

NO MONEY ON OUR SKINS

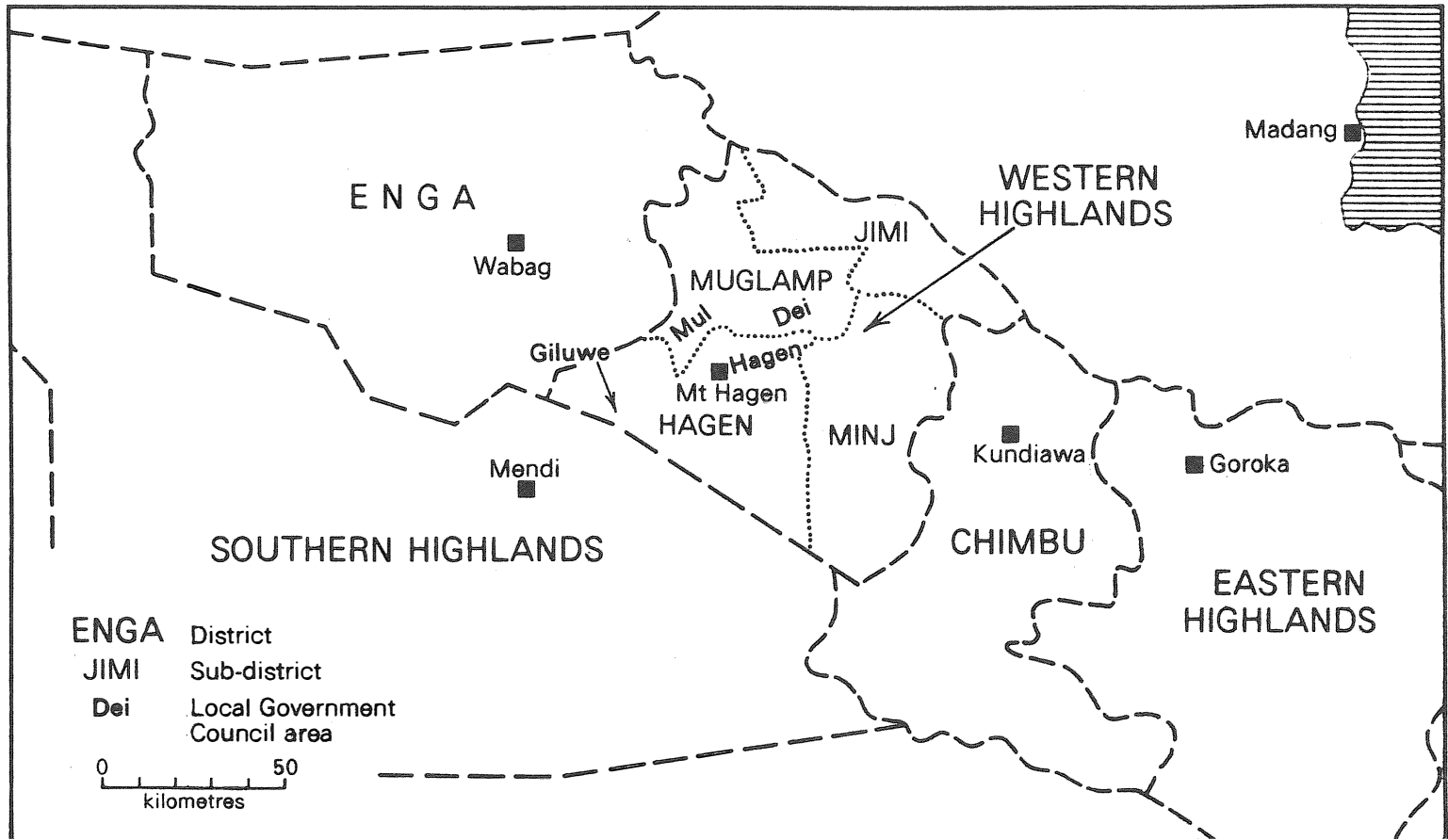


Figure 1. Highlands districts of Papua New Guinea

NO MONEY ON OUR SKINS
Hagen Migrants in Port Moresby

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New Guinea Research Unit
The Australian National University
Port Moresby and Canberra

1975

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'Well, then [said Theodora]. If your countrymen find life so enjoyable at home, why do they flock here to England?'

'Always these white people who ask us why we come here! Do we ever ask you, lady, why your people came to our country long ago?'

...Mr Bo lit two cigarettes in his lips and passed her one.

'You seem so obstinately inclined,' he said, 'that I shall tell you the real reason for your satisfaction. It is this.' He gazed at her, and said: 'The world has broken suddenly into my country: and we are determined to break out equally into the world.'

'Go on.'

'At home there is reasonable happiness, yes, and comfort. But when in a cinema we see the London streets shining, gleaming and beckoning, we stop and think, "Here am I, shut in my prison, cut out from where there is creation, and riches, and power in the modern world. There, in that distant place, the life is bigger, wider, more significant. That is something I must see, and show I can be master of it." So we come wandering here, like the country boys back home who dream to visit the big town.'

...'And what do you find?'

'Find almost always great deception. Hard times, or else...living prosperously for a while with little crimes. In either case, it is failure for us here.'

'Then why don't you go back?'

'Because of shame. The country boy can't go back home from the city until he makes some fortune.'

from City of Spades, Colin MacInnes

Penguin, 1964, pp. 89-92.

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Preface

Hagen migrants say they come to Port Moresby to make money; some go home with small amounts; others stay because they cannot save enough: 'We have no money on our skins.'¹ This is how they explain it. In fact people migrate to town for many reasons and many things about urban life hold them there. In using the Hagen idiom as a title, I draw attention to one of the purposes of this study which is to describe some of the ways in which migrants themselves talk about their situation.

It would be fallacious in this context to equate such a statement with economic motivations as they are generally understood. To say that the migrant's whole position can be summed up by reference to money is not to say that we are dealing with nothing but economics. Rather, attitudes towards money provide an accessible ideology in whose terms the migrant can explain his position to others, to relatives at home and to his fellows in town. That migrants 'have no money on their skins' is a metaphor which encapsulates their whole status. People at home have many things on their skins, all the traditional forms of wealth and valuable resources by which they make their name; the wage-earner has nothing but money and in their eyes little of that since he finds it hard to deploy it in ways approved of by his rural kinsmen. In saying that he came to find money in town, the migrant himself suggests that he is exploiting an alternative avenue to prestige and thus gives his actions some credibility. It is young men who leave home, those who do not yet have much on their skins, for few have seriously embarked on cash cropping or other bisnis enterprises. But because the youth has not begun to make substantial investment in the home society, to say he has no money also implies a kind of freedom. He is free to find it where he wants. However, when he gets to town

¹ The Melpa phrase has similar connotations to its Pidgin equivalent. 'Skin' refers to the body and also its surface, and thus its attributes, among which are one's possessions.

and starts earning he discovers that once more he has no money on his skin - no money to save or invest in large enterprises or to send back home, for it has been spent, on urban subsistence, urban luxuries and on urban relationships. The migrant comes from a background where money is used with most approval when it is invested. In the town he becomes a consumer, and 'no money on our skins' is the cry not of someone who cannot earn but of one who must spend. It is the excuse given to visitors who come to Moresby to collect money from their relatives; it is the regret which makes men think it is impossible to return home just yet. But there is more to it than the allocation of cash. Much expenditure in fact goes toward maintaining an active social life with other Hageners. This both encourages migrants to keep up ties with home (by emphasising their ethnic origins) and makes it more attractive for them to stay in town (they find themselves 'at home' there). People actually at home take the limited view that their job is to do nothing but accumulate sums to bring back. When the migrant pleads that there is no money on his skin, he is also saying that he has spent it on the town rather than the rural society, that he belongs to an alternative social system.

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(Photographs are by the author.)

Marilyn Strathern
December 1974

Two songs sung by Hagen migrants*

I look up towards home and I see
 On the hill road there
 Distant fires are burning.
 Who is it lights the fires? It is
 That dark-skinned girl, with beads
 Shining on her breasts.
 I look down and I see
 The big river Moresby runs and
 chatters over stones.
 I have no elder brother and no younger,
 I am alone
 Dark-skinned girl, you stay and
 You grow old waiting.

As I climb up on the big plane's back
 I forget my elder brother
 As we cross the river Wahgi
 I forget my younger brother.
 My brother, he said no to me,
 I would not listen to him.
 I went against his will and so
 I'll stay and see it through here.

translation: Andrew Strathern

* The first appears in Melpa amb kenan, a collection of Hagen courting songs translated by Andrew Strathern, Institute of Papua New Guinea Studies, 1974.

Chapter 1

Introduction: the scope of the study

A number of people from Mount Hagen, in the Western Highlands District of Papua New Guinea, are living in the country's capital, Port Moresby.¹ I describe their life as it was between 1970-72, how they thought about themselves in relation to folk at home and to others in the town, and some of the social implications of their status as migrants. Obviously relevant here is the large body of work done in² other countries on problems of migration and urbanisation² but a full assessment of the perspectives suggested by such work for the position of highlands migrants to Moresby is beyond my scope. The final chapter, however, does offer some comments on certain themes drawn from studies of African migration.

A strong case has been put for the need to analyse Papua New Guinea towns as towns (Rew 1970), as entities with structures of their own.³ The extensive writings of Oram (for example, 1967, 1968b, 1970a,b,c and in press) amount to such a study on Moresby itself, while Lucas (1972) adopted an 'urban system approach' in his description of Lae. Yet in 1970 when this present study was contemplated we still had little information on the way town populations in Papua New Guinea were recruited and on the impetus behind

¹ Hereafter referred to as Moresby.

² To take examples from Africa alone, studies of migration include: Southall and Gutkind (1957), Epstein (1958, 1969), Mitchell (1954, 1959), Mayer (1961), Cohen (1969), and the collection of essays in Forde (1956), Southall (1961), Kuper (1965). Gutkind (1967) provides a good summary of urban anthropological research in Africa till that date.

³ On the methodological importance of treating the town as a social system see Gluckman (1961) and Mitchell's (1966) and Gutkind's (1967) discussions of theoretical orientations in African urban studies.

migration, which is an overwhelming factor in Moresby's numerical expansion (Langmore 1970).¹ Since then, however, members of the University of Papua New Guinea and the New Guinea Research Unit of the Australian National University have been engaged on a rural-urban economic relations project. Its focus is migration on a national scale: the economic and social pressures and inducements which have led to population movements from one part of the country to another. The intention is a broad coverage of major urban communities as well as investigations in the villages from which migrants have come.²

Both from the point of view of an analysis of Moresby town³ and from the point of view of discovering national correlates for the phenomenon of migration, my own study is parochial. It relates to a handful of persons (300-400) from a single ethnic and geographical region living in one town. But this intimate scale does enable one to make some assessment of how things look from the point of view of the migrant. If I am concerned with reasons for migration it is not with 'socio-economic variables' as such but with the way Hageners formulate their position; if I am concerned with the town it is less as a 'system' than as an environment for Hagen urban life.

A serious limitation of this standpoint is that I probably overemphasise situations in which Hageners interact with one another at the expense of attention to contexts in which they have dealings with non-Hageners. I was of course more likely to hear about events involving several Hageners because this would yield multiple sources of information. But the emphasis is not wholly mine. In Chapter 6 are described situations in which Hagen men enter into relationships with non-Hageners; outside employment, the volume of contacts and transactions to which this amounts is relatively slight. They are not without significance, however, being especially important to an individual's self-image as a Moresby resident. But for

¹ A major exception being Ryan's Toaripi studies (1968, 1970), and for highland's migrants R.F. and M.E. Salisbury (1972).

² This Bulletin was written before information on the results of this project became available.

³ Port Moresby has the civic status of a city, but as a descriptive term I retain the appellation 'town'.

most migrants, major out-of-work activities are directed to contacts with other Hageners.

Fieldwork in Moresby between 1970-72 totalled seven months, with a further two spent among relatives of migrants in Mount Hagen. Over the years 1964-70 I had worked for about twenty-two months in the Hagen area on topics stemming from a knowledge of traditional society. It is therefore more than likely that I have committed the methodological solecism to which Gutkind draws attention - that of simply transferring rural fieldwork methods to an urban community. In reviewing the development of urban anthropological studies in Africa, he writes,

...while some social anthropologists had a difficult time in accepting the fact that there were important communities outside the traditional tribal framework, the orientation used in rural fieldwork could be, and was, transferred to urban-based societies. The anthropologists had a view of the principles and structure of social organization even though the methodological tools used in studying urban-based societies were lacking - and still are to a large extent. The disadvantage which accompanied the transfer of the anthropologist's approach was the assumption...that urban-based societies were merely bastard and hybrid extensions of rural societies - tribesmen in town. Gutkind (1967:139)

But there are two quite separate issues here: the application of similar methods to differing contexts and the assumption that the contexts are basically the same. I have tried to avoid this assumption.

Hageners in town are for the most part still very much Hageners and the majority could be spoken of as members of an 'urban Hagen society'. They belong to other groupings as well. But an understanding of the nature of this (equally Hagen and urban) society has a significance beyond the few hundred individuals my study encompassed. Starting from the point of town-based organisations, Lucas (1972) found that associations formed in Lae were invariably built on a structure of 'ethnic blocks'. 'Parochialisms' were the most significant operating principles in each of three major types of organisation: welfare societies, church groups and modern urban-oriented bodies such as the Pangu Pati, Lae Workers' Association and

savings and loans societies (Lucas 1972:270). The phenomenon of 'ethnic blocks' would seem to be widespread. In looking at Hageners in town as belonging to a 'society' we should be drawn to ask questions about the functions of relationships within it, about how people maintain their membership, about the degrees of commitment possible,¹ in short, to explain the viability of such blocks.

This approach does not suggest that urban Hagen society has to be the same as or a simple modification of modern Hagen society at home.² Much of its identity and structure draw on familiar principles: but highlands social life is not its only reference point. Indeed the dilemmas many migrants find themselves in can be explained in terms of a conflict between their commitments towards home and towards an alternative society in town. This is a straightforward enough perspective, though it is more a conclusion drawn from fieldwork than the premise on which it was based.³ For possibly whether one regards migrants as 'tribesmen' or 'townsmen' cannot really be at the outset a matter of methodological principle, though it may emerge from empirical observation.

1

Hageners have models from home to encompass notions of partial or casual commitment, and of multiple loyalties. Cf. A.J. Strathern (1972).

2

See Mitchell (1966) who argues that 'situational' change can be analysed quite apart from 'progressive' change. Urban institutions are not just changed rural ones.

3

I have since read Mayer's (1962) article. He suggests one should study migrancy per se to encompass the way in which individuals move between a 'tribal society' and an 'urban society'. For Hageners I would minimally identify three social fields: Hagen society at home, Hagen society in town away from the District and a range of non-Hagen urban contacts. (I know very little about Hageners actually working in Mt Hagen town; one might consider them as within a fourth field. References to 'home' in general are to the rural society.)

Migration to Moresby

Marion Ward (1970) has pointed out that of all towns in Papua New Guinea, the capital is usually the first choice of would-be migrants. This seems to be as true for unskilled labourers as for school leavers seeking employment (Conroy and Stent 1970). The Department of Labour employment statistics for 1968 give non-agreement workers from the whole of the then Western Highlands¹ as finding employment in various towns in the following order: Mt Hagen (1,066), Port Moresby (316), Lae (54), Rabaul (46), Goroka (45), Madang (24). According to migrants' accounts, there certainly seem to be more men from the Hagen sub-districts in Moresby than in any other urban centre outside the District. There are said, for example, to be few Hageners actually working in Lae, apart from those stationed or seconded there through educational or military institutions. This is because of, not in spite of, the easy access of Hagen to Lae by road. Lae is too close to home. It is a place to visit over a week-end and suffers too constant a stream of Hagen visitors: the migrant who gets away wants to get right away.

As will be seen in Chapter 3, the location of plantations near Moresby to which men were sent on the since discontinued Highland Labour Scheme has been a significant factor in the recruitment of independent migrants to Moresby town. Added to this, Moresby is not seen by them, in spite of the numerical preponderance of Papuans, to be dominated by a powerful or threatening local group, as in the case of the other major urban centre, Rabaul, to which plantation labour from Hagen has also gone in significant numbers.² Only a small proportion of the independent migrants working in Moresby in 1971 had had experience of other coastal towns. Of over 60 Hagen migrants known to

¹ The pre-1972 Western Highlands comprised what is now the Western Highlands, Enga and part of the Southern Highlands Districts.

² In 1971 roughly as many people from certain Hagen tribes who were working on the coast were probably in Rabaul as in Moresby, but I suspect that a greater proportion of the Rabaul workers were completing their plantation contracts, and a greater proportion of the Moresby workers were 'independent migrants'.

me to have left Moresby between July 1970 and January 1972, I have record of only 5 going on to work¹ in other urban centres - Rabaul, Lae, Madang and Kieta.

The 1971 Census (Compendium of Statistics for Papua New Guinea, June 1972) indicates that Moresby, with what is probably an underestimated (Surmon and Ward 1972) population of 66,244 is nearly twice as large as any other centre in the country. Over three-quarters of the inhabitants are indigenous. The Districts of origin of migrants, who form the bulk of the population, have been recorded for those belonging to the workforce on returns submitted to the Department of Labour. These statistics exclude members of the defence forces, the self-employed, most indigenous employers and their indigenous workers, and also domestics employed in private households; so they underestimate the total residential population. The numbers of highlands migrants noted are given in Table 1.1. The Western Highlands District has been administratively reconstituted since 1972; figures apply to the situation as it was then.

The percentage of migrants coming from the Western Highlands is relatively slight, if we recall that this is the most populous of the highlands Districts (289,500 indigenous persons in 1966)² by comparison with the Eastern Highlands (202,000), Southern Highlands (184,000) and Chimbu (167,000). Although the published figures probably underestimate the actual migrant population, there is no reason to suspect bias in favour of any one of the highlands groups. The same low proportion for the Western Highlands is repeated in Conroy's³ sample of applicants for jobs at the Boroko labour office. Of applicants to the Koki office only 10 out of 116 highlanders were from the

¹ Excluding members of institutions, such as the Pacific Islands Regiment, posted to other towns, but including job transfers. The definition of 'migrant' is discussed in the next section.

² The 1966 Census quoted in Compendium of Statistics 1972. The U.N. Report for 1971-72 gives figures updated to 1971 as follows: Western Highlands 306,773; Eastern Highlands 231,567; Southern Highlands 199,903; and Chimbu 181,907.

³ Conroy's sample (1970:510-11): Chimbu, 93 skilled and 398 unskilled; Eastern Highlands, 93 and 104; Western Highlands, 19 and 54; and Southern Highlands, 31 and 53.

Table 1.1

District of origin of highlands migrants to Moresby

District	1968	1970
Eastern Highlands	778	975
Chimbu	426	747
Western Highlands	316	370
Southern Highlands	159	264
Total	1,679	2,356
Total indigenous population of Moresby workforce	14,459	15,258

Source: Labour information bulletins (1969, 1970).

Note: The 1966 census gives birthplaces of all indigenous residents. We may compare the residents figures as quoted in Langmore (1970): Eastern Hlds, 502; Chimbu, 517; Western Hlds, 181; Southern Hlds, 235. If females are excluded the figures read: Eastern, 462; Chimbu, 490; Western, 173; Southern, 209. (Cf. Bureau of Statistics Bulletin no.23, p.40.)

Western Highlands District, and a survey of unemployed men found only 3 Western Highlanders from the 36 highlanders encountered. These all give a proportion of approximately 10 per cent of Western Highlanders from the highlands population, while the Department of Labour figures suggest a proportion of between 15 and 20 per cent. Whatever the exact figure, its order calls for explanation. Within the Western Highlands District, whose area in 1971 included a large Enga population, there is evidence that out-migration from Hagen and the neighbouring Minj sub-districts is, for the District as a whole, in turn, relatively slight. Some of the background to these facts is described in Chapters 2 and 3, and Appendix 1. This information suggests an immediate caution. Although mobility of the rural population is characteristic of

Papua New Guinea as a whole (Caldwell 1971:165: 'by 1966 one male in twelve was living outside his District of birth and half of all independent migrants were making the towns their destination'), reasons for out-migration must vary somewhat according to home circumstances and among these must be the level of migration itself. In studying Hagen migrants, we are looking at a case where the rate of semi-permanent emigration is low and where the choice to reside for a lengthy period in a coastal town is not one that many of the migrant's contemporaries will make.

The definition of 'migrant'

It is important to be clear about the term 'migrant'. All persons born in the Hagen area and now working in Moresby are immigrants in the town. But if we are interested in why people should want to work in Moresby, this general category must be examined. Some Hageners live in Moresby because they ran away from agreement work and happened to have been sent to a plantation near there; some were posted, or the job for which they were trained can be done only in Moresby; others while still at home chose the capital as their destination, among whom are those who financed the journey themselves.

