.

The Europeans can be divided into 'residents' and 'transients'. The residents are those whose occupations and careers commit them to spending long periods in Port Moresby. They include senior and some other public servants, men and women owning their own businesses, independent professional men such as doctors, lawyers and accountants, and missionaries. They form a small minority of the European population. The term 'transients' signifies those who stay for short periods without any commitment to Papua New Guinea. A memorandum presented by the Public Works Department to the Public Accounts Committee referred to temporary public servants who were concerned 'with seeing the Territory at the Administration's expense rather than being interested in, or with the intention of doing a job' and called them 'tourists' (Canberra Times, 11 July 1967). Transients include those who are required to work for a few years in Port Moresby. The turnover in the staff of large commercial firms is high. In 1964, 50 per cent of their employees did not renew their contracts, although if they did so they stayed indefinitely (Bettison, 1966: 230); and in 1969 a director of one firm said that there was a 30 per cent turnover of Europeans a year. An equally rapid turnover is found among European artisans and construction workers. As localisation proceeds, Europeans are likely to become increasingly transient in the future.

The majority of mixed-race people have long been connected with Port Moresby. Many own houses at Gabutu or on their own freehold or leasehold land elsewhere in the urban area. Others live on native land in or near urban villages. The majority are likely to spend their lives in the town but from the early 1960s some mixed-race people who obtained Australian citizenship bought land in Australia as a safeguard against political breakdown in Papua New Guinea. Many Chinese have a financial stake in Port Moresby and are likely to remain as long as political conditions permit them to do so. Their future is uncertain and younger, well-educated Chinese may take advantage of their Australian citizenship to live in Australia.

The Papua New Guinean sub-population exhibits the characteristics of a predominantly migrant population. In 1971 there was a marked preponderance
of indigenous males under the age of 30; they formed 48 per cent of the indigenous male population. This indicates the large number of young single men who come to work in the town. The proportion varies markedly according to place of origin. Males over the age of 15 and under 25 born in the Port Moresby region formed 38.6 per cent, and those born elsewhere in Papua New Guinea formed 71.3 per cent, of their respective male populations. The proportion of children under the age of 10 is high in comparison with the 10-14 age-group and an increasing number of children are being born in Port Moresby. Available evidence suggests that there are marked changes in the age structures of migrant groups as they spend long periods in the town. In 1955, for example, children under 10 years of age living in Rabia Camp formed 16 per cent, while in 1964 they formed 39 per cent, of the camp’s population (Hitchcock, 1967: 49).

Sex ratios for the whole indigenous population are gradually becoming more balanced. There were 282 men to 100 women in 1961, 184 men to 100 women in 1966 and 159 men to 100 women in 1971. Between 1966 and 1971, the indigenous male population increased by 51.5 per cent and the indigenous female population by 73.9 per cent. There are marked differences in sex ratios according to place of origin and masculinity becomes more marked as the distance between Port Moresby and place of origin increases. Among migrants from the Port Moresby region there were 128 men to 100 women in 1971, compared to 148 men to 100 women in 1966; from the whole of New Guinea 371 men to 100 women in 1971, compared to 507 in 1966; and from the four Highlands Districts 577 men to 100 women compared to 1,320 men to 100 women in 1966. In 1971, the proportion for people originating in the Port Moresby Sub-district, who formed over one-third of the indigenous population, was nearly equal.

In 1971, 58 per cent of males aged 10 years and over but only 33 per cent of females had never been married. Only 221 out of a total of 10,487 currently married men had more than one wife while no woman was recorded as having more than one husband. Similarly to sex ratios, marriage patterns vary according to district of origin. A high proportion of men from the Port Moresby region are married: the majority of adult men among the Hula (Oram, 1968b: 16), Toaripi (D. Ryan, 1964: 2), Purari (Hitchcock, 1967: 51) and Kuni (van Rijswijck, 1967) resident in Port Moresby were married. Unlike many urban migrants in Africa, for example in Uganda (Elkan, 1960: 5), only 15 per cent of men currently married had left their wives in their villages in 1971. The proportion was lowest among the older migrant groups and few Toaripi, for example, left their families in their villages (D. Ryan, 1968: 62), while a number of men from the Highlands migrated without their families. In 1967, one-third of Siane migrants (Salisbury, 1970: 8) and, in 1971, seven out of thirteen Hageners who had married Hagen women (Strathern, 1972: 30) had left their wives at home.

In the past members of each successive group of migrants have been spending longer and longer periods in Port Moresby. Among the groups who began to settle shortly after 1945, over two-thirds of Toaripi males had first left their
villages over ten years before (D. Ryan, 1968: 62) and similar figures can be quoted for Hula (Oram, 1968b: 16) and Purari (Hitchcock, 1967: 51) migrants. Census tabulations for 1971 show that a similar pattern is developing among more recent migrant groups from the Highlands and elsewhere in New Guinea. Salisbury considers that Highlanders with skilled jobs may stay in Port Moresby for ten or fifteen years, while some who are particularly successful in Port Moresby return earlier to their villages to start their own businesses. Strathern (1972) has noted that Highlanders from the Hagen area are prolonging their stay in town.

An inquiry into attitudes of 92 indigenous brewery employees to continued urban residence found that 7 per cent intended to stay permanently in Port Moresby, 33 per cent intended to stay more than five years, 5 per cent intended to go to another centre, and the remaining 55 per cent intended to return home within five years (Rew, 1970: 282). These attitudes, as Rew points out, may merely reflect the attachment and sense of obligation of the respondents to their villages. Three Papuans holding responsible jobs, a headmaster, an acting head of division of a small government department and a graduate employee of the university, all spontaneously told me that they intended to give up their jobs and go to farm in their villages within two years. They are unlikely to do so.

As yet, few migrants have cut themselves off entirely from their villages. Besides emotional ties, there are economic reasons why the majority of migrants maintain close links with their home villages. Kinsmen in their villages represent as yet their only form of social security in sickness and old age. The extent and nature of contacts between migrants living in Port Moresby and the people of their villages depends upon a number of factors, including distance. In 1964, 71 per cent of the Kuni, who live in a mountainous area in the northern Central District, had not visited their homes since they had reached Port Moresby and half the remainder went only once to find a bride (van Rijswijck, 1967: 415). Village ties of a number of migrants are being gradually loosened. Some do not continue to meet their exchange obligations towards their kinsmen and examples can be given among the Toaripi (D. Ryan, 1970: 63, 65), of migrants losing their land rights as a result. The children of early migrants who have grown up in Port Moresby are now becoming adult. While they identify with a particular village group, they do not possess traditional village skills. As intermarriage between members of different migrant groups becomes more frequent, village ties will become further weakened.

A few workers travel daily from their villages to the town. In the early 1960s, the establishment of a transport business by the Pako brothers of Porebada enabled people living in that village to travel daily to work in Port Moresby. Since the Rigo road was finished in 1965, people have begun to commute from as far away as Gaire, 30 miles from Port Moresby. The return fare is 50 cents a day. The proportion of commuters in the Port Moresby work force will increase.
as communications improve but, as the hinterland of Port Moresby is sparsely populated, it will remain small.

A number of writers, for example G. Wilson (1940: 42), Mitchell (1956: 160) and M. Wilson and Mafeje (1963: 15), have placed migrants in such categories as visitors, migrant labourers, temporarily urbanised and permanently urbanised. Such classifications require examination because housing and other policies may be based on them but in Port Moresby they have little relevance. As each successive source of migrants is tapped—the Gulf District, the Goilala Sub-district, the Highlands and the Sepik area—each migrant group follows the same process in the town. Young single men find work and those who can afford to do so bring their families. Gradually periods spent in town are prolonged and more families arrive. Many members of each migrant group, even of those longest established in Port Moresby, are still able to return to their home village. Each member within each group can potentially be included in any of these categories. Meanwhile each group as a whole becomes increasingly committed to urban residence and increasingly urbanised.

The majority of adult Europeans and Chinese living in Port Moresby have received their schooling elsewhere and only mixed-race people among the non-indigenous population were educated in the Port Moresby area. In 1947 a school for European children was built by the Administration on the Ela Beach Recreation Reserve. By 1970 there were seven government and one mission primary school following an Australian syllabus. In 1970, 2.5 per cent of those admitted to such schools were indigenous. The Port Moresby High School was opened in 1959 and in 1968 was attended by 391 students, of whom the majority were Europeans. A large number of European children are sent to Australia for their secondary education and those who qualify receive a government subsidy of $290 a year.

Virtually all non-indigenous people of secondary school age and beyond had completed schooling at the primary level and proceeded to secondary education. The majority of those whose education ended at the primary level are mixed-race people or Asians. In 1966, one-third of the total non-indigenous sub-population and 40 per cent of the male non-indigenous sub-population had achieved some qualifications beyond secondary schooling. Eighteen per cent of males held university degrees or other tertiary qualifications.

Increased participation by the Administration in indigenous education began when Angau established a central teacher-training school at Sogeri in 1944. In 1946, the first Director of Education was appointed and the Education Department began to provide an increasing number of schools throughout the Territory. In line with his policies for economic and political development, Hasluck pursued a policy of uniform development for all sections of the Papua New Guinean population. Throughout the 1950s, the Administration concentrated on the development of primary education both through establishing their own primary schools and making grants to missions for each qualified teacher employed by
them. In a public address in 1958 which contained a major statement of his policies towards New Guinea, Hasluck (1958: 88) asked ‘more advanced people to accept with patience and moderation a wider goal for the whole of the people rather than the early serving of their own sectional advantage’. He did not mention secondary education when discussing educational policies. The policy of uniform development was in accord with the aims of the first Director of Education, W.C. Groves, who before 1942 had served as a government teacher and anthropologist in New Guinea. He took the view, expounded in ‘The Blending of Cultures’ by F. E. Williams, that education should be related to the needs of indigenous societies and not merely follow a Western model. The aim of the five years’ development plan produced in 1949 was to achieve literacy in the vernacular followed by literacy in English; to encourage the education of women and girls; to provide education through mass media; and to encourage native handicrafts.

There was a shift of emphasis in educational policy in the mid-1950s and in 1958 Hasluck accepted the plan of the new Director, G.T. Roscoe, for achieving universal primary education: this involved a concentration on teacher training, a complete revision of the syllabus and a drive for literacy in English. Education, which had previously been the Cinderella of the social services, was given priority in the allocation of government finance. As a result of a crash program, the number of government primary schools rose from 145 in 1956 to 410 in 1966. In 1966 the number of students was two-and-a-half times the number in 1961. The goal of universal primary education has not been achieved and less than half of the children of the 6-12 age-group were at school in 1966. The main limiting factor in all branches of education has been shortage of trained teachers, although shortage of finance may also be significant in the future. In 1967, seven additional primary teachers were needed in Port Moresby alone while only four were available for schools of all kinds within the whole district (Smith, 1970: 8-10).

In 1948, the United Nations Trusteeship Council recommended that an educated elite should be developed but little was done to achieve this goal. In 1948, the school at Sogeri became a Higher Training Institute and by 1952 was providing post-primary education to standard VIII. True secondary education began, however, when a few students at Sogeri began to follow the Queensland correspondence course in the early 1950s. A number of Papuans now prominent in public life took this course. In 1954, fourteen indigenous students were sent to secondary schools in Australia on government scholarships and 103 students had finished their secondary schooling there by 1964 (Neve, 1963: 17). Post-primary education was provided at a number of schools but the aim of uniform development was retained. The first junior high schools were not established until 1961. In 1962, only 719 indigenous students were receiving secondary education within Papua New Guinea (A.R., 1962: iii). In 1961, an interdepart-
mental committee appointed by the Minister for Territories recommended the expansion of secondary education 'to bring indigenous people to university entrance standard' (N.G.A.R., 1961-2: 145-6). Secondary education expanded rapidly after L.W. Johnson was appointed Director of Education in 1962. In 1969, there were forty-two government and mission high schools attended by 10,672 students in Papua New Guinea. Sogeri became the first senior high school with a sixth form in March 1971.

Delays in developing secondary education were the subject of criticism from a number of sources in the early 1960s. The Report of the United Nations Mission under Sir Hugh Foot said that: 'the main reason why the present educational programme is inadequate is that it pays little or no attention to the need for higher education' (U.N.O., 1962: para 198). In 1964, the Commission on Higher Education said (p.1) that real secondary education was scarcely out of its infancy. As a result of this delay, an educated Papua New Guinean elite is only now beginning to emerge.

At the beginning of the 1960s, the recognition by the Australian Government of a need for more rapid political advancement than hitherto hastened the development of tertiary education. In 1961 the interdepartmental committee recommended that an administrative college and a university college linked to an Australian university should be established (N.G.A.R., 1961-2: 145-6). The Papuan Medical College, which became part of the university in 1971, had already been founded in 1959 and the Teachers' College was founded in 1961. The Administrative College was established in 1963 and the University of Papua New Guinea opened with an intake of fifty-five preliminary year students in 1966. Outside Port Moresby, the University of Technology is situated at Lae and the Goroka Teachers' College has been established for training secondary teachers. A flow of students is now graduating from these institutions. In June 1970, the first six indigenous students from the university at Port Moresby graduated and, in March 1974, 159 indigenous and 140 expatriate students had graduated.

A large number of adult migrants receive some education before they go to Port Moresby but an increasing proportion of the urban population is being educated in the town itself. In spite of opposition from some members of the Administration to the creation of urban élites, urban areas have been given priority over rural areas in provision of schools. 'In effect we have no option about establishing whatever schools are necessary in urban areas, to the limit of teachers available and to the exclusion of rural areas if necessary' (South Pacific Journal of Education, 1961: 3). Children living in Port Moresby still have an educational advantage over children living in rural areas in the Central

3. At the Town Planning Conference in 1956, the Assistant Administrator, Dr J.T. Gunther, with some prescience, said that a university would be needed by 1974. He became first Vice-Chancellor of the University of Papua New Guinea in 1966.
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District and in Papua and New Guinea as a whole. In 1966 the number of children attending primary schools in Port Moresby was equivalent to 116 per cent of the enumerated urban population in the 6-12 age group. This figure is significant, although it includes over-age children and the enumeration is inaccurate. Only 67 per cent of children of the same age group living in rural areas of the Central District were at school. Of the children at school in Port Moresby, 54 per cent were selected to attend high schools while only 34 per cent of children from the rural areas were selected (Smith, 1970: 14, 27).

Although in the 1970s there were seven government and four mission primary schools following a local syllabus and two high schools in Port Moresby, the percentage of children at school has declined. Schools are provided according to a formula to meet the needs of a growing population in the planned areas on alienated land; but there is no clear policy for providing educational facilities for the people of villages and settlements on land held under customary tenure. In 1969, a survey carried out by officials of the Department of District Administration suggested that half the children between the ages of six and fifteen living in migrant settlements were not attending school. While their numbers may have been overestimated, a high proportion of such children do not receive schooling (Smith, 1970: 14).

Educational standards of the indigenous sub-population are far below those of the non-indigenous sub-population. In 1971, 22 per cent of indigenous people over the age of six living in Port Moresby had never attended school. In 1966, only 2,628, of whom 2,119 were males, had attended or were attending secondary schools, but in 1971 numbers had risen to 5,262 males and 3,761 females; 646 males and 98 females had obtained leaving certificates. There was one university graduate in 1966, but in March 1974, 105 indigenous graduates were living in Port Moresby. In 1966, only eleven men and five women held other tertiary qualifications and the standards achieved were below those required in Australia. Sub-professional or other qualifications were held by 973 men and 463 women.

There are wide differences in the standard of education achieved by people living in different parts of Papua New Guinea. The percentage, for example, of children of school age enrolled in 1968 was 88 per cent in East New Britain District, 30 per cent in the West Sepik District and 14 per cent in the Southern Highlands District (Smith, 1970: 15). The same differences are found among migrants in Port Moresby who are drawn from the better educated sections of district populations. In 1966, of people living in Port Moresby of school age and above, 57 per cent of males born in the Central District, 93 per cent of males born in East New Britain District (a very small population) and 38 per cent of males from the four Highlands districts had had some schooling. Of children of secondary school age and above, 60 per cent of males born in New Britain, 12 per cent of males born in the Central District and 6 per cent of males born in the four Highlands Districts had had some secondary schooling.
There are wide differences in educational achievement within districts. Within the Central District, for example, people from the Goilala Sub-district, inland areas of the Rigo Sub-district and the Koiai area inland from Port Moresby have had little schooling while people of coastal villages may nearly all be literate. In 1964 only 2 per cent of Hula of both sexes living in Port Moresby had had no schooling and 48 per cent had continued their education beyond the primary level (Oram, 1968b: 18). The coastal peoples of the Port Moresby region, people from Milne Bay educated by Kwato Mission, and people from other coastal or island areas such as the Gazelle Peninsula, are the best educated among the indigenous population. Inland people, including those from the Highlands of New Guinea, are least well educated.

In 1966, there were also marked differences in educational achievement among the people living in different types of residential areas. Nearly all young urban villagers received some schooling and 85.5 per cent of residents over the age of 40 had been to school. Approximately one-third of people who were living in domestic servants' quarters and employees' compounds had never been to school and, together with the residents of migrant settlements, had the lowest proportion of attendance at secondary school. The two types of residents living in predominantly indigenous areas, the senior government and other employees living in Hohola and Kaugere and unskilled or semi-skilled workers living in compounds, are reflected in the educational figures. Twenty-six per cent of males had never been to school; but a high proportion, 15.1 per cent, which is slightly higher than the percentage for urban villages, had attended secondary schools (Oram, 1970: 63-6). Yet some migrants from the least well-educated groups are achieving higher levels of education. In July 1971, for example, 6 per cent of Hageners resident in Port Moresby were receiving tertiary education (Strathern, 1972: 23).

In the future, members of those village groups who for long have had access to schooling will maintain their educational lead. Yet some children of these groups are leaving school at the age of twelve or below and in the future a proportion of them may not achieve a reasonable standard of literacy. Many children from less sophisticated groups living in Port Moresby will receive no schooling. The Urban Synod of the United Church argued that urban children should be given preference in obtaining school places because town-dwellers are dependent on education and skills to earn a reasonable wage, while in rural areas the inhabitants can still win a living from the soil (P.C., 4 Nov. 1969). It can be further argued that educational facilities in rural areas merely increase the rate of migration to towns. Yet there is already jealousy among less sophisticated people over the educational advantages of Port Moresby. Future educational policies will be devised by Papua New Guinean ministers and members of the House of Assembly whose sympathies are largely rural and education in Port Moresby may suffer as a result.

In spite of the recent achievement of self-government, expatriates still hold
a dominant place in the economy. In 1971, 20 per cent of expatriate males had professional or technical qualifications and a further 12 per cent were managers. Nineteen per cent were clerks and approximately one-third were skilled transport workers and members of the defence forces. Nearly all major businesses are owned by European companies, but in 1966 only 5.3 per cent of European males owned their own businesses.

Seventy-one per cent of expatriate women aged fifteen and over were employed in 1971. Forty-seven per cent of those employed held clerical positions and 14 per cent were described as professionals: three-quarters of these were nurses and teachers. A few held managerial positions, and the remainder held a variety of semi-skilled and unskilled positions, such as saleswomen in stores. In August 1971, Dr John Guise, speaker of the House of Assembly, strongly criticised the employment of European wives when Papua New Guineans could do their jobs (P.C., 4 Aug. 1971), and their number has been somewhat reduced as a result of the localisation of jobs.

The dual policy pursued by Hasluck of rapid economic development through Australian grants-in-aid and of uniform development has led to a large number of Europeans holding jobs which require little education or skill. Raymond Firth, the anthropologist, said that in the early 1950s:

I was struck in New Guinea by the way in which much work that could easily be performed by trained natives—e.g. serving behind shop counters, driving motor vehicles—is performed by high-cost European labour, often imported especially from Australia. (Firth, 1964: 176 n.1)

It was not until June 1968 that the Administration announced to the 35th Session of the United Nations Trusteeship Council that it would cease to recruit base-grade clerks from overseas, 'except in very exceptional circumstances'. In 1971, Europeans could still be seen throughout the town area working with their hands in such occupations as builders and carpenters. In March 1971, the Administration said that it was considering issuing work permits to expatriates in some occupations; and in March 1972 fifty-eight occupations were reserved for Papua New Guineans, and forty-eight occupations were limited to two-year or three-year contracts. Further occupations were reserved in mid-1973. Employment of Europeans in low-grade occupations continued in 1974 but it was being greatly reduced by localisation.

Two-thirds of the mixed-race population were employed as mechanics, drivers and craftsmen in 1966. Only 2 out of 136 men in employment were classed as professionals. Seventeen per cent of mixed-race women were employed. With the exception of a few public servants, the Chinese population was engaged in storekeeping either as owners or as employees. The period following 1957 when Chinese were first allowed to acquire Australian citizenship and thus enter Papua was one in which opportunities occurred to establish retail stores in new residential areas throughout the town. These centres are now dominated by Chinese entrepreneurs. The Chinese work long hours, mainly employ mem-
bers of their families and have access to unsecured loans organised by their own community to help them begin or expand their businesses (C. Inglis, pers. comm.). There are now a few Chinese with professional qualifications, for example a doctor and three pharmacists, working in the town.

Nearly all Papua New Guinean town-dwellers, including urban villagers, are extensively involved in the monetary sector of the economy. In 1971, 663 were recorded as farmers, fishermen etc., but a large proportion were fishermen selling their fish in the market and elsewhere. The occupations of the majority of indigenous town-dwellers have been mainly determined by their low levels of Western education. Only 32 indigenous men described themselves as employers and a further 91 as self-employed. The latter included a number of commercial fishermen living at Koke and Badili. There was no development in pre-contact times of what Geertz (1963: 28) calls a ‘bazaar-centred’ economy as opposed to a ‘firm-centred’ economy and there has been little development of such an economy under European influence. With a few exceptions, such as the woodcarvers of Baruni village, there were until recently no indigenous craftsmen who produced small commodities at home or who provided such services as bicycle repairing and simple tailoring. There is only spasmodic hawking of fish, vegetables and curios by a few individuals. There has recently been some development of the informal sector. The Mekeo, with their fertile agricultural base, have developed a flourishing areca nut trade in markets throughout the town and some earn many thousands of dollars a year. Sepik carvers are beginning to sell their artifacts through agents in Port Moresby. Besides lack of traditional informal enterprise, a large number of regulations inhibit its development. These include the zoning provisions of the Town Planning Ordinance, too high standards of construction demanded by building regulations, prohibition of hawking and over-stringent enforcement of health regulations in relation to the sale of food. Restrictions on the number of taxi-trucks imposed by the Passenger Transport Control Board inhibit the development of an indigenous transport industry (Southern, 1974). In 1973, the government appointed consultants to examine the problem of administrative restriction on economic enterprise (Blaxter and Fitzpatrick, 1973) and subsequently established a committee, on which a number of government departments and the City Council were represented, to recommend ways in which restrictions could be removed and the informal section developed.

Until the end of 1966, fewer than ten indigenous businesses were conducted on the same permanent basis and on as large a scale as the smallest European businesses. There has since been some development in the fields of transport, building construction and storekeeping. This development has been due both

4. I am grateful for information relating to the development of indigenous enterprises since 1965 provided by Miss Lesley Andrews, who was studying for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the University of Manchester.
to individual initiative and also to loans and close supervision provided by the Development Bank, established in 1967. A part has also been played by the Business Advisory Service established by the Department of Business Development. Yet until the Somare Government became effective indigenous entrepreneurs did not receive the support and protection they needed.

Indigenous town-dwellers first tried to become entrepreneurs in the modern sector of the economy by buying ex-army Jeeps and other vehicles. Besides serving such private needs as transporting kinsmen and garden and other produce, the principal activity of indigenous-owned commercial trucks has been to carry passengers within the town area where the bus service is inadequate. The majority of businesses consist of a single truck owned by an individual or a group of kinsmen. Studies of several businesses carried out by me suggest that little profit is made by the majority of truck owners and the trucks themselves have a short life. Takings are distributed to those who contribute to the purchase price of the truck and drivers tend to hold back part of their takings. After loan repayments have been made, little finance is available for regular servicing of vehicles or for meeting the cost of repairs. As a result, vehicles are out of action for long periods and loan repayments fall behind. Currently approximately 170 indigenous people hold P.M.V. (Public Motor Vehicle) licences in the town area but only a few of these own more than one vehicle. Until recently, European concerns held monopolies over taxis and buses which they fought hard to retain.

The rapid expansion of Port Moresby after 1945 produced a need for craftsmen. A number of Papuans became building and painting contractors and the majority obtained small sub-contracts from government works departments and European contractors (Langmore, 1967: 46-56). They faced a number of problems because few, if any, had received any formal training and they could only be entrusted with simple jobs. They found it difficult to keep their work force together between contracts and they themselves were sometimes forced to seek employment for wages. The pressure on them to employ a large number of kinsmen reduced their profits and their capacity to save. Few contractors achieved business premises or any equipment beyond their personal tools. The position of indigenous building contractors was strengthened when, in 1970, the Business Promotion Centre began to let contracts to builders registered with them. There are some eight indigenous builders registered with the centre and single contractors have been awarded contracts worth up to $50,000.

The first Papuan trade store in Port Moresby was established by the Tommy Kabu Camp Society in 1948 and the society also owned a laundry, bakery and market garden. In spite of careful supervision by government co-operative officers, the Camp Society was closed by them in 1953: the main reason for failure was the members’ ignorance of commercial principles (Oram, 1967a: 12-16). After operating successfully for some years, the management of the Poreporena and Hohodae Co-operative was taken over by the Federation of
Native Associations when its debts to the Federation amounted to $16,000. It closed in 1966 and at present co-operative retail stores are operating only at Kila Kila and Elevala. Only one Papuan as yet has established a store in a planned urban centre near Gordon. The majority of indigenous trade stores found in villages and settlements are short lived because their stocks are very limited and they often fail to put aside money to replenish them. The most successful stores are owned by Moses Vagi at Vabukori and Maraga Hariki at Baruni. There are no indigenous ‘baaars’ of the kind found in Africa and Asia.

By 1972 three indigenous manufacturing enterprises had been established. Allied Enterprises was founded in May 1967 by a public servant, Alan Colquhoun, with the object of promoting ‘the small scale indigenous industries’. The company produced steel-formed chairs, beds, tables, trollies and other steel goods. In May 1969, the Development Bank gave Francis Ovu, who had been with Colquhoun from the beginning, a loan of $20,000 and he arranged to take over the shares of the Company (Tarua, 1969: 53-5). The formation of Ngaio Industries, which manufactures paper and packaging products, has been described by its co-director, Hila Morea. It was founded in 1967 by a European who took him into partnership and who eventually intends to withdraw (Morea, 1969: 79-84). The third business was a joinery taken over from a European by two men from the Gulf District. A number of other indigenous enterprises now include a petrol service station at Waigani which is being established by a group of leading men from Hanuabada and other urban villages, two barber shops and two milk runs. There are also a number of men who operate not very stable businesses as motor mechanics.

With few exceptions, indigenous entrepreneurs are unable to stand on their own feet. The provision of credit and supervision by the Australian Administration provided a number of these entrepreneurs with a measure of stability, but the Administration failed to encourage them in other respects. The Land Board for long insisted on Western standards of credit-worthiness in granting commercial sites. The same policy obtained in relation to issuing licences. The Minister for External Territories justified the issue of licences to a European rather than to an indigenous bus company on the grounds that the buses proposed by the European concern were more suitable for the work (P.C., 14 April 1970). Shortly before self-government, government departments were still reluctant to give contracts to indigenous entrepreneurs and they were not given preferential treatment even though their tenders were only slightly higher than those of Europeans.

The colonial Administration failed to provide adequate marketing facilities and protection for local produce. Fish and vegetables are mainly imported from Australia and beyond, whereas they could be produced locally. Prices for indigenous food in Koke market are very much higher than in other major centres: sweet potatoes, for example, cost 1.28 cents a pound in Rabaul market early in 1968 while they cost 5.98 cents a pound in Port Moresby market (T.S.
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Epstein, 1969: 28). Conditions in Port Moresby market were deplorable and facilities for storage of goods in cool conditions entirely lacking. While government research teams, at least since 1965, had been pointing out the need for action, nothing was done to improve the marketing of local produce. In 1959, 32 acres of land at Koke were resumed by the Administration and a Koke Market Trust established. The trust tried to develop a new market through meagre funds at the disposal of the District Commissioner and revenue from the market itself. The trust could not borrow money to improve the market until legislation was enacted in 1969 to enable it to borrow $100,000, but owing to administrative failure, nothing was done.

While organisations such as Rotary have been active in promoting indigenous businesses, private European commercial concerns have done little to help local enterprise. Local entrepreneurs, such as Papuan owners of forklifts on the wharves, have been faced with competition from large commercial companies instead of being encouraged by them. In March 1970, the Administrator, L.W. Johnson, asked Europeans to help local businessmen and thus avoid being forced to do so through 'unwanted regulations' (P.C., 20 March 1970). When, however, Europeans have sought to assist indigenous entrepreneurs by associating with them in joint companies, they have been treated with suspicion by the Administration. A United Nations adviser said that protection of indigenous enterprises was needed against competition from expatriate businesses, and also from their own unbusinesslike practices. He recommended that 'trade store and transport licences should not be given any more for expatriates' (Nadkarni, 1970: 19). In August 1971 the Business Licensing Ordinance was enacted giving councils power to issue business licences and was designed to encourage and protect indigenous participation in commercial enterprises (H.A.D., 2 Sept. 1971: 4552).

Businesses owned by Papua New Guineans are few, small and, at best, only moderately successful because of their lack of managerial know-how, lack of access to capital other than capital provided by government agencies, and also lack of involvement in the network of trading relationships with suppliers of goods and services. Development of indigenous businesses is likely to remain slow for a long time to come. The government will be left with the choices of allowing expatriates to continue to dominate the economy of the town; or of excluding them and weakening the economy; or of intervening directly in business development, possibly operating through expatriate agents.

The majority of indigenous adult males living in Port Moresby work for wages. In 1966, only 1.3 per cent were members of the professional and managerial classes. Of the indigenous work force of 12,482, 57.8 per cent were unskilled, 30.2 per cent were semi-skilled and 10.7 per cent were skilled (Langmore, 1970: 38). The majority of craftsmen described as skilled had little formal training. They were drawn mainly from the coastal areas of the Port Moresby region and the Milne Bay District. In 1955, a native apprenticeship scheme was
instituted and, in 1967, there were 440 Papuans under apprenticeship and 157 had been awarded certificates (A.R., 1966-7: 69). Provision for technical training has increased and there are now Port Moresby Technical College, Konedobu Commercial Training Centre, and four vocational centres in Port Moresby. The total number of students exceeds 1,000.

For the first ten years after 1945 Papuans held less responsible jobs in government service than they had held before 1942 because of the influx of base-grade European public servants. Belshaw (1957: 49) describes how a European official, who suggested to the press that a situation could arise in which he might be replaced by a Papuan, was forced to retract because of European hostility. In the early 1960s, few indigenous employees were carrying out full clerical duties in government offices. Indigenous government employees had the status of Administration servants, which corresponded to that of Crown servants before 1942, until 1957 when an Auxiliary Division was established as a training division. In 1964 the public service was given a new structure and the majority of members of the Auxiliary Division were transferred to the Third Division. The number of indigenous public servants steadily increased but localisation proceeded slowly until 1970. The majority of those included in a list of sixty-six indigenous public servants holding responsible positions in September 1967 were teachers in the Education Department. The most senior official in the list was Reuben Taureka, who was an assistant director of Public Health. In June 1970, indigenous public servants formed only 7 per cent of professional, 28 per cent of sub-professional, and 55 per cent of skilled workers. On 27 April 1971, Barnes told the Australian House of Representatives that every effort would be made to hasten localisation and that he would give preference to local rather than overseas officers when promotions were made. Since 1972, when an indigenous ministry took office under Michael Somare, localisation has been rapid.

Commercial firms have in general lagged behind the Administration in advancement of indigenous people to positions of responsibility. In 1965, Europeans were still in a majority as salesworkers in stores, and indigenous assistants were not allowed to handle cash except, in some stores, on Saturdays. The South Pacific Brewery early realised the benefit of employing local people and by 1968 the only Europeans were a few senior staff (Rew, 1970). Large international companies, such as oil companies and the Reserve Bank, were among the earliest employers to train indigenous employees for higher posts and in 1968 W.R. Carpenter were training fifty-four indigenous cadets. In 1966, Papuans and New Guineans held only 5 per cent of professional and managerial posts and 31 per cent of sub-professional posts. By 1971, no Papua New Guineans held a top-level responsible position in a commercial company. Very few indigenous people have achieved full Western professional qualifications. In 1970 there was only one lawyer and no fully qualified doctors, dentists, architects and surveyors. No indigenous person is in private professional practice in Port Moresby.
Until the late 1960s virtually the only occupations open to indigenous women were domestic service and nursing. In 1966 only 769 indigenous women were in employment: of these 82 per cent were in unskilled or semi-skilled occupations. Employment opportunities for women have since increased: 2,433 women were employed in 1971 and 35 per cent were in skilled occupations. Women are now employed as shop assistants, typists, air hostesses and in a wide variety of occupations. There are a number of indigenous women in the Second Division of the public service. In mid-1973, 180, or 90 per cent, of employees at the clothing factory were women.

Until the 1960s the range of salaries earned by indigenous employees was small. Wages were in cash and kind until in 1961 a minimum all-cash wage of $6.00 a week was awarded to nearly all categories of indigenous employees. In September 1973 the Port Moresby minimum cash wage was raised to $13.80 a week as a result of trade union pressure. Until 1964 established public servants were employed at full European rates. In that year, in the interests of the economy of Papua New Guinea, new salary scales were introduced under which indigenous public servants were paid approximately two-fifths of European salaries. As a result of protests and arbitration proceedings, there have been adjustments to indigenous salaries which have closed a little the difference between European and indigenous salary scales, especially in the higher levels of the service. The salaries of indigenous members of the Second Division, for example, rose from 41 per cent to 68 per cent of the salaries of non-indigenous officers.

In 1966, over half of indigenous employees received under $10.00 a week and just under 1 per cent received over $31.50 (Langmore, 1970:33) There has since been an increase in indigenous wages but the wages of very few Papua New Guineans are equal to those of the lowest paid Europeans. While a large proportion of the indigenous population earn very low wages, extreme poverty is rare. Early in 1972, only some fifty-nine individuals and families were being given financial assistance by the welfare authorities. In 1966, only 250 men were described by the census as unemployed, but an unknown number did not admit to being out of work for fear of being arrested as vagrants. An official estimate of the number of unemployed in 1968 was 2,000 (Daw and Doko, 1968: 20). The term 'unemployment', however, requires careful definition. In economically developed countries, where an individual's training and education qualify him for a limited range of occupations, the extent and nature of unemployment caused by shortage of jobs can be accurately estimated. In Port Moresby, a number of town-dwellers are not wholly involved in the cash sector of the economy and at any given time men may be without gainful occupations for a number of different reasons.

Papua New Guineans living in Port Moresby are not economically or psychologically committed to wage employment to the same extent as people in economically advanced countries. A man may be content to leave his employ-
ment and be without work for several months. He may not make any effort to find another job while he is supported by kinsmen. Studies by the present writer (Oram, 1968b: 31) show that his standard of living does not necessarily suffer thereby. Some men undertake occasional casual employment or earn money through such activities as fishing. There is no fixed retiring age and a man may cease to work when his children begin to work for wages. Visitors to kinsmen living in the town stay for varying periods and may or may not decide to obtain employment.

Many officials blame lawlessness and housing shortages on migrants who live off their relatives without attempting to find work and much government policy towards urban development has been based on this assumption. Some town-dwellers find entertainment of visitors a burden, yet the relationships between town-dwellers and villagers are reciprocal and villagers provide a number of services in return for hospitality and gifts (Oram, 1968a: 269; D. Ryan, 1970: 125). Some men in Port Moresby deliberately avoid work for a long period but the number does not appear to be large among groups studied in detail. In 1964, for example, Ryan (1964: 2) found that 20 per cent of the Toaripi in Port Moresby were unemployed at any one time but few were chronically unemployed. The people who are without occupations for various reasons are often mistaken by the Administration and others for wilful loafers.

There was full employment almost continuously from 1945 until the late 1960s, although there were brief periods, for example after the end of the defence contracts for building barracks, when few jobs were available in certain industries. In recent years, the influx of men from the Highlands of New Guinea has led to unemployment: in 1967, 16 per cent of Siane migrants were unemployed (Salisbury, 1970: 7) and, in 1968, there were three applicants for each vacancy at the Administration Labour Office (Conroy, 1970: 504).

Unemployment among graduates of secondary schools and universities is a long-standing phenomenon in Asia and the Middle East (W.A. Lewis, 1965: 79) and is becoming one in Western countries. As yet the shortage of educated indigenous people enables the majority of those who have received secondary education and beyond to obtain acceptable employment. Some three-quarters of those who have completed primary education are unable to proceed to secondary or technical education. According to a survey carried out in Port Moresby in 1968, a large number of literate job-seekers were unable to find work. The survey concluded that 'unemployment in urban areas will become an increasingly urgent problem' (Conroy, 1970: 509). Many children of school age in the urban area, including villages such as Hanuabada, do not complete their primary school course. This is causing concern among community leaders. Oala Oala Rarua, Assistant Ministerial Member for the Treasury, said: 'In Hanuabada there are scores of teen-aged boys who have left Hagara School and are now lying around the village... They think they are highly educated and cannot work in gardens. In other words, all our primary education has done is to make
them unfit for any form of work' (S.P.P., 24 July 1968). Under the Employment Ordinance, children may not be employed until they are sixteen years of age and many are forced to be idle after they leave school.

There is a close correlation between levels of education and occupations of members of a particular ethnic group. A high percentage of people from coastal villages of the Port Moresby region, and especially from those of the Central District, hold white-collar and skilled jobs. At the brewery, for example, Rew found nearly half the white-collar workers came from the Central District and that the vast majority of senior and intermediary grades in the production departments came from the Central and Gulf Districts (Rew, 1970: 59). Over 80 per cent of Hula men living in Port Moresby in 1964 were in occupations demanding some kind of skill (Oram, 1968b: 21). Unskilled workers come from inland areas with the fewest educational opportunities. There is some occupational specialisation: a high percentage of men from the village of Wanigela in Marshall Lagoon are employed as painters and many people from the Mumeng area of Morobe District and from areas inland from Marshall Lagoon are domestic servants. Mekeo from inland areas of the Kairuku Sub-district have almost a monopoly of arecanut selling in Koke market. Occupations followed by members of a particular village group change as their standard of education rises. In the early years of European contact, Hanuabadans were employed as unskilled workers and as domestic servants. A large number were later employed as craftsmen. Since 1945 an increasing number have been employed in white-collar jobs and more lately have moved into senior positions. As different groups move up the occupational scale, new migrant groups such as those from the Highlands and the Sepik area take over unskilled jobs. They are now replacing other migrant groups in domestic service, which is increasingly becoming an unskilled occupation. People from these areas are not working exclusively in unskilled occupations. At the end of 1967, there were soldiers and policemen among the Siane and 'a few who have achieved relatively responsible or skilled private employment' (Salisbury, 1970: 9). In mid-1971, 15 per cent of Hageners living in Port Moresby were employed in the army, police and corrective institutions, for which certain levels of education are required (Strathern, 1972: 23).

There is a similar correlation between occupation and type of residential area. In 1966, the highest proportion of white-collar workers was found in the urban villages where they formed 23 per cent of male workers, compared to 11 per cent in the predominantly indigenous areas. The majority of urban villagers possessed some skills and none worked as unskilled workers. The majority of workers in the older migrant settlements were also skilled or semi-skilled while many workers living in the newer Goilala or New Guinean settlements were unskilled. No urban villagers and few inhabitants of migrant settlements or of predominantly indigenous areas worked as domestic servants, while 36 per cent of indigenous people living in the predominantly non-indigenous areas, such as Boroko, did so.
The wages and incomes of the majority of employees in Western countries are virtually the same, and there are regularities in expenditure patterns. Patterns of income and expenditure in Port Moresby are more complex. A number of budgeting studies (Hitchcock, 1967: 96-103; Oram, 1967b: 28-9, 1968b: 29-31; Oeser, 1969:71-7) have shown that additional income in cash and kind is received from sale of fish, minor economic enterprises such as bottle collecting, dressmaking, and produce from small gardens. Income is also received from ‘gifts’ from kinsmen and others. People whose villages are within easy reach of Port Moresby receive frequent supplies of food. A number of tentative conclusions can be reached relating to indigenous household economies. Many individuals are more concerned to play a creditable part in the exchange relationships in which they are involved rather than to achieve European standards of living. As indigenous occupational levels rise and it becomes possible to reach such standards, economic goals may change. Secondly, in the long term, the balance of exchanges between town and village are in favour of members of the group concerned who live in the village. Thirdly, among migrant groups, there is a tendency for incomes to be levelled through exchanges among members of the group living in the town (Oram, 1968b: 49). As localisation proceeds, an increasing proportion of Papua New Guineans will obtain higher posts in the public service and in private industry. The main increase will be in the sub-professional class: between 1966 and 1971, the proportion of Papua New Guineans in the professional class rose from 1.1 per cent to 2.9 per cent, the proportion of skilled workers remained about constant at just over half the total, and that of sub-professional workers rose from 13.1 per cent to 24.7 per cent (T.P.N.G., 1971: 99). Langmore (1970: 39) estimates that by 1980 Papua New Guineans will form 29 per cent of the professional and managerial classes, over half the sub-professional class and 93 per cent of skilled workers. Unskilled workers will still form at least 40 per cent of the work force.

