

N E W G U I N E A R E S E A R C H

B U L L E T I N



Plate 1. Hohola 1, 1963 (from behind Administration primary school)

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HOHOLA:

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF SOCIAL NETWORKS IN URBAN ADAPTATION OF WOMEN
in Papua-New Guinea's first low-cost housing estate

Lynn Oeser

June 1969

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Glossary

Urban association: relationship with person from language group other than own vernacular

Urban experience: education, employment, exposure to mass media, etc.

Urbanisation: urban associations plus urban experience

Traditional association: relationship with person speaking same vernacular as self

Traditional links: links with home village such as land rights, visits to and from, etc.

Traditionalism: traditional associations plus traditional links

Ability to cope: efficiency in dealing with everyday tasks in Hohola

Social network: number and complexity of associations

Situational supports: personal factors helping a woman in her adjustment to the town situation

High ability syndrome consists of the following characteristics: high scores in ability to cope, volume of associations, urban associations, situational supports (though not necessarily high income), urban experience and gifts received, and tendencies towards a low percentage of associations with relatives and a low score in separation of conjugal roles. Scores for traditional links vary

Low ability syndrome consists of the following characteristics: low score in ability to cope, volume of associations, urban associations, situational supports (though not necessarily low income), and urban experience, tendencies towards high scores in traditional associations and in separation of conjugal roles. Scores for traditional links varied

Hypothesis 1: the number of a woman's associations with other people (or the complexity of her social network) is directly related to her ability to cope with her daily tasks in Hohola. The higher the number of her associations (or the more complex her social network) the better will she be able to cope

Hypothesis 2: the process of forming new associations and assuming new positions will follow a certain progression - first with relatives, then with other women of the same language group, later clubs and church groups will be joined, and finally associations will be formed with members of different cultural groups.

Foreword

Hohola has the appearance of a model housing estate. Small individual or semi-detached houses of grey concrete brick or painted weatherboard are surrounded by their own plots of land planted with bananas, pawpaw trees, shrubs and flowers. There is a shopping block and a primary school, the streets are lit and there are telephone booths and post boxes. Green-uniformed nursing sisters tend mothers and babies at the infant welfare clinic, and a few streets away are the community centre and offices for welfare workers and other government officials.

Into this setting have come families from all over the country with diverse cultural and linguistic backgrounds. Many are experiencing town life for the first time: a cash economy with wages, rents and bills; a bewildering variety of people and languages; housing and health regulations; problems of food purchase and preparation; sewerage systems and electric lights.

Emotional reactions in Hohola are volatile: anger can flare at a verbal slight, resentment grow at a perceived inequality of possessions, or laughter and dancing turn a friendly visit into a party. Money is always a problem. A family may have cash for three days, but none for the rest of the week; people are generous in helping neighbours and relatives, but they do not forget the debt. Rumours and gossip spread fast: this man is sick because years ago he killed his lover and now her relatives are taking revenge by sorcery; that woman is pregnant again - it is time she stopped playing basketball or she will harm her child.

Hohola people share the characteristics of those all over the world who are inadequately educated, lack experience of urban processes, and earn low wages where living costs are high. Are there characteristics which are peculiar to Hohola, or to New Guinea in general? How do Hohola people, used to village life with its intricate and formalised social networks of kinship and life-long friendships, adjust to living among strangers? Village life is based on customary obligations, subsistence agriculture and traditional divisions of labour. What new problems arise in Hohola with its very different orientation towards time, space and production? What kinds of social groupings and personal relationships unite and divide people? To what extent is Hohola a permanent and stable settlement, and how independent are its inhabitants of traditional village life and obligations? What do people like or dislike about the new way of living? What would they like to be

different, and in what ways can government help them? It was with questions of this kind that this study was concerned. The information presented in this Bulletin was collected during residence in Hohola in 1962-63.

Although my most obvious debt is to all the Hohola people, and particularly the sample families, for their never-ending patience, I also owe special thanks to many others: to Mr and Mrs Lepani Watson for their initial help and introductions in Hohola; to Mrs Mary Serubi, my assistant; to Dr D.G. Bettison, Dr R.G. Crocombe, Mr N.D. Oram, Dr Ann Chowning, Dr D. van de Kaa and Mr T.E. Barnett for encouragement, advice and comments; and to Mr D. Marsh, Mr L. Foster and many other members of the Administration who gave much time answering questions and supplying records and other valuable information.

Chapter 1

Hohola suburb

The housing project

By 1956 the Administration of Papua-New Guinea had worked out details for a suburb in Port Moresby to provide accommodation for a better-paid class of urban indigenous residents. As the barrack accommodation of private and government employers, designed mainly for unattached males, was proving less and less adequate, an area was set aside for 'suitable native, Asian or mixed-blood' residents. A portion of the site was earmarked for private builders, firms and public authorities wishing to accommodate employees, and the remainder was set aside for the Administration's own housing estate.

The Hohola site originally belonged to Koita people of Korobosea village, then through marriage it passed to Hanuabada people. Though the Administration bought the land in 1956 from Hanuabadans, its 'ownership' is still disputed and full title is not yet secured. This leads to some uncertainty of tenure for house occupants. The site is five miles from the business centre of Port Moresby and not far from the new educational complex of the University and Administrative College. Land values are likely to rise.

Construction of the estate began in 1959, eligibility was opened to all races in 1960 and the first tenants moved in during August 1961. The 299 houses constructed by 1963 contained a variety of tenants. Some 256 belonged to the Administration, of which 80 were occupied by public servants, and the remaining 176 were available under the family tenant purchase scheme. This involved a qualifying tenancy period of two years after which approved tenants could purchase their houses over a thirty-year period. The Commonwealth Department of Works erected 28 houses for its staff and 15 were erected by private owners or commercial firms. Over 100 one-room houses of concrete brick were under construction and others were planned. Building covenants on improvements were to range from \$1,500 to \$3,000.¹

¹ Research was carried out before the change to decimal currency, so conversions have been made.

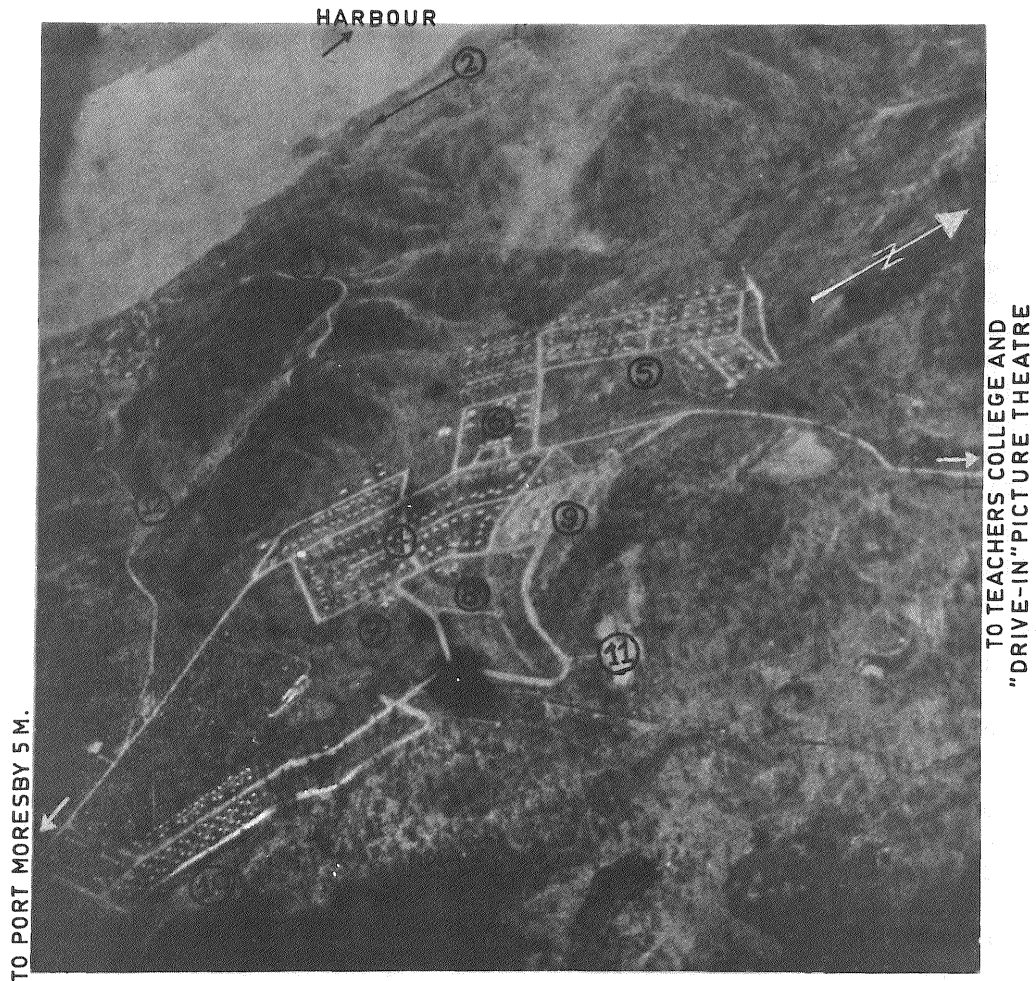


Plate 2. Aerial photograph of Hohola, late 1963

- | | |
|---|----------------------------------|
| 1. Road to Post and Telegraph Installation (Burns Peak) | 7. Community hall |
| 2. Hanuabada | 8. Church |
| 3. Konedobu | 9. School |
| 4. Hohola I | 10. One-room houses |
| 5. Hohola II | 11. New roads under construction |
| 6. Stores | 12. Uncompleted road to Konedobu |

One aim of the Administration's policy when setting up the estate was to encourage a settled, family-tied urban work force, for the social consequences of a predominantly unattached, migrant, male work force had been demonstrated widely in Africa and the relation of continuity of employment to the acquisition of skill was common knowledge. Yet many aspects of the proposed estate as an urban settlement largely for indigenous people, as well as aspects of the process of urbanisation and family adjustment, remained unexamined when the policy was implemented. One obvious problem was whether the standard of accommodation offered was practical in relation to the ability of tenants to afford its cost. Another was the consequences, in terms of social relationships, of different methods of allocating houses: whether distribution was to be based on groups of persons of similar tribal or linguistic origin or on the principle of 'first come first served'. Further, the nature, extent and effects of links between potential Hohola residents and their villages of origin were largely unknown. These were likely to appear in terms of financial loss or gain to the urban residents and in the degree to which residents eventually settled permanently in the town or became 'commuters'.

The houses (see Plates 3 to 8)

The first seventy houses constructed by the government were two- and three-bedroom concrete brick or weatherboard buildings 'without amenities'. They had tar paper or masonite ceilings, bucket latrines, wooden kitchen sinks and shutters, and concrete floors. The second batch of two-bedroom houses, although they had more amenities (ceilings, louvres rather than wooden shutters, built-in cupboards and septic systems), cost less to build. The average cost of the two batches was combined in assessing the rents and only the cost of the amenities was added to the second. The rents of the first batch were determined at \$3.40 per week, and 52c was added to cover amenities in the second, making their weekly rent \$3.92.

A third batch of semi-detached concrete brick houses with three bedrooms and amenities was built later and rented at \$4.64 per week. The average cost of the houses was calculated at \$2,516 and the rent was calculated to cover principal and interest, land rates, maintenance (for the first two years only), insurance (fire only), and management and default in rent payment costs.

The government at first made provision for rental rebates for certain income groups and family sizes. A married man with two children was not to pay more than one-fifth of his gross income in rent. The rebate was increased by 40c a week for every dependent child after the second, and diminished for each dependent fewer than two. The minimum possible rental was fixed at \$2.40 per week. After August 1961, however, it was decided that in selecting future tenants preference should be given to those who could pay full rent, and that all rents must be 'economic to the Commission'.



Plate 3. Earliest design weatherboard house 'without amenities'.



Plate 4. Latest design, low-cost, duplex weatherboard house (Commonwealth Department of Works).

The tenants for the first seventy houses were very carefully chosen as they were pioneers in an expensive new government scheme. Of the 95 applicants, only 36 were considered to have 'financial resources sufficient to take up a house'. The rest were either single, had six or more children, or were financially unsuitable for various reasons. A full enquiry was made into each applicant's racial and village origins, marital status and family details, employment history, assets and liabilities, health, police and government record, and character (two referees were needed). The applications were first seen by the Assistant District Commissioner and the Housing Officer and recommendations were then made to the Housing Commissioner, who interviewed those selected and made a final choice. The four main criteria on which final selection was based were that (i) the applicant be non-European, married, and apparently over the age of eighteen years, (ii) neither he nor his wife possess a home in the Port Moresby area above a certain standard, (iii) he demonstrate an ability to meet rental payments, and (iv) he have an interest in eventually purchasing the dwelling, although it was recognised that a tenant's signed statement about desiring future purchase was not legally binding.

The first tenants were thus an elite group in terms of the existing socio-economic standards of non-Europeans, and selection was so rigorous that for some time there were a number of empty houses, despite the continual pressing need for accommodation. A proposal by officials to include single men (assuming they would marry later or would share with other single men) and people who wished only to rent and not to buy was rejected.

Conditions of occupancy

Prospective tenants had to sign an agreement not to sub-let, not to have friends or relatives to stay, and to pay rent regularly by deduction from salary if necessary. If rent was 7 days overdue the tenant would receive warning, and 14 days later notice that if he did not pay immediately, he must leave within a week. The tenant also agreed to pay for sanitation, garbage disposal, and water and electricity bills immediately after assessment. There were other lesser provisions in the agreement. All forms and agreements were written in difficult English legal language and numerous tenants complained that they had not understood them.

The selection of tenants in houses under the control of the Commonwealth Department of Works was less strict than that of the Administration, with the employee's departmental record the main criterion. These tenants had to guarantee the cleanliness of their houses (which were inspected fortnightly) and to join a rent scheme whereby \$2.20 to \$2.40 per week was deducted from their salary and paid to the Commission by their employer.

All tenants received some furnishings but the quality of quantity depended on the terms of the contract or legislation governing employer



Plate 5. Duplex two-bedroom houses - first concrete design.

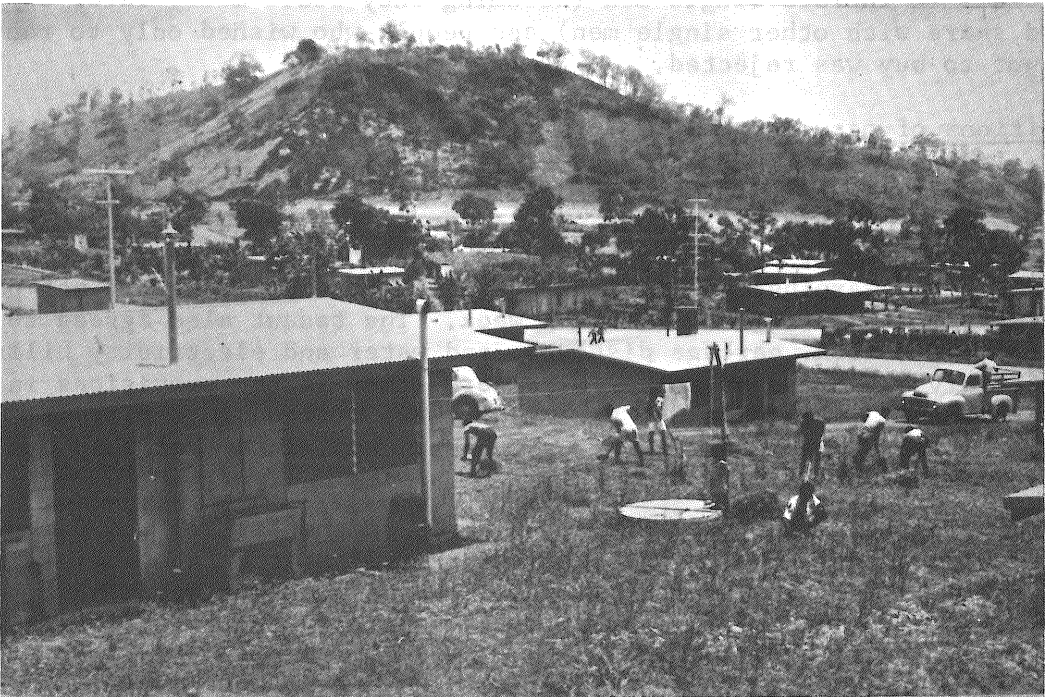


Plate 6. Latest design concrete houses, independent units 'with amenities'.

and employee. Thus the Administration was obliged, under the ordinance for 'Administration servants', to provide two iron bedsteads, one copper, light globes and shades for each light and one roll of toilet paper. Children under sixteen years of age were not provided with beds. Firewood, electricity, water, garbage and sanitation disposal were supplied free of charge. Administration employees above the grade of 'Administration servant' received none of these services free. Employees of the Commonwealth Department of Works received four beds per house, two small cupboards, some chairs, a table, pots and some kitchen equipment. Some garbage and water services were also provided free to tenants.

Each house was fitted with an open grate or wood stove depending upon the scheme under which it was built. Obtaining firewood for cooking and washing was a problem for many as the land surrounding Hohola was Hanuabada village property and collection, when nature provided it at all, was technically stealing.

The major emphasis in planning was to keep tenants' costs within reasonable limits. Little attention was given to the particular needs of individuals or families. That adjustment had to be made by the occupants, and this placed all the families closely studied in this research on a common basis from the start of their residence in Hohola.

Demographic characteristics

The fifty-one eligible families¹ who were living in Hohola at the beginning of this study were all housed in 'old Hohola', the only houses that had been constructed at that time. The areas of origin of the husbands, their income, education and religion, and the number of persons per dwelling were as follows.

(i) Area of origin. Thirteen husbands were from Rigo sub-district (4 from Hula), 7 from Port Moresby, 6 from Kairuku, 5 from Daru, 5 from Abau, 4 from Kerema, 4 from Losuia, 3 from Baniara, 2 from Sinaeada, 1 from Samarai, and 1 unclassified, i.e. 62.7 per cent of people came from the Central District and 78.4 per cent from the Gulf and Central districts, and all from coastal areas of Papua. The Port Moresby 1961 census figures² showed that 86.7 per cent of Papuans in Port Moresby were from the Central and Gulf districts and 62.2 per cent from the Central District alone.³ In this respect the Hohola group reflected the pattern of Port Moresby as a whole.

¹ i.e. with one or more children under fifteen years (see pp.13-14 for procedure for selecting families for study).

² All Port Moresby figures are quoted from Bettison and Richardson 1961.

³ Men and women from all districts of Papua represented 85 per cent and 96 per cent respectively of the total population of Port Moresby (Bettison and Richardson 1961:46).



Plate 7. Early concrete two-bedroom design with louvres - kitchen unit below window. Note home-made furniture and decorations. Door on right leads to shower.



Plate 8. Earliest weatherboard design with wooden shutters and 'no amenities'. Kitchen behind wooden screen at right. Note electric iron and jug and other equipment. Storage space below sink, under window.

(ii) Income. Fortnightly cash income ranged from \$15 to \$100, the average being \$34.45. This was double that of the Port Moresby census average of \$16.20.

(iii) Education. Men in the Hohola group were better educated than the general population of Port Moresby, 79.1 per cent having reached standard 3 or above compared to 41.8 per cent for the town as a whole. Whereas the standard most commonly reached by the Hohola men was standard 4 (23 per cent), the largest single group of Port Moresby men (19 per cent) had received no education at all.

(iv) Religion. The proportion of Papua Ekalesia and Seventh Day Adventist adherents in the Hohola group was approximately the same (66 per cent and 6 per cent respectively) as for Port Moresby as a whole. There were fewer Catholics (6 per cent) but more Anglicans (10 per cent), Methodists (8 per cent), and people claiming no faith (4 per cent). When several churches first applied for land there, Hohola leaders opposed them for fear that this could further disunite the already fragmented Hohola population. It has been suggested that church allegiances in Hohola are replacing allegiances by area of origin.¹

(v) Persons per dwelling. The number of children under fifteen years of age per dwelling in Hohola averaged 2.5 as against 2.2 for Port Moresby as a whole. The average number of persons per dwelling averaged 4.9 for Hohola as against 6.5 for Port Moresby. The thirteen Hohola households selected for closer study averaged 5.8 persons, but in every case there was at least one resident in addition to the primary family. The government has been unable, in practice, to apply the rule forbidding visitors, and their relatively high standard of housing places Hohola residents under pressure to share their accommodation and other resources with less fortunate kin.

¹ Divisions on denominational lines tend, however, to be on cultural lines also, because of the original agreement by the early missions to divide the country into separate denominational regions.

Chapter 2

Development of a research design

Identifying research problems

A specific study of immigrant women was considered important as their presence, status, functions and adjustment vitally affect the town's social and economic stability and growth.

Because the village remains a key reference group in determining the relationships, duties and values of recent immigrants, it seemed necessary to gather information in the areas of origin as well as in Port Moresby.

The roles of women in rural villages are integral parts of the whole social structure. The central concept of structural role theory is that persons carry out tasks and in so doing occupy various positions. These three variables, tasks, positions and persons are connected by four sets of relations which in their totality constitute a structural system. In addition, there are interpersonal valuing relations such as friendship and respect, which relate the persons to each other psychologically (Oeser and Harary 1962 and 1964). This approach leads to the following considerations for this study. When a village woman goes to Hohola, large sections of her network of relations, together with their associated tasks, are destroyed. Village tasks such as gardening, and obligations to others such as participation in rituals or contributions to the maintenance of elderly kin, may be abandoned. Similarly, positions such as elder sister, daughter, mother's sister and many others, may be eliminated, while the position of wife is drastically changed. Also, many friendship relations are lost (except, of course, when they are maintained as memories, to be revived during visits to the village or when villagers visit Hohola). In other words, a woman who moves to Hohola initially experiences a drastic reduction in the number of tasks and relationships which, in the village, constitute her social role structure. If the findings of general psychology are drawn upon, one can state that impoverished relationships lead to behavioural changes such as confusion and reduced efficiency in remaining task performance, etc.

A woman in Hohola therefore has to learn new behaviour patterns to adjust to the new social structure and it may be predicted that her 'adjustment' or general efficiency will depend upon the acquisition of

new membership positions (for example, in women's clubs), the development of new friendships and the addition of new tasks. This formed the central theme of the investigation.

The original research design envisaged a two-ended study of a small group of women living in a rural village and also women from the same village living in Port Moresby, to determine the differences between the roles of the two, and their effects on such things as anxiety, satisfaction or dissatisfaction, work and leisure patterns, opportunities and desire for education, changes in family and friendship structures and value changes. However, Dawn Ryan had recently studied a group of rural (Toaripi) women and followed it up by work in urban areas, so I concentrated instead on the unique group of elite women in Hohola. Although the two-ended research design was abandoned, the same general orientation was used.

By an intensive study of a small sample of elite women, all with more or less common domestic responsibilities, it was hoped to derive sufficient evidence to rate each woman on two major scales: one measuring her efficiency in dealing with everyday tasks in Hohola, the other measuring the number and complexity of her associations or her social network. It was also considered necessary to compare these two variables with other factors which it was thought might influence the process of adjustment in Hohola. The two most important of these (apart from intelligence and personality factors, which were not measured) were traditional links (links with home village such as visits to and from, land rights, etc.) and urban experience (education, employment, exposure to mass media, etc.). There was also the question of the relative importance of these two factors: whether the women best able to cope would have an equal and balanced degree of traditional and non-traditional associations and of remaining village ties and new urban links; whether the more 'urbanised' women were, the less traditional links they would maintain and the better they would be able to cope; or whether women should not be called 'urbanised' if they still maintained any traditional links with their home village.

The approach I chose was to see a person in terms of her network of associations, both traditional and urban, and attempt to place her at a specific point on a scale of urban-traditional associations.¹ It was considered that this position might perhaps be the key factor indicating her degree or urbanisation.² A system was finally devised

¹ This is similar to Mayer's (1962) analysis of urbanisation which is based on changes in personal networks in domestic and non-work urban situations.

² In the same way, Lewis (1959:13) utilised a single factor, the use of eating utensils by urban Mexican peasant migrants, as an important key in determining socio-economic levels.

in which urban and traditional influences, links and experiences could be measured separately for each person and then correlated and inter-correlated with all the other factors in which I was interested.

Apart from the theoretical need to construct a measure of urban-traditional influences, the relative value of these reference groups may have practical implications in such spheres as adult and primary education, and employment. Formal education courses for women, for example, may be strongly desired, or alternatively women may still be regarded in traditional terms, by themselves and their husbands, as economically important in their gardening roles. In primary education, teachers must know if they can plan a strict timetable and curriculum at the Hohola school, or have to be flexible enough to allow for long absences when children are sent back to the village to maintain important social links or to take part in a ceremony. Employers need to know if a permanent work force can be recruited from Hohola men or whether valuable land assets are maintained in home villages to which contributions of capital or labour are still made and where men soon hope to return.¹

The traditional and urban associations, links and experiences of the thirteen families studied were ascertained by interview and the use of a lengthy questionnaire.² Interviews and questionnaires were used for other aspects of the study also. In all it took an average of five formal interviews lasting 8½ hours per family to collect all the data best obtainable by this means. Husbands were also interviewed, both to obtain further information and to check facts given by wives. Further understanding of the situation was reached through my close personal association with the women when I lived with my husband in

¹ If this dichotomy is not properly analysed, inaccurate assessments can result, e.g. in one study (Whiteman 1962) of family nutrition in Hohola, the assessment of income and diet took account only of total cash wages received and the monetary and dietary value of rations received (if any). An enormous section of what would be called in this new scheme 'traditional income' was ignored - gift exchanges among urban associates and produce received from home village gardens. Since many of the gifts exchanged consist of food, this omission was of even greater importance in a dietary study than in others.

² The questions were asked in English when husband or wife spoke it, otherwise in Motu and Police Motu, Hula, Kiwai or Trobriand. My assistant and interpreter spoke all these languages except Kiwai as her mother was Hula, her husband from Trobriand Islands, and she was brought up in Port Moresby. The interviewing of the Daru woman was done with the help of a Daru interpreter, and I also spoke Police Motu which most of the women understood to a greater or lesser extent. During day-to-day contacts English or Police Motu was used. See Appendix 1 for the questionnaire used.

their midst, from October 1962 to September 1963, in a house similar to their own. They were invited to keep domestic budgets, visit me at any time, engage in gift exchanges, borrow household items and attend meetings with me. I joined them in wood collecting journeys in the local bush, fishing parties, visits to markets and home villages, shopping, gardening activities, basketball games, club meetings and all the other activities which make up a woman's life in Hohola. Much additional information was gathered in this way which also provided checks on data obtained in the interviews.