Who are the 'independent migrants'? Gerard Ward (1971) suggests that a system of independent migration has emerged which can be contrasted with migration through contract or labour agreement. In recent years contract labour has all gone to rural plantations, whereas the independent worker, typically one who finances his own way, may also be drawn to the towns. Ward (1971:91) argues that because of the different routes they take the independent migrant and the agreement worker may be different kinds of persons. In his account of Orokaiva migration Baxter (1973:77) also contrasts 'organised' with 'unorganised' travel, the former arranged and financed by an employer, the latter at the cost and initiative of the migrant. He writes (1973:109), '..."independence" has not meant that New Guineans move where they wish. It is more an independence from the reliance upon an external agent to provide the means of transfer, accommodation, and employment. Movement is increasingly the product of the initiative of the individual...'. The jump here from a description of methods of movement to the state of mind of the person moving seems unwarranted. Independence from reliance upon an external agent characterises some Hagen migrants'

movements as far as travel is concerned but autonomy can also be shown in finding employment or desiring to stay on in the town. The point should be proved that reliance on external agencies is incompatible with indigenous initiative. Beyond the days when people were commandeered into employment, the decision to leave home and put oneself into the hands of such an agency is 'initiative' of a kind. Where these agencies are being exploited for people's private ends, the notion of dependence hardly applies.

We can classify the migrants then according to the decisions upon which we want to focus. The male population of Hageners in Moresby in July 1971 was divided as follows.

Table 1.2

Hagen men working in Moresby at July 1971*

	In army	In police force or corrective institution	In tertiary education	General migrants		Total
				Semi- skilled	Un- skilled	
	48	17	23	12**	225***	325
Categories (see text)	A			B	C	
Categories (see text)		1	2		3	

* Figures corrected from A.M. Strathern (1972c:23).

** This may be an underestimate; it includes one or two individuals who technically would be classed as skilled rather than semi-skilled according to the Department of Labour's manpower classifications. The relevant distinction for Hagen migrants is between the unskilled and those with some skills (who have received formal training after lower secondary schooling), and this category is to be read as 'semi-skilled and skilled'. Cf. Beltz (1970).

*** Including unemployed, but not visitors, and not persons in transit or in vicinity of the town.

Take the choice to come to Moresby rather than any other town: for men of Category A (those posted to Moresby as members¹ of an institution) the choice of location is not theirs. There is only the odd case of a migrant already in Moresby then joining such an institution. More frequently men in Category A resign or leave at the end of their service and then stay in the town as B or C. Members of Category B, with education and training, tend to have careers in the western sense, so that the locale of their work is again affected by job opportunity, transfers, promotions and such like. The same applies to a few individuals of Category C (unskilled), especially those who become associated with particular companies. But this is only likely to happen after they have been in the town for some time. It may affect the duration of their stay, but the initial impetus to come to Moresby or to just find work somewhere on the coast, will have been independently theirs.

None of the Hageners in town are there as agreement workers in the accepted sense.² A good proportion of Category C men, however, first signed up for a spell of plantation work and then ran away to the town. Some of these would have had this intention from the start, so can be said to have left home with the idea of coming to Moresby; others would not have minded which coastal town they were sent near to as long as they could foresee the opportunity of urban employment; others still had not intended to run away. It is not just that agreement workers turn into independent workers when they choose to leave their contract, but that the intention of independence may crystallise at several points. G. Ward's (1971) analysis refers to the semi-skilled and unskilled rather than to persons in institutions. Yet, in a sense, members of A, as well as many of B, could be called 'agreement workers', in that their movement (their capacity for migration) is restricted by prior employment. A completely independent

¹ Though one cannot discount the possibility that some recruits may have been influenced by the prospect of undertaking training in Moresby.

² Figures given earlier in this chapter all refer to non-agreement workers in Moresby. In the 1950s contract labourers were sent to work in the town itself but this is no longer the case.

choice to come to Moresby itself, then, is made only by some B and C men.

Let us look at the migrants' point of view of the desire to leave home. Here we have to include all contract labourers in rural occupation ('agreement workers') as well as members of C, and a proportion of A. Within A we need to make a distinction. I suspect that in many cases the reasons why people go into the army or police (Category 1) are very similar to ones held by those who seek a limited period of work abroad (contract labourers and Category 3). Many have the idea of a term of service, not of a total commitment to a life-long career, in the same way as the unskilled person contemplates getting work for a spell. Men of Categories 1 and 3 are likely to find the duration of their employment coterminous with their being absent from Hagen. It is those in tertiary education and some of those in skilled and semi-skilled jobs for which they have been trained (Category 2) who are set apart: their motive is less to get away than to complete qualifications for a career. This may incidentally take them from home but they may equally hope to see themselves as returning there to work in their new capacity.

When I refer without qualification to 'migrant', I shall mean those in or seeking non-institutional urban employment (Categories B and C). From the perspective of life in the town all Hageners in Moresby constitute a single category. But observation suggests that while army and police personnel interact quite extensively with general migrants, as Hageners, students and some of the skilled professionals tend to be more on the periphery of Hagen urban society. Here, then, we should consider Categories 1 and 3 along with only some members of Category 2, as forming a group. Most of what I say will apply to the men in Table 1.2 with the empirical exception of students in tertiary education.

A quite different fact is that the people know best to me come from the class of unskilled worker (C and 3), and it is their viewpoint which I describe in detail.¹

¹ I use 'unskilled' to cover those who could be defined by the characteristics of the Department of Labour's manpower classification as class E: 'Workers in low level positions requiring no formal training, education or exercise of particular skills, such as labourers, messengers, cleaners, etc.' (Department of Labour, 1969). In fact as far as occupations go, the Department of Labour allocates most of

Limitations of the study

There is a further limitation to this study. Among the unskilled workers I am best acquainted with those who originate from parts of Hagen where I have worked, namely, Northern Melpa and the area immediately north of Mt Hagen town (parts of Central Melpa).

Hagen migrants are drawn from a home population of over 90,000. This includes persons from the Kaugel, (Kauil, Kɔwul)¹ area. Success in conducting interviews with men from this region was markedly affected by lack of prior knowledge of their groups and the paucity of my personal contacts among them. For example, from within the category of 'general migrants' I took a one-in-four sample of male workers, intending to supplement general information with some specific points.² The sample (referred to as Sample I) was not set up to be stratified according to area; yet my ability to finish interviews turned out to be very definitely

(footnote 1 continued)

the jobs which Hageners do - as domestic servants, drivers, bartenders and such - between this class (E) 'unskilled workers', and class D, 'semi-skilled workers', which include people with lower secondary schooling. Few of the Hagen migrants apart from those I designate as skilled or semi-professional would qualify on educational grounds as semi-skilled. I use 'skilled' and 'semi-professional' as relative terms in the Hagen context; strictly persons coming under these terms should be, according to the Department of Labour's classifications, probably described in most cases as 'semi-skilled and skilled'. But I use 'professional' to indicate membership of an institution such as the army, which makes qualitatively different work demands from other types of occupations; and 'skilled' to indicate the presence of some skills necessary to the job. The most relevant divide is between unskilled and all others.

¹ The symbol ϕ is a mid-open, front, rounded vowel, as in German 'hören'.

² The unskilled and semi-skilled migrants. The sample excluded twelve men in transit or in the vicinity of the town (see Table 5.1). As events turned out, I did not in fact have adequate time to devote to this aspect of the study.

skewed in geographical terms. It will be seen that for people coming from the Nebilyer Valley and Kaugel areas (see Fig. 2.1) my success was almost nil. This can be put down mainly to the paucity of my social contacts among men from these areas.¹ It should be added that work is currently being done on ethnic groups in Hagen town itself by two workers who have extensive contacts with the Kaugel people in Moresby (LeVine 1974).

Table 1.3

Construction of Sample I (general migrants)
(July 1971)

Area of respondent	Men from this area in Moresby	Men in sample	Interviews completed	Interviews partially completed
Northern Melpa*	76	22	18	1
Central Melpa	43	8	3	3
Western Melpa	39	7	6	1
Nebilyer Valley	16	5	0	1
Kaugel	61	20	1	0
Other**	2	0	-	-
	237	62	28	6

* Melpa refers strictly to a dialect of Hagen language but the phrases used here describe geographical-cultural regions (A.J. and A.M. Strathern 1971: Ch.1 gives a general description). See Fig. 2.1.

** Two persons of mixed descent who associate with Hageners in Moresby.

I am fairly certain that I have enumerated almost all the people from Hagen who were in Moresby over 1970-72, although I was not acquainted with everyone. Residentially, Hageners

¹ Other reasons for incompleteness include respondents' fear of saying things which might jeopardise an employment situation; workers' mobility in job and residence - simple location was sometimes a problem; difficulty of finding people in out-of-work hours; jail as a factor in withdrawing people from circulation; departure from Moresby before I had made a visit.

are scattered throughout the town: there is no single 'centre' through which one might reasonably hope to contact most of them. Initial information thus depended upon people I knew telling me of people they in turn knew about. A number of confusions can arise over this method. In particular it is worth referring to the different forms which names may take.¹ Apart from the fact that all personal names have standard alternatives, some individuals acquire nicknames, while others use European names in varying combinations. Such a designation may be a second name, given at baptism, or it may be an approximation to the vernacular which is easy on European ears. A few individuals deliberately use other names in the employment context, perhaps because they do not like hearing their own being called all day long at work, or to make it easier for Europeans to address them properly, or in acceptance of a habitual misrendering of their actual name, or because the name possessor was at some point caught up in officialdom and a particular nomenclature became attached to him.² Finally, migrants, especially of Categories A and B, may adopt a European name structure, that is, of paired terms. The combination may be own + father's name, European name + father's name, or European name + own name. Any one of these combinations may be given on occasion.

People I have spoken to on the point indicate that they would like me to give their proper names in this Bulletin. For various reasons, however, I have decided to use pseudonyms and offer apologies for this.

¹ In addition to simple mistakes, for example, X says there is a Mokei Pup in town, Y that there is a Ndika Pup (Mokei and Ndika often being paired together as the two most numerous Hagen tribes). In fact there may only be a Mokei Pup but it is extremely difficult, once the suggestion is made, to be sure one has eliminated the possibility of there being a Ndika Pup too. The population also comes from several dialect areas, and one heard linguistic differences, such as Uipi for Opa, Pop for Pup.

² Nancy Bowers (personal communication) reports that Kaugel men working on coffee plantations in the Nebilyer protect their cultural identity by calling themselves 'Hagens', and their personal identity through adopting alternative names, vis-à-vis imported labourers from other highlands areas.

Chapter 2

Migration: home influences

One arresting fact about Hagen migrants in Moresby is the form that their self-definition as 'Hageners' (mipela Hagen) takes. The boundaries of this category are definite in some directions, blurred in others. Since the chief reference point is an individual's home locality and tribal affiliation, we must turn briefly to the ethnic geography of the region¹ (see Figs 1 and 2.1).

The Hagen population forms a wedge between Enga-speakers to the west and Minj-Wahgi to the east, and is bounded by the inhabitants of the Jimi Valley in the north. In all these directions (west, east and north) there are marked discontinuities in social organisation, customs and language. Hageners themselves comment upon these contrasts. They perceive differences in people's habits and styles, and these they judge to distinguish Hagen society from others around them. This is not saying that there are no contacts; indeed, there is active intermarriage and trade across both the western and eastern boundaries. The situation is dramatically altered along the north-south axis. The Jimi River forms a definite boundary to the north, but from this point southwards the gradations in culture are considered to be minor rather than major. Hageners trace a number of their distinctive institutions to origins in the south-west and towards Mendi in which directions important trade routes ran in the past.

Migrants in town recognise compatriots among people drawn from a wider region that would be relevant at home. From the viewpoint of a Central or Northern Hagner what is interesting is that the most systematic inclusiveness

¹ A few men of mixed ethnic descent are included among Hageners in Moresby, the criteria for inclusion being the tribal origins of their parents on the Hagen side and their own maintenance of contact with home.

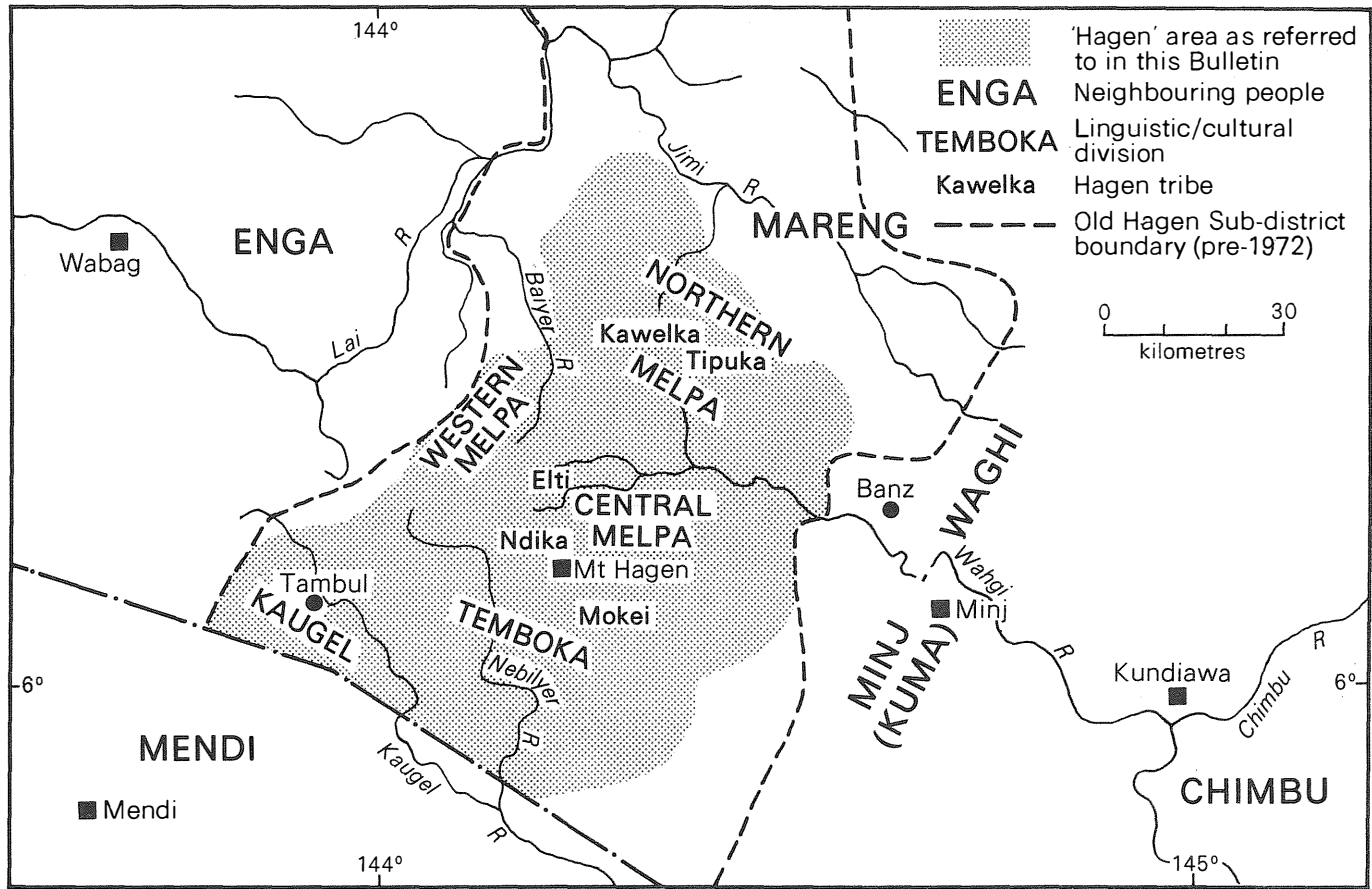


Figure 2.1 The 'Hagen' area

embraces those who live to the south-west. There are examples of men from the eastern or western borders who have become partially identified with Hageners through friendship and continued association. But this is on an individual, not a category basis. With men from the south-west, on the other hand, other Hageners claim cultural affinity. They include as a block the people known as Kaugel¹ (Bowers 1965). Beyond the Kaugel 'Hagen' may be extended as a courtesy term for individuals who come from upper Mendi. In Moresby, the appellation 'Hagener' is not just more inclusive all round but specifically delimits people felt to be most closely related on cultural and linguistic grounds. The influence of administrative boundaries, however, should not be ignored. The old Hagen Sub-District included Kaugel as well as other 'Hagen' groups (although it also included some Jimi people and Enga-speakers who are not considered Hagen). The various regional terms used here are given in Fig. 2.2.

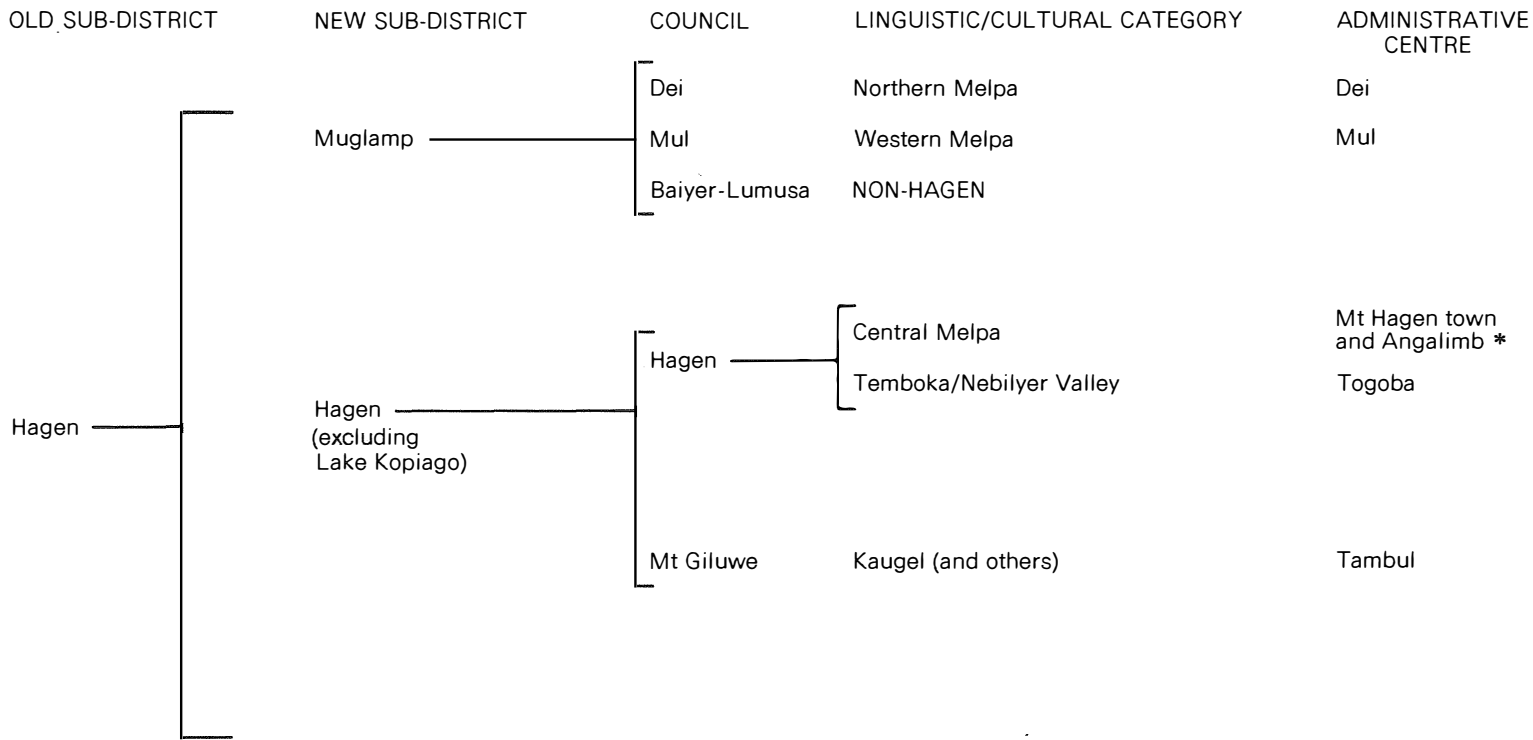
Two quite different processes are thus at work. On the one hand, it is possible for individuals who are regarded as coming from different cultural backgrounds to affiliate themselves to a group of Hageners, and through association acquire a Hagen or quasi-Hagen identity. On the other, the definition of those who share a common cultural background is widened and comprises all who come from several related dialect areas on a roughly north-south axis.

I was, as it were, ethnically unprepared for the latter situation.² 'Hagener' in this Bulletin cannot correspond exactly in usage to the term as employed in our other publications.³ Elsewhere the reference is chiefly to the

¹ My account of cultural relations is both simplified and really represents a Central or Northern Melpa point of view. The discontinuities perceived by them do not necessarily hold for Kaugel: Kaugel may recognise a greater overlap between themselves and Enga (Nancy Bowers, personal communication). In any case such classifications are likely to be situational. I am indebted to Nancy Bowers for information on Kaugel groups. Kaugel (known by Northern Hageners as Kauil or Kɔwul) are included together with Temboka in the Gawigl language.

² See p.13.

³ For example, A.J. Strathern (1971, 1972a), A.M. Strathern (1972a).



* In some publications we have designated the people round Angalimb as Eastern Melpa

Figure 2.2 Regional terms for Hagen groups

75,000¹ speakers of the Melpa and Temboka dialects; to this I add some 12,000 Kaugel.