A townsman’s economic status still largely depends on the tribal group to which he belongs. The urban villagers form the section of the population which is most urbanised, has achieved the highest levels of education and thereby has become most advanced economically. The earliest migrants from the Port Moresby region, such as those from the Gulf District and from Hula in the Central District, are becoming increasingly committed to urban residence and, like the urban villagers, urbanised. They share some of the educational and economic advantages of the urban villagers but both categories are experiencing the problem of school ‘dropouts’.

Many of the most recent migrants, lacking formal education, are only able to undertake unskilled work and there is considerable unemployment among

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5. It is not possible here to discuss what constitutes ‘income’ in these conditions; but it can be argued that ‘gifts’ which are a return of goods or services should be treated as ‘income’ rather than as transfers.
them. As time passes, inequalities of opportunity and of living standards are likely to increase among the indigenous population of Port Moresby and the socio-economic strata will largely follow ethnic divisions. A *lumpen proletariat* may emerge out of the most recent migrant groups, including those from the Highlands.

The government has drawn up a development plan known as the Eight Point Plan which has, among other aims, 'a rapid increase in the proportion of the economy under the control of Papua New Guinea individuals and groups'; 'more equal distribution of economic benefits, including movement toward equalization of incomes among people...'; and 'emphasis on small-scale business activity, relying where possible on typically Papua New Guinean forms of business activity'. The nature of the future social and even physical development of the town will largely depend on the extent to which the government achieves these aims. The colonial Administration failed adequately to train indigenous public servants and to allow them to exercise responsibility. Rapid localisation has not only made it difficult to fill top positions with suitable people but also jobs, such as those involving office management, staff records and pay, which keep the wheels of administration turning. The chaos which has arisen in many towns in modernising countries will only be avoided in Port Moresby if the government can quickly forge a public service able to deal with the various and serious problems which it will face in administering the town.
At the beginning of the 1960s, the scattered settlements which formed the town of Port Moresby provided few of the amenities of a modern town. Europeans did much of their shopping at two main stores and Papuans bought most of their goods at separate trade stores. There were only three undistinguished hotels, a small cafe and a milk bar which provided shelter or food. Two cinemas showing films for European audiences and three cinemas showing films for indigenous audiences were the main sources of entertainment. Cricket was played by people of all races and football of different kinds was developing as a major sport. There was no swimming pool and swimmers at Ela Beach, still reserved for white people, ran the danger of meeting sewage thrown into the sea nearby at Paga Point. The way of life of many Papuan settlers living in the town was largely indistinguishable from that in their village (Oram, 1968b: 28).

The amenities of the town then developed rapidly, especially in the late 1960s. A variety of stores was opened in different parts of the town and their quality improved. Two modern hotels were built and a number of good class restaurants established. Sporting clubs of all kinds continued to develop and an Olympic Swimming Pool was opened in 1969. Legislation prohibiting the drinking of alcohol by indigenous people was progressively repealed in 1962 and 1963 and its removal brought about a major change in the social life of the town. Public bars of hotels were taken over by Papua New Guineans and bars were built in which local string bands entertained Papua New Guinean customers. The changing social organisation of the population of Port Moresby must be seen against a background of a rapidly modernising town.

A quickly growing urban population is likely to be loosely structured as it seeks to develop new forms of organisation to achieve its goals. The individual has many more choices open to him in the goals he selects and the ways in which he tries to achieve them than he has in his village. Social relationships of the urban population can be analysed in terms of the social network in which individuals are involved. The terminology here employed follows that of Barnes. The total network is 'a first-order abstraction from reality, and it contains as much as possible of the information about the whole of the social life of the community to which it corresponds'. The term 'network' is reserved for des-
scribing sociocentric relationships, in which a number of people viewed objectively are involved. The term ‘zone’ is used to describe the egocentric relationships in which a single individual is involved. Relationships are distinguished according to the basis on which they are initiated, for example kinship or church membership, and relationships initiated on a particular basis are described as forming partial networks. An individual may form relationships with other individuals on more than one basis: two men may, for example, work in the same office, belong to the same religious sect and also to the same social club (Barnes, 1969: 56, 58, 75). Such relationships can be described as many-stranded, as opposed to single-stranded, relationships (Gluckman, 1955: 19).

The concept of a social network provides a map of contacts between individuals but it gives no indication of the nature of the relationships involved. Mitchell (1969: 20-9) suggests that relationships can be analysed in terms of a number of elements, including frequency of interaction, durability and content. The first two elements can to some extent be measured but the measurement of content is difficult. The various strands in the content of a relationship can be analysed and the economic aspect measured, but the emotional value cannot be easily ascertained.

The European population is homogeneous and people from non-English speaking countries, with some exceptions, are assimilated by the Australian majority. Only one large national minority, the Germans, established their own social club in 1969.

In terms of urban contacts, kinship is important to Europeans almost entirely in relation to their elementary families. A few people care for elderly relatives. A large proportion of children are separated from their parents when they are sent to secondary schools in Australia. Relationships with kin living elsewhere are often actively maintained by correspondence and visits during leaves.

Occupants of houses change frequently and many Europeans barely know the names of their neighbours. They are only likely to associate with them closely if they are drawn together by common cultural or other interests. There is no consciousness of belonging to a community based on neighbourhood and no social activities are based on residence of a particular area. Contacts are frequent among residents of hostels but their occupants are even more transient than those of houses. Relationships based on employment are of great significance to the majority of Europeans and frequently extend beyond working hours. Entertainment of colleagues is often virtually obligatory.

The term ‘friend’ can serve to describe many different types of relationships, ranging from casual acquaintance to lifelong relationships. For people who spend some years in Port Moresby, close friends have particular social importance. The group, with undefined boundaries, may be recruited in a number of different ways: service together in small outstations may lead to a lifelong relationship. A group of friends may entertain each other regularly in their
homes and engage in the same recreational activities such as sailing. If they have children of the same ages their ties may be further reinforced. They may perform a number of services for each other such as looking after each other's children when the need arises or taking care of a dog when one family goes on leave.

Europeans are involved in a number of associations and of these church membership involves the largest number of people. In 1966, 85 per cent of the non-indigenous population said that they were members of a Christian sect but only a small proportion of the European population are active church members. Over one-third said that they were members of the Church of England and a further third were Roman Catholics. The remainder were members of different Protestant and other sects, of which the Methodists and Presbyterians had the largest memberships. Some sects such as the Seventh Day Adventists and Jehovah's Witnesses, whose observances set them apart from the rest of the population, practise a measure of social exclusiveness. Other voluntary associations can be divided into three categories according to the aims for which they are founded: those concerned with the welfare of the urban population; those devoted to promoting the economic interests of their own members; and a variety of recreational associations.

Welfare associations include the Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A., the Red Cross, Boy Scouts and Girl Guides and similar organisations. Clubs such as Rotary, Lions Club, the Junior Chamber of Commerce and Apex provide recreation and instruction for their members and offer service to the community. Activities of these associations include building a house for a blind woman at Hanuabada, improving recreational facilities at Ela Beach, building a bus-shelter at Taurama Hospital and organising road safety campaigns. Among the associations formed for the benefit of their own members is the Port Moresby Chamber of Commerce, which acts as a pressure group and is sometimes consulted by the Administration on economic matters. Associations centred on Port Moresby include the Employers' Federation and the Public Service Association. Professional people have formed their own associations such as the Law Society. There are several cultural associations in Port Moresby. The Papua New Guinea Scientific Society holds meetings on mainly technical subjects and its membership in 1970 was 200. The activities of the Arts Council are mainly confined to producing plays. A large number of European inhabitants are members of social and sporting clubs. The Papua New Guinea Society produces a journal and holds meetings on a wide range of subjects of public interest. Purely social clubs include two R.S.L. clubs, associated with the Returned Soldiers League, and the Public Service Club and the Konedobu Club, which cater mainly for public servants. Some of the biggest commercial firms such as Burns Philp also provide social clubs for their staff. The most popular forms of association are the sporting clubs, of which there is every kind in Port Moresby: cricket, four kinds of football, tennis, golf, yachting, riding, water-skiing and a number of others.
In colonial territories, status and class distinctions among Europeans tend to be less rigid than in metropolitan countries, partly because of the superficial nature of relationships and the feeling of solidarity induced by forming a superior minority among an alien population. In Port Moresby, as in other colonial territories, the European population form an elite group. The majority enjoy high incomes. Before self-government, white-collar workers who started at the bottom of the occupational ladder could hope to reach senior positions before they retired and, unlike the British Colonial Service, there are no rigid divisions based on education which prevent movement from a lower grade to a higher grade. More emphasis, however, is now being placed, as in Australia, on educational qualifications such as university degrees for appointment to higher posts.

In spite of an egalitarian ethos, Australian society is stratified in terms of class, power and status (Encel, 1970: 106-8). A similar form of stratification is found among the European inhabitants of Port Moresby with significant differences which arise from the colonial situation. High prestige is accorded to senior colonial public servants. Until Papua New Guinea became self-governing the Administrator was at the head of the occupational pyramid, and Government House was an important focus for the social life of the town. He was, however, *primus inter pares* and he did not enjoy the prestige and social pre-eminence of a British colonial governor. The second group with markedly high status is those with professional qualifications: the judiciary, for example, enjoy a high status both as professionals and as senior members of the official hierarchy. Professional men and women are found both within the public service and also in small numbers as doctors and lawyers in private practice. A new professional element is the academic staff of the university.

Lack of economic development before 1942 and disruption caused by the war have prevented the emergence of individual entrepreneurs and men of independent wealth of the kind who played important roles in towns such as Nairobi in Kenya. The majority of the directors and owners of large commercial concerns do not live in Papua New Guinea. Local managers of large concerns, however, enjoy considerable prestige. Lack of a town council until 1971 limited the civic roles which citizens could play.

The group of people whom most Europeans would regard as occupying the lowest social status are the young skilled and semi-skilled workers, especially those of European origin (Rew, 1970: 126). Many are employed by building contractors and spend only short periods in the town. There are also a few Europeans whose way of life does not conform to the norms of their society, including men and women who marry indigenous spouses.

There are few obvious status symbols which mark one group of people off from another. The majority of Europeans wear the same clothes, buy the same kinds of motor car and take part in the same kinds of recreation. The principle indicator of status is the location and size of residences. Many senior public
servants live at Kaevaga near Government House and other senior public servants, the judges, and the majority of managers live on the higher slopes of Paga and Tuaguba hills. There is little difference in the standard of houses enjoyed by the majority of Europeans in the town. The Administration adopted a policy of providing public servants with houses, with few exceptions, irrespective of their position in the public service, and private employers appear generally to have followed suit. Some indication of status is provided by the associations to which people belong. Membership of the Papua Club is confined mainly to the most senior public servants, managers and planters. The Public Service Club is largely composed of younger public servants holding responsible positions, especially those holding legal or other professional qualifications.

Outside the primary family and relationships with a few close friends, European relationships which are most significant in terms of content and durability are maintained with people living outside the town. The majority of relationships are superficial and transient and these characteristics may account for the ease with which they are formed at clubs and other social institutions. They are the relationships of an affluent society and are not reinforced by economic interdependence. In terms of Tonnies’s dichotomy, European relationships are of a *gesellschaft* rather than *gemeinschaft* type.

The Chinese and mixed-race sub-populations are too small to make a significant impact on the social life of the town, although the economic activities of the former are becoming increasingly important. The Chinese restrict their social activities mainly to members of their own community and in 1971 began to build their own social club. The mixed-race population with a varied racial background does not form a solidary group. A study of genealogies shows that mixed-race men tend to marry mixed-race or local women, while women marry mixed-race or European men. Those who have achieved Australian citizenship aspire to a European way of life but many maintain contact with their Papuan kinsmen. Families of Indonesian descent studied by the writer in the early 1960s were economically interdependent with their kinsmen living in urban villages. Their Papuan kinsmen granted them land rights in villages and were continuously involved with them in economic exchanges.

Since contact, New Guinea societies have undergone varying degrees of social change in proportion to their exposure to the influence of the missions and of the Administration and to the extent to which they have become involved in the monetary sector of the economy. The intensity of situational change when migrants move from country to town may be seen as varying along a continuum: the urban villagers who experience no situational change are at one pole and people from remote areas are at the other. The intensity of situational change is slight for many of the migrants from the coastal Austronesian-speaking area, such as the Hula who have been in regular contact with the Port Moresby area since pre-contact times (Oram, 1968b: 33). Their villages are sometimes as wealthy and may contain better houses than those of Port
Moresby urban villages. While less wealthy, people from coastal areas of the Gulf District have also a long tradition of contact. From childhood villagers make frequent visits to Port Moresby and feel at home there. Migrants from other coastal groups, such as those from Milne Bay, the Gazelle Peninsula and Manus Island, have achieved the same high level of education but have not had frequent contact with the town. In general, people from inland areas such as the Highlands and the Goilala Sub-districts whose way of life is least affected by contact with the West find the transition most traumatic.

The population of Port Moresby is polyglot and communication between members of different groups is a serious problem. Censuses record the languages which people claim to speak and these claims are often extremely unrealistic.

In 1971, 75 per cent of indigenous men claimed to speak Pidgin (an increase of 20 per cent since 1966), 70 per cent Police Motu and 69 per cent English. Motu is the most widely spoken language among indigenous women and 82 per cent claimed to speak it. Sixty-four per cent of the women claimed to speak English and 39 per cent Pidgin. The high percentage of women claiming to speak Police Motu and English reflects their origins, because the majority of townswomen originate in Papuan coastal areas where Motu is the lingua franca and where English has long been taught.

In spite of these figures, those with little education from, for example, the Highlands and the Goilala Sub-district, still have great difficulty in communicating with those in authority, their employers and members of other groups. The use of lingue franche and particularly Pidgin is spreading and in time the Melanesian facility for learning languages may lead to the emergence of a lingua franca spoken by the whole town population. An increasing number of people are speaking a lingua franca as their first language: many children of Kila Kila and Baruni villages are speaking Police Motu as their mother tongue (N. Brash, pers. comm.; S. Homoka, pers. comm.), and children of many New Guinean migrants are brought up to speak Pidgin rather than their home language.

The people of the urban villages have undergone a process of change since they returned in 1945 with their solidarity as social groups heightened by their experiences during the war. They have become increasingly involved in the cash economy and traditional economic pursuits such as gardening and fishing have now little importance. The lead in education enjoyed by the urban villagers, which qualifies them for well-paid employment, has changed the life style of many. Large houses have been built in villages and Western consumer goods are increasingly enjoyed. Whereas in the 1950s women wore grass skirts and were bare breasted, they now wear modern clothes and a number drive motor cars.

Changes in external factors have led to changes in social organisation. Only a proportion of iduhu members live in discrete residential sections. Iduhu have lost their old functions such as the organisation of gardening and fishing and their heads, if known, have little authority. Marriage exchanges are often raised
on a lineage or extended family rather than *iduhu* basis. Yet membership of an *iduhu* is still significant in the social life of the villages. It remains the primary unit of church organisation. *Iduhu* members retain their sense of corporate identity. The villages are separate entities and remain for the majority of their residents the most significant political unit.

Each successive migrant group has adapted itself to urban living in the light of its previous experiences. Migrants from the coastal areas of the Central and Gulf Districts who came to Port Moresby after 1945 were able to exploit pre-existing links with urban villagers to obtain land on which to build their houses. They then developed new institutions such as those related to church membership, which at first were modelled on those existing in their villages. The communities thus established continue to undergo ‘processive’ change. Each wave of migrants from a new area adapts in different ways to the problems which they face. As in Africa (A.L. Epstein, 1967: 280), a migrant is rarely a stranger when he comes to a town in which members of his tribe have become established and he begins by activating pre-existing relationships.

Among all groups, kinship appears to be the most important basis for relationships. Kinship in towns differs from kinship in rural areas because kinsmen of all generations are frequently lacking. The most frequent and persistent contacts are made between close kinsmen and relationships with other kinsmen are selective and may be invoked at need (Oram, 1967b: 31). The importance of kinship depends on the size of the group resident in the town. If, as among the Toaripi (D. Ryan, 1968: 62) and the Hula (Oram, 1968b: 26), the group is large, every individual will be among a large number of kinsmen; but if the group is small kinsmen will be few or none.

Relationships based on marriage are important in terms of content, frequency of contact and often durability. At least among groups who traditionally intermarry, exchanges between affines are maintained. Among some groups there is a strong preference for marriage within the group, although some marry outside it (D. Ryan, 1968: 63). There is, however, an increase in marriage between people of many different tribal groups. Marriages are also occurring between men from New Guinea and Papuan women, but the stability of such marriages if the men return to their villages has yet to be tested. Town-dwellers originating in the Port Moresby region are involved in a partial network based on kinship and marriage extending throughout the region. Between 1962 and 1965, for example, one Vabukori household was in contact with kinsmen and affines living in eight villages between Barakau and Galley Reach and also with kinsmen living in Lae and Samarai.

For those without kinsmen or affines in the town, *wantoks* form the most important basis for relationships. Rew (1970: XI) defines *wantok* as “‘one-talk’ (speaker of the same language) or more usually ‘fellow-villager’, ‘home-boy’ or even just ‘friend’”. He found that among workers at the brewery, the self-identification of migrants from the same area ‘was the single most important

Employment is the most important basis for bringing members of different language and village groups together. The extent to which these contacts lead to relationships outside the work situation depends in some measure on the level of education achieved by those concerned. Such extensions of work relationships are rare although, as among the Hula (Oram, 1968b: 28) and among the brewery workers (Rew, 1970: 238), they sometimes occur. In many situations wantoks work together. Those already in employment try to introduce people from the same area: in the university, for example, three related men from the Mount Lamington area of the Northern District work as messengers in the same building. Once established, members of a particular group may resist the intrusion of workers from different groups. Workers from the Gulf District at the brewery obstructed others from working in the cellar of the brewery (Rew, 1970: 67-8). Unskilled labourers, in particular, work together in the same gangs.

The spatial distribution of the population plays an important part in the formation of social networks. In 1966, at least one-third of the indigenous population resided in tribal groups and the proportion is unlikely to have since decreased. These residential groups serve as a social centre for all tribal members living in the town. Neighbourhood, however, only plays a significant part in the network of relationships when people who share a common place of origin live together in urban villages and settlements. In heterogeneous settlements, contact between people of different origins living within them is limited and sometimes hostile. The 22 per cent of the indigenous population who live scattered in quarters provided by employers in predominantly non-indigenous areas have no opportunity to develop a sense of community. In suburbs such as Kaugere, Hohola, and the new Housing Commission low-income areas at Gordon and Waigani, contact between neighbours who do not belong to the same tribal group is infrequent. Members of such groups as the Toaripi (D. Ryan, 1968: 63) and the Hula (Oram, 1968b: 27), living in mixed residential areas, associate mainly with members of their own group. In a study of thirteen women at Hohola, Oeser found that while the more sophisticated women made a number of contacts with neighbours from other groups, the traditional relationships of ten of the thirteen women exceeded the number of new urban relationships. There was a lack of unifying institutions which was regretted by the residents. Formal associations were 'not particularly vital' and the women's club divided 'according to religious and language group allegiances' (Oeser, 1969: 114, 40, 41, 61, 51). Progress associations were founded at Hohola and Kaugere in the early 1960s, but they survived only as long as they were supervised by the Welfare Assistants, Lepani Watson and Albert Maori Kiki (Kiki, 1968: 100, 132). The Hohola Progress Association was revived in 1968 but was

A new form of residential association is developing in no-covenant areas. Settlement associations are being established with the help of full-time members of the Community Development Group. The June Valley Association has gradually developed autonomously but the Morata Association finds itself somewhat overshadowed by the Housing Commission. The associations are planning the building of community centres and sports grounds, for which they are seeking funds from all possible sources, and are exercising a measure of social control over residents of their settlements. They have persuaded people whom they consider undesirable to leave the settlement.

A number of new relationships are formed in the urban area between otherwise unrelated people. The central Austronesian-speaking peoples have traditionally been willing to admit strangers as members of their descent-groups. Many families in Port Moresby have adopted children who originate from many different parts of the Port Moresby region. Examples can also be given (e.g. Oram, 1968c: 34; Rew, 1970: 238) of relationships being formed between New Guineans, especially Highlanders, and Papuans. The Highlanders gain a relief from loneliness and share briefly in family life while Papuans gain material benefits from the gifts brought by New Guineans, interest and, perhaps, prestige.

The most firmly established and, in terms of membership and activities, the most important voluntary associations are the Christian churches. In 1966, 95 per cent of the indigenous population claimed church membership but the proportion of active members is much smaller (Parratt, 1970: 113). Nominal church membership, however, may be significant because people from a particular area may gain from it a sense of common identity and it may form the basis of sporting teams and other associations.

Since 1945 the proportion of indigenous sub-population claiming membership of the London Missionary Society and its successor churches has declined mainly as a result of migration from areas in which other churches are established. The Papuan District of the London Missionary Society became an independent church called the Papua Ekalesia in 1961 and 51 per cent of the indigenous population claimed membership in 1966. In that year, 17 per cent of the indigenous population claimed membership of the Roman Catholic Church and the Lutheran, Anglican and Seventh Day Adventist Churches and a number of minor sects had smaller followings.

Membership of different churches is still largely on a regional basis. The majority of urban church members belong to the church established in their home area. Members of the Papua Ekalesia, for example, came from the southern Papuan coast and Anglicans from Northern and Milne Bay Districts. The majority of Roman Catholics came from the Kairuku Sub-district, but the remainder came from areas under Roman Catholic influence throughout the
country. According to Parratt (1970: 106), 'Port Moresby society, fluid though it is in many respects, is static as far as changes in religious adherence are concerned'.

In the past, the organisation of the London Missionary Society and Papua Ekalesia tended to accentuate rather than diminish the differences between village groups living in Port Moresby. Each urban village formed a congregation from which migrants were excluded. In the early 1950s, the Hula began to hold church services at Koke market and used the Motu rather than the Hula language so that others could join in. In 1959, the present church at Koke was opened and regular services for migrants were held. Even at this church, distinctions between migrant groups were maintained and separate services were held for migrants from different areas. Deacons were appointed from each migrant group; and an attempt by Chatterton to establish a diaconate representing different parts of the town was unsuccessful because members were unwilling to receive advice or instruction from deacons not of their own group (P. Chatterton, pers. comm.).

A number of unofficial sub-congregations have developed among tribal groups and some are highly organised. The Hula sub-congregation, for example, collects money, appoints officials and engages in a number of religious and social activities (Oram, 1968b: 28). Every Sunday members of the United Church from Iokea in the Gulf District hold meetings in turn at Mahuru and Vabukori villages and at Hohola. A service is held and food is served. Tribal organisations are strongest in the United Church which has developed the most democratic and most decentralised ecclesiastical organisation in Port Moresby. Unofficial meetings are also held by members of other churches. In 1970, Lutherans from the Finschhafen area, led by a taxi driver, held regular meetings under an empty house (A. Voutas, pers. comm.).

On 9 January 1968, the Papua Ekalesia, the Methodist Church in Melanesia and the United Church in Port Moresby (a predominantly European congregation) joined together to form the United Church of Papua and New Guinea and the Solomon Islands. The new church immediately began to seek answers to problems arising in urban areas. An urban region was established within which Port Moresby constituted one circuit. Resources have been pooled and in 1969 seventeen ministers and two deaconesses worked together as a team. The Port Moresby circuit is divided into eight districts and some of the ministers-in-charge, of whom several are indigenous, have specialist functions such as responsibility for migrant groups or for religious instruction. Migrants are encouraged to attend village churches but separatist feelings are still strong.

New forms of ecclesiastical organisation have been developed to meet the needs of Highlanders and other recent migrants to the town. The Evangelical Alliance is composed of eighteen churches and service groups which, with the exception of the Unevangelised Fields Mission which was established in the 1930s, began to work in Papua New Guinea after 1945, They include the Baptist
Church which works mainly among the Enga, in the Telefomin area and parts of the Sepik region, and a number of Apostolic groups (J. Daimo, pers. comm.).

The churches are involved in a wide range of activities. They promote youth activities of various kinds and have established welfare organisations including three in which women are taught domestic arts. The Roman Catholic and Anglican Churches and the Salvation Army have established schools. The Roman Catholic Maternity Hospital, which was popular with indigenous people, was moved from Badili to Hohola but closed in 1973 through lack of funds. The Salvation Army, which in 1966 was recorded as having only 216 members of all races, also run a hostel which for many years has provided the only cheap and clean accommodation for indigenous visitors in the town.

Until the mid-1960s the churches showed little interest in major social problems, such as housing and public order, which were arising as a result of the rapid growth of the town. During the last four years the churches have begun to involve themselves in these problems. The United Church at Boroko, for example, has a Social Concerns Committee. The Community Development Group was established in 1969 under the aegis of the churches and especially of the United Church. The group employs a full-time staff with a professionally qualified director. It aims to help people living in settlements to improve their environment through their own efforts.

A number of associations have been formed which aim at promoting the welfare of migrants from a particular region. They have included the Angasik Welfare Society formed by people from the New Guinea Islands, which amalgamated with the Sepik Welfare Society to become the New Guinea Social and Welfare Club in 1965, the Goilala Welfare Association, and the Eastern Association composed of people from the Milne Bay District. The associations are concerned with the general welfare of their members; they provide money for burials, for the families of people who are in hospital or gaol, and for sending the destitute back to their home villages. The majority of these associations have not survived the dying down of the enthusiasm which led to their formation. Two regional associations, however, were active over longer periods and pursued more far-reaching aims.

The first welfare association in Papua New Guinea established by indigenous people themselves was the Methodist Welfare Society which was founded in 1955 by Lepani Watson from the Trobriand Islands, who was working for the Administration as a welfare assistant. He said that: ‘The main purpose of this society was—we look to the people who left their homes and came to work in Port Moresby. The Methodist group, they have no place to meet together to learn each other’ (quoted Fink, 1965: 291). The Association had religious as well as secular aims and was organised on the lines of a Methodist synod. The members themselves built a hall on mission land at Badili and regular social and religious gatherings were held. In 1964, young members of the Association persuaded Lepani Watson to stand for election to the House of Assembly and
helped him in his successful campaign. As Lepani Watson became increasingly involved in other activities, the association declined in membership and activity.

The second important regional association drew its membership from the Gulf of Papua. Albert Maori Kiki from Orokolo, in the Gulf District, had spent two years at the medical school at Suva and had seen various forms of indigenous organisation in Fiji. In 1957, when working for the Department of Public Health in Port Moresby, he and a number of people from the Gulf District were involved in a fight at Koke with members of the Pacific Islands Regiment. As a result of the fight, he decided that the Gulf people needed their own organisation and he joined with 300 others to form the Kerema Welfare Association in November 1958. When people from villages in the Western District joined the Association, its name was changed to the Western Welfare Association. A separate Western Women’s Welfare Association was formed under the leadership of Albert Maori Kiki's wife. The main aim of the association was to encourage self-help among its members. Loans were made to individuals and a truck was bought which for a short time was operated successfully by the Association. In 1962 Maori Kiki was posted away from Port Moresby and, when he returned in 1963, funds had been dissipated, the truck had broken down and the unity which had developed among the member groups in the Association had been lost. For a time Albert managed to revive the Association by vigorously promoting a low-cost housing scheme. He carried out a survey of housing needs among the members, held consultations with the Administration and, partly as a result of his efforts, the Administration embarked on the Sabama scheme. When this scheme failed, the association collapsed.

After 1945, it was the policy of Australian trade unions to restrict their membership to Europeans working in the Territory. The Papua and New Guinea Public Service Association began to include indigenous members in 1957 but until 1960 there were no indigenous trade unions. As the Australian representative said to the Trusteeship Council of the United Nations on 13 May 1960:

The Administration had no policy objection to the formation of trade unions, but it is believed that it would better serve the interests of the workers by retaining full responsibility for their conditions of employment and their welfare generally. (U.N.O., 1960: 203)

By that time, however, Port Moresby workers had formed their own trade union. In December 1959, the Kerema Welfare Association sent a deputation to the Minister for Territories, who was visiting Port Moresby, to complain about the low level of wages and poor working conditions among indigenous workers. The Minister advised the deputation to make a submission to the Native Employment Board, which had been established by the Administration in July 1959 with the duty of watching labour conditions, and the urban wages case was the first matter brought before it. A government lawyer, W.A. Lalor, was instructed to help the Association to prepare a submission. Early in 1960, the Papua and
New Guinea Workers' Association was formed. The president was Dr Reuben Taureka, from the Abau Sub-district; vice presidents were Samson To Patiliu from New Britain, Albert Maori Kiki from the Gulf District and Elliot Elijah from the Milne Bay District; the Treasurer was Lepani Watson and the secretary was Sinaka Goava from Hanuabada. Two other leading Hanuabadians, Toua Kapena, the Chairman of the Hanuabada Council, and Mahuru Rarua Rarua, president of the Federation of Co-operative Societies, were founding members. The aims of the Association, as expressed in the draft constitution drawn up by Lalor, were to safeguard their industrial interests; break down tribal barriers; raise the moral standard of the unskilled workers; assist the Administration in relation to workers' problems; and to act as a channel of communication between workers and the Administration and local government councils (Hennessey, 1964: 6).

In 1961, the Administration changed its policy and began to encourage the formation of indigenous trade unions. The Minister, alarmed by the emergence of the Kerema Welfare Association, considered that a continuance of tribal groupings would hinder all progress and feared that associations 'formed primarily as social, recreational or denominational groups' would become involved in industrial claims (Hasluck, 1961: 10). In 1961, a Department of Labour was formed to oversee the working of the new legislation for regulating industrial relations. This included the Industrial Organization Ordinance 1962, which confirmed the right of free association for industrial purposes; and the Industrial Relations Ordinance 1962, which provided for a system of free negotiation between employers and employees.

Because its membership was limited under the legislation to industries situated in the Port Moresby Sub-district, the Papua and New Guinea Workers' Association was reconstituted as the Port Moresby Workers' Association. There were delays in obtaining approval of the constitution and the association was not registered, as required by the Industrial Relations Ordinance, until 22 May 1964. When Reuben Taureka went overseas, Oala Oala Rarua, a schoolteacher from Pari, became president and established himself as the leader of the organisation. From 1965 to 1967, a European acted as paid secretary. The association negotiated several agreements relating to wages and conditions of employment with the Employers' Federation which had been formed in 1963. The association had, however, little success in its attempt to improve the wages and conditions of employment of its members and won little active support from town workers. In 1965, for example, the Workers' Association was not told beforehand when workers went on strike on a number of occasions (Chapman, 1966: 20). The association failed to attract paid-up members: when it applied for registration in 1963, it claimed that there were 467 indigenous and 8 non-indigenous members and there were approximately the same number in 1966 (A.R., 1965: 106). By the end of 1967, however, there were only 50 members (Department of Labour, 1968: 11).
Lacking leadership, the association collapsed. Funds provided by Australian unions were not used profitably and when the Workers' Association was re-organised, a truck belonging to it could not be found. Separate craft unions were formed, such as the Central District Building and Industrial Workers' Union, with Albert Maori Kiki as secretary, and the Central District Waterside Workers' Union, with Gavera Rea as secretary. In February 1970, the Port Moresby Workers' Association was reformed, Albert Maori Kiki replaced Oala Oala Rarua and an interim committee was elected. There has since been a considerable revival of trade union activity.

Large numbers of indigenous people of both sexes play some kind of team game, including cricket, basket ball, and four kinds of football, and a number of sporting associations have been formed. In 1965, there were over twenty indigenous cricket teams and thirty-five soccer teams (the latter including some European players) in the Port Moresby area (Morawetz, 1965). Reuben Taureka and Albert Maori Kiki founded the Rugby Union Association which is strongly supported by teams from all parts of the Port Moresby region. Many purely indigenous teams are formed by members of a single village group or, less frequently, by members of a particular church. Many multi-racial teams represent a government department or commercial concern. Sport is an important form of social activity and matches attract large and sometimes violent crowds of supporters. Contacts made on the playing field rarely appear to lead to significant new relationships. They are seldom renewed elsewhere, unless in public bars after a game.

In Africa and other developing countries, voluntary associations based on religion, ethnicity, neighbourhood and crafts are an important element in the social organisation of many urban populations. Many tribal associations, such as those of the Temne in Freetown, Sierra Leone (Banton, 1956: 354-67) and Luo in Kampala, Uganda (Southall, 1966: 353-6) are highly organised. Some trade unions, for example those in the copperbelt of Zambia, may be politically powerful. If the churches are excluded, voluntary associations have played only a minor part in the social organisation of Port Moresby. A combination of factors appears to explain their lack of importance.

People who form the most settled and sophisticated elements in the population are involved in a network of kinship and village-group relationships, which provide them with their basic social security. The people who could benefit most from membership of voluntary associations are the most recent, and least skilled, migrants, who may spend only short periods in the town. As writers on Africa and elsewhere have pointed out (e.g. A.L. Epstein, 1967: 281; Southall, 1966: 357) such people are poor material for the formation of associations. Few of the men who emerged as leaders of regional and workers' associations had the education or skill to manage their affairs efficiently. The success of an association often depended on the efforts of a single leader. While they may not have intended to use the associations solely as a first step towards a political
career, many leaders aimed from the beginning at playing a role on a wider stage. As they succeeded in their political ambitions they were able to devote less and less time to the associations. Problems of communication and transport are also important factors leading to the limited development of voluntary associations.

Relationships between tribal groups are determined partly by the social distance between them. The inhabitants of urban villages live in harmony with one another but neighbours occasionally quarrel over land. Brawls have occurred between the people of Pari and Kila Kila villages and between Tatana and Roku villagers over land boundaries. Neither Motu nor Koita villages act together to achieve political or other common goals. They do not, for example, agree on a common candidate to contest House of Assembly elections. Unlike the Ganda in Kampala or the Kikuyu in Nairobi, the urban villagers do not constitute dominant groups in the town.

Relationships between urban villagers and migrant groups who occupy their land vary in character. Relationships are often close with other Austronesian-speaking groups such as the Hula, with whom the Vabukori villagers are linked by ties of kinship. The two groups are continually involved in exchanges of goods and services (Oram, 1968b: 11). Relationships between people of Mahuru village and Iokea people from the Gulf of Papua have always been friendly and village rightholders have given a number of them permission to build permanent houses on their land. The relationships between village rightholders and other migrant groups are sometimes ambivalent: the Kila Kila people, for example, recognised that they had some obligations towards the Purari people living in Rabia Camp and were involved in some exchanges with them. At the same time they wanted the Purari to leave their land and eventually sold the site to the Administration (Oram, 1967a: 32-3). Open hostility is sometimes found. Formerly, the Toaripi migrants living on Vabukori land 'had little contact with the landowners and generally refused to pay rents or to offer any other acknowledgment of their indebtedness' (D. Ryan, 1970: 21). This hostility has now died down and all the heterogeneous groups settled on Vabukori land live in harmony.

Relationships between residents vary in large settlements where the populations are mixed. The different groups living in the Koke canoe settlement live with those who come from the same language area and there is little friction among them. The diverse groups from different parts of the Gulf region also live peacefully together at Rabia Camp. There is frequent friction, sometimes involving violence, between Kiwai people from the Western District and people from the Gulf District living in Horse Camp.

Conflict mainly arises between members of least well-educated and lowest-paid migrant groups. At different times a number of groups have been involved in affrays. In 1961, for example, a man was killed when Morobe District and Goilala Sub-district men rioted in Koke market (Hughes, 1965: 19). During the last three years, serious conflict has arisen between migrant groups from the Highlands
and from the Goilala Sub-district. In September 1970, three men from the Chimbu District and five men from the Goilala Sub-district were convicted of three killings during May (P.C., 1 Oct. 1970). A number of people from both these areas left Port Moresby as a result of these killings. Further disturbances occurred after the killing by Highlanders of a Goilala man on 15 February 1970.

‘“Papua” versus “New Guinea” is a recurrent theme in Port Moresby social life’ (Rew, 1970: 133). While New Guineans stereotype Papuans as speaking no Pidgin and as lazy, Papuans show less hostility towards New Guineans (pp. 134-5). New Guinean hostility towards Papuans leads on occasions to violence. Rioting between New Guineans, who were the main aggressors, and Papuans continued sporadically all over Port Moresby during the Queen’s Birthday weekend in June 1968. Two hundred police were called in and 150 people were arrested. It began after a football match and, although no one was seriously hurt, it caused considerable alarm among Papuans (S.P.P., 10, 12 June 1968). The Papuan right of self-determination was raised by Papuan representatives in the House of Assembly in 1971 (H.A.D., 1 June 1971: 4174). In 1972, Miss Josephine Abaijah, M.H.A., founded the Papua Besena movement, which sought independence of Papua from New Guinea and the return of New Guineans, especially Highlanders, to their homes.

On 18 and 19 July 1973, rioting broke out in many areas after the Rugby League football match between Papua and New Guinea, which Papua won (Standish, 1973). Few people were hurt and effective police action quickly brought violence to an end. The police prevented Papuan reinforcements from the Rigo Sub-district reaching the town. Causes of the riot were complex. The riots were largely instigated by Chimbus and Eastern Highlanders, who were members of the poorest and most insecure groups living in the town, although other New Guineans joined in. They resented the greater wealth of many Papuans and they were alarmed at the threats to their continued residence made by supporters of the Papua Besena movement. The stoning of the cars of Papuans, Europeans and even New Guineans by the rioters, suggests a growing hostility towards the ‘haves’ on the part of the ‘have-nots’. Fear of a New Guinean ‘take-over’ of Port Moresby is still widespread among Papuans. The large number of Highlanders and Papuans living in Port Moresby live in fear of each other and any weakness in enforcing public order could produce a major conflict between the two groups.

The way in which people of different origins are placed in categories and stereotyped is of social and administrative significance. The category becomes larger as the distance between the districts of origin of those involved increases. A Port Moresby villager can distinguish between different coastal village groups in the Gulf District or Rigo Sub-district, for example, but would include all tribes from the Sepik area as Sepiks. People do not always accept the categories imposed upon them. A correspondent writing in the Post Courier (18 Oct. 1968) complained that all Highlanders were regarded incorrectly as ‘Chimbus’. Men known as ‘Goilala’ frequently point out that there are several tribes in the Sub-
district and that a group other than their own causes the trouble. Stereotypes change over time. Until the early 1960s ‘Keremas’, embracing all the peoples living in the Gulf District, maintained their long standing reputation of being aggressive, but that reputation has now been modified. The Goilalas and Chimbus are now widely regarded as the most violent and dangerous groups by the established elements in the urban population.

It is difficult to overstate the importance of tribal ties in discussing the social organisation of Port Moresby. Tribal separatism is strong even among university students. Cross-cutting ties based on church membership, marriage, and neighbourhood are developing among members of different tribal groups and particularly among well-educated sections of the indigenous population. Yet these ties are still weak compared to those based on kinship and membership of village and tribal groups.

The distribution of wealth, prestige and power within the indigenous sub-population of Port Moresby does not present a clear pattern. The main distinction lies between non-indigenous and indigenous people and these form economic classes in the Marxian sense. The concept of an élite eludes precise definition. It can refer, as Nadel (1956: 413) says, to ‘a stratum of the population which, for whatever reason, can claim a position of superiority and hence a corresponding measure of influence over the fate of the community’. In a colonial society, indigenous élites lack political power and in Port Moresby in the past have had little influence over decision making. In opposition to Nadel (1956: 415), who holds that an élite ‘must have some degree of corporateness, group character and exclusiveness’, Southall (1966: 347) suggests that it is desirable, at least in colonial situations, ‘to envisage élites as dynamic and flexible categories rather than as groups’. For the purpose of the present discussion, élite refers to those indigenous people whose superior status over the majority of the population, by virtue of their educational achievements, importance of their jobs and other activities, and high standards of living, achieve recognition both among expatriates and among indigenous people outside their own tribal groups.

Conditions in Port Moresby have been unfavourable for the emergence of an élite whose prestige extends beyond tribal boundaries. Until the mid-1960s the majority of Papua New Guineans living in Port Moresby had very low incomes. The exceptions were the few public servants who were on European rates of pay. There was no rich rural base of the kind which enabled, for example, Ganda people in Kampala to receive an independent income from cash crops. The main differences in status and life style were between different tribal groups. Urban villagers and people from coastal villages long under mission influence looked down on ‘bush’ people from inland areas and these attitudes still persist.