Personality and intelligence tests were unfortunately not given, and it is possible that the differences in ranking with respect to the various specified influences, numbers and kinds of associations, and ability to cope with problems might be partly accounted for by these factors. Further, the small number of cases makes wide generalisation impossible; therefore the enquiry is only suggestive of a possible approach to the study of social change with reference to rural-urban migration and settlement.

Subjects

Women were selected on the basis of information gathered in the 1961 census from among those who had resided in Hohola for approximately two years, as their social networks would by then be fairly well established. Criteria were:

(i) women with one child or more under the age of fifteen years (in order to study women's ability to cope with problems concerning their children),

(ii) women from primary families only, i.e. husband, wife and children,

(iii) women from different language groups (it was assumed that distance from Port Moresby to home village, mores concerning housing and domestic activities, male-female roles and social structures would generally vary with different language groups), and

(iv) women with Papuan parentage only (i.e. not those with European or mixed-race parents).

Finally, it was decided to study a maximum of three families from any one language group, and four different groups were selected.

(i) Motu women whose home villages, close to Port Moresby, had a long history of European contact.

(ii) Hula women whose home village was within easy canoeing distance (about eighty miles) of Port Moresby, and with which there is much communication. Hula is rapidly undergoing transition to a cash economy, largely because of lack of land and the subsequent need to buy food and housing materials.

(iii) Women from the distant areas of the Trobriand Islands and from Daru (and surrounding area) where traditional skills and mores are still dominant and where there is little day-to-day contact with Europeans.

There were 66 primary families at Hohola at the time of the 1961 census, of whom 51 had children under fifteen years. Of these, 5 had moved from Hohola by the time of this study and 6 did not fit the criteria either because the husband or wife had European parents (people with European grandparents were accepted if they had been brought up in a village as a villager), or the husband had more than one wife. This left 40 possible families.

Families were grouped under the husbands' language group and the sample group was chosen from the following.

Motu: of the 8 families with Motu men as head at the time of the census, 3 had since moved, and 1 had three wives, and so was excluded. Three families were chosen at random from the remaining 4.¹

Hula: there were only 3 eligible Hula families in Hohola - in 2 the husband and wife came from Hula village but in the third the wife had one European parent and was excluded from the sample.

Trobriand Islands: there were 5 families with Trobriand Island men as head. Of these, 3 had Trobriand Island wives and 2 had wives from Hula. The latter were reclassified into a fifth category of mixed marriages.

Daru: there were 5 families with Kiwai men from the Daru area as head. One was excluded because the wife had one European parent. Three families were chosen at random from the remaining 4.

Final sample: thirteen women and their families (32 per cent of the total possible) were selected for study - 3 families with husband and wife from Motu villages, 2 families with husband and wife from Hula village, 3 families with husband and wife from villages in the Trobriand Islands, 3 families in which husband and wife were Kiwais from Daru, and 2 families with husband and wife each from different language groups (wives Hula, husbands Trobriand Islanders). This came to a total of 34 adults and 42 children (76 people, or an average of 5.8 persons per house).

Hypotheses

Two hypotheses were formulated.

(i) The number of a woman's associations with other people (or the complexity of her social network) is directly related to her ability

¹ They came from three different villages: Pari, Hanuabada and Kapa Kapa.

to cope with her daily tasks in Hohola. The higher the number of her associations (or the more complex her social network) the better will she be able to cope.

(ii) The process of forming new associations and assuming new positions will follow a certain progression: first with relatives, then with other women of the same language group, later clubs and church groups will be joined, and finally associations will be formed with members of different cultural groups.

Measures

Measures were constructed for the variables as follows.

(i) Independent variable: density of associations

In Hohola, with its mixture of cultural groups, communication is particularly difficult - traditional fear and hostility towards strangers and the lack of common languages increase the normal difficulties which all migrants find in forming new personal networks or associations.¹

In this study, associations were distinguished on the basis of language as 'own language' (traditional) and 'other language' (urban). (Associations or relationships established anywhere or with anyone before arriving in Hohola were not included in the study unless the persons concerned had also moved to Hohola or Port Moresby.) Associations within each language category were subdivided into the following items.²

(a) Neighbours: in a village, a woman has contacts with all her neighbours, often having known many of them since birth. In an urban community such as Hohola, where neighbours are not arranged according to clan or family patterns and cultural groups are separated, there could be a family from a different culture on every side. It was considered important to assess neighbour contacts to see whether proximity was a determining factor in creating new social networks.³

¹ Mezey (1960), summarising the literature, quotes evidence to show that inadequate social communication can lead to the development of paranoid and hysterical manifestations.

² It was found difficult during interviewing to keep people sufficiently interested to enable a fairly accurate list of their contacts to be made; so as a check on this, respondents (except, unfortunately, the Daru sample) were asked later by a second interviewer (the author's interpreter and co-worker) to add to or change the names they had given previously. Personal observations of visitors, etc., were also noted.

³ This was found to be so in new English housing estates, cf. Young and Willmott 1957, Durrant 1939, and Mitchell and Lupton 1954.

A neighbour was defined as a person living within a radius of twenty houses with whom a reciprocal relationship was maintained.¹

(b) Friends: defined as people who are not neighbours but who regularly exchange visits, food, occasionally eat together and also exchange help with children, money and personal problems.

(c) Other contacts: people who are neither special friends nor neighbours, but with whom occasional reciprocal contacts are made for the same purposes as with friends.

(d) Europeans:² contact other than formal meetings even if regular. Thus the man who called weekly to read the electricity meter was not counted, and a leader of a women's club would be counted only if contacts outside her formal tasks were made (e.g. if she was invited into a woman's house and given tea, or if she invited the woman accordingly).

Scores for each sub-category (traditional/urban associations) and item (friends, neighbours, etc.) were totalled separately. When added together they formed the total score of 'associations'. A person with many such relationships was scored higher than one with few.³

In defining an association the emotional quality was omitted as too difficult to measure, and instead more concrete and observable factors such as regular visiting, food or other gift exchanges, and communal eating were included. A further difficulty was that Motu people in particular do not commonly use names of acquaintances and thus a woman would be referred to as 'Alu's mother' or 'Joseph's wife'. Knowledge of names was therefore not considered a necessary criterion for inclusion, although knowledge of area of origin, number of children, and some knowledge of husband's work was. Two Motu women whose home villages were in the Port Moresby area found it difficult to list all those with whom they had associations in their own language group in Port Moresby, and in the light of discussions with them an estimate of twenty such associations was used.

¹ This figure is a compromise. Belshaw (1957:19) noted that classificatory kinship terminology was used for most members of a Hanuabada (Motu) iduhu which consisted of about twenty houses, ideally situated together. The average number of houses in Motu iduhu outside Hanuabada is probably considerably less. Landtman (1927:8) found that some Daru communal houses contained up to three clans. Jay (1964:139, note 16) quotes research in China in which a neighbourhood grouping or shanlin was defined as the five households on each side of any given residence.

² Not applicable, of course, to traditional associations category.

³ For complete scoring details see Appendix 2.

(ii) Dependent variable: ability to cope with urban problems

The major problems in Hohola were regarded for this study as those which the women themselves considered to be common problems. Many people living in Hohola and holding positions of responsibility such as nurses, welfare officers and women's club leaders were interviewed, and the problems they suggested were divided into three groups or sub-categories: those concerned with conceptual skills, household management, and child care.

Arbitrary judgments of good or bad, efficient or inefficient 'coping' were avoided by recognising that in Hohola many of the problems are associated with rules and regulations which have specific sanctions if they are broken. For example, Hohola women have agreed to keep a tenancy rule which states that they will be liable for eviction if certain standards of cleanliness are not maintained. It follows then that those who keep this rule cope better than those who do not since they alone will retain their homes. Thus a scale can be constructed on which a woman who maintains a certain habitual degree of household cleanliness is placed higher than a woman maintaining a lesser degree. In all categories a similar 'reality' approach was made in evaluation.

(a) Conceptual skills: all items in this sub-category required some planning for the future as well as an immediate response to a present problem. A woman was rated higher if she showed some degree of future planning or if her activities indicated that some planning had preceded them, and that they were not merely unorganised responses to immediate problems. Again, planning was not just an arbitrary ideal, for the consequences of non-planning had disadvantages and sanctions in Hohola.

Money: problems of paying bills and allocating money to all important needs had to be faced by all women. It was assumed that planned and rational distribution of money over several important necessities was better than expenditure on a few luxuries. Women who budgeted, bought in bulk or kept a bank account rated higher than those who did not. Minus scores were given for overspending of wages, credit long overdue at stores, or regular borrowing and debts, since these inevitably created problems. After much rearrangement of items, the inclusive concept of budgeting replaced the use of the items of planning, spending, banking, the keeping of accounts, bulk buying and overspending which were originally scored separately. Final budgeting scores are the result of answers to specific questions, observations of women's daily activities over several months and the keeping of budget books for one month (two pay periods). In the latter, ten families were asked to record all money and gifts which came into the house, all money spent at the local stores and market and on entertainments, gift giving, etc., and the number of visitors per day. These books, checked daily, were kept extremely well and were a valuable source of information. The theory of budgeting was based on Western literature, but changes

were made in categorising basic and other needs to meet the very different conditions of Papua-New Guinea.¹

Rent: Administration employees have their rent deducted from their wages, but for non-Administration employees, irregular payments of rent have the ultimate sanction of eviction. Hence the ability to cope with this problem was measured in terms of regularity of rent payment, extent of indebtedness, etc., as derived from government records.

Electricity: several people mentioned the difficulty of finding shillings for their electricity meter. Those who had alternative lighting, or stored extra shillings in a safe place, received a higher score.

Firewood: this is needed for washing and cooking as only wood coppers, wood stoves or open grates existed in Hohola at the time of the survey. Wood is difficult to collect near Hohola, but if bought it costs 10c per bundle and lasts only about one day. A woman scored higher on ability to cope if she collected wood herself, used a primus, or set money aside regularly to buy wood.

Time organisation: an indigenous welfare officer, some husbands, and the women themselves complained that many women found it difficult to organise themselves in their new environment and spent much time sleeping or gambling. Measures were thus constructed to indicate the extent of daily or weekly work routines - planning for meals, shopping, wood collecting, cleaning and so on.

Shopping and food preparation were particularly difficult. Many women did not know how to cook or use other than traditional food, but it was impossible to buy other than 'European' food in Hohola trade stores. Traditional foods were available at Koke market, several miles away, but travelling there costs extra time and money. Further, unlike popular 'European' foods such as bread and biscuits, most traditional foods need cooking and therefore more fuel. Assessment of a woman's ability to cope with this problem included note of whether she cooked extra food to eat cold during the day, whether she supplemented traditional food with simple imported food, or supplemented purchased food by her own fishing and garden produce.

Children's future: the degree to which a woman considered the future of her children was an important factor in assessing her total conceptual skills. If, for example, she wanted them to learn Western skills there were such prerequisites as regular schooling, time for home studies, encouragement in the use of English, and conformity to certain Western social customs.

¹ Discussion with senior Papuan and New Guinean teachers and their wives, following a paper on budgeting given by the author in 1963 at the Port Moresby Teachers' College, was most useful here.



Plate 9. Some women's tasks - gardening.



Plate 10. Caring for children and cooking.

(b) Household management: household conveniences, storage, furnishings, improvements, maintenance and cleanliness were investigated to assess a woman's ability to cope with household problems. Hohola women's own attitudes to these can be seen in a report of a house inspection made by the women's club committee on 19 February 1963 (the women concerned are not necessarily from the sample):

- i. --'s house is kept very well. She has put good mats in two rooms and also makes the beds well, and her husband helps her and he himself made a table. She cleans around the house and looks after the kitchen.
- ii. -- did not clean her house.
- iii. --'s house is very good. Two rooms have been kept clean and also the verandah. Lots of flowers have been planted.

A woman's knowledge of relative food values¹ and her handling of rubbish disposal were also assessed. In Hohola there was a bi-weekly rubbish collection with sanctions for those who did not co-operate.

Sewing is taught at most primary schools and at all women's clubs, and is seen by many women as an essential task. Home-made clothes are more economical than bought ones, and it was on this basis that a women's sewing activities were assessed.

(c) Child care: health: as in any environment, Hohola women found the maintenance of health and coping with illness a problem. Thus, prophylactic measures taken by each woman were assessed: washing, provision of mosquito nets, appropriate clothing, and attendance at the maternal and child welfare clinic.²

Toilet training: several complaints were made by residents that some children used the roads for excretion. As this leads to trouble with officials and neighbours and is a health risk, lack of toilet training scored low.

Control: women considered that children need some discipline and that unsupervised play was dangerous in Hohola, where trucks and cars sped past. Parental control was therefore assessed. Further, people complained that fighting between children led to factions developing among the adults, generally along language and cultural lines. All people questioned believed that it was extremely important not to divide Hohola but to unite everyone into one community. Women who left their children to sort out their own minor differences were given a higher rating than those who joined in or used them as an excuse to further their own adult conflicts.

¹ Answers to questions on this were evaluated by a professional dietician.

² This was checked by clinic attendance records, and the clinic sister (herself a Hohola resident) made an assessment of each woman's degree of co-operation in following treatment, etc.

Education: it was assumed that for a timetabled, strictly organised curriculum to be of major benefit to a child, regular school attendance was necessary. The school reported that many children were absent for days and were often sent home to their villages.¹

A major difficulty in scoring ability to cope was that some questions were not applicable to all women, e.g. some families received free wood, or did not have to pay rent or electricity bills. In all such cases pro-rating was carried out by assuming that the informant's score on the items which were not applicable would have been similar to her score on other items.

Several different ways of scoring ability to cope were tried.² Scores were calculated for the category as a whole, for the three sub-categories (conceptual skills, household management, child care) and for combinations of these. Finally, a category - urban problems - was made, consisting of various items from each of the sub-categories which were specific to Hohola or an urban environment, but excluding those with which women would have had to cope in their village environment. In other words, they were new tasks, related to a woman's new position as 'urban wife', for example, dealing with money and shopping but not child-minding or cooking traditional foods. The scores from this and other sub-categories were correlated.

Equipment:³ points were given for each item of household equipment, other than that supplied by employers.

Husband-wife responsibility:⁴ this was assessed to see whether changes in traditional areas of household responsibility followed migration to Hohola. A high score indicated that a wife had more responsibility for domestic affairs than her husband, i.e. segregation of roles - the typical village pattern; a low score indicated the opposite, while an intermediate score indicated that some tasks were shared by both husband and wife.

(iii) Other variables

(a) Urban experience: before coming to Hohola, women had been exposed to varying influences that were likely to affect their choice of associations and their ability to cope with the new environment.

¹ School attendance rolls were consulted and the head teacher made an assessment of parents' co-operation with the school.

² See Appendix 3 for different scoring systems for ability to cope.

³ This item, although regarded as 'other variables' and so scored separately from ability to cope, is included here as it is related to household matters.

⁴ As previous footnote.

Prominent among these were their experiences as residents in towns, their employment history, education, exposure to missionary teaching, number of languages spoken in addition to the vernacular, place of birth of their children (in hospitals or not), war experience, exposure to radio and other mass media,¹ and experience of committee work or participation in non-traditional forms of organisation. I have included all the above in the category 'urban experience', even though such things as radio can exist outside towns. This is partly because the great bulk of these experiences, at the time the Hohola women were subject to them, in fact took place in or emanated from towns, and partly because they are all experiences based on imported systems of logic, ideology, technology, institutions, and above all, the accumulation of theoretical knowledge transmitted by impersonal means.² The scores of this category of 'urban experience' when added to the scores of 'urban associations' resulted in a total score called 'urbanisation'.

Residence history: people who had lived in a town rather than on a government station received a higher score as they would have had more opportunity for contact with these urban processes. Scoring was based on the size of the European population of towns.³ In this item, as in all those involving the concept of time, estimates do not pretend to any great degree of accuracy.

Languages: a woman's knowledge of languages does not necessarily correlate with urbanisation, but it seems likely that urban women speak more languages than rural ones, and that the urban setting both facilitates and encourages the learning of relevant languages.⁴ In Papua-New

¹ Studies of communication behaviour have shown that the degree of exposure to mass media (particularly for instrumental purposes) is closely related to what is here called urbanisation and what others have called cosmopolitanism (see Merton 1957:Chapter X, Katz and Lazarsfeld 1955, Oeser and Emery 1958:10).

² 'Urbanization is a product of past learning in urbanised contexts, that is, in contexts which have the characteristic of inducing an instrumental attitude to knowledge. That is, knowledge becomes generally or publicly holdable; is testable by means other than personal practice and experience; is transmitted by impersonal means, such as books, and by teachers who are institutionally and physically remote from the places of work and production; problems tend to be solved theoretically before they are tackled in practice' (Oeser and Emery 1958:9, 10).

³ See Appendix 2.

⁴ Glass and Biesheuvel (1961:3), for example, suggest that 'Failure to understand the languages of the dominant groups imposes a limitation on the range of meaningful influences to which men are exposed, and may affect their acceptance or rejection of the new environment'. They suggest further that failure to learn languages 'may be a resistance to the stimuli presented by this environment'.

Guinea there are between 500 and 700 languages. In this study, knowledge of one language was scored lower than knowledge of two different languages, two than three, etc.¹

Employment: since the place of work had already been scored in residence history, it was decided to use level of skill (using the detailed categories indicated in Appendix 2) plus the number of years worked.

Marriage ceremony: urban migration has affected the traditional marriage institution. The kind of marriage ceremony in which couples participated may be related to their degree of exposure to outside influences and the maintenance of traditional values. It was considered that a customary marriage ceremony should score least with a higher score for marriage at church or district office. A couple who had no formal or ceremonial marriage would seem to have entered a third stage in which the necessity of a formal marriage ceremony of any kind is questioned. Glass and Biesheuvel (1961:4) describe this process among urban Africans in South Africa as a transitional form with far-reaching legal, social and psychological implications.

Attendance at clubs and sporting activities: the same researchers found that the majority of people in their African sample who had no 'voluntary group affiliations' were 'rural' men, in contrast to 'urbanised' men who participated in religious, sporting and mutual aid bodies.

(b) Traditional links: women felt obliged to maintain and actively enjoyed certain connections with their villages of origin. These included visits to the villages, the visits of relatives to Hohola, gift exchanges to and from the village, retention of rights to garden land and garden produce, and participation in traditional ceremonies. These so-called 'traditional links' together with the 'traditional associations' were called 'traditionalism', in contrast with 'urbanisation'.

Land rights: it was assumed that all people (except some of mixed-race origin) would have some land rights. In villages close to Port Moresby, individual land rights and even registered titles are now held by many people. This was scored high on the assumption that individual ownership would exert more attraction to return to the home village than would mere rights to clan land. In this item, the husband's scores were added to those of his wife, as his rights to land and trees were just as much a traditional link for her, residence being patrilocal in all sample groups.

Ceremonies: in areas long under mission influence and close to Port Moresby, Christian feast days or events such as the opening of a church are celebrated with traditional feast ritual. It was decided to score

¹ See Appendix 2.

returns to such villages for celebration of Christmas and Easter, as well as returns for funeral, marriage or harvest festivities. Scores were also given for the celebration of these in the village manner in Hohola.

Residence of relatives: this was not included in the final scoring because information was incomplete.

(c) Situational supports: this variable includes more personal factors which it was thought would help a wife adjust to the town situation: the urban experience and income of her husband, their ages and her husband's attitudes to her tasks and to her formation of a new network of associations.

The scoring of income was difficult. The possible sources of income were many and included wages, mat-making and other handicrafts, gift exchanges, rations, the contributions of relatives who visited or stayed, and proceeds from gardening and fishing. Fishing was excluded in scoring as no husbands in the sample fished regularly, and few even occasionally. Women collected shell-fish irregularly, but the amount was insignificant. Produce from food gardens was more important but was omitted from scoring as it was a small, seasonal and erratic source of income and probably the largest would yield only 25c to 50c worth of food a week. Expenditure on gifts was approximately equal to the value of gifts received. The average income from gifts was 28.2 per cent of the total family income, while average expenditure on gifts was 14 per cent of the total income, and average expenditure on stimulants was also 14 per cent (see Table 8). Stimulants, however, are socially enjoyed and used as gifts, and their cost, plus expenditure on extra meals given to visitors, easily makes up the difference of 14 per cent between income from gifts and expenditure on specific gifts.¹ In other words, it was found that gift exchange provided neither profit nor loss. Hence, in scoring income, it was finally decided to use only cash income and the cash value of rations received.²

Summary of arrangement of categories, sub-categories and items for each variable

The evolving of an adequate scoring system was the most difficult part of the research design and it is not assumed that the final scoring system is the most accurate possible. The scoring of many items required observer evaluation and this would probably have been more reliable had several judges been used to pool and adjust ratings.

As there were so few cases in the sample, it did not seem practical to correlate and inter-correlate all items measured in the several

¹ See Chapter 5.

² Figures were obtained from family budget books, Commonwealth Department of Works records, questionnaires and government ration scales.



Plate 11. Collecting shell-fish. This involves travelling several miles from Hohola.



Plate 12. In contrast, women in a Motu village can fish from the front verandah.

variables, so there is no statistical justification for calling the categories and sub-categories true scales. Items were merely grouped into the various categories on an arbitrary basis following personal observation, discussion and a review of relevant literature.

(i) Independent variable (wife only). Associations (social networks)

(a) Urban

Contact with neighbours from language groups other than own vernacular

Friendships with people from language groups other than own vernacular

Contact with any other people from language groups other than own vernacular

Contact with Europeans

(b) Traditional

Contact with neighbours speaking same vernacular as self

Friendships with people speaking same vernacular as self

Contact with any other people speaking same vernacular as self

(ii) Dependent variable (wife only). Ability to cope with tasks and problems at Hohola

(a) Conceptual skills

Budget

Rent

Electricity

Firewood

Time organisation

Shopping

Food preparation

Children's future

(b) Household management

Food storage

Food value

Rubbish disposal

Maintenance

Sewing

Improvements

(c) Child care

School attendance

Clinic attendance

Cleanliness

Mosquito nets

Toilet training

Punishment of children

Children's fighting

(iii) Other variables (husband and wife)¹(a) Urban experience

Residence history: Hohola, other countries, towns and outstations
 Educational history
 Employment history
 Exposure to mass media: radio, books, magazines, newspapers, films
 Marriage ceremony
 Languages spoken
 Club and committee membership
 Religion
 Birth place of children (wife only)
 War experience (husband only)

(b) Traditional links

Family's extent of links with home village
 Land: right to land, land under cultivation, tree rights, house
 Village visits
 Participation in ceremonies
 Club and committee membership
 Relatives visiting
 Gift exchange

(c) Situational supports (husband and wife)

Age
 Income
 Husband only:
 Attitudes to: wife's social activities, household management
 Urban ranking
 Wife only:
 Attitudes to: Hohola and future, intended length of residence in Hohola

(d) Equipment

Electric
 Pots
 Crockery
 Cutlery
 Rooms
 Animals

¹ The following items do not form a totality (as do the other categories) and have been tested separately.

(e) Husband-wife responsibility (husband and wife)

Money
 Accounts
 Shopping
 Firewood collecting
 Gardening
 Housework
 Children

Questionnaire construction

Lists of questions were arranged for every item in each category and sub-category.¹ These were subdivided into the following four main sections, three for wives, and one for husbands.

1st section (wife). Identification data, history of residence, education, employment and marriage, participation in ceremonies, relatives' place of residence, gift exchanges, visiting and being visited, rights to land or trees, and languages.

2nd section (wife). Associations (traditional and non-traditional), mass media, clubs and committees.

3rd section (wife). Ability to cope with tasks and problems at Hohola: household management, child care, conceptual skills, attitudes, equipment.

4th section (husband). Relevant sections of wife's questionnaire were checked and data collected on husband's attitudes and urban experience.

Statistics

High/low dichotomy: after final scoring for each item, sub-category and category,² scores were arranged into a high/low dichotomy so that statistical tests could be applied. To ensure that this split was determined objectively, several systems were tried and it was finally decided to use the median scores in each category.

The average wage in Port Moresby (\$16.20 per fortnight) was far smaller than all but one of the Hohola men's wages, and could not be used as a basis for comparison. Consequently, incomes of the men in the sample were rated as high or low in comparison with the Hohola average of \$34.45 per fortnight.

Fisher's Exact Probability Test was used to test the significance of the relationships of the variables. One-tailed tests were used as the direction of the relationships was predicted in the hypotheses. Levels of 0.05 or above were accepted as significant.

¹ See Appendix 1.

² See Appendix 2.

Pilot study

Before the final research design was completed, a full pilot study on five families was undertaken (three Trobriand Island families, plus two families of mixed marriages). The questionnaires and several different scoring methods were tested. When finally one method was selected, scores were totalled for each wife in each item (budgeting, associations, etc.) and were arranged on an ordinal scale, ranging from 1 to 5. To form sub-categories (urban experience, traditional links, etc.), the sum of the ordinal ranking in all the appropriate items was calculated and divided by the total number of items. To form final categories (urbanisation, traditionalism), the average positions were added together in each of the appropriate sub-categories and the number divided by the total number of items involved. The resulting scores were then arranged on an ordinal scale, and the relationship between categories and items for each woman graphed. As relationships seemed from observation to exist, it was decided to enlarge the study to include more cases and to make some changes in the questionnaire and scoring procedure.

Chapter 3

Social networks

Analysis of reintegration is just as essential for an understanding of social change as the investigation of disintegration. We need both if we are to know how one type of social structure develops out of another.

(Hogbin 1958:53)

The analysis of social change in terms of social networks (particularly with reference to urban communities) seems to be replacing, among anthropologists, the formerly more generally accepted method of analysis in terms of institutions and groups.¹

Looking at women's social networks in Hohola in relation to the hypotheses involved analysing the extent to which village kinship ties are maintained, what, if any, groups supersede kin groups in importance, what kinds of people have a large number of personal associations, whether diffuse social network links have replaced definite group membership (as has been found in other urban environments) and what factors are associated with this?

Bott (1957:58) writes: 'In a network (as opposed to a group) only some, and not all of the component individuals have social relationships with one another.' Srinivas and B  teille (1964:166) consider that 'The distinction between groups and networks is primarily one of boundaries. A group is a bounded unit. A network, on the other hand, ramifies in every direction and, for all practical purposes stretches out indefinitely'.