The home population for this study, approaching 90,000, lives over an area stretched to 60 miles at its greatest extent. The home area may be divided into various cultural and linguistic regions (Fig. 2.2). Traditionally, and largely true today, the effective action group is the clan² of perhaps 200-300 people although its connections and the networks of individual members may extend over a local population of several thousand. In association and alliance with one another, clans form groups of 2,000 or 3,000 people for specific activities such as warfare or group exchanges. Clans are also divisions of named tribes whose sizes range from 500 to over 6,000 and are themselves subdivided; depending on the occasion, their members regard themselves as acting on behalf of the whole tribe or a tribe in conjunction with its allies, or on behalf of the smallest unit within the clan, a subsubclan or lineage set. This model of segmentary relations has made it simple for modern Hageners to embrace the notion of higher-order levels, such as council areas, electorates and the administrative structure of sub-district, district and regional authorities. It is quite easy for a person to think of himself as acting as a member of one council in relation to someone from another council area. The area over which an individual might expect to have contact and relationships is much wider now than in the past, a situation facilitated by formal pacification and mechanised transport. Yet when it comes to the loyalties and enmities which affect men most, traditional units of action assume chief relevance. Effective day to day interaction is restricted to relatively small areas. Central Melpa men may be bilingual in Melpa and Temboka but to many Western and Northern Melpa even the Temboka dialect is incomprehensible. The Nebilyer Valley and beyond are one indistinct region. So although the segmentation patterns of clans and tribes at home provide Hagen migrants with a familiar model when they embrace Northern Melpa and Kaugel people within a single unit, the respective kinsfolk of men from these two regions have

¹ Over 80,000 by computation of Council areas (see Table 2.1) in 1971.

² A short description of Hagen social structure is to be found in A.M. Strathern (1972b:10-14).

almost nothing to do with one another and have only the vaguest knowledge of one another's existence.

I have introduced the Hagen regions for a specific purpose. As far as out-migration is concerned they are not homogeneous. A clue to this is offered by the distribution of occupations held by migrants from the various areas.

The total population of Hagen men in Moresby in 1971 (337, including persons in transit or in the vicinity of the town, but excluding visitors) was drawn from regions within the home area (Table 2.1).

Table 2.1

Regional origin of Hagen men in and near Moresby,
July 1971

Region	Council area	Population, in Moresby	Approximate % of migrants	Population, at home (approx.)
Northern Melpa	Dei	85	25	18,000
Western Melpa	Mul	51	15	14,600
Central Melpa)		113)		
Temboka/Nebilyer) Valley)	Hagen)	20)	39	51,000
Kaugel	Mt Giluwe	65	19	(18,700)*
Other	-	3		-
		Total 337		(102,300)

* Not all the groups in Giluwe Council are Kaugel.

Differences can be discerned in the proportions of migrants from the various regions. Western and Northern Melpa provide the same number of persons as Central Melpa and Temboka which have three-fifths of the home population. The occupation structure is more dramatic (Table 2.2).

Central Melpa migrants comprise 75 per cent of those in skilled occupations while Northern Melpa and Kaugel migrants are almost to a man unskilled. Between them they contribute only 7 per cent of skilled or semi-skilled men.

Table 2.2
Main occupations of men in and near Moresby,
July 1971

Region of origin	Semi-professional and skilled in					Un- skilled	Total
	Army	Police	Tertiary education	Other	Sub total		
Northern							
Melpa	3	1	1	0	5	80	<u>85</u>
Western							
Melpa	8	0	2	2	12	39	<u>51</u>
Central							
Melpa	36	13*	18	8	75	38	<u>113</u>
Temboka	1	1	1	2	5	15	<u>20</u>
Kaugel	0	1	1	0**	2	63	<u>65</u>
Other	0	1	0	0	1	2	<u>3</u>
	48	17	23	12	<u>100</u>	<u>237</u>	<u>337</u>

* Includes a policeman who associated with N. Melpa in Moresby but is by origin Central Melpa. He is included in Table 2.3 as Kawelka (N. Melpa).

** I may have missed one or two Kaugel men in semi-skilled occupations. The proportion would not be great.

Note: Tables 2.1 and 2.2 in including persons in transit and in the vicinity of the town, have a larger population base than Tables 1.2 and 1.3.

Central Melpa migrants may be drawn from the largest home region, in total equalling the population of the other areas, but their contribution of 75 per cent skilled or professional workers should be evaluated in the light of the proportion of migrants coming from this area which is not particularly high. To put it another way: 66 per cent of Central Melpa men in town have professional or skilled jobs, only 34 per cent being unskilled while over 70 per cent of migrants from any one of the other regions are unskilled, the proportions for Northern Melpa and Kaugel¹ rising to over 90 per cent.

¹ It appears, however, that several Kaugel men were in the army and police previously, though they have now left. Obviously one cannot present the current pattern of job

It is not possible to treat the whole of Hagen in an undifferentiated way: there are likely to be varying influences affecting the movement of individuals to town.¹ Distance from the township of Mt Hagen is one such factor. Most groups within the Central Melpa area are in the vicinity of the township; Temboka and Western Melpa tribes have marginally easier access than do Northern Melpa, and much easier than Kaugel groups who focus on a separate patrol post, Tambul. An exhaustive account would consider not only transport and communications, but other characteristics of the various regions such as degree of participation in cash cropping,² educational facilities, population densities and so on. It would also require an intimate knowledge of conditions in all parts of the Hagen area. As it is, my own bias towards Northern and Central Melpa has probably encouraged me to make subtle distinctions between the Melpa regions where I rely on much grosser ones for the Nebilyer-Kaugel. Tables 2.1 and 2.2 are probably inconsistent as to criteria of differentiation between the regions. A great deal of work would have to be done before one could properly compare these areas. After this, a quite separate enterprise would still be waiting: to assess the relevance of one's chosen variables to the migrants' own decisions.

It is not within my scope to discuss the range of economic and sociological factors which might influence migration patterns. I concentrate rather on Hageners' own

Footnote 1 (continued)

allocation as a complete index of professionalisation. Ideally one would want to know the employment history of all the different groups in Moresby.

¹ If we divide up the Central Melpa figures according to geographical distance from the town and exclude groups on the eastern fringe (sometimes called Eastern Melpa) the correlation between being Central Melpa and being a skilled worker is even higher. For example, in 1971 there were in Moresby 36 men from Mokei, one of the chief Central Melpa groups. Only 9 of these were not in the army, police or some educational institution. Of the 9, only 4 have unskilled jobs.

² See Southern (n.d., 1973).

attitudes towards migration and wage-employment. There are what one may consider cultural differences between the Hagen regions in their reactions to social change and employment opportunities. These must be understood in relation to such external conditions as degree of cash cropping, educational facilities and historical experience of European contact; but I would not put so much emphasis on the direct influence of such factors as on their indirect effects as they are mediated through widely-shared values.

I propose to compare attitudes in two areas, Central and Northern Melpa. Such a comparison will serve as a reminder of the contrasts which exist within Hagen as a whole.

The starting point is the simple demographic difference between Central Melpa which has a degree of skilled migration that goes along with very little unskilled migration and Northern Melpa with almost all migration at the unskilled level. It should be remembered in turn that in comparison with other highlands areas, the overall level of out-migration from both Melpa regions is minute (Appendix 1). Salisbury and Salisbury (1972), for example, estimate that of the 20,000 from Siane and Dene in the Eastern Highlands about 250 are in the capital. In Hagen's case less than 1.5 times this number of persons come from a population nearly 5 times the size. Therefore we have to understand first, what keeps most Hagen people at home and secondly, why the unskilled men who do leave are drawn from regions such as the Northern Melpa, with so few from Central Melpa. These particular questions cannot be answered simply by reference to cash crop and employment opportunities at home, or the spread of educational facilities. Proof that in overall terms one region differs from another in level of cash income, for example, does not imply that all the inhabitants enjoy a common standard of living. There are as many uneducated and (in cash terms) badly off people - perhaps twice as many - in Central Melpa as in Northern Melpa. But if it is economic conditions which trigger off unskilled migration in one region, why do they not in the other?

My argument is that among the influences which keep people at home or which restrain many men from following the example of the few, are certain widely-agreed upon values. These values, and attitudes, have developed in response to the way in which, among other things, history and economic development are perceived and interpreted in the light of traditional concepts. The external facts

of employment opportunities are perhaps not as crucial as what people think about them. We should also be aware of which external facts they take into account in coming to decisions. Harré (1972:88) makes the same point: '...it is people's beliefs about urban life, and not knowledge of the actual conditions of urban life, that motivate them to move'. Experiences of town and of migration in general, of course, modify and inform such beliefs, but these experiences are always evaluated against existing attitudes. Certainly it would be impossible to maintain that rural-urban migration is '...a lineal, unidirectional, push-and-pull, cause-effect movement...' (Baxter 1973:4 quoting Mabogunje 1970).¹ We then have to look at such things as the history of the Central and Northern Melpa regions and at their employment opportunities in terms of what the Hagen people have made of them. It is interpretation of experience, not just experience, which colours people's outlook.

Elti and Kawelka tribes

Within any one region, individual clans and tribes differ considerably in their migration patterns. This is heightened if one considers, as here, not just out-migration but movement to a particular place such as Moresby. The presence of clan-mates or co-tribesmen in one coastal area encourages others to turn to this as a location for employment, and groups of men from related clans going independently or as agreement workers try to keep together. In 1971, among Northern Melpa men in Moresby, there were 43 from Kawelka and Tipuka tribes (combined population about 3,400 people today) but only 13 from Minembi and Kombukla (combined population about 4,500). One or two other Northern Melpa tribes, including Kendipi (about 2,000 persons) have no representatives in Moresby. In Central Melpa, where migration is mainly of skilled men, group of origin seems a less significant factor (the migrants' location being less subject to personal control). The two major Central Melpa

¹ Harding (1971:197) makes the same point in explaining a very different situation - the arrested development of Sio commercial agriculture: '...the explanation appears to lie in villagers' assessments of the comparative economic returns from subsistence farming, wage labour, and copra production [their chief cash crop], the last being viewed as the least rewarding'.

tribes, roughly equal in population and from whom most of the skilled workers in Moresby come, each contributes about the same number of men. But many tribal groups have no one working in Moresby. Among them are the Elti (population of about 500).

These variations should be borne in mind; rather than taking the Northern and Central regions as whole entities, I use as examples the experiences of two particular tribes from the two areas. These are the Northern Melpa Kawelka and Central Melpa Elti.¹ This procedure enables analysis of population movements and the experiences of individual men to be placed against the demography and history of a specifically delimited social group. While it offers what seem to be generally valid insights into differences between the two regions, it is not possible to assess fully the typicality of these particular social units.

All three Kawelka clans have men working in Moresby and visitors belonging to these groups have made recent trips there. Kawelka, in addition, have fourteen men away elsewhere on the coast. No one from Elti is in Moresby and there have been no visits. There is one independent Elti migrant in Rabaul and one Elti professional² (a warder) in Lae. Yet, roughly the same proportion of Elti and Kawelka men are in paid employment. Elti find this almost entirely within Hagen Sub-District; Kawelka workers do to some extent but over 60 per cent of them leave home. The present employment situation of men from these two tribes is given in Table 2.3. Of the factors most directly contributing to people's attitudes towards wage-employment abroad, I consider their history of working for Europeans.

Elti of Central Melpa

Employment and migration experience. When an explorers' camp was established on land adjacent to their own territory in 1933, members of the Elti tribe were among those who first saw the steel axes and shell valuables which the white men brought. One of them claims to have accompanied the then patrol officer J.L. Taylor back to Bena Bena. Elti men later

¹ Also the subject of detailed examination elsewhere, e.g. A.M. Strathern (1972a).

² That is, someone with career prospects.

Table 2.3

Current (1970-71) employment of Elti and Kawelka males

Location	Type of job	Elti	Kawelka
Port Moresby	Unskilled labour	0	12
Port Moresby	Professional (police)	0	1*
Other coastal	Unskilled labour	1	13
Other coastal	Professional (warder) (soldier)	1	1*
Other highlands	Unskilled labour	1	2
Other highlands	Teacher (mission)	1	0
Hagen Sub-District	Unskilled labour		
	(a) local plantations	11	9**
	(b) temporary (PWD)	0	6
	(c) other	1	4
Hagen Sub-District	Doctor/teacher (incl. mission)	3	1
	Total	19	49
	Total/percentage of adult male population under 50	125 (15%)	282 (16%)**

* Two persons attached to Kawelka in town context.

** Corrected from Table 3, A.M. Strathern (1972c).

*** Excluding two men attached to Kawelka in town context.

worked on the Hagen airstrip and went on several patrols, including to Kundiawa and Wabag, both before and after the war. They provided some of the pre-war labour for the Leahy brothers' gold mine and cooked for American forces (USAF) stationed in Hagen in the early 1940s. Two Elti were among what was apparently the initial band of some seven Hagen police recruits sent to the coast in 1939,¹

¹ The date and figures are not certain. Possibly these were the same men whom Gitlow (1947:13) refers to: 'During the war, enormous pressure was brought to bear for a time to send men of the Mt. Hagen area to native labour gangs on the coast. Ten men were actually sent out. But this

and one was also among the first of the many Pacific Islands Regiment recruits to be drawn from the Central Melpa region in 1956. The 1950s saw several of them working on the coast - on plantations and on contract for the Public Works Department (PWD) in Moresby town itself. Employment with Europeans has remained quite significant: two-thirds to three-quarters of the male population in all age groups under fifty have had work experience, and in the five years between 1966-70, 40 per cent of them had been wage-earners at some time or other.

But there has been a dramatic reduction in the distance Elti have travelled to find work. Forty-nine men, nearly half of all those employed, have spent time outside the sub-district, twenty of whom have been on the coast. Yet between 1966-70 there were no more than three individuals in coastal areas: a soldier, a warder-trainee and one solitary independent migrant (in Rabaul). There were no 'agreement-workers' and have not been since about 1959. To date (1971) Elti have produced no more than three persons who could be classed as non-agreement unskilled workers ('independent migrants').

It is not always clear whether a person has been 'employed' or not. Some youths 'try' a plantation for a day or two before giving up; older men have assisted the mission or helped clear aircraft wreckage - tasks which shade into the kind of regular public work expected of them. Thus almost all Elti assisted in the construction of the new Hagen airport for which a small payment was received. But payment for services is not diacritical: payments may be made nowadays for tasks which people are virtually impelled to do (such as road maintenance). If the degree of voluntary action on the part of the worker would be a better rubric, this would still leave ambiguous the experience of those people who helped mission patrols or worked without payment in the early days. In about 1940 at least seventeen Elti men carried cargo for 'one day' down to Tambul, unpaid but to some extent voluntary labour (they were accompanying one of the new Elti policemen). I do not count this as 'employment' although people recall other patrols as part of their work experience for only some of which they were paid and for only some of which

Footnote 1 (continued)

move was so vigorously protested by both the missionary and the Australian Officials at Mt Hagen that...no mass shipments of Hagen men occurred'.

they volunteered. All such encounters obviously contribute to the amount of 'contact' men had with European working conditions. But I identify as a period of employment time spent more or less voluntarily in expectation of some financial return and include all but the most brief experiences.¹ A summary of Elti work histories is to be found in Appendix 2.

Many Elti look back to their early experiences as having been unpleasant. They tell of arduous patrols through hostile country on which their lives were at risk. Men who were boys then speak of having been detained in labour lines like prisoners. Those who flocked to earn shells and steel axes from gold washing in the Nebilyer area (at least eight Elti men before the war and others after it) recount the agonies of early rising and immersion in freezing water: several claim to have run away unpaid because of the cold. The sufferings of the first contract labourers are recollected in detail. On their own initiative, some walked the 90 odd miles to Goroka (before Hagen was made an attestation centre for the Highland Labour Scheme in 1958). Yet once there, they recall, they were shaved and dressed up like jailed men, forced into hard work and long hours, and had to endure the heat of the coast. Nevertheless, a few individuals who went with the first major group of agreement-workers from Elti (seven men in 1952-53) signed up again in 1956-57, while a number found other jobs with Europeans on return. No contracts were placed, however, after 1958-59. Of the returned agreement-workers it is noteworthy that only one at this time (1950s) returned to the coast as an 'independent migrant'.

A number of Elti were employed more or less permanently in Hagen town itself in the early days and in the 1940s and 1950s found work within the sub-district as labourers, bosboi (overseers) on local plantations, road overseers and domestic servants. From time to time employment has been sought outside the sub-district: a party of five went to a Gorokan plantation briefly in the early 1960s, and the odd individual has worked elsewhere in the Wahgi Valley or in Mendi but the impetus for unskilled labour to seek work away from home dropped with the development of local opportunities.

¹ In the case of boys still receiving education, I ignore work in the school holidays.

Table 2.4

Agreement workers from Elti Yowaka tribe-section
(1951-58)

(A)	Contract year	No. men	Location	Job
	1951	1	Wau	Goldmining
	1952/3	7	Moresby town	PWD
	1956	2	Moresby	Plantation
	1957	3	Samarai	Plantation
	1958	2	Rabaul	Plantation
	1958	1	Moresby	PWD

(B)	No. of persons for whom first contract was their			First contract followed by			Second contract followed by		
	First job	Second job	Third job	Further contract	Other job	No job	Further contract	Other job	No job
	9	1	1	5	4	2	0	4	1

Elti territory abuts a formerly expatriate coffee plantation which was in operation for several years and I doubt if nearly so many of the youngish Elti men would have had spells in employment if casual work had not been so readily at hand. At the same time, experiences here probably inhibited many from travelling to other plantations. The work was regarded as arduous. At this time (1950s and early 1960s) the rural wage was about 30/- a month plus rations, 10/- for boys. Nevertheless, Elti provided a small but steady supply of labour for this local plantation. The situation changed in the mid-1960s. Parts of the Wahgi valley were drained and developed for tea and commercial sweet potato estates. Many Elti, for other reasons, were moving to their Wahgi lands at this time and found casual employment on the new plantations. Their own houses overlook the fields in which they work and they do not have to eat or sleep on the plantation. Both men and women find it possible to undertake spells of work here and still keep up with their jobs at home. Coincident with these developments was a rise in the rural minimum wage. The attractiveness of

the new wages (cash in hand in the region of \$7 a fortnight) is a large factor in contributing to the present popularity of this work.¹ The demand for unskilled rural labour, it is important to note, is not restricted to these local estates but it is the only demand to which Elti are responding in numbers. Work on tea and sweet potato estates is not regarded as so hard as on coffee plantations and the rewards are judged superior in relation to the labour and time demanded.

Even though the rise in rural wages has presumably taken effect for all kinds of rural employment, Elti do not travel to find it and nowadays avoid plantations elsewhere in the District. Opportunities for unskilled employment within the township have dwindled in direct proportion to the town's development and demands for skilled labour. Only one individual works as a labourer in town. There are no regular commuters from Elti settlements into Mt Hagen town, although a few people from neighbouring tribes do this. A number voiced vague desires to find urban work but their lack of qualifications will make this impossible.

Not many Elti have received institutional training. There have been 2 Elti Yowaka² policemen, 1 soldier, 3 doctor's or aid post orderlies, 1 warder and 2 mission and 1 government teachers. Only the warder and government teacher, employed still, were recruited on the basis of educational qualifications; the others were recruited before the war or in the 1950s and a minimal education formed part of their training. Perhaps half the boys of school age now are receiving formal education, including three young men over 16 who might otherwise have been working. Roughly a third of the Elti men under 50 claim to have had some kind of schooling.

The proximity to the centre of European development that Elti have always enjoyed has been significant. Here we should include the Lutheran mission centre at Ogelbeng, 2 miles from their chief ceremonial ground. From the late

¹ In addition to the 11 men working on local plantations when I carried out my investigation, another 29 men and youths had done such work between 1967-70, all but 6 on the new estates.

² A section of Elti tribe, numbering in 1970 some 153 males over the age of 16.

1950s Elti men had access to coffee seedlings distributed by the mission and the most extensive plantings today belong to members of the Christian community. About 80 per cent of all men of all ages have coffee trees.¹ Having coffee, whether in production or not, does not prevent men from seeking casual employment locally. The owners of pulping machines (there were four in 1970), however, would not think of doing so. Those with mature coffee say that they are able to earn over a period at least the equivalent of the rural minimum wage; a number claim to earn more than this.² Other local sources of income include marketing produce (mainly in the hands of women), pigs and pig meat. Tradestores continue to be built even though people are aware of the likelihood of low returns and eventual closure. (There were nine in differing degree of operation over the period 1967-70.) Like other groups Elti have purchased cars and trucks and several men have provisional licences. Neither trucks nor tradestores have commercial potential of any duration except in the hands of an exceptional manager.³ Continuing interest in enterprises of this kind is related to people's general attitudes towards combining staying at home with running a 'business' (bisnis) to bring in some money.

Attitudes towards work. Many Elti today state that they have no wish to undertake unskilled employment in the future, or if they desire to do so, that they do not want this to take them away from the Hagen area.⁴ On the whole

¹ The figure will be higher if we include overlapping claims, for example, an older man will have trees planted for him by a son.