While a large proportion of members of the educated élites in Africa were drawn from high-ranking families (Goldthorpe, 1955: 32), this has not occurred in Papua New Guinea. Because traditional élites were confined to very small
social groups they have played no part in the formation of urban élites. In the absence of municipal government, there has been no avenue for the achievement of high status through involvement in civic affairs. Toua Kapena, however, achieved some prestige outside his own village as president of the predominantly rural Hiri Local Government Council. Many leading personalities are members of families who have provided pastors for the London Missionary Society and successor churches (Oram, 1971: 117). These include Oala Oala Rarua, whose grandfather was one of the first Papuan pastors, Reuben Taureka, and Brian Amini, a senior public servant, who has held important offices in the United Church itself.

The development of secondary and tertiary education has enabled Papua New Guineans to obtain well-paid executive positions in the public service and their life styles have changed accordingly. Occupation in terms of educational requirements and financial rewards is not yet the most important determinant of a man's prestige within his own group. Rew (1970: 274) asked a sample of brewery employees to place a number of occupations in order of prestige and found that, while teachers and doctors were given the highest ranking, the third ranking occupation was that of carpenter. He found that his informants ranked occupations in terms of their own personal factors rather than of community respect. One of the first indigenous policemen to be promoted to the commissioned rank of sub-inspector, for example, deferred to older leaders of his own group who were far below him in income, education and experience. Prestige is still conferred partly according to traditional values, but education and high-ranking employment are becoming increasingly important.

In spite of these limitations, towards the end of the colonial period a number of people were well known outside their own village groups as members of a local élite. They included men who have already been mentioned: Toua Kapena, Ministerial Member for Labour and former chairman of the Hiri Local Government Council; Albert Maori Kiki, secretary of the Pangu Pati, author and city councillor; Dr Reuben Taureka, Assistant Director, Department of Public Health; Oala Oala Rarua, Assistant Ministerial Member for the Treasury and first President of the Port Moresby City Council; Lepani Watson, Assistant Ministerial Member for co-operatives; and Mahuru Rarua Rarua, who, as secretary of the Papua New Guinea Federation of Co-operative Unions, was the leading indigenous businessman and a town councillor. There are leading church members, such as Bishop Louis Vangeke of the Roman Catholic Church and Bishops Ravu Henao and Riley Sampson of the United Church. Others, such as Dr John Guise,1 Speaker of the House of Assembly, spend much time in Port Moresby on account of their duties. After the elections for the House of Assembly in 1972, Pangu Pati had the largest following and John Guise, Albert Maori

1. He received the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws from the University of Papua New Guinea in 1970.
Kiki, Reuben Taureka and Gavera Rea became ministers of the government. Toua Kapena and Lepani Watson have ceased to be active in public affairs and new political figures are appearing on the Port Moresby scene. John Kaputin, for example, a Tolai who studied at a university abroad and who had an Australian wife, became Minister of Justice.

A less conspicuous but important category of people is the growing number of senior public servants. Sere Pitoi, a Motuan from the Central District, was the first Papuan to be appointed as acting head of department in 1969. A year later he became chairman of the Public Service Board and Paulias Matane, a Tolai from New Britain, became Director of the Department of Business Development. Many of the best-known people in Port Moresby were early students at Sogeri who became teachers. They subsequently obtained further education, including courses outside Papua New Guinea. As localisation proceeds, indigenous public servants will form a much more important element in the social organisation of Port Moresby. Little is heard of the army officers living in the town but by the end of 1973 three majors and seven captains reached their present ranks through the ordinary course of promotion and there were also forty-four subalterns. In 1974, two officers were promoted to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel. Nearly all local army officers have been fully trained at an Australian officer's training school. A large percentage of army officers live in the Port Moresby area and are likely to play an increasingly important political and social role in the future.

A number of Papua New Guinean women have become prominent in Port Moresby. Mrs Elisabeth Kiki, wife of Maori, and Mrs Nahau Rooney, a graduate of the University of Papua New Guinea, were elected as members of the City Council in 1974. Mrs Kila Amini became president of the Y.W.C.A. and Mrs Agnes Taureka, a Fijian and wife of Reuben Taureka, established a shoe making factory. Miss Josephine Abaijah from the Northern District, who is exceptionally well qualified in the field of health education, was elected to the House of Assembly in 1972 and leads a Papuan separatist movement. Mrs Ikini Holloway, wife of the Speaker of the House of Assembly, is a well known journalist. Some women have achieved important positions in the Public Service: Miss Rose Kekedo is principal of the Port Moresby Teachers' College and Miss Meg Taylor, a graduate of the University of Papua New Guinea, is a private secretary to the Chief Minister. These women have been outspoken on social issues and also on women's rights.

The older members of the élite look towards their own tribal groups and regional areas rather than feeling solidarity with people of similar standing in Port Moresby. In the mid-1960s, for example, a group of leading men from the Rigo Sub-district living in Port Moresby formed an association to work for the betterment of their own people, living not in the town but in their rural areas. Younger educated men associate more with people of other tribes. At an engagement party of a man from Manus and a girl from Madang, only three out of sixteen couples shared the same mother tongue (Crocombe, 1971: 15-17). Yet
primary loyalties are still to the tribal group and the process of social stratification has not gone very far. The pace at which it will develop in the future depends on a number of factors, including the continuance of Port Moresby as a capital and who holds the reins of political power. There will, however, be widening social distance between the privileged, educated sections of the population and the *lumpen proletariat* which is likely to emerge.

‘Moreover, prominent Africans, who now move in a society whose scale is international, increasingly tend to live a style of life like that of the rich and powerful anywhere’ (Goldthorpe, 1968: 135). At present, Papua New Guineans cannot afford to indulge in conspicuous expenditure. Ministers and political leaders have only recently begun to own motor cars and many leading people prefer to live among their own kind at Hohola and Kaugere rather than in larger houses in European suburbs. A rich indigenous commercial élite comparable, for example, to the cotton millionaires of the Sudan, is unlikely to emerge quickly and its emergence would be contrary to government policy expressed in the Eight Point Plan. Such indigenous businesses as exist are largely controlled by a small group of local Motuans. Expatriate businessmen have begun to associate indigenous entrepreneurs with their enterprises and this process will continue. The number of people involved will not be large. In the future the élite will mainly consist of politicians, public servants and a few self-employed professional men.

The majority of the non-indigenous sub-population continues to be law-abiding and few Europeans are charged with serious offences in the courts. Most offences involving Europeans relate to taxation, traffic and to a lesser extent to drinking. There has been some increase in the number of serious offences among Europeans, partly due to failure to investigate the records of people applying for entry permits. As the Commissioner of Police said in his Annual Report for 1966/7, ‘with the large building programmes being undertaken the recruitment of tradesmen from Australia has included a percentage of the criminal class who very soon embark on a career of break and entry’. The government still does not investigate the records of Europeans who come to the country.

Since 1945, the old patterns of life of villagers as well as of migrants to the town have largely disappeared. Employment and school attendance have now replaced the seasons as the temporal framework within which life is lived. The old dances which formed part of religious rituals have disappeared. Groves (1957: 46) described the ‘deep malaise’ which affects urban youths and the lack of an ‘integrating spiritual tradition at the centre of Motu life’. Until the mid-1960s, village populations and those of the older settlements continued to exercise control over the behaviour of their members. By the end of the 1950s

authority was weakened by the abolition of the post of village constable and a number of other factors later caused a breakdown in control. These factors included the settlement of strangers in the villages themselves, loss of control by parents and elders over younger people partly as a result of increased educational opportunities, and gaps in the authority structure. At the same time, the influx of migrants from the Highlands of New Guinea introduced an element into the population which had been subject to Western influence only for a short time.

A large proportion of the urban population are nominally Christian but, as in any society, the universalistic Christian ethic is only accepted to a very limited extent. Some individuals proclaim their brotherhood with other Papua New Guineans, but many only admit obligation towards kinsmen and others with whom they are closely connected. They regard all others as potentially hostile and as people who can be treated with hostility. Coastal peoples, long subject to European administration, have a considerable understanding of Western legal concepts and to some extent accept them in relation to murder, theft and sexual offences such as rape and incest. Migrants from areas where contact with Europeans has been short neither understand nor accept Western legal and judicial systems. Self-help may be not merely an alternative to a formal judicial decision but an obligation. A man from the Goilala Sub-district was recorded by a police officer as having said:

What I did was good. On Sunday they kill my brother at the Rugby League Ground. I went to the Gateway to kill a Chimbu. What I did is for my brother. I will not kill again. I did not run away after I kill the Chimbu. That is why I gave myself to Police. (P.C., 23 Sept. 1970)

A man from the Highlands, Goilala Sub-district or other underdeveloped area, who earns low or no wages and who feels himself excluded from the main urban community, will feel no compunction in robbing aliens. At present, there are no institutions in the town, unless he is an active church member, which may inculcate values other than those of wantok solidarity and of exploiting all those with whom no relationship is acknowledged.

Descent-group heads have disappeared in the villages and men of personality and achievement may or may not emerge to lead descent-groups. The church provides an important form of leadership in the villages and many deacons are still elected on a descent-group basis. The church may also provide the only form of leadership in migrant settlements such as those of the Hula (Oram, 1968b: 28). Many local government councillors play an important role in village life, although they hold no formal authority outside the council chamber and have no legal obligations to carry out any duties in the villages. In practice, many councillors ensure that villages are kept clean, churches and ministers' homes are maintained, and cemeteries cared for. They are also involved in settlement of disputes. Until the formation of the Port Moresby Town Council in 1971, the councillors were only concerned to a limited extent with migrant groups settled
on their own customary land and their jurisdiction did not include Papua New Guineans settled on alienated land.

In nearly all residential areas with some degree of homogeneity, individuals distinguished by wisdom and forcefulness of character may be formally recognised by their own tribal groups. In the 1950s, the Administration informally appointed ‘councillors’ in the settlements (who are not to be confused with local government councillors), who acted as their spokesmen and as a means of liaison with the Administration. They helped to maintain public order. The system was not maintained in the 1960s but some migrant groups themselves revived this practice. Residents of a Goilala settlement near 3-mile hill, for example have appointed a ‘councillor’ who has under him an assistant ‘for law and order’ and an assistant ‘for health and water’ (B. Mylius, pers. comm.). There is also a ‘councillor’ at Toaripi settlement near Konedobu and one of his functions is to settle disputes. In times of crisis, for example after inter-tribal violence, leaders have emerged among a variety of groups. Not all leaders truly represent their people. The Administration, when undertaking the re-development of settlements, tends to choose the most vociferous rather than the most acceptable members as representatives of the residents. Since the whole of the town was brought under the Port Moresby Town Council in 1971, councillors have been elected to represent migrants as well as village residents of their wards. Their personal influence is largely restricted to their own tribal groups among whom they exercise considerable authority.

Members of homogeneous residential groups exercise a measure of social control within the groups. Church leaders actively try to discourage anti-social behaviour: they rebuke parents, for example, for allowing their children to become delinquent. Groups may discuss ethical problems such as whether church members should drink alcohol (Oram, 1967b: 38). Yet such control is limited and many individuals disclaim responsibility for the behaviour of neighbours. While they disapprove, they may not take any action when serious incidents occur. In one settlement, an informant said that a girl of seventeen died after being beaten by her parents and a woman died a month after being beaten by her husband with an iron bar, but the deaths were not reported to the authorities. If leaders report offences, they may become unpopular. A leader who, after two warnings, reported to the police children he had seen assaulting people and stealing, found himself involved in a quarrel with their parents. The police are suspect in the eyes of a large proportion of the indigenous population; but in the absence of anyone with legal authority living in residential areas, they are the only authority to whom such reports can be made. Other sanctions available to groups are limited. Shame is of limited effectiveness in situations where norms are uncertain. The almost universal belief in sorcery as a cause of sickness and death inhibits people from incurring the wrath of neighbours who have committed offences, either against themselves or against the community.

There is a large potential leadership within villages and homogeneous re-
residential groups which as yet can find only inadequate expression. Prominent Hanuabadans are incessantly involved in public activities relating to their village, but they are often frustrated through lack of any real control over its affairs. Leadership is lacking in heterogeneous residential areas such as Kaugere and Hohola and, as stated above, neighbourhood organisations eventually collapsed because they were ineffective and had little influence over decisions which affected their areas. The committees of the no-covenant settlements at Morata and June Valley are now demanding powers to maintain public order in their settlements.

Unlike rural areas where relationships between men and women are determined by custom, in urban areas members of both sexes may have a number of options open to them as to the kind of relationships which they form. Southall and Gutkind (1956: 72-105, 169-202) describe how such factors as heterogeneity and mobility of job and residence produced radical changes in such relationships in two Kampala suburbs. ‘Underlying the flexibility and uncertainty of the present marriage system is the jockeying for position of the two sexes in relation to the redefinition of their respective roles.’ In Port Moresby, radical changes in relationships between the sexes have only recently begun to occur. A few people, mainly members of the educated élite, are married in church under the Marriage Ordinance. Until the late 1960s, the majority of town-dwellers were married under custom which involves the agreement of the kin of the bride and groom; exchanges of goods and services were made in the majority of such marriages. The importance of kin-groups and tribal groups in the town and the close links with villages of origin made it difficult for young people to disassociate themselves from their groups. Only a few young couples from urban villages tried to resist payment of marriage exchanges, but the majority felt obliged to do so in the end. In recent years a number of factors have been weakening traditional forms of marriage and the proportion of free unions is increasing. Tribal ties in the town are weakening as young men become economically independent of their kinsmen. Increasing opportunities for employment as a result of rising educational standards also gives young women a degree of independence which they had not previously enjoyed.

The preservation of traditional sexual mores is in itself a factor contributing to delinquency. In contrast to African countries such as Uganda in colonial times, the prevalence of sexual assaults, especially against white women, is high. They range from rape to ‘peeping Tom’ offences, and the official records of offences only represent a small proportion of the offences which occur. After 1965, there were frequent attacks on men and women, irrespective of race, found together in isolated situations. Such attacks reached their peak in 1966 and 1967 and, in November 1966, three attacks on courting couples were reported during a single weekend (Canberra Times, 8 Nov. 1966). Outlets for sexual aggression found elsewhere have been absent in Port Moresby. In many African towns there are a number of women who have escaped from customary marriages in rural
areas (C. and R. Sofer, 1955: 85; Southall, 1956: 72; Parkin, 1969: 97). They serve as temporary wives to migrant workers while they stay in the town. A similar pattern may now be developing in Port Moresby and may explain the reduction in sexual offences, even though a large number of migrants are without women.

The extent of prostitution is unknown but compared to its incidence in towns in other developing countries it is small. It has existed in the sense of sexual associations for material gain in villages and settlements since 1945 (Belshaw, 1957: 239) and even earlier (F.E. Williams, n.d.). In November 1967 the Pacific Islands Monthly observed that while sex had been available in the past in canoes and villages, groups of girls could be seen at street corners and in bars and lounges, which indicated their availability. Women provide services for people of their own and allied groups in a number of settlements and in some areas men prostitute their wives. There is no long-term organisation of prostitutes although one house near Sabama served as a brothel for a time. Gangs of three or four girls sometimes share flats for short periods and are available to young European males who are 'tourists' in the town (J. Whiteman, pers. comm.). With the increasing emancipation of women from male control, semi-professional prostitution is likely to increase.

In response to pressure by articulate Papua New Guineans and as part of the policy of removing all forms of legal discrimination between races, restrictions on drinking alcohol by indigenous people were progressively removed in 1962 and 1963. There was considerable Papuan opposition to these measures and, in 1967, 146 out of the 167 people who voted opposed the grant of a liquor licence to a European entrepreneur at Hohola (S.P.P. 1 Sept. 1967). The drinking of alcohol among Papua New Guineans has reached a very high level. The Commission of Enquiry into Alcoholic Drink, which produced its report in December 1971, found that expenditure on alcohol amounted to one-fifth of the incomes of indigenous workers, compared to 9.5 per cent of non-indigenous incomes and compared to 4 per cent of the incomes of Australian wage-earners. As elsewhere, men spend their pay packets on drink and leave their families without food and other essential goods. Drinking has also brought them into conflict with the law.

After restrictions on drinking were removed, large numbers of people were arrested in Port Moresby for drunkenness each weekend. In September 1966, for example, 110 people were arrested for drunkenness during twenty-four hours of the weekend (S.P.P., 19 Sept. 1966, 5 Feb. 1968). In 1970/71, 75 per cent of cases in the Port Moresby Local Court and 58.6 per cent of cases in both district and local courts involved drunkenness. Between January and September 1971, seven out of thirteen murders occurred during a drunken brawl. There is a clear correlation between prevalence of drunkenness and the stability of a particular tribal group in the urban area. In 1971, only 20 per cent of offences involving drunkenness were committed by people from the Central District (who formed 56 per cent of the Port Moresby population in 1971). Half of these
of offences were committed by people from the Goilala Sub-district who formed 3 per cent of the population of the town. In 1967, people from the New Guinea Highlands formed less than 5 per cent of the urban population but were involved in 13.7 per cent of offences relating to drunkenness. In 1971, when they formed 9 per cent of the urban population, they were involved in 30 per cent of drunkenness cases in Port Moresby. These sub-populations consist mainly of single men of working age, but the proportion is much higher than the average for the whole population.

The same groups also committed a high proportion of other offences. In 1969/70, out of eighteen men arrested for murder and attempted murder, seven were from Highlands districts and five were from the Goilala Sub-district. Of those arrested for assault, 37 per cent were from the Highlands, 21 per cent from the Goilala Sub-district and 29 per cent from the Gulf District. Many of these offences were committed during inter-tribal fights. These figures show, as might be expected, that the percentage of offences committed by migrant groups whose members are unemployed or hold the lowest paid jobs, experience poor living conditions, and are socially isolated from the rest of the urban population, are disproportionate to their numbers.

Until the early 1960s, residential groups were able to control their children. In some villages, children who misbehaved by, for example, stealing and throwing stones, were whipped by the village constable (N. Brash, pers. comm.). From then on, this control began to be lost. Youths adopted distinctive life styles: ‘the explicit image was that of the cowboy of the Western movie—rugged, virile, laconic and with a disciplined casualness’ (Rew, 1970: 126). Some young people who were successful in achieving high standards of education quickly found well-paid jobs and were envied by those who dropped out of the educational race. Many of these felt that the jobs which were available to them were beneath them and they stayed unemployed. As a result there was a steady increase in the incidence of juvenile crime.

The number of juveniles charged in the Children’s Court rose slowly between 1965 and 1969, according to police records, and then more sharply to reach a total of 199 in 1970/71. The rate of increase does not greatly exceed the rate of growth of the whole population but the number of offences committed is much greater than the number of juveniles charged. Early in 1972 one newsagent caught three juveniles pilfering on one day but did not report them. Between 1965 and 1969, the percentages of offences involving theft were within the limited range of 84.6 per cent and 91.3 per cent of all offences. Until 1969, the majority of offences were simple theft, but the proportion of offences of breaking and entering and of stealing has since greatly increased.

Many juvenile offences are committed by gangs. In 1957, seven members of the Four-Mile Rascals gang, aged between ten and fourteen years, were convicted of having stolen $500 from various establishments during the previous three weeks (S.P.P., 26 June 1967). There was a major outbreak of juvenile
crime during Easter 1970 and the police were surprised at the extent to which the children were organised.

For over five years there had been a steady increase in the numbers of young boys with little outlet for their talents and energies. These had bound together into gangs, operating with a modicum of secrecy; paying service to the symbols and routines of secret societies similar to those in more advanced communities, and giving themselves romantic titles. (Parry, 1972: 44)

In 1971, Inspector J. Banono, President of the Police Association, said that there were fifty gangs in Port Moresby (P.C., 26 July 1971). They have such names as Ghosts, Rockers, Joe's Mob and the Black Horse Gang. The gangs have continued to disturb the peace in villages and settlements. As early as 1968 Toua Kapena was complaining of vandalism at Hanuabada (S.P.P., 15 May 1968) and children have continued to throw stones at houses and intimidate people at night. A city councillor, Sogo Sebea, who lives in Kila Kila village, frequently complained of the behaviour of gangs of people from outside in his village. Juveniles regularly break into schools. There are reports of 'Fagin-like' activities in which children are directed in their criminal activities by adults (Parry, 1972: 44).

As elsewhere, many of the gangs have been formed by children of well-educated and prosperous members of the Papua New Guinean population. Many gangs are tribally mixed and are particularly strong in the socially amorphous Kaugere-Sabama area. The Administration has not found a satisfactory way of dealing with juvenile offenders. There is no effective probation system and letting children off with a caution appears to have encouraged them to commit further offences: the same children are repeatedly brought before the court. The only children's home is conducted by the Salvation Army at Sogeri but it is small and a number of children have run away. From 1970, juvenile offenders who committed serious offences were sent to the adult corrective institution at Bomana near Port Moresby and this may have had some deterrent effect. The problem of juvenile offenders remains and is increasing.

As in any city in the world, reasons for anti-social behaviour in Port Moresby are complex and imperfectly understood. Some factors, however, can be summarised from the foregoing discussion. In conditions of rapid social change there are conflicts of norms and, in Port Moresby, lack of a clear authority structure. Groups with low incomes and poor living conditions are frustrated because they have little expectation of improving their lot. The contrast between European affluence and their own poverty is constantly before their eyes. They, and juveniles, suffer from boredom. The town suffers from an acute shortage of playing fields. Many migrants lack any sense of identity in the urban situation and live in a world in which all men are hostile. A large proportion, perhaps a majority, of indigenous town-dwellers do not understand and do not accept the values on which the maintenance of public order is based. As Lawrence says,
... the problem of introducing the Australian legal system is not one of replacing chaos or lawlessness with the 'Rule of Law' but of replacing one type of social control by another, each of which has its own logic and is geared to a completely different kind of social structure. (1969: 34)

While many groups are hostile to each other and their hostility leads to open violence, there are areas, such as Vabukori and Hohola, where people of different races and tribes live peacefully together.

Tribal associations are found in Africa, such as the Luo union in Kampala, whose 'leaders must be regarded as guardians of custom or proponents of morals' (Parkin, 1969: 166). In Port Moresby, some associations such as the Munkas Association, composed of people from Bougainville, are beginning to adopt these roles. A girl who is a university student found that Munkas provided her with an umbrella of physical security in a potentially hostile town and made life in it tolerable (H. Griffin, pers. comm.). The maintenance of public order may be strengthened by the encouragement of associations based on both territoriality and on ethnicity.

The network of relationships in which Papua New Guineans are involved, unlike that of Europeans, forms a gemeinschaft rather than gesellschaft type of social organisation. While kinship in the urban area is mainly confined among Europeans to the nuclear family, it is the most important partial network among Papua New Guineans in terms of durability, content and intensity. In contrast to the homogeneity of the European population, tribal and wantok ties are of great importance to indigenous town-dwellers. The partial network based on voluntary associations is markedly less significant for Papua New Guineans with the exception of church membership than for Europeans. While both networks are multi-stranded, there is a close correlation among a large proportion of the indigenous population between tribal origin, church membership and residential neighbourhood. 'Pre-existing relationships, in other words, underlie the urban networks among the Toaripi' (D. Ryan, 1970: 25) and the same is equally true for other migrant groups.

The economic activities of the majority of Europeans are confined to their employment or business and are not an element in other forms of social contact. Nearly all indigenous relationships have an element of economic interdependence and in the towns as in the villages social distance between individuals governs the mode of exchange (Sahlins, 1966: 149; see also Oram, 1967b: 47). Kinsmen may not expect each other to reciprocate, but in the course of time exchanges between them will achieve a rough balance. Mutual expectations between those who have established relationships on other bases are finely judged. Even church membership has important economic implications (Oram, 1967b: 38).

The total network in which all Papua New Guineans are involved is based mainly on kinship and affinal ties, wantok relationships and to a lesser extent on church membership. Employment is the most important 'modern' basis for
a partial network. The egocentric personal zones of individuals differ according to a number of variables. In general there is a correlation between closeness of home areas to Port Moresby, length of experience of town life, level of education, and size of the tribal group in Port Moresby. Tribal groups from the Port Moresby region are the largest in size, have achieved the highest levels of sophistication and have the most extensive networks of relationships outside members of their own tribal groups. Other groups, such as the tribes of the Goilala Sub-district and Highland groups, are more encapsulated within their own societies. There are exceptions to the model. Tolai from the Gazelle Peninsula, for example, form a small élite group although they live a long way from Port Moresby.

The networks in which Papua New Guineans are involved in the urban area extend far beyond the town boundary. The extent to which they do so depends greatly on distance between Port Moresby and village of origin. Ryan (1970: 137) describes the relationship existing between Toaripi living in Port Moresby as a bi-local system and this applies to other groups such as the Hula.

They are involved in a network of relationships with its greatest density in Port Moresby and Hula village, which extends through affinal and cognatic links and through traditional trading relationships throughout the Austronesian speaking areas of central Papua and beyond. (Oram, 1968b: 33)

According to Baxter (1973: 114), 'The areas to which villagers can migrate are a very real part of the village world'. The network, outside Port Moresby, of migrants whose place of origin is at a greater distance from the town is less dense, but improved communications make contact with home areas easier to maintain. In September 1971 two domestic servants from Mumeng in the Morobe District went by air to Lae and then to a smaller airstrip near their homes, took part in a mortuary feast for a kinsman who had been killed in a car crash at Lae, and returned to Port Moresby after ten days.

Different sections of the indigenous population are experiencing social change in various ways and at different rates. As different tribal groups become stabilised in the town their networks become enlarged and examples of this process have been provided. Inter-tribal group politics are emerging. During the riots in July 1973, Highlanders hired trucks from the Buang people from the Morobe District of New Guinea to transport them to various centres. The Buangs have successfully adapted to urban life and vigorously participate in commercial enterprises and the Highlanders feel that they are in sympathy with them. Variations will occur in the pattern of relationships between different social strata. Yet the basic network based on kinship and wantok ties is likely to persist for a long time to come. Such ties provide social security and a means of induction into town life.
9 Race Relations

The population of Port Moresby forms a plural society divided into racial groups 'which are socially defined on a basis of physical criteria' (van den Berghe, 1967: 9). Many elements of the framework within which members of different races interact encourage separation of the races. As noted in Chapter 6, the races are segregated in the majority of residential areas. There is a wide social distance between Europeans and domestic servants and other employees in the predominantly European suburbs, which are the only residential areas in which there is considerable mixing of the races. Europeans are economically dominant and the majority of economic relationships between Europeans and Papua New Guineans are those of master and servant. The forms of social organisation of the indigenous and non-indigenous sub-populations are markedly different.

All forms of legal discrimination have virtually disappeared from Papua New Guinea. After civil administration was restored in 1945, pre-1942 attitudes and policies were maintained. In 1949, the Administrator, Colonel J. K. Murray (1949: 38-9), said that 'skin colour is taken as an infallible guide to human status, rights and potentialities. Complete subordination in all phases of life is demanded from all who are not members of the privileged caste'. While some forms of discrimination, for example the clothing regulations enforced by Angau, were not continued, new forms of legal discrimination were introduced. In 1951, at the instance of the people of Hanuabada (L.C.D., 1951), the Native Women's Protection Ordinance was enacted. The ordinance forbade indigenous women, with some exceptions, to stay in premises occupied by non-indigenous people and non-indigenous people to stay in villages and other predominantly indigenous areas between the hours of 6 p.m. and 6 a.m. The races were largely segregated in public places: Papuans were excluded from hotels, cinemas, and the bathing beach at Ela and there were separate buses, owned by the Administration, for Europeans and Papuans. Until the mid-1960s, the majority of Papuans bought goods at separate trade stores. Some large commercial firms excluded Papuans from their main stores unless they were domestic servants carrying a note from their employers. In the early 1950s, Hanuabada women wishing to make European style wedding dresses found it difficult to buy materials, 'owing to the racial policy of Burns Philp and Company' (Belshaw, 1957: 126).
Steamships Trading Company were the first commercial concern to realise the value of Papuans as customers and admitted them to their main retail store. They continued, however, only to serve them at a separate hatch at their cold-store. In 1962, the general manager of a large concern justified such discrimination to me on the grounds that some Papuans were dirty and covered with lice. The prices charged to Papuans in trade stores were higher than in general stores. As late as 1968, indigenous members of the Port Moresby Consumers' Association complained that they were being charged discriminatory prices in trade stores (S.P.P., 4 Oct. 1968) and an investigation by the Administration found that their complaints were well-founded.

The Administration was doubtful about the effect on Papua New Guineans of removing protective legislation, but in 1958 a beginning was made in removing all forms of legal discrimination. The White Women's Protection Ordinance was repealed and discriminatory provisions relating to sexual offences were removed from the Criminal Code Ordinance. After 1958, Europeans and Papuans were no longer required to sit in separate seating accommodation in cinemas. In 1962 the Secretary for Law, in his speech introducing the Bill for the repeal of the Native Women's Protection Ordinance, announced the intention of the Administration to repeal all remaining discriminatory legislation (L.C.D., 7 March 1962). Nearly all Native Regulations have been repealed and their provisions incorporated in other ordinances. Regulation No. 76A, which forbade natives to stay in town for more than four days unless they had either work or a permit, has been repealed and is covered by Section 4(1)a of the Vagrancy Ordinance 1912-64 Papua.

These repeals brought the policy of protective paternalism to an end. In 1963, the Administration enacted the Discriminatory Practices Ordinance, which prohibits behaviour involving 'discrimination of adverse or preferential kind, for reasons only of race or colour'. Papuans and later New Guineans increasingly began to join Europeans in bars, hotels and swimming beaches. Discrimination in public places has not come to an end, but it is greatly diminished. It occurs most frequently in hotels and bars on the grounds that required standards of dress have not been met by indigenous people. Before a national airline, Air Niugini, was formed in 1973 discrimination was also practised by airlines in the allocation of seats on aeroplanes.

Some significant forms of legal discrimination remain. Restrictions are placed under the Land Ordinance, discussed in Chapter 10 below, on the transfer of native land rights to non-indigenous people. Some Native Regulations, including those making adultery and sorcery offences, are described by the Administration as being 'retained at the expressed wish of the indigenous people' (T.P.N.G., 1968). Papua New Guineans support these measures, but one form of discriminatory legislation causes resentment. The Native Emigration Restriction Ordinance 1955 prohibits Papua New Guineans from leaving the country with certain exceptions, unless they obtain a permit from the Administration.
Resentment is especially felt by Papuans who, the Administration admit, are still ‘full Australian citizens and British subjects’ (*H.A.D.*, 22 Nov. 1968: 634).

Segregation begins in childhood and few indigenous and non-indigenous children go to school together. Until the end of the 1950s, racial segregation in education was unquestioned. From then on a few English-speaking indigenous children were admitted to Primary ‘A’ Schools, although this new trend was ‘eyed askance by teachers, European parents and most District Inspectors of Schools . . . The uncrystallized assumption was . . . a vague feeling that the native was mentally and socially inferior and not by any means capable of benefitting from a European-type education’ (Ralph, 1968: 38). In spite of recommendations by the United Nations visiting missions, problems of language and syllabus have prevented the integration of schools. Recent policy was for all new primary schools in multi-racial areas to establish both an ‘A’ and a ‘PNG’ stream, but the government is considering the abolition of ‘A’ schools.

The cultural and physical separation of Papua New Guineans is reflected in the difficulty which members of different races find in communicating with each other. Only a small proportion of the European population, confined to missionaries, some academics, some officials and a few people engaged in commerce, have any understanding of Papua New Guinean culture and social organisation. Unlike territories under the Colonial Office, the Administration does not insist on its officials learning local languages and few field officers speak Police Motu with any accuracy, though a large number speak Pidgin well. In 1971, 62 per cent of non-indigenous men and 45 per cent of non-indigenous women claimed to speak Pidgin, but many of these only spoke simplified English. Only 13 per cent of men and 7 per cent of women claimed to speak Police Motu. English is becoming increasingly a medium of communication but, in spite of claims noted in the previous chapter, only a small proportion of the indigenous population can understand it or speak it with any fluency. The problem of language reduces the effect of the mass media as purveyors of ideas. There is only one commercial newspaper, the *Post Courier*, which is published in English five days a week. It costs 9c. a copy and it is too expensive for many of those who would be able to read it. The National Broadcasting Commission, while it attempts to adapt its programs to local needs, mainly reaches only English speakers, except during its news programs which are translated into Police Motu and Pidgin. A number of individuals and bodies, for example the Central District Local Government Conference in October 1971, have complained about the failure of the Administration to establish the radio station promised for the Central District. This would broadcast in local languages.

The most frequent and most significant basis for contact between Europeans and Papua New Guineans is employment. Until the early 1960s, Europeans were almost without exception employers or supervisors and Papuans were subordinates. Today, indigenous people holding senior posts have Europeans
working under them. A number of interrelated factors influence relationships between the races within the public service and other occupations: the uncertainty which Europeans feel about their own future, the large numbers of Europeans holding low status posts, and discriminatory salaries. Europeans feel threatened by Papua New Guineans in their careers and prospects of promotion. Fifty-eight per cent of European public servants throughout the Territory were on contract or on a temporary basis in 1969 and permanent public servants either fear they will be replaced or feel they will not be willing to stay on after Papua New Guinea becomes independent. These uncertainties are partly the result of failure by the Administration to satisfy expatriates that their interests will be safeguarded when they become redundant or when independence is achieved.

Many indigenous employees complain that their superiors do not give them any responsibility. A Hanuabadan public servant, who was trained as a medical orderly in Sydney in 1933, complained that while he himself had been responsible for paying out and accounting for over £58,000 as treasurer of a church building fund, he was not allowed to look after elementary accounts, which were put in charge of junior European clerks, in his office. In a letter to the press, a New Guinean complained that young well-qualified indigenous public servants were wasting their time as 'house boys' and asked whether this treatment was an attempt to 'foster white domination' (S.P.P., 31 Jan. 1969). Failure to give responsibility to indigenous employees is in part due to the reluctance of Europeans to work themselves out of a job. According to a mixed-race technician in the Public Service, Europeans who help indigenous people to learn their job are unpopular with their fellows. It is also due to deep-rooted attitudes of European superiority. When, for example, a young European working on the docks suggested that he could be better employed elsewhere because a Papuan clerk was doing the job competently, he was told by his superior to 'stand around and be a European' (D.R. Oram, pers. comm.).

The introduction of discriminatory salary scales is resented by local employees, but the resentment is greatest in situations where there is little difference in skills, for example at the junior clerical level, between expatriate and local employees. Young and indifferently educated Europeans are also least fitted to deal with local people. Many of them oscillate between over-familiarity and aggressiveness and Papuans express their contempt in Motu which few Europeans can understand.

The most satisfactory relationships often exist between Papuan craftsmen, such as carpenters and bricklayers, and their European employers and supervisors. While the latter may criticise the former for being slower and for needing more supervision than Europeans, they also give them credit for their skills. Many Papuan skilled workers stay for long periods with the same employer and sometimes develop personal loyalty to individual Europeans. Such relationships are sometimes many-stranded: Europeans and Papuans go shooting
and fishing together and the European may be described as 'so-and-so's European' by members of the Papuan's residential group.

The least satisfactory relationships are possibly between Europeans and domestic servants. In 1966, 10 per cent of male and 33 per cent of female employees were domestic servants: the only close and frequent contacts which many Europeans have with indigenous people are with their servants. As with other forms of master-servant relationships, domestic service produces an acute conflict of expectations. The employer demands a contractual relationship in which the employee provides services in return for a fixed wage, shows respect but submits to patronising banter. He acknowledges no long-term responsibility for his employee. The servant acknowledges his dependence on his employer and considers himself a member of his household. He expects his employer to share his wealth and, unlike the employer, does not consider it to be theft when he takes food or kerosene. Tensions inherent in the relationship are increased by lack of communication. The servant's failure to understand instructions is often attributed to stupidity. Many employers never learn that many Papua New Guineans, mistakenly following the practice of their own languages, say 'yes' (meaning 'I agree with what you have said') when a negative reply is expected in English. As elsewhere (Mannoni, 1956: 72), this misunderstanding leads to confusion and anger.

Among voluntary associations, the most purposeful and far-reaching efforts to promote racial harmony are made by the churches. Some churches, such as the United Church, are in fact as well as in theory handing over full responsibility to local leaders and the Anglican Church has announced a similar aim. All churches are promoting local men to senior positions. Louis Vangeke has been made an assistant bishop in the Roman Catholic Church. In various degrees, racially mixed congregations attend church services. The extent to which members of the same church associate outside formal occasions is limited. Young people of all races belong to church youth groups such as the Boys' and Girls' Brigades of the Baptist Church and the United Church, and to the Young Christian Workers of the Roman Catholic Church.

The majority of other associations are dominated by Europeans. Social clubs, with the exception of the Papua Club, have admitted a few indigenous members. There were only two local members of the R.S.L. Club at Ela Beach in 1968 but there are now a number of indigenous members. Few can afford, or wish, to belong to European social clubs but refusal of admission or discourtesy arouses considerable resentment among Papuans: in 1968 Papuans who had been brought in to the R.S.L. Club as guests were asked to leave (S.P.P., 3 April 1968), and a similar incident occurred at the Konodobu Club in October 1971. In 1970, as a counter to European dominance, the Pagini Club was established by Papua New Guineans at Waigani as a multi-racial club aiming at a high level of indigenous membership.

Outside work, Europeans and Papua New Guineans meet each other most
frequently on the playing field. The Council of Social Services in its handbook for 1971 lists thirty-seven sporting clubs and associations and indigenous people participate in all field sports. Some, such as the Rugby League Club, insist on multi-racial teams. Until the mid-1960s, Papuan players in mixed teams were treated by Europeans as subordinates and mixed associations are still dominated by Europeans. In 1968, for example, a Papuan selector resigned and a member of the Board of Control of the Port Moresby Cricket Club threatened to resign because they considered that able Papuan players were not being selected to play for the club (S.P.P., 22 Jan. 1968). Contacts made on the basis of sporting activities are rarely maintained beyond the playing field.

A number of Europeans and Papua New Guineans, activated by different motives, seek to form closer relationships with members of the other race on a basis of friendship. Europeans may be motivated by romantic or intellectual curiosity or by a desire to promote better relations between the races. Papua New Guineans may wish to associate with Europeans for reasons of prestige, to understand and participate in a European way of life, or to gain material advantage. In a number of respects, conditions for establishing such relationships have become more favourable during the last few years: younger, better-educated Europeans have come to the Territory, especially those who have joined the staffs of tertiary educational institutions. A number of Papua New Guineans are achieving living standards nearer to those of Europeans, live in European suburbs and speak good English. There are still, however, a number of impediments to forming satisfactory relationships.

Until the early 1960s, it was almost unknown for Papuans to enter European houses as visitors. Inequalities of socio-economic status are not absolute barriers to the formation of close relationships, but in Western societies they pose formidable obstacles. Papua New Guineans frequently claim (see e.g. Bettison, 1966: 229) that they are unable to return the hospitality afforded them by Europeans, but this may be a rationalisation of a number of interlocking difficulties: they are not accustomed to issue invitations, they find formal entertainment difficult to organise, and they are uncertain of European tastes. If Europeans visit them, however, they make them welcome. A more important impediment is lack of common interests. Unless Europeans have the same occupations or share a common interest, social intercourse among them is largely concerned with trivia. Europeans and Papua New Guineans do not share the same small-talk and conversation between them tends to consist of laborious discussions of ‘problems.’

Most important, however, is the difference in the expectations of one party from the other. Except in a ‘mateship’ relationship, a European sets a clear limit to his obligations in respect of a particular relationship: while prepared to perform small services and render help in time of need, many would hesitate to lend their closest friends large sums of money and indeed, unless circumstances are exceptional, would disapprove of their making the request. Papua New
Guineans expect those who are involved in a relationship with them to commit themselves much further and to share their wealth generously. Their attitudes towards Europeans may also be ambivalent and they may try to exploit their relationships with them. As a result, Europeans are constantly annoyed by what appears to be begging or by being asked to make a disproportionately large return for a small gift. Papua New Guineans on the other hand find Europeans mean and unsympathetic. They may try to resolve the conflicts inherent in forming relationships with Europeans by establishing what Mannoni (1956: 61) describes as a dependence relationship with them. A further problem involves expenditure of time. Europeans not only limit the expenditure of wealth but also of time on a relationship, whereas Papuans generally set few limits to the latter.

Europeans and Papua New Guineans form satisfactory personal relationships when they are linked by some common interest in which each party finds a clear reward. A large proportion of leading Papua New Guineans and Papua New Guinean students are in frequent social contact with Europeans who are concerned about the future of the country. A few form relationships based on fishing or similar occupations when each party makes a significant contribution. A number of young Australian public servants, including members of the Education Department, have at different times thrown their houses open to Papua New Guinean students and allowed them to drive their cars. The Europeans are rewarded by the companionship and mental stimulation provided and also, perhaps, absolution from a feeling of guilt at being involved in a colonial situation.

In plural societies, sexual relations are a major cause of tension between the races. In many colonial territories, especially those under British rule, sexual associations between Europeans and indigenous people were deplored and Papua New Guinea has been no exception. In Port Moresby, many Europeans live in fear of sexual attack which has sometimes become hysterical. Papua New Guinean men resent the inferiority implied in refusal of access to European women, while Papuan women are attracted by the wealth and status of Europeans.