Other writers (e.g. Barnes 1954, Jay 1964) use different terminology. In this study the term 'social network' is used to describe the total complex of relationships a woman forms with neighbours, friends, Europeans² and others, in two categories: those speaking the same vernacular (termed 'traditional associations') and those speaking

¹ Firth 1951 (particularly Chapters III and IV) and Hogbin 1958 are good examples of the latter.

² Unfortunately the latter two were rarely synonymous.

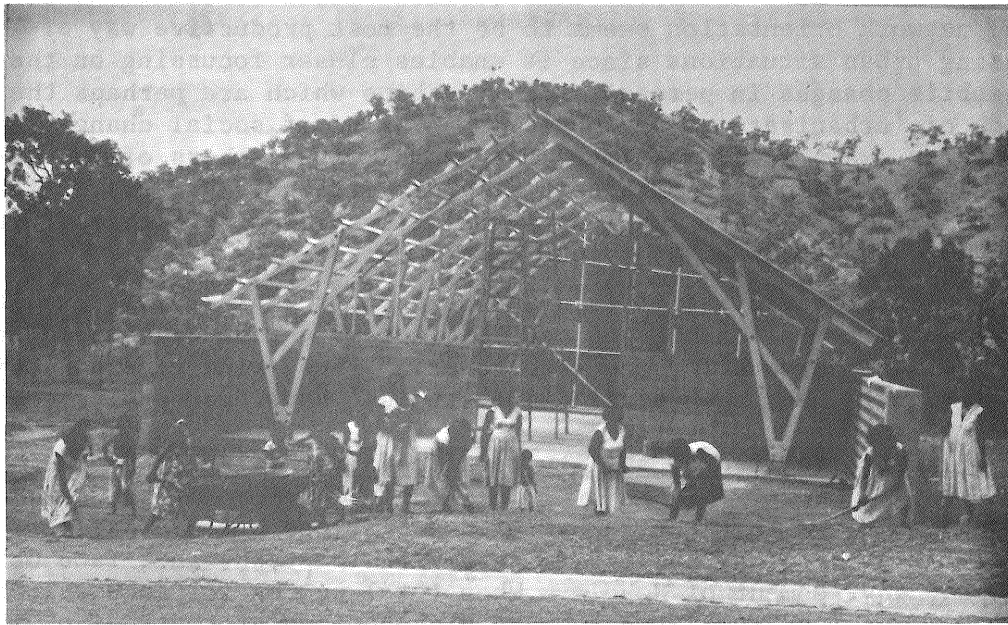


Plate 13. Women from different language groups meet while helping to build the community church in Hohola.



Plate 14. In contrast, only women from the same language group meet at a bride-price payment in Hohola. Note the mixture of traditional grass skirts and European dress, pound notes and Papuan arm-shells.

languages other than the vernacular (termed 'urban associations'). The social network orientation seems to be the most productive way of analysing urban situations since it enables closer focussing on the more subtle changes in personal relationships which are perhaps the essence of 'urbanisation' or indeed of any kind of social change. In Hohola, for example, it was found that women were members of the same kinds of institutions in both town and home village; what was different were the kinds of people involved in relationships within these institutions and the kinds of behaviour that occurred.

The major disadvantage of such an approach is that it must inevitably be limited to a small number of people¹ (not more than can become part of an intimate network for the researcher). Thus, wide generalisations must wait until many such small 'case studies' have been published.²

Social networks related to ability to cope (hypothesis 1)

Hypothesis 1 is that the number of associations a woman has is directly related to her ability to cope with the tasks that face her in the new environment of Hohola. When total scores for each associational category and sub-category were dichotomised at the median, it was found that all the women with low scores for total associations had low scores for ability to cope, while all the women with high scores for total associations had high scores for ability to cope (see Tables 1 and 2). When Fisher's exact test was applied this relationship was found to be significant at the >0.005 level of significance. Thus hypothesis 1 is supported.

One other factor which was found to be significantly associated with ability to cope was situational supports, at the 0.05 level of significance.

		Ability to cope		
		H	L	
Total associations	H	7	0	
	L	0	6	
				P > 0.005
				13

¹ Bott (1957), for example, studied twenty families.

² Such a case study method is not unusual. It is the basis for many of the biological sciences, such as medicine, psychiatry and genetics, and also for many social science studies, e.g. Lewis 1951 was based on a study of twenty-one families in a population of 3,500.

		Ability to cope		
		H	L	
Situational supports	H	6	1	P = 0.05
	L	1	5	
		13		

The other factor associated with ability to cope, urban experience, will be discussed elsewhere.¹

The median of the associations of the sample women was fifty-seven, and all the women who scored low on total associations scored fifty-seven or less. Thus, perhaps this figure can be considered as some kind of 'Associational Poverty Datum Line',² at least for this sample. This means that if a woman's total associations are below fifty-seven, she can be considered to be in a state of 'associational poverty', which will have consequences such as 'disorganisation' of personality and task performance. It seems likely that there could also be a high score, above which a woman may be so busy engaging in social activity that she neglects her tasks. However, this was not found in this study.

When ability to cope scores were categorised differently (i.e. divided into two scores - ability to cope with 'traditional' tasks, i.e. tasks a woman would have to cope with in her village environment, such as looking after children and house maintenance, and 'urban' tasks such as paying rent and coping with an entirely cash economy) - different results were found.³ Urban tasks and total associations were found to be associated at the same level of significance as that of total ability and total associations while traditional tasks were related at the 0.05 level of significance.

		Traditional tasks (ability to cope)		
		H	L	
Total associations	H	6	1	P = 0.05
	L	1	5	
		13		

¹ See pp.44-7.

² To transform a phrase coined by Bettison (1960): 'The Poverty Datum Line'.

³ For scoring system and division into 'traditional' and 'urban' tasks, see Appendix 3.

Table 1

Some category, sub-category and item scores*

	Women													Median
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	
Urban experience	87.5 H	89 H	73 H	49.5 L	38 L	47 L	46 L	34 L	19 L	159.5 H	44 L	67.5 H	72 H	49.5
Traditional links	31 H	29 H	20 L	15 L	20 L	18 L	15 L	22 H	34 H	28 H	26 H	18 L	24 H	22
Urban association	53 H	58 H	59 H	9 L	31 L	49 H	40 H	11 L	8 L	24 L	20 L	11 L	39 H	31
Traditional associations	27 H	20 L	18 L	16 L	26 H	33 H	17 L	15 L	25 H	34 H	15 L	23 H	28 H	23
Total associations	80 H	78 H	77 H	25 L	57 L	82 H	57 L	26 L	33 L	58 H	35 L	34 H**	67 H	57
Urban ability to cope	27 H	29 H	28.1 H (65%)	16 L	18 L	27.6 H (69%)	21 L	18.5 L	8 L	24.4 H (63%)	17 L	25 H	27 H	24.4
Traditional ability to cope	13 L	17 H	18 H	7 L	9 L	19 H	13 L	13 L	16 H	14 H	13 L	22 H	15 H	14
Total ability to cope	40 H	46 H	46.1 H	23 L	27 L	46.6 H	34 L	31.5 L	24 L	38.4 H	30 L	47 H	42 H	38.4
Situational supports	117 L	116 H	150.5 H	114.5 L	124 L	150 H	105 L	89 L	120 L	161 H	152 H	171 H	234 H	150
Income	9 H	9 H	6 L	7 H	6 L	3 L	7 H	5 L	4 L	6 L	9 H	6 L	7 H	6
Equipment	23 H	18 L	38 H	11 L	19 L	34.5 H	20 H	16 L	37.5 H	34 H	18 L	18 L	20.5 H	20
Wife's responsibility for urban tasks	10 L	14 H	16 H	9 L	13 H	7.09 L (47%)	13 H	11 L	12 H	14.5 H (85%)	13 H	11 L	9 L	12
% of associations with relatives	27 L	22 L	18 L	28 L	38 H	25 L	7 L	38 H	54 H	55 H	46 H	32 L	34 H	32
Connectedness of network	H	H	H	L	H	L	H	H	L	L	L	L	L	

* Scores are shown as gross totals (or as percentages, where all questions were not applicable) and/or broken down into a high/low dichotomy using the median as the breaking point.

** Scored high because from observation she seemed to have more urban associations than almost any of the others and her score is thus regarded as inaccurate.

Table 2

Matrix of significance levels by Fisher's Exact Test

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1	///	N.S.	<u>0.005</u>	N.S.	N.S.	<u>0.005</u>	N.S.	N.S.	N.S.	N.S.	N.S.	N.S.
2		///	N.S.	N.S.	N.S.	N.S.	N.S.	N.S.	N.S.	N.S.	N.S.	N.S.
3			///	N.S.	N.S.	<u>>0.005</u>	<u>.05</u>	N.S.	N.S.	N.S.	N.S.	N.S.
4				///	N.S.	N.S.	N.S.	N.S.	N.S.	N.S.	N.S.	N.S.
5					///	N.S.	N.S.	N.S.	N.S.	N.S.	N.S.	N.S.
6						///	<u>0.05</u>	N.S.	N.S.	N.S.	N.S.	N.S.
7							///	/////	N.S.	N.S.	N.S.	N.S.
8								///	N.S.	N.S.	N.S.	N.S.
9									///	N.S.	N.S.	N.S.
10										///	N.S.	N.S.
11											///	N.S.
12												////////

- Key: 1. Urban experience
 2. Traditional links
 3. Association total
 4. Urban association
 5. Traditional association
 6. Ability to cope (urban and total)
 7. Situational supports
 8. Income
 9. Equipment
 10. Wife/husband responsibility
 11. Percentage of associations with relatives
 12. Connectedness

N.S. = not significant

Urban tasks (ability to cope)

		H	L	
Total associations	H	7	0	
	L	0	6	$P > 0.005$

13

One woman (No.9), who scored low in total associations and high in traditional ability to cope was the only one with low associations who had high scores in both traditional associations and traditional links, and low scores in both urban associations and urban experience. Thus her whole orientation seems to be traditional rather than urban.

Although only the final category and sub-category scores of associations, ability to cope and related variables are necessary for the investigation of the hypotheses, discussion of some of the answers and observations seems valuable.¹

Ability to cope

(a) Conceptual skills. The widest range of scores in this sub-category occurred in budgeting.² Work routines were not rigid but eleven women had some kind of routine such as sweeping and washing each morning or collecting wood and ironing three afternoons a week. The only two women who had no semblance of a routine (Nos. 4 and 11) scored lowest in urban ability to cope. Plans for children showed some interesting variations. Only two women had no ideas about their children's future, but both had pre-school children only. Two others said they would allow their children to decide for themselves, while others said they wanted their children to do the following (specifying a particular activity for a particular child in most cases): for girls, marry, make gardens, be a clerk, nurse, typist, welfare assistant, teacher, help mother, 'get a job for money because they don't know village ways'; for boys, 'some work for money, some make gardens', be a clerk, teacher, carpenter, doctor, mission teacher, mechanic, driver, or unspecified employment, e.g. 'a good job after school'. For five boys the suggested occupation was that of the boy's father. Parents' expectations for both sons and daughters were generally high. In most cases skilled jobs were chosen, often with little or no idea of the amount of time or study involved. For only a very few children, mainly girls, was a traditional role expected or hoped for.

¹ Raw scores are shown in Appendix 5.

² See Chapter 5.

(b) Household management. Scores in this sub-category varied only slightly over most items, except for those on relative food values. Whether this is due to variations in education, urban experiences, or otherwise is debatable. For example, one highly urbanised woman with a high score for ability to cope (No.1) said food good for children was fresh fruit, eggs and marmite, vegetables and fish, while bad things were lollies and betel nut. In contrast, one woman with low scores in both urban experience and ability to cope (No.11) thought that children and adults should have the same food, although rice all the time was bad because it 'gave diarrhoea'. Several women answered the questions in terms of what children liked, while others said they did not know what was good or bad food. One woman (No.10) said that her children liked 'English food', but she thought they should eat 'native food' as 'English food makes them weak'.

(c) Child care. The children of 'traditional' women had the most erratic records of school and clinic attendance. Only two women (Nos.2 and 10) with high overall scores for urban experience and ability to cope joined their children's fights and used them to further their own conflicts. Both sets of parents were respected elder members of Hohola and the Papua Ekalesia church but they were always quarrelling and so even fights among their children served as an excuse.

Only one family had children over three or four years who were not toilet trained, and these were suspected by pre-school teachers of being mentally retarded.

Physical punishment for children was used in several families. It was generally confined to a hard slap, although in one family beatings with a broom were common.

Several families had one mosquito net under which the whole family slept, some had none, and none had enough for each individual member of the family. Cold showers were taken daily by most adults and children, and often more frequently in hot weather. Steel wool or betel nut skins were often used to clean teeth, although two families possessed tooth brushes. Lack of spare clothes meant that washing had to be done several times a week, often daily, depending on the availability of money for soap and firewood.

Equipment.¹ In all except two houses there was at least one piece of electrical equipment, generally an iron. Ten families had electric irons, seven families had hand sewing machines and four had electric jugs. No family had more than two electrical appliances (plus a sewing machine) and only four had all these. Possession of equipment, and particularly electrical appliances, was not significantly related to income (see Table 2). Kitchenware ranged from saucepans, a china set

¹ Equipment is not part of the ability to cope variable, but it is included here in discussion as it is related to household tasks.

kept for 'best', silver ware and canisters in one family, to two large cooking pots and enamel dishes in another. Furnishings varied widely. One family had no beds, but one table and two home-made chairs, while another was elaborately furnished and included an electric fan (provided by the husband's employer, a private businessman). One family slept together in one room on mats on the floor, while others had a separate double bed for husband, wife and smallest child (a common sleeping arrangement) and either another bed for the other children, or separate beds for each. In one family men and boys (including visitors) slept together in one room while the wife and girls slept in another.

Animals kept by families ranged from none to a combination of dogs, cats and poultry.

Situational supports.¹ Income alone was not significantly related to ability to cope, although it was an important factor.² In contrast, total scores for situational supports (income being one item) were significantly related at the 0.05 level of significance. Scores ranged from 89 (No.8) to 234 (No.13). These extremes of high/low scores are matched by similar extreme scores in ability to cope. Middle range scores also matched.

Eight husbands had war experience, varying from carrier to interpreter. Four couples were under thirty years of age, and in two other families either husband or wife was. Husbands' employment experience, club and committee membership, number of languages spoken, residence history and exposure to mass media will be briefly outlined when discussing urban experience.³ Husbands' attitudes to household management ranged from one who merely said he thought his wife should keep the house and children clean, to another who listed a long series of tasks which should or should not be done, and another who thought his wife should 'be like a European woman'. Others thought that wives should 'learn new ways when they come to town'. Husbands' attitudes to their wives' social activities ranged from brief statements that they should 'mix up' or 'mix round', to detailed descriptions of how and why this should be done. One husband forbade his wife to attend clubs because of the cost involved, while at the other extreme, another said he sometimes forced his wife to go to clubs so that she could 'learn new ways'. A more commonly held view was that a wife should be friendly with others, but that going to clubs was her decision. One man added, 'I don't like women to go walkabout. They should stay at home and clean the house and yard so everything is right when I get home'.

¹ Not part of this variable but, as with equipment, included here as relevant to discussion.

² For details of income variations see Appendix 4 and for discussion, Chapter 5.

³ See pp.44-7.

Networks (associations)

(i) Relationships with Europeans. The average number of Europeans with whom relationships were made was 9, and the median 6. The range varied from 3 to 30 (see Table 3). Scores for ability to cope, urban experience and total associations were significantly associated with scores for number of Europeans known, high and low scores going together as follows:

Associations with Europeans

		H	L		
Ability to cope	H	6	1		
	L	1	5		
				P = 0.05	13

Associations with Europeans

		H	L		
Urban experience	H	6	1		
	L	1	5		
				P = 0.05	13

Associations with Europeans

		H	L		
Total associations	H	6	2		
	L	0	5		
				P = 0.025	13

Thus, as one would expect, with increasing urbanisation and increasing urban networks, Europeans are gradually included in association networks. However, Europeans were not part of the informal social network of Hohola women, for it was only those women who participated in formal urban groups who made social contacts with Europeans. Most European women with whom relationships were formed were acting in some official capacity, for example, women's club leaders or church ministers' wives. In one case where a relationship developed between a Jehovah's Witness propagandist and one of the women, it was difficult to know whether to separate friendly visits and outings from 'official' business. There was much anxiety about relations with Europeans and remarks such as

'they want to be friends with us, but don't really like us' were common.¹

(ii) Special friends. Special friends were in all cases Hohola residents. Three women had 'traditional' friends only, six had 'urban' friends only and three had both. One old Motu woman, who said she had no special friends in Hohola or Port Moresby, named four women in her home village as her real friends.² As both her urban experience and association scores, and her traditional links and association scores are high, she is one of the 'bridge women'.³ Eleven women mentioned one or more neighbours as special friends and in five cases neighbours were the only friends. Thus proximity seems to be an important factor in generating associations and particularly in creating friendships. This could have important implications in the allocation of houses in Hohola, where the aim is to create a multi-cultural community, not merely a clump of mutually antagonistic, separate linguistic groups.

(iii) Relationships with neighbours. Women had relationships with all their 'traditional' neighbours except in three cases where one was omitted (for personal reasons in each case). With 'urban' neighbours, who were in the majority, the number of relationships made ranged from 16 (1 relative and 15 non-relatives) to 29 (13 relatives and 16 non-relatives). There appears to be no relationship between number of neighbours with whom links are not established, and urban experience, total associations or traditional associations.

In Hohola occasions for people to meet apart from organised groups⁴ occurred fairly often, although at no function did the whole community gather. Funeral and marriage feasts were mainly restricted to one language group (and generally to one kin group). Holding funeral feasts in Hohola for people who died in home villages was a common practice for, as one Trobriand Islander explained, it was impossible to go home or even to send gifts for the death of every relative. More mixed groups attended children's birthday parties, a European custom adopted by many Hohola families, and another new cause for celebration - a child going away to school or a family going back to their home village for a holiday. Fortnightly screenings of educational films by an Administration projection unit were very popular. Women often went shopping at Koke market or collected shell-fish in small friendship groups, with one woman remaining behind to look after the children. Wood collecting, too, was often more bearable when done communally.

Thus most social activity occurred in small groups but there was no single group (except perhaps the Progress Association, in which women

¹ For further discussion of race relations see pp.83-5.

² These were not included in the scoring.

³ See pp.52 and 97.

⁴ For detailed discussion of these, see Chapter 4.

played little formal part)¹ which engendered a feeling of unity for all members of Hohola. No group existed for the settlement of disputes (minor ones were taken to the welfare officer and major ones to the District Office); no recognised leader or office holders existed (although some older men and women, generally church deacons, were respected and looked up to); until the community hall was completed at the end of 1963, there was no physical symbol which could be thought of as 'ours' by all Hohola people to act as a focal point of the community. This lack of unifying institutions was regretted and remarked on by many residents. Against such a background the importance of social networks is clear.

Conclusions

(i) Hypothesis 1 was supported. Women with a high total of associations were better able to cope with new urban problems (in fact with all problems they had to face) than were women with a low total of associations. Scores were associated at the <0.005 level of significance (total associations and total ability to cope; total associations and urban ability to cope) and the 0.05 level of significance (total associations and traditional ability to cope, i.e. traditional tasks).

(ii) The median score for women's total association score was fifty-seven. With one exception, all the women who scored lower than this also scored low in ability to cope (with either urban or traditional tasks). This number is thus a kind of 'Associational Poverty Datum Line' for this sample of women.

(iii) The higher the number of associations a woman had, i.e. the more complex the social network in which she was involved, the less associations with relations she tended to have, and the more associations with Europeans and neighbours.

(iv) Proximity was an important factor in determining the composition of an individual network. No friends were made outside Hohola, and few other associations. Such associations as were made were generally with relatives.

Social networks: their degree of 'connectedness'; number of associations with relatives and relation to husband-wife role segregation

Bott (1957) and Srinivas and B  teille (1964) suggest that in urban social networks there are two related factors: a decrease in kinship ties and a corresponding decrease in 'connectedness of networks'. Bott relates these to a third factor: a reduction in segregation of husband-wife roles.

It was found in Hohola that there was no statistically significant association between scores in either urban experience or total

¹ See pp.56-7.

urbanisation and role segregation nor between role segregation and any other factor. Nor was there a statistically significant association between scores in total urbanisation or urban experience and percentage of associations made with relatives.¹ On the other hand, it was found in 9 cases that women had either many associations with kin and few total associations or few associations with kin and many total associations, and also in 8 cases women with low scores in urbanisation or urban experience had many associations with relatives (or high with few). The same relationship was found in 9 cases when scores in urban associations and associations with relatives were compared.

When associations with relatives were compared with traditional factors exactly the opposite pattern emerged. In 9 cases, either high traditional association scores were associated with many associations with kin (or low with low), while in 10 cases either high traditional links were associated with many associations with kin or low with low.

These results are not incompatible with those studies which found a decrease in kin relations with increased urbanisation.

Connectedness of networks was not found to be significantly associated with scores in any other category of sub-category, although there was a relation between high scores in urban associations and connectedness and low with low (in 9 cases) and between high scores in traditional associations and low scores in connectedness and low with high (also in 9 cases). Similarly, in 8 cases in which women had many associations with relatives, they had low total association scores (or the opposite, i.e. few associations with kin and high scores in total associations). In other words, it appeared that in Hohola the more traditional associations a woman had the less connected were her networks - a finding opposite to expectations following Bott et al.

There does appear to be a fairly reasonable explanation for this difference, however. In Hohola the women with more traditional associations were those who were limited in the total number of their associations and their group membership, and although they knew most of the other people from their own language groups, they had regular associations with only a few of them and these were on an individual home visiting basis. Women with high urban associations, on the other hand, also had high group membership and many associations with people from various language groups and, as Hohola is both geographically and socially an isolated community, these people continually met each other on both an individual and group basis. Thus women with high urban associations were part of a kind of common pool, each having connections with each other and, in the case of the 'bridge women',² having

¹ Only tables with significant associations between scores will be given.

² See p.52.

individual ones radiating out into the various semi-isolated mono-linguistic groups or individuals surrounding the pool. Thus in Hohola it appears that it is the more 'urban' women (particularly in terms of their associations) rather than the 'traditional' women who have more highly connected networks. More investigation is needed since statistically the results were not significant either way, although observation tends to support this finding.

As far as husband-wife roles were concerned, this study does not support either the findings of Silcock (1966) that there is a growing convergence of sex roles in urban environments (in her case in America and Australia) or those of Bott, whose hypothesis (1955:349 and 1957:60) was that 'the degree of segregation in the role relationship of husband and wife varies directly with the connectedness of the family's social network' (which becomes more diffuse in urban environments). Bott found that segregation of husband-wife roles (as against joint organisation) occurred together with highly connected networks (as against dispersed networks).

In the Hohola study, however, there were some important differences in method which need discussion, as it may be because of these that the results are so negative, although the obviously very different cultural settings may be a more important factor.

Firstly, in Hohola only the domestic sphere was investigated in detail. In fact, however, role segregation in leisure was confined to sporting activities, for the most common leisure activity was visiting or being visited as a couple or family. Secondly, the investigation into the connectedness of individual networks was limited to the women only and connectedness was calculated by counting firstly, the number of people with whom the subject and one or more others in her language group sample had associations, and secondly, those with whom she and others in the total sample had associations. Thus Bott's measures of connectedness and role segregation were more sophisticated than those used in this study.

Conclusions

(i) No statistically significant association was found between number of associations with kin and urban experience (or total urbanisation), although there is some evidence which, if not directly supporting the findings of Bott and Srinivas and B  teille, is not incompatible with them.

(ii) In contrast with the results of other studies, no significant relation was found between urban experience (or total urbanisation) and husband-wife role segregation. Nor was the latter found to be significantly related to any other factor. The method of investigation of segregation was, however, different.

(iii) Network connection was not found to be associated significantly with any other factor, although there was some evidence to show that high network connectedness was related not to high traditional associations (and vice versa), as would be expected from other studies, but to high urban associations. This can partly be accounted for by the particular conditions of Hohola, and partly by the different methods used in investigating connectedness.

(iv) The different cultural situation was probably one of the most significant factors accounting for the differences in the findings.

Social networks and ability to cope related to urban and traditional sub-categories

(i) Urban

Scores in urban associations were not found to be significantly associated with any other scores, although in 9 cases high and low scores were associated with high and low scores in connectedness of networks.¹ High and low scores were also related in 9 cases to total ability to cope and urban association scores.

Scores in urban experience were found to be related to scores in urban and total ability to cope (though not to traditional ability to cope), and to scores in total associations - all at the 0.005 level of significance. Since urbanisation is related to ability to cope, and also since ability to cope is related to total associations, these results seem consistent.

		Urban experience		
		H	L	
Total associations	H	6	1	Fisher's Exact Test. P = 0.005 (one-tailed test)
Urban ability				
Total ability	L	0	6	

In considering the hypotheses, only the final scores for the traditional and urban categories and sub-categories, and not the individual items, are important. However, it is perhaps useful for comparative studies in urban areas to summarise the latter briefly. Raw scores are shown in the Master score sheet.² Urban associations have already been described so only urban experience will be discussed here.

Residence history. Only three of the women had lived in a town other than Port Moresby, or on an outstation apart from the one nearest their home village. Four husbands had, but only two of them had been

¹ See p.42.

² See Appendix 5.

outside Papua: one to Australia (for medical training), and another to Madang.

Languages and education. In all but three cases husbands claimed knowledge of more languages than their wives. In two, husband and wife knew the same number, and in the other, the wife knew more (she was the product of a mixed marriage, was now part of a mixed marriage herself, and was highly urbanised). Women scored an average of 1.4 for knowledge of languages other than their own vernacular (the range varying from one to three) and husbands an average of 2.4 (the range from two to three). Both the women in mixed marriages scored higher than average, and all women with higher than average language scores had extra schooling or had husbands with extra schooling.

All the women received formal education in mission primary schools, with additional adult education for three and teacher training for one of these three. Husbands had a similar level of education, although two had received additional training for lay church work, one had some medical training and one had had clerical in-service training and had passed appropriate examinations.

Wives and husbands talked together in their own vernacular except in five cases where English or Motu was used. Of the two mixed marriages, one used the language of the husband, the other used Motu which was the language of neither. In talking to children, parents (particularly fathers) often used English to help improve knowledge of the language, and in the mixed marriages each parent spoke to the children in their own vernacular. Children knew more languages than their parents (an average of three) and tended to use Motu when playing together. In one of the mixed marriages where the wife associated mostly with people from her husband's language group, she spoke his language with him and participated in ceremonies only with his group. In the other, the wife associated more with people from her own language group, and spoke her language or Motu with the children, although she too participated in ceremonies only with her husband's group.