² In addition to a resident at the nucleus tea estate, several Elti have taken up planting tea on small blocks of land of their own. These observations refer to 1970-71; economic conditions have since changed with a depression in coffee prices and weakened enthusiasm for tea plantings.

³ See Southern (1973:38,50).

⁴ Of 30 men whom I questioned directly on the point, all of whom had had employment experience, only 7 suggested they would seek work again given the opportunity. The youngest age group here were equally divided as to whether they wanted work or not. The majority of men in other age groups said no. In most cases the desire to find work was

it is the older men who most vehemently state distaste for further work. This negative attitude is undoubtedly the result of their experiences in the early days of contact. Yet several younger men whose personal histories followed a different course adopt this attitude as well. Complementing this is a positive evaluation of bisnis enterprise at home. These states of mind cannot thus be dismissed as the inevitable result of middle-aged men wishing to settle down. Younger men share them to a large extent. The attitudes take effect in that the youth who twenty years ago would have gone to the coast as an agreement worker nowadays seeks a job which will commit him in a much less wholehearted way.

Some issues should be separated here. First, migration out of Hagen is not a simple product of the desire to find employment. Many Elti are ready to seek spells of work but prefer that these should be near home. Secondly, the desire to find work is not a simple indication of the desire for cash. Alternative means of raising cash are to be found in bisnis enterprises - cash cropping, minor trading and other commercial ventures. Hageners take into account the costs of work. Among the costs incurred by an unskilled migrant abroad are having to spend money on food and shelter and forfeiting social advancement and development of possible business activities. It would be wrong, therefore, to interpret¹ apathy towards out-migration as indicating apathy towards the monetary sector of the economy. Indeed the reverse is true. It is partly because people feel they can do better for themselves at home, whether through bisnis or casual labour, and would be at an economic disadvantage in earning wages abroad that they would rather stay. There is also a strong concept of self-sufficiency ('Our own land [soil] is fertile; why should we leave it to get a living

Footnote 4 (continued)

expressed vaguely ('since you ask, it might be a nice idea'). No one gave strong preference for leaving the Hagen area, most specifying that if they did find work it would have to be near home. Comments from men without employment experience fell into a similar pattern.

¹ Contra Moulik (1972:30) and compare Harding (1971:197) on the Sio: '...the arrested development of Sio commercial agriculture cannot be explained as the result of a lack of a desire for change or willingness to engage in new forms of economic activity...'

somewhere else?') which must be related to people's perception of themselves vis-à-vis Europeans.¹ These views have an important bearing on how those who do migrate outside the sub-district see themselves. It is worth considering some of the details of their formulation.

Where does the distaste for unskilled work abroad come from? It is difficult to sort out from people's accounts grievances which they held at the time of employment and issues which are recalled today in the light of present values. Many people say openly now: 'We were deceived then; we did not realise how badly we had been treated'. But there was certainly a degree of real dissatisfaction at the time. The biggest single factor, one which is certainly revived nowadays in men's memories, is the relationship of the rewards to the work done. I doubt if physical discomforts would be so often commented upon if it were not for the fact that the returns were felt to be unequal to the labours.

Hageners conspicuously stress that they seek employment to gain wealth. In the early days wages were paid in shell valuables, meeting their express demands. Other products brought by Europeans were of secondary value with the exception of steel. It was the pearl-shell which men could obtain by washing gold that attracted them to this novel occupation as it was money (and bird of paradise plumes) which enticed them to the coast the following decade.² Expectations were probably pitched beyond reality. The amount of wealth brought back at first encouraged others to try; but in the long run had the reverse effect of making people at home think that arduous labour abroad for a long period was not worth the returns. People nowadays speak of having been tricked by Europeans who 'ate' the profits of their labours, putting aside only a minute proportion for

¹ '...prevailing attitudes [in Papua New Guinea] can be summed up in the reply by a village elder to an eminent Australian personality: "Sir, are you telling us that we should go to work every day for forty years so that we can earn what we already have?"'. (Beltz 1970:9)

²

At home cash did not enter generally into transactions until the later 1950s. An account of these developments is given in A.J. Strathern (1971:109-110).

wages. Ful wok is a derogatory term for labour¹ which is both heavy, poorly rewarded and imposed by others. Plantation labour is cited as the epitome of ful wok.

A common reason then, which people give for not wanting to return to employment is the poor payment they received in the past. One man described his disappointment in the early 1950s when he worked as an overseer for a highlands settler and received a single axe blade where he had hoped for many, and instead of a whole bag of nassa shells to shoulder away had to watch his master open it up and tip out a small heap into the palm of his hand. This is seen as deceit.

'Work hard!' the kiaps say, and all the time the people work and the payments go down [are low in proportion]. If they work and the pay is good, there is no talk. But when money is short then the masta just give ful wok to us. The employer himself gets a lot of money and we get nothing. (Youngish Elti man)

Michael told me about the patrol he went on with Taylor to Wabag (in ?1938). He has never done any work for any European since then. He was about seventeen. He and some other boys went to have a look at the white spirits, as the explorers were called, when they found themselves seized and taken off. Afraid they would be killed, they could do nothing but accompany the patrol on its journey to Wabag, where he claims they spent 'three years' (an exaggeration) building the airstrip. According to his account, their privations were severe: at one stage food was so short that days were spent with the men lying prone from exhaustion in their tents, and they were reduced to eating cordyline leaves smeared with dripping. Eventually they felt they had endured enough. Several of the Hagen lads ran away, going back a different route from the one they had come: the patrol had left behind it a trail of hostility and they were afraid of being murdered. Presumably they forfeited whatever payment might have been due them. 'All that time!'

¹ Salisbury (1970:237) notes the Tolai distinction between 'work' and bisnis, work being something that one does under compulsion while bisnis is a voluntary activity. Work is concerned with labour, whereas bisnis involves the ownership of some capital asset (1970:238). Also see the discussion in Ploeg (1972b).

exclaimed Michael: 'And no food while we were there, and no pay at the end of it - no salt, no shells, no nothing!' Henry, a young middle-aged man in the audience listening to the recital (who himself had been to the coast on contract) laughed loudly. That indeed had been ful wok! Michael went on to say that he had no inclination to seek employment again. 'I want to look after my parents, my place, my own ground.' This does not mean he is not interested in money; he has a substantial coffee plantation and in 1970 was planning to buy a pulping machine.

The same sentiment was underlined by Henry himself on another occasion. He had been under-age when he applied to sign up as an agreement-worker in about 1952-53 but had pressed for admission for he had heard of the money and the clothes and the red bird of paradise plumes that could be obtained from the coast; he was one of those who signed up a second time. Money was the chief motive: for big-men (he said) could always raise money by selling pigs but what could little men like himself do?

But the masta tricked us. They themselves got plenty of money and gave none to us.¹ We are still angry with them. When I returned from the coast I worked for a spell as manki masta (domestic servant) in Hagen but all my mates were at home courting girls, and I was fed up and left work. I married my wife, and now we have children and I would never work (in paid employment) again. It is a serious matter: if I went off and worked, who would look after my wife and children?

If Michael (from the 46-50 age group) is an example of someone with pre-war experience of employment and Henry (31-35 age group) one of those with quite extensive acquaintance with working for Europeans in the 1950s, Steven (21-25), newly married, is one of the young men whose main experience has been confined to the tea and sweet potato estates in the Wahgi Valley. For a short while he was a PWD labourer in Hagen town: he regarded the \$9 a fortnight as good wages, but the work took him to Minj which was too far away (little more than 30 miles but in a neighbouring language group). Thinking of his family and home, he left. The next job, on tea estates, yielded \$6 a

¹ He says he was paid 30/- a month and £15 on return the first time; 10/- a month and £35 on return the second.

fortnight. When the sweet potato farm offered \$7.40, he moved there. But the work was much more demanding:

When we were earning \$6 we did not work hard, just cut the grass, but on this new job we really had to get the spades into the earth! We were short of money and applied for the position, but I ached all over...it was too painful! Others are still there - I left....The masta (employer) saw me later and asked me to come back; but I thought, 'You gave me ful wok, I can still feel the aches and pains, and why should I come?' It was only money which made me go the first time. When my coffee is bearing I shall do no such work again. I went home after working for the white men and thought to myself, 'My hands are my own and I just give myself aches and pains doing this. But pigs and coffee could help me'.¹ So I planted coffee and my father and I raised my bridewealth from marketing pigs. Now I think of my bisnis. White men hold money but when I work for them I suffer. No, I say, pigs and coffee can help me.

Steven here sees a contrast between bisnis and employment. Others see it between bisnis and employment at home on the one hand and employment abroad, on the other, and stress the relative advantages of working on estates to which they can commute and which does not jeopardise their whole social and economic life. In the intensity of Steven's remarks, we can perhaps discern the transmission of attitudes to which I have referred (p.). By relative standards the work required of estate labourers is judged by many to be less onerous and better paid than other labour. Perhaps Steven who belongs to the same subclan as Michael has caught some of his elders' bitterness. His evaluation of his own employment experience has become coloured by prevailing attitudes to work and bisnis, and by the particular resentments he will have heard from the mouths of older clansmen.

¹ Henry made a similar remark concerning his current investments in pigs and coffee, adding that the cash crop is lucrative in just the same way as a sow is - it has offspring, one takes this, it bears again.

Henry's statements betray an ambivalence which seems to have been part of Hageners' attitudes from the beginning. On the one hand, white men came with wealth and wealth was wanted. Neil said:

When pearl-shells first came, we competed among ourselves for them...We worked as kagoboi along with men from Minj and Wabag and Chimbu...But now we have our own money, with the coffee we have planted. This is our road. And few men (from Hagen) now work as kagoboi: the plantations here hire people from Mendi and Tari and Pangia and Wabag.

On the other hand, the ability to draw wealth to oneself, the mark of big-man status, is associated with the traditional notion that this is achieved through personal influence and political craft. The acquisition of wealth is a direct index of manipulative and financial skill. Before Europeans came, shells reached Hagen from distant places and were regarded as journeying far until they fell into the hands of their powerful owners. Going abroad to obtain shells in the early days would seem an appropriate venture. But to have to obtain them through subsistence-like activities (labouring in gardens) was a novelty.

Hageners traditionally drew a line between activities associated with public affairs, politics and exchange transactions, and those derived from subsistence and production, such as gardening, stock raising, house-building. The acquisition of shells had always fallen into the former domain. They came as gifts from exchange partners or as payments between individuals or groups. Some Elti tried to gain the new wealth (shells brought by Europeans) through old channels: one man received a pearl-shell for presenting a pig to the Lutheran missionaries at Ogelbeng. But he also earned nassa and cowrie shells by helping with the construction of the first mission buildings. For the chief commodity Europeans wanted in return for the wealth they disbursed had nothing to do with leadership or influence or political skill: they wanted labour. It is not surprising, therefore, that the people who offered themselves most frequently for labour were youths. This pattern still holds. Older men are both too committed to their own enterprises and are also likely to find more dissonance between their growing status and the prospect of resorting to subsistence-like activities for

the chief benefit¹ of someone else. Self-sufficiency is a matter of pride. Thus, while one old man claims that the simple reason why he refused ever to work for Europeans was fear of having his ear yanked when he failed to respond to incomprehensible Pidgin commands, another said (to me) grandly that anything he needed he could find for himself. He was secure in the influence he knew he held over his relatives and friends. What wealth he had need of he could attract to himself through personal expertise: he has never had need to go to white men for valuables.

It is here that we see the significance of bisnis. Steven's and Henry's equation of coffee and pigs² is revealing. Pigs are wealth objects which can be 'produced' at home rather than, as in the case of shells, necessarily obtained through personal contacts. It is not too far fetched to see coffee and other enterprises conducted with local resources to bring in profit as being very much like pig production. People's statements are shot through with remarks which emphasise the fact that coffee and such bisnis is home based. To produce money at home can be slotted into a traditional category of wealth production. To gain money abroad by entering into a subordinate relationship with strangers could be tolerable only insofar as the rewards were spectacular.

The question of subordination is interesting. A man of standing would not ordinarily work for anybody but himself. He might from time to time engage the help of relatives; anyone attached permanently as a dependent-helper would be of low status. In the relationships with exchange partners through which traditional wealth is acquired, claims of inferiority and superiority are made, in a competitive manner. But even where the partners themselves are of different status there has to be a rough parity in their transactions if the relationship is to endure. Men who sought work on plantations away from home might be after prized wealth objects and in the early days these were items which could be fed into the traditional exchange system; but by doing so they had to work for someone else,

¹ Hageners reiterate the point that however much they as wage-earners benefit, the owners of the business (employers) benefit more.

² See p.36.

depending on him for food and shelter, thereby putting themselves in the status of household dependent. One Elti who was deprived of his chances of promotion in the police force after committing a misdemeanour preferred to resign rather than wok kagoboi (continue in employment 'as a labourer'), which in this context would have meant serving under officers whose rank he himself could have otherwise obtained.

We may sum up these attitudes by the concept of financial self-reliance¹ amplified in the words of an Elti, about thirty-five, who has never worked for Europeans:

If I worked for a masta I would have to leave home, and I could not make bisnis at home. Suppose I went into employment and was then dismissed I would have no bisnis. Some wage-earners save up and buy a pig or so, but others spend their money, and when they come home they are rubbish men...I get money from my coffee, but what is the point of spending it on someone else's tradestore? My money would be lost. So I have built my own, and I can use it as a source of food if I am hungry, and I do not have to see my money disappear on someone else's bisnis.

Given the value placed on economic self-reliance (the power to attract wealth to oneself through one's own efforts) it is not surprising to find a compensating attitude of self-sufficiency on the part of employee to employer. Men I spoke to gave the impression that in recent years they have worked only from choice and were free to leave when they felt like it. ('I don't have to work; I only found a job to get some money.') Occasionally an employee states his independence by resigning rather than, say, be posted somewhere he does not want to go. Indeed, this posture of autonomy copes with problems which workers find in terminating a relationship with their employer. Independence features particularly in the claims of former domestic servants, whose dependency is of a personal nature, that the decision to leave employment was theirs: 'They were angry with me without cause so I left'. We shall find such attitudes again among the Hagen labourers in Moresby.

¹ One shared by the rural bisnis men in the resettlement areas studied by Ploeg (1972:283).

The one context in which it seems perfectly acceptable to earn abroad is that of the educated worker who can attain a roughly equal footing with Europeans. That education leads to good employment is a Hagen aphorism and the average person is aware of the educational standard of most of the boys of his and neighbouring subclans. A number of Elti men, now in their twenties or thirties, openly comment on their own failure, or regret that their school was closed down. Educational opportunity of some kind has been with the Elti since the late 1940s. They have seen further training take boys outside the sub-district, to Goroka or Lae. I conclude that unskilled work abroad is also denigrated in comparison with what education could bring in terms of employment. An uneducated Elti person will seek work at home or not at all.

The nature of money is a special factor in people's attitudes. Although in some respects it operates as traditional valuables did and can be invested in the same way, its properties are not identical. It has the distressing quality of spendability. Restrictions on the transactions for which it was appropriate to utilise pigs or shells in the past ensured that for the most part they were 'spent' on exchanges of social significance. But money (as Hageners judge it) can be more easily wasted on trivial items. Earnings which are not directed into investment tend to be disparaged. And it is the wages of a migrant which are most at risk here.

We have seen that time spent abroad earning in an unskilled capacity is regarded by those at home as expensive in terms of the bisnis opportunities the migrant forfeits. The drawback of wage-earning is that, in the end, cash is spent. Gavin, now in his mid-thirties, has worked for Europeans since his teens, both on the coast and throughout the Hagen Sub-District, and was one of Elti's three independent migrants. The summary of his several years' experience is: 'Mi had wok nating (I laboured to no end)'. A much younger lad commented:

It is all right for people to go off and do kagoboi work - but what happens when they are dismissed?
 If they have to come home, where is their bisnis?
 But I stay at home because at home I develop my own bisnis.

When Neil finished working as a servant, he became a medical orderly for thirteen years. Eventually he resigned; he will not return to the medical service, he says, because he has

been working with white men since he was a boy, yet where is all the money he earned? Those who earn by the fortnight, spend by the fortnight. Gardens and coffee are quite different; at least he can plant coffee trees from which his children may benefit.¹ The answer to Neil's question is that what he has to show is the quite considerable prestige he has built up over the years, derived in part from his employment activities. He is expressing an attitude towards the expendable nature of money. A returned Elti migrant (on the coast in the 1950s) pointed out that the man who nowadays leaves home seeking money will suddenly stop in his tracks and think that he could have been developing bisnis there. The least he can do is save what he earns: the man who spends his money (say, on consumer goods) is 'rubbish'. It is not only kagoboi who waste money. At home, too, one finds people who are unable to think about bisnis, he went on, and who consume all they can lay hands on. Someone who fails to take advantage of bisnis opportunities is rubbish. The big-men are those who buy cars or have \$200 or \$400 or \$800 in their houses...The point the speaker was making is that it is not so much being in employment with Europeans which results in low-status (being 'rubbish') but the mis-handling of money. This can happen under any circumstances, but the migrant loses everything when he spends his savings.

During the early years, when Elti did leave for work abroad, money probably appeared more 'stable'. There were fewer things to spend it on; for the agreement-worker or kagoboi, the cost of living was low and inconspicuous (deducted from wages in advance). Money also had a more restricted circulation within the indigenous economy.

¹ In spite of dissatisfaction with coffee prices, many people seem to regard their returns from coffee very favourably compared with returns from wage-labour. A component of this attitude definitely appears to be related to the use with which money in the two contexts can be put. Cf. Sankoff (1969:71) on attitudes held by people in the Morobe area (and Eastern Highlands): 'As opposed to...work done solely to take care of one's day-to-day food requirements, bisnis is work done specifically to produce some enduring [my italics] benefit to those pursuing it.... Even more important, however, is that it should pay off handsomely in the future, producing money and/or capital less liquid than money....'

Moreover, a small outlay on items such as cloth, towels, suitcases and such could make an impressive display. Migrants came back from the coast in the 1950s with plumes purchased there (a significant item in their accounts) and a lump sum which was often used to buy a pig or pearl-shells or was absorbed directly into bridewealth or was distributed among kinsfolk. All these represent investment of a kind. For a time, then, such earnings made a significant contribution to financial arrangements at home: money was translated into traditional valuables. Its liquidity was, as it were, stemmed at source.¹ But by the early 1960s the supply of the major shell valuable, pearl-shells, was drying up, since it was more convenient for Europeans to pay in cash and have people spend it on western style trade goods. A decline in the pearl-shell's popularity spread throughout the Hagen area over that decade. It is no longer fashionable to buy shells with money. The prices of pig stock have on the contrary soared and it would take a concerted effort of saving to raise enough to buy an animal. Side by side with this one must put the expanding range of consumer goods which (Hageners say) lure money away from men's pockets. Increasingly, the value of the wage-earner's packet has fallen. Not only does the amount he manages to bring make less and less impact on those at home, he is less and less likely to save any. Young men spend on clothes, drink, cards. The drop in age of the average employee is both an effect of men's

¹ Although traditional valuables were not 'wasteable' to the degree that money is, the novel form of acquisition possibly led to a stress on cumulation and then to a sense of loss once the stockpile was finished. Ordinarily shells are gained through transactions and distributed through more transactions. Someone may be disappointed in what he receives or make a bad judgement about what he gives away, but the relationships along which the wealth is channelled remain. The situation can be rectified in future transactions. 'Waste' is only held to occur in certain contexts: e.g. someone had to pay compensation for offence and here the valuables are 'lost' to him entirely. In the case of valuables obtained through labour, as in encounters with Europeans, there was it would seem, more a feeling that the worker was amassing a finite amount of wealth, a point of view which also led to the expression of regrets when it all went (see p.51) - in spite of the fact that it might be invested sensibly.

concern over the value of wage-earning and means that those who go into wage-earning have fewest home responsibilities and are most liable to perpetuate the image of the spend-thrift.

The feeling that it is better to develop business at home than earn wages abroad, which I was so strongly aware of among the Elti in 1970, is not simply the viewpoint of those with flourishing cash crops. Men with little regular income from this or any source voice disapproval of foreign wage-employment and expatiate on the benefits of local enterprise. In spite of current Department of Agriculture discouragement of new plantings and the lack of extension work on coffee, new coffee gardens are still being made by those catching up with their peers. There is indeed considerable consistency in people's expressed attitudes toward employment and migration. Similar views are found among men of all ages and equally among those with much or little or with no employment experience at all. Occasionally an older man puts direct pressure on his juniors to dissuade them from seeking work. This may include paid labour of any kind - even local. Said one father of his son: 'I have pigs, I have shells, I have money, saucepans, sweet potatoes ...and what is the boy hungry for that he wants to get muddy and have his hands cut by the sharp grass all for the sake of working for a masta?'. While many younger boys embark on brief spells of casual work, few without education envisage any kind of permanent employment away from home. Purely local employment is embraced for the reason that it provides extra cash without being detrimental to cash cropping enterprises. Some are as passionate as their elders in expressing the conviction that it is best to develop bisnis at home. This holds in spite of the external market situation and dropping prices. But people's evaluation of coffee bisnis is not simply a reflex of its economic benefits; they take also into account its style. In purely economic terms, Hageners are over optimistic about the returns they can expect from their cash crops (cf Southern n.d.). Reay's (1964:252) comments on the people of the Minj Sub-District, whose migration pattern is very similar to that of Hagen, are relevant here: 'The Kuma do not see themselves as a labor force....They are independent farmers and, though their incomes from coffee are negligible in our terms, many of them are planters in their own right'.