From the beginning of British rule in Papua, marriage and cohabitation occurred between Europeans and local women but the Europeans concerned were living on the frontier of European contact. In Port Moresby until the late 1950s the majority of marriages between European men and Papuan women had taken place when the husbands were living in the bush. In the 1960s the numbers of marriages between European men and Papuan women increased. During the period between 1 April 1967 and 30 March 1968, 14.3 per cent of all registered marriages throughout Papua New Guinea were interracial (Lind, 1969: 14-16). Many of these recent marriages were between well-educated European men and well-educated Papuan women. Five out of nineteen women members of one generation of pastors' families living in the Central District, for example, married European men (Oram, 1971: 129). Parents of the women concerned
often welcome the prestige and benefits which marriage or even liaisons with Europeans confer. Educated younger Papuans, however, resent losing educated girls, whose number is small, to Europeans (Kiki, 1968: 94).

In the early 1960s, the marriage of a Tolai man to an Australian woman who settled in Port Moresby was much criticised by Europeans living in the town. Since then, marriages of local men to European women have become more frequent. The influx of young Europeans as volunteers abroad, mission workers and university students has led to a relaxation of taboos on association between European women and indigenous men. At the end of 1968, according to police sources, forty European women were living openly or clandestinely with indigenous men in the town. The increasing toleration of sexual relationships between the races has produced a relaxation of racial tensions among sophisticated Papua New Guineans. It does not affect the large number of unskilled migrants living without women in the town. Although the problem is not racial in origin, sexual assaults on European and Papuan women are likely to continue and a feeling of fear remain.

Unfavourable comments have been made on the state of race relations in Port Moresby. A writer with great experience in the field of race relations (Crocombe, 1966: 69) has described relations between races in Port Moresby as 'the worst in the Pacific'; and Hastings (1967: 50, 53) considers that they are deteriorating in Papua New Guinea and 'are positively at their worst in Port Moresby'. The late G.A.V. Stanley was a geologist who first began to work in Papua New Guinea in 1928. He maintained close contact with Papuans and married a Motuan woman in 1960. During a broadcast talk in October 1965, which he made in the knowledge that he was about to die, he said that the general impression of Papuans living in the Port Moresby area was that Europeans were 'a mean, cruel, unreliable and untrustworthy race'. He said that he agreed with this impression. To support these views, examples can be given of hostility felt by Papua New Guineans. During an inquiry into indigenous mental health, examples were given of men who were normally friendly and polite towards Europeans, but under stress or anaesthetic, revealed feelings of violent hostility towards them (Sinclair, 1957: 19, 49). According to a survey carried out in 1965:

There was quite a range of opinion expressed by younger, educated Papuans and New Guineans, and most of them were able to distinguish fairly clearly between the Europeans who were good and helpful, and those whom they resented as a selfish arrogant group. For the most part, they revealed a considerable ambivalence towards Europeans, while in some instances . . . there was very marked and open hostility. (Fink, 1965: 45)

Rew also describes the antagonism felt by some young educated workers towards Europeans (Rew, 1970: 121).

European attitudes towards Papua New Guineans also sometimes involve hostility and contempt. Many Europeans regard themselves as being culturally, and a number regard themselves as being genetically, superior to Papua New Guineans. A monthly magazine called Black and White was published between
November 1966 and August 1969 when an amendment to the Discriminatory Practices Ordinances moved by Chatterton forced it to close down. The majority of articles consisted of crude satire against indigenous people, yet it claimed in August 1969 that it had the large circulation of 4,000 copies.

Unless backed by quantitative research, opinions relating to the state of race relations must be subjective and are often expressed with the aim of improving them. Moreover race relations do not form a single state but a kaleidoscope of attitudes which vary according to such factors as education, history of contact with Europeans, personalities of those concerned and the situation in which contact is made. The racial attitudes of a senior local public servant, differ greatly from those of an unskilled worker from Chimbu. Yet there is little open hostility between the races and much friendliness and goodwill on both sides. A number of factors which produced racial tension in other colonial territories at a similar stage of political development are absent. Legal discrimination has disappeared and standards of courtesy observed by Europeans towards Papua New Guineans have improved. Largely owing to the late development of an élite, there is hardly any sense of nationalism: there is no cry of 'freedom' or *uhuru* to arouse the mass of the people against white foreigners. Many educated Papua New Guineans fear that self-government is being thrust upon them too soon.

Van den Berghe (1967: 27) suggests that race relations can be usefully analysed in terms of two ideal types. The first, the paternalistic model, is one in which the dominant group 'rationalizes its rule in an ideology of benevolent despotism'. This model was adopted by many Europeans and largely in official policies until the early 1960s and is not entirely dead. The second, the competitive type, is the polar opposite of the paternalistic type: division of labour is no longer solely based on racial criteria; and the dominant group develops a stereotype of the subordinate group as aggressive, insolent, and challengers of the *status quo*. As yet, there has been little movement towards the second ideal type in Port Moresby. In spite of grievances over discriminatory pay, Papua New Guineans are being promoted at a speed almost faster than they can digest. Europeans accept reluctantly that they will be forced to withdraw from many kinds of employment as localisation proceeds.

Change towards a less docile attitude on the part of Papua New Guineans may be the product of two factors. In Africa, intellectuals and political leaders have been concerned with *nègritude, l'âme noire* and the development of a specifically African personality. Such a quest has been absent in Papua New Guinea until recently. In 1973 a few university students, such as John Kasaipwalova from the Trobriand Islands, Leo Hannett from Bougainville and John Waiko from the Northern District, began to proclaim a very moderate form of Black Power. They gained little support among even their fellow students, and all three are currently seeking to bring about radical economic and social changes in their home areas. The second factor is that however far Papuans advance in
employment, Europeans and to a lesser extent Chinese will continue to dominate the economy for many years unless the economic system is radically changed. As the Administrator, L.W. Johnson, said in a speech at Lae, there can be no long-term security for anyone in Papua New Guinea unless the vast economic gap between the races is bridged. ‘It is idle’, he said, ‘to talk of a multi-racial society unless it is a society whose members can meet on equal terms’ (Australian, 19 Oct. 1970). As the author of a recent study of the motivation of New Guineans to adopt the role of entrepreneurs concluded:

Should the current situation of economic inequality between New Guineans and Europeans continue without relief, it would not be surprising if the highly motivated but deeply disappointed would-be entrepreneurs develop into revolutionaries. (Finney, 1971: 140)

If the economic aspirations of Papua New Guineans are frustrated, the state of race relations will deteriorate rapidly in the future.

The emphasis of those who have discussed or written about racial problems in Port Moresby has been on integration and the need to promote better interpersonal relationships between members of different races. The factors which now separate different racial communities are likely to persist. A more realistic aim may be to preserve peaceful co-existence of these communities by as far as possible removing actual and potential causes of friction between them.
The physical conditions in which an urban population lives ultimately depend on the resources of all kinds available to provide shelter and on the size of the population among whom they are divided. Three aspects of this simplistic but fundamental proposition require examination.

In many modernising countries there has been unequal distribution of resources because they have been allocated only to those whose housing and services reached a predetermined standard. This has led to a limited supply of high quality housing while the mass of the population live in overcrowded and insanitary conditions. These standards have usually been based on those considered desirable in Western countries. When needs for shelter are examined, however, they vary according to a number of factors. Some needs are ecologically determined: the kind of structure and services required depends on the climate. Other needs are culturally determined: concepts of privacy involving lavatories, washing facilities and sleeping arrangements vary from culture to culture. If needs are seen in these terms, statistics of housing needs, unless carefully defined, are misleading.

The amount of financial and other resources available partly depends on the proportion of the national resources which a government is prepared to make available for urban development in place of more economically productive goals. This is a political decision. It also depends on the capacity of individuals to pay for shelter but this involves a personal decision to devote a certain proportion of their income to it. Both ecological and cultural factors determine the importance accorded to shelter relative to other goods.

Finally, provision of shelter must be seen as a complex process involving the acquisition of a site, a planned layout and provision of services. The house is the end product of this process.

A major cause of poor physical and social conditions in towns is an influx of migrants which increases either the number of unemployed or those who can make very little contribution to the cost of their shelter. As a result, the provision of housing at standards locally deemed necessary falls further and further behind the demand.

Many government officials and others have seen legal restriction of move-
ment of migrants to Port Moresby and other towns as a solution to the housing problem. After 1945, government officials adopted the same policies towards migration to towns as they had followed before 1942. The Native Labour (Wages and Conditions of Labour) Ordinance 1945 provided that indentures should not be for more than one year and that workers should spend three months in their villages before re-engaging. Under the Native Labour Ordinance 1946 district commissioners were required to carry out surveys to ensure that recruitment did not disrupt social or economic life. The majority of officials were opposed to any form of long-term settlement of migrant workers in towns. The Interdepartmental Committee on Native Welfare recommended that families should be discouraged from migrating to places of employment and from becoming alienated from their villages (Minutes, 3 Dec. 1949). When the Department of External Territories said that Papuans should be encouraged to seek employment in Port Moresby, the District Officer said that he was opposed to granting leases to migrants. He considered that many of them were parasites and he was afraid of the growth of shanty towns. (D.O. Port Moresby, 1947). In 1955, a senior official said that 'a constant guard, at all costs, against detrivalisation and/or a trend towards the complete permanency of tenants' was essential (Director, D.S.N.A., 1955).

Legislation was enacted to control the movement of workers on health grounds. Under the Native Labour Ordinance 1946, the Director of District Services and Native Affairs was empowered to prohibit the recruitment of any native living above 3,500 feet, for example the inhabitants of the Goilala Sub-district, and he did this under a notice published in the Gazette on 10 May 1951. This prohibition was relaxed in July 1953, provided health requirements were met. He excepted the Western, Eastern and Southern Highlands Districts, where labour could be recruited with the permission of district commissioners after medical inspection had been carried out. This developed into the Highland Labour Scheme, under which carefully selected agreement workers were sent by air to work on plantations, and a number of Highland labourers went to work on the Sogeri plateau (Brookfield, 1961: 300-13). The Highland Labour Scheme continued in operation largely, as one district commissioner has said, on bluff. Since the early 1960s, control of movement from the Highland areas has broken down. Desertion from Sogeri plantations had, by 1968, become a major problem and the Planters' Association of Papua accused town employers of poaching labour from plantations (S.P.P., 16 August 1968).

The policy of restricting migration to urban areas continued to receive widespread support among government officials and members of the public. In 1964 indigenous members of the House of Assembly asked for controls to be imposed on migration (H.A.D., 10 Jan. 1964: 17, 20, 21). In August 1969, the House of Assembly passed a resolution that, in its opinion, 'serious consequences detrimental to village life result from large movements of people to towns and that unemployment follows and therefore request the Administration to re-
introduce restrictions on movements to towns' (H.A.D., 20 Aug. 1969: 1461). The reasons put forward by speakers for supporting the motion included the adverse effect on local government councils if people left to go to towns and slowing down of rural economic development because fewer people planted cash crops. They claimed that migrants in towns were unemployed, lived off their kinsmen, and formed a lawless element in urban areas. In a carefully reasoned reply, the Administration declined to impose legal restrictions on the grounds that they were unlikely to achieve the desired end and that experience elsewhere supported this view (H.A.D., 5 March 1970: 2254). At the end of 1971, a member of the House of Assembly proposed that a pass system should be instituted in urban areas. The mood of the House had changed since 1969 and the motion was defeated after a number of members had opposed restriction of freedom of movement (H.A.D., 11 Nov. 1971: 5145). In November 1973, a motion was passed by the House of Assembly asking that the government should discourage migrants from going to towns unless they had jobs and accommodation and to 'investigate methods of encouraging vagrants already in towns to return to their homes and stay there'. The then Minister of the Interior, John Guise, said that government had no objection to the motion but that 'no government in the world can stop people from drifting from the rural areas into the cities' (H.A.D., 15 Nov. 1973: 2985-6).

The Administration has tried to prevent those without employment from staying in towns and, in 1953, the Native Regulations (Papua) controlling the residence of migrants in towns were strengthened. Under Regulation 76A, 'a native shall not, without lawful and reasonable excuse, the burden of proof of which lies on him, remain within a town for a period of more than four days without employment'. This regulation has been repealed but migrants can be prosecuted under the Vagrancy Ordinance 1912-64, which is derived from Elizabethan legislation relating to 'rogues and vagabonds'. Under Section 4(1)(a) of this ordinance, anyone 'having no visible lawful means of support or insufficient lawful means' is committing an offence and may be imprisoned for two months.

The police have tried to enforce regulations restricting movement to towns, and in 1965 a vagrancy squad was formed to seek out and charge those without employment with offences under the regulations. Over the years a large number of people have been imprisoned for short periods and ordered to return to their villages. In 1963, an average of twenty-five people a month were being charged in courts as vagrants (S.P.P., 6 Dec. 1963). In 1967 vagrancy cases constituted 5.7 per cent, and in 1970/71 28 per cent, of cases heard in Port Moresby district and local courts (Oram, 1971). Welfare officials from time to time have arranged for the transport of migrants from Port Moresby to their home areas. They admit that the majority of those sent back to their villages quickly returned to the town. The District Commissioner, Central District, said in the House of Assembly: 'Laws should be tightened up so as to make life less tolerable for
the person coming into the town who obviously has no intention of wanting to work" (H.A.D., 20 Aug. 1969: 1469). The Administration believed that imposition of personal tax in towns after urban local government had been established would check the flow of migrants (Oram, 1970a: 579). It did not achieve this end and payment proved easy to avoid. The present policy of treating many migrants as vagrants merely leads to harassment of individuals staying in the town.

Attempts to regulate migration by legislation have had little effect, but the attitudes which give rise to these attempts have had a profound effect on policies relating to housing and settlement, and also those designed to maintain public order in the town. Officials, until recently, habitually referred to those living in urban settlements as 'illegal squatters', a derogatory description for which there was rarely justification. Migrants have also been condemned as lazy parasites although the proportion of those who could justly be so described is small. In a number of other colonial territories (E.A.R.C., 1955: 214; Colonial Office, 1958: 188), an active policy of stabilising migrant workers as long-term town-dwellers was pursued. In Papua New Guinea, a policy of stabilisation has only recently been adopted in face of long opposition.

If rational policies towards migrants are to be devised, answers are required to two related questions: whether the present rate of urban migration is undesirable; and if so, whether any effective means can be found to slow it down. In an article entitled 'Internal migration and urbanization in Papua New Guinea', Ward (1971: 81) argues that 'migration and the rapid expansion of towns are essential for economic and social progress and that urbanization should be facilitated and encouraged, rather than frowned on and discouraged'. He points out that '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: 81, 101, 1973: 362-72). There are those, for example Conroy (1973: 373-82), who take a middle view. They accept that urban growth is desirable and indeed inevitable, but rather than wishing to see urban migration encouraged, they consider that positive attempts should be made to reduce its rate. Measures would include development of the agricultural sector, both subsistence and cash, improvement of conditions in villages, making towns less attractive, for example by reducing educational opportunities, and the dispersion of urban population to regional centres. These are measures which have been proposed on a number of occasions by officials and members of the House of Assembly (H.A.D., 5 March 1970: 2255).

Such measures may achieve some reduction of the rate of migration but they are unlikely to have more than a limited effect. If the conclusion reached in Chapter 7 that motives for migration are basically economic is valid, people will continue to leave areas with little economic potential. Rural resettlement schemes are expensive and have often been proved unsuccessful. There is no
clear correlation between income-earning capacity in rural areas and migration rates. The Buang people of the Morobe District, for example, have the opportunity to earn high incomes at home but the villages are almost denuded of men between the ages of eighteen and forty-five. Girls will not marry men who stay at home (L. Zimmerman, pers. comm.). The formation of a progress association in a village near Lae, on the other hand, stimulated development to such an extent that the absentee rate fell from 69 per cent to 6 per cent (Willis and Adams, 1973: 162). This reduction may not, however, be permanent if enthusiasm for the association wanes.

The quality of rural life has declined in some respects and has certainly lost much of its excitement since the cessation of warfare and of feasts and dances connected with religious rituals. The provision of modern services such as piped water supplies, electricity, and better housing, if this could be achieved, is unlikely to keep people in their villages. Possibly the only amenity which might have some effect is television. As surveys in other developing countries show: 'overwhelming proportions of migrants say that their incomes, material possessions, access to services, and opportunities for their children are better in the city' (J. Nelson, 1970: 399).

At the other extreme are those who maintain that excessive migration and consequent urban unemployment reduces production. Harris and Todaro, for example, see the basic problem as arising from the differential between urban and rural wages. They discount industrialisation as a panacea to overcome urban underemployment. They consider that the basic problem arises from the difference between real wages in town and country. The increase in job opportunities through rapid industrialisation has led to a significant employment lag in many developing countries and in East Africa 'employment in manufacturing actually declined while output expanded'. They consider from East African experience that the only long-term solution is to 'reduce relative urban wages through an appropriate incomes policy'. They point out, however, that politically such a solution is very hard to achieve in face of opposition of politically aware urban workers, especially when it is articulated through their trade unions. They are able successfully to bring pressure to bear on both employers and politicians (Harris and Todaro, 1968: 28-33). The very large increase in minimum wages in Port Moresby had the support of two Cabinet ministers representing Port Moresby electorates who had been trade union leaders.

Policies of restricting migration to towns and repatriation of urban unemployed are being followed in Tanzania and Kenya but there is opposition by the people to the policy in Tanzania (Harris and Todaro, 1968: 34 n.15). There is little likelihood of such a policy being effective in Papua New Guinea and it suffers from a number of serious disadvantages. The difficulties which prevent control of migration were early stated by Foster (1956: 6, 8, 28). It was impossible to meet every boat and canoe arriving in Port Moresby or to
check those coming on foot. Moreover visitors were allowed to stay for more than four days. Control would involve

requiring all or most natives to report to the Police Station or similar point immediately on arrival in Port Moresby. There they would be issued with some sort of pass which would have to be reviewed at, say weekly intervals. Shortages of staff would make such a system difficult to operate.

Besides being costly and probably ineffective to operate, a pass system would make almost all town-dwellers potential criminals, as in South Africa, and make every policeman their enemy. Vagrancy laws are already having this effect among some sections of the population. Even if some control of urban migration were desirable, it would be difficult to enforce and be costly in financial and social terms.

Port Moresby is as yet a small town and the problems arising from migration are on a small scale compared to other developing countries. As Ward (1971: 103) points out, a high level of primacy is unlikely to develop in Papua New Guinea and a number of rapidly growing, semi-independent, centres are emerging. Policies of urban decentralisation, restraint of wages in urban areas, taxation policies and setting up ‘obstacles in certain migration channels’ (Clunies-Ross, 1973: 240) may lessen the flow of migrants but a solution to the problem will be painfully acquired over a long period. In spite of these efforts, migration to Port Moresby will continue at a rapid rate for many years to come and the problems which it causes will become worse. The recent increase in urban minimum wages is likely to hasten the rate of migration. As in other developing countries (E.A.R.C., 1955: 205; Davis, 1965: 52; McGee, 1967: 18), the supply of labour is likely greatly to exceed opportunities for employment. Sex ratios and age-structure of the population will not be balanced. Policies relating to shelter must take a rapid rate of migration into account.

In many developing countries, for example in East Africa (E.A.R.C., 1955: 216) and the former Netherlands East Indies (Wertheim, 1956: 176) colonial governments promoted urban development only on land which they had acquired from indigenous rightholders. The Administration of Papua New Guinea adopted a similar policy.1 Since 1885, it has bought large areas of land from Koita and Motu rightholders, but acquisition has not involved large-scale disturbance of indigenous communities as in a number of East African towns (E.A.R.C., 1955: 216) and in other Papua New Guinea towns such as Lae. The town has now expanded into the large areas of land acquired from Baruni in 1891 and areas subsequently acquired, but there is still ample room for expansion on government land.

Alienated land has been developed and administered according to Australian

1. For a fuller account of land tenure problems in Port Moresby and other urban areas in Papua New Guinea see Oram, 1970b and 1973c.
procedures. Land is subdivided and provided with services by the Administration. Applications for leases are invited by notice in the *Government Gazette* and are determined by the Land Board, which is responsible for land matters throughout the Territory. When applications for leases are invited, an upset price is stated based on the undeveloped capital value of the land. The applicant who makes the highest bid above the upset price is usually successful, but he is only required to pay the difference between the upset price and his bid. Rents are assessed at 5 per cent of the undeveloped capital value of the site and are reassessed every twenty-five years: when leases issued after 1945 have been reassessed, the new rent has sometimes been five or six times as high as the old. The lessee of residential sites makes, however, little or no capital contribution towards the cost of servicing the site. The cost of internal services alone in Gordon was $1,550 for a high-covenant block (Maunsell and Voorhees, 1970: A8). Leases are registered under the Torrens system developed in Australia, which confers a clear title to land.

Until recently the cost of leasing land prevented Papua New Guineans from obtaining leases in the town with the exception of low-covenant residential blocks at Hohola. In 1969, the average difference between upset price and tender price, paid by lessees for low-covenant 0.18 acre sites, was $230 and very few Papua New Guineans were able to acquire such sites from their own resources (Maunsell and Voorhees, 1970: 167). As the Public Accounts Committee of the House of Assembly pointed out (H.A., 1971: para 64), they found it virtually impossible to obtain commercial blocks because the Land Board insisted on the applicant providing proof that he could comply with the conditions of the lease and show his capacity to conduct a business. Government policy has now changed and, in 1970, advertisements in the *Government Gazette* began to state that: 'Provided all factors are equal, preference may be given to indigenous proposals, or proposals which contain a significant proportion of indigenous equity'.

Attempts to follow Western procedures in relation to land administration have overloaded the work of the Department of Lands, Surveys and Mines. According to one official, 10,000 leases remained unprocessed in 1972. Many administrative difficulties arise from using standard Western procedures. The Public Accounts Committee (H.A., 1971: para 60) described an 'illiterate or barely literate' population as being 'utterly confused at the amount of red tape that has to be gone through when making application for a block of land'. A number of settlers on redeveloped land at Rabia and Horse Camps considered that they had built houses to the standard required to obtain a long-term lease. By April 1972 they had received no reply to their applications which they made in August or September 1970 and one official reported that their first application had been lost. In 1970 delay between Land Board hearing and granting of lease to a 5-acre block at Tokarara led to the collapse of plans for Gulf District people to move from the settlement at Konedobu: the principal leaders had
moved away by the time land was available (B. Mylius, pers. comm.). Procedures for transfer of leases are slow and complex. At the Papuan Compound at Lae, leases were issued to Papua New Guineans for residential sites on which they built their own houses. Many left the sites without formally transferring their leases and could not easily be found. The help of the Public Solicitor had to be invoked and transfers took over a year to be effected. The same procedures have been followed in the Rabia Camp and Horse Camp settlements and the same problems are likely to arise. The Housing Commission has sought to overcome the problem by leasing the whole area of such a settlement themselves and then sub-leasing sites to the tenants. An alternative is to follow the practice adopted in the British Solomon Islands Protectorate of issuing 10-year occupation licences.

Arrangements for financing the Port Moresby Town Council were greatly delayed because of failure to carry out land-rate valuations. Low-cost housing schemes have been jeopardised because of delays in carrying out surveys. A single qualified surveyor took eighteen months to survey 180 blocks in the Horse Camp Resettlement Scheme, while residents waited angrily with stacked materials to build their houses. They realised that lack of interest indicated their low status in the eyes of the Administration (B. Mylius, pers. comm.). The offer of sites for development in the Morata no-covenant area was delayed for some months for the same reason. The department insists on the same standard of survey as required in urban areas in Australia and one in 8,000 cadastral accuracy is demanded on all allotments. Provided major surround and control surveys are carried out by a qualified surveyor, lower standards can be adopted.

In the British Solomon Islands Protectorate, 1 in 500 standards of accuracy are accepted for certain purposes. Survey assistants can also be trained to survey sites with a compass and chain (Taylor, 1971: 82). The success of no-covenant housing schemes depends largely on maintaining the enthusiasm of those who are taking up building sites. If delays in making sites available destroy their interest, the scheme will fail. The failure of the Department of Land, Surveys and Mines to provide for the efficient and speedy survey, allocation and transfer of land has been a major factor hindering the improvement of housing conditions in Port Moresby.

In 1971, the Public Accounts Committee of the House of Assembly concluded that the Department of Lands, Surveys and Mines was in many respects unequipped to carry out its allotted tasks: it lacked trained staff and adequate office accommodation and equipment. Responsibility for this situation does not lie entirely with the department. In December 1970 it admitted that it was ‘unable to satisfy public enquiry and demand in all phases of land administration from initial purchase to final allocation’ (para. 11). The Public Service Board, however, would not accept departmental proposals for the decentralisation of the work of the department to regional offices and for the appointment of efficient trained staff. Part of the responsibility lies with the department.
because it has continued to employ methods and to aim at standards which are unrealistic in the conditions obtaining in Papua New Guinea.

Approximately one-fifth of the area within the present town boundary is held under a customary form of tenure (Map 7). The last large area bought by the Administration from Papuan rightholders was the site of the present suburb of Korobosea in 1964, for which £320 an acre was paid. The Administration pays the purchase price to the senior representative of the rightholders, whom the Administration calls the 'controller', and the controller then distributes the money according to local custom. This method, already adopted before 1942, has proved satisfactory, although there have been some disputes and two controllers are believed by their fellow villagers to have suffered death or illness through sorcery practised by those who felt that they had not received a fair share. The money is quickly spent by the recipients and long-term benefit has only been obtained where they have invested the money in building modern houses, as in Kila Kila village.

The Administration has acquired nearly all land without legal compulsion, although at the Port Moresby Town Planning Conference, 1956, the proposal made by a Lands Department representative that all customary land within the town boundary should be acquired by the Administration was defeated only by the casting vote of the Chairman. The Administration, however, has insisted that rightholders are under a moral obligation to make their land available for development. Field officers have often exercised continuing pressure, accompanied by a limited adjustment of the price offered, until the rightholders have given way. Older members of landholding groups have sometimes been reluctant to sell land because they believed it to belong to past, present, and future generations, but they have been persuaded to sell by younger men anxious to obtain cash. One of the rare leases obtained by the Administration from Papuan rightholders was for the site of Idubada Technical School. According to a senior European land administrator, the rightholders refused to sell their land for seven years until they yielded to pressure and sold it for £25 an acre when the lease expired in 1953. The Kila Kila rightholders accepted £20 an acre awarded by an independent arbitrator for the Taurama barracks site after the Administration had first compulsorily rented it and then compulsorily acquired it; but the Pari people refused the offer and the purchase money has been held in trust.

Many villages now suffer from an acute land shortage as a result of land sales. Early in the 1960s, for example, Vabukori villagers decided not to sell land for a site for a school which they themselves wanted. Villagers are becoming increasingly aware that by selling their land they lose a potentially valuable asset for short-term gain and have begun to challenge the legality of early land sales. In 1952, the first Land Board appointed under the Land Ordinance upheld the claim of Hanuabada villagers that an area of Government House land had never been acquired by the Administration. Another Land Board dismissed a
similar claim to 40 acres in Newtown in 1954. In 1967, the claim by villagers to the Newtown land, then valued at $1,064,000, was eventually upheld on appeal before the Full Court of the Supreme Court in May 1971, but was later rejected by the High Court of Australia. In 1970, the people of Baruni and a number of other village groups claimed that the 45 square miles of land purchased by the Administration in 1891 had not been legally acquired. They lost their case before the Land Titles Commission. The Tatana people are claiming Daugo Island and other areas.

A claim to land against the Administration may pass on appeal through as many as five tribunals and is very costly. These claims have an unsettling effect on urban development. It is impossible to establish the ownership of rights to land after some ninety years have elapsed. The Commission of Enquiry into Land Matters, under the Chairmanship of Sinaka Goava, recommended in its Report that ‘The Government’s title to urban alienated land should be absolutely secure and not subject to challenge in the courts’, and that ‘A Permanent Commission of Inquiry consisting of one Commissioner should be set up to investigate claims to urban alienated land to recommend compensation in deserving cases’ (1973: X). The Commission recommended that the present judicial structure relating to land should be abolished and in its place should be established

a) mediation through paid mediators appointed for each council ward;

b) arbitration through judicial decision of local court magistrates sitting with assistants with knowledge of land customs of the area; and

c) appeal to only one court, the District Land Court presided over by a magistrate sitting alone (1973: 112-20).

These recommendations have not yet become law.

The rational development of customary land is one of the most urgent and difficult problems arising from urban development in Papua New Guinea today. The problem is less acute in Port Moresby, where government land is available for development, than in other towns, such as Lae and Rabaul, where expansion can only take place on customary land. Areas of customary land in Port Moresby are scheduled for early development under the current development plan and serious social and economic problems will arise if large areas near the centre of the town are subject to uncontrolled development. In the past, the Administration paid little attention to the problem. When the town boundaries were extended to the north in 1968, enclaves of alienated land detached from the main town area were included as part of the town (Map 8). In spite of the existence of large areas of customary land within the boundary, the Administration wished to avoid involvement with further areas of customary land.

Customary systems of land tenure in the Port Moresby area have changed considerably since before 1942 when the main use for land was subsistence agriculture. Land is now valuable because it can be used for building sites and has a potential cash value. Instead of residents in an area only being able to
Map Port Moresby town boundary
benefit from land rights, all those who have even remote claims try to establish their rights when land is sold. Many holdings have become smaller and the head of a small kin-group or extended family is in a powerful position in relation to use and disposal of land. A number of village residents have built modern houses and fenced their blocks: rights to house-sites may belong effectively only to the householder.

One major problem arises from the groups of migrant settlers established on customary land. The Administration has consistently regarded migrant settlers as illegal ‘squatters’. Under section 81 of the Land Ordinance 1962, a native may sell, lease or dispose of native land in accordance with native custom and Motu and Koita custom allows the occupation of land of a descent-group by people who are not members of the group by birth. Occupation of land by migrants is therefore legal although unprotected by the law and often unwelcome. Village rightholders have shed their responsibility for settlements by selling the land, including the large settlements at Rabia and at Horse Camp, to the Administration. When in 1956 the Administration bought the first Rabia Camp site at Kaugere and evicted the Purari settlers, a Land Board concluded that it would be impossible to accept any customary right which might affect the land to which the Crown held title since such rights are ‘unknown to English law and it would, from the evidence . . . be quite impossible to define the parties entitled or the extent of their interest’ (Oram, 1967a: 33).

There are legal and administrative difficulties in securing the migrants’ removal. In 1961, Vabukori rightholders asked the Public Solicitor to secure the eviction of the Iokea people settled at Taikone. The Public Solicitor (1961) considered that, if the Supreme Court required the complainants to prove title to the land on which the settlers were living, they might find it difficult to do so. In the event, no action was taken to remove the migrants and at present there is no legal way of evicting them.

Until the end of 1970, the Administration maintained a policy of removing settlers from customary land without taking active steps to achieve this goal. The main argument in favour of doing so was that the settlers lacked security of tenure to enable them to improve their houses. While they lacked legal security in Western terms, many settlers have felt sufficiently secure to invest in good houses, especially in areas in which relationships with rightholders were close, as between the Hula and Vabukori at Taikone and the Iokea and Koita at Mahuru village. The extent to which rightholders receive a return from the settlers for the use of their land varies. Inhabitants of some settlements give the rightholders nothing, others maintain customary exchange relationships, and in a few recently established settlements cash rents are paid. While a number of village rightholders would like to see the Administration re-settle the migrants elsewhere, their attitudes have been ambivalent. They have feelings of obligation towards the settlers, they have been unwilling to cause a breach in relationships between groups and they have been afraid of sorcery.
Recently, both rightholders and government officials have begun to look for ways in which settlers' occupancy can be rationalised. The most satisfactory means of achieving this goal is for the rightholders to come to a formal agreement with the settlers under the present system of tenure. An alternative is for customary tenure to be converted to freehold. This, however, might not help the settlers. The freeholders might not be satisfied with the low return which they would receive from low-cost residences and seek higher profits by leasing their land to non-indigenous entrepreneurs. A further possibility, at present being explored by the Papua New Guinea Government, is for the government to lease the land on which the settlements stand from the rightholders. The state of existing settlements is not an urgent problem, providing future building in them is controlled, and rightholders can be left to work out their relationships with migrants already settled on their land. They could be given official help if they needed it. The problem lies in finding means to control future settlement throughout the town.

There are a number of ways in which undeveloped customary land could be developed in an orderly way. The government could continue to try to buy customary land outright. Acquisition by the government enables the area to be planned according to an overall scheme and provides the nation with a valuable future asset. In the absence of an open market for land, the government has paid prices for customary urban land which are low in relation to its value immediately after development. Aware of the disadvantages, the majority of rightholders are unwilling to sell. The government could lease the land from them through the controller under the present system of tenure. Rents could be adjusted at regular intervals. Leasing their land is the course which is likely to prove most acceptable to rightholders. The government has always opposed the leasing of land for public purposes, including urban development in general, because it considered that the state rather than individuals should reap any profits from land development. It may, however, have no other option. Other possibilities would be for direct leasing to private developers to be legalised or for the rightholders to develop the land themselves. Leasing or owner-development of customary land raises a number of problems. At present, there are dangers in making payments to the 'controller' of an undefined group without legal status and customary land cannot be used as a security for loans. After weighing various courses, the Commission of Enquiry into Land Matters recommended that government should acquire land in the national interest, but that there would be 'some opposition' and it would 'depend upon the degree to which Government power can be exercised or accepted'. Eventually all urban land should be brought under public ownership. The Commission accept that leasing by government and direct leasing to developers might be desirable in some circumstances (1973: 76-9).

Transfer of land could be simply effected, provided administrative machinery worked smoothly, if rightholders were willing to convert their customary tenure
to freehold. Since the early 1950s, the Administration has promoted individualisation of land tenure. In 1952, the Native Land Registration Ordinance was enacted which established a Native Land Commission and provided for determination of rights to customary land. This machinery failed as the commissioners were too few to carry out the task assigned to them. The Registrar of Titles refused to register their decisions because the problem of keeping registers up to date appeared insuperable when a very large number of rightholders were involved. In 1963, new machinery was set up under the Land Titles Commission Ordinance and the Land (Tenure Conversion) Ordinance. Under Section 7 of the latter, a 'native' can apply 'for registration in his name of any native land or of any interest in native land', provided all other holders of rights to the same land agree. If a conversion order is made in respect of any land, the land ceases to be subject to native custom and the owner holds an estate in fee simple. The consent of the government is required before he can transfer the land. Only a few conversions, mainly house sites, have been carried out. Problems arise when large areas of land are converted and the claimants do not enjoy all significant rights to the land. The whole of the land within which Korobosea village is situated in a rapidly developing area of Port Moresby is held by descendants of a woman to whom the land was granted on her marriage. All rightholders agreed that title to the land after conversion should be held solely in the name of the head of the group, but the conversion proposal was dropped at the instance of the Public Solicitor. Even if the present head distributed profits from the development of the land in accordance with local custom, the legal rights of other members of the group would be extinguished by conversion and customary obligations might not be honoured by the head's heirs.

The problem which arises from the difficulty in registering the names of members of a group whose membership is not clearly defined would be overcome if, as proposed in legislation introduced in 1971, land could be recorded in the name of a group. If the group wished to develop its land, management committees could be established. The Commission of Enquiry into Land Matters considered that groups should hold the main titles (1973: 27).

There is always a potential conflict between the interests of the whole community and those of holders of land rights who seek to maximise their profits. An unproductive landlord class may emerge if rightholders are enabled to lease their land for modern development in return for high rents. It may be desirable to face one problem at a time and to accept that nationalisation of land in the urban area, however desirable, is at present politically impracticable. One way to reduce excess profits is through taxation and land rates. Profits from rents may be beneficially used for investment in economic enterprises and thereby promote greater indigenous participation in commercial development. Moreover, as elsewhere in Papua New Guinea, direct leasing of land is likely to occur illegally if it is not brought under legal control.

There is universal mistrust among village rightholders of any interference
by the government with indigenous land rights. As well as an efficient system of land administration, measures are required which overcome this mistrust. Much conflict arises through lack of communication between Administration and the rightholders; the need is for a readily accessible system of administration and for adequately trained officials who have the time and knowledge fully to discuss proposals and problems with the rightholders. Sound urban development depends on efficient and sensitive land administration. To achieve this, the policies and practices of the Department of Lands, Surveys and Mines require a radical overhaul to enable them to respond to the requirements of rightholders and developers in present-day Port Moresby. A concentration by the government is required on the problems of developing customary land, but these problems are closely involved in problems of town planning.

Town planning is carried out under the Town Planning Ordinance 1952-1972. The ordinance does no more than provide for an elementary zoning scheme prepared by the Town Planning Board and is entirely inadequate by modern town-planning standards. Until 1972, when the ordinance was amended, zoning schemes prepared under it were not legally enforceable. A new Town Planning Bill, designed to suit local conditions, was presented to the House of Assembly in 1966 but it was immediately withdrawn because 'professional bodies have pointed out certain flaws which may, in operation, defeat the aims of the bill' (H.A.D., 7 March 1967: 2202). Although a revised bill was drafted in 1971 with the help of the Australian National Capital Development Commission, it has not yet been introduced into the House.

A Town Planning Board is established under the ordinance and consists of the Surveyor-General, Valuer-General, a representative of the Public Works Department and one unofficial member. The Government Town Planner is Adviser to the board. The board is not a policy-making body and its main function is to determine submissions requesting relaxations of the zoning scheme. Town Planning is carried out by a section of the Division of Survey within the Department of Lands, Surveys and Mines and its status within the bureaucracy is low. In the past, the Town Planner was not consulted about such matters as the selection of the university site in 1962 or later of that of a go-kart track. The staff of the section is very small: the first town planner was appointed in 1959 and until the late 1960s there was rarely more than one qualified town planner employed in the section. There are now three. Important planning decisions are often made by senior members of the department who are not town planners.

A far-reaching town plan was prepared by the Administration for the central business district after civil administration had been re-established in 1945, but it was abandoned as a result of opposition from property owners (Stuart, 1970: 149). New suburbs such as Boroko, however, were planned according to current Australian planning concepts. In 1952, the Town Advisory Council had been told by the Administration, when town planning was discussed, that
the town was to be limited to 7,500 people, although it is probable that this figure did not take Papua New Guineans into account (S.P.P., 4 April 1952). The first serious attempt to plan the development of the town as a whole was made by the Port Moresby Town Planning Conference which met intermittently from August to November 1956. It was attended by government officials and representatives of the European community. The conference proposed that a series of satellite towns should be planned. They were in advance of their time in advocating the integration of the non-indigenous and indigenous inhabitants of the town. A government spokesman assumed that racial barriers would come down and living standards be equal in the future. In the interim period, 'some measures of segregation will be dictated by expediency'. They recommended a number of legislative and administrative changes including the establishment of a 'full-time planning authority' with wide statutory powers and adequate staff at all levels (Town Planning Conference, 1956).

Little action was taken on the major recommendations of the conference. There was no development of its planning organisation by the Administration. As nearly all land required for development had been acquired by the Administration, planning was carried out on a tabula rasa and consisted of the planning of successive new residential suburbs. Until 1969, no serious attempt was made to plan the town as a whole, still less the development of customary land.

Piecemeal planning has had a number of undesirable results. Ela Beach has been disfigured by unsightly buildings. Ribbon development occurred at Badili and 4-mile along the Hubert Murray Highway. In spite of the shift of population to the Boroko area after 1950, the Administration decided to rebuild its headquarters on the congested and remote site at Konedobu. According to official informants, this decision was made because senior officials living nearby at Kaevaga wished to live near their work. One former senior official who took a different view was reprimanded by the Minister personally for trying to delay development when he suggested that government headquarters should be moved to the Boroko area. An alternative route from Konedobu to Boroko was demanded by the Town Advisory Council and other bodies for many years and a gash in the hillside near Burns Peak is witness to an abortive attempt to build one. A large proportion of the working population has to make a long and slow car journey to work along the Hubert Murray Highway which remains the only access to Konedobu and the central business district not involving a long detour. Motorists were given some relief when 3-mile hill was widened to provide a two-lane uphill carriageway in 1964 and a dual carriageway was constructed at Koke in 1965. In 1966, as a result of an administrative blunder by the Lands Department, a row of retail stores was built on the highway near the Taurama cross-roads. These developments created a number of traffic problems which will be reduced as government departments move to the new civic centre at Waigani.

In 1969, the Administration commissioned Maunsell and Partners and Alan
M. Voorhees and Associates, as joint consultants, to carry out a development study of Port Moresby. The study was based on a projected population of 112,000 in 1980 and 270,000 in 1990 (Langmore, 1970: 29). The study proposed that the town should expand mainly on areas of land acquired by the Administration to the north and north-east of the town. The consultants considered that ‘continual growth within the combined Konedobu-existing city centre complex should be discouraged due to problems in accessibility, limited land available for expansion and because these areas are poorly situated with respect to both existing and projected population centres’. They recommended that a new city centre should be established in the area between Gordon and the university (Maunsell and Voorhees, 1970: 121). The Administration has in general accepted these recommendations. The plan suffered from the weakness that it provided a broad plan to be implemented over the next twenty years but no guidelines for development in the immediate future. As a result, piecemeal planning has continued as before: many of the recommendations of the study have been adopted, including the construction of a civic centre, while others relating to land use and the transport system have been altered by the Lands Department with little consultation with others concerned.