Employment. Only four women had no employment experience (Nos. 5, 6, 9, 11). Of the rest, two had experienced two kinds of employment, and the others only one kind. Their jobs had included: mission teacher, nurse's aid (untrained), domestic help, shop assistant, supervisor of nursing home, and seamstress. Their husbands were all employed in skilled or semi-skilled work, and all had experienced more than one job.

Mass media. Ten families had radios (those without being Nos. 1, 5, 9). All had religious literature (usually only the Bible) and five had text books. In only three families (Nos. 1, 2, 3 - all highly 'urbanised', high in ability to cope and in associations) were there any other kinds of books. In five families children belonged to a library, but no parents did. There were magazines in six families (generally obtained second-hand from Hohola women's club), and

newspapers (South Pacific Post only in all but one family) were read regularly by 6 husbands, fairly regularly by 3 women, sometimes by 5 men and 1 woman (another woman's husband sometimes read to her), and never by 2 men and 8 women.

Unlike the local screenings, films outside Hohola were attended regularly by only four families and sometimes or rarely by nine. Films liked (in order of preference) were: cowboy, religious, war, educational, 'funny', 'dancing and music', 'kiss kiss', and ones 'showing European ways'.

Religion. All the families acknowledged some religious affiliations - and only in the mixed marriages were those of husband and wife different. Five families regularly attended religious services. In one case the wife attended regularly but the husband did not, in four the husbands held positions of responsibility in church and in one the husband was a pastor. Four other families sometimes attended services, and two rarely. One woman said she went 'if we have money', but others did not give explanations, except one couple who explained that their regularity was due to their responsibility for collections.

Clubs and committees.¹ Eight women belonged to a formal club in Hohola and two other women were ex-members. In one other case a woman said she belonged to Hohola women's club, but in fact she never attended meetings, so this was not scored. In another case, a woman said she would like to attend clubs, but her husband did not allow her to do so because of the expense. He himself attended the highest number of clubs and committees of all the husbands, and spent most money on fares. Only one woman in the sample did not belong to a club and expressed no desire to do so. Seven women also belonged to one or more religious clubs in Port Moresby and two to non-religious ones. Husbands belonged to more clubs and committees than did their wives, joining on average 2.5, the range varying from 0 to 11. Only three husbands did not belong to any clubs at all.

Marriage ceremony. In all but two of the sample families, marriages were by 'native custom'. One of the exceptions (No.3 who received high scores in all urban sub-categories) had a church wedding, although traditional exchanges were also made. The other woman (No.1, also highly urbanised) had neither had a church wedding nor made traditional exchanges. Hers was a tribally mixed marriage and she herself was born of a mixed marriage. She said there was a conflict of religions which prevented a church service, and that her parents did not approve of bride price payments. Hers is an example of the most 'urbanised' form of non-marriage, discussed earlier.²

¹ These are discussed in detail in Chapter 4.

² See p.23.

Birthplace of babies. Six women had all their babies in hospital (either mission or government). Two had some born in hospital, four had them only at home and one had only adopted children.

Only two women (Nos.3 and 13) said they knew any birth control methods, both traditional: chewing a certain bark and eating soot mixed with betel nut and pepper 'to stop up the baby bag'. Five women said they would not know who to ask about this matter, three said they would ask old village people, one said she would ask 'a puri puri man', and two said they would ask a doctor (although the woman who had been advised to do so said she was afraid).¹

(ii) Traditional

Neither traditional associations nor links were found to be significantly related to any other variable or factor, nor to each other. In 10 cases, however, high and low traditional links were found to be related to high and low percentages of associations with kin. (Traditional associations and percentage of kin ties were only related in 8 cases.) Neither traditional associations nor traditional links were related significantly to ability to cope or to total associations, as were urban associations and experience. These results together seem to indicate that traditional factors are not important in dealing with life in Hohola - the associations being important only in their contribution to the total network of associations in which a woman is involved and the traditional links important for future security in old age. It seems, therefore, that status, adjustment and ability to cope with problems in Hohola are dependent upon the management of the urban situation - increased associations with urban people, and experience of and participation in urban processes.

As traditional associations have already been discussed, only traditional links will be discussed here.

Land. Eight wives said they had rights to some land, four receiving some benefit in the form of crops. Of these four, three were Hula, and one a Motu woman, i.e. their villages were relatively close to Port Moresby. Two of the Hula women went regularly to their home village for planting and harvesting.

All husbands had rights to land except a mixed-race man. His wife, however, was one of those who returned to Hula to plant and harvest. Five men received crops from their land - three Motu and two Daru. Several people said relatives were looking after their land - in one case a man was paid to do this. Eight women and ten men claimed tree rights, but only one woman and two men (all Motu) received any produce. Two men and two women said they had houses in their village, but all said they could easily obtain land for a house and assistance with its

¹ For further discussion about this see pp.80-2.

Table 3

Analysis of women's associations

Women	Neighbours		Others				Friends				Europeans	Total				Total no. relatives	Total no. associa-tions	% of relatives in total associations
	Traditional Urban		Traditional Urban		Traditional Urban		Traditional Urban		Traditional Urban			Traditional Urban						
	Hohola		Hohola	Port Moresby	Hohola	Port Moresby	Hohola	Port Moresby	Hohola	Port Moresby		Hohola	Port Moresby	Hohola+Port Moresby				
1	2/2	14/18	8*/14	11*/11	3*/14	0*/15	0	0	2 1(N) 1(0)**	0	10	16	28	27	53	22	80	27
2	3/3	9/17	11*/11	6*/6	0*/20	0*/17	1(0)**	0	0	0	12	14	29	20	58	17	78	22
3	0/0	7/20	8*/8	5*/10	1*/12	0*/10	0	0	3(N)**	0	30	8	19	18	59	14	77	18
4	5/5	3/15	3*/5	4*/6	0*/1	0*/2	2(N)**	0	0	0	3	10	4	16	9	7	25	28
5	2/2	6/18	7*/12	11*/12	4*/5	0*/15	0	0	2 1(N)***	0	4	14	12	26	31	22	57	38
6	4/4	13/16	4*/9	17*/20	0*/9	0*/10	0	0	2 1(N) 1(0)**	0	17	13	22	33	49	21	82	25
7	2/2	6/18	2*/5	2*/10	0*/27	0	3(N)**	0	3(N)**	0	7	7	33	17	40	4	57	7
8	3/3	1/17	3*/5	7*/7	0*/6	0	5 2(N) 3(0)**	0	1(N)**	0	4	8	7	15	11	10	26	38
9	4/5	1/15	7*/8	11*/13	0*/2	0	6 3(N) 3(0)**	0	0	0	5	12	3	25	8	18	33	54
10	3/4	5/16	9*/10	17*/20	6*/13	0	3 1(N) 1(0)***	0	2(N)**	0	6	14	18	34	24	32	58	55
11	3*4/4	0*6/16	5*/5	1*/6	0*/1	7*/8	0	0	1(N)**	0	5	9	7	15	20	16	35	46
12	1*2/2	0*3/18	8*/8	2*/13	0*/1	0	0	0	1(N)**	0	7	10	4	23	11	11	34*	32
13	1*5/5	0*9/15	11*/13	9*/10	1*/10	1*/8	0	0	0	0	12	18	19	28	39	23	67	34

* Relatives.

*** One 'friend' must be added to the total score.

** 'Friends' are already scored either as 'neighbours' (N) or 'others' (O).

* This figure is probably much higher (see note, Table 1).

building by approaching either the head of their clan, a relative, or village head. Thus in several families there were considerable land links and in all families at least some.

Village visits. In all families visits home had been made since coming to Hohola, mainly to take part in ceremonies. Only in one Motu family was regular village visiting maintained. Those who went away during their leave (eight families - in four cases twice) went only to home villages. Families did not always go home together. In one case only the wife went to garden and harvest, in others wife and children went alone. In other cases husbands only went - for example, for a funeral or a football match. In the mixed marriages, one woman had been only to her husband's village (and she maintained relationships largely with people from his language group) while the other woman had been to both her own and her husband's village (she maintained relationships largely with people from her own language group). When she went to her village she took her two illegitimate children, while at the same time her husband took his own child to his village.

Participation in ceremonies. All families took part several times in traditional ceremonies in their villages: two women returned for a wedding, four families visited once or more for funeral feasts (either wife and children, or all returning), three families returned two years running at both Easter and Christmas, two women returned twice for planting and harvesting, and one family returned to celebrate the opening of the husband's brother's new house. One family had returned to bring back a relative and another to allow kin to farewell two of their children going away to school.

Feasts were also given in Hohola, either to celebrate events occurring in the home villages or for similar occasions in Hohola. For example, three families attended a marriage feast, one a child-birth feast, four funeral feasts, and five church celebrations. Another family arranged a farewell feast for children going away to school. The longer a family resided in Hohola the more such celebrations tended to occur for Hohola rather than village reasons. Husbands and wives attended and took food to ceremonies in Hohola for all but the two mixed marriage families, where food was sent but only husbands attended. In both mixed marriages the wives had participated in ceremonies connected with their husbands' villages, but not those connected with their own.

Membership in village organisations. Six women had belonged to women's clubs in their villages and one was also captain of a village cricket team.

Relatives visiting and staying. All the women said they had many visitors, both to stay and for brief visits. All families, except one very large one which had no more sleeping space, had had kin staying with them in Hohola for periods ranging from a few nights to eighteen months. Some families had regular visitors, such as those who came weekly to sell their produce at Koke market and stayed overnight (2

cases), or came monthly to order goods for the village co-operative store. Other reasons for staying were: to seek work (8 cases), having work for which no accommodation was available (4), holidays (5), to seek maintenance for a child, pregnancy, the illness of a relative, marriage celebration and marital problems (all mentioned once). It was generally accepted that if such visitors were working they would contribute food and money, but little or nothing would be given if guests were looking for work, or visiting relatives in hospital. Although all the women said they liked having visitors, most added qualifications such as 'too many make me tired' or 'too many single boys visit us'. Several others felt that they had fewer visitors than they would have in their villages. Husbands' and wives' kin came about equally, except in the mixed marriages where in one case the wife's relatives predominated, in the other, the husband's.

Gift exchange. Apart from gift exchanges among urban residents,¹ numerous exchanges between town and rural villages took place throughout the year. Five women felt that more was expected from them by their kin than would be so in their village, two said less was expected, and the remainder were uncertain or felt that it was about the same. Six families frequently sent food to home villages, in one case weekly. In another, two bags of rice, costing \$5.20 each, were sent home regularly; other families sent clothing or money regularly. Four of these families received regular gifts from home, generally food, which in harvest time came weekly to one family. Mats were also received. Three families said they sent and received things from the village only sometimes, and four, that they exchanged gifts when they had visitors. One family gave gifts of \$10 to \$20 when their guests left, while another had given clothes, food and money. Of these four families, only two said they received regular food supplies from home.

(iii) Urbanisation and traditionalism

It was significant that people with high scores in total urbanisation (urban experience plus urban associations) also had high scores in traditionalism (traditional links plus traditional associations) and that these two categories were not at opposite ends of one axis or continuum with people progressing directly from one to the other as is sometimes considered, but are significantly related at the 0.025 level of significance.

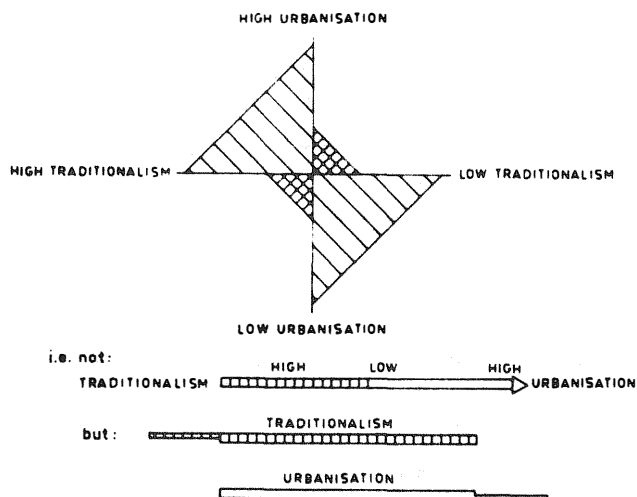
¹ See p.12, footnote 1.

Women	Urbanisation		Traditionalism	
1	140.5	H	58	H
2	147	H	49	H
3	132	H	38	L
4	58.5	L	31	L
5	69	L	46	L
6	96	H	51	H
7	86	L	32	L
8	45	L	37	L
9	27	L	59	H
10	183.5	H	62	H
11	64	L	41	L
12	78.5	L	41	L
13	111	H	52	H

		Urbanisation			
		H	L		
Traditionalism	H	5	1		
	L	1	6		
				P = 0.025	
				13	

Thus there is not one axis but two:

Figure 1
Urbanisation and traditionalism



In other words it was found that there were four groups: one, with both low urbanisation and low traditionalism (6 women); one with low urbanisation but high traditionalism (1 woman); one with high scores in both (5 women); and one with high scores in urbanisation but low scores in traditionalism (1 woman).

Although no direct progression from traditional to urban orientation was found, these results appear to show some kind of progression: from the women who are on the periphery of both urban and traditional life, with no strong links or many associations in either, to the woman who still has no strong urban links but who socially at least, has made some associations (with people from her own language group only). Then come the middle group, or 'bridge women' (Nos.1, 2, 6, 10, 13) who have strong links and complex social networks in both urban and traditional spheres. (These are the same women (and the only ones) who have high total associations, consisting of high scores in both urban and traditional associations.) They are the women who have high scores in ability to cope and total associations, who are members of several groups and also those who appear to have leadership roles of one kind of another, e.g. they are church deacons, office holders in the women's club, basketball captains, etc. Finally, there is one example of a woman who has relinquished her traditional links and associations, while increasing her urban associations (she knows the most Europeans, for example). Both her husband and herself have high urban experience scores and he was becoming established in politics and achieving status in the European community. Perhaps it can be argued that this family has passed the transitional or 'bridge' stage, where dependence (particularly economic dependence) on the home village and on the same vernacular speakers was necessary, and had reached a later stage, namely secure entry into the dominant European community.

Conclusions

(i) The higher the total associations a woman had, the more urban rather than traditional associations she had (and the fewer relations with relatives and the more with Europeans). There were exceptions - 'bridge women', who had high urban and traditional associations.

(ii) High and low scores in urban experience were found to be related to high and low scores in ability to cope at the 0.005 level of significance. High and low scores in urban experience and total associations were also related at the same level of significance.

(iii) Traditional associations and traditional links were not significantly related either to each other or to other variables, although there was some evidence to show that high and low scores in traditional links were related to high and low scores in percentage of associations with relatives.

(iv) Scores for total urbanisation and traditionalism were found, unexpectedly, to be significantly associated at the 0.025 level of

significance and so do not form one axis along which migrants progress directly. Migrants do not displace traditional links and associations with urban ones so there is a stage where both traditional and urban links and associations are high.

(v) Traditionalism was not found to be significantly related to ability to cope although urbanisation was at the 0.005 level of significance.

Language group differences

The results which were analysed above in individual terms can be grouped into five different language groups. Since there were so few subjects, results can only be an indication of possible trends. Ranking is based on group average scores calculated from individual scores in each item, sub-category and category.

Table 4
Language group and traditionalism

Order of ranking	1	2	3	4	5
Traditionalism	Motu	Hula	Mixed (Trobriand Islands/Hula)	Daru	Trobriand Islands
Traditional associations	Motu	Mixed	Hula	Daru	Trobriand Islands
Traditional links	Hula	Mixed	Motu	Daru	Trobriand Islands

Table 5
Language group and urbanisation

Order of ranking	1	2	3	4	5
Urbanisation	Motu	Mixed	Hula	Trobriand Islands	Daru
Urban experience	Motu	Mixed	Daru	Hula	Trobriand Islands
Urban associations	Mixed	Motu	Trobriand Islands	Hula	Daru (very low)

Table 6
Language group and associations

Order of ranking	1	2	3	4	5
Percentage of associations with relatives	Daru	Motu	Mixed	Hula	Trobriand Islands
Total associations	Motu	Mixed	Hula	Trobriand Islands	Daru

Table 7
Language group and ability to cope

Order of ranking	1	2	3	4	5
Urban problems	Motu	Mixed	Trobriand Islands	Daru	Hula
Total problems	Motu	Trobriand Islands	Hula	Mixed	Daru

The Motu group ranked highest or second highest in almost all categories: first in traditionalism and traditional associations, urbanisation and urban experience, total associations and total ability to cope, in urban associations and percentage of associations with relatives it ranked second, and only in traditional links was it third. These results seem consistent with the history of the Motu people, one of the first contacted by Europeans and therefore having had the most contact with urban life. The fact that they also maintain high traditional links adds further evidence to the conclusion that urbanisation-traditionalism cannot be measured on a single axis. This can also be accounted for by the relative proximity of Motu villages to Port Moresby.

Rankings in the mixed marriage group were fairly consistently second or third: equal third in traditionalism, second in traditional associations and traditional links, urbanisation and urban experience, and total associations, third in percentage of associations with relatives, second in urban problems and fourth in total problems. They were, however, first in urban associations.

Hula people ranked second or fourth fairly constantly, Trobriand Islanders maintained fifth position fairly consistently in the categories of traditionalism, traditional associations, urban experience and percentage of associations with relatives, while third and fourth in urban associations, urbanisation and total associations, and second and third in ability to cope.

The Daru people, apart from ranking first in percentage of associations with relatives (a typically traditional characteristic), rank either fourth or fifth in most other categories.

These results seem to follow expectations: the groups originating nearest Port Moresby receiving highest scores in urbanisation and maintaining high traditional links, lowest scores in percentage of associations with relatives, and highest in total associations. Trobriand Islanders and Daru groups ranked in reverse order. The Daru group had particularly low scores in urban associations (despite considerable urban experience), combined with a high percentage of associations with relatives score - they were the most 'clannish' group, mixing little with other language groups either formally or informally.

Chapter 4

Formal and informal groups

The variety of linguistic, educational, religious, tribal and cultural backgrounds of the Hohola people made the formation of mixed local groups difficult. There seemed to be two distinct kinds of groups in Hohola which will be called here formal and informal. Formal groups were those organised by people outside Hohola (generally Europeans) with formal constitutions and procedures, such as religious, welfare or political organisations. Informal groups were those organised spontaneously by Hohola people themselves, such as, in the case of the women, various money-lending and gambling groups and the basketball teams. The strongest unifying influences within Hohola were the informal personal networks composed of relationships with other tenants and membership of some of the informal groups. Women's participation in informal groups outside Hohola was limited largely to gambling groups (for a few women) while personal relationships were made mainly in Koke market. Six women in the sample participated in formal groups outside Hohola.

Formal groups in Hohola

The Hohola Progress Association was originally set up as a link between Hohola citizens and the Administration. Members had helped to build the school, playgrounds and the welfare hall, and has also agitated for street lighting, the numbering of houses, drainage, bus shelters, sealing of the road and quicker attention to complaints about houses. Larger projects included urging the establishment of a local government council, a co-operative store, a market and sports ground for Hohola. Members also pressed for a speed limit for the Hohola area, and at one stage hoped to establish a printing press and newspaper.

The committee was first formed in 1960 but the association was not well supported until reorganised in 1961. Then, however, the president travelled overseas, and it lapsed somewhat until the middle of 1963, when a new president was elected. (The only woman member elected to the committee was a woman from the sample, No.2.) If given more power this association could have been an important unifying factor in Hohola. All adult residents were eligible to join for 50c per annum, and it was the only organisation containing members of all cultural groups in

Hohola, including mixed-race people. To the end of 1963, support was rather half-hearted and the men particularly felt very frustrated with their lack of power, as progress with any major decision needed Administration support. Parents' and citizens' associations were established at pre-school and primary schools as a link between teachers and parents. They did not, however, attract much support, largely perhaps because parents felt they were being directed rather than consulted.¹ Adult education classes were begun at the end of 1963 by a European youth leader newly appointed to the Administration. English language courses for women started first, and others were to follow according to people's wishes. A Young Marrieds' Club, begun at the end of 1963, aimed to bring married couples closer together and to discuss urban problems, particularly marital ones. It seemed to be well attended in its early stages, which supports the conclusion that social clubs were badly needed.

Hohola women's club was established in 1961 by the Social Welfare Branch of the Department of District Administration. Since then it had been run mainly by volunteers - non-professional wives of Administration personnel (mainly doctors), with occasional visits by departmental social workers. Eight of the sample women were active members in 1963 (including all those classified in the high ability syndrome).² One was the president, another the immediate past president and another a committee member. The three Daru women in the sample had been members until 'the split' in 1962, which arose from a disagreement between club members on action to be taken when one member 'borrowed' a substantial amount from the basketball club. Opinions divided according to religious and language group allegiances, and even involved several husbands. The argument spread to the women's club, resulting in the election of new office bearers and committee and a change of members - some leaving and some new ones joining. Membership steadily declined during the year. The borrower and her friends, however, remained influential members. The office bearers elected in February 1963³ were all either Hula or Motu women from 'old' Hohola, as was the committee except for one Kerema woman. At this election, approximately thirty women were present, the majority being Motu and Hula (the two most urbanised of the sample language groups) with a sprinkling of Kerema and other women.

¹ These comments applied more to the primary school association than to the two pre-school associations, one of which was apparently well supported and held several working bees to provide facilities and equipment.

² See pp.66-9.

³ Elections were always conducted for these office bearers and also if any small committees were needed during the year, e.g. to organise hospitality for visitors or to inspect Hohola houses.

Dominated by women from two language groups only, with a history of disagreement and allegiance based on language and religious affiliations, and with declining membership, the women's club illustrated a situation which can result from the fragmenting pressures in Hohola. Since government policy from early post-war days has advocated these clubs as the main educational medium for women, it seems important to analyse this urban 'elite' club more closely.



Plate 15. A formal group - the women's club in Hohola community hall (note uniforms). A dance group was rehearsing in preparation for the Port Moresby women's clubs show.

If the success or failure of a group can be judged by the degree to which it meets its original aims, its degree of activity or vitality, its membership and the satisfaction of their needs, then Hohola women's club in 1963 was not a success, while such informal groups as the women's basketball teams, gambling and neighbourhood associations were.¹ The following reasons are suggested for its failure. Firstly, there was a lack of understanding by members of group processes. Not once did all women's club members combine their activities for a group project. The office bearers and their friends were the focus of any

¹ See pp.61-3.

activity, such as working bees to help build the community church or provision of hospitality for visitors. Often when overt disagreement occurred, divisions were on language lines. The concept of the women's club as a group to which all contributed for the good of all seemed difficult for the Hohola women to grasp. There were numerous examples of group funds being borrowed for individual needs. At the annual women's clubs show in Port Moresby, a dance group representing Hohola made costumes and practised for weeks and excluded women who joined late or danced badly. A few hours before the show, however, it broke up as a result of minor disagreements, extra people were included, and some of the well trained women refused to dance. The notion of group unity did not appear strong enough to suppress centripetal tendencies.

Secondly, conflict in expectations between club members and the voluntary European leader seems to have been crucial in the lack of interest in the club. Most Hohola women had very few contacts with Europeans and those they met were generally authoritarian or maternal in their attitudes to them: for example, women whose husbands worked in the Commonwealth Department of Works had their houses inspected regularly, rations given out and complaints attended to, all by authoritarian European men; in shops outside Hohola, assistants often behaved in authoritarian or discriminatory fashion. European women contacted were generally voluntary workers of clubs or associations, such as the women's club, when again they were in a teaching or maternal role, and the Hohola women were 'pupils'. Because of this, women came to expect Europeans to exercise the initiative and to adopt passive or submissive roles themselves. Europeans were accepted as knowing best, and having skills, knowledge, wealth and education to share with those lacking them. Until 1963, all the voluntary leaders of the Hohola women's club and even Administration welfare workers conformed to this image. Members of the women's club named the leaders they thought had been 'good' in the club. From questioning it appeared that the methods of all these women had been authoritarian, with planned programmes for each meeting in which specific new skills were taught. They expected this to continue.

In 1963 a woman trained in group work took over leadership of the club and, following the principles of professional group work, waited for the ideas and direction to come from the women themselves. To women waiting to be organised, used to being directed and led, this behaviour was incomprehensible. A further difficulty was the lack of comprehension, on both sides, of this conflict, in part due to the lack of a common language. This resulted in much talk about what should be done but little activity, and some women even admitted to attending out of politeness and courtesy to the leader. The fact that the Administration viewed women's clubs as adult educational institutions had been generally understood by the women who felt, therefore, increased frustration at the inactivity.

Thirdly, there was a lack of satisfaction of the needs of members. Jahoda (1961:108 ff) suggested that the 'orientation of inferiority'

is characteristic of a 'divided value system'. In Hohola there was a difference between what women felt they should want (learn new ways, accept European values) and what in fact they did want, as evidenced from their behaviour, conversations and very successful informal groups: money, leisure activities, group identification, individual participation to achieve status within a group, physical exercise, time to talk, sing, dance and increase their network of associations. The programme of the Hohola women's club consisted mainly of constant discussion and practice of how to improve the women's daily domestic chores such as new ways of cooking, washing, sewing, feeding babies and hygiene. Obviously 'European ways' or women's clubs which represented them had both a negative and a positive valence. On the one hand, European values of hygiene, education and the accumulation of money and possessions were accepted as good things to aspire to, but on the other hand, it was considered 'good' to share possessions, food and money, and be 'born in the garden', not 'in money'. There is a Hula saying, for example, that 'a person who divides and has nothing in his hands is a good man' or, as Malinowski (1922:97) said of Trobriand Islanders: 'A man who owns a thing is naturally expected to share it, to distribute it, to be its trustee and dispenser. And the higher the rank, the greater the obligation.... Thus the main symptom of being powerful is to be wealthy, and of wealth is to be generous.' Thus the indigenous ideal of prestige related to distribution is in opposition to the Western one related to saving and personal wealth, values often taught, for example, in relation to budgeting or banking in women's clubs.¹

The following quotation from a letter to me from the husband of a woman in the sample describes the kind of wifely role many husbands expect:

In 1955 I went on leave and got married. I brought my ex-wife to Port Moresby. She was a good housewife, but she did not find any babies. So in 1957 I took her home and left her. In 1958 I got married again and here she is now. At present I am quite happy with my wife and children. My wife can do better housework. She can look after babies. Therefore when I get my pay I don't keep my money myself, I give it to her to look after it for food.