Kawelka of Northern Melpa

Employment and migration experience. The work experiences of Kawelka men have been different from those of their Elti counterparts (see Appendix 2). Until very recently they had undertaken almost nothing but unskilled labour. Few claim to have been work overseers (bosboi) or in domestic service, and it was not until about 1960 that two individuals received medical training (1950 for Elti). There have been no policemen or soldiers,¹ and few have come from the Dei Council area as a whole. The only 'teachers' have been lay churchmen.

It is tempting to regard the Kawelka experience as indicative of opportunities available to people in a relatively outlying area, who received the main impetus of European influence more than ten years after Central Melpa groups had been contacted. Kawelka migration patterns cannot, however, be explained just in terms of a geographical and chronological lag. We shall see, for example, that their outlook is very similar to that held by Elti men. Yet for historical and situational reasons Northern Melpa are in a rather different position, and there is no evidence to suggest that their future migration styles will precisely follow those of the Central Melpa. An example will clarify this. At the time when Administration services were first extended into their area (1945 onwards) most Kawelka were living in the hills at the heart of the Northern Melpa region. Then from the early 1960s a substantial number began to re-colonise areas in the Wahgi valley flats. Although this new territory is still within Dei Council, it borders Central Melpa. In actuality settlements of Kawelka folk here are not far from the Wahgi homes of Elti men. They, too, abut the new tea and sweet potato farms on which so many Elti youths have worked. But it is an interesting fact that although one or two individuals have taken up casual work here, the numbers are not significant. They are not making the same response to the environment. This can perhaps be related to the extent to which young Kawelka men are still migrating out from the Hagen area.

¹ A policeman now in Moresby is associated with Kawelka there, although he was brought up in the Central Melpa area, as is a 'brother' of his stationed in Lae as a soldier.

The first major exodus occurred in 1958 when 75 individuals went to Goroka. Most of them worked at the saw mills there. Men of all ages went and it is the five or six months they spent there which account for employment recalled by the majority of men over thirty today (see Appendix 2). The labourers were recruited by two Kawelka who had been among the first to work for Europeans. One had been on a post-war patrol and both had gone to Kainantu before staying at Goroka, initially with PWD and then on the new coffee plantations and at the timber depot. Kawelka continued to look in this direction for work and in the 1960s men still tended to travel in the Goroka direction: I have record of 3 seeking jobs there in 1964, another 5 the following year and at least 11 were working there for a while in 1967. Two individuals have adopted semi-permanent residence in the town and have married Eastern Highlands women. Few Kawelka have ever sought employment in the Central Melpa area or Hagen town itself. (Those who in 1971 were working as labourers for PWD on the showground came mainly from subclans now located in the Wahgi, near the work area itself.) Local work was sought in the 1960s either on the coffee plantation adjacent to Kawelka territory or on plantations bordering the Highlands Highway as one travels eastwards. In 1964, for example, 12 boys, part of a group of 60 recruited by a Tipuka councillor, left to work on a plantation near Banz.

Goroka has been most significant in Kawelka experience. It became a spring-board for those seeking work on the coast. It was mainly from men who had been working at Goroka that a major group of Kawelka signed up for contract work at Rabaul in 1959. And of those who were employed in Goroka in 1967, three signed up for the coast under the Highland Labour Scheme (HLS) as soon as they returned home. At the end of 1967 another three flew from Goroka to Moresby. But the first men travelled to the coast as 'agreement-workers' on the HLS and this continued to attract people. Kawelka learnt about the scheme from stories told by six recruits from the nearby Tipuka tribe who had walked to Goroka in 1953. They 'opened up the road and shown the way' to those who followed. In the mid-1960s, however, the number of people hired for agreement-work slackened. The late 1960s and early 1970s saw renewed interest (see Table 2.5). Although several Kawelka men have had more than one spell of work at Goroka, I have no record of agreement workers sent to the coast signing up for a second contract, although one or two Tipuka have done this.

In perhaps a third of the cases, returned agreement-workers have taken up other jobs, and in more than half the contract was not the first job which the migrant had done.

Table 2.5

Agreement-workers from Kawelka tribe
(1956-71)

Contract year	No. men	Location	Job	Still on coast
1956	1	Rabaul	Plantation	0
1959	11	Rabaul	Plantation	0
1961	4 { 1	Moresby	Plantation	1
1961	3	Rabaul	Plantation	0
1965	2	Moresby	Plantation	0
1967	4 { 1	Madang	Plantation	1
1967	3	Moresby	Plantation	3
1969	9 { 5	Rabaul	Plantation	0
1969	4	Moresby	Plantation	4
1970	4	Rabaul	Plantation	4
1971	6	Rabaul	Plantation	6
	41			19

We see that after 1961 the number of agreement workers drops, but picks up again between 1967-69. There have been more contracts made between 1967-71 (a total of twenty-three) than in the whole of the 1956-66 period. The dropping off after 1961 would seem to reflect the overall figures obtained by the Department of Labour¹ for the former Mount Hagen Sub-District. In the early 1960s a relatively large number of men from the sub-district entered the scheme, but with² the exception of the Jimi area; this falls off from 1962-63.² By contrast with other parts of the highlands

¹ I am grateful to the Department of Labour for allowing me access to their files on the Highland Labour Scheme.

² These statistics give data up to 1965 or 1966. Tambul (i.e. Kaugel) figures show an increase at about this time, but information from all the other areas suggest a continuing

numbers from the then Hagen (along with the Minj) Sub-District were the lowest in proportion to the workforce available, and at the time the statistics were compiled it looked as though they would decline even further.

Are the figures from Kawelka merely idiosyncratic, or is there any significance in the new increase of HLS recruits? What has happened is that the nature of agreement-work has been changing in the eyes of recruits-to-be, especially in connection with work undertaken near Moresby. In the early years almost all contracts were completed, and in the case of lads going to Rabaul, this has continued to be so in some instances. Of Kawelka youths sent to work in plantations near Moresby, since 1967 none of the agreement workers have completed their contract: all have run away to town. The eight men (Table 2.6) who are still in Moresby broke their contract and in finding their way to the town turned into independent migrants. Information about those currently in Rabaul (ten lads) suggests that at least two have done the same there. So the motives for signing up have altered: many frankly admit that their intention was to leave the plantation and seek urban employment. Paradoxically, then, the figures for agreement workers are nowadays being swollen by would-be-independent migrants. While the numbers from Kawelka are small, this pattern is confirmed from other tribal groups in Dei.

In addition to agreement-workers who turn into independent migrants (at least 11 of the 19 still on the coast), there has been a small trickle of people paying their way. The same region is thus producing both 'independent migrants' who raise their own fare, and those who have their travel paid by an outside agency. Indeed, the significance of fund-raising should not be over emphasised. Take the example of Central Melpa. It is not the case that some Northern Melpa are forced to rely upon outside sources to obtain transport to the coast while the more wealthy Central Melpa can afford to buy their own tickets: there are almost no Central Melpa who leave in an unskilled capacity at all. Moreover, most skilled migrants have their fares paid by the institution or business to which they are attached.

Footnote 2 (continued)

decline at this date. These include Nebilyer (Temboka), Mul (Western Melpa), Dei (Northern Melpa) and Baiyer (western border country with Enga). The figures for Hagen (Central Melpa) yield the lowest level of agreement migration, but suggest a slight possible rise in mid-1965.

Table 2.6

Independent migrants from Kawelka tribe
(1962-71)

Year (at which became independent)	Location	Ex-contract	Paid own way
1962	Moresby	1	0
1967	Moresby	1	4
1968	Moresby	2	1
? 1968	Madang	1	0
1969	Moresby	4	1
1970	Moresby	0	1
? 1970	Rabaul	2	1
1971	Rabaul	0	1
		11	9*

* Three of these had returned home by 1971. Total on coast was 25: completing contract 8, ex-contract 11, independent from the start 6.

Some remarks should be made about cash opportunities in the Northern Melpa region. Although Dei Council people certainly do not regard themselves as in a backwater, their participation in cash cropping in the early years lagged behind that of Central Melpa (Hagen Council). The current average level of cash income from coffee is probably lower for Kawelka than Elti, although there will be many individuals whose personal earnings are as high or higher. For a substantial number, income from coffee probably equals the amount Elti earn on the tea and potato farms. However, rather than also indulge in such work themselves, Kawelka have tended to use their residence in the Wahgi area for enterprises such as peanut gardens (for sale to Hagen market) and to take advantage of the wages paid to labourers on the estates in another way: in 1971 a small vegetable market was held on Kawelka territory near the plantations every pay day, and at least three tradestores have been built in the vicinity.

With more certain incomes from such enterprises than existed in the early 1960s, there has been a sharp fall in people's interest in working either full time or part



Plates 1 & 2. Selling coffee to a local buyer.



Plate 3. Local entrepreneur in front of his tradestore.

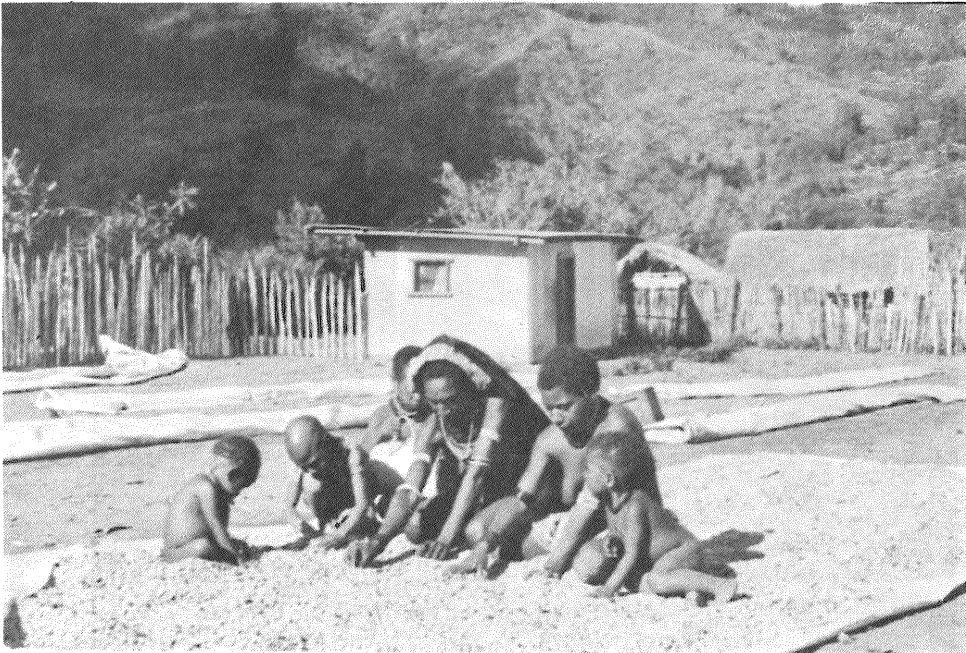


Plate 4. His family help in coffee processing.

time on local coffee plantations. In the 1960s it was usual for women and children as well as men to work for several days in the season picking coffee at perhaps 5/- or as much as 10/- a day. (At that time, also, regular labour was recruited from local tribes. This is less true today and labour has to be brought in from outside.) Casual work in which the majority of Kawelka must have taken part at some time or other is not really regarded by them as 'employment'. It does not make the workers into kagoboi (dependent labourers). Similar work which involves residence on the plantation and therefore complete absence from home does.

Like Elti, Kawelka have several tradestores and have bought a succession of cars. Like Elti, they readily contemplate travelling down the Highlands Highway to visit distant places. But in two respects we find differences. Educational opportunities have been negligible. In spite of the former area secondary school at Kotna mission, only a few miles away, most boys beyond primary level were siphoned off into religious training, and I know of only two lads over sixteen who are still receiving education. They have not seen many of their own or their neighbours' children go to the high school in Hagen or to training colleges outside the sub-district. Secondly, Kawelka people are perhaps not so familiar with the town at Hagen. Many more of them patronise the local market at the Dei Council chambers than they do Hagen market, and it is too far to be used regularly for recreation. It is possible that one of the things which keep Elti men at home is their proximity to the township of Mt Hagen. Those with the inclination can enjoy urban amenities without actually taking up residence in the town.¹ This is a particular example of what is perhaps a general effect of increasing facility in communications and travel. The easier it becomes to see places independently, the less likely that men will have to associate being abroad with working abroad. Lae has already been referred to: Hageners choose not to find work there because it is too easy to visit. (At least twelve men have been to Lae from Elti Yowaka on visits over the

¹ My concern is the account for the rate of out-migration to other towns. The only kind of rural migration Hageners have experienced outside their sub-district has been in connection with the Highland Labour Scheme or other plantation work. There has been little migration to settlements such as described by Ploeg (1972).

last two years.)¹ The evidence suggests that development of travel facilities by no means automatically leads to an increase in out-migration and may have the reverse effect.

Attitudes towards work. In spite of differences both in employment experience and present day 'development' between them, statements of attitudes towards work I heard among Kawelka in 1971 almost exactly mirror those voiced in 1970 by the Elti. The main difference is that whereas Elti of all ages seem to share relatively consistent viewpoints, a number of the younger Kawelka men are still quite eager to travel. I shall not repeat here in detail the content of these attitudes (reported in A.M. Strathern 1972c), but sketch in enough to show how similar they are to Elti views.

The first Kawelka exodus to Goroka is described as having been motivated by a desire to obtain pearl-shells. 'Everyone went: there was no one left at home! They all ran away to get pearl-shells. Each felt that he wanted to raise bride-wealth or add to his moka (ceremonial exchange) tally and was afraid to be left behind.' But never quite so many people went away again as that first time. One modern entrepreneur gave his opinion:

Only a few of them went to Goroka twice. The others did not go back. They had had a lot of hard work and gained their pearl-shells, but the shells they had returned with were soon gone [distributed], and they felt bad. What had they worked for? They had brought back shells at the time but now had nothing to show.

We have met this distinction between returns in the form of a temporary increase of wealth and investment; loud laments are made nowadays over the liquidity of money. Complaints about the work are also heard. One of the small group who had gone to Rabaul in 1959 commented that he would never do kagoboi work again: the labourers were just given ful wok. They had been ignorant then, and had not known about these things, but now they stay, letting people from Wabag (formerly Western Highlands) and Pangia (Southern Highlands) sign contracts for coastal work. The conditions of contract labour were summed up in the Pidgin-Melpa

¹ Depending on an individual's claims on vehicles, he may be able to get a free ride. In 1970 the regular passenger fare to Goroka was \$6, to Lae between \$8 to \$12.

phrase banis waia kongon: 'barbed wire fence work'. Banis waia is a synonym for jail. Finally, Northern Melpa are as adamant as their Central Melpa counterparts on the value of carrying on bisnis. To absent oneself from home is to jeopardise one's economic as well as social status.

The modern migrant

I have posed the questions: what factors keep most Hagen people at home, and why among the unskilled who leave do most come from regions such as Northern Melpa (including the Kawelka) and almost none from Central Melpa (including the Elti)?

An important common factor which Elti and Kawelka share is their outlook as such on wage employment and their positive estimation of bisnis at home. This acts as a general break on out-migration. An enabling condition is the fact that at the moment at least land pressures are not so serious as to force men of working age to seek employment elsewhere. Localised shortages have begun to make an impact - the re-colonisation of the Wahgi grasslands by both tribes has been in response to shortages in particular areas - and are likely to be felt increasingly in the future (cf. A.J. Strathern 1972b). But till now there has been enough land for most of the people. And in spite of what might be regarded as unfavourable external conditions, many Hageners still foresee a future of expanding bisnis enterprise based on their own land resources. I have come across neither individual cases nor general attitudes which would suggest that land scarcity was a direct factor in out-migration to date.¹

What can be said about differences in the Elti and Kawelka experiences? As was the case for the early Elti workers, Kawelka men who went to Goroka in 1958 were of all ages (from 14-40), and the proportion of individuals in their late twenties and thirties was high. The initial opportunity for work, with its unprecedented promise of valuables (shells), by contrast with the chance of gaining these things at home, met with a response from middle-aged

¹ We may contrast Chimbu experience, where land shortage is a problem. Nearly all the young men in Chimbu have volunteered at some time or other for contract labour on coastal plantations (Brown 1972:76,87).

as well as young men. The ones who went on from there to the coast were between 19 and 29. But over the 1960s there was a gradual drop in the age at which men sought work abroad. Those who took up regular employment as plantation kagoboi during this decade tended to be mere boys - perhaps 15 or 16 years old.¹ They also tended to give up sooner than older men, running away after a matter of weeks with stories of unpleasant working conditions and poor food. The demography of unskilled plantation labour has thus changed over the last twenty years among the Kawelka. A downward move has taken place in both agreement-work and other types of employment abroad: recruiting no longer attracts middle-aged or young-middle-aged men who complete their contracts. There has been a drop both in the age of the recruits and the length of time they stay in employment.² Elti, on the other hand, have more or less abandoned unskilled labouring abroad. The men who seek casual work on the local tea and sweet potato estates are drawn from a slightly wider age-range and include young-middle-aged men as well as youths.

It is arguable that different age groups will have different views about work abroad, and that a positive attitude towards bisnis is more likely to develop on the part of the older men, so that migrating abroad to earn money ceases to be attractive when alternative avenues towards money-making are found at home. Information from the Elti suggested that a developmental explanation of this kind is not very useful, similar attitudes being shared by all age-groups. The same is probably true of Kawelka. If

¹ Hatanaka (1972:33) notes that the age of agreement-workers signing up for the HLS from Sinasina (Chimbu District) has dropped since the introduction of cash cropping. A very different pattern is reported for Pangia and Koroba Sub-Districts in the Southern Highlands (Harris 1972).

² A pattern contrary to one reported by G. Ward (1971:85): after an initial impetus to sign up for agreement work following first contact, a numerical decline sets in - 'Agreement recruiting drops to a relatively low and stable level; recruits now tend to be older than previously and a higher proportion are married' (my italics). This development has not taken place in Hagen. Initial recruits were of all ages, subsequent recruits becoming on average progressively younger.

there is any difference it is that some Kawelka youths seem to put off the time at which they judge such values should affect their own lives. Young Kawelka men still roam for the sake of adventure. Indeed, this is an important element in the motivations of modern migrants to the coast. When they first leave home they are likely to be under 25 years old, will not have yet embarked on cash cropping in any serious way, and will feel that they would have plenty of time to establish their bisnis after being away a year or two. If married at all, they are only newly wed and have not begun to take up full household responsibilities. Indeed, should they know of their plans, relatives sometimes even encourage boys to leave home at this age. It is only when the year or two have passed that they begin to worry, perhaps because their efforts to obtain a wife or maintain an existing wife are frustrated, or because they can foresee that the lack of bisnis at home may deter the migrant from returning: for as the years go by he falls farther behind his peers. But if these conditions hold among Kawelka, why do they not also hold among Elti? Young Kawelka men still sign up for agreement-work or travel to the coast; young Elti men do not commit themselves to permanent employment away from home. In both groups it is mainly younger men who contemplate wage-employment for a spell, the contrast being that Elti youths find this locally and Kawelka youths abroad.

Some reasons suggest themselves. Because of few educational opportunities, young Kawelka men have neither the personal chance to enter into the more lucrative semi-professional occupations (such as the army or university) nor have they seen many examples of such people around them doing so. Whatever the scorn which the proponents of bisnis pour on the heads of those who go away as mere kagoboi, there are a few immediate examples of alternative careers abroad¹ which I believe in the Elti case deter the unskilled would-be migrant. Kawelka had a less harsh experience than Elti during the early days of contact, and probably hear fewer tales of privations of the kind which

¹ Conroy (1972) in his follow-up of the careers of school leavers, suggests that among the educated those with employment possibilities near to hand (as those from the Western Highlands near Hagen town) are less likely to want to migrate than school boys from such places as the Southern Highlands or Gulf Districts.

early Central Melpa employees suffered. While this does not prevent their developing a very similar set of views about wage-employment as such, it perhaps accounts for a little less personal revulsion. Although people from Dei travel often to Hagen town, its amenities and attractions are not habitually savoured. Recurrent political troubles reduce travel as areas become unsafe to pass through. Many Kawelka youths do not have the same opportunity to take regular part in whatever excitements they attribute to urban life, and in turn, possibly have not become bored by them. In leaving home many of them are looking for adventure.