The planning of Port Moresby has produced a town which is largely Australian in character and designed to meet the needs of a prosperous car-owning population. Until the last two years the Administration gave little thought to the planning needs of Papua New Guineans. Indigenous residential areas were segregated from those of Europeans. There were no footpaths, bringing danger to pedestrians especially at night, and public transport was inadequate (see R.G. Ward, 1968: 18). When Papua New Guineans began to live in integrated areas such as Gordon, two years passed before stores were built in the area. Over the years, a number of official reports (e.g. Foster, 1956: 36; Daw and Doko, 1968: 25) have stressed the urgent need for playing fields.

Lack of planning, however, is most evident in areas of customary land. When the villages were rebuilt, the layout reflected traditional forms of social organisation. At Kila Kila, as described by Firth (1952: 87), houses were aligned along the village street, and the houses of each of the four iduhu were built on both sides of the street, so that they faced each other. Hanuabada was the only village which was provided by the Administration with a formal planning layout and the people were fully and tactfully consulted about the form the rebuilding should take (Minutes of Meetings of Interdepartmental Committee on Native Development and Welfare, 19 and 25 Nov. 1946). The Hanuabada representatives decided that the village should be built in the sea because they wished to avoid breaking with tradition, it was more hygienic and some people were still afraid of the sorcery of the inland people. One man spoke against the proposal because he wanted his children to live in a modern way; some informants have since said that the decision to build in the sea was made by old and conservative men. The representatives decided that the village should be built in traditional
iduhu lines from the shore going out to sea. Finally they decided that houses should be built entirely in European materials. The Chairman, a European public servant, tried at the meetings to persuade the Hanuabada representatives that part of the houses, such as the walls and roofs, should be built of traditional materials on aesthetic grounds and because of the expense which non-entitled people would incur if they built their own houses. He also pointed out that each house-owner would be entitled to up to £100 compensation for his house, while the cost of the houses built for them by the Administration would be nearly £400. The representatives said that the Administration had promised during the war that the village would be rebuilt in modern materials and were adamant that the Administration should honour its promise.

The first settlements were also developed in an orderly way. Under the guidance of Tommy Kabu, Rabia Camp was laid out on the lines of a naval station, with white-washed stones marking paths. Garbage cans were provided and the area was kept scrupulously clean (Oram, 1967a: 26). Other settlements were built like villages with houses facing inwards along a street. The Hula settlement at Taikone extended along the shore and also in a rough circle with the Motu rightholders' house in a dominant position. The central area is shaded by coconut palms and serves as a playground for children and as a site for canoe building and other activities.

As a result of lack of building controls, many villages and settlements became formless and congested as they grew rapidly. Conditions in Rabia Camp, for example, had greatly deteriorated before it was redeveloped by the Administration. Much of the land section of Hanuabada is unplanned and has become increasingly overcrowded and inconvenient, especially in the area adjoining the main road. In 1960, the District Officer proposed that Hanuabada landholders should pool their land at Badihagwa which would be sub-divided and serve as a residential area for the expanding village. The scheme was not acceptable to the rightholders. In 1962, with the help of the District Office, the Fairfax Local Government Council at the instance of Sinaka Goava built a short road inland into a largely undeveloped area. In 1963, Mahuru Rarua Rarua was largely instrumental in obtaining consent of some twenty rightholders to build a longer road through the inland parts of the village. One of the rightholders refused his consent and for a period of a year the council and the District Office accused each other of not answering letters. When agreement was reached over land, the Public Works Department no longer had funds to build the road and provide water. The road was eventually built in 1966. Construction of these roads has promoted orderly development because houses have been built on rectangular blocks alongside them and congested development has been avoided.

The problem of controlling development on customary land exists either within the boundaries or on the fringes of all major towns in Papua New Guinea. In the past, the Administration made no attempt to tackle the problem. The Department of Social Development and Home Affairs is now drawing up a
policy for the development of customary land in Port Moresby. There are two distinct problems: the treatment of areas on which uncontrolled development has taken place; and the future development of vacant land.

Three categories of areas of uncontrolled development can be distinguished. Some areas, which can be suitably zoned as residential, are being steadily upgraded by the inhabitants themselves. At Taikone, for example, the principal rightholder, Philip Maimu, has agreed with the Hula settlers that the latter should remove their houses from the beach and rebuild them in three rows on the hillside above the present settlement. All the urban villages and a number of settlements come under this category and only require additional services, the resiting of some buildings and the planning of future development. A second category includes those settlements which can be left in situ for the time being, but which should be relocated at some time in the future. The third category includes a few settlements which should be removed as soon as possible. Reasons for the removal of a settlement would be extreme antagonism between villagers and settlers, the land being needed for other purposes and the impossibility of providing existing sites with services. There is also an argument for resettling groups of people, such as the Chimbu and Goilala, whose social and physical isolation is one of the factors which give rise to lawlessness and inter-tribal aggression.

In planning areas still held under customary tenure, a lesson can be learnt from the Hanuabada experience. Planning objectives should be very simple and determined in consultation with the residents and rightholders. They should be limited to ensuring that all building takes place according to a planned layout. Elementary zoning of recreation grounds and schools should only be attempted if the rightholders agree. Such planning should be carried out on the carrot-and-stick principle. The agreement of rightholders to a plan should be encouraged by promise of provision of basic services. Once a landowning group has agreed to a plan it should be enforced, if necessary by law.

Planning problems still arise when the tenure of land is converted to freehold by individuals or a group. If the area is sufficiently large to admit rational planning, no problems arise. But in the neighbourhood of towns, and especially of Port Moresby, holdings are likely to be small. The implementation of any zoning scheme must involve some equalisation of the proceeds. Those whose land is zoned for a low-income-producing use, such as low-cost housing, would otherwise be at a disadvantage compared to those whose land is zoned for high income purposes such as industry or high-cost housing. It may prove very difficult to obtain agreement among registered owners to pool land itself or the proceeds obtained from its development. As with customary land, it may be desirable to aim only at orderly development without insisting on a formal zoning scheme.

Current official planning policies go far to remedy previous failure to provide adequately for the Papua Guinea population. They are no longer deliberately
segregated, although in practice indigenous and non-indigenous people still live mainly in separate areas. The Port Moresby Development Study makes provision for residential areas for those with low incomes and also for adjacent industrial areas in which they can find employment. Jane Jacob (1964: 164-90), who has put forward arguments in favour of mixed primary uses in a street or area, points out that few attacks occur in areas where there is constant activity, and in spite of rough elements, Rome is one of the safest cities in the world because there are always people on the streets (Drucker, 1969: 54). The Moresby plan is designed for people with cars. The widely accepted practice of zoning areas for a particular use has been adopted in Port Moresby, but the need for such rigidity may be challenged. As Breese (1966: 117) points out, spontaneous unplanned development may produce a satisfactory form of mixed land use. An example of the vigorous nature of such development was provided in the 1950s by the African suburb of Katwe in Uganda (E.A.R.C., 1955: 213) in contrast to sterile planned development nearby. Mixed land use may reduce the journey to work. If modern standards of design and layout are observed, there is nothing offensive in siting light industry in residential areas. As noted in Chapter 7 above, Papua New Guineans have failed to develop a bazaar economy and the requirement that they should maintain separate residential and commercial premises militates against their doing so. They are unlikely to become small entrepreneurs unless they are allowed to use their residences as stores and workshops, however untidy such uses may appear to Western eyes. The Government White Paper 'Self-help Housing Settlements for Urban Areas' recommends that legal restrictions on the development of back yard industries should be removed (P.N.G. 1973: 14).

Hohola was originally planned on a modified gridiron pattern and layouts for no-covenant areas have not been based on clear planning principles but have been largely dictated by the nature of the terrain. Those responsible for these layouts have paid little attention to the kind of layouts spontaneously developed within settlements. Where the traditional land-village pattern of two lines along a street has not been adopted, houses in settlements have often been built round an open space: Horse Camp, Taikone, part of Kila Kila village and the Iokea settlements of Mahuru are examples. While the makers of the Port Moresby plan were aware of this development, they proposed central open spaces which would be surrounded by too large a population to foster a community spirit (Maunsell and Voorhees, 1970: Drawing 18). More recently, Lea (1972: 1) and Taylor and Partners in their Madang plan (1972: 216) have put forward plans based on a small cluster of houses round an open space. This concept has not been reflected in plans prepared for specific residential areas in Port Moresby. The size of the basic residential unit has not been worked out. Where sites for playing fields, markets and community centres have been planned, difficulties raised by the Land Department have frequently frustrated their development. These weaknesses in town planning are largely due to the organisa-
tion responsible for carrying it out, which involves fragmentation of responsibility. Confusion has been caused, for example, by the refusal of the Land Department to hand over full responsibility for no-covenant areas to the Housing Commission.

Planning should be for the benefit of communities and not atomistic individuals and the aim of future planning should be to promote cross-cutting ties among different tribal groups living within residential settlements. Although neighbourhood planning has become unfashionable in Britain and Australia (see Dennis, 1968: 74-92) it is relevant in Port Moresby where the social structure differs from that found in towns in the West. The Housing Commission is pursuing a very cautious policy of mixing groups of houses of different structural standards. In West Africa palatial buildings are found next door to mud huts without stress or incongruity. Mixing discourages the hardening of different social strata and also, as Stretton (1970: 117) points out, wealthier sectors of the population are more likely to demand better services than their poorer neighbours, and thus raise the standards of the whole neighbourhood.

There appears to be little conception within the department of planning as a continuing process. The Land Department often does not consult government departments and public bodies, especially the City Council, which are directly concerned with the planning of the town. While informal discussion sometimes occurs, there is no machinery for formal consultations: the Interdepartmental Coordinating Committee responsible for all aspects of development lapsed in 1971. Lack of planning of schools for those settled on customary land has been noted in Chapter 7. There are no declared policies for service-station and tavern sites. The department advertises tavern sites, but the police and the City Council have no opportunity to challenge their suitability until an application for a liquor licence is heard by the Liquor Licensing Commission.

In the past, there has been little consultation with the public. In 1970 the Hohola Progress Association held a meeting, at which Albert Maori Kiki, Brian Amini and Simon Kaumi2 were present, to hear the Government Town Planner explain the Port Moresby Development Study. Reflecting their sense of exclusion from the preparation of the study, the leaders expressed persistent and bitter opposition to such aspects of the plan as the siting of no-covenant areas; even though their objections, based on health grounds, were shown by medical authorities to have no basis. When a re-development plan for Horse Camp was produced by the Administration, the inhabitants were asked to agree without being given the opportunity to study or discuss it. On 18 March 1970, a government official gave the only explanation of the plan which they were to receive to the assembled people in the presence of two members of the House of Assembly. The explanation was so brief that even a European versed in

2. Then Chief Electoral Officer, later Secretary, Department of Social Development and Home Affairs.
town planning could not understand it. The plan was in diagrammatic form and individual residents did not know how it would affect them. They could not therefore formulate questions. The residents agreed without discussion because the government-acknowledged leader of the residents said that if they did not accept the plan there would be a further year's delay. When the Community Development Group made representations to the District Commissioner two weeks later, he said that he believed that there had been sufficient consultation and that the people had been prepared to leave the decision to experts (B. Mylius, pers. comm.).

Strong arguments can be advanced for decentralising planning procedures. In Uganda, for example, the preparation of plans and their day-to-day execution was the responsibility of urban authorities. The plans were prepared by government town planners on behalf of urban councils. A town planning board laid down overall planning policy, approved schemes prepared by urban authorities and heard appeals against local decisions. The Minister of Local Government had powers of disapproval and intervention in certain circumstances, but his powers were rarely exercised against the wishes of the board. A similar form of organisation could be adopted in Papua New Guinea without depriving the central government of a reasonable measure of control.

Land administration and town planning policies have been major factors in dividing Port Moresby into two sectors. If a planning organisation is to be established which is responsive to public needs in relation, for example, to the development of customary land, reforms are needed at three levels. An adequately staffed planning organisation with a measure of autonomy is needed at the central government level. Town planning consultants have produced some excellent studies, but permanent staff are required to supervise town planning as a process. This should possibly be under a senior official who has overall responsibility for urban development as proposed by the National Capital Development Commission. Immediate responsibility for drawing up and carrying out plans should be delegated to urban councils. Within the urban authority, a ground-level administrative organisation is needed which provides for representation of, and consultation with, the people of the area concerned.

The majority of Europeans and other non-indigenous people living in Port Moresby are adequately housed and well-provided with services. At the worst some Europeans suffer inconvenience and, at the beginning of 1972, about 140 public service families were without permanent housing and made several moves in a year (P.C., 4 Jan. 1972). As the Public Service is localised, this problem is disappearing. The Administration spent very large sums on providing housing for its European public servants. From July 1965 to June 1969 it spent $4,561,000 on non-indigenous housing compared with $960,000 on indigenous housing in Port Moresby (Maunsell and Voorhees, 1970: F6). The majority of European employees of commercial firms are also provided with houses by their employers. Housing is expensive for those who have to find their own but
the majority can afford it. Few problems arise in relation to expatriate housing.

The story of indigenous housing in Port Moresby is one of attempts by the Administration to close the gap between the cost of housing of a standard acceptable to it and available resources. For many years, as ways of closing the gap failed, an increasing number of people lived in the uncontrolled settlements described in Chapter 6. The Administration first faced the problem at Hanuabada. The people who were not re-housed by the Administration either lived in houses of relatives or built very small houses from scrap materials (Belshaw, 1957: 102-3). The Administration deplored the existence of poor housing but could find no satisfactory alternative. The Assistant District Officer, Port Moresby, wrote in a memorandum dated 3 October 1955 that ‘As Hanuabada receives considerable publicity and is being constantly visited by tourists, it is important for the prestige of the Administration if nothing else, that a decent village be constructed’. Officials were opposed to replacing the temporary houses at government expense (District Commissioner, 1955; Foster, 1956: 17), but they feared that to demolish the huts would cause a shortage of skilled employees on the labour market (Govt Sec., 1952). Various proposals were put forward for financing building through loans, but they were unsuccessful because Hanuabadans were unable to raise a large enough cash deposit and because the system of land tenure made it impossible for houses to be offered as security for loans (District Commissioner, 1955; Foster, 1956: 18). Eventually the Administration abandoned its attempt to maintain a high standard of housing in Hanuabada: lacking a plan, the village became increasingly congested, housing standards declined and basic services were lacking.

When the villagers returned to Port Moresby in 1945, there was an acute shortage of local building materials. With the aid of money paid as war compensation and with the use of materials left behind by the army and Angau, village houses were re-built with sawn timber and corrugated-iron roofs and walls. They followed the European design then current in the town. Standards of building varied, and in 1956 houses at Baruni and some houses at Tatana were described in an official report as bad (Foster, 1956: 2). Attempts were made by the people themselves to improve housing in villages. A building co-operative was founded in Vabukori, but it failed after four houses had been built. A similar society was also founded at Kila Kila village, but the inclusion of a large number of unemployed kinsmen on the payroll was a major cause of its failure (H. Jackman, pers. comm.).

From the beginning of the 1960s, the standard of housing in villages and settlements was gradually raised by the homeowners themselves. A large number of houses in all villages were rebuilt in imported materials. Those who could afford to do so made roofs of corrugated-iron and walls of fibrolite while others used flat iron ‘envelopes’ which served as containers for imported walling. The design of houses continued to follow that of the newest type of government high-grade housing and many of the plans were approved by the Port Moresby
Building Board. The village of Kila Kila was almost entirely rebuilt with high-standard houses, partly from the proceeds of a large land sale and partly from individual savings. A similar process of house improvement began to take place in the older migrant settlements. While the housing in some, such as the Popo settlement at the entrance to Kila Kila village, remained poor, that in others, such as the Hula and Iokea settlements at Taikone and the Iokea settlement at Mahuru, reached a reasonable modern standard and improvement is discernible in the majority of settlements. After building a temporary house, the owner may try to improve it or he may build a new house. Once he has built a roof and walls he may live in it and add amenities, such as louvres, internal walls, ceilings, and additional rooms such as kitchens as money becomes available. These are settlements of ‘hope’ and not settlements of ‘despair’ (cf. Stokes, 1962: 187-97).

When, in the 1960s, a survey had shown that many domestic servants’ quarters on residential blocks were unoccupied and used as stores and, of those which were occupied, a considerable proportion were occupied by people other than domestics, the building of such quarters was discontinued. The main aim was to save public funds, but a system which established an inferior caste within a residential area was also socially undesirable. The occupants suffered from a number of disabilities, including interference by the police and eviction without notice, especially if they were ‘passengers’ lodging with kinsmen or wantoks. The Administration failed, however, to provide alternative accommodation in new suburbs and a large number of uncontrolled settlements, for example on Gordon Ridge, sprang up near them.

After 1945, the Administration was ambivalent towards obliging employers to provide housing for their workers. The Social Development Planning Committee (Report 1948) considered that the Department of Public Works should be required to take early action to provide suitable accommodation for Native employees of the Administration and to establish adequate housing conditions for all Natives in town areas and at other centres of employment.

In January 1952, the District Commissioner, Port Moresby, considered that two indigenous settlements, established at Taurama and Gabutu at the behest of the Minister for External Territories, created a bad precedent: it relieved employers of their obligations, and it should not be the aim of the Administration ‘to encourage isolated settlements when adequate sanitary and such like supervision cannot be given’. At the end of 1952, the Government Secretary (1952) wrote that he considered that it would be necessary to provide housing projects ‘at certain definite standards’ either to be let by the Administration to individuals or to be built by house-owners with the help of loans. The Administration failed to force private employers to provide housing for a large proportion of their employees, and, in spite of the development of housing areas for government servants such as Konebada and Kaugere, many indigenous
government servants were not provided with housing. In 1967, housing for local public servants was still ‘shockingly inadequate—said to be an 8 to 10 year wait’ (H.A., 1967).

A solution to the housing problem was sought in the development of the low-covenant suburb at Hohola. It was originally intended that residents would build their own houses on sites with covenants of £400, £500 and £1,000 (Town Planning Conference, 1956), but later the Administration built houses for tenant purchase and renting. While the development of Hohola enabled members of the emergent Papua New Guinea middle class to obtain housing, it failed to reduce the number of people living in migrant settlements. It had been the intention of the Administration to remove people from the settlements to Hohola and then to pull the settlements down, but the cost of housing at Hohola was too high for this to be done. Only the highest-paid Papuans could afford to pay the rents charged at Hohola: these were, on average, $62.40 a year for houses rented by Administration employees until 1965, when they were raised to $117.00 for three-bedroom houses, and $104.00 for two-bedroom houses. Private tenants paid $4.65 a week for three-bedroom houses. Service charges were between $4.50 and $6.00 a month. Faced with increasing uncontrolled settlement, different departments of the Administration then tried three distinct ways of overcoming the housing problem.

In 1960, the District Officer, D. Marsh, pointed out to the Director of Native Affairs that the main problem was to provide housing for people who were paid the urban minimum wage of $6 a month. He proposed that land should be set aside in the Waigani area to the north of the present university campus to house the people in the migrant settlements. They should be given leases of their land and loans up to $500 to enable house plinths and frames to be constructed. Materials from demolished houses should be given to them. He also thought that the settlers should be given access to the swamps on government land which were stocked with *tilapia*, a fresh water fish, but the Agricultural Department would not agree to do this (District Officer, 1961). While the District Officer’s proposals were not then adopted by the Administration, a number of people from the Gulf District left town and settled, partly on Administration land and partly on land alienated to a European pastoral company, in the Waigani area near the site proposed by the District Officer. There are some sixty houses, built 25 to 50 yards apart along a mile of track, which house approximately 600 people. This spontaneous development represents a highly successful form of agricultural resettlement.

In mid-1962, discussions were held by the Administration with officials and non-officials concerned with housing, including representatives of the Western Welfare Association led by A. Maori Kiki, and myself. As a result, the Administration decided to provide a site-and-service scheme, and land was bought at Sabama near Kila Kila village with approximately 300 building sites. There were considerable delays in carrying out the scheme. Sites were not offered until
September 1964, nearly two years after the decision to adopt the scheme had been made. There were even longer delays in providing essential services such as water, which was not available until the end of 1965. The rent for the sites of approximately one-tenth of an acre was $2 a year, and the lessee was required to spend at least $500 on his building. Only one house was occupied in November 1965 and by the beginning of 1967 only ten houses had been built. According to a letter written on 16 May 1967 by the Acting Secretary, Department of the Administrator to the Secretary, Council of Social Services, the Administration considered that the scheme had failed. There was no inquest into the failure, which was attributed by the Administration to the desire of migrants to resettle themselves in ethnic groups. The main reason for failure was that building standards demanded of site-owners were too high: 'the majority of the applicants were unable to demonstrate to the Land Board their ability to comply with the covenant to erect improvements valued at $400 within a reasonable time' (H.A., 1967: answer to Question 294). A further major reason, however, was poor administration. The delays in preparing and servicing sites discouraged applicants who early applied for sites. Some 200 residents of Horse Camp forfeited their $2 application fees. No on-the-spot assistance was provided to help with filling in some seventeen forms required to obtain sites and loans. Technical advice on house building was not available until 1966 when William Dihm, a building expert with kinship ties with Vabukori village, was appointed and gave much free time to the project.

While the Sabama experiment was being carried out, the Administration instructed the Public Works Department to design a house costing less than $600. In October 1963, 100 houses had been finished at a cost of just over $100,000. They were let to people in government employ for 80 cents a week but an economic rent would have been over $2.00. The total sleeping and living area, however, was only 120 square feet. According to a survey carried out by the writer in April 1964, the total population of 106 of these houses was 210 adults and 182 children. Two of the houses were occupied by ten people, one house by nine people, four houses by eight people and seven houses by seven people. Overcrowding, the opening of the bucket latrine into the living room and the construction of the walls which admitted the rain produced strong criticisms (S.P.P., 20 Dec. 1963). The Housing Commission also ran into trouble when it tried to reduce costs by building smaller houses. The S5 cost $700 by direct labour in 1971, had a floor space of only 158 square feet with a covered verandah of 50 square feet and provided few and inconvenient services. It attracted a rent of $2.75. In 1971 a Member of the House of Assembly complained about this accommodation and described them as 'dog houses' (H.A.D., 5 March 1971: 3834).

A number of people were housed as a result of these projects but they made little impression on the overall housing problem. In 1968, a comprehensive plan was prepared by the District Office for the settlement of all migrants which
included the provision of 5-acre blocks in the Baruni area. The Administration abandoned the all-embracing scheme and confined itself to re-organising some settlements on their existing sites. The intention of the Administration was that blocks in these settlements should be allocated to existing residents, who were encouraged to build improved houses on them. A beginning was made at Rabia Camp which in 1969 was divided into 75 blocks according to a planned layout. The number was increased to 150 blocks to enable each primary family living in the settlement to obtain a block. Owing to pressure on accommodation, the final figure was 250 blocks. For two years there were delays caused by lack of surveys and services but by the end of 1971 the scheme had made rapid progress. A similar scheme was carried out at Horse Camp which met the planning problems described above.

This policy provided a number of householders with security of tenure and better services but it suffered from two major weaknesses. While the inhabitants of these residential areas were being resettled, a much larger number of people were settling without administrative control throughout the town area. Uncontrolled and unplanned building was taking place within 200 yards of the area being redeveloped at Rabia Camp. The schemes also proved very costly. In spite of road building carried out without charge by the army in the interests of improving public relations, the cost of providing services at Rabia Camp may have exceeded, according to some officials, $250,000. The cost of services is partly due to the steep slopes on which both Rabia Camp and Sabama are situated. It was necessary to install a sullage scheme costing $100,000 at Sabama.

While the basic housing problem is to overcome the cost-resources gap, it has several distinct aspects. There is over-crowding, especially in quarters provided by employers and in some migrant settlements. Existing settlements lack important services. If adequate opportunities for obtaining houses in controlled conditions are not provided, new uncontrolled settlements will appear. In 1966, 16 per cent of the indigenous population lived in urban villages and 16 per cent lived in urban settlements (Bureau of Statistics, 1966b). In 1972, percentages were approximately 10 and 23 respectively (T. C. Standley, pers. comm.) and the proportion of urban settlers had greatly increased. Much development in villages and settlements is at present satisfactory, yet approximately one-third of the population is living in uncontrolled conditions. If control over building is not exercised, villages and settlements may become congested and develop into the kind of huge, densely packed and insanitary residential areas found in towns in many developing countries today.

In 1970, a policy for tackling the housing problem which I had advanced for many years (E.A.R.C., 1955; Oram, 1964, 1965, 1970) was included in the Port Moresby Development Study (Maunsell and Voorhees, 1970: 133-6). I estimated that some 85 per cent of the population could not, out of their own wages, afford the cheapest type of house provided by the Housing Commission
(Oram, 1970d: 73; Langmore, 1970: 33). Indeed, a large proportion of the indigenous population could afford to make very little regular contribution to the cost of their housing, although they obtain money spasmodically for this purpose. There was no way of closing the cost-resources gap at existing housing standards. The cost of subsidising housing sufficiently to close the gap would be prohibitive and would divert financial resources from economically productive projects. Unless technical developments of an entirely new kind occurred, there would be no way of reducing housing costs sufficiently through improved building methods and reduction in size of houses would be undesirable. Any attempt to raise wages sufficiently by legislation would seriously disrupt the economy. The Administration had seen the provision of loans in cash or kind as a panacea for overcoming the housing problem; but the number of people who could take advantage of loans would be limited and the cost of administering loans for low-cost housing would be great.

Whatever standards are prescribed, actual standards of building and services are determined by the availability of financial and other resources: the problem lies in deciding how to distribute them. The aim of housing policy should be gradually to raise the standard of living conditions for the whole urban population rather than to achieve a high standard of housing for a minority.

The basis of such a policy should be:

i) to ensure that no building takes place in the present and future urban area except on planned and demarcated sites;

ii) to allow all who are unable to acquire other kinds of housing to obtain building sites with basic services and to build houses to a standard which they can afford; and

iii) to employ every possible means to help people of different income levels to improve their housing standards. (Oram, 1970d: 16)

This policy involved as far as possible redeveloping existing settlements in situ and avoiding the subsidisation of housing provided by the Administration.

Shortly before this policy was adopted by the Administration, an agency had been established which was capable of carrying it out. On 1 July 1968, the Housing Commission was brought into operation. Under the Housing Commission Ordinance 1967, the Commission was given wide responsibilities for improving housing conditions throughout Papua New Guinea. Under a policy directive (Housing Commission, 1971: 14) it was to give priority to providing serviced blocks on which people could build their own houses, including no-covenant schemes, and to provide home-builders with financial and other assistance. The Commission is required to operate on an economic basis and emphasis is placed on the encouragement of home ownership.

G.E. Stolz, Chief Engineer of the South Australian Housing Trust, was appointed Commissioner and vigorously set about building low-cost houses for rent and tenant-purchase. By the end of March 1972, the Commission had built 731 houses and 128 flats in Port Moresby. In his first Annual Report (Housing Commission, 1971: 16), Stolz pointed out that the rent of the cheapest low-
covenant house the commission was building was just over $3.50 a week, and that the occupant needed to earn at least $17.50 a week to be able to afford it. In mid-1969, 45 per cent of applicants for houses earned less than $15.00 a week and they represented only a small proportion of those who needed housing. Attempts to produce cheaper houses have led to a reduction in rent of only 70 cents. Housing Commission rents are, in practice, subsidised, because the cost of service connections, amounting to some $800, and land are borne by the Administration. Stolz then began to develop no-covenant areas, first with 100 blocks in June Valley, and secondly with 1,000 blocks at Morata near the university residential area. Once these areas had been established, the problem became one of establishing conditions which would attract people to take up blocks; and to devise an effective organisation through which to administer the no-covenant schemes. The Housing Commissioner established a Re-settlement Coordinating Committee comprising representatives of the Department of Social Development and Home Affairs, the City Council, the Community Development Group and myself to advise him on putting housing policies into effect.

The success of the housing policy required that all buildings should be brought under control. In the past, the main obstacle to exercising control had been the Building Regulations. Until they were replaced in 1971, building had been subject to the Building Regulations of Papua 1951 as amended from time to time. As in many other developing countries, for example East Africa (E.A.R.C., 1955: 230), these regulations required that building and sanitation should reach a standard roughly equivalent to that established in the metropolitan country. The existence of unrealistic building regulations has had a harmful effect on the development of Port Moresby. The Administration regarded the majority of houses built by Papua New Guineans as illegal and, in consequence, discouraged any action by government agencies, for example the Public Health Department, or by the settlers themselves, to improve living conditions in the settlements. A study of the relationship between health and housing conditions in Gorobe settlement showed that overcrowding and sub-nutrition were basic health problems in the settlement and that overcrowding was directly caused by such discouragement (R.E. Mylius, 1970: 112). Improvements which have taken place in the settlements have been in spite of government policy.

While government officials considered that the migrant settlements were illegal, little was done to prevent their growth. A few small settlements were moved because land was needed, but their removal was not an attempt to exercise control over building but to obtain the land for other purposes. In about 1958, attempts were made by the District Office to remove the Toaripi settlement near Konedobu. Water supplies were first cut off. When this failed, truckloads of police, armed with cogwheels on wooden staves, went to the settlement on a Saturday morning and began to pull the houses down. The inhabitants were taken in trucks to the wharf. The destruction was stopped by
the personal intervention of the Administrator, Sir Donald Cleland, and the settlement remained in existence. After a Papuan assistant building inspector had been appointed in 1959, the Port Moresby Building Board tried to enforce the Building Regulations in the settlements but little was achieved. Some house-owners in villages, and also in migrant settlements where village rightholders gave permission, obtained approval of their plans. Occasional attempts were made to prevent building of houses or extensions: in 1963 notices requiring the removal of extensions were affixed to some houses in Rabia Camp, but the notices were pulled off by Tommy Kabu and no further attempts were made to insist on the removal of the extensions. On occasions, building inspectors were assaulted when carrying out their duties. Building regulations were so unrealistic that, lacking any alternative form of accommodation for migrants, no control was possible.

Under the Building Regulations 1971, lower standards of buildings are now allowed within Category ‘A’ areas declared under Part iv of the regulations. The procedures laid down for ‘A’ areas are still too complex and the regulations governing them leave the way open for the administering authority to insist on too high standards. The only provisions needed are powers to control the siting of houses, latrines and washing areas on the block, the amount of the block which may be built over and an insistence that buildings are not dangerous: in some areas it may be necessary to forbid grass roofs as a fire risk. Rules modelled on the Uganda Grade 2 Building Rules which were adopted by the Building Board for the Sabama scheme on 22 October 1964 would have met the needs of no-covenant areas.

The Port Moresby City Council became responsible for administering the Building Regulations at the end of 1972 but three conditions will have to be met if effective control over building is to be exercised. First, new regulations are needed because the present housing regulations are unenforceable. Notices have to be served on the owner of the land; for government land this is the Administrator and for customary land an unrecorded body of Papuan right-holders. Secondly, an administrative organisation, now existing in embryo in the ward organisation, is needed which is capable of policing the regulations. Finally, the support is needed of the Cabinet and of central government officials in carrying out what is often an unpopular policy, especially in relation to controlling building. Police protection has not been forthcoming, for example, when building inspectors have been attacked. Unless control can be exercised over illegal building, the whole basis of the policy of achieving basic standards of shelter through controlled settlement for all will be destroyed.

When the Housing Commission began to develop no-covenant areas, it met the same administrative problems which had largely caused the failure of the Sabama experiment. The first obstacle was the conditions relating to the character and resources of the applicant. The Housing Commission at first restricted blocks to those who were both married and employed. According to
a senior member of the District Office Staff, in March 1971 the Deputy District Commissioner had decided that the people from Gumine, Chimbu District, who had replaced Goilala on the Ragamuka settlement on the Rigo road, should be resettled at all costs. The majority were living as single men. Under the conditions then laid down for no-covenant development, there was nowhere to put them and they have stayed in the settlement. When the Community Development Group tried, with the approval of the Housing Commission, to resettle the whole population of the Taurama Road settlement, they found that most of the married men were out of work and were being supported by the single men. These conditions were then experimentally relaxed. If only those who meet certain conditions are eligible for blocks, it is no longer possible to settle or resettle all those who require housing according to a planned layout.

Secondly, procedures for obtaining blocks were extremely complex. Applicants were still required to fill in six forms, and only one staff member, rarely available out of working hours, was employed to receive applications. The Housing Commission has now simplified its procedures and largely overcome these problems.

Thirdly, applicants were further discouraged by heavy demands for cash payments which were made by various authorities. The Housing Commission charged a $5 deposit and $20 for constructing a water-seal pit latrine. The Building Board charged from $8 to $11 for approval of plans. The Treasury began to levy service charges of approximately $4 directly the block was occupied. Large numbers of applicants could not pay these charges and the Housing Commissioner sought to reduce them. The Commission agreed to meet the cost of pit latrines, Building Board fees were no longer charged, and service charges were reduced. The period of two years within which a permanent house must be built was extended to five years.

Until 1971 responsibility for housing was shared between at least four departments and it was not always possible to find out where responsibility lay. Until recently the District Office was responsible for villages and settlements, while the Department of Public Works, the Commonwealth Department of Works and the Department of Lands, Surveys and Mines were responsible for different aspects of low-cost housing policy. This led to confusion. The Administration failed, for example, to tell the District Office that the latter had ceased to be responsible for developing the Sabama scheme. Until the Housing Commission was established in 1969, the Treasurer held the post of Housing Commissioner and his efforts were mainly directed towards providing housing for expatriate public servants. The most vigorous interest in the problem of housing Papua New Guineans was shown by district commissioners and members of the District Office staff such as David Marsh, Fred Kaad, Ron Galloway, Clive Single and Bill Driver. A series of clear reports setting out the current housing situation and recommending courses of action have been written by such officers as L.R. Foster, C. Fleay and D.E. Fitzer. After its formation in 1969, the Depart-
ment of Social Development and Home Affairs assumed partial responsibility for low-cost housing. It continued to share responsibility with other departments until, in 1971, the Housing Commission was given sole responsibility for all types of low-cost housing. There is now a clear chain of responsibility for low-cost housing through the Department of Social Development and Home Affairs to the Housing Commission. The Housing Commission is responsible for all the processes, including planning and provision of services, for the development of housing.

In April 1972, C.E.T. Terrell on behalf of the Department of Social Development and Home Affairs drew up a comprehensive and practicable blueprint for the settlement of virtually the whole Port Moresby population. He recognised that settlers were attached to the neighbourhood in which they lived because of nearness to their jobs, attendance of their children at neighbourhood schools and access to stores and other amenities. They would not easily be persuaded to move. He therefore designated a major settlement in each of ten zones in which people of all settlements which could not be left undisturbed would be concentrated. Realistic proposals for standards of services were made. He recognised that the City Council was the most suitable body to administer the plan but, until it was in a position to do so, the plan should become the responsibility of the Housing Commission. In spite of such obstacles as difficulty in controlling building and moving settlers, considerable re-development and re-settlement is taking place.

The Housing Commission is undertaking the re-development of existing settlements situated on government land in Port Moresby and by February 1974 five of these projects were nearly finished. Houses are as far as possible left on their existing sites and where there are two houses on a site, one owner must move his house (Figs. 2 and 3). Services provided may include roads, storm water drainage, a water supply to each allotment with a special tap to reduce waste. Excluding Housing Commission overheads, the cost of servicing each allotment is $350. The settlers dig their own pit latrines and the Housing Commission provide concrete slab tops with a seal. Unemployed inhabitants are employed on footpaths and other works under control of settlement committees. The Housing Commission intends to undertake the reorganisation of the Horse Camp scheme and to tackle the problem of settlements on customary land in 1974-5.3

The success of the policy towards housing advocated in this chapter and largely adopted by the government depends on the thoroughness with which all elements in the policy are pursued, including land, services, building and service standards and administrative organisation. Above all, it must embrace the whole of the urban population. There is a need to place more emphasis

3. I am indebted to Terry Standley, who is responsible for redevelopment of existing settlements, for details of this program and also for his comments on this chapter.
than at present on individuals providing their own houses. Although
the government is not obliged to provide its indigenous public servants
with houses, many live in government owned houses and the majority of the
remainder expect to obtain houses built by the Housing Commission. En­
couragement should be given to more public servants and others to build their
own houses through small private contractors with the aid of loans.

The government has tried to achieve the aim of helping to improve housing
by providing technical assistance and by making grants and loans to home
builders. For long the Administration regarded loans as an eventual means of
solving the housing problem, but they came to realise that only a small pro­
portion of those needing houses could afford loans or provide security. The
White Paper (P.N.G., 1973: 13) proposes that any tenant occupying a block in
‘an approved housing area’ qualifies for a grant of up to $250 provided they
have made sufficient progress in building their houses. They may also apply for
a loan of up to the same amount. The danger is already apparent that the ad­
ministration of these grants and loans will become too complex and too costly
and that they will not reach the large number of people who need them.

In 1969, the Assistant Administrator for Economic Affairs said: ‘The squatter
problem is inevitable, we are only seeing the start of it’ (S.P.P., 13 Jan. 1969).
As expressed in the Government White Paper (P.N.G., 1973), the government
have now adopted imaginative policies. They have established an embryo ad­
ministrative organisation which has the potential to bring settlement throughout
the Port Moresby area under control and ensure that nearly the whole Papua
New Guinean population live in planned areas with basic services. The then
Minister for the Interior, John Guise, pursued these policies vigorously.
Whether Port Moresby becomes one of the few towns of its size in developing
countries to achieve this result largely depends on the energy and determination
with which the Papua New Guinean Government achieves its aims and the
skill with which it enlists the support of the population in doing so. At present,
the Administrative structure for dealing with individuals at a personal level
remains undeveloped. In future, the Social Development Department could
become responsible purely for policy-making and no longer employ officers in
the field, however valuable their present services. The Housing Commission
could restrict its activities to those of a development agency in relation to low­
cost housing and continue to provide high-standard houses for letting and tenant
purchase. The administration of no-covenant housing areas, including alloca­
tion of sites, assistance in building and control of building standards, could
become the responsibility of the Port Moresby City Council.

A full range of urban services has been available in Port Moresby since the
early 1950s. Electricity is supplied in the town by the Papua New Guinea
Electricity Commission. In 1956, a power station was built at Rouna as the
first part of a hydro-electric scheme which included the building of a large dam
at Sirinumu in the Sogeri area. The dam was opened in 1963 and the scheme
Fig 3 Rabaihani Settlement, proposed redevelopment scheme
has been further developed since. Until the City Council took them over, other services were supplied by central government departments. The Public Works Department provided a reticulated water supply and water-borne sewerage throughout the areas of high-grade development. The Commonwealth Department of Works was responsible for the construction and maintenance of roads. The Department of Treasury put garbage collection and emptying of sanitary buckets out to contract. Parks and Gardens were the responsibility of the town manager. The City Council became primarily responsible for water supplies, sanitary and garbage services and Parks and Gardens early in 1973. These services have been fully provided for the high-covenant, mainly expatriate, areas of the town. The Administration itself is the developer of most of the land alienated for urban development and installs roads, storm water drains, street lighting, and service connections to blocks.

Areas occupied or used by Papua New Guineans have been inadequately provided with services even in residential areas developed by the Administration. When Chatterton (H.A.D., 25 Aug. 1965: 798) asked whether the Administration were aware that Kaugere, after being in existence for ten years, was ‘without an adequate drainage and road system’, the answer was given that funds had proved inadequate for the task.

The Administration, being opposed to the improvement of urban settlements, was unwilling to install services in them and this inertia extended to urban villages, although the Director of Public Health, Dr R.F. Scragg, publicly stated that he was in favour of providing settlements with water and refuse disposal (S.P.P., 7 April 1966). In 1965, the Treasurer said in reply to a question by Chatterton in the House of Assembly that the Administration had ‘no plans for the provision of water, sanitation and garbage services in the Shanty Settlements’ (H.A.D., 17 May 1965: 615). Three months later, in answer to a further question by Chatterton, he said that ‘it does appear that these shanty settlements will be with us for some time to come’. He said that the Administration had already provided water and other services and there was no reason why this practice should not continue, ‘but there must be a limit in those areas where considerable expense could be involved with no longer term advantage either to the property owner or to the Administration’ (H.A.D., 24 Aug. 1965: 777). The attitude of the Administration towards villages and settlements is illustrated by the failure of the Department of Public Works to include water mains extending to them on its detailed water reticulation maps.

Not all villages and few settlements are provided with roads. Mahuru village, which is adjacent to the high-covenant suburb of Korobosea, was not accessible by car in wet weather until the City Council built a road in 1973. Access to the Chimbu settlement near the Rigo road is through an official garbage dump. The Administration took little interest in roads outside the high-grade urban areas. When the road to Kila Police Depot was sealed by the Administration, they did not extend the sealing to Vabukori village some half a mile beyond.
The Commonwealth Department of Works would not seal the road beyond Hanuabada because it is not gazetted under the Roads Ordinance until political pressure by city councillors from Hanuabada caused this decision to be reversed. Even if the Administration agreed to provide a road, there were endless delays. A delay of two years occurred before the Administration installed the short length of road which was the pre-requisite of the re-development of the settlements at Horse Camp. The Administration argued that it should not build roads on land to which it had no title, but it had no title to a number of existing roads.