Many women, too, have this traditional image of themselves as suppliers of husband's and children's needs, and unless the husband is dissatisfied, it seems unlikely that women will feel obliged to learn new ways.

¹ 'The urban culture has lost a great deal through the inevitable disappearance of its symbols of value. The new symbols are as yet material only and do not approach the emotional significance of the old. We believe that of the many changes consequent upon urbanisation, the problem of alteration of value systems is productive of psychological tension and bewilderment, but I do not feel that it is a permanent factor in the production of psychological disorder' (Sinclair 1962:11).

Formal groups for children in Hohola (apart from pre- and primary schools) included a newly formed Guide company, and Scout troop, Bible study group, YWCA youth club, and a projected series of educational courses. Partly due to lack of leadership, equipment and facilities, none was particularly vital, although the youth club began very energetically with support from the Port Moresby Rotary and Apex clubs. With the completion of the community hall in 1963, it was hoped that such activities would increase. Trying to discover what young people themselves wanted, instead of providing what was thought to be good for them, was an encouraging development undertaken by the newly appointed youth organiser.

Women's formal groups in Port Moresby

The formally structured groups, with chairman, secretary, committees, etc., to which Hohola women belonged in Port Moresby were few. Women from the sample attended only two committees and clubs of a non-religious kind (although six attended religious ones). The first was the Central Women's Committee (since disbanded) which met every three months to discuss problems affecting women in the Port Moresby area. It was chaired by the District Commissioner and other Administration personnel were members. The one member of Hohola on this committee was one of the 'high ability syndrome' women whose husband was also on a number of committees (both had had much urban experience). The Contact Club, though church inspired, met for adult education and social mixing of different racial and cultural groups. Talks were given, recipes exchanged and cooked at meetings, and group activities undertaken.

All the other clubs or committees were religious and/or social, catering for a specific denomination and generally run by a European minister or his wife: Koke Papua Ekalesia women's club, Methodist women's club, Koke church council, Trobriand Islands community club and Trobriand Islands savings and loan society (although husbands only belonged to the last).

Informal groups in Hohola

Small informal church groups were organised on denominational and therefore cultural lines.¹ Thus there were groups of Methodists (Trobriand Islands area), Catholics (Yule Island area), and Papua Ekalesia (Motu, Hula, etc.) which met in private houses in Hohola on Sundays. The new 'community church', finished in 1963, was built to counteract such religious fission by communal worship for all denominations, but by the end of the study the congregation consisted largely of Papua Ekalesia members on whose land the church was built, and plans were being made to build other churches for other denominations.

¹ See p.9.

Gambling groups were common and very popular. Generally their core was mono-linguistic: women from the Daru area associated with one particular Daru woman, two largely Hula groups centred around Hula speakers and so on. Though illegal and frowned upon by churches and some husbands, other husbands often joined the women in their games. All but three of the sample often gambled and two were 'leaders'. Apart from the social and entertainment function of gambling, there were also the elements of magic, excitement and possible economic gain surrounding it. Women often argued that their winnings helped solve their financial difficulties. It was also believed that to be lucky was to be possessed of a kind of magic which greatly increased the status of the possessor in the eyes of the group. It could be argued perhaps that gambling replaced some of the traditional magical rituals, one of the functions of which is the attempt to gain some control over an unpredictable environment. Also, as Bloch (1951:216) suggests, the chance element is particularly exploited in those societies where status is largely dependent upon 'competitive pecuniary standards'.



Plate 16. Social networks can be increased through informal encounters at Koke market

Hohola, with its lack of financial and social security and its new status symbols of money and material possessions, would certainly seem to be such a society.¹

Some of the women organised informal savings and loan groups in which money would be borrowed by each of the members on alternate pay days. For example, in a group of four members, three would pay approximately \$4 to the 'receiver' of the day. By this method, money could be obtained to buy children's clothes and household articles which could not otherwise have been bought as nearly all available cash (after rent and utilities had been paid for) was spent on food (see Table 8). Sample women participating in these schemes were either from the Trobriand Islands or had Trobriand Island husbands or close friends. This method of saving is often called 'companying' and is widely practised in the urban area. Perhaps they adopted the idea from the Trobriand Islands savings and loan society which was formed in August 1962 and formally registered in June 1963 - the first of many such groups in the country.

There were four women's basketball teams captained and organised by Hohola women. Five sample women played, two being captains. Support for and interest in these teams was keen, and included not only the participating women but also other women, husbands and children. Matches drew large crowds. Outside matches with other villages generally involved many Hohola families in preparing food, gift exchanges, transport and hospitality. There were strong rivalries between the teams, each of which took great pride in its uniform and appearance. The importance of uniforms to both the Hohola women's club and the basketball teams and the money and time spent in making them indicate perhaps the strength of the desire to 'belong' to some well-defined group. Even special shoes and socks were bought, although it was very rare for Hohola women to wear shoes of any kind. When a member of the Hohola women's club died in 1963, women in club uniform (the body also specially dressed in uniform with a new pair of socks) played an important part in the mourning ceremony, even though they were not kin nor even from the same language group. The basketball teams in most cases included women from various language groups, although the core was generally of the same language group as the captain. An interesting feature was that the formal committee (president, secretary and time-keeper) was composed entirely of respected older Hohola men, thus repeating in miniature the social structure of the home villages.

¹ There was enormous jealousy over inequalities in material possessions. When, for example, one family obtained some linoleum, all kinds of rumours spread as to how and why it was obtained. Differences in kinds and quality of possessions were endlessly pointed out and discussed. This was also true in the case of the author's possessions where differences caused not only jealousy but also barriers to communication.



Plate 17. A women's basketball match at Hohola. Men committee members sit on a special bench, other supporters on the ground. Note uniforms and footwear.



Plate 18. Members of the Hohola women's club, in uniform, participate as mourners at the burial of one of their ex-members. They also prepared the wreaths and cross. The woman not in uniform is not from Hohola, but unlike the women's club members, is one of the dead woman's kin.

Comparison of association networks and group membership (hypothesis 2)

In this study it was found that the more urban experience a woman had the greater was her network of associations, with generally less associations with relatives and more with Europeans. Women with less urban experience, on the other hand, had lower associations, or less complex social network, consisting more of relatives, less of Europeans, and more of people speaking the same vernacular as themselves. As association scores rose, they thus consisted more of urban associations and less of traditional ones. There was also a distinguishable group of women who were called 'bridge women' (Nos.1, 2, 6, 10, 13) who maintained high associations with both traditional and urban people. Thus it would seem that in this sample group there was some kind of progression in network formation, from an inner ring of known relatives and those speaking the same vernacular to other, non-vernacular speakers.

A similar progression was found in group membership. Women first joined vernacular speakers in informal groups such as gambling, then joined informal groups where other languages were spoken, or more formal groups, and only the most urbanised of the women joined formal, mixed language groups outside Hohola.

Thus, there does appear to be evidence to support hypothesis 2 that new networks of associations will be formed in a certain order: first with relatives, then with others (same vernacular), then informal groups will be joined (same vernacular), associations with other language groups will then be made, and finally formal groups will be joined consisting of people from mixed language groups.

Only two women in the sample had reached the final stage of group membership. The others either belonged to no groups outside Hohola, or only to religious ones such as the Methodist women's club. In contrast, seven men belonged to such clubs, one man belonging to as many as eleven committees or associations of a welfare or political nature, another to five. Sporting groups for men were generally associated with a particular church and these were also popular. Sporting groups for women were organised by those interested in Hohola and were independent of any outside organisation. All the women in the sample belonged to at least one group. Ten belonged to informal groups in Hohola such as gambling or money lending groups, 5 to the Hohola basketball teams, 8 to formal groups such as the women's club in Hohola or religious groups outside, and only 2, as already mentioned, belonged to formal welfare or political groups.

When group membership is related to association networks, the following pattern emerges. A woman with a low total of associations is never a member of formal groups only, but is either a member of both formal and informal, or, more often, informal groups only. A woman with a high total of associations, on the other hand, is generally either a member of formal groups only, or of both formal and informal.

Women with high urban associations were in every case (except No.13, whose husband prevented her attending any clubs despite her desire to) members of formal groups, and in five cases members of both formal and informal groups. On the other hand, in four out of five cases women with low urban associations were members only of the first kind of Hohola informal group (in the remaining case the woman was also a member of a formal group). The two women with high traditional associations and low urban associations (Nos.9 and 12) belonged only to informal traditional groups.

Finally, all women in the sample who were classified in the category of 'high ability syndrome' either belonged to formal groups only or to formal plus informal (again No.13 being the exception), while women in the 'low ability syndrome' belonged either to informal groups only or to informal plus formal.

Thus it seems that there is a progression in membership of different kinds of groups which parallels that of social network formation.

Syndromes

It was found that when all the important scores were related, women fell into two distinct categories, each of which had specific characteristics. These have been called the high and low ability syndromes.

The high ability syndrome is made up of the following characteristics (it includes women Nos.1, 2, 3, 6, 10, 12, 13): high score in ability to cope, total associations, urban associations (except in 2 cases), situational supports (except in one case, and also not necessarily high income), urban experience (except in one case), low percentage of associations with relatives (except in 2 cases), club membership (except in 2 cases, one being No.13). Only four women in the high ability syndrome also had high traditional links and there was no relation between separation of conjugal roles either with the low or high syndrome.

The low ability syndrome (which includes women Nos.4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 11) is made up of the following opposite characteristics: low scores in ability to cope, total associations, urban associations (except in one case), low situational supports (except in one case, and not necessarily low income), urban experience. Except in two cases, scores for traditional links and traditional associations were low. Women in this category also scored low in club membership.

The following two examples are extreme illustrations of members of the high and low ability syndromes. Most women fell somewhere between them. An extreme example of the low ability syndrome was a woman (No.4) with four children who was also guardian to her mother's sister's daughter. She was always untidily dressed, her garden was straggly, and the few possessions inside the house lay around in disorder. The walls and floor were dirty, and strewn with food. Interviews were conducted sitting on the concrete floor, rather than on the usual mats,

with children running about unclothed, dirty, uncontrolled and some with unattended sores. The children were inadequately toilet trained, and their attendance at school was erratic. They helped themselves to cold rice when hungry and there were not enough mosquito nets for them all. Their mother joined in their fights against others. She had no plans for their future, knew no contraceptive methods and had had a child every one or two years since her marriage. Her husband controlled most of the money, paid any accounts and did most of the shopping. Her few associations were mainly with women from her own language group, with a high percentage of contacts with relatives. She belonged to no formal clubs but to one informal gambling group. She knew very few Europeans, her attitude to them being 'I'm frightened'. Her situational supports were low, for although her husband's income was high, his urbanisation was not. Despite long urban residence she spoke only one language (Motu, the lingua franca) besides her own. She had had only one year's paid work and had only a little mission primary education. Her religious attendance was erratic. Her babies, however, were all born in hospital and her marriage ceremony was performed at the district office.

The radio in the house was given by the husband's employer, but there were no magazines or books except a Bible. The family rarely went to the pictures.

Neither husband or wife had a house in their village. The wife had no land or tree rights though the husband had both. Few visits were made to the home village by either but many villagers had been to visit and stay with them in Hohola. This they found financially embarrassing. Gift exchanges to and from the village were regular (more sent than received) but gift exchange in Hohola was slight. Ceremonies were attended only in Hohola: funeral feasts for people who died in the home village, a marriage 'party', and a 'party' to raise money for the village church.

An example of the high ability syndrome was woman No.6. She was always neatly dressed and her house very clean and tidy despite overcrowding. There were numerous decorations and considerable furniture and equipment, including home-made chairs. The table was usually covered with a white cloth, with a jar of fresh flowers in the middle. There was a well kept flower garden and a productive vegetable garden. Firewood was carefully stacked. Scores in conceptual skills, household management and child care were consistently high. Her total score for ability to cope was second highest, and she scored third highest in conceptual skills, i.e. she was good at budgeting although on the lowest income. She had a well organised work routine, washing every day, ironing three times a week, sweeping the house daily and washing the floor two or three times per week; she had thought about future plans for her children.

Conjugal role segregation was high, for the husband considered his wife should maintain her traditional village role of housewife as well

as carrying out additional urban tasks. Household management, food storage, knowledge of food values and control of rubbish was good. She sewed for herself, her children and others.

Childcare was excellent and clinic attendance regular, the children were clean, and there were a number of mosquito nets; children's school attendance was excellent and the husband helped on the parents' committee.

Her husband was very well educated and held a position of responsibility and authority. They attended religious activities regularly, both holding positions of authority in the church. The wife was not a member of informal groups and did not gamble, but attended formal church and welfare groups and the Hohola women's club (once holding a position of authority). Both husband and wife spoke two languages other than their own, and there were books, magazines and newspapers in the house. The wife liked Hohola because she could 'live the European way and do cooking and sewing'. The family had the lowest income in the sample and received the third highest amount of gifts. The husband's attitude to his wife's activities was positive, and he encouraged her to go to clubs and visit people.

Both traditional and urban associations were high (and included many Europeans). She met many people and had more urban than traditional associations, and few contacts with relatives although she was near her home village.

This woman had not had much experience of town life, she had had little education and had never been employed. She was selective in radio listening, attended the 'educational films' at Hohola, but not commercial films in town.

Traditional links were low. Both husband and wife had land and tree rights but no house in their village. Their relatives gardened on their land and they received half the produce. They did not visit the village very much despite its closeness. They had no village people to stay and only a few came visiting. Gift exchange to and from the village was limited to visits. They attended two funeral feasts in the village.

People in the high ability syndrome are thus those who make new and sustained social relationships, take on new urban roles and cope well with the associated tasks and problems; those in the low ability syndrome are 'unsettled' or 'desocialised', and as a result fail in these things.¹ An important but difficult problem is to determine the

¹ These terms were used by the English psychologists, Wilson, Trist and Curle, to describe an entirely different situation: English prisoners of war returning to England and a strange environment after the second world war. See Swanson, Newcomb and Hartley 1952:562-79. However, they believe that their results illustrate a more general principle - the

extent to which these differences in adaptation are due to personal qualities and energy output (and this may be similar in a village), and the extent to which they reflect urban adjustment to problems which would not arise in a village.

The situation of Hohola's migrant women, and their division into 2 kinds of associational groups and associated syndromes mediated by 'bridge women', is somewhat similar to what Eisenstadt (1951) found in Israel. Here the adaptation of new immigrants was found to depend on the transformation of their primary groups and relations between primary groups and new ones were mediated by 'elites' who interpreted and communicated social values and served as 'symbols of security and identification with the social system'. Further, it was found that the extent of immigrants' identification with the new society depended on the degree of attachment to the elites and the elites' compatibility with the social system.¹

In Hohola it was the women with high associations in both traditional and urban groups who were the elites in Eisenstadt's sense, for they were not yet so far merged into the new urban situation to have cut off their old traditional associations, and yet they were involved enough to achieve status and followers. These were the women who had been president of Hohola women's club, captain of basketball teams and had received many gifts. Since they are the 'bridge women' between village and urban cultures whose social networks consist of high urban and traditional associations, it is from these women that selection for any extension course should take place, as they are the ones from whom new ideas will be most readily accepted.

Conclusions

(i) There is some evidence to support hypothesis 2. There were four groups of women, each one of which had different kind of network formation in terms of urban and traditional components. This was related to club and committee membership, and it was found that there was some kind of progression, for association was first made with relatives, then with others (same vernacular), next informal groups

1 (continued)

effect of 'desocialism' or 'unsettlement' on social structure, roles, relationships and ultimately on culture. The symptoms they noted, which I also noted in Hohola, were failure to take roles, failure to sustain social relationships and a disturbance in internal assimilation and culture. They noted further that when people lack dependable support relationships, withdrawal and anxiety symptoms result.

¹ The difference is that whereas in Eisenstadt's study the 'elite' were the old elites of the immigrants who were also the 'elite' in the new society, this was not necessarily so in Hohola, although it often was.

were joined (again same vernacular), then other groups were joined with a mixed language membership, and finally, formal urban groups were joined, but only by the most 'urbanised' of the women.

(ii) Two syndromes were isolated - a high ability syndrome and a low ability syndrome. Women belonging to each were found to have similar characteristics, and certain predictions are made about their behaviour.

(iii) A special category of women, named 'bridge women', was also isolated. These were women with high status who also had associations among both urban and traditional women, among both speakers of their own vernacular and speakers of other languages.

Chapter 5

Economic problems

Of all the problems in Hohola, money was most often mentioned.¹ In Hohola the housewife had to pay for food, water and other utilities (garbage and sewerage disposal, electricity), whereas in the village women could themselves personally control at least some planting, cultivating, harvesting and consumption. Water and wood merely had to be collected and garbage and sewerage were freely and easily disposed of. As one woman said of Hohola: 'Go backwards - money, go frontwards - money, go sideways - money.'

Because the understanding and use of money was the central problem for these women, itemised data indicating the sources and use of all money received over one month were collected in 'budget books' from ten of the sample families.² At the end of the month these books were collected and the daily recorded items of income and expenditure were regrouped into the categories shown in Figure 2 and Table 8, gifts and rations having been given a cash value.

(i) Income

Total income comprised cash earnings, rations, gambling proceeds and gifts. These are expressed as percentages in Figure 2.

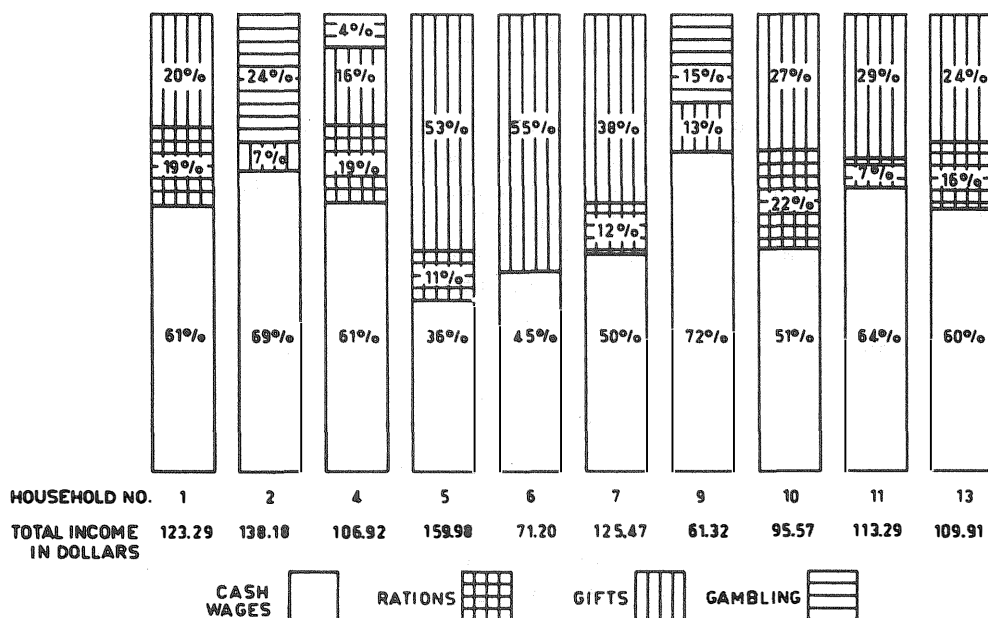
(a) Rations. These were given weekly to men employed by the Administration or Commonwealth departments who have less than auxiliary status ('Administration servants' and artisans). They were entitled to money in lieu of rations but none of the sample families took advantage of this. Whiteman (1962) found in her dietary study of Hohola families that people said they would rather have rations than money because they ran out of money between pay days but at least had some rations left. Prices for equivalent quantities of ration food bought in Hohola were calculated since most groceries are bought on a day-to-day (meal-to-meal) basis at local Hohola trade stores.³

¹ See pp.85-6.

² See p.17.

³ Whiteman (1962) compared food prices in four stores in Port Moresby, and showed that in 9 out of 15 cases Hohola stores charged the highest prices.

Figure 2

Total income for one month in ten Hohola households

In the present study, it was found that in 6 out of 10 cases money did not last from one pay day to the next and most of it was spent in the first week after pay day. (The fact that full rations were given during the pay weeks and half rations in the non-pay week increased the problem of food shortage.) In almost all cases, some rations were given away, often by the parcel (i.e. one person's whole weekly ration) and in some families they were regularly bartered for shell-fish and betel nuts from hawkers around Hohola. Rations accounted for less than 22 per cent of total income for those of the sample who received them.

(b) Gambling proceeds. Eight of the ten women gambled but only the three most regular gamblers recorded profits or losses in their books. Another woman said she did not gamble for the budget month so that she would not have to show anything about it, and one well-known gambler, who showed high expenditure and debt at the end of the month despite low income and gifts, must have omitted most of her gambling profits. Three other families had a surplus at the end of the month, despite the fact that they had overspent their income. The women were known gamblers, and as it was not accounted for by gifts received, this surplus could also have come from gambling or from loans.

(c) Gifts. Contrary to popular belief,¹ many gifts go into Hohola. Figure 2 shows that incoming gifts account for an average of 28 per

¹ And to a similar assertion by Whiteman 1962.

cent of income. In six of the ten families who kept budget books, total gifts received (both cash and kind) exceeded total gifts given. However, because of the high expenditure on urban requirements (19 per cent of income spent on rent, utilities and fares, and 34 per cent on food), not much cash is available for gift giving. Perhaps this imbalance is made up by the high expenditure on food and stimulants which covers meals and food gifts for visitors (14 per cent of income was spent on betel nuts, cigarettes, beer, spirits, tobacco). Refusal to offer gifts or hospitality can have dire results for, as Hogbin (1958:85) put it: 'Melanesian economy is based on reciprocity. Every service rendered and every gift presented has in theory to be returned by a counter service or a counter gift.'¹

The Kerema figures² show a higher percentage of income spent on gifts but fewer visitors than in Hohola, that is, with fewer visitors gifts received cannot be repaid in the form of meals and socially consumed stimulants.

An investigation was made into the kinds of people who receive many gifts, and it was found that a high number of gifts were received by people with a high score in urban associations (or low with low) in eight cases (out of ten). In only four cases were many gifts received by people with many associations with their relatives (and few with few). Thus the gift giving system in Hohola does not appear to be the traditional one of exchange between relatives. If one analyses further the kinds of people to whom gifts are given, an interesting fact emerges. In six out of ten cases high and low scores went together in gifts received and ability to cope, and total associations. Thus it would appear that in Hohola a new kind of gift exchange system had developed, in which gifts are given to people with high status, high status being apparently the ability to cope with urban problems, people and experiences, not having traditional links. Traditional associations and gifts received were, however, related in seven cases (high/high and low/low scores going together).

(ii) Expenditure

Table 8 shows comparative expenditure for Hohola, the mixed cash/subsistence economy and total subsistence economy of Kerema.

(a) Food expenditure. An unexpected finding is that the quantities of foods purchased by the rural Kerema samples (carbohydrate and tinned

¹ For further discussion see pp.75-6.

² See Table 9. The Kerema material was collected and analysed by G. Hogbin and presented in a joint seminar with the author in August 1963. Hogbin studied two groups of village Kerema, one group having some income from rubber trees, the other depending solely on subsistence gardens.

Table 8

Average expenditure per head per month in three contrasting economies

Expenditure	Hohola (total cash economy)		Kerema (mixed cash/subsistence economy)		Kerema (total subsistence economy)	
	Average expenditure per head per month (\$)	% of total expenditure	Average expenditure per head per month (\$)	% of total expenditure	Average expenditure per head per month (\$)	% of total expenditure
Food other than traditional	3.03	28	1.43	21	0.22	39
Gifts	1.50	14	1.73	26		
Stimulants	1.47	14	0.42	6	0.06	11
Rent/fuel/utilities	1.18	11	0.14	2	0.02	4
Fares	0.90	8				
Traditional foods	0.70	6	0.16	2	0.06	11
Clothing	0.60	5	0.92	13		
Banking	0.72	7				
Miscellaneous	0.36	3	0.80	12	0.20	35
Gambling	0.32	3	1.09	16		
Entertainment/ clubs/church	0.04	0.4				
Total expenditure	10.82	99.4	6.69	98	0.56	100

protein) are almost as high as in Hohola. Moreover, belief in Kerema that a man goes to market only because he is incapable of making a good garden himself does not seem to inhibit purchases. There is also a widespread belief that this is the reason for living in towns, including Hohola. Food expenditure is higher in Hohola because of the lack of fertile ground. There is a higher expenditure on imported food in the higher income families.

In the families which kept budget books it was found that total food expenditure rises with the number of visitors rather than with family size, and, as mentioned, it probably therefore hides an important source of repayment of gifts given. It was also found that the number of visitors a family had was not related to percentage of relatives known, income or number of gifts given or received. In 4 cases families with a high number of visitors had high food and stimulant expenditure and in 4 cases families with a low number of visitors had low food and stimulant expenditure. There are 2 cases of small families (Nos.1 and 7) which nevertheless had high expenditure on food (and/or stimulants) and many visitors, and 2 cases of large families, low food expenditure and few visitors (Nos.6 and 11). Thus number of visitors seems a more important determinant of expenditure on food than does family size.

(b) Expenditure on stimulants. Expenditure on stimulants ranked equal second highest in total expenditure. Expenditure is greater in higher income groups and also greater in Hohola than in Kerema. This could be due to increased tension in the urban environment and lack of definition of roles and status, or may merely be due to more visitors. As with food expenditure, stimulant expenditure appears to be associated with number of visitors, for again in 4 cases families with high expenditure on stimulants had many visitors, while 4 families with low stimulant expenditure had few visitors. In 4 of the 5 families with few visitors stimulant expenditure was low, and in the fifth, food expenditure was low but stimulant expenditure high. Since this was the family of a mixed-race man, the reason could be that as he was permitted to drink, he may have done so in private, not only with visitors.

(c) Gifts given. In most Western literature about budgeting, needs are classified as 'basic' (housing, food, clothing, fuel, fares to work) on which major expenditure is recommended, 'other' (entertainment, travel, insurance) on which less expenditure is recommended, and 'luxuries' or gifts on which least expenditure is recommended. In this study gift giving and hospitality were treated as basic needs since they form a vital part of Papuan culture. Lack of reciprocity of food exchange or other gift giving or hospitality results in severe criticism and can lead to social ostracism. For example, one Hohola woman said that she reluctantly but regularly sent gifts to her home village (often causing monetary shortages for her own family) because she feared that if she did not, sorcery would be made by her relatives, causing illness or death in her family. A second instance was observed when a bride payment (of \$890) was made in Hohola some two years after

the marriage. The husband's kin criticised the 'bride' and threatened sorcery for her failure on one occasion to provide adequate hospitality to some members of her husband's village who had come to town. It was found that the number of gifts given was, like gifts received, related not to income or to percentage of relatives known (in fact there was a negative association in the latter case, high/low and low/high scores being related in 8 cases), but was related to urban associations (again in 8 cases high and low scores went together). Also, in 6 cases high/high or low/low scores were associated in total associations, ability to cope and number of visitors. Thus a similar pattern emerges as in the case of gifts received, with the exception that here traditional associations were not associated. Further, high/high and low/low scores were related in 8 cases when gifts given and gifts received were compared.