These factors may partly explain why Kawelka still travel to find work and Elti do not. But why so far afield? The modern Kawelka youth who wants to get away from home does not go to Hagen town, or nowadays to Goroka or Lae. Although Kawelka youths may not habitually frequent Hagen town, they have all paid numerous visits and would think of themselves as being acquainted with it, and while they may have little personal knowledge of Goroka or Lae, also feel that these are familiar places, on the doorstep of the Highlands Highway. This leads to an important point. Kawelka migrants may not be so intimidated as their Central Melpa counterparts by the prospect of working abroad as labourers, but there would nevertheless seem to be a connection between their coming from a background which puts a very low value on unskilled wage-labour and their desire to remove themselves from its constant influence. Migrants complain about the pressure they are put under from relatives who do come to visit them. But it is not just financial pressures which are involved here, though these are most readily talked about. The point is that the migrant shares many of the views expressed by people at home towards wage-labour and bisnis. The fact that various choices have led to a decision to leave home does not mean such attitudes fail to touch him at all. And even if the individual professes not to share them, he is often too painfully aware of what people at home will be thinking about his choice. Many indeed actually subscribe to the general attitudes towards bisnis by looking on their travelling abroad as a short-term venture before settling down. Thus those with the inclination to travel do not, at the point of setting out, necessarily see this as incompatible with starting business enterprises at home later. What may subsequently happen is that their experiences abroad modify their chances of carrying out the resolve to return; they get trapped and the trap is

deeper to the extent that they more than half agree with what people at home hold about work and bisnis.

Added to this, one suspects that in a number of cases prolonged separation from kin generates a certain amount of guilt. Guilt seems to be a component of the resentment which visitors, when they come, are sometimes accorded. In going far afield, the migrant attempts to remove himself from constant reminders of the claims which others have upon him and the values which denigrate his position.

We have seen that most unskilled migrants from Northern Melpa depart as young men. They go at the age at which adventure is sought and family commitments have not yet built up, and in a number of cases with a desire to avoid impending responsibilities. I turn to these factors in the next chapter. The point to make here is that I do not think it is necessary to have to explain away the out-migration of some persons when the predominant view is that it holds few economic or social advantages. Far from having to demonstrate that these are individuals who do not share these values, one can suggest that in many¹ cases the dilemma in which the migrant finds himself after a few years in town springs from a too keen awareness of what people back at home will be thinking.

In summary: the most significant aspect of out-migration in Hagen is the overall low degree of migration at the unskilled level. This is explicable as a direct response to attitudes and values which would seem to be general to the Hagen area and which are founded on certain opinions about wage-labour, employment abroad and home-based business enterprises. Varying educational opportunities or employment experiences which differentiate separate regions, such as Northern and Central Melpa, do not affect this basic outlook, and in all regions the absolute numbers and the proportions of men of working age who seek unskilled employment abroad are low. There are, however, some inter-regional contrasts. Those areas of shortest contact and whose employment histories have been most favourable still provide a small number of unskilled migrants. The motives for migration have changed somewhat over time, as has the

¹ Not all, but the ones who profess not to care about the views of their kin have to adopt this as a deliberate stance, that is, justify themselves by saying that they do not care.

age structure of recruits, and these outlying regions are not simply repeating history. The particular bitterness which edges the early recollections of many Central Melpa men is perhaps absent from the attitudes of Northern Melpa people. These are among the factors which mean that the pressure against travelling abroad is not quite so strong. But it would be a mistake to assume that no pressure exists.

The minute degree of unskilled out-migration which characterises Northern Melpa nowadays can be accounted for on largely personal issues - it is, for example, a way of escape from home. The relative proportion in comparison with Central Melpa should not deceive us into thinking that there is an overall population trend which must be explained. Rather than there being particular positive factors to encourage migration away from Northern Melpa, it seems simply the case that the pressures against leaving are a little less strong and the attractions of the urban life a little more. The migrant who departs does so nevertheless in the face of pressures not to. Significantly, those who do leave for work abroad are the youths on whom home responsibilities have as yet fallen lightly. Their time away is seen, both by them and people at home, as a kind of interregnum, just barely acceptable for youths of this rather narrow age category. Most who go imagine they will return shortly: the pressures which keep many of their contemporaries at home do not leave them untouched.

Chapter 3

Migration: getting to town

There are few physical obstacles in the way of a Hagerer getting to Moresby if he really wants to. But given the prevailing home opinion, adverse to out-migration, we should look into the personal backgrounds of those who do migrate. It is my impression that the events which set a young man on an urban course may be quite adventitious. Where in the past he might have reacted to difficulties at home by going off on a trading expedition or to distant relatives, he will now think of work in a major town for a while; but he often stays, perhaps for a considerable period. The circumstances at home which made him leave are probably less significant than the very different reasons which hold him in town once there. The phenomenon of migration, then, must be related both to the rural society from which the migrant comes and the urban society he finds himself in.

Before describing the modern migrant's personal circumstances, this chapter first looks at the arrival of Hageners in Moresby over time. The unskilled who work there now fall into two main groups. Those who left home in the early and mid-1960s include men who have forfeited so much by their prolonged stay that each year makes it harder for them to go back; some contemplate semi-permanent residence in the town. Recent arrivals are more numerous: adventure-seeking youths, escaping family pressures, who look on their trip as a kind of last fling before they settle down. Many of them are likely to give up and go home. Some, with the passage of time, will become assimilated to the first group. This process has been accelerated since 1970-72 by migrants bringing wives from home, and through an increasing number of matches with women from other Districts already living in Moresby. Neither of these trends were very marked two years ago, and although of great future significance do not figure much in my discussion.

The growth of Hagen settlement
in Moresby

The HLS which in the 1960s and early 1970s sent youths to plantations in the hinterland also, in the 1950s, despatched recruits to work as unskilled labourers in the town itself. Towards the end of this decade the first Hagen men to find work for themselves appeared in Moresby. A group of five Central Melpa went to Goroka in 1958. After a spell at the sawmill, three of them became servants and learnt the basic skills of landri ('laundry', domestic work). Goroka was then the only attestation centre for recruits; a group of Hagen labourers returning there fired them with tales of Port Moresby. It was a good place, they heard, with many white people and plenty of work. Two of the men, bought plane tickets to the coast (then £6-10); the third returned to Hagen and found his way to Moresby later. At the town airport, a Finschhafen driver for Burns Philp befriended the pair and took them to the BP's compound. Here were some men from the borders of Wabag, whose dialect they could understand a little. Soon after that a group of agreement-workers from the Central and Western Melpa areas turned up to work in the town (including one Elti man) and the pair at once went to see them. Both men have been in Moresby since then and others speak of them as the 'fathers' of Hagen workers. They were the first 'independent migrants'.

For several years the number of non-agreement employees in the town was low. Adrian, the first Kawelka migrant to run away from a plantation at Sogeri, in 1962, says he found only five Hageners¹ in the town then (not counting Kaugel). He claims to have started a fight with the plantation overseer because they had to be up so early in the morning and although he was within two months of completing his contract, ran away in the company of a Kaugel man. They walked to Moresby, not finding a car till the outskirts of what is now the present town limits. There was no one in the town whom he knew already and he slept at the Koki transit camp for contract workers. Later he made the acquaintance of the Central Melpa men.

¹ Though by my enumeration there must have been others. But people comment on how few migrants there were in the early 1960s in comparison with the late 1960s.

Although Central Melpa men were among the first to go to Moresby independently, in the early 1960s such migrants from there were few in comparison with those coming from Northern and Western Melpa, and in the later 1960s Northern Melpa independent migrants nearly equalled Central and Western Melpa migrants combined.¹ More of the early migrants have stayed in comparison with later ones, so that the recently expanded population is also more mobile. Newcomers may leave after a few months; proportionately more men who have been in town for less than five years return than those who have spent longer than five years. The increasing accessibility of the town attracted persons perhaps less strongly committed to the ways of the 'stesin' (European settlements) than the pioneers, who have also acquired a definite standing in the town context. It is not just that those in Moresby longest are more likely to stay, but those who came in the early period before it was a 'big place' have something of a unique status.

Some of these points are detailed in the following tabulations.

Table 3.1 gives some idea of the numbers of non-agreement workers in Moresby through time. The category divisions correspond to those in Table 1.2. In the few cases where an individual switched from one to the other category he appears in the relevant period as a member of the first. For each five-year period each individual known to have been in the town at some point then is counted. The year 1971 includes all those known to have been in Moresby sometime during that year. The figures are only estimates, and the further back in time the more susceptible to errors of under-enumeration.

¹ See p.20 for the population area from which these individuals are drawn. Even discounting the Nebilyer Valley, the Central Melpa home population is twice that of either Northern or Western Melpa.

Table 3.1

Estimates of numbers of non-agreement workers
in Moresby over time (Central, Northern
and Western Melpa only)

Years	Category of migrant*	C.M.	N.M.	W.M.	Total	
1951-55	A	?	0	?	?	}
	B,C	?	0	?	?	
1956-60	A	15	0	3	18	}
	B,C	7	2	6	15	
1961-65	A	18	3	5	26	}
	B,C	18	34	24	76	
1966-70	A	65	10	15	90	}
	B,C	53	105	61	219	
1971	A	83	10	8	101	}
	B,C	55	99	55	209	

n = number of men in town during this period including unemployed, in transit and in vicinity of town, but not visitors.

* A - institutional worker; B,C - non-institutional worker

The fluctuating nature of the population can be gauged by comparing the 1971 entry in Table 1.3 with Table 3.1. The latter details the number of general migrants (B,C) in Moresby at a particular point in time; July 1971 (C.M. 43, N.M. 76, W.M. 39), whereas Table 3.1 accounts for all such individuals in the town at some point during that year (C.M. 55, N.M. 99, W.M. 55). There has been a steady increase in the number of migrants coming to Moresby, with a quite spectacular jump from the early to the late 1960s. Some incidental information suggests, however, that there may have been a levelling off at the end of the decade. Northern Melpa migrants of all classes (A,B,C) numbered 85 in July 1971 (see Table 2.2); six months later, with some departures and several new arrivals the figure rose (in January 1972) to 95. Over the next two years, however, a

period which really falls out of my purview, there were more departures (36) than arrivals (17),¹ and in January 1974 the Northern Melpa population was again 76.

The total number of individuals from these three regions of whose presence in Moresby I have record is about 400.² For 307, some 76 per cent, the approximate date of arrival in the town is known. This is set out in Table 3.2 which gives the numbers arriving each year (some have subsequently stayed and others left).

Table 3.2

Year of arrival of non-agreement workers to Port Moresby
(Central, Northern and Western Melpa only)

	Central		Northern		Western		Total		Grand total
	A	B,C	A	B,C	A	B,C	A	B,C	
1956	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	2
1957	2	0	0	0	1	0	3	0	3
1958	4	2	0	0	0	0	4	2	6
1959	0	2	0	1	0	2	0	5	5
1960	4	2	0	1	2	2	6	5	11
1961	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	3	3
1962	0	0	0	6	0	5	0	11	11
1963	0	1	0	7	0	0	0	8	8
1964	5	0	1	3	1	2	7	5	12
1965	8	?11	0	13	1	5	9	29	38
1966	20	0	3	4	2	3	25	7	32
1967	4	4	0	20	4	2	8	26	34
1968	4	2	0	4	0	1	4	7	11
1969	2	2	1	12	0	1	3	15	18
1970	7	6	1	19	2	10	10	35	45
1971	24	10	5	29	1	2	30	41	71
	Total								310

n = number of newcomers per year

¹ Those who both came and left within the two-year period do not appear in these figures.

² Including persons in July 1971 in transit or in the vicinity of Moresby.

The length of time present migrants have been in Moresby is suggested in Table 3.3.

Table 3.3

Estimated length of time general migrants have been
in Port Moresby

Number of years*	-1	1-2	3	5	7	9	11	12+	Total
Number of men:									
(i)**	17	20	16	25	7	10	6	4	105
(ii)***	4	8	7	3	2	3	2	1	30

* Averages viz. 3 = over 2, under 4; 5 = over 4, under 6 and so on.

** Based on estimates for all general migrants (B,C) in Moresby in January 1972 for whom information is available. As in the previous table, these figures are neither a sample nor a population. I have no particular reason, however, to suspect a bias in favour of the categories dealt with in the tables.

*** A more accurate enumeration based on a sample of thirty general migrants from Northern, Western and Central Melpa in Moresby in July 1971.

Table 3.4 shows how long a number of general migrants (those for whom information was available) who had gone home before January 1972 had lived in Port Moresby. Eighty-four per cent of them left within about five years. The proportion of the present migrants who have been roughly five years or less in the town (Table 3.3) is 73 per cent (column (ii)) or 74 per cent (column (i)). As the years go by, the proportion of long-term residents will gradually rise and this profile change. Indeed, whether or not the overall number of migrants increases, one may predict that the body of residents who envisage a relatively long-term stay in Moresby will grow. In this the style of life migrants find for themselves in town is as significant as their relations with home.

Table 3.4

Total time spent in Moresby by returnees
(general migrants)

Number of years* spent in Port Moresby	-1	1-2	3	5	7	9	11	12+	Total
Returnees	5	12	21	11	3	3	1	2	58

* Conventions as in Table 3.3.

The migrant's route

As discussed in Chapter 1, the migrants' choices fall into several parts. Among these are whether to seek employment away from home and whether to do this through or independently of government agencies. Excluding the rather specific case of those in tertiary education, one can chart the kinds of decisions taken (see Table 3.5).

Also discussed was the classification of migrants according to whether they are 'independent' or not. Hageners themselves use the notion of independence or autonomy in assessing one another's behaviour, but would not restrict it to means of travel. It is an emotional and evaluative assessment of the person's self-reliance. It is relevant in many contexts. In relation to emigration itself, in their eyes 'independence' may be revealed at various points. Some workers are independent only so far as they decide to leave home (I); others show independence in finding their own jobs (II), and/or the means by which they travel (III)¹; and the simple desire to remain in town may be taken as a sign of autonomy among those not attached

¹ From the highlands to the coast. The journey from hinterland plantations to Moresby is ignored here.

Table 3.5

Points at which independence is expressed
in migrants' choices: examples of behaviour

Decision taken at		Number of decisions of this type taken by Sample I migrants*
Home	Moresby	
1. Joins HLS (I)	works on POM plant/ returns home	-
2. Joins PIR** etc.(I)	stationed in POM/ returns home	-
3. Joins HLS (I)	works on POM plant a. completes contract/ goes to town/gets job (II) (IV) b. breaks contract/goes to town/gets job (II) (IV)	1 16
4. Joins PIR etc.(I)	stationed in POM a. completes service/ gets job in town (II) (IV) b. resigns/gets job in town (II) (IV)	0 1
5. Finds other employment (I)	sent to POM a. finishes/goes home b. finishes/gets another job (II) (IV) c. stays in same job (IV)	- 1 2
6. Pays own fare to POM a. via Goroka, Lae (I) (III) b. direct (I) (III)	finds own job (II) (IV) finds job (II) (IV)	4 10
7. Visit POM (visit only intended)	finds job (I) (II) (IV)	0
8. Pays own fare to POM (I) (III)	finds no job a. returns b. stays (IV)	- 0

* Thirty general migrants; 35 decisions. Some men made more than one trip.

** Pacific Islands Regiment

to an institution or otherwise under contract (IV).¹ It is worth describing these courses of action more fully.

1. Agreement-worker. The agreement-worker who completes his contract and returns home falls outside the scope of my study.² However, it is worth noting that a proportion who return home may subsequently pay their own fares to Moresby (see type 6). Of the 30 general migrants, 2 Western Melpa had been on contract labour in Rabaul and later went to Moresby - one signed up again for agreement-work and was posted to a Moresby plantation from which he ran away, the other used his cumulative wages from Rabaul to buy a ticket. Of one group of 10 Tipuka (Northern Melpa) men who were labouring at a plantation near Moresby, in about 1962-63, 2 ran away but the rest completed their contract. Three of the 8 returnees subsequently bought their own fares to Moresby. They did not necessarily use their contract savings.

In one of these instances the fare was provided by a wealthy elder brother, who in 1969 wanted to visit another brother and a sister's husband in Moresby; he took the younger man to assist him. While at the plantation the younger brother had paid visits to Moresby, so knew the town well enough to act as an escort. The elder brother saw nothing in Moresby to detain him - at home he was at that time a substantial man, married and with four children, and owned an operative tradestore as well as large coffee gardens. He had many times visited Lae in the bisnis truck owned by clansmen of his. In addition to the two fares he purchased, he took \$100 spending money with him to Moresby. If he had gone hoping that his contacts would make his visit worthwhile, he must have been disappointed, for he was given only just enough to cover his fare back, and

¹ An oversimplification of the real issues, since contracts can always be broken. But a more positive desire to remain in town can be imputed to those in non-contractual employment.

² There were perhaps about thirty Hageners on the plantations near Moresby in 1971.

a few pieces of clothing. But the younger brother stayed in town. He was not married at the time, had some coffee plantings at home but not much. He worked for a year there until people at home wrote to tell him of his mother's illness.

People who have experienced plantation work near the town may take others when they leave again. Three Minembi (Northern Melpa) agreement workers talked about Moresby so much when they arrived home that they persuaded a fourth companion to go with them when they paid their way back to the town.

2. Institutional worker. In this case the worker stays in Moresby only as long as his employment or education lasts and those who leave when this is finished are in a similar position to those who complete contracts as labourers. But there are differences. In the first place, the majority of agreement-workers are posted to plantations outside Moresby, and although several pay visits to the town during their contract time, they would not participate in town life to the extent that is possible for members of institutions based there. Most of those who do not renew their contracts with the army or police force go home for good. There is the odd case of a soldier resigning and rejoining, but it would be true to say that if the institutional member were thinking of finding a different kind of employment in the town, he would not go home first and once home would be unlikely to think of returning to the urban situation. (The agreement-labourer who goes to the coast independently after being sent home will be changing from a rural to an urban work context, not going back to an urban one.)

3. Agreement-worker who goes to town. The number who complete their contract (3a) and go directly to the urban centre from the plantation is small. An obvious reason is the structure of the agreement system which means that cumulated wages are payable at home. The only case from Sample I was of a labourer who was prevailed upon by his employer to renew his contract and then later to work in a semi-private capacity for him.

Sixteen of the 30 men had run away from plantations near Moresby before their contract was completed (3b). All but 4 of the 16 had had work experience prior to the contract. Some of them were excited by what they had seen of Moresby on week-end visits. Others found the plantation working

conditions irksome or were intimidated by workers from non-Hagen areas with whom they had fights. Such discomforts may have precipitated the date of departure but I have already indicated that several signed up on contract with the intention of running away.¹

In numerous instances the worker leaves the plantation with only a dollar or two in his pocket - perhaps after two or three weeks work, perhaps after six or twelve months - but never with any savings (and forfeiting the cumulated savings that would have been paid to him on completion). Most of the odd cash he would be carrying is spent on the first car that he meets after the long walk from the plantation. A Tipuka (Northern Melpa) youth describes what happened.

When I was a little boy many men went from home on contract and I wanted to go too but was turned away. Later I signed a contract myself to go to Rabaul in 1962. Then I came home after two years and married. In 1967 I was working in a cafe in Hagen town and earned \$15 a fortnight but I had to work over the week-ends, and didn't have a regular place to sleep...and then some wantok came (from his own and the neighbouring tribe, Kawelka), and they said, 'Let's put our names down and go to Moresby!' So we came to the plantation. It was hard work! Early in the morning, at 5 a.m. we had to get up - we cried! It was no good. We knew of others (Tipuka men) in Moresby. I suggested to my companions that we leave but they did not want to. So I walked and walked as far as the Vanapa river and paid 20c to be taken across. Then afterwards I found a truck and got to Four Mile² at 10 p.m.

¹ One young lad told me how a clansman of theirs coming home on leave from Moresby had fired the boys by his tales of what a good place the town was, how much money there was to buy things, and all the boys of one settlement together planned to sign up and work for perhaps two months and then go to the town. This was in 1970. The first Kawelka migrant (see p.60) who ran away from a plantation in the early 1960s had finished 24 of his 26 months' contract.

² In the suburb of Boroko.

I was afraid - I did not know if I would spend the night in the streets or inside - then I heard someone speak Melpa. It was Y (a clansman). I held his arm and I was all right.

Some migrants indicate that they were deluded by HLS propaganda into thinking they would see the big towns. They claim they were told that at week-ends they would be able to savour urban life.

I was at home and heard stories about the coast, and thought I should like to see these places. Anywhere - Lae, Rabaul, Moresby, I just wanted to get to the coast [this was 1962-63]. The government sent me to Moresby. They put me on a plane, but we didn't land at Moresby [town airport] - we landed in the middle of a vast bush! And I wanted to come to see the town, and here I was stuck in a plantation. I was bored and fed up - maski! I ran away.

The odd person does go against the tide. One man, after two spells of working on plantations in Rabaul and near Moresby, later bought his own ticket to Moresby - but found he preferred the countryside to the town. He has been working as a plantation assistant ever since.

4. Worker previously in an institution. Those who get impatient with conditions as they find them in the army or police force are more likely to terminate their employment themselves and turn to another job in Moresby (4b) than to complete their service (4a). Those who do stay their time tend either to go home or to sign on again not look for a change of employment at that juncture. (Tertiary education is an obvious exception.) Occasionally a dismissal precipitates a quest for a different type of employment but still within the town.