Hanuabada and Korobosea, the only villages then within the town boundary, and Kila Kila were supplied with piped water in 1948 (A.R., 1947: 19). The Toaripi settlement at Vanama near Konedobu was also supplied with water at the same time. The pipes laid by American forces to Tatana village were not re-connected after the Americans left and were pulled up by the local people. Tatana and Baruni did not receive a water supply until 1963. Horse Camp was supplied when Pari villagers co-operated with Bootless Bay Local Government Council in taking a pipeline to the village and it passed close to the settlement. The District Office staff often had to fight to have water supplies extended to settlements, for example to the well-built Iokea settlement at the end of Mahuru village. The Iokea people raised money to pay for the water mains themselves but no one in the Administration could make a decision to install them. All the villages and older settlements are now provided with at least one standpipe but many of the newer settlements are not. In 1972, eleven out of forty settlements were without piped water. Shortage of water leads to a number of abuses. Some people controlling standpipes charge exorbitant prices for small quantities of water. In June 1969 the Residents Representative Committee condemned this practice which was occurring near Newtown.

Sanitary services are lacking in villages and settlements. Inhabitants of maritime villages and settlements relieve themselves on the beach or over the sea. There are few latrines. Some owners of inland dwellings dig pit latrines but many local people use the surrounding bush which is often heavily fouled. Only three settlements have some organised form of sanitation. In the past, Hanuabada was the only village from which garbage was removed. Elsewhere garbage was either piled in the residential area or thrown into the surrounding bush. The City Council is now considering the problem of removing garbage from villages and settlements.

Until 1970, the Administration, including the Director of Public Health, was strongly opposed to recognising the use of pit latrines, although they are the only form of sanitation found over much of the town area. Officials then began to recognise that the cost of alternative forms of sanitation was prohibitive and that any other kind of latrine would make a no-covenant housing policy unworkable.

Electricity has been supplied for some years to Hanuabada and to Kila Kila
and there is street lighting in both these villages. Electric power was also supplied to Vabukori in 1970. Under the Papua and New Guinea Electricity Commission Ordinance 1963, the Commission is obliged to operate at a profit. The cost of extending electricity to a village or settlement, if a mile of high voltage line is required to reach it, is approximately $10,000. The Commission will only install it if the annual revenue exceeds one-quarter of the capital cost of the extension. Few indigenous residential areas can afford electricity on this basis.

A market is a service of great importance to the local population. In spite of reports of its project teams pointing out the high price of indigenous foodstuffs and lack of marketing facilities, the Administration did little to provide cold storage facilities or improve selling conditions in Koke market. Over the years various bodies and members of the public made frequent complaints about insanitary conditions. In 1971, for example, a city councillor described it as 'the dirtiest in the country' at the October meeting of the council. The District Commissioner, as Chairman of the Koke Market Trust, did what he could to improve the market with funds raised from market dues. In 1968, $20,000 was available from this source. In 1969 the Koke Market Place Trust Ordinance was enacted which empowered the trustees to hold land and borrow money to improve the market. The Development Bank refused to lend money until a suitably qualified manager was appointed. There were a large number of administrative and legal hitches which delayed the redevelopment of the market. The intention to hand over the market to the City Council was delayed partly because of reluctance of the Trustees to resign. No significant improvements have yet been made.

For many years residents of Hohola and other suburbs asked the Administration to provide them with markets. Barry Holloway, present speaker of the House of Assembly, attacked the Administration for its failure to plan and develop suburban markets during his speech on the budget in 1967. No action was taken and groups of areca nut and vegetable sellers settled in open spaces near shopping centres. In 1972, the City Council provided successful markets at Gordon, Sabama and Waigani and plans to build a fourth market at Hohola when the problem of obtaining land has been overcome.

The Public Health Department provided a wide range of curative and preventative services. In 1958 a new hospital was built in Boroko for people of all races and until 1967 outpatients were given free treatment. A system of charges was then introduced but no one is turned away because of poverty. The Roman Catholic Mission ran St Theresa's Maternity Hospital at Badili and a fee of $4 for each confinement was charged. Many Papua New Guineans were willing to pay the fee because of the sympathetic treatment which they received. The hospital was moved to Hohola but in 1973 it was closed for lack of funds. Some 80 per cent of babies born in the town are delivered in hospital. The Hanuabada and successor councils provided buildings for a dispensary at Hanuabada and the Health Department provided the salary of a hospital orderly to take charge.
of it. It is now a clinic in charge of a local sister and, together with five other clinics throughout the town area, is visited by doctors once or twice a week. Tuberculosis and maternity and child welfare clinics are also provided at these medical centres. Except for Hanuabada, men prefer to go to the outpatients department at Port Moresby Hospital rather than attend clinics mainly used by women. Children who attend school are immunised against tetanus, whooping cough and diphtheria.

The Public Health Department does not maintain statistics relating to the incidence of different diseases among the urban population. There have been no serious epidemics in Port Moresby since a civilian town was re-established in 1945. Some medical authorities formerly considered that all malarial cases were infected outside the urban area and this was attributed to the long dry season. In 1967, however, a number of people were infected in the town itself; 31 per cent of the people of Kila Kila village were found to be suffering from malaria. Anti-malarial precautions are carried out by the Department but there is now a high incidence of malaria at Horse Camp owing to the low-lying site of the settlement. The incidence of gastro-intestinal infections is high and occasional cases of typhoid are treated in the hospital. The source of infection is not usually found and there is no evidence that infection is caused by impure water supplies. The incidence of some helminthic diseases is high but that of hookworm is low because rainfall is low (Ewers and Jeffrey, 1971: 157). An epidemic of diarrhoea occurred in Rabia Camp towards the end of 1964 but there is no official record of this outbreak. The number of deaths is uncertain because some babies may have been buried in the bush (Thelma Price, pers. comm.). Tuberculosis is widespread throughout the urban area but its extent is unknown.

Although Port Moresby is better provided with health services than any other area in Papua New Guinea, services provided by the Department of Public Health have suffered from major weaknesses. They stem partly from lack of understanding of, and concern for, the specific needs of the urban population and partly from the weaknesses of the overall government policy, or lack of policy, towards villages and settlements. They are also due to a lack of organisation and staff. The Medical Officer of Health and a fully qualified health inspector worked on a district rather than a town basis, although in 1972 five health inspectors trained at the Papuan Medical College were allocated to different zones within the town.

A large proportion of the Papua New Guinean population finds it difficult to reach clinics where they can obtain treatment. For many women, taking their children to the outpatients clinic at Taurama Hospital is a complicated exercise involving expense and difficulty in obtaining transport. It may be neces-

4. A view expressed by several doctors in conversation.
sary for their husbands to take them. According to a representative of the Public Service Association, a number of public servants have been disciplined because of absence for this reason. One man was absent for 109 days (J. Lemeki, pers. comm.). Attendance at clinics often involves long waits and brusque treatment by harried staff. While some people go to clinics with minor complaints which could be treated at home, many unsophisticated people distrust and fear modern medical treatment, which is accentuated by the unsympathetic attitudes which they meet from medical staff. Health services are not brought to the people and diseases and problems are not detected by health authorities. Many people resort to traditional healers.

Some health services are provided in residential areas. A few settlements are regularly visited by maternal child health nurses and babies are weighed. Tuberculosis orderlies go to some areas to provide treatment but are not always regular in attendance. Malarial sprayers also visit settlements and resistance to spraying by residents has on occasions led to prosecution. In the past the Administration did little to promote health education in the town but five health inspectors’ assistants were appointed in 1970. They spent two months in a settlement, advising on latrines and general hygiene problems, but their achievements were limited.

If health services are to be brought to the mass of the people, they should be decentralised and staff with lower qualifications than at present should be given more responsibility.

The large number of serious infections and the degree of malnutrition evident among the young children demonstrate the need to increase and further develop the community health services in the urban and peri-urban areas. Community health nurses are particularly needed to help provide the curative and preventative service and especially to educate families in such matters as early treatment of disease, nutrition, hygiene and family planning. (Biddulph, 1970: 27)

As a result of a study of the health of the urban village of Pari, Professor Ian Maddocks, Dean of the Papuan Medical College, suggested that of the cases brought to the clinic run by his wife, a trained nurse, and himself, 4 per cent could have been treated by the patient himself, 28 per cent by a nursing aide, 32 per cent by a trainee nurse, 26 per cent by a trained nurse, 7 per cent by a medical officer and 2 per cent by a specialist. He proposed that polyclinics should be established in sub-divisions of the urban area. They would provide a home visiting service, a ‘resident staff, operating clinics when people need them and available 24 hours a day’. As many of the staff as possible would be drawn from the local community. The main staff would be trained sisters, some of whom would be married. ‘The Body controlling the Clinic should include effective community representation’ (Maddocks, 1971: 8, 10).

A comprehensive plan for the provision of services for the whole urban population is needed: this applies equally to land administration, roads, education, health, refuse disposal and other urban services. The colonial Adminis-
tration assumed that it was desirable and necessary to provide the kind and standard of services found in an Australian town, and the present government has largely inherited this view. The result of this policy was that only a small proportion of the population enjoyed urban services. The problem of servicing the whole population goes beyond reducing standards: suggestions have been put forward for remodelling health services but other kinds of services should be scrutinised to relate them to the needs and resources of the people. Possibilities of recycling waste should be examined. To extend services throughout the population also demands a decentralised and personal system of urban administration.
In Port Moresby, as in all urban areas, people need sufficient income for survival in an urban environment, adequate shelter and peaceful conditions. Beyond these basic needs the felt needs of different sections of the population vary.

The expatriate population is prosperous and is well housed but it feels insecure because of fear of robbery and assault. Those with important career and economic interests in Papua New Guinea have a deeper feeling of insecurity about the future as independence draws near.

The majority of Papua New Guineans living in predominantly indigenous low-covenant suburbs such as Hohola, Kaugere and Waigani have limited economic problems and are adequately housed, although they themselves may feel dissatisfied with some aspects of their living conditions. They are afraid of marauders and many are troubled by various forms of juvenile delinquency both among their own children and those of others. Urban villagers are adequately housed, but they experience a number of problems which arise from their occupation of customary land, lack of planning, and lack of urban services. Problems of public order arising from unemployment, drunkenness and juvenile delinquency are becoming acute in some villages. The majority of coastal Papuans who live in the older settlements also have well-paid jobs and are adequately housed. As present governmental housing policies take effect, they will live on surveyed blocks with security of tenure in planned areas. They suffer, to a lesser extent, the same public-order problems as urban villagers because their residential settlements are small and group controls are stronger. They may, however, also become involved in inter-tribal conflicts. All these categories of people feel a need for security against aggression by outsiders.

Major problems arise, as may be expected, among the poorer, unskilled, sections of the population who live in employers’ barracks, in tribal settlements and increasingly in no-covenant areas. They suffer from a lack of identity in the urban situation and a feeling that every man’s hand is against them. They are subject to harassment by the police. Many are periodically unemployed or receive low wages. Their living conditions are often poor and overcrowded but the no-covenant policy may in time overcome their shelter problems.
They face a serious problem in conflict between different tribal groups at the same low economic level. They need higher incomes, a civic identity and security from violence.

Their main administrative need is to be able to articulate their problems and express them through some known and trusted government agency. When the Resettlement Officer with great difficulty organised transport to remove settlers to a no-covenant area, he did so on Friday, a working day. The settlers assumed they were acting under government orders and did not go to work. When some of them returned to work on Monday, they had been sacked. The present governmental organisation is so large and so complex that many Papua New Guineans do not know to whom to turn. They do not realise that a government official plays an administrative role which will be taken over by his successor but see him as acting in a personal relationship to themselves. Many sophisticated indigenous people and a number of expatriates also fail to understand the administrative structure of government. Their needs can only be met by institutions at the local level which will enable them to articulate their needs and provide an interchange of views between themselves and those responsible for their administration.

Between 1945 and 1951 the population of the Territory was not represented at the centre of government. In 1951, a Legislative Council was appointed which by 1963 contained a majority of unofficial members including six indigenous elected members. In 1964, a House of Assembly was established consisting of sixty-four members also with an unofficial majority. Port Moresby was included in two electorates. Chatterton was elected to the Port Moresby Special Electorate, which was not confined to the urban area. The member for the Port Moresby Open Electorate, which covered a large part of the Central District, came from the Goilala Sub-district remote from Port Moresby. Migrants living in Port Moresby were given a choice between voting in Port Moresby Open Electorate or in the electorate in which their home village was situated and only one-quarter chose to vote in the former (Benham, 1965: 74). In 1968, constituency boundaries were changed. Chatterton became Member for Port Moresby Open Electorate, which was confined to the area within the town boundary, and Oala Oala Rarua became member for the Regional Electorate which covered a wide rural area (Groves et al., 1971: 295-314). For the general election held in February 1972, Port Moresby urban area was divided between a Coastal and an Inland Electorate. Gavera Rea was elected as member for the Coastal Electorate, and Maori Kiki for the Inland Electorate (Oram, 1975). The former Regional Electorate was retained and Josephine Abaijah, the only woman member, was elected.

The House of Assembly has made little impact on the way in which Port Moresby and other urban centres have developed. Chatterton alone represented urban interests by frequently asking questions on housing, various aspects of administration and welfare, but his efforts had little effect on overall policies.
Members of the former Legislative Council and of the House of Assembly criticised the Administration for spending excessive sums of money on Port Moresby and restricted expenditure on the development of the town and on its schools. Migration was the only subject relating to towns in which Members of the House showed a vigorous interest.

Under the Provisional Administration, the pre-war administrative organisation was restored. During the term of office of Hasluck as Minister for Territories from 1951-63, a number of changes were made which aimed at strengthening the control of the Department of Territories at the expense of the Territorial Administration. 'For some years to come, it is inevitable that Papua and New Guinea will be administered as a territory and that the administration will become increasingly centralized in Australia' (Hasluck, 1952: 227, quoted Parker, 1966: 195). Decision-making machinery in Papua New Guinea was persistently weakened until the Executive Council was abolished in 1960 and replaced by a Policy and Planning Committee which served as 'an occasional sifter of departmental propositions' (Parker, 1966: 199). Matters of administrative detail were referred to Canberra, such as minor amendments to the Local Government Ordinance, and this referral might lead to three or more months' delay. In 1970, a change of policy led to a considerable measure of devolution to the Administrator's Executive Council. Centralisation of authority in Canberra led to centralisation at Konedobu at the expense of administrative sub-units.

Lack of decision-making machinery at Konedobu resulted in lack of co-ordination of central government policies and activities relating to Port Moresby and other urban areas. Many of the problems which arose over the establishment of town councils were caused by the Department of External Territories at Canberra laying down policy at a distance (Oram, 1970: 591-601). The Department of District Administration, the Department of Public Health, the Division of Community Development and Welfare, the Police and the Department of Lands, Surveys and Mines were all in different ways involved in urban problems, but the Administration developed no co-ordinating machinery to tackle the complex problems which arose specifically in urban areas. Lack of co-ordination at the central government level persists to the present day.

When the civilian town was founded again after the war had ended, there was no tradition of municipal government. In 1953 the Administrator took the first step towards establishing a representative institution when he appointed a Town Advisory Council for Port Moresby. Shortly afterwards, he promulgated the Town Advisory Council Rules, which were not made under any ordinance and the council was not a statutory body. The council's functions were to advise and assist the Administrator and his officers on matters affecting the town;

and to undertake such other duties and responsibilities as might be agreed upon by the council in consultation with the Administrator. The Administration originally intended to reconsider the council's purely advisory role after one year but, mainly owing to administrative inertia, it did not do so. In 1956 as a result of pressure from the Advisory Council, J.R. Winders, an Australian local government officer, carried out an inquiry into urban local government (Winders, 1956). He recommended that local government should be instituted in the towns of Port Moresby, Lae and Rabaul.

'This report was substantially accepted by the Committee appointed to examine Mr. Winders' recommendations' (T.P.N.G., 1967: 2) but the Town Advisory Council did not agree with the Administration on the question of finance. Winders had proposed that the Administration should make capital grants to the proposed municipal council but should not make a grant in aid of recurrent expenditure. As various ways of increasing revenue proposed by the Advisory Council were rejected by the Administration (T.A.C. Minutes, 1 Sept. 1958), the proposed council would have had to depend for its revenue mainly on a rate on unimproved capital value of land, and a heavy financial burden would be imposed on property owners who had hitherto paid no rates.

On 17 December 1958, the Minister, P. Hasluck, attended a meeting of the Town Advisory Council, and stressed the Administration's wish for local government to be established, if it was the will of the people of Port Moresby expressed 'through a largely attended representative meeting' (T.A.C. Minutes, 17 Dec. 1959). The Advisory Council decided to call a public meeting, but after squabbling with the Administration over its right to call a meeting and over responsibility for paying for the hire of a hall, it rescinded its decision (T.A.C. Minutes, 21 March 1960). The matter then lapsed. In 1964, only one person expressed an opinion when the Advisory Council tried to find out whether the public wanted urban local government (S.P.P., 26 May 1964).

The Town Advisory Council was intended to 'deal with matters predominantly of non-native interest'; Papuans being looked after by all government departments and especially the Department of District Services and Native Affairs (A.R., 1952: 24). In March 1953, a council consisting of fifteen nominated members was appointed: the chairman was an accountant in private practice and a member of the Legislative Council, and members were private businessmen, government officials, and wives of residents (Tudor, 1954). For several years the Administration considered that it should remain a wholly European body but, in 1959, the first two Papuan members were appointed and, in 1967, the council consisted of thirteen Europeans, one mixed-race and six indigenous members appointed to represent different areas of the town.

The Advisory Council continued to discuss a wide range of matters connected with the development of Port Moresby. At its meeting in January 1968, members discussed problems of exercising health control in the areas surrounding the town; various matters connected with motor traffic; the
establishment of an industrial area on Paga Hill which they opposed and proposed instead a scenic road round the hill; and the naming of a new suburb. It was given specific tasks by the Administration, such as recommending priorities for the sealing of roads. While minor recommendations were sometimes accepted, major recommendations such as the construction of an alternative to the road passing through Koke and the preparation of an overall development plan were often ignored. The council became increasingly frustrated as a result. From 1964, attendance at meetings fell until, in May 1968, only six out of sixteen members attended and the meeting was cancelled through lack of a quorum (S.P.P., 20 Jan. 1965, 29 May 1968).

The establishment of local government was one of the aims of the Provisional Administration and, in 1947, Local Government and Native Courts Bills, modelled on those of Tanganyika, were submitted to the Minister (Mair, 1948: 230). The pre-1942 Hanuabada Council was revived and discussions on matters concerning the development of the villages were held between the Administrator, other senior officials, and the council. In 1949, the Village Councils Ordinance was enacted and, in September 1950, the first council to be established under the ordinance was elected by secret ballot at Hanuabada. The jurisdiction of the council was limited to indigenous people living on the customary land of Hanuabada village, including the settlers from the Gulf District living at Konedobu. In 1955, the council discussed with the Administration the possibility of including additional Motu and Koita, and also Koiari, villages in its jurisdiction but only one out of fourteen villages agreed to the suggestion (Healey, 1962: 382).

In 1962, the area of the council was enlarged by the inclusion of the villages of Tatana and Baruni and it was re-named the Fairfax Local Government Council. In 1960, a second council was formed in the Port Moresby area: this was the Bootless Bay Local Government Council which had jurisdiction over people living within the boundaries of Vabukori, Kila Kila, Mahuru, and Korobosea villages and a number of villages outside the urban area. In 1966, the Fairfax, Bootless Bay and the Galley Reach Local Government Councils joined together to form the Port Moresby (later the Hiri) Local Government Council with jurisdiction over 17,574 people. Although the Local Government Ordinance enacted in 1963 made provision for multi-racial councils, only indigenous people were included under its jurisdiction. Indigenous people living on government land were excluded and the council had jurisdiction over only about a quarter of the indigenous population living in the urban area.

In September 1946, the informal Hanuabada Council held a meeting which was attended by Ian Hogbin, an anthropologist acting on behalf of the Minister, and the District Officer. A leading man in Hanuabada, Gavera Arua, summed

2. The Village Councils Ordinance was amended in 1954 and renamed the Native Local Government Councils Ordinance.
up at the end of the meeting and said 'We, the councillors, want some work to do... actually we have very little to do at the moment... we want power to hold courts, have authority in respect of the affairs of the village of Hanuabada, be taught hygiene and sanitation...' (Healy, 1962: 272). Gavera's wishes were not realised. The aims of local government policy, stated in 1952, were education in democracy, co-ordination of services at the village level, encouragement of good order and industrious habits, and 'preparing the way for ultimately fitting the native peoples, in a way they can understand, into the Territory's political system' (Plant, 1959: 81). The councils were not intended to take over the administration of urban areas and their resources were too small to enable them to do so. The main source of revenue was a personal tax at a rate fixed by the councils themselves. In 1967-8 the estimated revenue of the Port Moresby Local Government Council was only $32,667. Small ad hoc grants-in-aid were made by the Administration: in 1967-8, for example, the Administration agreed to contribute $3,379 to the cost of extending water supplies. The council spent approximately one-third of its revenue on administration but it could still afford only low salaries for its staff. When the demands of rural areas had been met, little money was left over for urban development. Lack of achievement by the council led to the resignation of Toua Kapena and other leaders in 1960, but they later returned to the council. The enlargement of the area of the council revived interest in its activities to a limited extent, but the feeling of frustration among councillors remained.

As before 1942, administrators and residents continued to regard the 'town' as the area predominantly inhabited by Europeans. Winders, interpreting his terms of reference, wrote:

The limitation of the investigation to the larger towns was regarded as an indication that the task should be confined to an examination of the need for the provisions of Local Government chiefly for the non-indigenous people who comprise the principal permanent population in the town area. (1956: 1)

Possible methods of administering indigenous urban areas were considered by the Administration. One proposal was that Hanuabada and Korobosea, the only other village then included within the town boundary, should be excluded from the town and become part of a Greater Port Moresby Native Local Government Council (Winders, 1956: 39). Another suggestion was that Hanuabada should be treated as a separate ward of the proposed municipal authority (Healy, 1962: 564-6). Winders considered that the Papuan population should be represented on the municipal council, and in doing so he refuted his own argument for the exclusion of indigenous people from his considerations. 'It cannot be denied that, apart from special considerations, they occupy in Port Moresby a position similar to Europeans. They own land, they live in quarters provided by their employers, and they use community facilities'. He concluded, however, that 'on educational grounds only, the Native peoples are not at present fitted to be granted electoral franchise' because 'there is almost complete un-
animity in the belief that the general educational standards of the Native people would not permit them to share electoral responsibilities with Europeans and Asians' (Winders, 1956: 36). He recommended that members of the proposed council should be chosen by the 'Greater Port Moresby Native Village Council' (1956: 39).

The Administration took no further steps to develop urban local government. In 1964, the Administrator said that functions traditionally performed by local government organisations in urban areas were carried out by the Administration; and that 'there is no reason to suppose that an early departure from this system and the introduction of another would be immediately beneficial to the Territory and its towns' (South Pacific Commission, 1964: appendix). In 1967 the Administration was still maintaining the voluntary principle for establishing urban local government (H.A.D., 8 June 1967: 240).

In August 1969, the Administration announced that it intended to establish local government councils in the towns of Port Moresby, Lae, Rabaul and Madang (H.A.D., 22 Aug. 1969: 1511). Its aims were to extend the area under local government; to ensure that town-dwellers contributed to the cost of urban services which they already enjoyed; to make indigenous migrants in urban areas pay taxes in the hope that they would be less keen to migrate; and to develop a sense of unity among urban populations (H.A.D., 20 Nov. 1969: 2137). The main reason for setting up urban authorities was not a concern for the state of urban administration but the desire to off load the cost of services on to urban populations. The Administration was also conscious of political pressure from members of the House of Assembly to reduce large-scale migration by imposing personal taxes on all town-dwellers. The District Commissioner formed the Port Moresby Citizens' Consultative Committee, which produced its report in June 1970. As a result of its recommendations, the boundaries of Port Moresby Town (later City) Council include the whole of the actual and potential urban area (Map 8) in contrast to the towns of Lae, Rabaul and Madang where the boundaries include areas of alienated land alone and a high proportion of their urban population live on customary land outside their boundaries. The first formal meeting of the council was held in July 1971.

The administrative structure of Port Moresby had hitherto left power in the hands of expatriate officials belonging to different departments of the Administration. Lacking inter-departmental co-ordination and political checks, they often exercised their power in an arbitrary way. One of the few checks on this power was legally-protected rights to customary land. These departments regarded the town as essentially a European centre and administered it largely in the interests of the Administration, the Public Service and European commercial interests in the population. Potentially, the establishment of the City Council placed considerable power in the hands of the residents' representatives. The effectiveness of the council depended on the willingness of the Central Government to delegate powers and functions to it. Delays occurred through
lack of preparation for urban local government by the Administration. At the end of 1972, after it had been in existence for a year and a half, the City Council was still negotiating with the Administration over the terms of transfer of major services.

The lack of interest in urban administration displayed by the Administration is demonstrated by the lack of any attempt to analyse revenues and expenditures for urban areas. Neither development plans prepared in 1968 and 1971 nor the Compendium of Statistics prepared in 1967 and 1968 provide any statistics relating to urban finance. There are no separate items for urban areas in the annual Papua New Guinea Estimates. In 1967, at the same time as they announced the appointment of a town manager, the Administration said that they intended to introduce separate accounting, ‘to ascertain the cost of services now being provided in the major urban centres’ (H.A.D., 8 June 1967: 2401). Separate accounting was not introduced. Urban services were financed from general revenues and all revenues accruing from urban services were paid into general funds. The delay in handing over services to the council was largely caused by lack of information relating to costs of operating them.

Services are very costly when provided at Western standards. Economic charges were made for electricity, but other services were heavily subsidised by the Administration. Charges were made for water, sanitation and garbage services, but for many years they only covered a small proportion of their cost. The World Bank Visiting Mission pointed out that in 1962-3 expenditure on these services, including depreciation and interest charges on capital was £264,268, while revenue was only £77,000 (I.B.R.D., 1965: 362-3). Yet for the year ending 31 December 1972, the Treasury had still collected only $750,000 for the services which had cost them $1,600,000. In 1973, the Administration raised charges to make these services economic before they were taken over by the City Council. No general rate was levied to cover the cost of other urban services before the City Council was established. The wealthiest sections of the population were paying very little for the services which they enjoyed.

Although a Personal Tax Ordinance was enacted in 1957 which applied to areas outside the jurisdiction of local government councils, little attempt was made to enforce it in Port Moresby. In 1962, a district officer said: ‘Tax is just a joke in Port Moresby anyhow’ (H.E. Clark, pers. comm.). All indigenous people living on customary land were obliged to pay personal tax to their local government council while the majority of indigenous people living in the town area on alienated land were not. In 1971, the Port Moresby Town Council introduced an annual personal tax of $12 for residents of all races.

An income tax was introduced in 1958 payable by people of all races who earned over $400 a year. There were no specifically urban taxes. No provision for rating was made until the Local Government Ordinance was enacted in 1963 and provided for rates to be levied on the undeveloped capital value of land. When the Local Government Bill was debated, European members of the
Legislative Council feared that rates would be levied only on alienated land, which is nearly all held by Europeans (L.C.D., 13 Nov. 1963:1055). The bill was amended so that Section 55 of the ordinance provides that rates and taxes on land shall 'a) be calculated in relation to the unimproved capital value of the land; and b) apply to all land in the Council area equally'. Rates based on undeveloped capital values cannot be levied on customary land because boundaries are undefined and the names of rightholders are not known. When members of the Citizens Consultative Committee pointed out the impossibility of levying a rate in these conditions, government representatives first suggested informally that areas of customary land should be excluded from the council boundary but the committee was strongly opposed to this. Much fruitless discussion ensued. The Administration, under instruction from the Department of External Territories in Canberra, was not prepared to legislate for a rate based on the annual rental value of improvements which would have overcome the problem of land rights. One problem was lack of qualified staff to make the change. The Administration rejected any form of local income tax or graduated head tax based on wealth. Finally a compromise was reached whereby dwellers on customary land could be made subject to a house tax and the ordinance was amended accordingly. The imposition of a house tax was thought likely to provoke such fierce political opposition from houseowners that the council exempted people who had paid personal tax from house tax if the amount of the former tax exceeded the latter. In practice, this meant that little house tax was paid.

The main concern of the Consultative Committee and some members of the Town Council had been that sufficient surplus revenue should be raised above that required to meet the cost of obligatory functions and administrative overheads to provide services for those areas, such as villages and settlements, where services have hitherto been lacking. The extent of further surpluses depends on financial arrangements made with the Treasury and the level of taxes which the council is prepared to levy. The Administration agreed to make a grant in lieu of land rates and a small number of European and Chinese businessmen and large commercial concerns pay land rates. A political struggle over the level of rates was avoided by the imposition by the council of an Entertainments Tax, expected to yield $125,000. The financial resources of the council should not only be devoted to those who need them most but the people should have a say in how the money is spent. The ward organisation has been used for this purpose.

The main financial problem which the City Council faces is lack of a framework within which a financial relationship between the council and the government can operate. At present all arrangements have been made on an ad hoc basis. The government does not admit any obligation to make grants to the council except for exceptional projects. The council, however, is obliged to provide services to meet the special needs of a population which consists of a large proportion of migrants who can make little contribution to their cost.
The Central Government has an interest, for reasons of health and social and public order, in maintaining a reasonable standard of services in urban areas, especially when the town concerned is its capital city. Some recurrent grants towards the cost of services may therefore be desirable. Whatever the relationship, however, it is essential that it should be based on a clear financial structure so that the council knows what its resources are and can plan accordingly.

The expansion of the town has led to a corresponding extension of its boundaries. On 5 October 1950 a new boundary was gazetted under Health Ordinance (Papua) 1912-65 and the Police Offences Ordinance 1912-66, and in the Gazette of 4 September 1952, the boundary had extended to 200 links out to sea under the Building Ordinance and Health Ordinance. On 15 and 27 July 1954, the amended boundary was gazetted under the Town Boundaries Ordinance 1951-52. The boundary included Badili, Kaugere and the village of Korobosea to the east, part of Boroko to the north and the Hanuabada villages to the northwest. The first major extension occurred on 27 July 1961, when a considerable area to the north and Kila Kila and Vabukori villages to the east were included within the town. On 4 April 1968, the boundaries were further extended to include Jackson’s Airport, the new Gordon development and educational complex at Waigani. Four small enclaves of alienated land in the midst of native land, situated to the north of Hanuabada, were also included within the boundary but the villages of Tatana and Baruni were excluded. This boundary enlarged the area of the town from 9,300 acres to 23,000 acres. The boundary was also declared for the purposes of other ordinances such as the Land Ordinance and Planning Ordinance. In 1971, the boundary of the Port Moresby Town Council, which extended to the Laloki River and included the villages of Pari to the east and Baruni to the north, was gazetted. The town boundary is being revised to correspond with the council boundary (Map 8).

The City Council is established under the Local Government Ordinance 1963-72 which was brought into effect in 1965. With the exception of the Town Boundaries Ordinance, and Town Planning Ordinance, little or no legislation relates specifically and only to towns. A significant body of legislation, however, applies mainly to or contains sections relating to urban areas. It includes, for example, sanitary regulations, the Traffic Ordinance and Police Offences Ordinance. A number of ordinances, such as the Building Ordinance, are being amended to confer powers on town councils.

The distinct but overlapping roles of the Town Advisory Council and the Hiri Local Government Council meant that the area within the town boundary was not overseen by a single political body. A further dualism was to be found in the administrative organisation of the town. It changed little between 1942 and 1971. The Papuan ordinances relating to building, land, police and services remained in force, including the discriminatory clauses discussed in Chapter 9. The Native Regulations continued to form the legal basis for the administration of Papua New Guineans. The ethos of urban administration remained unchanged.
The District Commissioner, like the pre-1942 Resident Magistrate, had in theory overall responsibility for the administration of the town. District commissioners in towns such as Lae and Rabaul held considerable authority to frame and carry out their own policies for the development of their towns. They were also able to dominate members of other government departments and to co-ordinate their activities. The majority of important decisions relating to the development of Port Moresby, however, were made within the central government headquarters by the Administrator, heads of departments and various committees. The District Commissioner was thereby deprived of his co-ordinating role. The result was extreme lack of co-ordination of governmental activities within Port Moresby. Weakness of administrative organisation frequently led to confusion. In 1965, the Public Works Department constructed a sewage outlet into the sea. Although there was a danger that effluent would float into the bathing area at Ela Beach, the plans had been adopted without consulting the Director of Public Health (S.P.P., 3 Dec. 1965). Confusion over responsibility for public services occurred within departments. In 1965, no single official or section of the Public Health Department could provide a list of all services provided by the department in Port Moresby. Responsibility for some clinics was thought by headquarters staff to lie with the Regional Medical Officer, while he thought that it was a special responsibility of the Papuan Medical College. The confusion was marked in relation to provision of services in villages and settlements.

This state of disorganisation was not redeemed at the town level because no senior professional staff worked exclusively in the town, but all worked at the regional or district level. In 1967, the Administration made their sole attempt to co-ordinate administrative activities in Port Moresby by appointing a senior local government official as town manager. An official member said in the House of Assembly that 'these positions are required to co-ordinate urban services now provided by a number of separate departments and will be of great assistance to those communities where they feel prepared to accept responsibility for municipal government' (H.A.D., 8 June 1967: 2401). The experiment was unsuccessful because of the reluctance of professional and technical officers to accept control by a layman and the town manager was left with only minor functions.

When the City Council was established, it set up a number of functional committees which met monthly and reported to the whole council. The twenty-one councillors were each members of two committees. As a result of a report by management consultants (P.A. Management Consultants, 1972: 15) the committee system was replaced by one of portfolio members. The consultants' recommendations were inclined to avoid pitfalls of local government in Australia and the United Kingdom: constant routine demands on the time of councillors with little time for policy making, limited power to delegate responsibility to council officers, and lack of control by councillors of their council's
operations. They also saw a need to 'educate inexperienced Councillors in good government' and to teach local officers.

Ten portfolio members, each with a councillor to assist him, were appointed by the council. The portfolio members form the Management Committee, the only permanent committee of the council. The system only works well if portfolio members are prepared to work hard and some have shirked their duties. The system has not achieved effective decentralisation because time at council meetings is still taken up with trivia, to the exclusion of discussion on serious matters of policy. The main reason the system has not worked well is that there is insufficient trained staff to service the portfolios. With the aid of such staff, considerable delegation to portfolio holders might be possible, thus enabling the whole council to become more of a policy-making body. The portfolio system might be more efficient if the number of portfolios was reduced but, as it is at present organised, every councillor as portfolio member or deputy has some personal responsibility for a specific part of the work of the council. This reduces the danger of corruption which arises if individual councillors have too much power over such matters as housing and town planning.

The City Council employs qualified staff at the head of its town clerk's, health and works departments and has achieved considerable co-ordination in the provision of services. As the town clerk, Graham Smith, began to point out when he was adviser to the Citizens' Consultative Committee, co-ordination is still needed between the City Council, Central Government departments and statutory bodies such as the Electricity Commission which provide services in Port Moresby. He suggested the establishment of a municipal commissioner to co-ordinate urban services. Neither the colonial Administration nor the Somare Government have shown much interest in the proposal and some senior departmental officers, after agreeing in principle, have failed to answer letters from the council on this subject.

There are tentative proposals that Port Moresby should become a national capital territory. This would require considerable changes in the central government organisation for the town and revision of the relationship between the government and the City Council.

Until the City Council was established, the Papua New Guinean population of Port Moresby was little affected by the provision of services from which they did not benefit or benefited little. They continued to be administered from the District Office. The District Commissioner and his subordinates continued to be responsible for most matters which concerned the indigenous population, including the administration of justice, until 1967. The District Commissioner is assisted by one or two Deputy District Commissioners. There is an Assistant District Commissioner in charge of the Port Moresby Sub-district which covers a very large rural area. He is assisted by two or three patrol officers, none of whom is specifically concerned with Port Moresby. His responsibilities towards Port Moresby are limited to some concern for law and order and for social
matters. The Welfare Officer is part of the Welfare Division of the Department of Social Development and Home Affairs. The welfare staff consisted of twenty-one officials in 1972. There were welfare centres at Kaugere and at Hohola until the latter was closed down in 1971 for lack of staff. A number of crafts and domestic skills are taught and opportunities for recreational and youth activities are provided at these centres. The Welfare Officer is concerned with destitution, custody of children, and care of children taken before the Children's Court. Welfare services serve as social ambulances for those in dire need and do little, as hitherto organised, to solve the major problems of the urban population.

As the town grew and became more complex, a system of administration designed for rural areas increasingly failed to meet the needs of the urban population. For many years the town area has not been patrolled by District Administration officials. While the District Commissioner and his staff referred many problems to such specialist officers as welfare officers, Local Court magistrates and the business advisory service, they continued to serve as a clearing house for complaints and to bear responsibility for Papua New Guinea affairs. They had, however, no subordinate officials or organisations through whom they could work, and until the late 1960s villages and settlements were virtually unadministered. The post of village constable was abolished when local government councils were established and there are no direct representatives of the central government working in predominantly indigenous areas. Local government councillors perform some of the tasks of village constables but they, as individuals, have neither legal responsibilities nor legal authority outside the council chamber.

In spite of having no legal powers, during the 1950s settlement 'councillors' performed useful functions. They took offenders among their own people to the police without their authority being questioned (P. Lalor, pers. comm.). When they were no longer appointed, their disappearance left a gap in the authority system which has not been filled by 'councillors' chosen by residents because they are not recognised or used by the government. As settlements became more heterogeneous, social control by residents became less effective. In 1967, tensions between tribal groups became so acute that a safety valve was needed. The Assistant District Commissioner formed a committee which was originally called the Port Moresby Foreign Naives Representatives Committee. A similar committee had been in existence in Rabaul for some years. In 1968, seventeen residential settlements were represented. Subjects discussed at nearly every meeting were urban services, problems connected with water supplies, law and order, the removal of unemployed from the towns, and housing. Senior officials were asked to attend meetings and discuss problems relating to their department. Towards the end of 1969, interest slackened and the committee came to an end. Since 1969 members of the Community Development Group have acted as bridge and buffer between the inhabitants of a number of indigenous residential areas and government departments.
When the Port Moresby Citizens’ Consultative Committee was established in 1969, a number of people were concerned at the limited power and resources to tackle the town’s problems which would apparently be granted by the Administration to the Town Council. These included Bishop Butler and other members of the United Church, Chatterton, members of the Community Development Group and myself as Chairman of the Consultative Committee. A vigorous campaign was carried out, through public meetings and in the press, which in particular stressed the need to establish a ward organisation in the town council area. This campaign was launched against a background of administrative indifference to problems of integrating the population of predominantly indigenous areas, including areas of customary land, with the remainder of the urban population; and of the declared intention of citizens’ consultative committees in other towns to exclude urban villages and settlements established on customary land from the boundaries of town councils. The District Commissioner and other government officials, who had been instructed by the Department of External Territories in Canberra to push through the setting up of councils as quickly as possible, reacted with great hostility to these proposals. As a result of these pressures and of the Report of the Citizens’ Consultative Committee.3 The Local Government Ordinance was amended in 1970 to empower the Administrator in Council to direct a council to establish a ward system in a town. When the Port Moresby City Council was established in 1971, it divided the town into seven wards.

The Citizens’ Consultative Committee recommended in its report that each of the seven wards should have a committee consisting of the three councillors representing the ward and nine other members representing residential communities settled within the ward. Each ward should have an executive officer who would be the equivalent in qualifications and status to an assistant district officer or community development officer. The ward should retain a proportion of personal tax collected within the ward for expenditure on ward projects. The Consultative Committee recommended that ward committees should be responsible for nine functions, including tax collection and tax review; minor works such as public latrines, playgrounds and community centres; control of illegal building and policing of rubbish and litter rules; and advising the Town Council on the problems and needs of the residents of their ward (paras 6 and 7).

The council established ward organisations on the lines proposed by the Consultative Committee. Ward offices were acquired and ward clerks were appointed. Ward committees began to meet regularly in most wards, although by August 1973 Ward 2 committee had not been formed. Recommendations and requests made in reports from ward committees were considered by the council and the council’s answers were sent back to the ward. One of the most important

3. For an account of the establishment of Port Moresby City Council see Oram, 1970a: 571-89.
functions of ward committees was to decide how money made available to them by the council should be spent.

Acceptance of the council and interest in its activities on the part of the people were likely to be determined by the extent of benefits provided by the council that directly affected them. The council also considered that the widespread opposition to a head tax might be overcome, as elsewhere in Papua New Guinea, if those who paid personal tax had the spending of it. Wards therefore were given 75 per cent of the personal taxes collected within their boundaries. Useful local projects including markets were financed by ward committees but they did not exercise financial responsibility. Accounts were kept at council headquarters and owing to staff weakness, ward committees often did not know the size of their balances and merely begged the council for funds.