(d) Other expenditure. Expenditure on rent and fuel is essential in an urban environment. In Hohola, when added to food expenditure, it leaves little more than 55 per cent of income to be spent on other requirements, including clothing.

Expenditure on clothing and miscellaneous items may have increased due to the presence of the investigator and to other atypical occurrences. One family bought a whole set of new clothes for the children, and another man had to pay \$8 tax to his village during the budget recording. The percentage of expenditure on clothing in Hohola was less than half that of the first Kerema group, probably because the cost of urban living leaves little for clothing.

In Hohola, expenditure on entertainment, clubs and church was not high (0.4 per cent or 4c per head per month), but a large proportion of expenditure on fares was in fact fares to entertainment and clubs, not to work or shopping. One husband spent 16 per cent of his total cash income on fares to and from various meetings. Hohola people, then, are not attracted to the 'bright lights' of the town, or if they are they have no money to spend on them.

Saving only occurs in the Hohola group and, contrary to expectation, is least in higher income families. The figures for saving may be higher than normal because one husband banked money to punish his wife after an argument, and at least two families said they had saved during the month of the budget-taking in order to show it in their budget book. Seven out of thirteen families had savings (in the husband's name), and in nine families children had school bank accounts. Total contributions ranged between 20c and 50c per family during the budget-taking month.

Individual differences in expenditure patterns seem more varied in an urban context and are so diverse that group averages are inadequate without indication also of individual differences.

The groups dealt with here are typical of urban lower income groups all over the world where the major item of expenditure is food, consisting

mainly of carbohydrates.¹ Money has bought in Hohola not 'bright lights', fun and durable goods, but sanitation, water, food, garbage disposal and possibly improved health, and people, although elite in terms of the gross income rates of the indigenous Port Moresby population, overspend their income and are thus perpetually in debt, with little chance of saving cash for old age or misfortune. They still therefore rely for these needs on their home villages.

Conclusions

(i) One of the main ways inaccuracies occur in income expenditure studies is through the unavoidable presence of the researcher. In this study it affected expenditure figures on saving, budgeting, gambling, stimulants and clothes. It is important to try to estimate and make allowances for this.

(ii) Gift exchanges cannot be omitted as they form a major item in both complete and partial cash economies. However, their importance is not so much economic as social, since giving and receiving are approximately equal (when 'hidden' forms of gift giving such as sharing meals and stimulants are included) - thus implications of gift exchanges must be analysed in social terms. It was found that people receiving and giving most gifts were not those who had the most associations with relatives, but those who had many urban associations. There was also some evidence that it was those who were successful in the urban situation rather than in the traditional one, who were most active in the Hohola gift exchange system.

(iii) The European classification made in budgeting literature of essential and non-essential needs cannot be applied without considerable modifications in Papua-New Guinea. For example, gifts need to be regarded as essential and perhaps head this category, rather than be classified as non-essential extras, as in European budget systems.

¹ Bettison (1961:7) cites work done in various parts of central and southern Africa which shows that 'families living at minimum wage levels or just above cut down on food intake to make ends meet. The budgets of families with per capita and gross incomes somewhat higher spend much of the additional cash available on increased food purchases. Only the somewhat higher income groups spread their available income over larger purchases of clothes, soap and miscellaneous manufactured commodities.'

Chapter 6

Social problems, and attitudes to Hohola

The following problems were not part of the research design but were raised spontaneously by residents, either seeking specific advice or during general conversation.¹ Although the information was thus gathered unsystematically, the following problems were discussed and seem worth recording briefly as they raise some important issues.

Legal problems

These were mainly concerned with marital matters and included queries about the legality of certain kinds of 're-marriage' and cohabitation, its effects on the rights of children of previous unions, the position regarding legal redress for desertion, and many queries about maintenance payments, divorce and adoption proceedings. 'Adoption' was quite common in Hohola, judging by the frequency with which it occurred in the sample families.² But as this was an informal arrangement it often led to trouble. In one case the true parents wished to take their daughter back after many years' 'adoption', presumably to receive her bride price payment. The adoptive parents felt they should receive part of her bride price but had no legal rights, as no agreement had originally been drawn up.

Requests were also made for help in understanding official correspondence or documents (for example, those relating to Hohola houses), and advice sought on employment difficulties, the possibilities of action following dismissal from work, and what to do when letters concerning pay and long service leave remained unanswered.³ Advice was also sought on court charges for drinking and gambling, and assistance with bail was requested on a number of occasions.

¹ The author's husband was a lawyer in the Public Solicitor's Office and spent much of his time as Defence Counsel for Papuans. He was known by Hohola residents as being sympathetic and his advice was sought frequently.

² See p.79.

³ One man had written three times to the department concerned without answer.

Although the mechanics of legal procedure were unfamiliar to the Hohola people, their implications were generally understood, and legal institutions were sometimes used as instruments against unpopular neighbours or kin - the threat of having 'a case' made against one seemed to be a deterrent to lengthy and violent quarrels, although a few did occur during our residence in Hohola. For example, the welfare officer reported that one man, 'after heavy drinking, chased his wife all day until 7 p.m. when the police came to settle the problem'. Two other cases (both involving people in the sample) were taken to court - that is, they went further than the welfare officer or the District Office in Port Moresby. One involved marital problems, the other alleged non-payment for liquor.

Marital and family problems

Welfare workers and others seemed to feel that urban living created new problems of marital instability.¹ Of the 26 adults in the thirteen families, 16 or 62 per cent had had an earlier marriage, 2 more than once, and 13 (50 per cent) had one or more children from previous marriages. Seven remarriages followed the death of the former spouse. The urban residence scores for 10 of the 16 people were higher than the median, 2 were equivalent to the median and 4 below. In all but 2 cases both husband and wife in a remarriage had been married previously.

Of these 26 adults, 8 had experienced the death of one of their own children, and 4 the death of 2 or more. In 3 families children had been 'given away' to relatives, i.e. they were no longer considered part of the family of birth, and in 4 families children had been 'adopted' (2 in one family). There were no polygynous marriages among the sample families because of the sampling procedure but there were polygynous ones in the general Hohola population, including one man with three wives. Numerous quarrels and beatings were recorded by welfare staff from families with two or more wives, but the comparable number occurring in monogamous families was not given.² Women's attitudes to polygynous marriage were generally negative. Remarks were made such as that there is 'not enough money for all, too many fights'.

Money was one of the most common areas of disagreement between husbands and wives. The welfare officer reported several cases of families without money for food because of the husband's drinking or payment of fines for drinking.³ In several cases husbands threatened

¹ In the absence of data from their societies of origin it cannot be claimed with any certainty that marital instability has increased. Divorce is very common in some traditional Papuan societies.

² This was possibly due to the fact that the welfare officer concerned had definite views on the evils of polygamy.

³ The study took place before drinking by indigenous people was legalised.

to withhold or bank money. This control of money was a new power for men, and emphasised a new kind of urban dependence of women on their husbands in contrast with a village economy where women generally had at least some control of basic food resources. Several disagreements over gift exchanges were reported. In one family the husband agreed to more gifts being sent to the wife's relatives, believing it natural for a woman to feel closer to and more responsible for her parents than a man. In another family the wife was very bitter because more gifts were sent to the husband's relatives, and the husband also spent a great deal of money on clubs and committees.

The problem of limiting families created much strife (wives being more concerned about this than husbands).¹

Several husbands criticised their wives' housework, saying they were lazy, dirty or wasted money, and that they went out visiting or gambling too much; in return, several wives criticised their husbands for drinking, wasting money and bringing home too many friends and relatives.

Adolescent children created problems. In a family with adolescent daughters, parents quarrelled as to whether they should continue school, work, or marry. The wife wanted them to continue schooling and then work, the husband wanted them to marry so that he could receive bride price. Prostitution was also becoming a problem in Hohola.² One family was openly accused of sending their daughter out for money, and there were rumours of others. Adolescent sons in two families were in legal trouble, one was in gaol for forgery of cheques, and another was being pursued for alimony for his abandoned wife and daughter. Parents with whom problems of adolescence were discussed believed that, because of their own inferior education, they had lost the control and respect of their children who themselves saw in education the answer to all their aspirations. They also suggested that facilities for older children were lacking in Hohola and in New Guinea generally and that children thus 'got into bad ways'. Disillusionment and frustration result when education does not bring wealth, power and all that is desired. This in turn leads to aggression and resentment in both personal and social relations.

Contraception

In attitudes towards and practices of birth control, the dichotomy between traditional and urban attitudes appeared clearly.³ Many women

¹ See bottom of this page and p.81.

² Towards the end of the study there was a large number of U.S. armed forces personnel based not far from Hohola. These and single Australian men with their seemingly limitless money were an attraction, as was the possibility of their being prospective husbands or sons-in-law.

³ See also p.47.

discussed various kinds of traditional contraception which they knew of or used, but only two women in the sample said they had used some form of contraception, and five said they knew nothing about it nor whom to ask about it. In fact the most common means of birth control in Hohola seemed to be husband and wife sleeping separately. In all the language groups there was a customary ban on intercourse (though not always adhered to) for one to two years after the birth of a child, i.e. until weaning began (although some women said they tried to delay weaning as they did not want more children for a while). Other methods known and used included a mixture of soot and betel nut prepared and eaten by the women, a bitter root extract mixture taken by men, or the chewing of a certain kind of tree bark. Soot, produced by burning a particular kind of wood and the infusion of the young leaves Alstonia Macrophylla Barringtonia, was drunk weekly at certain periods by some women.¹ Other women believed that their traditional methods did not work, and cited cases in which pregnancy had occurred after taking such precautions. Several believed that Europeans knew the secret of birth control but said they were afraid to consult a doctor, particularly a male doctor, for to be seen naked by them (which they believed was necessarily involved) would cause them shame. The author was asked for advice on this by several families and by one husband who had tried the root mixture to no avail. He showed some knowledge of more reliable methods which he had picked up from European work mates, but was worried about the cost involved. He said he had four children and, as his wife became ill during pregnancy and birth, they wanted no more.²

Women, particularly, were most concerned about this problem for they felt that in town, where they were almost entirely dependent on money, a large number of children increased the already difficult economic situation. Attitudes to contraception may be an important key in assessing degree of urbanisation. Four of the five women in the sample, for example, who said they knew nothing about birth control, scored low on urbanisation, while the two women who said they knew of some birth control methods both scored high on urbanisation, as did two others who said they would go to a doctor for advice.³

¹ The leaves of this plant were said to be sold by Rigo men and were hard to get. The plant was subject to scientific investigation in Australia and the United States in the early 1960s, and showed definite anti-littering properties in rats.

² The problems involved in contraception were due partly to lack of money and partly to difficulties in getting supplies and following instructions accurately. At the end of the study, a birth control clinic, which would give pills free of charge to families with five or more children, was being set up in Port Moresby.

³ Fabre-Luce (1964:73 and passim) sees the desire to limit the number of children in order to give them better opportunities as not only one of the greatest progressive forces, but also a crucial measure of motivation and personality.

Women's reactions to news of a pregnancy were either those of pity or glee, depending on whether the woman concerned was friend or enemy, and the size of her family already. A woman who had abandoned her family and gone away with another woman's husband, was rumoured triumphantly to be pregnant, which was seen as a fitting punishment.

Witchcraft, sorcery and magic

The relationship of witchcraft and sorcery to particular cases of illness or death was a common topic of conversation in Hohola. Although medical institutions were used by Hohola residents, they seemed to be regarded as rather unimportant and not able to combat or withstand the power of witchcraft and sorcery over sickness and death.

The connection between misfortune (particularly sickness and death) and witchcraft or sorcery has already been mentioned in relation to not maintaining the gift exchange system.¹ All the women in the sample believed that there was a strong direct connection between the two, and that no giving to kin could result in swollen feet and stomach or even death. They also all believed that if a baby was not carefully watched in the garden, it would be killed by sorcery (it was believed that this was the cause of death of two children of sample women). One woman believed that her first husband had been killed in his village by sorcery worked by people who thought he was too clever and too co-operative with the Administration. Jealousy was also believed to have caused the mental retardation of a man staying with one sample family. It was said that he used to have particularly good gardens until sorcery was performed on his betel nut. Another man's attack of pneumonia was said to be due to sorcery made by the relatives of a lover he was alleged to have killed many years ago.

Even people in hospital were not immune to sorcery. It was said to have caused the death of one woman who died there. There was not always complete agreement as to cause, however. A car accident not far from Hohola, in which a man and his four months old baby (relatives of a Hohola resident) were killed, was interpreted in two ways. One woman said it occurred because the man had taken his sister from her husband and given her to another man, while someone else said it occurred because the man's wife became pregnant again while she was still breast feeding.

Apart from witchcraft and sorcery, other causes given for illness and death were deep resentment or neglect. For example, the death of a small boy was attributed to the fact that his father did not let him go home to the village as he had wanted, and the periodic illness of an old woman was believed to be 'love sick' as a result of her married daughter's neglect.

¹ See pp.75-6.

Even the women who scored highest in urban categories and sub-categories had strong beliefs about witchcraft and sorcery. Such beliefs have obvious implications for any health or economic programmes and it is important for those involved in them to realise that urbanisation (including formal education) does not necessarily alter these beliefs.

It was believed that sorcery and magic could also attract or repel lovers. One of the sample women believed her present husband attracted her by these means, causing her to leave her first husband.

Race relations

The question of relations between people from different indigenous cultural groups was, as mentioned, a basic problem for Hohola people. Relations with other races were also frequently discussed. Relations with Indonesians were a current topic at the time of study, when the Indonesians took over West New Guinea. Many rumours circulated about the nature and activities of Indonesians; one of the sample women, for example, said she had heard the Indonesians 'don't have one man, one woman, but anyone for anyone'. It was also rumoured that an Indonesian had been photographed on a hill in Port Moresby allegedly attempting to cut off all radio contact. American planes used in a geodetic survey of New Guinea often flew over Hohola at night, provoking fears of an invasion. One woman reported having terrible nightmares of Hohola being overrun by Indonesians and everyone being killed except her. Discussions often took place as to the merits of administration by Indonesia or Australia and concluding remarks were often made with the implication 'better the devil you know than the devil you don't'.

As far as the 'devil' known was concerned, attitudes were ambiguous.¹ The legislative prescription of inequalities in wages and housing for Europeans and indigenes created a focal point for what was before a strongly felt but more widely dispersed resentment. Inequalities of power, privilege and possessions, as perceived in living standards and attitudes, were bitterly resented. As one Hohola man asked 'why do we pay \$2.80 per fortnight for rent and a European in Boroko only \$1.80?'² A Hohola woman, describing the visit of a Papuan politician to her home in the course of a private survey he was making on housing conditions in Port Moresby, agreed with his statement that 'Europeans live well, natives like dogs'. Discrimination in speech and attitudes shown in

¹ As no attitude study was carried out, remarks made in this section are based on random observations only.

² Boroko is a European housing area in Port Moresby, where even a young married couple without children (in government employ) is allocated a spacious three-bedroom house and garden, generally with servant's quarters. The rent of Europeans is subsidised.

houses, shops, hotels and public transport was also common, and can perhaps be best expressed by the statement of another Hohola man, 'I can't sit down in a European house'.

The reason for racially discriminatory behaviour was constantly being sought by Hohola people. Some put it down to dislike or fear, such as the woman who said, 'they feel we are dirty and smelly and are afraid of us, and we are afraid of them'. Others recognised discriminatory behaviour as the expression of something deeper and more difficult to handle than merely dislike or fear, and that basic cultural differences in values and concepts of morality were involved. Although this expression was often couched in economic terms such as 'we are born in the garden, Europeans in money', more fundamental differences were implied and in some cases made explicit. The following quotation from a woman in the sample illustrates the recognition of differences, and also the ambivalent feelings which result: 'We want European ways, but we are not Europeans.... We like our customs but if these are followed (for example, gift exchange) we can't save or have European things.' Another woman said she liked the way European men 'help women carry heavy things and open car doors', but not the way they keep people (particularly Papuans) waiting and do not share their food. These references to lack of sharing support the views of several anthropologists, such as Burridge (1960:36) who suggests that part of the incomprehensibility of European behaviour is due to the fact that kinship, one of the most important indigenous institutions implying complex moral obligations, is absent (or extremely weak) in the European value system.¹ Kinship morality includes not only sharing food, but also knowledge and possessions, and, Belshaw (1954:83) would add, intimacy.² The refusal of Europeans to share these, and particularly their knowledge of how to obtain wealth, even in conditions of constant contact, was both incomprehensible and deeply resented.

The question of how people form the configurations 'us' and 'others' cannot be discussed in detail here, although the understanding of how relationships between the two are formed and viewed is crucial to any discussion of 'race relations'. The forming of egalitarian relationships between Europeans and Papuans was difficult because of the differences already discussed; indeed, Burridge (1960:24) is of the opinion that the attempt of New Guineans 'to establish their integrity as men in relation to administrative officers and missionaries forms a large part of the story of a cargo cult'. Hogbin (1958:216) notes that Christianity, which is known to be the religion of the European,

¹ Hogbin (1958:184) maintained that 'kinship still provides the essential basis for the native social structure; indeed, it has proved to be the most conservative element in Melanesian society'.

² Sinclair, a psychiatrist, suggests (1962:13) that 'lack of emotional communication is the most important cause of resentment'.

'proclaims the spiritual equality of man; but colonial settlers are rarely willing to practice the ethical implications of the doctrine. Such hypocrisy has repelled dependent peoples everywhere'. The following quotation from a Hohola resident exemplifies this: 'The missionaries would not eat with us. They would be eating and not ask us in but make us wait outside till our heads spun round with hunger. They are supposed to be Christians, but they don't act in Christian ways.'

Thus while indigenous people focused their resentment on inequalities in wages and housing, deeper differences were also perceived, some of which were accepted, some of which were considered intolerable. For an improvement in 'us'-'other' relations from either point of view, it would seem necessary to increase the tolerance of some cultural differences, and rapidly to abandon the other differences. Hohola people seemed willing to do what they could to improve relations, but felt they must be met half way.

Attitudes of wives to Hohola and home village

The thirteen sample women were questioned about their attitudes to Hohola and the likelihood of their remaining there permanently.¹ The questions were left open and no advantages or disadvantages were suggested by the interviewer. Some women mentioned only 3 points, some 23, but in setting out the data all answers have been added together, showing the number of times a particular criticism or advantage was mentioned.

(i) Good things about Hohola. For adult women, the following opinions were given (in order of frequency): household conveniences (such things as water and light, cooking, washing and ironing facilities, equipment, house, land, etc.) formed the most often mentioned category (30 times). Food was mentioned 7 times and included variety, the availability of 'European food', the greater ease with which food could be obtained, and the possibility of having a meal in the middle of the day. Meetings, sports and community activities (7), the possibility of escaping from village obligations (6), the opportunity to see films (6), the availability of work for husbands (5), and less work for wives (3) were all seen as advantages. The possibility of being able to drink and gamble was mentioned by 3 women, having flower gardens by 2, and one woman said she liked the availability of transport.

Good things for children were mentioned less often: being near school (10), facilities for recreation (4), health clinic and hospital services (4), and the possibility of children 'learning European ways' (2).

(ii) Bad things about Hohola. The most frequent criticism concerned money (13). Women said Hohola itself, or travel and food, were too

¹ For questions asked, see Appendix 1.

expensive. The next most frequent complaint concerned the houses (11): that they were too small, too hot, had bad stoves or toilets, lacked storage facilities, furniture and mosquito wiring, and that they flooded badly.¹ One woman (and many others not in the sample) complained about the insecurity of tenancy.

Drinking, gambling, stealing, lack of unity ('too many languages', 'we don't have a leader'), lack of community efforts and complaints that 'we work too hard' (washing, cleaning, collecting wood, preparing breakfast and lunch) were each mentioned 5 times. Complaints about food were made 3 times (lack of variety of food - particularly in rations - and lack of 'native food'). Complaints were also made about gossip (3), ill-mannered children (2), the lack of relatives (2), and in one case the distance a child had to go to high school. Another woman mentioned boredom as a problem.

(iii) Good things about home village. Things mentioned were that it was less expensive (6), that hunting and fishing were possible, that there were relatives to help (each 4), that there was a lot of community activity, and that people were happy (each 3). Two women mentioned the nearness of the local school, and outdoor activities, 'less work' and the possibility of being one's 'own boss' were mentioned once.

(iv) Bad things about home village. There was more work gardening and obtaining wood and water (5), there was a lack of 'nice things' meaning clothes, shops, etc. (4), there were periods of food shortage, lack of variety of food and no money (each 3), and finally family quarrels, the forgetting of 'European ways' by children, dirty villages and the lack of beer were each mentioned once.

These comments fall into two major categories: criticism of antisocial factors, and favourable comments concerning social activities or activities which help unite people. Apart from 24 criticisms of the houses or money, 17 of the remaining 27 concerned antisocial things such as the effects of drinking (fighting), stealing, lack of unity, gossip, lack of relatives, and 'rude children'.

Good things about Hohola included 57 comments covering facilities such as pictures, transport, schools, and household conveniences. Of the remaining 36 comments, only 12 concerned social factors - community activities, drinking (social effects) and gambling. In contrast, when discussing bad things about home villages there was no mention of antisocial factors, but 7 out of 22 criticisms concerned food, this obviously being a major problem for village people. In discussing good things about home villages, again there was an emphasis on food, 10 out of 26 answers being concerned with it, but of the remaining 16 favourable comments, 14 dealt with social factors - community activities, feelings of happiness, having relatives nearby, hunting and fishing.

¹ Several women said this was so bad that at times they had to sleep on the table.

This suggests that the first need of such migrants is to recreate a new and friendly group around them before being able to cope with new problems. Hohola women perceived Hohola as rather antisocial and loosely structured in comparison with their villages. They try to remedy this largely through participation in informal groups and social networks.

Residential stability

Since the financing of the tenant purchase scheme in Hohola is planned to cover approximately thirty years from the date of occupancy, it seemed essential to discover what people were planning to do in their old age (which in most cases would come much earlier than at the end of the thirty-year period) and so several questions were asked on this subject.

Eight of the thirteen families went to Hohola at the suggestion of their employers and most (10) women regarded it in terms of expediency - a place to live for a period, such as the duration of their husbands' working lives or children's schooling. Eleven planned to return to their village to be looked after by their children or relatives in their old age. Much of the contact maintained with home villages is to facilitate this. It is a kind of insurance policy, for people find they cannot save money while living in Hohola and that they will have no security in their old age other than support from the village. This suggests that a permanent Hohola may not materialise until the next generation matures. Only 2 women considered living in Hohola in their old age. Both were involved in mixed marriages, one to a mixed-race man, and the other was herself the product of a mixed marriage and had lived nearly all her life in Port Moresby. Her husband, however, wanted to return to his village in his old age. In only one other case did the husband's and wife's plans for old age conflict: both wanted to return to their home area, but whereas she wanted to live in the village, he wanted to start a store near the mission station.

Chapter 7

General findings and recommendations

Findings

(i) Hohola people, though elite in terms of education and wages in comparison with other Port Moresby indigenous residents, were as a result of urban requirements living just above subsistence level, with little expenditure on entertainment or luxuries but considerable expenditure on stimulants. Visitors were frequent, and they, rather than family size, determined food expenditure.

(ii) Factors disliked about Hohola, besides housing and financial problems, were those indicating lack of unity and leadership and anti-social tendencies.

(iii) Factors liked about Hohola were those which increase unity and the provision of physical facilities. These two findings, although peripheral to the hypotheses, support the theoretical basis of the study, since they indicate that the need to re-form a strong social structure is consciously acknowledged by the migrants themselves.

(iv) Most of the sample families plan to return to their villages in their old age and thus maintain strong links with them and their kin. Thus, if generalisations can be made from the sample, Hohola has not a stable or permanent population.

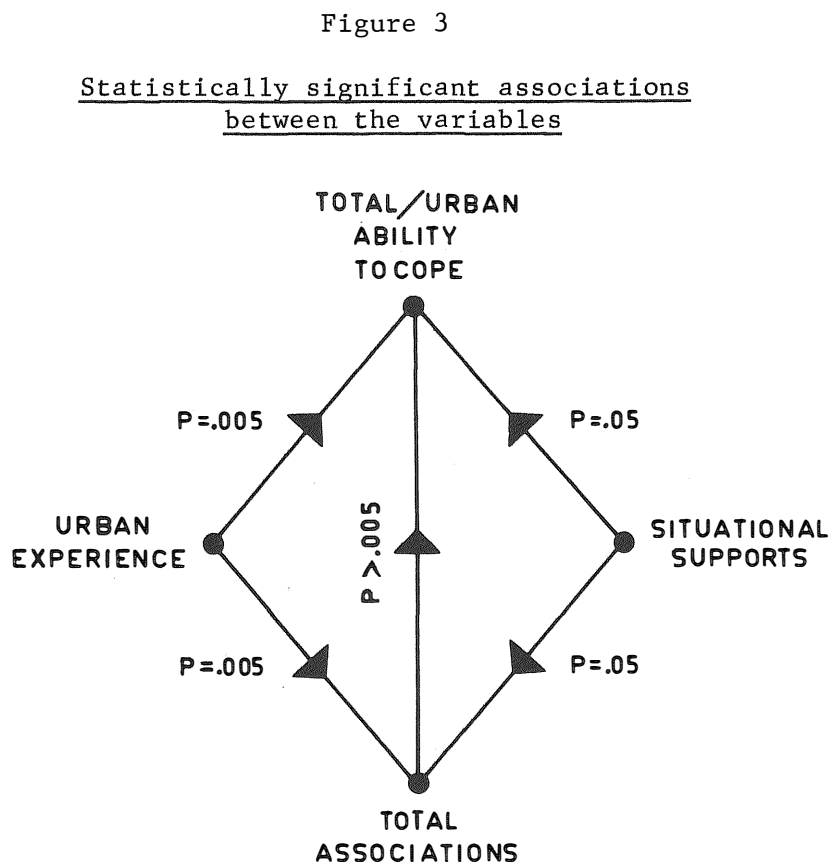
(v) Statistically significant evidence supports the two hypotheses,¹ and also illustrates the existence of high and low ability syndromes. While no evidence was found to support Bott's theory of the relationship between conjugal role segregation and connectedness of networks, there was some evidence which was not incompatible with hers and other theories about the decrease in kin relationships with increasing urban associations.