One Central Melpa with form 1 schooling in 1965 rebelled against the educational system which had kept him a schoolboy for so many years, and ran home. The school superintendent, according to his account, unsuccessfully tried to make him go back, and in the end suggested he apply to the Labour Office. Here he was directed to work at the airport, but when he was disciplined with the threat of reduced pay for not being punctual he left. His mother's sister was married to a Kavieng policeman, at that time stationed at

Laiagam, and this man recommended he join the police force. He was sent from Hagen to Bomana (outside Port Moresby) to complete training. He claims there were few Hagen police then (1966) and so he associated with other Hagen workers in the town who plied him with drink all the time. This led to him committing a traffic offence and he was transferred to a rural station in the Central District where he had to clean up the police quarters and latrines. On top of this he felt his wages were not enough (\$9 a fortnight). So he decided to 'come outside'.¹

After a period out of work and another in jail, during which he rejected the idea of going into the army as too close to the police force in conditions and pay, he decided to apply for a job he saw advertised in the paper. This offered a good wage scale. His application was successful.

5. Worker previously in town employment. Men who have already taken the step of finding employment outside the Hagen Sub-district, and who go from there to Moresby, are considered under type 6. Type 5 includes those who are sent to Moresby by their employers and may still be working at the same job (5c), or who have found another one after the first was finished (5b). One Nebilyer Valley man, for example, was recruited by the Electricity Commission straight from the school classroom and has been with them ever since. Rather different is the story of William from Central Melpa. It illustrates the kinds of networks which men from this area sometimes have, and the opportunities extra-Hagen links bring.

William had a younger sister married to a soldier who was posted to Rabaul. This man sent talk that he would like to have his wife with him and William escorted her there. He had had no previous experience of employment and, he emphasised to me, had at that time no inclination at all to go to the coast. Money for the fare to Rabaul he raised from coffee earnings. But once he was in Rabaul he decided he would like to stay and so found work (in 1969). His employer

¹ In very similar circumstances to the case referred to on p.36. For an explanation of the phrase see p.368.

then moved to Moresby the following year and paid for William to go too. William later sent money home for his own wife and children to join him in the town.

6. Worker paying own fare to the town. This comprises men of two main categories: those who are at home, decide to leave and raise the fare there (6b) and those who are already away from the Hagen Sub-District earning a wage and go on to Moresby, that is, repeat an earlier decision but change location (6a). In Sample I there are 10 cases of (6b) and 4 of (6a). (Five of the 10 come from three individuals who went home apparently intending to stay and returned to Moresby two or three times, buying their own tickets each time, though initial contact with the town had been as plantation runaways.)

Of those in (6b), with no previous knowledge of Moresby, three had had no work experience of any kind. Money can be raised through traditional financial methods (loans) or saved from coffee earnings. But it is also possible for an indigent person to acquire the sum needed from card-playing, stealing or prevailing upon another to pay his fare for him. Although the ability to pay the fare must reflect some degree of cash income in the area from which the migrant comes, he does not himself have to be able to afford it. Too much stress thus should not be laid on the size of the air fare. It is fairly easy to borrow, steal or win at cards money to cover the amount (about \$50¹ from Hagen).² Visitors to the town are most likely to raise the fare directly from their own resources, and often bring large sums to spend as well. In any case, indigence itself is no bar, when alternative means of cheap travel are available (see type 3).

¹ \$45 in 1971, but often thought of by those raising the fare in terms of the round sum.

² Whereas the 4 Sample I migrants from Goroka and Lae (6a) raised the fare from wage earnings, only one man coming directly from Hagen (6b) did so, the others using coffee income (3 cases), cards or theft (3 cases), help from kin (1 case); for 2 details are not known.

The following is an account from a Northern Melpa man, Tipuka Hugh,¹ who had been on the verge of undertaking secondary schooling.

During the school holidays early in 1970 he and a companion visited Hagen town. A driver, whom they did not know, asked them what they were doing and suggested that they accompany him to Lae on a trip. They fell in with the idea (thinking it would be nothing more than a visit of a few days) and were driven as far as Goroka. Here they found the other boy's mother's brother who was working in an administration office, and who put them up. Hugh stayed in Goroka, employed in a store; the mother's brother took his companion back to Hagen.

For perhaps three months Hugh worked at the store, earning \$22 a fortnight. He had heard from people at home that Moresby was a place where one could get a lot of money, and at first the pair had together planned to find a way to get there. But Hugh had to go alone. He found a driver from his own council area (Dei) who was also working in Goroka and who agreed to take him to Lae for nothing. Hugh had \$35 in his pocket; it cost \$26.50 to buy a ticket from Lae to Moresby.

At home Hugh had heard people speak of 'Four Mile' and 'Waigani'. These were the only two names he knew.² When the airport bus came he went as far as Four Mile. Here he found another Tipuka man who took him to a supermarket where a clansman of Hugh's was employed, and the clansman took him to his house.

In one sense this is a case of unintentional migration.³ Hugh had never intended to leave school suddenly like that.

¹ Clan or tribal identity appears as a prefix to personal names.

² Several Tipuka and Kawelka men work at Waigani.

³ Cf. Harré (1968:185). In his study of how Pitcairn Islanders decide to emigrate he notes: 'A final decision may be achieved progressively by a series of choices each unrelated (at least overtly) to it....A general pre-disposition to take certain action may not be reckoned

At the same time the driver's offer to show them the coast had obviously appealed to the two boys. There was nothing to prevent Hugh from using the money he earned in Goroka to go back to Hagen; but, he says, once he had had a taste of employment, he wanted to continue for a while, and to find work in an important town. Several men, indeed, explained their desire to go to Moresby as a product of an earlier experience. 'I was a little boy at home when I first left to wander about on stesin (government 'stations', European settlements) and after that I never wanted to go back home but always to live on stesin.'

One or two migrants travel by ship between Lae and Moresby, at less than half the price of the airfare. But this is a route more likely to be taken by someone who feels he must get home at any cost, rather than one embarking on urban employment.

It is not only agreement-workers who find themselves in a different location from the one they had perhaps thought about at home. Simon, a young Kawelka man (Northern Melpa), had gone to Goroka with no more skills than the rudiments of driving. His wife joined him there.

Soon after that a clansman, Richard, and two men from neighbouring tribes (Minembi and Tipuka) also found their way to Goroka. There were several employees from Madang there and Simon listened to their stories of Madang, and very much wanted to go. He decided he would see Madang over the Christmas vacation and arranged for his wife to go back to Hagen. But his companions prevailed upon him not to think about Madang but about Moresby. One of them had worked in Moresby before and 'he told us it was a good place, and he excited us, so that we wanted to see the place now! There was plenty of work there, plenty of money, he said'. The decision was taken on the spur of the moment - it was too late for Simon to withdraw the money he had in his savings (\$85), so he borrowed from his companions. His first plan had

Footnote 3 (continued)

adequate reason for doing so, but the predisposition may constitute an unconscious model which underlies a series of choices related to apparently quite different ends....It follows...that major change affecting many individuals may be triggered off by a relatively minor act on the part of one...'

been to spend \$20, \$10 to Madang and \$10 back again, and to go for a few days; what he actually did was to spend \$32 on a plane to Moresby, and to take up semi-permanent residence there. This was Christmas 1967: he and his three friends went straight to the Boroko Hotel where Simon found another clansman from Kawelka, two Tipuka men (Northern Melpa) and a Ndika friend (Central Melpa) drinking. They were taken off to a compound where one of the Tipuka men was bosboi of a gardening team. The next day was Saturday, and they 'rounded'. By Monday Simon had a job.

The influence of companions can be quite strong. Quentin was doing a second contract at Sogeri, near Moresby, where he assisted a Chimbu overseer. But a companion (poroman) with whom he had signed up resented his elevation and threatened to run away.

Quentin says he had no idea that Sogeri was near Moresby, but his friend told him that they could get to the town. Quentin was worried about what he (the friend) would do and what would happen if he left by himself. So he decided to go with him, and the pair departed before they had received any payment for the work they had done. Quentin found work within a week, but his companion was not so lucky.

7. The visitor who stays. Not all migrants leave Hagen with the intention to find employment away from home. There is a well established pattern of visiting. Labourers working on nearby plantations may make the occasional trip to the town; but the most significant category of visitor comprises those who travel direct from Hagen. Several workers in the town have had visitors from home spend time with them. Most of the visits are short and to the point (a few days or a few weeks), and there is on the whole a well defined line between visitors and workers. This is clearest where the visitor's home status (age, family, financial concerns) differentiates him from the workers. Middle-aged men with family responsibilities and investments at home return as soon as the purpose of their visit is accomplished. But ambiguous situations do arise, especially when the visitor's status is similar to that of the majority of workers - young, with few responsibilities or investments at home. Sometimes such persons outstay

their visit,¹ start looking for work, and take up residence in the town.

In 1971, Tipuka Alan, a minor bisnis man, came to Moresby with Ben from the same tribe who had been in Moresby before. They intended to purchase a truck which they would take back to Hagen via Lae, as Ben had a driving license. Alan had saved a considerable amount of money and had been under the impression that lineage brothers of his in Moresby would easily be able to provide the balance he needed. Things did not turn out as expected and he ran into a series of troubles, both in purchasing a vehicle and in raising funds in Moresby. His visit dragged out to nearly six months. But during the whole of this time he never once made any effort to find work (he could not speak Pidgin well). On the other hand, Ben who was several years younger, found it much easier to adapt to the town situation. He also made sporadic attempts to find employment. When Alan would be sitting disconsolately in a clansman's house, eaten with boredom, Ben would be caught up in the activities of the workers.

8. Failed worker. Some would-be migrants start out from home with aspirations to find work in the town but circumstances prevent them from achieving their aim. They may persist in staying on as pasindia², either hoping for permanent employment, or giving up this idea in favour of sporadic jobs and alternative, perhaps illegal, means of getting money; others return home.

¹ I am here trying to pinpoint the stage at which the decision to remain in town is formed. Such a person did not intend to leave home and find work, as other migrants do, but once away from home decides to remain away. His case is different from the one who intends to find work abroad but justifies his departure by saying he is going to visit a brother or some relative known to be working in X, and different again from the man who hopes to find work, but fails to do so and returns home saying he just 'visited' the place to see what it was like.

² Those who are carried by others: the unemployed.

One conclusion to be drawn from this account is that for several migrants a substantial part of their fare to Moresby is paid by others. Of the 35 occasions on which the Sample I men travelled to the town, on only 14 did the traveller himself have to find the money.

The unskilled migrant's status

Wage-earning and his position at home. The majority of workers coming to Moresby are young men, between 16-25 years old. In 1971, of 30 general migrants in Sample I, 16 were still under 25 (5 probably not yet 20). Of those over 25, seven had been in Moresby for more than five years, the rest for three or four with one or two exceptions. These include the case of 'unintentional' migration mentioned on p.68 and two men who came to Moresby already middle-aged. At home these two would have been of low status (Melpa, wangen)¹, unmarried and with few prospects. Although wangen persons form only a small percentage of all those who find work abroad, among men who have been in Moresby for several years there is emerging a small class of such individuals. They may have left home in their youth, when their position was one with prospects, but absence has diminished these, and were they to return now might find themselves being regarded as wangen there. In the town, however, their status is suspended; it is not judged in these terms and one does not hear the word wangen often used.

The most prominent characteristic of the migrant is his youth. This differentiates Hagen migrants from some other highlands populations. For example, Harris (1972, 1973) has identified a situation in parts of the Southern Highlands where two age groups (young men and established men) compete for status in terms of introduced economic activity. Among the unskilled migrants there has been a dramatic increase in the participation of older, married, recruits over recent years. Cash cropping and the chance to earn a wage abroad were introduced at roughly the same time; older men have turned to cash cropping and cattle schemes to combat the new economic threat from younger men and they have also competed directly by going off to the coast themselves. This situation may well have existed in Hagen in the 1940s or 1950s, when men of all ages flocked to wash gold in the Nebilyer Valley or saw timber in Goroka. An assumption of

¹ Cf. A.J. Strathern (1971: ch.9) on the position of 'little men'.

Harris's argument is that returned labourers do in fact increase their home status. One would probably have also to take into account traditional patterns of inter-generational tension. Whereas the early Hagen workers who brought back the prized pearl-shells probably enjoyed some increment of status, modern migrants returning with cash are regarded in a very different light. Nowadays the money an unskilled migrant brings - whether from agreement-work or other jobs - is often both insignificant in itself and does little for his standing at home. Much of it may go on obligations and debts incurred by his absence, used to make up for being away rather than as a base for an elevated position now he is back. He is certainly in no position to 'challenge' the authority of his kinsmen or the aspirations of local leaders. The elder brother whose comments I quote at the end of an account of Northern Melpa opinions on the subject of migration (A.M. Strathern 1972c:37-38) was not threatened by his migrant-brother's wage-earning. On the contrary he pours scorn on the idea of being able to make much money abroad. By way of a footnote to this episode: in 1973 the elder brother visited Moresby himself to raise the last few hundred dollars needed for the purchase of a truck. The migrant and his mates did find some to help him, but the majority of the purchase-price he raised himself at home.

But if older Hagen men are not competing with younger men, perhaps it is nevertheless true that Hagen youths hope to better their economic position in some dramatic way. Many describe themselves as having been lured by the talk of jobs and wealth in the town. They say that they heard there was money in Moresby and wanted to see if this was the case. Others say they just wanted to go to the coast, this being a generalised area 'of money'. Some heard that work was not so hard as at home (either horticulture or local employment), or assert that they were used to working on the stesin and wanted to return to this environment. An apotheosis of the belief that Moresby represents a source of money was found in the 1971 expedition of a Northern Melpa party who embraced the town in their money-cult activities. This was a cult which promised adherents enormous sums in return for modest investments. The group who visited the capital were among the chief instigators and included a woman. They returned to Hagen claiming to have been in touch with spirits who had provided them with further cult instructions, and had as a sign transformed the woman's nature (into half-Hagen, half-European). They had brought a large sum of cash

with them and returned with lavish purchases. The belief that migrants have access to substantial amounts of money is one which compels visitors to seek them out.

Examine the following account from Tipuka Perry, now middle-aged, settled in Moresby with a Papuan wife and child. Although 'unskilled' he is no longer a dependent labourer. From time to time he speaks of giving everything up and going back to Hagen but he is among those whom other migrants regard as established in Moresby. Bettering his position at home is no longer relevant, but was it a motive when he first left?

As a boy, Perry had a succession of local jobs (planting passion fruit and coffee on newly developing expatriate plantations), leaving three jobs because he did not regard the wages as adequate. He walked to Goroka, where he earned pearl-shells, eventually leaving the coffee plantation there because there was no respite from work, and went on to Kainantu. He left his job with PWD because of an epidemic, and then struck out on his own: he and five other men (from Central Melpa) decided to wash gold. He claims to have earned money from his own gold-seeking for two years before returning to Hagen at the news of the death of a close relative.

When he heard the recruiters asking for people to embark on contract, Perry now in his twenties (early 1960s), signed up, enjoyed the work, and he and several clansmen at the same plantation saved their money together. They had collected \$250 (£125) by the end of their time. But the week they were due to leave, the money was stolen. So he came home with nothing but what was waiting for him in Hagen. He bought pearl-shells with the earnings which went towards his bridewealth. This was followed by another contract (at Kavieng), and he enjoyed the relative coolness and the good food there. He was at home for a year or so before he decided to go to the coast again. So he did casual labour at a local plantation to raise the fare, and bought his own plane ticket, still having a little cash left over from his Kavieng work. He wanted to go to Moresby because he had heard that many many masta and misis lived there, and there was plenty of work. He heard of the wages people

got - £15 or £10 a fortnight - 'But we can't hold on to our money; we drink, eat, and money just runs away'.

Perry's account is straightforward, and uncritical of his decisions. The theft which robbed him of \$50 (his share) did not deter him from seeking work again. He found labouring relatively congenial. What he does criticise are his employers - in his early jobs he considers he was ill-paid; at Goroka his employer was a good man, generous with wages and rations, but mean at letting people off work when they fell sick; he did not like the conditions on his PWD job, because he had to wear issue clothes; and he suspects it was the employer who cheated them by removing their savings at the plantation, the money having been kept in one of the offices. He also pointed out that the overall wages for contract labour were low, because the government had to spend so much on their transport, and so the workers were left with poor pay; only of Kavieng, where he was bosboi did he have no criticism. In Moresby the pattern continued for a while - he left his first job after an open quarrel with an overseer about a task he was set to do. Perry's criticisms thus fall on the treatment he receives at the hands of employers, but there is no diffidence about the fact that he made the choice to seek the employment in the first place. In referring to the first contract he made he recalls, 'I didn't tell my relatives; maski! They don't boss me. I shall do what I want'. Perry regards himself as a successful man nowadays and still stresses the pleasure he gets from working with his hands. Perhaps this accounts for some of the positiveness in his account. He finds town life itself congenial.

We may note that money earned from an early contract went towards raising a bridewealth. The amount he contributed could have been only a fraction of the total his clansmen would have helped him or his father to raise; nevertheless it would have made quite a good impression on people at home. In no way, however, could this be interpreted as an economic threat to his elders. On the contrary, by using the items for bridewealth he was embracing their own values, and if he had come home with almost nothing his kinsmen would still probably have raised bridewealth for him. He simply made a good impression, that was all. For a migrant is not expected to contribute substantially to his own bridewealth, and Hageners certainly do not demand that a returnee's bridewealth be more because he has had the

opportunity to earn cash, as is reported for the Orokaiva (Baxter 1973:104). He may be expected to help his father and other kin with gifts and thus encourage their support in raising a bridewealth, or he may actually purchase a pig, or provide most of the cash component. But Hagen bride-wealths are high in traditional valuables (nowadays mainly pigs) and the migrant, like any other groom, depends on his relatives' support. Indeed, it is his father rather than himself who is the chief transactor. The amount he brings home is unlikely to be adequate for more than minor capital investments (e.g. in setting up a tradestore), and far from impressive in the eyes of local businessmen.

Other elements in Perry's account are worth comment. Although on one return he put his earnings into bride-wealth, a socially approved action, at his departure (so he claims in retrospect) he asserted independence. He was not thinking of his family when he left. And his subsequent trips abroad could not by any means be said to have been home oriented - with hopes to improve his rural status. If there was any focus, it was on the life of wage-earning, which he appears to have enjoyed. And although the description is cast into terms to do with earning money, he acknowledges that money is spent as fast as it is gained. I suspect that money-making as such was not so prominent in his seeking out a further spell of work on the coast as a desire to take up once more life on the stesin. The style of life as much as its economic rewards is important.

Ambivalence (or the lack of it) about their present status must surely colour people's recollection of their motives in coming to town and amounts to a bias which is impossible to quantify. Very different is the account given by Kawelka Francis who arrived in Moresby the same year as Perry.

Francis had worked briefly at a local coffee plantation but soon became tired and returned home. He then visited a clansman employed on another plantation - to find himself pressed into work by the manager. 'I hadn't intended to work there, but the masta came and saw me, so I decided to try.' He spent his wages, and when he went home said he had just been visiting his friend. The following year a similar thing happened. He and another boy bought a car ride to the town of Hagen to wander around for the day. They bumped into a group of lads from

Tipuka tribe who told them they were there to sign up a contract and go to the coast. In the end after much debate his companion, who was more eager than he, said, 'Let's try it then!', and Francis agreed. They slept at the airport compound for five days waiting for their plane. Francis was given a laplap (waistcloth), like a prisoner's, to wear, which he hated, and kept on only while they boarded the plane. He had with him one pair of trousers, the shirt he was wearing and a second shirt he had bought in the town. 'I had only gone to wander about the town a bit and then I found myself all set to go to work!' His companion who had been so eager to go to Moresby was seconded elsewhere. When he was in Moresby [after having¹ left the plantation] Francis wrote to his sponsor at home to let him know what had happened, and his sponsor wrote back saying he was a 'humbug'.

At the plantation Francis was made a supervisor of the role book as he could read and write Pidgin. From Tipuka-Kawelka there were eight men. Only one of them was to complete his contract. Within a few months four of the Tipuka-Kawelka men had run away to the town. Francis kept trying to stop them, but they did not listen to him. The news filtered back that they had got to Moresby successfully and in the end Francis said, 'Maski, then! They have all gone - we had better go too!'. He took two of the remaining three men and a Central Melpa worker who had been at the plantation only a couple of months. He himself had been there a total of about ten months. He had \$10 with him which he had won at a game.

In his account Francis represents three employment decisions as beyond his control: he was forced into work by a plantation manager when he had intended only a visit to a friend; he had not gone to town to put a contract, but was persuaded by his mates to join them; and the exodus to Moresby was accepting the inevitable. He cheerfully attributes determination to his companions. I would surmise that in Francis's case considerable ambivalence

¹ His own parents were dead and he was brought up by maternal kin.

surrounded the nature of the manual work he was 'compelled' to do, his ambitions, as his later history of work in the town shows,¹ outstripping opportunity. Unskilled, but with a modicum of education, Francis was quite right in stressing the lack of effective choice before him. In order to reconcile his judgement about the kinds of jobs he held (and his account - which I have not given in full - includes derogatory remarks about manual labour) with his involvement in them, he makes it appear as though the choices never were his.