Ward committees were also frustrated in an area which affected closely the mass of the people: that of public order and justice. They wished to deal with anti-social behaviour in their residential areas; and one frequent cause of complaint was illegal parties given by entrepreneurs who bought large quantities of bottled beer and charged admission. Quarrels and fights often broke out at these parties. The committees also sought legal powers in relation to hygiene and provision of services as well as prevention of crime. The extent to which committee members truly represented their residential communities varied. As wards and the council as a whole in some areas were involved in few activities which affected the mass of the people, committee members found it difficult to hold regular meetings of residents.

Inadequate staff was a further problem. While some ward executive officers showed considerable initiative, the majority were 'clerks' and not 'patrol officers' as envisaged by the Consultative Committee. They did not tour their wards and deficiencies in the legislation relating to building and lack of legal powers to maintain public order hampered them in their administration of their wards.

The City Council tried to develop the ward organisation but the Central Government gave little support. The Citizens' Consultative Committee had proposed that all governmental and voluntary activities should be clustered round ward centres but the government failed to do this. It was not prepared to make experienced field officers available to act as ward executive officers and gave little thought to the role of wards in relation to public order. While wards performed useful functions, they did not reach their full potential in administering their areas.

The council was fortunate in obtaining competent European officers with experience in Papua New Guinea as the first heads of its departments. An effective senior Papua New Guinean supporting staff was also engaged. A number of problems, however, have arisen and will arise relating to staff. Council work is very exacting, involving expertise, accuracy and responsibility: minor errors can bring such services as water and sewerage to a halt. It also involves tact in dealing with councillors between whom and staff a delicate balance of power
must be maintained. Either through localisation or threat of localisation, a number of European officers have resigned. Senior Papua New Guinean staff have also resigned and the council faces a severe shortage of trained staff. As the Town Clerk wrote in his report to the council for the month of March 1974

Unfortunately Administrative collapse can occur very rapidly. When it does, the resultant chaos can take much longer to remedy than it took to occur. I cannot over-stress to Council the seriousness of the present position ... the Administrative staff resources are being eroded below a minimum level.

While the council has been successful in recruiting, if not holding senior staff, it has largely failed to find satisfactory subordinate staff. Apart from frequent dishonesty in handling money, ward clerks and others who have face-to-face relationships with the people have shown little sense of responsibility for their areas. A ward clerk may stick to routine because as Mannoni (1956: 70) said of the Malagasy, 'it protects him against his unconscious fear of insecurity'. The council has no pool of men with experience of exercising authority as existed in some African countries (Oram, 1973d: 53) from which to draw. Needs can only be met if council officials identify themselves with the people and are personally known to them. A new system of training is required to turn the health inspector from an inquisitor ensuring that legal standards are met into an educator who encourages and works among the people, even with his own hands. Because it is not possible to employ specialists at the ground level because of cost and shortage of trained staff, generalist officers should be trained who can act with the advice of medical, engineering and other specialists.

Further, the needs of the public, for example to pay taxes, and to obtain medical treatment, house sites and building advice, can only be met outside routine working hours. Australian clock-watching traditions have been reinforced by public service regulations which make it difficult to pay staff overtime rates.

Staff are not likely to stay with the council if their duties and responsibilities are greater than if they were employed in the national public service and, with no greater emoluments, their prospects of promotion are less. The problem is compounded by the bureaucratic delays of the Local Government Service Board, which may cause a delay of up to nine months before essential staff can be recruited. Both the challenge and rewards offered by council service must be high to attract suitable staff. The alternative, as the Town Clerk suggested in his report, is for certain council posts to be included in the public service structure, so that national public servants could occupy them without damaging their careers.

Since adequate statistics are not available, the extent of lawlessness in Port Moresby is difficult to measure. According to such figures as are available, arrests for serious crime per 100 members of the population rose from 1.8 in
1961 to 6.7 in 1966 and then declined to 5.4 in 1970. These figures are so unreliable and so many factors have to be considered that they may have little validity. At one time, the police did not record offences when they had no hope of finding the offender. Many offences are not reported to the police, especially in the predominantly indigenous areas. Available evidence indicates that there is a deterioration in public order. There is a widespread feeling of insecurity among the public and many people of all races are afraid to go abroad at night. Lack of respect for the law among juveniles bodes ill for the future.

As seen in Chapter 7, a number of factors militate against the maintenance of public order in Port Moresby. There are great inequalities of wealth and opportunity. Many recent migrants feel rejected by the established sections of the urban population and do not have sense of belonging to the town. Partly as a result of competition for scarce jobs inter-tribal tensions often result in violence and are a threat to public peace. The extent to which Western values in relation to law and law enforcement are accepted varies among different tribal groups but these values are unintelligible and unacceptable to a large proportion of the Papua New Guinean population.

Enforced abdication of authority by the District Office and the abolition of post of village constable weakened law enforcement in the town. Under the 1949 Village Councils Ordinance, councils were responsible for ‘maintaining peace order and good government among the natives residing in or being in the council area’; and were required to ‘intervene for the purpose of preventing, and to the best of their ability, prevent, the commission by any native over whom it has authority of any offence against the law of the Territory’. Constables were appointed by the District Officer on the recommendation of the council and they were council employees and law maintenance officers, but the system was not developed to its full potential. In 1955, for example, the Hanuabada Council complained that officers of the Administration did not support their constables and young men did not treat them with respect. After a brief inquiry had been made into the judicial and law enforcement systems by Professor D.P. Derham in 1960, the law enforcement functions of councils were removed under the Local Government Councils Ordinance 1963. Derham had said that the duty imposed on councils to maintain law and order in their areas had ‘led to a tendency for councils to conduct enquiries into disputes and to the practice of councils appointing their own constables’. He considered that the role of councils should be limited ‘to executive and rule making functions in matters of a local character and that this limit should be consistently observed’ (Hasluck, 1961: 5).

4. In 1971 I analysed available crime statistics relating to Port Moresby. As everywhere else in the world, crime figures are very difficult to interpret satisfactorily (see Walker, 1971) and special problems arise in countries such as Papua Guinea where crime statistics are entirely inadequate. The figures quoted from this report must be treated with reserve but certain broad patterns emerge.
City councillors who represent urban villages or migrant groups have considerable influence and sometimes power over the residents of their areas. Without legal backing, they are still expected to enforce former regulations relating to cleanliness of villages and residential areas, to maintain public order and to settle disputes. They rarely exert much influence outside their own tribal groups.

Under the 1949 ordinance, councils were empowered to make rules, including those 'prohibiting any act or conduct which, in the opinion of the Council, might cause a riot, disturbance or breach of the peace'. When councils tried to make rules relating to public order, they were often turned down on legal grounds. In 1955 the Hanuabada Council unanimously passed a rule to restrict the attendance of children at night at the Hanuabada Picture Theatre. The Law Department advised that the rule was *ultra vires* because it infringed the liberty of the subject and that the council could not take over the role of parents in family life. The council passed a rule to make householders keep their premises clean which was also declared *ultra vires* because these matters were covered by the Public Health Ordinance (Healy, 1962). Councils have wide rule-making powers under the present ordinance, but they rarely make rules directly relating to the maintenance of public order.

In the 1950s, discriminatory legislation regulating the behaviour of Papua New Guineans in towns was repealed. Under Native Regulation 73, as amended in the *Government Gazette* dated 18 September 1950, no native was allowed to be in any street or public place at night and, in 1951, fifty-nine Papuans were arrested for infringing the curfew (*S.P.P.*, 6 April 1951). Under Native Regulation 74, it was an offence for a native to be away from his employer's quarters at night and, in 1954, the police were finding it difficult to enforce this regulation, especially in the sleeping places of domestic servants (*S.P.P.*, 3 Feb. 1954). These regulations were repealed in 1958.

The main responsibility for maintaining public order lies with the police force. The central police station is at Boroko, with sub-stations at Ela, Koke, Hohola and Gordon. From about 1965, police ceased to patrol on foot and patrols were carried out in cars provided with radios. Patrolling by car is ineffective: police cars can easily be avoided by criminals and the police themselves do not make strenuous efforts to find out what is happening in the areas which they patrol. In March 1974 limited foot patrols were reintroduced.

In practice, if not in theory, police do not accept responsibility for villages and settlements. They live, whether married or single, concentrated at the police barracks at Gordon and are thereby isolated from the rest of the urban population. Belshaw, writing of Hanuabada in 1950 and 1951, said that: 'The presumption is that the [police] force exists to protect European interests, and to prevent flagrant native breaches of the peace'. He suggested that '... the police force should not find it difficult to protect, as a routine, the persons and property of indigenous townsfolk just as it does for Europeans' (1957: 220, 257). Police do not regularly patrol villages and settlements and only visit them
when special need arises. In 1971 my analysis of the places where offences involving drunkenness were committed showed that only one arrest occurred outside the central areas of the town. The problem of policing these areas has existed for many years. Belshaw (1957: 218) describes how, in 1951, hundreds of migrants marched through Hanuabada as far as Evela and back brandishing crowbars and other weapons and throwing stones and mud at houses before the police arrived. The people were disappointed at the failure of the police to stop the riot. At a meeting organised by the Community Development Group on 25 October 1969, Toua Kapena said that the police were reluctant to patrol Hanuabada as they felt that they were not wanted. In September 1971 police were present during night-long celebrations lasting two nights at Horse Camp; the police officer-in-charge complained that their presence was a response to criticism but that this was not really the job of the police (B. Mylius, pers. comm.). At different times during 1971, Councillor Sogo Sebea complained that police cars failed to come to Kila Kila village when groups of migrants were causing trouble. The failure to give law enforcement powers to members of local communities and the indifference of the police make villages and settlements a no-man's land as far as public order is concerned.

The mass of the urban population does not accept the authority of the police. As a senior Papua New Guinean public servant, who had carried out a study on the attitudes of the people towards the police, said at a meeting held on 7 August 1973:

The average view of Papua New Guineans of the police is that they are trouble makers. People in law-enforcement sectors are seen as authoritarian, and not living by what they teach. When police put off their uniform, they play cards but when they put on their uniforms they arrest us for playing cards. They only come and arrest us when we are in trouble, otherwise we are free. The policeman is a segregated person who lives in barracks apart.

There have been numbers of direct physical attacks on the police, some of which have been planned. In November 1967 and February and March 1968 members of various groups attacked the police (S.P.P., 13 Nov. 1967, 16 Feb. 1968, 11 March 1968). In February 1968, the police were lured out of Port Moresby and ambushed (S.P.P., Feb. 1968). The attitudes of residents of villages and of older settlements towards the police are ambivalent. At times they are anxious to obtain the help of the police, while on occasions they obstruct them when carrying out their duties. In 1972, the councillor resident in the canoe settlement at Koke shut the gates of the settlement against the police who wished to arrest offenders. The police have been obstructed more than once at Tatana. On 30 October 1972, for example, a major riot broke out at Tatana over marriage exchanges and villagers led by their councillor blocked the causeway leading to their village against police who had come to quell the riot. In August 1973, the people of Hanuabada surrounded police in eight patrol cars for two hours and stoned the police cars and injured two policemen (P.C., 10 Aug. 1973).
The police sometimes also behave violently against members of the public. In 1950, a body of thirty police invaded Hanuabada because a councillor had threatened to report the behaviour of some police constables to their Commissioner (Belshaw, 1957: 218). Some of the assaults on police during 1968 were claimed to be pay-back for assaults committed by the police on members of the groups concerned. The activity which provides the police with greatest opportunities for violence and makes them feared and distrusted by the public is arrest of people accused of vagrancy. There is ample evidence of people being arrested without cause and that members of certain tribal groups, including those from the Goilala Sub-district and from the Highlands, are arrested by the police because they belong to those groups. A Goilala member of the House of Assembly, Louis Mona, said that the police treated the Goilala 'like dogs' (H.A.D., 18 June 1971: 4470). According to a member of the Community Development Group

Three men from a Taurama Road Settlement were arrested by the police on a Tuesday when walking on their way to look for work. One had a sick wife and sick children in hospital and was released. One escaped from the truck and the third was taken to Bomana Gaol. The Community Development Worker did not know till Thursday evening that he had disappeared and found out from Boroko Police station that he was in custody on a charge of vagrancy. The case against him was dismissed by a court on the Friday. From Tuesday till Friday all the men stayed in the settlement afraid to go out to look for work. (Tape recording by Eileen Brown of meeting, 7 Feb. 1972)

When such arrests occur relations and friends do not know where the arrested men are and the arrested men themselves are often not clear what the police have against them.

A more serious incident occurred when the police raided the Konebada Hostel for single government employees on 10 May 1971 to look for people who were not paying rent. The Administrator ordered a judicial inquiry after he had been approached by two councillors. The magistrate, Joseph Aisa, in his Report dated 11 December 1971, found that there were unlawful assaults by the police on the residents of the hostel; the police broke the arm of one man; a number of men were assaulted at Koke police station where they were taken for questioning; and the arrest of fifty men from the hostel as non-paying occupants of the hostel was illegal. He did not find evidence sufficient to commit any particular policeman for assault but he found that a sub-inspector and sergeant were guilty of neglect of duty and abuse of authority.

Major problems arise as a result of the removal of all law enforcement officials except the police. Any crime, quarrel, affray or other matters involving breaches of the peace must be reported to the police because there is no other avenue open to those involved. Many of these disputes, especially those which relate to women, involve custom and a small, overworked staff of police officers have neither the knowledge nor time to deal adequately with them. If the police are asked to intervene, they do so in a cursory manner and those who are aggrieved
go away dissatisfied. The police face a number of internal problems due to maladministration of the department, rapidity of the localisation program, lack of experience of many members of the force and lack of technical equipment and training (Oram, 1973a: 13, 1973b: 32-3). They also experience frustration in carrying out their tasks. As the Town Clerk, Port Moresby, wrote:

I think it must be realised that in the course of their duties they suffer considerable frustration. Excessive legalism often makes it extremely difficult to obtain convictions in cases which they regard as being the most important to deter law breakers, and they get heartily sick of chasing juvenile offenders, who are constantly granted bonds, which they see as escaping punishment by the law. Possibly there is a major factor in increasing police brutality. Knowing or suspecting that the person or persons they are arresting will probably be very leniently dealt with, they may tend to vent their personal frustrations on them. (G.H.P. Smith, pers. comm.).

They also lack sufficient staff to maintain contact with the urban population, especially experienced men who are fluent in Motu and acceptable to the people.

The failure of the police to communicate with the rest of the population and their lack of acceptance stems from the way the police force is constituted and the roles which they are required to play. They do not share the social functions of the British ‘bobby’ and their task is almost entirely repressive: to seek out and arrest those suspected of committing offences. They are ‘ruler-appointed police’, an armed constabulary, and not ‘kin-police’ who can be defined as ‘men and women with more disciplinary duties but few greater powers than any of their fellow citizens’ (Allen, 1953: 118). Cut off from contact with the public, they are not prepared to act on their own. At meetings of the City Council Sub-Committee in 1971, Papuan councillors gave examples of members of the police force staying in their areas who refused to take action when they were off duty. The officer in charge of the Port Moresby Police District, in giving evidence before the Liquor Inquiry, said that policemen are unwilling to prosecute members of their own tribal groups (P.C., 16 Sept. 1971). The police face the alternative of ‘localising’ themselves in the sense of stationing single constables or pairs of constables in residential areas; or of acting in support of local residents who hold law enforcement powers.

The police do not have sufficient numbers, members of the force are not adequately trained, and tribal differences are too strong for them to develop quickly the role of ‘kin-police’ and adopt the first alternative. The Australian administration has always set its face against giving police powers to members of the public. When, for example, members of the Citizens’ Representative Committee wanted to take action against gambling, which as citizens they were legally entitled to do, a District Officer said that ‘if any member had ideas of doing the work of policemen he would be dismissed’ (Minutes, 15 Aug. 1969). To appoint local law enforcement officers is, however, the only alternative and they could be appointed village peace officers under the Village Courts Ordinance. They would have power of arrest, although they would rarely have to
use force. Full-time officials would be needed for large areas such as Horse Camp or Hohola and they could be supported by part-time officials representing each major tribal group in the area. They would be required to know their area intimately and the people dwelling in it; to enforce sanitary and other regulations as much by advice and example as by formal action; and to keep the peace and take offenders to court. The residents of an area should play a large part in their selection, although formal appointment would be made by the central government.

Peace officers should be in constant touch with and supported by the police. A major complaint of the urban population has been that they are unable to summon the police. The police have in the past promised that they would provide vandal-proof telephones but have failed to do so. It is essential that the senior peace officer in each community should have a telephone installed in his house and that his identity should be immediately recognised by the police.

The judicial system in existence before 1942 remained unchanged until new legislation was brought into effect in 1965. Criminal offences and more important civil cases were brought before a full-time magistrate sitting at the Court of Petty Sessions. Offences under the Native Regulations, such as adultery, gambling, being in the town without lawful excuse, and offences against public health, were heard by members of the District Office staff sitting as magistrates in the Court for Native Matters at Ela Beach. The number of formal court hearings was small and offenders were reprimanded, made to pay a small amount, or given a short period of imprisonment. The local population showed no unwillingness to go to the Sub-district Office with problems and complaints, including those involving disputes between relatives. The majority of these cases were settled without the official acting formally as a magistrate and making a record of the case. Rather than make a formal appeal, aggrieved disputants took advantage of frequent changes of staff or approached another official. To the majority of Papua New Guineans, however well informed, any interview with an official or even an interpreter constitutes a 'court'.

One significant judicial institution was developed by the people themselves. The Hanuabada Council established a Disputes Committee, consisting of the whole council and the committee continued in existence until 1968 when the Local Court began to operate effectively. The committee considered all matters involving custom, including payment of marriage exchanges, marital disputes, inheritance, and custody of children. The committee exercised social control by settling minor quarrels between neighbours and between kinsmen. It reprimanded people for unacceptable behaviour, such as carrying on extramarital associations and drunken and unseemly conduct. A careful record was kept of proceedings and the views of each member were recorded. The grounds for a decision were stated and reference was made, where relevant, to previous decisions. The committee not only settled disputes but also thereby helped custom to evolve in conditions of social change. The committee had no legal status
and therefore no authority to enforce its decisions: if its decisions were not heeded, the only recourse of an aggrieved person was to a formally constituted court.

After 1945, it was the policy of the Administration to set up a system of native courts as a complement to the introduction of local government. A Native Courts Bill was submitted to the Minister for External Territories in 1947 (Mair, 1948: 230). In 1955 'a firm policy decision was made against any development in the Territory of a system of customary native courts outside the regular judicial system' (Hasluck, 1961: 4). Records of discussions by the Minister and judges over the years show that they did not understand that British native courts formed an integral part of the courts system (Morris and Read, 1972: 131-6), as the phrase 'outside the regular judicial system' reveals. They also frequently expressed the fear, as had Hubert Murray (see p. 47), that kinship ties would make such courts corrupt. In 1963, following the recommendations made in his report by Derham, Courts of Petty Session and Courts of Native Matters were replaced by courts established under the District Courts Ordinance and the Local Courts Ordinance enacted in 1963. These ordinances were brought into effect in 1965, but the first indigenous magistrates did not begin to sit with expatriate magistrates until 1967. From then on magistrates trained sub-professionally at the Administrative Colleges presided over local courts in the Port Moresby area. Local courts have jurisdiction over members of all races, but few expatriates appear before them in criminal cases because those summoned to a Local Court may elect to be tried before a District Court. Local Courts have jurisdiction over all offences triable summarily, with power to order imprisonment for six months or a fine of $100; and over civil cases involving goods worth not more than $200.

The Local Court system has a number of disadvantages. When large numbers of people are accused of such offences as drunkenness, they are dealt with cursorily. One young man from the Goilala Sub-district, convicted of being illegally in the town when he had just arrived, did not understand the Police Motu in which the trial was conducted and said nothing during the proceedings. Some residents say that courts give good decisions but that their orders are not carried out and are able to provide examples of this failure. Other Port Moresby residents, especially urban villagers, complain that magistrates from other parts of New Guinea are not competent to judge matters involving custom, such as marriage disputes.

An attempt was made to remedy some of the deficiencies of the Local Court by P.J. Quinlivan when he was appointed District Magistrate in Port Moresby. When he was working at Rabaul he sent Local Court magistrates to sit regularly in villages and the courts were accepted by the people. He found that Port Moresby Local Courts were only hearing cases sent to them by the police. He began to organise sittings in some villages and settlements but lack of transport and staffing problems have prevented his schedules from being fully carried
The Local Courts sitting in different indigenous residential areas, do not cover the whole urban area and only hear civil cases. Courts are often held inside offices or in places which are very small and inaccessible to the public; whereas the administration of justice should be easily seen and heard by the public at large. There remains a serious hiatus in the judicial system.

Hasluck (1961: 3) admitted that hitherto the system of justice had been 'wholly an Australian Institution' but the measures which he was taking were 'intended to lead towards the development of a Papuan and New Guinean institution...'. This aim has not been achieved. The procedures followed in Local Courts are similar to those in Australian courts. Appeals lie only to the Supreme Court (Barnett, 1969: 163). The system of law is based on British law and is often not relevant to local needs (Oram, 1973a: 15; Barnett, 1973: 6). In September 1973, a Village Courts Ordinance was enacted which provided for areas to be declared village-court areas and for these courts to be presided over by at least three local people sitting together as magistrates. No procedure for these courts is provided in the ordinance and they have minor criminal as well as civil jurisdiction. Justice would be brought to the people if such courts could sit regularly in each residential area. As the powers of these courts are limited, except in certain customary matters such as marriage-exchanges, Local Courts should sit regularly at ward headquarters. People charged with such offences as riotous behaviour, assault and drunkenness would be tried either by local or village courts in their own neighbourhood in the presence of people whom they know. They would experience a sense of shame which they do not feel when courts are remote and impersonal.

The maintenance of public order is not achieved by prevention of crime alone. It also involves the observance by individuals of those restraints imposed in the public interest to ensure standards of health, safety and amenity in an urban area. The City Council is hampered in its task of maintaining public order by deficiencies in the legal and judicial systems. Lack of power to prevent illegal building has been noted above. There are also a number of other administrative fields in which the council has little or no power to enforce compliance with its regulations or in which the processes of enforcement are so drawn out and expensive that it is not worth the council's while to attempt it. The Town Clerk estimated that it would take two years to achieve the removal of abandoned vehicles because of unrealistic procedures prescribed by the Abandoned Goods Ordinance.

The council has great difficulty in collecting payments for services from a large proportion of the Papua New Guinean population. While the collection of such charges was the responsibility of the Treasury, Papua New Guineans, however unsophisticated and illiterate, were treated in the same way as Europeans: monthly invoices were sent to them. In 1964, 85 per cent of householders at Hohola were not paying their service charges. The Director of Public Health refused to allow their water to be turned off because provision of water
closets made lack of water a health hazard. A number of people in the town, including public servants, have still never paid any service charges and some owed more than $200 when responsibility for services was assumed by the council. The problem has been greatest where groups of people in villages and settlements have been responsible for repayment of charges. In 1971, residents of Horse Camp received a water bill of $200 for two months because children had left the taps running (B. Mylius, pers. comm.). The Treasury has not been prepared to initiate civil proceedings to recover charges; and, when city council representatives have requested urgent amendments to the legislation to make recovery possible, its attitude has been, 'why bother?'. Failure to collect charges, however, means that those who pay subsidise those who do not.

In 1971-2, the first year of the City Council's existence, collection of personal tax amounted to $110,000 or 50 per cent of the potential revenue from this source; in 1972-3 the amount was $84,000 or approximately 40 per cent of the potential amount, and the percentage is likely to be lower in 1973-4. There are a number of barriers to the collection of tax. If tax collectors accost people in the streets to find out whether they have paid their tax those questioned are obliged to give their names and addresses but these are often false. A number of measures are needed if tax collection is to be effective: employers, for example, should be required to deduct taxes from wages. The Public Service Board, however, has refused to do this for the Public Service or even provide information which would help the council.

Besides inadequacy of legislation, the City Council lacks support from the police in carrying out its control functions. If its officials who are responsible for enforcing Building Regulations or such council rules as Dog Rules are driven away, the police will not provide protection but only take action after an assault has been committed. Understandably, officials are unwilling to risk assault and the law has not been enforced.

As a result of these legal and other obstacles, the council is unable to carry out important functions and respect for the law declines. The support of the Central Government is needed to enact suitable legislation and to help the City Council to enforce the law.

The residential community, whether homogeneous, tribally mixed or consisting of two or three distinct tribal groups, is one of the most significant elements in the social organisation of the town. It should constitute the basic unit of urban administration. Each community should have a committee representing all tribal groups within it. Each community should also have one or more peace officers and village courts should sit regularly in it. While the residential area as an administrative unit should be formally constituted with officers and committees with specific powers and duties, its success would depend on the informal activities of those concerned.

The wards would carry out the functions proposed by the Citizens' Consultative Committee and welfare, medical and other activities carried out by
central government and voluntary agencies should be clustered round ward headquarters. Ward executive officers should be people of a calibre which enables them to be administratively responsible for the population of their wards. They should also have law enforcement powers and be responsible for taking offenders and litigants to courts sitting at ward headquarters. In this way judicial activity would be decentralised and the police relieved of much responsibility for minor criminal offences and complaints.

Kinship and wantok relationships are at present a more important principle of social organisation than neighbourhood. The Department of Social Development and Home Affairs and the Housing Commission have discussed at length whether members of the same tribal group should be given adjacent building sites or separated, especially in no-covenant areas. If too large a group is concentrated, they may constitute a danger to peace. If they are all separated they may lose mutual support. Experience has shown that a number of people do not want to live next to members of their own tribal group. The Housing Commission now allocates not more than four adjacent sites to members of the same group. Although the organisation of most tribal welfare associations is weak, they could be given some official recognition and support. When, for example, a member of one group is killed or injured by a member of another group, they could be called on to arrange a peaceful settlement between the parties concerned. They could also be encouraged to control the behaviour of their members and be responsible for their welfare.

Under the colonial regime, attempts have been made to cover up the cultural and economic differences between different sections of the population. Administratively the whole population has been treated impersonally as if it were reared in a Western tradition. It seems necessary to accept that each section, such as élites, urban villagers and recent migrants, may have different administrative needs and construct an administrative organisation on this basis, although it may be possible to achieve this under a single flexible legislative framework. People living in no-covenant areas may be expected to give their labour to obtain services, perhaps in return for exemption from taxes, while people in richer areas only contribute cash.

In all societies there is a conflict between individual liberty and licence and in Western societies individual rights are jealously safeguarded. New kinds of controls may be needed to administer Port Moresby effectively. The aim of the proposed administrative structure is to provide everyone living in the towns with a civic identity. Both to achieve this aim and also as a measure of control, ward officers should register the names of all householders. Community peace officers would be expected to know who lived in their communités, who came, and who left. Much of their work of overseeing the population would be carried out informally. Another means of control suggested by the Town Clerk would be through electoral rolls and personal tax tickets. All people over 18 years of age are obliged to register on the electoral roll. A registration certificate
could be issued which could be endorsed with a stamp when the bearer paid his tax. This certificate could serve as a means of identification. Given a choice between these controls and the introduction of a pass system, considered undesirable in Chapter 8, the former may be preferable.

Other forms of control might be achieved through council rules. Curfews, for example, could be imposed on the movement of juveniles at night. The government should also have the power to declare a curfew on the whole or part of the urban area if faced with a threat of violence. Both managers and police should have powers to close bars if drinkers are becoming drunk and violent.

Port Moresby has gone some way through its ward system to reach the people but it has not gone far enough. The basic unit of administration should be the residential community. Civic administration is still 'mechanistic' because it is based on hierarchy and specialisation and council officials, including ward clerks, still interpret their functions as being strictly delimited. An 'organismic' system is needed, under which

The definitive and enduring demarcation of functions become impossible. Responsibilities and functions, and even methods and powers, have to be constantly redefined through interaction with others participating in common tasks or in the solution of common problems... Interaction runs laterally as much as vertically, and communication between people of different rank tends to resemble 'lateral' consultation rather than 'vertical' command. (Burns, 1971: 48)

The key figure in the organisation should be the ward executive officer, who would be expected to know his area very well and to meet the various needs of the people living within it.

Danger may arise in introducing the proposed system of administration, which is intended to fill an administrative vacuum. Unless balanced by energetic community associations, powers in the hands of ward executive officers and leaders of residential communities could be abused: some councillors have already acted in a tyrannous way towards members of their ethnic groups. Checks, however, can be provided by the courts, the council and central government supervision. An allied danger is that the system will seem merely repressive to the people unless they participate fully in decision-making processes; and unless they also feel that they belong to the urban community, within which they find economic and social opportunities.
The major emphasis of this book has been on the policies and practices of the colonial Administration; an emphasis which is justified by the extent to which they have determined many aspects of the development of the town. Policies towards land and housing, including the imposition of unrealistic standards of buildings and services, have produced a segregated town. Genuine attempts to protect Papua New Guineans from evils arising out of contact with the West have reinforced racial segregation. Official attitudes towards migrants have encouraged the development of scattered tribal residential settlements. The emergence of an indigenous middle class has been delayed by legalistic obstacles. The adoption of Western methods of law enforcement alone has contributed to lawlessness by depriving local communities of the habit of power to control their own affairs. The new Papua New Guinean Government has begun to frame new policies, but it has inherited a colonial legacy which it shares in part with governments of other formerly dependent countries.

In all parts of the world including the West, towns are divided into rich and poor areas. Disraeli described this division in his *Two Nations*, and today it is expressed by such terms as ‘the wrong side of the tracks’. In towns in Western countries and other homogeneous towns, the difference between the two sectors is one of degree; but in many towns in modernising countries it is one of kind in which social and economic organisation and administrative and legal systems differ. Port Moresby has been a European island, on which a Papua New Guinean sea has gradually encroached. Although its outer defences have now been broached, the Western citadel still remains virtually intact. A description of Indonesian towns under the Dutch still largely applies to Port Moresby.

In Indonesia one found the typical colonial picture of one small section of the population living in hygienic conditions, which could easily bear comparison with the most favourable conditions pervading in Europe while the great mass of the population lived in the most primitive of conditions. (Wertheim, 1956: 187)

A second element of the colonial legacy is that administrative institutions developed in the town, in spite of recent attempts to modify them, are almost entirely Western. Administrative arrangements follow a rational-legal bureaucratic model. This model applies to municipal organisation, land tenure, town
planning, housing policies and the system of maintaining law and order. Australia was not unique in pursuing such policies. In Indonesia, 'The Municipalities were not created with the primary aim of meeting the needs of the native inhabitants' (Van der Hoeve, 1958: viii) and 'the city as a unique urban totality made a limited impression on Indonesians (particularly on the poorer uneducated classes) during the colonial period, because they were largely prevented from full participation in its life' (Milone, 1966: 33). Africans were also excluded from participation in the Western sector of towns (Southall, 1971: 243-50). In East Africa, 'The system of administration . . . only extends in the majority of towns to the areas which are inhabited by Europeans and Asians' (E.A.R.C., 1955: 234).

Complex administrative systems can be successfully operated only if there are sufficient skilled staff and a sophisticated public. In Papua New Guinea both pre-requisites have been lacking. As a result, policies relating to land, justice, building and payment of services, to give only a few examples, did not reach the mass of the people. Large numbers of Papua New Guineans would have been forced to settle far outside the urban area if land and housing policies had been strictly enforced. Happily, unrealistic administrative policies were tempered by inefficiency.

If the administrative framework established for the modern sector of a town cannot be extended to a large proportion of town-dwellers, the choice is between establishing a separate system of administration for the latter or leaving them unadministered. Dual systems existed in a number of colonial territories; for example in East Africa where a system of chiefs, headmen and advisory councils was established (E.A.R.C., 1955: 234-6); in the Belgian Congo, where a clear cut administrative division between non-Africans and Africans was provided by centres extra-coutumiers (Grévisse, 1951); and in the Dutch East Indies, where 'stadsgemeente [Municipalities] have been more of a racially-structured governmental dualism than a functional division of labour between local and central government' (Milone, 1966: 46). In Port Moresby, the system of rural administration through kiaps under the district commissioner continued to operate but, lacking subordinate agents, it was ineffectual. The administrative no-man's land was very large.

A major colonial legacy has been dislike of the development of a town-dwelling population felt by expatriate administrators and Papua New Guinean leaders alike. For many years Europeans discouraged Papua New Guineans from speaking English to them (Ralph, pers. comm.). This attitude of expatriates towards emergence of sophisticated Papua New Guineans has been also found in British colonial territories in Africa and elsewhere (Southall, 1971: 243). The attitude is compounded of a desire to prevent the 'native' from getting above himself and the feeling that in his own interest he should stay within his tribal milieu: as T.E. Lawrence said in his Seven Pillars of Wisdom, every Englishman assumed that 'God had not given it them [members of other races] to be English;
a duty remained to be good of their type'. In Indonesia, 'the governing group of Europeans also had an instinctive aversion to the urbanization of Indonesians' (Wertheim, 1956: 179). While many expatriates, who themselves came from one of the world's most urbanised countries, sought to prevent Papua New Guineans from settling in towns, they were supported by Papua New Guinean leaders who feared the disruption of traditional society through migration to towns and loss of migrants' labour and tax payments.

Two other attitudes were related to dislike of urbanisation. As in other British territories, the Australian Administration had no positive social philosophies. This attitude can be distinguished from that of the Belgians in the Congo who deliberately sought to reproduce their own social system, based on the Christian, monogamous, property-owning family, among the African population. The Administration, consciously or unconsciously following Hubert Murray, tried to preserve indigenous institutions against the forces of change. They were moderately successful even in urban villages, but they gave little thought to the new forms of social organisation emerging among the urban population. The second attitude was one of protection against possible evil consequences of contact with the West. Expressed in legislation relating to many aspects of indigenous life, it was not abandoned until the early 1960s when any form of racial discrimination had become disreputable. Coupled with policies of uniform development in the educational field, it temporarily saved the urban population from the worst forms of lawlessness, prostitution and family break-down found in towns in other modernising countries, but it also left it unprepared to meet the challenge of independence and rapid social change.

Dislike of urbanisation and unrealistic policies, coupled with administrative inertia, in part explain the failure of the colonial Administration to tackle major problems arising in urban areas. In British territories, after 1945, considerable effort was made to provide low-cost housing and to develop municipal authorities although the problems were not overcome. The Australian Administration in Papua New Guinea did not begin to tackle the problem of shelter until much later. The Housing Commission was not established until 1968 and the City Council until 1971. The Administration never made any effort to overcome the problem of maintaining public order in towns. Over the years, the seriousness of these problems was proclaimed from outside the Administration and within it, but no concentrated effort to deal with urban problems was made by the central Administration. The shadow of the Department of External Territories in Canberra fell darkly on those few officials who wanted to tackle urban problems and, in the absence of any administrative machinery, achievement of any co-ordination in tackling urban issues was almost impossible.

Eventual improvements in various fields were caused by a fortuitous combination of circumstances rather than deliberate policy: improvements in housing were largely the result of the appointment of an imaginative Housing Commissioner supported by able officials within the Department of Social
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Development and Home Affairs, and by a knowledgeable and sympathetic Minister, John Guise. At the same time, such voluntary associations as the Community Development Group and individual churches began to put pressure on the Administration. As noted above, the underlying motive of the colonial Administration in establishing the City Council was mainly fiscal. Public pressure led to the Administration taking a wider view of the council's potential; and the council has achieved a workable organisation and has made a serious attempt to provide services for the whole population, even though it has failed through lack of Central Government support to make any headway in such fields as village planning and public order.

Port Moresby is in a state of rapid social change. As in other countries on reaching independence (Southall, 1973: 10), the character of the expatriate population is changing as the posts of Australian public servants are localised and entrepreneurs with small businesses leave the country. The present expatriate population has lost most of its political power and the Eight Point Plan is designed to destroy its economic power. They will be replaced by diplomats, businessmen from a number of countries and especially from Japan, and technocrats from international agencies. These new expatriates could also achieve a large measure of political, economic and even military dominance if future governments do not jealously preserve their independence.

On the eve of independence Papua New Guinea has only an embryonic élite ill-equipped to meet the economic and administrative demands which are being made on it. For many years, the dominant members of the élite in Port Moresby will be public servants, politicians and trade union leaders. Army officers may also play a significant role. The future of the élite again in part depends on the policies of the government. Even if it encourages indigenous private enterprise, it will be some years before a rich indigenous commercial sector emerges. Indeed, as Fanon (1967: 120) points out, the new élite is likely to be a pseudo-élite without the economic power of its Western predecessors.

The university and merchant classes which make up the most enlightened section of the new state are in fact characterized by the smallness of their number and their being concentrated in the capital, and the type of activities in which they are engaged: business, agriculture and the liberal professions. Neither financiers nor industrial magnates are to be found within this national middle class. The national bourgeoisie of under-developed countries is not engaged in production, nor in invention, nor building, nor labour; it is completely canalized into activities of the intermediary type.

Unless the government takes firm action to prevent it, there is a danger that the future élite may be alienated from the mass of the people, although, owing to their recent emergence, the majority of the present élite still maintain close contact with their tribal groups. The majority of well-educated people may be concentrated in Port Moresby, as has occurred in the capitals of other countries: in 1960, 78 per cent of all graduates in Thailand were in the metropolitan area of Bangkok, which contained only 8 per cent of Thailand's inhabitants (McGee,
In 1973, the proposal made by the Somare Government that promotion for public servants should depend on a period of service in outstations was successfully opposed by a number of senior public servants (J.A. Ballard, pers. comm.).

As Goldthorpe (1968: 139) says, '... there is a strong tendency for social differentiation to increase as technology becomes more effective. In other words, the more there is to go round, the more unequally it tends to be shared'. Unless unforeseen factors bring about change, social stratification is likely to follow the present pattern: coastal Papuans and other coastal people will maintain their educational and therefore economic lead, while members of backward tribal groups, such as those from the Highlands and Goilala Sub-district, will remain at the bottom of the occupational ladder. If these people later lose their ties with their home areas, they will become a lumpen proletariat. Yet a number of factors might reduce the extent of future social and economic stratification based on tribe. Policies relating to migration, the redistribution of political power within the Central Government and the emergence of strong leaders among the economically depressed tribal groups might reduce tribal inequalities or even cause the present unprivileged to become the privileged by giving them preferential access to educational and other services.

Discrete tribal settlement occurs in many towns in modernising countries, but the policies of the Papua New Guinea Administration have led to their appearing in greater numbers and often in greater isolation than elsewhere. Those who do not live in such settlements depend for their social security on maintaining relationships with their kinsmen and wantoks throughout the town. Ethnicity as a basis for relationship has a number of virtues. It gives rise to wider loyalties beyond the extended family. It assists newcomers to adapt to urban conditions. It keeps the class structure fluid and prevents the emergence of castes. Its dangerous aspects are nepotism and tribal exclusiveness (Wallerstein, 1963: 665-70).

The development of relationships based on neighbourhood can lead to a denser network of relationships cutting across ethnic ties without destroying them. Urban villages and some urban settlements already are becoming heterogeneous. Factors such as increasing use of lingue franche may weaken tribal, as opposed to kinship, ties. If new institutions develop among residential communities, the balance between ethnicity and neighbourhood may shift in favour of the latter. Whatever form they take, gemeinschaftlich communities will continue to persist throughout the indigenous population, and residential areas will not be inhabited by atomistic individuals. Such communities are to be found throughout the developing world (Pahl, 1968: 267; Oram, 1970a: 283). New forms of urban social organisation based on traditional values may develop among these communities. An example is the extension of the padrino system to the barrios of Philippine towns (Ramos, 1961: 103). In Suva, strong regional organisations have developed (Nayacakalou, 1963: 37). In Medan, an Indonesian town, the immigrant Tobo Batak have achieved a balance between
meeting their obligations to their kinsmen from their home area and prospering in their own enterprises (Bruner, 1961: 509). Whatever their future development, however, these communities exist and the administrative organisation for the town should be related to their needs.

Port Moresby gives little support to those who hold that modernisation and industrialisation lead to a Westernised form of social structure. Social change is taking place in the West almost as fast as in modernising countries and the pace will quicken as the effects of technological developments are increasingly felt. In spite of the superficial appearance of an international jet-culture expressed in huge tourist hotels such as that about to be built in Port Moresby, attempts to solve current problems in different ways may lead to increased cultural diversity even among economically advanced countries. The administrative organisation of Port Moresby should therefore be based on an assessment of the existing social structure of the town and projection derived from that structure rather than on assumptions of future social developments based on experience elsewhere. As the social structure is in a constant process of change, assessment of its nature at any given time requires constant review. Assessment will in part result from the process of interaction between governed and governors, but research is also needed, especially into the impact of administrative policies and practices on the urban population.