(vi) Urbanisation was found not to imply a lack of traditional links or associations, i.e. contrary to expectations there is not one traditional-urban axis along which migrants pass during their adjustment to urban life but a significant correlation between two parallel axes.

¹ See pp.14-15.

Further, an individual's total associations or the complexity of his social network is a more significant indication of his level of urbanisation than are the number of his traditional links.

The significant relationships between the variables are summarised in Figure 3.



(vii) In Hohola pressures towards particular kinds of group formation and identification were seen in attitudes and ability to cope expressed in the completed questionnaires, as well as in the fact that spontaneously organised informal groups were more active and better supported than externally controlled formal ones. Personal observations also revealed the same desire for social cohesion. For example, the views of many who witnessed a fight between the families of two respected church elders were summed up by one woman who said 'it was bad to see our leaders fighting'. Deaths and illnesses in Hohola were nearly always attributed to the supernatural consequences of breaking social 'rules', and there was overt criticism of antisocial behaviour such as fighting or marital desertion. Women in the sample and important leaders in Hohola all felt that different churches should not be allowed to purchase land in Hohola lest this divide the population and also that

the Hohola Progress Association should be given more power to enable it to unify Hohola.

(viii) Gift exchanges were not so important in terms of profit or loss as they were socially important in creating and maintaining networks of personal associations and obligations, and indicating status. Gift exchanges with home villages were also a kind of social security for old age. People who received the highest number of gifts also scored highest in urbanisation and belonged to the high ability syndrome.

Recommendations

(i) As the first need in Hohola seemed to be for people to regain the sense of security and group involvement which they had in their villages, these group pressures and the increasing expansion of social networks with increasing urban experience were healthy signs which should be encouraged by all possible means.

(ii) If most Hohola people carried out their intention to return to their village in their old age (which will be before the thirty-year tenant purchase period is concluded), the present scheme of financing Hohola houses would be unrealistic unless the house was transferred to another member of the family. On the other hand, experience elsewhere in the Pacific suggests that many of those who intended to return to their villages in fact remain in town.¹ Present tenants hope to be looked after by their children and relatives on their retirement in the villages and therefore maintain their traditional links as security. This, however, may be unrealistic if the relatives are of the same generation, since they, too, will be too old to work, and the existing gulf between them and their children's generation is likely to have increased so that the latter may no longer be prepared to return to the village or to maintain their parents. It would seem, therefore, that some kind of pension scheme will become increasingly necessary.

(iii) Adoption of the British garden allotment system could perhaps lead to reduced food expenditure and increased women's responsibility in providing for their families, thus not shattering so abruptly some of their important village task systems. But this is not a propitious environment, physically or culturally, for such a scheme. The soil is poor and individual gardens unproductive, though perhaps group land could be set aside under the control of the Progress Association, for example, and some kind of rotation system organised.

¹ The Hula in old age retire to live with their nearest kin wherever they are living, and several old people live in Port Moresby, including Hohola. Some of the more sprightly septuagenarians regularly commute between town and village.

(iv) It seems that the women best able to benefit from courses and special lectures, and therefore those to choose for adult education courses or the spreading of information, are the 'bridge women', those with the largest range of associations, both traditional and urban, who are therefore followed by people with both orientations. Further, since Hohola people are elite in terms of income and education but have very little money after basic needs are satisfied, any household management courses should deal with basic problems of food storage, preservation and selection. In any budget advice, allowance must be made for traditional obligations under the heading of primary needs.

(v) It would seem that the future aims of the Hohola women's club need to be carefully reconsidered and clarified. In women's clubs in Papua-New Guinea, there seem to be three main aims - to teach new knowledge, to widen association networks, and to enable women to experience democratic processes, personal authority and independence. The method of running a club is determined by which of these aims is dominant. In Hohola, the second aim is the most urgent, since women's ability to cope with urban problems appears likely to rise as their association networks increase (especially their urban networks). In Hohola, with its mixed population, the women's club should perhaps be seen as a unifying social institution, in which case far more recreational activities led by Hohola women themselves should be the aim. Also, more trained indigenous welfare workers are essential, since they can more easily lead and participate, rather than merely teach or direct. Once club attendance is accepted as an enjoyable experience rather than as a mere repetition or new sophistication of household tasks, then perhaps educational activities could be introduced, if the women (and their husbands) feel the need for them, and when they feel secure enough in their new environment to benefit from them.

Appendix 1

Questionnaires*

a. Wife

Wives' interview schedule, Hohola: I

Address: Section _____ Lot _____

Interviews: Date _____ What _____ Times _____

Identification data and education

Name	Area	Place of birth	Date of birth	Mission	Place school	Std	No Yes	Whereabouts	Score
Other training courses, exams, subjects:									

Marriage

(a) Present

Date: _____ Place _____ Ceremony _____
 Payments: Wife _____ Husband _____

(b) Previous

	Language group	Children	Whereabouts
Wife			
Husband			

Languages

	Children	Parents husband/wife	Others
Children			
Wife			
Husband			

Urbanisation

1. Residence history

(a) Towns

	Name	Period	Reason
Wife			
Husband			

(b) Stations

	Name	Period	Reason
Wife			
Husband			

* In the original each form was spaced out over a foolscap sheet. They are reproduced here with only the written matter shown, and also photographed down to smaller size.

When to Hohola? (husband) _____
 " " " (wife) _____
 When to Port Moresby? (husband) _____
 " " " (wife) _____

2. Employment history

Name	Jobs	Place	Period held	Wage
Other sources of income (rations, sewing, relatives, gifts)				

Traditional experience

1. Participation in ceremonies (births, deaths, marriage, Christmas, etc.)

Since living in Hohola have you/husband/children taken part in any feasts or ceremonies in your own village?

Score

	Date (no. of times)	Ceremony	Contributions
Wife			
Husband			
Children			

2. Residence of relatives

- (a) Where does your father/mother come from: father _____ mother _____
 (b) Is he/she still alive? _____
 (c) Where does he/she/siblings/other relatives live? _____

Score

	Mother	Father	Siblings	Others
Wife				
Husband				

3. Gift exchanges

Since living in Hohola:

	Date	Amount/kind	To/from	Attitude	More Less
Sent					
Received					

4. Village visited

Time	H/W village	Activities	Period	Who went	Gifts	When next

5. Relatives visiting

Since living in Hohola:

- (a) Have you had many people visiting you? _____
 (b) Who (relatives, friends) _____
 (c) H/W most? _____
 (d) When came? _____
 (e) Did they bring any gifts when they came? Town _____ Village _____
 (f) What do you think of these visits? _____
 (g) More/less than would have in village? _____

6. Relatives staying

- (a) Have you had many people staying in your house? _____

Score

Who	H/W	Period	Reason	Contribution
-----	-----	--------	--------	--------------

- (b) What do you think about these visitors? _____
 (c) More/less than would have in village? _____

7. Rights to land

	Wife	Husband	Score
(a) Do you have any land under cultivation in village now? _____			
If so, what crops? _____			
who planted? _____			
who will harvest? _____			
do you share? _____			
(b) Do you own any trees in the village now? _____			
If so, what trees? _____			
who uses? _____			
do you get a share? _____			
are the trees yours exclusively or shared? _____			
(c) Do you have a home site of your own in the village? _____			
If so, any house on it now? _____			
who uses? _____			
where would you build if you went back? _____			
If not, do you want one? _____			
could you get one? _____			
who would you go to? _____			
who would allocate? _____			
(d) What other land do you hold now? _____			
(proprietary rights) _____			
(actual usage) _____			
Is it your alone, or yours and siblings, or your lineage or clan? _____			
Who protects your rights now? _____			
Who uses the land? _____			
Do you intend going back to it? _____			
Do you intend sending a child back to it? _____			

Wives' interview schedule, Hohola: II

Contact with others

Same/other language group

1. Same language group (wife's)

What are the names of people who speak your language and live in:

(a) Hohola (ones you know, visit reciprocally, meet and talk with)

Wife	Area	Husband	Area	Religion	Where live	Meet where	Language	Visit them	Visit you	Eat	Other	Score

(b) Port Moresby and environs (ones you know, visit reciprocally, meet and talk with)

Wife	Area	Husband	Area	Religion	Where live	Meet where	Language	Visit them	Visit you	Eat	Other	Score

2. Same language group (husband's)

What are the names of people who speak the same language as your husband (only if mixed marriage)

(a) Hohola

Wife	Area	Husband	Area	Religion	Where live	Meet where	Language	Visit them	Visit you	Eat	Other	Score

(b) Port Moresby and environs

Wife	Area	Husband	Area	Religion	Where live	Meet where	Language	Visit them	Visit you	Eat	Other	Score

3. Other language group (not wife's)

Do you know any people who are not from _____ (visit reciprocally sometimes, meet and talk to sometimes)

(a) Hohola

Wife	Area	Husband	Area	Religion	Where live	Meet where	Language	Visit them	Visit you	Eat	Other	Score

(b) Port Moresby and environs

Wife	Area	Husband	Area	Religion	Where live	Meet where	Language	Visit them	Visit you	Eat	Other	Score

4. Other language groups (not husband's)

Do you know any people who are not from _____ (visit reciprocally sometimes, meet and talk to sometimes)

(a) Hohola

Wife	Area	Husband	Area	Religion	Where live	Meet where	Language	Visit them	Visit you	Eat	Other	Score

(b) Port Moresby and environs

Wife	Area	Husband	Area	Religion	Where live	Meet where	Language	Visit them	Visit you	Eat	Other	Score

5. Other language groups (not husband's or wife's)

Do you know any people who are not from _____ (visit reciprocally sometimes, meet and talk to sometimes)

(a) Hohola

Wife	Area	Husband	Area	Religion	Where live	Meet where	Language	Visit them	Visit you	Eat	Other	Score

(b) Port Moresby and environs

Wife	Area	Husband	Area	Religion	Where live	Meet where	Language	Visit them	Visit you	Eat	Other	Score

Friends

Who are your best friends (i.e. people who visit reciprocally regularly, eat together, discuss problems with, etc.)

Wife	Area	Husband	Area	Religion	Where live	Meet where	Language	Visit them	Visit you	Eat	Other	Score

Europeans

Do you know any Europeans?

Wife	Area	Husband	Area	Religion	Where live	Meet where	Language	Visit them	Visit you	Eat	Other	Score

Neighbours (draw out a map of houses in immediate area)

Taking neighbourhood house by house -

Score

- (a) What are names of husband, wife _____
 (b) Where do they come from? _____
 (c) Where does wife come from? _____
 (d) What language do you use in speaking to them? _____
 (e) What work does the husband do? _____

Score

- (g) Do your children play with theirs? _____
 (h) Do they visit you (how often, what do you do?) _____
 (i) Do you visit them? (how often, what do you do?) _____
 (j) Do you meet them elsewhere, clubs, etc.? _____
 (k) Degree of liking (good neighbours, helpful if in trouble, etc.) _____

Exposure to mass mediaScore(a) Radio

Do you have a radio _____
 If yes, when did you get it? _____
 If no, do you listen to other people's radio? _____
 What programmes do you like to listen to best? _____
 What programmes does your husband like to listen to best? _____
 Is the radio on most of the day or only sometimes? When? _____

(b) Books

Do you have any books? (look) _____
 What kinds? (text - school) _____
 What books do you like reading? _____
 What books does your husband like reading? _____
 Do you/husband/children belong to a library? _____
 Which one? _____

(c) Magazines/newspapers

Do you have any magazines? _____
 Which ones? _____
 What magazines do you like best? _____
 What magazines does your husband like best? _____
 Do you have a subscription to any magazine/newspaper? (which) _____
 Does your husband have a subscription to any magazine/newspaper? (which) _____
 Do you read South Pacific Post? _____ When? (everytime, sometimes) _____
 Does your husband read the South Pacific Post? _____ When? (everytime, sometimes) _____
 Do you read other papers? _____ (which, when) _____
 Does your husband read other papers? _____ (which, when) _____

(d) Films

Do you ever go to the pictures? _____ (how often?) _____
 Do your children go to the pictures? _____ (how often?) _____
 Does your husband go to the pictures? _____ (how often?) _____
 Where do you usually go? _____
 Who goes? (all the family, friends, etc.) _____
 What kinds of pictures do you like? _____
 What kinds of pictures does your husband like? _____
 When did you last go to the pictures? _____
 When did your husband last go to the pictures? _____
 Where did you go? _____
 Where did your husband go? _____
 What did you see? _____
 What did your husband see? _____
 Do you go to Hohola films? _____
 Does your husband go to Hohola films? _____
 How often do you go? _____
 How often does your husband go? _____

Clubs/committees

	<u>Clubs/committees</u>	<u>Language</u>	<u>Office held</u>	<u>Who meet</u>	<u>Time/place</u>	<u>Activities</u>	<u>Score</u>
Husband							
Wife							
Children							

Social/anti-social behaviourHearsay evidence (or other)

	Wife	Score	Husband	Score
Drinking				
Gambling				
Non-co/op				
Stealing				
Friendliness				
Helpfulness				

Wives' interview schedule, Hohola: IIIHousehold managementScore(a) Salary, savings, etc.

When does your husband get paid? _____ How much? _____
 Who keeps the money (husband, wife - some/all) _____
 What happens (does wife budget in any way) _____
 What do you find you spend most money on? _____
 Do you find it hard to save? _____
 Do you have any savings (how much?) _____ What for, bank book, etc. _____
 Does your husband have any savings? How much _____ What for, bank book, etc. _____
 Do you have any debts? What for? _____ How much? _____
 Do you have credit at any store? Which? What for? (run out of goods, or easier) _____
 Do you keep any accounts, bills, etc.? _____
 Does your husband keep any accounts, bills, etc.? _____
 When do you pay the accounts? _____ Who pays? _____

(b) Rent (check with housing office files)

Is the house being purchased or rented? _____
 How much rent do you pay? _____
 When do you usually pay it? _____ Who pays? _____
 Did you pay your rent last month? (Don't ask, check with records) _____
 Have you kept any money aside to pay the rent this month? _____ How much, usually _____

(c) Electricity

What electrical things do you have? _____
 Do you have a meter? _____
 Do you ever run out of shillings for it? _____ When? _____ What did you do? _____
 Do you ever keep shillings aside for the meter? _____ What in? _____ How much? _____
 Do you ever use lamps? _____ When? _____

(d) Firewood

Where do you get it? _____ Do you find it hard - collect from bush _____
 When do you get it (times per week) _____ Regularly? When run out? _____
 How long does it last? _____

(e) Food

Should adults and children eat the same food? _____
 Are some things better for children to eat than others? _____ What? _____ Why? _____
 Are some things bad for children to eat? _____ What? _____ Why? _____
 Do you find it hard to get the kind of food you like? _____ What? _____ Why? _____
 Do you eat European food? _____ What? _____ When? _____
 How many meals does your family have in a day? _____
 When do you decide on menu? _____ When do you buy? _____
 Do you go fishing? _____
 Does your husband go fishing? _____
 Do you have a garden? _____ Does anyone help you with it? _____ Who? _____
 Do you sometimes run out of money for food? _____ When? _____ What do you do? _____
 Provision for food storage (also observe) _____

(f) Shopping

Score

Who does the shopping? _____ When? _____ Where? _____
 How many times do you go shopping (per day, per week)? _____ Hohola? _____ Koke? _____
 When/where do you buy fresh meat? _____

(g) Rubbish

What do you do with your rubbish? (also observe) _____

Equipment(a) No. of electric things

Hand sewing machine _____
 Electric sewing machine _____
 Electric iron _____
 Electric jug _____

(b) Cooking pots

Several saucepans only _____
 Few saucepans and boilers _____
 Boilers only _____

(c) Crockery

China only _____
 Enamel and china _____
 Enamel only _____

(d) Cutlery(e) General kitchen/living room

Refrigerator (electric) _____ (Kerosene) _____
 (Electric stove _____
 (wood stove _____
 (open grate _____
 Cannisters, containers _____
 Kitchen table _____
 Other tables _____
 Chairs (kitchen) _____
 Chairs (easy) _____
 Sofa, bed, etc. _____
 Bookcase _____
 Floor coverings (carpet, rugs) _____
 (mats, grass) _____
 Other (e.g. clock) _____

(f) Bedrooms

Beds (wire) _____
 Beds (wooden) _____
 Mattresses _____
 Cots _____
 Bookcases _____
 Boxes _____
 Dressing table _____
 Chest drawers _____
 Floor coverings (carpet, seagrass, rugs) _____
 " " (mats) _____
 Small cupboard _____
 Others _____

1	2	3	

Maintenance(i) Garden

Good _____
 Fair _____
 Bad _____
 Nothing done _____

(ii) House

Good _____
 Fair _____
 Bad _____

Improvements made	Score
Shelves _____	
Floor painted _____	
Pictures on wall _____	
Curtains, kitchen _____	
" bedrooms _____	
Furniture (home made) _____	
<u>Child care</u>	
<u>General</u>	
How many children is it good to have? _____	
Do you know of any customs which can prevent you having children? _____	
What things do you hope your children will do when they grow up (list children) _____	
(school, work, marriage, back to village) _____	
<u>Health</u>	
Have your children been sick since you came to Hohola? _____	
What did you do? _____	
How often do the older children have a shower, or babies get washed? _____	
Do you have any mosquito nets? _____ How many? _____ Who for? _____	
When do the children go to bed? _____ Weekdays _____ Weekends _____	
What time should children go to bed? _____ Weekend _____ Weekdays _____	
<u>Observe</u> : cleanliness of children; appropriateness of clothing.	
<u>Check records</u> : regularity of attendance at welfare clinic.	
Do all the children know how to use the toilet? _____	
Do children sleep with parents? _____	
With other children? _____ Separate beds _____	
<u>Control</u>	
What do you do if your children do something you think is wrong? _____	
What do you do when they fight with other children? _____ Fight parents? _____	
How do you punish them? _____	
<u>Education</u>	
Do your children go to school? (answered in previous question) _____	
<u>Check records</u> : regularity of attendance at school.	
<u>Attitudes</u>	
<u>Intention of staying and attitude to Hohola and future</u>	
Why did you come to Hohola? _____	
Did you want to come? _____	
Do you intend to stay here? _____ How long? _____ Why? _____	
What will you do when you get old? _____	
When do you next intend going back to your village? _____ When? _____ Why? _____ What for? _____	
What sort of things are good about Hohola for you? _____	
" " " " " bad " " " " " _____	
What sort of things are good about Hohola for your children? _____	
" " " " " bad " " " " " _____	
What sort of things are good about Hohola for your husband? _____	
" " " " " bad " " " " " _____	
What sort of things are good about the village for you? _____	
" " " " " bad " " " " " _____	
What sort of things are good about the village for your children? _____	
" " " " " bad " " " " " _____	
What sort of things are good about the village for your husband? _____	
" " " " " bad " " " " " _____	
How do you like living here compared with _____ village (probe)	

Score

What sort of things do you do here that you didn't do where you lived before?	
Do you like these?/don't like	
What sort of things do your children do here that they didn't do where you lived before	
What sort of things does your husband do here that he didn't do where you lived before?	

b. Husband1. Check relevant sections of wife's questionnaire

- (a) Non-traditional experience (urbanisation)
 - (i) Identification data (date of birth, etc.)
 - (ii) Educational experience
 - (iii) Employment experience (wage and what happens to it)
 - (iv) Residence in other towns
 - (v) Mass media (what papers, films, etc.)
- (b) Traditional links
 - Family's extent of links with home village
 - (i) Rights to land
 - (ii) Tree rights
- (c) Social behaviour
 - (i) Committee membership (positions, etc.)
 - (ii) Languages spoken
 - (iii) Marital history
- (d) Husband/wife responsibility

2. Check anything else wife unsure of in her interview3. Attitudes

- (a) Attitudes to wife's social activities
 - (i) Do you think your wife should be friendly with people from areas other than her own and with neighbours? Why/why not?
 - (ii) What do you think about your wife going to club(s)?
- (b) Attitudes to relatives/obligations
- (c) Attitudes to working wife (if relevant)
- (d) Attitudes to bride price
- (e) Attitudes to household management
 - (i) What are good things for a woman to do in the house?
 - (ii) What are bad things for a woman to do in the house?
 - (iii) What things should a woman do for her children?
 - (iv) Should a woman have money to spend herself, or should she always ask her husband first?
 - (v) Should women in Hohola do everything as they did in the village, or learn new ways? Why?
 - (vi) How much money should a husband give his wife (if any)?
- (f) Problems experienced in Hohola.

Appendix 2

Scoring system

	<u>Possible scores</u>
<u>Urbanisation</u> (wife and husband)	
Urban associations	Unlimited
Urban experience	
Birthplace of children (wife only)	2
Residence history	200
Languages	3
Employment history	300
Education	6½
Mass media - radio 5)	
books 6)	
magazines 1½)	23½
newspapers 4)	
films 7)	
Committee/club membership	4
Marriage ceremony	2
Religion	3
War experience (husband only)	3
Possible total =	544 wife 545 husband

Traditionalism (wife and husband)

Traditional associations	Unlimited
Traditional links	
Land (husband and wife separately)	15 (+15 husband)
Village visits	3
Relatives visiting	6
Gift exchange	6
Participation in ceremonies	3
Committee/club membership	4
Possible total =	15 husband) + 37 wife) 52

Independent variable (wife only): associations (social networks)

1. Urban associations

- (a) Neighbours (within radius of twenty houses only). Count women only if a couple is mentioned, unless a man is specifically mentioned. Score 1 for each woman mentioned with whom some contact is made (occasional visiting, meeting at women's club, goods exchanged, etc. Do not include if only contact is children playing together)
 - (i) Score each person mentioned who is not from own language group
 - (ii) If mixed marriage, score each person mentioned from husband's language group
 - (iii) Total of (i) and (ii)
- (b) Friends (those eat with, reciprocal visiting regularly, discuss problems within Hohola or Port Moresby; do not include if come into 'Neighbour' category)
 - (i) Score 1 for each person mentioned who is not from own language group
 - (ii) If mixed marriage, score each person mentioned from husband's language group
 - (iii) Total of (i) and (ii)

- (c) Other contacts (those sometimes meet and talk to or visit reciprocally). Add those known in Hohola and Port Moresby together. Subtract all people mentioned under heading Europeans, friends, neighbours. Count women only if couple is mentioned.
- (i) Score each person mentioned who is not from own language group
 - (ii) If mixed marriage, score each person mentioned from husband's language group
 - (iii) Score 'many' as 10 if substantiated by evidence such as wide activities, etc.
 - (iv) Total of (i), (ii) and (iii)
- (d) Europeans (score 1 for each European 'known to you', i.e. have had some personal contact with)
- N.B. Do not count labour inspectors, etc.