In discussing the weakness of the rural-urban continuum, McGee (1971: 57) suggests a typology under which rural areas could be typified as folk, peasant and farmer and towns as pre-industrial, colonial and industrial. The most significant factor in the Port Moresby context is that the social structures of populations living in both rural and urban areas vary greatly among themselves. In the Hood Peninsula area, for example, the village of Hula has more characteristics in common with Port Moresby urban villages than with the inland village of Riwalirupu, situated 8 miles away. While theoreticians in the past have concentrated on the relationship between town and country, differences of social organisation within a town may be even more significant: ‘Gemeinschaftlich and Gesellschaftlich relationships are found in different groups in the same place’ (Pahl, 1968: 239). Mayer (1962: 576-600) has shown that different sections of the same rural tribal group, the Red and School Xhosa, may develop entirely different forms of social organisation when they migrate to the same town. In Port Moresby, there are wide differences between the social organisation of the suburb of Boroko, now being taken over by local elites, the traditional village of Hanuabada, and the Chimbu settlement at Ragamuka. As Pahl (1968: 278) points out: ‘any attempt to tie particular patterns of social relationships to specific geographical milieux is a singularly fruitless exercise’. While agreeing with Wirth that size, density and heterogeneity play a part in determining urban social relationships, any new urban theory should concentrate on the differences between sub-populations within the same town, sub-populations in the same rural region and the relationships between particular urban and rural sub-populations.
The most dangerous colonial legacy may be the implanting of Western urban concepts and values by their former masters in the minds of the present leaders of Papua New Guinea. The danger is not so much that they have absorbed colonial attitudes to specific aspects of urbanisation, such as migration, but that they have also absorbed a sense of hostility to the town itself. As long as it remains the seat of government, Port Moresby will continue to play an important part in the life of Papua New Guinea. It will be a centre for the intellectual and cultural life of the country. Politicians and leaders from all over the country will gather there and people from their home areas in varying numbers will be found among the urban population. Migrants will come into contact with people from other areas and learn new skills and ways of living. Events in Port Moresby may frequently affect the lives of people throughout the country.

If Australians require a monument to their rule they have only to look at the many parts of Port Moresby which are purely Australian in appearance. The majority of buildings of all kinds are made of fibrolite or similar materials and have a temporary appearance. Cultural imperialism is most rampant in public buildings such as offices and schools. Australian architectural influence finds its most extreme expression in the Supreme Court building at Waigani, which was opened by the Queen in March 1974. Built in heavy concrete, identical courtrooms have no windows to the outside world and are entirely dependent on air-conditioning and strip-lighting. Only courageous members of the public venture to enter a gallery through narrow doors. It is the antithesis of an open system of justice under which even the casual onlooker can see justice being administered. A few miles away, the City Council has built markets and is building offices of unsawn but treated timber and corrugated iron. These buildings may provide a better model for public buildings in the future than the Supreme Court extravaganza.

What constitutes the quality of life for an individual depends on cultural as well as personal factors. Members of a heterogeneous and economically stratified population find satisfaction in different ways. Clearly a high quality of life is not dependent on material conditions: much artistic and other excellence has been achieved against a background of poverty or ill health. People still create their own environment: rough huts and few services can constitute a highly satisfying environment while fine buildings can be turned into vehicles for squalid living. We should not assume that the most up-to-date modern housing, services and appliances necessarily constitute the highest form of urban living. Perhaps the Hula at Taikone in the 1960s, whose lives were based on urban employment and traditional economic and recreational activities connected with the sea, reached as high a level of adaptation to their environment as is possible in any society.

The first requirement for a reasonable quality of urban living is an income and an occupation and the problem of providing these is widely discussed by all concerned with urban development. Opportunity to achieve employment
and job satisfaction will depend on the general economic state of the country and, as far as the town is concerned, governmental policies towards migration and equalisation of incomes as well as on educational qualifications and personal ability. Encouragement of the informal sector is required, involving the removal of legal barriers to entrepreneurial activities. An important form of opportunity is that of obtaining a block of land and building a house and improving it, thus acquiring a stake in the town. The condemnation of migrants and 'squatters' by Australian officials and others has to some extent disappeared in Port Moresby, although some rural leaders still voice it. As in other parts of the world, the urban settlement is both a means of adapting to town life and a source of economic opportunity. Migrant settlements, as in the Philippines (Laquain, 1969: 18), may serve as urban 'way stations' in the transition of people from the old to the new order, and act as 'shock absorbers' to the migrant who would otherwise feel lost in the big city. The spontaneous settlement often represents a satisfactory adaptation to urban conditions as Peattie (1969: 21) in Caracas, Turner (1968) in Lima, Harré (1973: 6) in Suva, and myself (1967a: 47, 1967b: 57, 1968: 27) in Port Moresby, among others, have observed. In Caracas, the possession of a rancho, however poor, may be a first step on the road to economic and social advancement (Peattie, 1969: 18). While planned urban settlements in which people can build houses with virtually no legal restrictions are required, control over their development is needed to safeguard the future of the town.

Less attention has been paid to the need of men and women to maintain their dignity among their fellows. A migrant coming from a close-knit tribal community may find himself not only having no status outside his wantok group but actively despised and treated as an illegal resident by the forces of law and order and by the 'respectable' element in the town's population. The colonial regime has consistently confused two distinct issues: the problem of how to control the flow of migrants to the town; and the treatment of migrants when they are living there. As human beings, they need not only freedom from persecution but also recognition of their rights and duties as citizens. The goal should therefore be to establish administrative and other institutions which provide the individual with maximal opportunities for economic and social activities both by himself and as a member of different groups and associations; and which confer on him the status of citizen of the town.

As the social organisation and the culture of different sections of the population differ, so will their needs. The élite will demand Western standards of services and amenities, unless there is a conscious reaction amongst them against all things Western. Besides shelter and basic services, the poorer sections of the population require recreation grounds, community halls and organisations controlled by themselves. Before the problem of discovering the kind of planning and style of housing best adapted to the needs of the urban population is discussed, the relationship between citizens and planners and others possessing
technical expertise must be considered. Those with felt needs may have only limited awareness of options open to them, while the planner is aware of the options but is unable to determine which combination best meets local needs. Yet the final decision must be his and that of others in authority. Much can be gained from observation of what people design when left to themselves but the solution lies in establishing administrative processes which provide interaction between planners and people. The ever-changing problem of finding appropriate planning and house design can only be tackled by a constant process of experiment followed by assessment through consultation with those who have tested the experiment.

In reaction against Western cultural imperialism, another kind of paternalism, a romantic return to traditional culture, may become a danger. However attractive traditional grass houses may be, people now build in corrugated iron sheeting because it lasts longer, saves an immense amount of labour and in Port Moresby is cheaper. Houses in traditional villages in the Port Moresby area were built close together but many Papua New Guineans now prefer to live in fenced blocks, not through a wish to imitate Europeans but because they are more private and more convenient, offering space for motor vehicles and various activities. While it may be desirable to reject the more extravagant aspects of Western culture and technology, many innovations from the West may be beneficial. The greater the opportunity given to individuals to experiment, even to the extent of creating a cultural ferment, the more truly local life styles are likely to develop.

The economic future of Papua New Guinea as a newly independent country is uncertain. The country is still capable of providing almost all its inhabitants with a living from the soil or the sea, but the overall rate of population increase is 2.5 per cent rising to over 4 per cent in areas such as the Gazelle Peninsula, and acute local land shortages will occur. Formerly the economy was colonial, depending on cash crops and the Australian grant for economic development, but the discovery and exploitation of huge mineral deposits has revolutionised the economy. Future development depends on political stability and the ability of the government to keep the Bougainville and other secessionist movements within bounds. It also depends on its attitude to foreign investment to which some members of the government and a number of influential people, especially from Bougainville, are strongly opposed. How far can the government moderate its policy of socialism 'of ends rather than means' (Clunies Ross, 1973: 228-53) to meet the terms demanded by mining companies, such as Kennecott in the Star Mountains, as a condition for beginning operations? The pressure of public opinion on the government for increased wealth is likely to force them to admit overseas enterprise and capital.

The economy of Port Moresby will reflect that of the whole country, but it will partly depend on such factors as the retention of a sufficient number of competent entrepreneurs to maintain the present level of commercial activity.
Short of a general economic or administrative breakdown, for example as a result of Papua Besena activity, its prosperity is assured as long as it retains its raison d'être as the capital city of Papua New Guinea. As a capital, Port Moresby suffers from a number of disadvantages. It is situated on the edge of the country. The central cordillera will remain a barrier to road communication between the capital and the New Guinea mainland, even if Port Moresby is connected by road to Lae. The Port Moresby region is sparsely populated while half the population of Papua New Guinea is concentrated in the four Highlands districts. In March 1971, the House of Assembly approved the recommendation made by a select committee of the House that a new capital should be situated in the Arona Valley in the Eastern Highland District. The Administration opposed the move (H.A.D., 5 March 1971: 3845) and little has been heard of the proposal since. The development of a new civic and administrative centre at Waigani makes such a move unlikely, unless effective control of the government is gained by Highlands representatives.

Prosperity for the town in the sense of spatial expansion and population growth may increase rather than reduce the distance between rich and poor. It is difficult to be optimistic about the chances of limiting migration effectively or ensuring an equitable distribution of wealth. The kind of pseudo-urbanisation found in South-east Asia and elsewhere, under which economic development and availability of employment do not keep pace with population increase (McGee, 1967: 18-22), is beginning to develop in the town.

The Australian Administration adopted the Procrustean policy of developing Port Moresby according to an Australian model and cutting off any section which could not be made to fit it. With this inheritance, policy makers in the future are faced with continuing uncontrolled urban migration, the consequent unbalanced population structure, increasing distance between social strata and severe poverty, especially among recent migrant groups. The social organisation and structure of the population should form the basis of administrative thinking. The most important elements in the indigenous social structure which have been given insufficient recognition by the former Administration are the ignorance of town life of a large proportion of the indigenous urban population and the importance of communities rather than individuals. In British and other Western countries, elected representatives of the people make decisions which are carried out by a hierarchy of paid officials. Administration is impersonal because it is ideally carried out without 'fear or favour'; the majority of issues affecting the public are prescribed by regulation; and it may involve little face-to-face contact with members of the public. Individuals may live for many years without any personal contact with officials and deal with governmental matters almost entirely by post.

Migrants to Port Moresby come from societies in which the network of relationships is extremely dense. Members interact in several, including social, economic, and religious, fields of activity. Their status within such societies is
defined and assured. In the town, those without skills are mainly limited to the company of their wantoks. Many individuals in Port Moresby are illiterate, ill-adapted to town life and in need of guidance. For them the wider urban community is potentially hostile and their presence is doubtfully legal. The administrative needs of the mass of the urban population can only be met by a personal and decentralised system of administration which would make it possible to legalise their presence and give them an assured status in the town. Such systems were found in many towns in the past. Traditional towns were often divided into administrative sub-units and such sub-units are found in many towns in developing countries today. The Municipality of Ibadan in Nigeria has a central core and six suburban wards (Campbell, 1965: 130). In Burma, Rangoon is divided into thirty-five wards, each consisting of two or more quarters with each quarter consisting of about a dozen streets (Pye, 1962: 93). In Japan organisations based on chonai or 'areas' have shown great vitality, in spite of sociologists and others considering them to be undemocratic and lacking 'gesellschaftlich purity' (Nakamura, 1968: 189).

There are strong arguments for developing wards as major administrative units, providing judicial, peace-keeping, medical and other services for their inhabitants. On grounds of expense and of rational use of staff, such units must serve populations of at least 10,000 people and are therefore still remote from the people themselves. The residential neighbourhood should be the basic sub-unit of administration, with a local resident appointed as neighbourhood leader, a village court with other residents as magistrates, and a residents' committee.

Administrative organisations are only effective if they are based on a careful and accurate assessment of the situation within the area to be administered. The colonial Administration refused to recognise the administrative implications of the differences between various sectors of the town, partly because they did not want to be accused of racial discrimination or to admit that their policies did not work. Hence an informal administrative dualism. Except in countries where apartheid is practised, admissions that such differences exist are rare, although the special urban administrative needs of Maoris are reluctantly recognised in New Zealand (Weldon, 1970: 21). In Port Moresby, the structure of the ward organisation can be the same for the whole town but legislation should be flexible enough to allow differences in practice between wards.

One of the major obstacles to the effective functioning of the City Council or bodies such as the Housing Commission is the legalistic and bureaucratic nature of these organisations introduced from Britain and Australia. A number of examples have been cited in this book. The lack of education of a large proportion of the urban population and also of trained staff make elaborate administrative systems unworkable. Simplification, however, frequently involves reduced safeguards for individual rights and increased power in the hands of officials; if, for example, an officer can pull down in the morning a hut built
overnight on land to which the builder has no right. In towns where large-scale migration, poverty and unequal distribution of wealth are found, such measures may be necessary to stem the tide of disorder. While traditional public service procedures may save expense by, for example, meticulously ensuring that full security is provided for a small housing loan, by losing sight of the main objective the government may be facing vast expenditure in the future to deal with a situation which is developing unchecked. The administrative and legal system has developed since the nineteenth century with little examination by those in authority of the relevance of the practices which have evolved. A rigorous inquiry is needed into administration to cut out dead wood and simplify the whole administrative machine.

Great sensitivity is needed by administrators in dealing with people. When resettlement or community projects are being organised, those involved should understand what is being done and why and their convenience should be carefully considered. It is essential to ensure that the timing of the activities of different departments is carefully co-ordinated. Many projects have failed in Port Moresby because administrative delays have caused initial enthusiasm to be lost.

Shelter involves almost all aspects of administration: land, town planning, building, services and the administration of people. Unless every facet is studied and every requirement met, housing schemes may fail ignominiously. In Port Moresby, the colonial Administration failed to solve its land problems and its organisation for managing people was inadequate. The land problem can only be solved if great flexibility is shown and also adequate resources are made available to tackle it: one officer to deal with the problems of settlement on customary land in Port Moresby is not enough. While the management of people should be sympathetic, it should also be determined. The comprehensive housing policy for the town will be vitiated if all building is not brought under control.

It would be tautologous to insist that, to be successful, a policy which aims at improving the shelter of the whole population should take all the people living in Port Moresby into account, were it not that administrators in the past had missed this obvious point. Moreover, migrants have been thought to be morally unworthy of housing because they were parasites who came to the town to live off others. Except for the few debarred from residence for specific reasons, for example a court order after conviction, everyone living in the town should be treated as a legal resident.

Unlike many Asian cities, such as Calcutta in the early 1960s where 600,000 people slept in the streets (Abrams, 1964: 3), nearly everyone staying in Port Moresby has some kind of shelter. The problem is to improve it. I have argued that any attempt to maintain Western standards of building and services is bound to fail and that the only way to improve shelter for all is to enable people to build at a standard which they can afford; and at the same time to ensure that all building within the actual and potential urban area should be
brought under control. If any subsidy is involved, it should be in the provision of blocks provided with essential services. This is the basis of the policy, but all other means, including the provision of loans and some houses for renting, and the building of terrace houses and high-rise apartments, should be adopted where appropriate.

The government will not be able to bring all building under control if legal standards of shelter are raised too high, because part of the population will not be able to afford such standards. Already there are signs that the City Council, which is the building authority, is trying to insist on higher standards than those desired by the Housing Commission, which is responsible for development. Arguments can always be brought forward in favour of raising official standards, such as grounds of health and of long-term financial economy, but they are invalid if they frustrate a housing policy which aims at embracing the whole urban population. If they can afford no better, those needing housing should be settled on blocks surveyed with a compass and chain and provided with pit latrines and a few stand-pipes, and allowed to build without standards being prescribed.

Government officials and others have criticised the suggested approach on the grounds that it does little to improve living standards but merely legalises poor conditions. Such critics have not seen congested uncontrolled residential areas elsewhere, where pools of stagnant water and foetid heaps of rubbish abound in such spaces as exist between airless dwellings. More important are the positive benefits of the approach, which enables home owners to apply their savings to improving their houses over a long period and gives them a purpose in life. Experience in other developing countries, for example in the barriadas of Peru (Turner, 1968: 176) and the deims of Khartoum (Arthur, 1954: 76, 79), show that tremendous energy can be generated by this policy. In Port Moresby, steady improvement of housing in settlements—residents have redeveloped whole settlements to modern standards—indicates that people are willing to devote time and money to improving their housing if given the opportunity to do so.

A second criticism, which contradicts the first, is that improvement in living conditions attracts more people to migrate to the town. People, as the experience of Port Moresby and many other towns demonstrates, move to towns for a number of reasons unconnected with housing, even if living conditions are very poor. No evidence has been brought forward which shows convincingly that the supply of housing has more than marginal effect on migration rates. Migrants from different areas have found it easy in the past to settle in tribal groups throughout the town area. The policy of controlling settlement, the establishment of effective administration, and the obligation to pay dues of various kinds, however small, will discourage rather than encourage migration. Moreover, once people are living in the town, the government has an obligation to see that their shelter is of the best possible kind.
The further criticism has been made that the no-covenant policy is extravagant in the use of land. Any workable policy will demand considerable areas of land, which is available in Port Moresby. Densities will increase as areas are gradually upgraded. The Port Moresby Development Study estimated that initial densities of twenty-five people an acre would eventually rise to forty people an acre (Maunsell and Voorhees, 1970: 76). As pressure on land increases, re-development to a higher density will take place. It will be a long time if ever before high-rise residential buildings will be a suitable form of development in Port Moresby.

A serious challenge to my claim that the approach outlined in this book provides the only possible means of raising housing standards of the whole urban population is contained in a paper by M.A. Bienefeld entitled 'A long-term housing policy for Tanzania' (1970: 250-99).1 It is based on a socialist ideology which condemns, for example, private ownership of housing, but the economic arguments within it can be considered in their own right. The analysis of the problem is the same as I have advanced, including condemnation of existing building regulations and of the continued large-scale building of houses for public servants. He agrees that under a 'market' system, the only solution is that advanced here: provision of sites provided with services on which people can build their own houses. He argues that such a system is wasteful (p. 255), raises serious land problems, and has failed elsewhere. He also argues that home builders will not raise the standard of their housing and that property speculators will take advantage of house builders. The system had failed elsewhere, as I have already argued, because standards and payments were too high for prospective house builders to meet. Home builders do improve their housing. An element of subsidisation may be necessary in providing land and speculation can be regulated.

The alternative advanced by Bienefeld seems unrealistic. He accepts, as pointed out in Chapter 10, that standards of housing depend on resources available but he expresses this idea in the form of an equation NC=Y when N stands for the number of housing units required, C the cost of each unit, and Y for total expenditure (p. 280). It is clear from his own account that all statistics available to him are unreliable, including interpretation of overcrowding, but he produces a figure for housing needs over the next five years. The greatest weakness in his argument is the assumption that migration can be kept to a predetermined level (p. 282). He suggests that expenditure would be met by amounts provided for housing in the Development Plan and by the nationalisation of all housing. Capital hitherto invested in private housing would then be diverted into the public sector. He does not provide an estimate of the amount of money available from this source. No estimate is given of the average cost of each unit nor are the effects of such factors as inflation taken into account. No consideration is

1. I am indebted to Hal Colebatch for pointing this out to me. Tanzania has nationalised all alienated land and also all housing not occupied by the owner.
given to the extent to which rents would have to be subsidised by the housing authority although the sums involved would be likely to be very high. A further problem would be that of building and administering such large numbers of houses because, in a modernising country, administrative skills are not available to undertake such a program.

However admirable the present government housing policy for Port Moresby and progress in putting it into effect, it is still far from being realised. The obstacles to achieving it are formidable. Land problems, especially in relation to customary land, have to be overcome. Illegal building outside planned sites has to be brought under control. The urban villages, with Hanuabada in the lead, are degenerating into tightly-packed masses of buildings. Localisation has led to loss of the expertise hitherto found within the Department of Social Development and Home Affairs. It will depend on the Cabinet whether the program is pushed through to a conclusion against all obstacles. An organisation is needed at the central government level to co-ordinate all aspects of urban development but the development of machinery is not enough. Technical experts in health, engineering and even town planning are enemies to the kind of low level development proposed in this book. Lay administrators are needed with sufficient confidence in their policies to override experts in the interest of carrying a project out.

Security for life, limb and property is a basic human need. The people of Port Moresby, as of other towns, want to pursue their occupations in peace, to be able to go abroad at night, and their women at all times to travel without danger; and to be free from housebreaking, protection racketts and political intimidation. The problem of maintaining order has been little studied, perhaps as a result of an assumption by Western observers that towns in modernising countries must go through a prolonged period of disorder. Deep rooted problems such as poverty, lack of adaptation to town life and of acceptance of Western legal concepts have to be taken into account. The need to study the problem is great, because independent governments lack the inhibitions felt by many colonial regimes in curtailing personal liberties. The Somare Government has largely relied on the strengthening of police powers. In 1973 the Public Order (Amendment) Bill was drafted which provides that areas could be proclaimed for the 'control of persons not in regular employment'. These persons may be required to find recognizances, supported by between two and six sureties, for their good behaviour. Later, the Minister for Police proposed that Port Moresby should be subject to a midnight curfew. At the same time consideration by government officials of the approach suggested in this book appears to have been abandoned.

The physical layout of the town and the ethnic distribution of the population have to be taken into account when public order is considered. Control is simpler if settlement is planned so that houses are easily reached by road rather than through crooked alleyways; if residential areas are accessible and not hidden
away in remote gullies; and if people of different origins are scattered throughout their residential area and not concentrated in tribal groups.

Traditional methods of social control have either never existed or have broken down in Port Moresby, except for vestiges found in homogeneous villages and tribal settlements in which traditional sentiments are reinforced by church organisations. A large proportion of the urban population does not accept the Western concept of a rule of law and continues to rely on self-help in paying back injuries. The only law enforcement agencies are the police and law courts.

Public order can only be achieved if it is maintained through the agency of the different communities established in the town, whether on a territorial or a tribal basis. The ward organisation could play a significant part in maintaining public order. In Burma, the headman of a ward and his assistants help the police and are expected to vouch for individuals and report strangers coming into the ward (Pye, 1962: 93). Peace-keeping institutions may develop spontaneously. In settlements in Manila, vigilante forces are established and 'pressures to conform, co-operate and toe the line' are very strong. They range from appeals to \textit{pakikisama} ('getting along well with others') to coercion by violence or threat of violence. Informal sanctions such as gossip, ostracism and ridicule are also frequently employed (Laquain, 1969: 21). In New Delhi, citizens action groups have dealt effectively with various forms of delinquency (Clinard, 1962: 11). Already settlement committees in Port Moresby are seeking to control the behaviour of their residents and of outsiders who come into the settlements.

Policing should be based on knowledge of individual residents. People should be appointed who are responsible for knowing the residents of a neighbourhood, for keeping an eye on members of households with a bad reputation, helping others in their difficulties, warning drunks and brawlers, and reminding others to pay their taxes and licence fees. As there are insufficient numbers of the regular police to carry out such duties, peace officers should be chosen from among the communities themselves. Courts, as suggested in Chapter 11, should also be truly local. Such an organisation would require careful supervision at the ward and town levels.

Community pressure is not enough and formal controls are also needed to maintain public order. If a government is sufficiently powerful, has the support of the people and is prepared to impose controls at the expense of the liberty of the individual, a high level of public order may be achieved. In China, at one pole of a continuum, there is no rule of law, emphasis is placed on control of thought and action to prevent disorder before it occurs, and offences against the state are treated more severely than those against private persons. The behaviour of past offenders is subject to strict controls.

In brief, in Communist China, unlike the United States and many Western countries, not only is the concern for order pursued systematically and thoroughly, but there is great co-ordination between all units in the society to this end. (Vogel, 1971: 90)
At the other pole, in Western countries the ideal is a rule of law derived from conformity to widely accepted norms, enforced by ‘kin-police’ with very limited powers. Rights of individuals are jealously guarded. In some urban centres such as New York and Chicago, public order is beginning to break down and official law enforcement agencies are excluded from some areas within them. It is for the society concerned to decide where the balance should be struck.

To preserve public order among populations, many of whose members are little adapted to urban life and are indifferent or hostile to formal legal and judicial institutions, controls considered unsuitable in the West may be desirable. They may include the registration of the inhabitants (which should not be confused with a pass system), and making heads of households responsible for those residing in their houses. The introduction of a ten-home-cell system, as introduced in Tanzania, might be considered. This, like the ancient Chinese Pao chia system which was terminated by the communist government in 1949 (Wright, 1967: 136; Kung-Chuan, 1967: 27-8, passim) is based on dividing the population into groups of ten households and making a leader responsible for the behaviour of members of the group. The cell consists of members of T.A.N.U., the only local political party, living in the households and the leader is elected by them. The leader is expected to settle disputes and members are obliged to report to their leaders before they take a matter to courts of justice. The cell leader does not deal with such serious matters as theft or bloodshed; he must report them to the police. He is responsible for sending a register of members to the party office and for reporting the presence of strangers. The ten-cell system meets a number of problems, especially in urban areas. Leaders have heavy responsibilities but are neither paid nor have their expenses refunded. It is difficult to collect all cell members together and few cell leaders attend monthly T.A.N.U. branch meetings. Problems of co-operation among people of different social strata arise. Even so, it provides a means of giving the urban individual an identity, of settling disputes and of meeting individual needs (Proctor, 1971: 1-9, 42-9).

In traditional societies, membership involves continuing fulfilment of obligations as well as enjoyment of rights. In the Western world today, most of the positive duties of citizens are compounded by the payment of taxes. Exceptions are military service, the infrequent imposition of jury service and, in Australia, the duty to vote in elections. Until the first part of the nineteenth century, citizens had many duties imposed on them. It has been cogently argued (White, 1933: 2) that the foundation of English liberties was laid by the imposition of Norman and Angevin kings of many legal and administrative duties on freemen. He quotes from Ford: ‘When liberal institutions have been successful, they seem to have been dependent upon some past discipline maintained by coercive authority, and as that decays, liberal institutions lose their ability to discharge the primary duties of government’ (Ford, 1924: 30). There may be a need to impose duties on citizens, and especially on juveniles, which would range from provision of
services to helping to maintain public order. John Guise, as Minister of the Interior, has suggested that a youth corps should be formed. Even if the age of employment is lowered and all possible means of training those who leave school early are tried, large numbers of youths will stay in the towns without useful occupation. Provided occupations could be economically and efficiently found for members of the corps, its establishment might lead to a partial, although drastic, solution to a major social problem.

The inhabitants of Port Moresby, under the suggested approach to administrative organisation, will participate in the affairs of their localities in various ways. They will participate in a system imposed from above as magistrates, community leaders, ward and settlement committee members and possibly ten-cell leaders but these people will be volunteers. Whole settlement populations may be obliged to carry out such duties as installation and maintenance of services. Purely voluntary participation will involve the management of community centres and sporting activities, although if public activities such as courts and clinics are held in the former, some official supervision may be necessary.

At present the regular police alone are responsible for maintaining public order, whereas under the proposed structure the City Council would inevitably assume some responsibility. Ward executive officers might have a dual responsibility for their public order duties to the central government and for other duties to the City Council. The conflict of responsibility might be resolved by a fundamental restructuring of the administrative organisation of the town which is discussed below. The history of the development of Port Moresby provides numerous examples of the need to adopt a 'holistic' approach to urban problems. To do so requires co-ordination of administration at all levels. In recent years there has been a proliferation of departments and statutory bodies in Papua New Guinea which makes effective co-ordination difficult. Co-ordination would be simpler if there were a single authority responsible for all administrative activities in the urban area. If an all-embracing authority is to be established, a number of political factors have to be considered.

However appropriate the structure and talented the staff, who may wield considerable influence, successful urban development depends on political decision. As noted in Chapter 11, in the past expatriate officials working at the central government level made all decisions relating to the development of Port Moresby. The only effective but limited restraint on their power was possession of land rights by urban villagers. Except by well-organised European interests, there was no pressure on the Administration from below. Most members of the small indigenous elite had no personal grievances as they were well-paid and comfortably housed; and they also felt powerless to influence their masters. Inhabitants of urban villages and older settlements complained from time to time against failure to provide services in their areas but they were not militant. Those most in need of better living conditions lacked political institutions through which they could make their voices heard. In Port Moresby
today, decisions are made at three levels. At present, those made at the ward level have only limited importance although potentially they could exercise great influence over urban affairs. Important decisions are made at the town and central government level.

Until the second half of 1973, twelve of the twenty-one councillors were Papua New Guineans (of whom one was a New Guinean from the Highlands) and nine were Europeans. Oala Oala Rarua was Lord Mayor, and Mahuru Rarua Rarua, Albert Maori Kiki and Jacob Lemeki, who is a senior official in the Public Service Association, were among the councillors. Six councillors, including Oala and Mahuru, represented urban villages, and three represented ethnic groups with whom they resided in migrant settlements. Three indigenous councillors were public servants or worked for public agencies, three had business interests, one held a senior position in the firm of a European councillor and three of the remainder were spasmodically unemployed. Two of the European councillors worked for public agencies, one was an academic, one was a lawyer and the remainder were businessmen, five being self-employed.

In spite of the difference of interests among members, the council did not divide into interest groups. Nine councillors were elected on a Pangu Pati ticket, but no attempt was made to maintain the party organisation within the council. Some, for example Mahuru Rarua Rarua, Madaha Resena and Sogo Sebea, fought strongly for improvement of conditions in their own wards, but councillors were not always aware of the interests of the people whom they represented. Two councillors were silent, for example, when the Health Department proposed they should close the clinics which were the only health services provided in the villages which they represented. Until an entertainment tax was levied, the only hope of raising revenue to improve conditions in villages and settlements was by raising the level of the property rate, which would fall almost entirely on Europeans. Three Papua New Guinean members, however, voted against levying a rate and against all constructive proposals because they were disappointed at not being sent on a tour in Australia.

The meetings of the council were mainly concerned with routine matters and trivia and councillors did not greatly interest themselves in major problems, such as public order and shelter, affecting the mass of the population. Parkinson's law that the amount of time spent on an issue is in inverse ratio to its importance was amply borne out in council meetings. This was partly due to indifference on the part of some portfolio members, although Mahuru and the then Deputy Lord Mayor, John Thomas, devoted much time to their tasks. As a result the council was unable to bring significant pressure to bear on govern-

2. A number of councillors resigned late in 1973 and early in 1974. The Lord Mayor, Oala Oala Rarua, became the Papua New Guinean diplomatic representative at Canberra and Jacob Lemeki was elected in his place. The Deputy Lord Mayor, Eric Pratt, was replaced by Brian Bell, a respected Australian businessman.
ment. On the credit side, the ward system began to operate with limited effectiveness and a number of services have been efficiently provided and considerable sums of money have been spent on providing services for neglected areas.

Very little pressure was put on the council by the Port Moresby population or, with some exceptions, by its representatives in the ward committees. Few of the council’s activities were of interest to the people. A study of thirteen towns throughout the world found little public interest in local matters and this was partly attributed to loyalty to place of origin rather than to the town in which people currently lived (Walsh, 1969: 21). In Port Moresby, some people in predominantly indigenous areas demanded services such as sealed roads but their demands were not very vociferous. The interest of ward committee members increased when considerable sums of money became available for spending by the wards. The council’s lack of involvement in matters of major concern such as public order became apparent during the riots of July 1973, in which the council played no part at all. Associational poverty was one cause of public indifference. No organisation such as political parties acted as pressure groups and only church organisations, such as the Melanesian Council of Churches, concerned themselves with particular issues. The council’s involvement, through its wards and residential communities, in public order and administration of justice would awaken more interest in its activities among the mass of the population.

A new council was elected on 6 April 1974 consisting of twenty-four members. The new council is better educated than the previous one. Among the councillors are two Papua New Guinean women: Elizabeth Kiki and Nahau Rooney from Manus, a graduate of the University of Papua New Guinea. The eight councillors who were re-elected included Jacob Lemeki, Brian Bell, Mahuru Rarua Rarua and Madaha Resena. Among new members are Charles Lepani, son of Lepani Watson, who has a degree from an Australian university and is married to an Australian, Peter Malala, the former associate town clerk, and Sevese Morea, a well known broadcaster and former Hiri councillor. New Europeans include Reginald McAlister, a radical trade-union official, and Dr Eric Wright, friend and adviser of Josephine Abaijah, the Papua Besena leader. At the formation of the new council, there was a division into groups: Pangu with some nine members and the Papua Democratic Party, the political wing of Papua Besena, who have the support of the majority of the council. Pangu councillors have been entirely excluded from holding portfolios and from membership of committees. An acute political conflict between Pangu and the Papua Democratic Party supporters is possible as a result of the exclusion from responsibility of some of the best educated and experienced councillors.

To what extent has the City Council achieved legitimacy in the eyes of town-dwellers? Voting figures suggest that interest is limited: when the second City Council elections were held in April 1974, only 5,600 out of 35,000 eligible people voted, compared with 6,975 people who voted in the 1971 elections. The
figures are misleading because an estimated 5,000 people (Hegarty, 1974) went to the polls who had not been registered as electors. This was partly due to ignorance of electoral procedures, and partly to fear of being made to pay personal tax as a result of having their names on the rolls. Failure to vote deprived the poorer sections of the population of such representatives as Camillo Esef, a Goilala, and Semese Sea, from the Gulf District, both of whom had worked in no-covenant areas as full time members of the Community Development Group. The council is achieving legitimacy in wards where *gemeinschaftlich* social structures exist—those containing urban villages and, like Ward 3, long established migrant settlements.

Beginnings of corruption began to be apparent within the council. It took the form of councillors trying to persuade council officers not to prosecute concerns in which they were interested, trying to have contracts awarded to people to whom they were related against the council's interests, and influencing staff appointments. These attempts were almost entirely unsuccessful. Four councillors who had visited Queensland were impressed with the large salaries paid to the aldermen who worked full time for Brisbane City Council. Councillors had hitherto been paid a maximum of $15 a month if they attended meetings. In August 1973, a proposal was first made to raise the amount to $30 but a European councillor then proposed that councillors should receive $100 and the Lord Mayor $200 a month. The motion was passed by twelve votes to three in a secret ballot and nine votes to five in a subsequent open ballot. Considerable indignation was expressed by members of the public. On 8 August, a demonstration led by Mahuru Rarua Rarua and Toua Kapena marched from Hanuabada to the council offices to present a petition. The 1,500 to 2,000 people who protested came mainly from Ward 1 but there were also university students and representatives from Wards 2 and 7. In Papua New Guinea, 'Melanesian values' based on *wantok* and kinship ties may be advanced as an excuse for the practice of corruption among politicians and officials. Corruption is a constant threat to urban local government in all countries and has led to the suspension or abolition of municipal councils in many modernising countries. The frequent intervention of councilmen of Lagos City Council, for example, in the administrative decisions of the council, 'particularly those dealing with staff appointments, contracts and prosecutions for law infringements' led to large-scale corruption and the suspension of the council in 1966 (Williams and Walsh, 1968: 46). In India, '... the history of the service life of any [local government] employee is a history of the extent to which he has been influenced, interfered with, deflected and carried away from his duties by Alderman, Councillors or groups of them' (Venkatarangaiya and Pattabhiram, 1969: 430).

The Somare Government has not been greatly concerned with municipal affairs and has instituted no major legal or administrative changes in the municipal structure. As noted in Chapter 11, financial arrangements were *ad hoc*: the government was willing to make finance available for approved pro-
jects which would be of benefit to the Papua New Guinea population, but the council acted merely as its agents in carrying them out. On occasions, individual ministers tried to interfere in matters within the sole jurisdiction of the council, but the government itself, except through finance, did not try to exercise control. There were indications, however, that the government considered that it had an overall power to make councils do what it wanted. The Co-ordinator of Works (1973) wrote to the Town Clerk, in relation to road sealing which was a council responsibility: ‘... the government has an undeniable responsibility over every area of the country’ and this extended to council areas. Government did not accept that ‘it was obliged to inform the City Council of any reasons for carrying out any work within any given area.’

Whether Port Moresby develops in an orderly way which gives maximal opportunities to its citizens or degenerates into the kind of urban chaos found throughout the modernising world will largely be determined by the knowledge, imagination and initiative of future ministries. To be effective, the government will need to make a number of unpopular decisions which may alienate its own supporters. If urban migration is to be slowed down, a brake is needed on the increase in urban wages, yet two present ministers, Maori Kiki and Gavera Rea, represent trade-union interests. Political skill and administrative firmness are needed to deal with problems of traditional land tenure. To control all buildings in the town may offend tribal groups at present settling illegally without interference. It is Pangu Pati policy to abolish personal tax, yet the tax makes a valuable contribution to ward revenues and could, if the government gave the council power to collect it effectively, provide a valuable means of social control. If the council is to maintain services vital to the health and well-being of the town, experienced trained staff are needed; and this may involve, against current opinion, the employment of expatriates. The government should also face all the problems inherent in carrying out the Eight Point Plan.

The British model of municipal government adopted in Papua New Guinea demands considerable sophistication on the part of councils, staff and central government agencies if it is to function satisfactorily. In Port Moresby, such sophistication is everywhere lacking. There are a number of aspects of the present system of municipal government which are not adapted to the Papua New Guinea situation.

As other Governments of recently independent countries have sought to limit the independence of local authorities, so will the Papua New Guinea Government; especially through financial controls and absence of a clear-cut grant structure for the municipal council. A special situation will arise, demanding new administrative institutions, if Port Moresby becomes a National Capital Territory.

For the British model to work well, mutual understanding of their roles on the part of councillors and council staff is required. Experience in other
modernising countries shows that individual councillors frequently give orders to, and interfere with the work of, staff members. Already strains have arisen in the relationships between councillors and staff in Port Moresby.

The demand for qualified staff for the Papua New Guinea Public Service will mean that the council will not be able to obtain and keep sufficient suitable staff for many years to come.

The council fails to provide co-ordination of administrative activities in Port Moresby because central government departments and agencies work independently of the council and each other. There is likely to be confusion of responsibility if council staff and the council administrative organisation are involved in the maintenance of public order as well as the central government.

Experience elsewhere suggests that municipal councils are particularly prone to corruption, which is incipient in Port Moresby.

British-type municipal authorities have failed in the majority of modernising countries where they have been introduced. While the present council system may prove itself sufficiently adaptable to overcome this problem, other possible forms of organisation should be considered. Instead of the present complex and expensive Western electoral procedure, councillors might be chosen by a process of indirect election as in Indonesia (Selosoemardjan, 1962: 85-99). Committees representing residential communities, which might consist of ten-cell-leaders, might send representatives to form ward committees. In turn, representatives selected from ward committees might form the council. The functions of the council might be made all-embracing within the urban area to ensure administrative co-ordination, which is now lacking because of the number of different public bodies involved. The staff of the council might either be seconded by the Central Government or occupy public service positions established within the council structure. They would thus be protected against interference by the councillors. Finally, control by the Central Government of the council’s affairs might be built into the municipal system. A government official could be appointed as president of the council or a fused system might be adopted whereby elected representatives and appointed officials would sit together on the council.

Objections can be made to every kind of administrative measure: the aim must be to choose the least unsatisfactory. If all or some of these suggestions were to be adopted, the independence of the council would be weakened, but this weakening seems bound to occur in the future. The advantages which would arise from the changes are cohesion of administration at all levels and the maintenance of a fair measure of efficiency. At the same time the Central Government would have sufficient confidence in its powers of control to decentralise authority to lower levels.
I have not tried in this book to give a blueprint for the solution of the various problems which arise in Port Moresby but I have suggested approaches to problems rather than policies. Some danger lies in the concept 'policies', essential as they may be: it suggests that by pursuing a pre-determined course it is possible 'to save human affairs from their frailty by dealing with them as though they were or could become the planned products of human making' (Arendt, 1959: 206). Such an assumption is clearly belied by experience in situations where social and economic conditions are changing rapidly: policies such as those pursued by the former Administration in Port Moresby quickly cease to have any relevance for the issues which they are designed to solve, unless they are constantly adapted to change.

Once people's needs have been recognised, it is possible from the lessons of history and observation of an existing situation to establish processes which may meet their needs. In this book, the initiation of processes relating to justice, land, town planning and municipal organisations has been suggested for different levels of administration. The approach is intended to take over the no-man's land created by the structure. It involves decentralisation of authority to sub-units and great flexibility in the administrative system and in the roles which officials and leaders play: what Burns calls an 'organismic' rather than a 'mechanistic' system. All assumptions of authority entail risks and individuals may gain personal power which they may abuse. Appropriate checks can only be devised as such problems arise.

The problems which arise in urban areas cannot be solved by means of a cautious or dilatory approach. As in Port Moresby in the past, attempted solutions do not keep pace with the increase in size of problems tackled. In conditions of rapid change, there is no safety in standing still. Successful solutions may require a surgical operation. The problem, as the Somare Government is now discovering, is to translate policies into action. If the kind of administrative organisation suggested in this book is not quickly adopted, Port Moresby could experience administrative breakdown and widespread disorder, possibly within the next two or three years.

In place of an Australian town frayed at the edges, what 'ideal type' or 'intuited whole' is the administrator, the professional adviser and the citizen to put in its place? The town that develops if the aims put forward in this book are achieved will not be remarkable for fine buildings or high standards of urban services, but will be based on the philosophy that 'it is the men who make a city'. It will, however, provide its citizens with physical and social order. It will be, for the majority, a hopeful place in which to live. It could become the dynamic expression of the creative possibilities of Papua New Guinea as a country: a pleasing environment in which different groups may live in variety, harmony and underlying unity. If these aims are achieved it will be almost unique among cities of the modernising world.
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