Final score: (a) + (b) + (c) + (d)

2. Traditional associations

- (a) Neighbours (within radius of twenty houses only). Count women only if a couple is mentioned, unless a man is specifically mentioned. Score 1 for each couple mentioned with whom some contact is made (occasional visiting, meet at women's club, goods exchanged; do not include if only contact is children playing together)
- (i) Score 1 for each person mentioned in own language group
 - (ii) If mixed marriage, score each person mentioned in own language group only
 - (iii) Total of (i) and (ii)
- (b) Friends (those eat with, regular reciprocal visiting, discuss problems with in Hohola and Port Moresby). Do not include if come into 'Neighbour' category
- (i) Score 1 for each person mentioned in own language group
 - (ii) If mixed marriage, score each person mentioned in own language group only
 - (iii) Total of (i) and (ii)
- (c) Other contacts (those sometimes meet and talk to or visit reciprocally). Add those known in Hohola and Port Moresby together. Subtract all people mentioned before under headings of friends or neighbours. Count women only if a couple is mentioned
- (i) Score each person mentioned in own language group
 - (ii) If mixed marriage, score each person mentioned in own language group only
 - (iii) Score 20 if home village in Port Moresby area
 - (iv) Total of (i), (ii) and (iii)

N.B. Aroma and Saroa people classed as Hula language group

Final score: (a) + (b) + (c)

Dependent variable (wife only): ability to cope with tasks and problems at Hohola

Possible scores

Conceptual skills	
Budget	12
Electricity	2
Rent	2
Firewood	2
Shopping	2
Children's future	2
Time organisation	4
Household management	
Food storage	2
Food values	4
Rubbish disposal	2
Maintenance	8
Sewing	5
Improvements	3

	Possible scores
Child care	
Health	8
School attendance and parental co-operation	3
Corporal punishment	2
Fighting	1
1. <u>Conceptual skills</u>	<u>Score</u>
(a) <u>Budget</u>	
Banking/saving: husband or wife have bank account	1
Nil	0
Balance in spending on basic/other needs: good	3
fair	2
bad	0
very bad	-1
Bulk buying: regularly	2
sometimes	1
never	0
Planning (see scoring for budget balance)	
Debts/overspending: nil	3
some	2
even	0
bad	-1
very bad	-2
(b) <u>Rent</u> (checked from records at Housing Office)	
Paid regularly or	
Joined rent deduction scheme at work	2
Paid erratically (but never in debt over a month)	1
Regularly in arrears (over a month)	0
Had eviction proceedings started	-1
(c) <u>Electricity</u>	
Use lamps/alternative lighting	1)
Have jar or store of money, or)	1) can add
Put money in meter regularly)	
Ask neighbours, relations for money if run out	0
No charge made	no score (pro rata)
(d) <u>Firewood</u>	
Collect regularly	2
Buy regularly	1
Buy/collect as run out	0
Free issue	no score (pro rata)
(e) <u>Shopping</u>	
Hohola: more than once per day	0
once a day or less	1
Koke: more than twice per week	0
once or twice per week	1
(f) <u>Time organisation</u>	
Regular routine (e.g. set days for doing things)	2
Some routine (e.g. same things done each day), and/or)	1) can add
Some routine (e.g. things done a certain number of times a week)	1)
No routine, vague	0
(g) <u>Children's future</u>	
Detailed realistic plans	2
Some thought for future	1
No ideas, unrealistic	0

Score2. Household management(a) Food storage

Good (wire safe, shelves on sink, door, etc.)	2
Adequate (tins with lids, etc.)	1
Inadequate (food left in parcels, or in tins without lids, etc.)	0

(b) Food values (scoring by trained dietician on following basis)

Good knowledge of 'good' food and fair reasons	2
Limited listing of 'good' foods - may include some 'bad'	1
No idea, or completely wrong	0
Good knowledge of 'bad' foods and fair reasons	2
Limited listing of 'bad' foods - may include some 'good'	1
No idea, thinking nothing bad, or completely wrong	0

(c) Rubbish disposal

Good	2
Fair	1
Bad	0

(d) Maintenance

Garden: excellent	4
good	3
fair	2
bad	1
nothing done	0
House: excellent	4
good	3
fair	2
bad	0

(e) Sewing

Mends/makes own clothes	1)
Mends/makes children's clothes	1)
Alters/mends husband's clothes	1) can add
Mends/makes friends'/friends' children's clothes	2)

(f) Improvements

Shelves	1)	
Floor painted	1)	1 or less
Pictures on wall	1)	2-3
Curtains, kitchen	1)	4-6
" bedroom	1)	7+
Furniture (home made)	1)	(for each article)

3. Child care(a) School attendance and parental co-operation (scored by head teacher from roll book and experience with parents at meetings and working bees)

Good	3
Fair	2
Erratic	1
Bad	0

(b) Clinic attendance and parental co-operation (scored by trained clinic sister)

Regular attendance: if child under 5 years	3
immediately if any illness	
good co-operation	
Attendance at clinic only if child under 5 ill: do not attend	
immediately if any illness and not good	
co-operation	2

	<u>Score</u>
Even if ill, attendance erratic, delayed and lack of co-operation	1
No clinic attendance, and no co-operation	0
(c) <u>Cleanliness</u> (showers, clothing, etc.)	
Good	3
Fair	2
Bad	1
Very bad	0
(d) <u>Mosquito nets</u>	
Adequate (one each or enough for all if share beds)	2
Inadequate (not enough for all)	1
None	0
(e) <u>Toilet</u>	
Older children use toilet: yes	0
no	-1
(f) <u>Corporal punishment</u> (including hand slap, broom, belt)	
Often/usually	0
Sometimes	1
Never	2
(g) <u>Fighting</u>	
Only deal with own children	1
Punish all concerned	0
Join in and continue with parents	-1

Other variables1. Urban experience(a) Residence history up to November 1962 (husband and wife scored separately)

(i) Hohola (ii) Port Moresby (iii) Other towns (iv) Stations

Final score equals sum of (i) + (ii) + (iii) + (iv). Add number of years spent in each. Multiply this sum by the following appropriate number:

Town of government station	Population	Scoring directions
<u>Non-indigenous population of 1,000 or more and District Headquarters</u>		
Port Moresby (government headquarters)	6,396)	Multiply by 4
Lae (District Commissioner)	2,396)	
Rabaul (District Commissioner)	3,462)	
<u>Non-indigenous population of 350-999</u>		
Goroka (D.C.)	478)	Multiply by 2
Madang "	691)	
Wewak "	560)	
Mt Hagen "	385)	
Lorengau "	376)	
Kavieng "	472)	
Wau/Bulolo (D.C.)	?)	
<u>Non-indigenous population less than 350</u>		
Kerema	100)	Multiply by 1
Samarai	265)	
Popondetta	292)	
Mendi	155)	
Daru	278)	
Sohano	177)	
If a person has travelled to Australia or overseas		Add 10

Score(b) Education (husband and wife scored separately)

Primary mission schooling	1
Primary Education Department schooling	3
Secondary mission	3
Secondary Education Department	3
Technical training	+1
In-service training (e.g. medical orderly)	+1
Government exams (e.g. clerk, typists)	+1
Adult education (short courses)	+½

(c) Employment history (husband and wife scored separately)

- (i) Categorise different jobs held into degree of skill
(ii) Length of time worked in each (take to nearest year)
(iii) Multiply number of years by appropriate figure as follows:

Degree of skill	Scoring directions
<u>Labouring</u>	
Cook)	
Domestic)	
Deck hand)	Multiply by 1
Factory work)	
Diver)	
<u>Semi-skilled</u>	
Medical orderly)	
Nurse - no academic training)	
Sales assistant)	
Clerk)	Multiply by 2
Interpreter)	
Quartermaster)	
Home supervisor)	
<u>Skilled</u>	
Machine operator)	
Sewing)	
Storeman)	Multiply by 4
Mechanic)	
Carpenter (if Grade 3))	
Carpenter (if under Grade 3)	Multiply by 3
<u>Highly skilled</u>	
Teacher)	
Welfare work)	Multiply by 6
Pastor)	

(d) Mass mediaScore

Radio (husband and wife scored same)	
Ownership: do not own one	0
do own one	1
Obtained: recently (6 months or less)	1
a while (over 6 months)	2
Listening: selective	2
anything	1
never	0
Books (husband and wife scored same)	
Own: school and 'Bible' books	1
others - some	2
many	3
none	0
Library: belong (h or w)	2
do not belong	0

	<u>Score</u>
Magazines (husband and wife scored same)	
Own: some general (women's, <u>Life</u> , etc.)	1
serious (<u>Time</u> , etc.)	1½
Newspapers (husband and wife scored separately and added to rest)	
Reads <u>South Pacific Post</u> or has it read to them: regularly/used to	2
sometimes	1
never/only once	0
Reads other papers: regularly/used to	2
sometimes	1
never/only once	0
Films (husband and wife scored separately)	
Town/Badili: go regularly/used to	2
sometimes	1
never/once	0
Hohola: go regularly/used to	2
sometimes	1
never/once	0
Theatre: none	0
native theatre	1
native and European	2
European only	3
(e) <u>Marriage ceremony</u> (husband and wife scored separately)	
Church/District Office ceremony	2
Neither church ceremony nor native custom	1
Native custom	0
(f) <u>Languages</u> (husband and wife scored separately)	
Score 1 point for every language known and ½ if only understood and spoken non-fluently.	
<u>No. of languages</u>	<u>Score</u>
1-2 (few)	1
3-4 (some)	2
5+ (many)	3
(g) <u>Committee/club membership</u>	
Score 1 for each club of which a member, and another for each position of responsibility held, e.g. chairman, secretary, church deacon	
1-2 (few)	1
3-5 (some)	3
6+ (many)	4
(h) <u>Religion</u> (husband and wife scored separately)	
Since coming to Hohola, attendance at church or religious meetings: regular	3
sometimes	2
rarely	1
never	0
(j) <u>Birthplace of children</u> (score for majority if more than one child)	
Wife only	
Hospital/mission	2
Village/own house	0
War experience (husband only)	3
2. <u>Traditional links</u> (husband and wife scored separately; add husband's score to wife's final total for this section)	
(a) <u>Land</u>	
Land rights: individual ownership	2
rights in clan land	1
no rights or land	-1

	<u>Score</u>
Present cultivation: by self	3
by someone else for self	1
no cultivation	0
Harvesting: will harvest self	3
someone else will harvest for self	1
no share in harvest	0
Trees: individual ownership	3
rights to trees	2
nil	0
Tree crops: share crops	1
do not share	0
House in village: yes (in husband's or wife's village)	3
no	0
(b) <u>Village visits</u> (since living in Hohola and including period of field work)	
Score 1 point per visit regardless of whether husband, wife or children went, and no matter to whose village (i.e. husband's or wife's)	
6+ (many)	3
3-5 (some)	2
1-2 (few)	1
(c) <u>Participation in ceremonies</u> since living in Hohola (husband and wife scored separately). In Hula and Port Moresby area Christmas and Easter ceremonies included.	
Score 2 for each ceremony attended in <u>Hohola</u> (e.g. funeral feast to mourn a death <u>in village</u> or Hohola)	
Score 1 only if food sent, and not attended personally	
Double score if returned to village or sent food to village for ceremony	
(d) <u>Committee/club membership</u>	
Scoring as for same item under 'urban experience'	
(e) <u>Relatives</u>	
Visiting: score 1 point per <u>visit</u> (not per person, i.e. one family = 1 point) regardless of whether husband's or wife's relatives	
6+ (many/regularly)	5
3-5 (some)	2
1-2 (few)	1
Staying: notes and scoring as for visiting	
(f) <u>Gift exchange</u>	
Gifts sent to village (husband's or wife's): regularly	3
sometimes	2
rarely	1
never	0
Gifts received from village (husband's or wife's): same scoring as for gifts sent	
3. <u>Situational supports</u>	
<u>Item</u>	<u>Possible scores</u>
Age (husband and wife)	2 (+2H)
Income (husband)	10
Husband's attitudes	6
Husband's urban experience	545
Possible total =	563
(a) <u>Age</u> (husband and wife scored separately)	<u>Score</u>
30 years and under (approx.)	2
Over 30 years (approx.)	0

Score

- (b) Income: wages and rations, excluding tool allowance and travel
(husband only)

Less than \$40 per month	1
\$40-\$60	2
\$61-\$80	3
\$81-\$100	4
\$101-\$120	5
\$121-\$140	6
\$141-\$160	7
\$161-\$180	8
\$181-\$200	9
\$201-\$220	10

- (c) Husband's attitudes

To wife's social activities: strongly positive	3
positive	2
neutral	1
negative	-1
To household management: see scoring for wife's social activities	

- (d) Husband's urban experience: see scoring under 'urban experience'

4. Household equipment

<u>Items</u>	<u>Possible scores</u>
Electric	5
Cooking pots	2
Crockery	2
Cutlery	2
Rooms	No upper limit
Animals	No upper limit
Arbitrary possible score =	50

Score

- (a) Electric

Hand sewing machine, electric iron, electric jug, electric clock	1 each
Electric sewing machine	2

- (b) Cooking pots

Many	2
Some	1
None	0

- (c) Crockery

Many (enamel/china)	2
None/few	0

- (d) Cutlery

Many	2
Some	1
None/few	0

- (e) Rooms

General kitchen/living room: refrigerator (electric)	2
" (kerosene)	1
electric stove	3
wood stove	2
open grate	1
cannisters, containers	2
kitchen table	1
other tables	1 for each
chairs (kitchen) /bench	1 for each

		<u>Score</u>
General kitchen/living room:		
(continued)	chairs (easy)	1 for each
	sofa, bed, etc.	2
	bookcase	1
	floor coverings (carpet, rugs, lino)	2
	" " (mats - grass)	1
	other (e.g. clock, cupboard)	1 for each
Bedrooms (score each bedroom separately):		
	beds (wire)	2 for each
	beds (wooden)	1 for each
	mattresses	1 for each
	cot	1
	bookcase	1
	boxes	$\frac{1}{2}$ for each
	chest drawers	1
	dressing table	1
	floor coverings (carpet, seagrass, rugs)	2
	" " (mats)	1
	small cupboard	1
	other (table, chairs, etc.)	1 for each

(f) Animals

Score 1 for each animal

If fowls, score:	many	3
	some	2
	few	1

5. Husband/wife responsibility

Money	3
Accounts	2
Shopping	2
Firewood collecting	2
Housework and gardening	4
Children	4
Possible total =	17

Money: wife	3
husband	0
husband keeps some, gives wife rest	1
husband/wife share equally	2
Accounts: wife	2
both/either	1
husband	0
Shopping: wife (and/or children)	2
both	1
husband	0
Firewood collecting: wife	2
both	1
husband	0
Gardening: wife looks after mainly, husband helps clear/plant	2
husband/wife look after it equally	1
husband does most work	0
Housework: wife (children) does most of the housework	2
husband/wife do equal amount of housework	1
husband does most work	0
Child care (washing, feeding, minding, etc.): wife	2
both	1
husband	0

Punishment (scoring same as for care)

Appendix 3

Different scoring system for 'ability to cope'

	<u>Possible scores</u>
(a) <u>Three separate scores</u>	
(i) Conceptual skills	26 ∴ 13 or less = L
(ii) Household management	24 ∴ 12 or less = L
(iii) Child care	14 ∴ 7 or less = L
(b) <u>Traditional tasks</u> (selected items)	
(i) Child care (punish, fight)	3
(ii) Household management (food store, sewing, rubbish, garden, house, improvements)	<u>20</u>
	23
	∴ 12 or less = L
(c) <u>Urban tasks</u> (selected items)	
(i) All items in conceptual skills	26
(ii) Household management (food values)	4
(iii) Child care (clinic, cleanliness, mosquito nets, toilet, school)	<u>11</u>
	41
	∴ 20 or less = L
(d) <u>Total tasks</u> (problems)	
(i) Conceptual skills	26
(ii) Household management	24
(iii) Child care	<u>14</u>
	64
	∴ 32 or less = L

Appendix 4

Income and expenditure over one month for ten Hohola families
(\$)

Women	1	2	4	5	6	7	9	10	11	13
INCOME										
Wages*	74.95	94.98	64.73	59.40	32.00	62.30	44.00	45.40	72.40	66.85
Rations	23.27	-	21.19	17.99	-	15.90	-	21.14	32.77	17.92
Gifts, cash	13.20	4.50	8.50	27.80	0.40	39.35	3.90	15.00	-	4.00
kind	11.88	5.80	8.50	54.79	38.80	7.92	3.82	10.03	8.12	21.14
Total gifts	25.08	10.30	17.00	82.59	39.20	47.27	7.72	25.03	8.12	25.14
Gambling	-	32.90	4.00**	-	-	-	9.60	?	-	-
Cash total	88.15	132.38	77.23	87.20	32.40	101.65	57.50	60.40	72.40	70.85
Kind total	35.14	5.80	29.69	72.78	38.80	23.82	3.82	31.17	40.89	39.06
Total income	123.29	138.18	106.92	159.98	71.20	125.47	61.32	91.57	113.29	109.91
EXPENDITURE										
Food, native	3.80	5.22	4.72	11.30	3.40	9.40	6.50	4.50	0.80	4.40
imported	21.55	29.11	25.61	30.12	9.68	40.31	33.56	20.94	5.03	14.54
Total food	25.35	34.33	30.33	41.42	13.08	49.71	40.06	25.44	5.83	18.94
Clothing	0.25	5.55	16.60	1.15	5.82	1.00	3.75	-	10.20	1.25
Household (miscellaneous)	1.88	0.75	1.08	0.63	0.20	0.85	2.99	1.95	3.35	1.82
Rent	4.40	13.60	4.40	4.40	-	4.40	10.20	4.80	4.40	4.40
Fuel	0.40	0.40	-	0.80	-	0.40	-	-	0.10	0.10
Utilities***	2.44	8.82	2.44	2.44	-	2.44	8.82	-	2.44	2.44
Work fares	2.35	3.10	3.00	3.00	-	2.70	-	3.00	2.85	2.85
Other fares	4.40	8.53	0.68	5.08	1.00	4.70	4.70	4.75	-	11.20
Gifts, cash	19.60	19.60	0.51	4.60	10.40	15.30	0.03	4.40	6.00	5.53
kind#	2.70 (125)	2.41 (14)	0.99 (50)	6.63 (120)	1.00# (17)**	3.75 (114)	0.11 (64)	6.72 (46)	4.01 (25)	0.54 (32)
Total gifts	22.30	22.01	1.49	11.23	11.40	19.05	0.14	11.12	10.01	6.07
Church/school	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.06	0.21	0.40
Clubs	0.15	-	-	0.10	-	0.10	-	0.10	-	-
Stimulants	9.65	12.57	5.65	25.28	0.40	23.59	12.92	4.42	7.38	9.52
Gambling	-	7.60	6.40	-	-	-	4.00**	?	7.00	-
Work equipment	-	-	-	-	-	2.50	-	-	-	-
Entertainments	1.10	0.40	0.12	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.60
Savings	-	1.60	-	0.20	1.60	0.84	1.07	2.62	27.42	11.50
Miscellaneous	0.60	-	2.00	-	-	0.54	-	8.00	-	0.60
Total expenditure	75.27	119.26	74.20	95.72	33.50	112.81	88.65	66.28	81.19	71.69
Total cash expenditure	72.57	116.85	73.21	89.10	32.50	109.07	88.54	59.56	77.18	71.15
Balance	15.58	15.53	4.02	1.90	0.10	7.42	31.04	4.84	4.78	0.30
	credit	credit	credit	debit	debit	debit	debit	credit	debit	debit

* Includes overtime, tool allowance and travel allowance.

** Probably an understatement.

*** Only two families, those of women Nos. 9 and 2 had to pay for water and garbage disposal. They were the only ones whose husbands were not in government employ.

Includes rations. Bracketed numbers indicate number of visitors.

Probably an understatement since this is a pastor's family much of whose income is from gifts of food from parishioners. Much of this is then redistributed.

Appendix 5
Master score sheet*

	Women		1		2		3		4		5		6		7		8		9		10		11		12		13		
	W	H	W	H	W	H	W	H	W	H	W	H	W	H	W	H	W	H	W	H	W	H	W	H	W	H	W	H	
TRADITIONALISM																													
A. <u>Traditional links</u>																													
Land - land rights	4	3	7	-1	1	2	-	1	-1	1	3	3	1	1	1	1	8	1	-	4	-	3	1	1	1	1	3	1	3
- trees	3	2	4	2	2	3	-	2	3	2	3	3	2	2	2	2	3	2	3	4	2	2	2	1	1	1	3	1	3
- house	3	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	3	-	3	-	3	-	3	-	-	-	
Village visits	1	-	3	-	2	-	1	-	3	-	2	-	1	-	1	-	3	-	3	-	3	-	1	-	2	-	-	-	
Relations visiting	3	-	2	-	3	-	3	-	3	-	2	-	2	-	2	-	2	-	3	-	3	-	2	-	3	-	-	-	
Relations staying	2	-	2	-	2	-	3	-	3	-	3	-	2	-	2	-	3	-	3	-	3	-	3	-	3	-	-	-	
Gift exchange - sent	2	-	3	-	2	-	2	-	2	-	-	-	2	-	3	-	3	-	2	-	3	-	2	-	3	-	-	-	
received	2	-	3	-	1	-	1	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	3	-	3	-	3	-	2	-	3	-	-	-	
Ceremonies	2	-	3	-	2	-	2	-	1	-	2	-	1	-	3	-	2	-	1	-	2	-	2	-	1	-	-	-	
Club membership	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Sub-total	23	8	28	1	15	5	12	3	17	3	12	6	12	3	19	3	31	3	18	10	18	8	15	3	20	4	24	4	
	[31]		[29]		[20]		[15]		[20]		[18]		[15]		[22]		[34]		[28]		[26]		[18]		[24]				
B. <u>Traditional associations</u>																													
Friends**	(-)		(1)		(-)		(2)		(-)		(-)		(3)		(5)		(8)		(3)+1***		(-)		(-)		(-)(4 vill)***				
Neighbours	2/2		3/3		0/0		5/5		2/2		4/4		2/2		3/3		4/5		3/4		4/4		2/2		5/5				
Others	25		17		18		11		24		29		15		12		21		30		11		21		23				
Sub-total	27		20		18		16		26		33		17		15		25		34		15		23		28				
Traditional total	58		49		38		31		46		51		32		37		59		62		41		41		52				
URBANISATION																													
A. <u>Urban associations</u>																													
Europeans	10		12		30		3		4		17		7		4		5		6		5		7		12				
Friends**	(2)		(-)		(3)		(-)		(2)+1***		(2)		(3)		(1)		(8)		(3)		(1)		(1)		(-)				
Neighbours	14/18		9/17		7/20		3/15		6/18		13/16		6/18		1/17		1/15		5/16		6/16		3/18		9/15				
Others	29		37		22		3		19		27		6		2		13		9		1		1		39				
Sub-total	53		58		59		9		31		49		40		11		8		24		20		11		39				
B. <u>Urban experience</u>																													
Residence history	60		58		40		33		25		26		24		18		12		120		32		36		45				
Languages	3		1		2		1		2		2		1		4		1		1		1		2		1				
Employment	6		8		9		2		-		2		-		4		-		16		-		16		10				
Education	2.5		1		1.5		1		1		1		1		1		1		1.5		1		1.5		1				
Mass media*- radio	2 →		5 →		3 →		4.5 →		- →		5 →		4 →		3 →		- →		4 →		4 →		3 →		3 →				
books/magazines	2 →		4 →		4.5 →		1 →		2 →		2 →		2 →		1 →		1 →		1 →		1 →		1 →		1 →				
Films	6	6	6	3	2	2	1	3	4	-	1	2	5	3	2	1	2	2	4	2	1	1	3	6	1	2			
newspapers	1	1	-	6	1	2	-	2	-	4	-	1	-	2	-	1	-	2	3	2	-	1	-	3	1	4			
Religion	1	-	3	-	3	-	2	-	1	-	3	-	2	-	1	-	1	-	3	-	2	-	3	-	3	-			
Clubs/committees	3	-	3	-	3	-	-	-	3	-	3	-	3	-	1	-	1	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	1	-			
Marriage ceremony	1	-	-	-	2	-	2	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	2	-	-	-			
Birthplace babies (hospital or not)	-	-	-	-	2	-	2	-	-	-	2	-	2	-	2	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-		
Sub-total	87.5		89		73		49.5		38		47		46		36		19		159.5		44		67.5		72				
Urban total	140.5		147		132		58.5		69		96		86		45		27		183.5		64		78.5		111				
ABILITY TO COPE																													
A. <u>Conceptual skills</u>																													
(Budget	8		11		6		7		5		8		4		1		-1		7		-1		6		8				
(Rent	2		-1		2		2		2		N.A.		2		2		-1		2		2		2		2				
(Electricity	2		-		N.A.		2		-		N.A.		1		1		-		N.A.		1		1		1				
(Wood	-		-		1		-		-		N.A.		-		-		-		N.A.		-		2		-				
(Shopping	2		-		1		1		-		2		1		2		1		1		2		1		2				
(Children's future	1		2		2		-		-		1		-		1		1		1		1		1		1				
(Work routines	2		2		2		-		1		1		1		1		1		2		-		2		2				
Sub-total	17		14		14/24 (15.1)##		12		8		12/20 (15.6)##		9		8		1		13/22 (15.4)##		5		15		16				

B. Household management													
T Food storage	-	1	2	1	-	1	1	2	-	2	1	2	1
U Food value	2	4	2	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	3
T Rubbish	-	2	2	1	1	2	1	1	2	1	2	2	2
T Garden maintenance	2	4	1	-	2	4	2	3	4	4	2	4	4
T House	2	4	4	1	3	4	2	3	3	2	2	4	2
T Sewing	5	3	5	2	3	3	3	2	3	3	5	2	3
T Improvements	2	3	2	1	1	3	2	2	3	3	2	2	2
Sub-total	13	21	18	7	9	19	13	15	15	17	14	21	17
C. Child care													
U Clinic	2	3	3	3	3	2	3	3	1	1	3	2	1
U Cleanliness/teeth	2	3	3	-	1	3	3	3	2	3	2	3	3
U Mosquito nets) health	1	2	2	-	2	2	1	2	1	2	2	1	1
U Toilet	-	-	-	-1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
T Punishment	1	1	1	-	1	2	1	-	-	-	-	2	-
T Fighting	1	-1	1	1	1	-	1	-	1	-1	1	1	1
U Schooling	3	3	3	1	2	3	3	0.5	3	1	3	2	3
Sub-total	10	11	13	4	10	12	12	8.5	8	6	11	11	9
Ability total	40	46	46.1	23	27	46.6	34	31.5	24	38.4	30	47	42
EQUIPMENT													
Electric	2	1	3	1	1	3	2	3	5	3	1	1	3
Pots	1	1	2	1	1	2	1	2	2	2	1	1	1
Crockery	2	1	2	1	1	2	1	1	2	2	1	1	2
Cutlery	2	1	2	1	1	2	1	1	2	1	1	1	1
Rooms	14	13	28	6	14	22.5	14	8	21.5	22	10	10	10.5
Animals	2	1	1	1	1	3	1	1	5	4	4	4	3
Total	23	18	38	11	19	34.5	20	16	37.5	34	18	18	20.5
HUSBAND/WIFE RESPONSIBILITY													
Money	3	2	3	2	3	-	3	3	1	3	3	1	1
Accounts	1	2	1	-	2	-	2	1	2	N.A.	1	-	-
Shopping	1	2	2	1	2	1	1	1	2	2	1	2	1
Wood	1	2	2	1	2	N.A.	2	1	2	N.A.	2	2	2
Gardening	1	1	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Housework	1	2	2	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Children	2	3	4	2	2	3	2	2	2	3	3	3	2
Total	10	14	16	9	13	7/15 (7.09)##	13	11	12	11/13 (14.5)##	13	11	9
SITUATIONAL SUPPORTS													
Age	2	-	-	-	2	2	-	2	2	2	-	-	-
(Religion)	-	1	-	3	-	2	-	2	-	2	-	2	-
(Education)	-	1	-	3	-	2	-	1	-	2	-	1	-
(War experience)	-	-	3	3	-	-	-	3	-	3	3	3	3
(Marriage ceremony)	1	-	2	2	-	2	-	-	-	2	-	2	-
(Income)	9	9	6	7	6	3	7	5	4	6	9	6	7
(Employment)	32	69	64	41	48	72	27	36	35	66	72	68	97
H (Clubs/committees)	3	4	4	3	1	4	4	3	-	4	1	-	4
(Languages)	2	3	3	2	3	2	2	2	3	3	2	2	3
(Attitudes -													
social activities	2	3	3	1	2	2	2	2	1	2	1	1	2
house management	2	3	3	1	2	3	2	3	2	2	2	2	3
(Residence history)	49	50	45	41	49	43	44	23	65	59	50	77	100
(Mass media)	11	18	11.5	10.5	6	10	10	7	5	9	7	7	10
Total	2 + 115 117	0 + 166	0 + 150.5	0 + 114.5	2 + 122 124	0 + 150	2 + 103 105	2 + 87 89	0 + 120	0 + 161	2 + 150 152	0 + 171	0 + 234

* To avoid identification, the scores have been arranged numerically, with no indication of cultural group membership.

** These figures are in brackets because they are not scored; the people mentioned as friends are already scored as either 'neighbours' or 'others'.

*** Women Nos.5 and 10 had one friend each who was not mentioned as either a 'neighbour' or 'other' and so this was scored; woman No.13 only acknowledged having 'friends' in her village of origin (not scored).

† The scores of husbands in these questions on mass media are included in situational supports, not here.

Pro-rata score for items not applicable. This was found by multiplying subject's score expressed as a fraction of the possible score (i.e., excluding the inapplicable items) by the score she might have obtained on the omitted items (assuming that her score on the not applicable questions would have been similar to her score on other items). The result was then added to her actual score to give a pro-rata score.

Note: W = wife; H = husband; U = urban tasks; T = traditional tasks; N.A. = question not applicable.

→ = same score given to both husband and wife as the question is one which applies to both as a unit.

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