Francis is not the only migrant to suggest that arrival in Moresby was the end result of a series of trivial circumstances. At least in the retelling, a number of Hageners stress the accidental and adventitious elements in their movements, dwelling on the circumstances of the journey rather than their own motives. As a state of mind it is perhaps characteristic of youths as a category, who succumb to on-the-spur notions and have the freedom to more or less do what they like with their time. The determined person who knows he wants to go to the coast is asserting initiative; but there is another kind of autonomy too, cherished by the youth who feels free enough from social constraints to indulge a casual whim.

Although Francis has been dissatisfied with some of his jobs, like Perry he regards himself - at least for the present - as committed to the urban style of life. He maintains contact with home, sending messages and presents through others returning there, but these do little more than keep the channels of communication open. Like many migrants, he cannot respond to people's requests for cash on a scale which would make a dramatic impression. Paradoxically, if we consider those migrants who keep up contact with their relatives more energetically, and whose intentions to return are more immediate, their expressed economic motives for coming to town may appear more, not less, suspect.

For we should not take people's 'economic' reasons for seeking work completely at face value. Given the opinions people at home hold about out-migration, the person who says he came to Moresby to find money is in fact excusing himself. He knows how his decision is regarded by family

¹ After several menial jobs which he hated he eventually found more congenial work with a government department as an office boy.

and relatives. He also knows that it is possible to salvage his position if he actually manages to put money by. Indeed, in a sense, in seeking paid employment he is exploiting an avenue to money which is regarded as an alternative, if a poor alternative, to bisnis (provided savings are made, and spent in an approved manner). To profess to travel abroad for the sake of money puts a veneer of respectability on his venture and subsequently enables him to attribute to conditions in the town beyond his control the regrettable fact that these intentions could not be carried out. A statement, then, such as 'I came to Moresby to make money' cannot be analysed simply as an indication of economic motives. It also may have the character of an ideological assertion, a disparate dogmatism which makes the migrant's position meaningful to himself in a context where migrant wage-employment as such is denigrated.¹

It is important to recall the overall low level of out-migration. The effect which the departure of Hagen youths has on the community at home is slight in all but personal terms (his loss is regretted, perhaps mourned for by his close family). We may compare the situation in the Gulf District where a quarter of the Toaripi population, half the able-bodied males, are absent from home at any one time (Ryan 1964:1). Again, about a quarter of the Orokaiva population are away from the village but Baxter actually suggests that the rate of absenteeism from the village is not not as yet detrimental, causing little direct hardship (Baxter 1973:118, 109-110). He also notes that in many ways absence can enhance the position of a man in the village upon return: leadership in introduced activities is dependent upon external experience. This is not to say that a period of migration is regarded as necessary to the successful attainment of adulthood by males, but it is accepted by older village residents that absence does no harm and may even have advantages through the wealth and experience it can introduce to the village. In Hagen, only the exceptional man could return home with anything approaching an 'enhanced status', unless he had left already skilled and with high educational qualifications. We may finally make a contrast between Hagen and the experience of Sio on the Vitiaz Straits. In 1967 some two-thirds of Sio adult men were absent from the village

¹ See also A.M. Strathern (n.d.).

working for wages or salaries. Far from emphasising a conclusion that Hageners leave home to better themselves economically, we must stress that so few take up wage-earning abroad because they feel it does nothing for their home status.

A village farmer could equal or surpass the average worker's cash income by investing labour in cash cropping [copra]. But the returns from wage labour are realized more quickly, with less effort, and without the risk of incurring social costs. Cash cropping becomes the favoured alternative only if compared with plantation labour. (Harding 1971: 199)

The picture could not be more different for Hagen. Wage-earning at the unskilled level is compared to plantation labour and contrasted with cash cropping.

A general comment to be made is that one cannot explain the actions of unskilled migrants in career terms. Departure to the coast is not planned as a step in a series of employment opportunities. Nor are migrants forced to leave because of land pressures, or to supplement rural incomes. Thus they do not go to work specifically to contribute to their family's resources, as seems to be the case in some African situations (e.g. Mayer 1961:90ff); and they are not target workers (hoping to accumulate cash for a specific purchase, though this description would possibly have fitted those who in the early days worked for shell valuables). Finally there is of course no ideology that by going to town the youth makes good.

Reasons for leaving

What reasons are there, then, for seeking out the town? A desire to see the world is one and maybe a component of the expressed desire 'to make money'. Money can be made at home, and in the absence of a career commitment none of the unskilled workers articulate any preference for particular occupations. Their assertion must be taken to indicate a desire to 'make money in an interesting place' which really comes down to wanting to be in the interesting place. The urban style of life as such is attractive. Migration also has an impetus of its own. That is, the more people hear about far off places and know that they have close contacts there, the more likely they are to seek out a particular destination. Lads go off to 'find'

their mates - as in one case of a fifteen-year-old boy whose brother had not been among a party of recruits returning from Rabaul in 1971. Certainly Moresby attracts migrants because clan-mates are to be found there. It should be added that such clan-mates are simply acquaintances and friends; as we shall see there are few Hageners who act as patrons to other migrants, and this is in any case a relationship which develops, if at all, once the migrant has gone to town.

Having members of the immediate family leave to undertake employment abroad can make others restless. In one Tipuka family, an elder half-brother had been on contract to the coast, but on return hid whatever earnings he had made, and a younger brother, so his father explains, became angry at this treatment. His reaction was to leave at once for the coast, to go and 'find money' for himself. But given the kind of childhood associations formed by youths, the clan is a more relevant unit here than the family. In the Tipuka and Kawelka tribes there are differences in the numbers of migrants in Moresby from particular clans. Thus while many clans have several men in Moresby others have more men in Rabaul; while from others there has been little emigration at all. Two points should be noticed. First, this is not a rigid matter - clans at home do not lead to exclusive groupings of youths and boys associate with friends from neighbouring and related groups as well. Secondly, there does not seem to be any obvious correlation between the clans (or the families) which send many migrants and factors such as wealth, general prestige and so on. Migrants come alike from rich and poor backgrounds. Marked discrepancies in the number of migrants going to any one place is more likely to be linked to patterns of enmity and alliance. The link is not a direct one - one does not hear statements of deliberate intent to avoid enemies or join up with allies, for the local scale on which these clusterings are relevant at home pale in the town context in the face of larger confrontations and regional solidarity. Rather it may have to do with the fact that, as in so many enterprises, clans are concerned to differentiate themselves from one another. One has to assume that youths are sensitive to such feelings. Where migrants-to-be have a choice of destination they will tend to repeat the choices others of their clan have made.

Because migration does little for home status, when asked why they came to Moresby men tend to give reasons to do with the town. ('I came to find money'; 'I heard it was

an interesting place') rather than with home. In a number of cases I would take such 'reasons' as glosses on haphazard movements which were not motivated by anything more positive than a desire to taste, or re-experience, a particular style of life. Paradoxically and in spite of what many migrants say, I would give their home background more prominence. But this has nothing to do with straight economic motives. It has to do with the freedom which youths enjoy in being able to follow their impulses - if the circumstances arise they are able to act out the vaguest of wishes, including the inclination to see new places - and with the fact that they are also approaching a stage in life at which some of this freedom will disappear.

An important correlate of youth is the fact that only about half the general migrants are married.

Table 3.6

Marital status of thirty general migrants in 1971
(from Sample I)

Never married	Married to Hagen wife			Married to foreign wife
	Wife in Port Moresby	Wife at home	Wife divorced	Wife in Port Moresby
16	4	4	6	1*

* The husband of this woman appears twice: he also had a Hagen wife now divorced.

Two of the divorced wives had left before their husbands came to Moresby; the divorces of the other four were precipitated by the husband's absence.¹ Only one of the migrants in this sample has children in Moresby (a Central

¹ Little has been said about women in the town; a general discussion of marriage and town wives can be found in sections of Chapters 5, 6 and 8.

Melpa man), although four have children at home, and a fifth had a child by a wife who has now left him.¹

Some migrants explain their immediate motive in leaving home in terms of marriage prospects.

When Quentin² returned from labouring at Rabaul he stayed home for about eight months.³ 'And all the other young men were 'turning head'³ with the girls, and I was fed up with all that stuff and ran away. I did not want to rub noses [one of the actions of tanim het] with the girls.'

Self-analysis in terms of escape is not uncommon. The usual formula is that the man's relatives were anxious to push him into marriage, and he felt too young for such a step, so 'ran away' to avoid it. Marriages are arranged for youths in their adolescence - from as young as sixteen or so if they are the sons of big-men - and almost all men have married their first wife by the age of 25. The age group of youths from 16-25, then, is the one for which marriages are being actively planned by their senior kin.

¹ These proportions may be compared to those for all migrants from Kawelka and Tipuka tribes in Moresby. By comparison with the figures for general migrants, a larger percentage of these Northern Melpa migrants have never married (nearer three-quarters than half) and of those with wives, a smaller percentage (21 per cent as opposed to 27 per cent) have wives with them in Moresby.

The marital status of the Tipuka-Kawelka migrants in 1971 was as follows. Thirty-two had never married. Of those Hagen women married to the migrants, two were in Moresby, four at home and seven divorced. The migrant married to a non-Hagen woman had his wife in Moresby.

² See p.75.

³ Tanim het, courting; for an account of the intimacies involved see A.M. and A.J. Strathern (1972:38-9).

The desire to escape from home at this stage of their life is related to several factors in the migrants' situation. First, there is sexual embarrassment at the prospect of marriage. Youths complain that women chosen for them are too 'big' (old/mature/developed). Secondly, there often seems to be resentment on the part of those who migrate at the traditionally powerless position their kin force them into in making a match for them. The resentment does not seem to be linked to the choice of partner so much as to having to marry at all.

Ndika (Central Melpa) Patrick: 'I was at home in Hagen and they married me a wife from M. And I had no desire to marry and I left her and went to Goroka....I never went home; then I came to Moresby - mi paul olgera!'¹

This must to some extent be connected with the third factor, that marriage is really the end of childhood. It is not till after his wedding, often some years, that young men are expected to undertake serious garden work; nevertheless, marriage marks the start of duties and responsibilities. Although both work in the gardens and prestations to the new affines are at first in his father's hands, this is in anticipation of the youth's new roles. Even when an actual marriage arrangement is not impending, the imminence of the transition may cause restlessness.

Brian (Northern Melpa, Kawelka) describes the pain caused by a boy's realisation that he no longer has the privileges of a child, that he must stand on his own. 'Small children are looked after well and young boys identify themselves with their parents; when they are playing they will say of their father's pig, "That's my pig", or of their mother's house, "That's my house". They think that their parents' things and their things are one. But then

¹ In this context paul ('fall by the wayside') is self-deprecatory only in so far as reasonable alternative strategies recognised by other people were not taken to the advantage of the speaker (settling down at home, etc.); but he is at the same time dismissing the fact that such steps would have been advantageous. His own choice is represented as a 'wild' one, uninhibited, without thought for himself or others. This is part of the ideology of independent-mindedness.

later other children come along and wives are obtained for the older sons, and the older boys are told: "You go and build yourself a house; go and make your own garden - you are grown up now!" And when my parents told me I was old enough to be on my own, and should build my own house¹, I was angry.'

The speaker gave this as one of the reasons why he left home. Components of the same attitude must be found in the oft-repeated statements of independence: 'I came to Moresby by my own wish (laik bilong mi)'. In the town migrants adopt the stance of independent-mindedness most conspicuously in relation to employment and their standing with employers (see Chapter 4). The same attitude is echoed when they look back on leaving home. For in many cases (not all) their departure is either against the expressed wishes of their parents and other kin or, because disapproval is expected, kept secret from them. Migration is seen as a definite act of withdrawal.

But resentment over marriage can influence the migrant in an opposite way.

Brian gave as one of the reasons why he would not hurry back home now he was in Moresby the fact that parents deceive one in promising to obtain a wife. 'They pretend to have their children's interests at heart and sing out for us to come home; they promise to buy us wives. But in actuality they don't think of their offspring - they only think of moka (ceremonial exchange). I have heard that my father will soon make moka and he will use my pigs,² and of course they won't really be able to get me a wife. So I am angry. All right, they don't think of me - I can stay here and I shan't think of them.'

¹ Brian comes from a polygynous family. He would sleep in the men's house with his father and brothers but boys sometimes build small houses for others of their age group. Brian is reporting what he sees as a change of attitude towards himself: in actuality he would never be forced to sleep and garden apart from his parents.

² Animals that would be put aside for his future bride-wealth. The contradictions in migrants' attitudes towards home are discussed in A.M. Strathern (n.d.).

Not many of the migrants gave the failure of kinsmen to find them spouses as a direct reason for flight from home. But kinsmen may be afraid this is so, and blame themselves in these terms.

The mother of Quentin imputed his departure to factors quite contrary to his own expressed motive. She said that when he was home he courted five girls and had tanim het sessions with them all - and told his parents that he wanted to marry one of them. But they said that all their pigs had gone in moka. So he thought, 'Oh, you did not get me a wife. All right, I will go off to the stesin', and he went off with not a word to anyone.

Whatever the truth in this case, the mother reproaches herself at their failure to find a wife for the son, while the son represents himself as running away to work to escape from having to marry.

People at home in fact tend to attribute specific resentment or anger (Melpa, popokl) to the migrant's behaviour towards themselves more than the migrants will admit. Only in a few cases did workers themselves give a quarrel as the precipitating factor for their leaving.

One middle-aged low status man returned home after several years work away. But he found it difficult to re-establish himself with no effective sponsor. His mother's second husband gave him a house, some gardens and some coffee trees but all his clansmen quarrelled with the older man for doing this. So the returned migrant told them. 'All right, you can tend these things if that is what you all want! I shall go for a little walk!'

It is appropriate that people at home should think about the migrant as someone with a grievance, for it is the severance of ties that is uppermost in their minds.

Simon¹ describes his coming to Moresby purely in terms of the sequence of opportunities that were made available to him. But his folks remember quarrels which made him leave in the first place. One recounted by his father was a fight between Simon and his mother. The mother wanted to send

¹ See pp.74-5.

a female pig to her newly married daughter (part of the return for bridewealth) but Simon had other uses for it, and they struggled over the animal while the daughter stood there weeping. Then the mother hit him with a stick on his forehead. He did not say anything more to his mother, but told his father. 'My mother does not look after me and I am going off!' The father protested: 'I am sleeping in the house you built for me, what will I do when it decays? And this garden you have made, who will dig a new one when you're gone?'.¹ But Simon left.

Many Hagen youths accept the future which marriage will bring them. Migrants, a minority, frequently explain that they wanted to delay the process, to put off their responsibilities. But like the explanations in terms of money-seeking, statements of this kind are also coloured by their present situation. Continuing in town is attractive because it prolongs the freedom youths have, justified in and itself sustaining the value put on personal autonomy. Of the various circumstances surrounding an actual departure, the element of escape is also in retrospect given value.

Success at home as a factor

Apart from the reasons people themselves give, are there other correlates of the unskilled migrant's position which make him and not his contemporaries leave? What about an individual's general standing and clan affiliation? Or his home achievements in terms of cash crops and traditional wealth such as pigs? Unfortunately, the youth of most migrants means that they withdraw from their home milieu before criteria of achievement really become relevant. The fact that a lad of eighteen has no coffee planted or does not yet have a controlling say in the disposal of stock says little about his future prospects, because this is the age at which boys are still to a large extent free from the burden of domestic responsibilities, and are not expected to have 'achieved' much. The desire to see the world or to earn a wage for a while on the part of a youthful migrant who envisages only temporary absence from

¹ Although an old man, he was exaggerating his present dependence on his son. In the future of course these would become realities.

home, in no way rules out the possibility of his developing bisnis at a later stage in life. At the point of departure factors to do with wealth and bisnis at home do not weigh much. That many absences turn into long term ones is another matter altogether. If the migrant's home prospects for bisnis are eroded, these are a result of the move away, rather than the cause.

Nevertheless, perhaps there are men at a disadvantage in their family situation - those who have lost their parents or have no close brothers on which to rely for support - who at this stage of life have poorer prospects than their contemporaries? We might expect those who had not been successful in obtaining a wife or who had become 'rubbish men' (Melpa, korpa, wangen) to leave home. Again, in the majority of cases, most migrants depart before it becomes clear that expectations of marriage or clan support are not going to be realised. This period does not set in till after a man reaches the age of 25 or so and it is as unmarried men approach about 30 that people start referring to them as wangen ('permanent bachelor', cf. A.J. Strathern 1971:188-9). A man who remains wangen throughout his life will be of insignificant status. Without the resources and support of wives, and without affinal connections, he can never become nyim (Melpa, important). Nowadays he may make a small name for himself if he devotes time to cash cropping with success; but this only modifies, it cannot really alter, his low position. If such personal factors were a spur to out-migration, one would expect to find a high proportion of oldish men among migrants in Moresby who were wangen when they left home. This is not the case. The majority depart before their status would be, as it were, put to the test.

This also holds true for prospects in a more general way. One might, for example, expect boys of ambiguous clan membership to leave home because they foresee that they cannot count on the support of their adopted clansmen, either in raising bridewealth or giving much help in other enterprises. A.J. Strathern (1972a:ch.7) has, however, pointed out that a person's technical status as an agnatic or non-agnatic member¹ of the clan group with which he

¹ Under ordinary circumstances a man enjoys automatic membership of his father's clan from birth. A claim through his father makes him an 'agnate' of the clan. But it is also possible to become affiliated to other

associates is less relevant to his chances of marrying well, or achievement in general, than the presence or absence of an effective sponsor. The sponsor is most likely to be a father but it can also be other kinsmen such as a mother's brother. An agnate whose father is impoverished by the death of his only wife or who dies when the boy is already mature may be in as weak a position as a non-agnate with no effective sponsor. Although a youth who loses his sponsor as he himself approaches marriageable age might still look to father's brothers or older married siblings who admit a duty towards him, in fact his agnatic status may be an illusory advantage. These men have other claims on their resources as their own families grow up.

Apart from agnatic status there is still the question of whether an individual has a sponsor or not. And here the same consideration holds as in the case of bisnis success or marriage achievement: that the migrant withdraws himself before the question of sponsorship is really put to the test. But the withdrawal has drastic effects on the migrant's later chances. A migrant whose parents are still alive can hope for more or less assured support from them; claims on a sponsor other than one's father, however, have to be cultivated assiduously. At the time of leaving home the family situation of the migrant is not necessarily important. But when it comes to the migrant deciding to return from the town, to an even greater extent than bisnis or marriage considerations, what absence has done to the chances of sponsorship will be a weighty matter. In short, the migrant's home status probably has more direct effect on his choosing whether or not to remain away than on whether to go in the first place. Since his being away modifies this status, let us consider the three circumstances again in detail.

Bisnis. Opinions about what a migrant does to his bisnis prospects have already been given in Chapter 2. It takes several years before the main cash crop (coffee) is in production after planting and it is the time factor which people comment on. They are not so worried about land shortage (though this is a problem on the horizon) as by the fact that the migrant who has not started planting

Footnote 1 (continued)

clans, e.g. through ties with a mother's brother or a wife's brother; here the person's link with the clan is not an agnatic one.

is 'so many years' behind his contemporaries. It is also true that unless he brings large sums home to invest he will not be able to compete with other already established enterprises, for which there is limited scope.

Marriage. Prolonged separation from home may make men wangen (bachelors); as they get older, the valuables which their clansmen would be mentally putting aside for their bridewealth get dissipated. Wives are obtained for younger brothers; in the absence of the youth other claims on the wealth are met.

The well-to-do parents of a lad of about 23, second son in a family of four girls and two boys, were extremely anxious in 1971 that the migrant come home when he had completed his contract in Rabaul. They said they were all ready to obtain his wife, with huge pigs kept in anticipation. His youngest sister was still to be married. Were the boy to outstay his time on the coast, the parents saw themselves using some of the large pigs in the return-gift¹ for her bridewealth and unable, moreover, to use what they gained from her bridewealth on a wife for him.

Indeed, as the migrant gets beyond the age at which it would be appropriate to find a first wife for him, kin at home show alarm. It is obvious to them that his chances are slipping away and that they are going to be unable to fulfil their duty in this respect. Wealth is not hoarded: it is constantly deployed and constant demands are made on it. A father who helps with the bridewealth of a brother's son will hope for reciprocal support when his son wishes to marry but if the son is not there then he may call on the support in some other context when creditors are pressing. It always remains possible that a returned migrant will be able to marry a previously married and divorced or widowed woman, whose bridewealth is statutorily lower. But there is less prospect that such a union will bring significant and lucrative affinal contacts. What is certain is that once a man has passed a particular age it becomes less and less likely that clansmen will be in a position to help him obtain a wife, and not many individuals would be able to raise the wealth by themselves.

¹ Details of bridewealth transactions are given in A.M. and A.J. Strathern (1969); A.M. Strathern (1972a: ch.5).

Sponsorship. Young men depend on clansmen to raise bridewealth for their first wives and the requirements of bridewealth gifts mean that however much cash a returnee brings, he cannot bypass clan support.¹ For the mobilisation of this support, he depends on a sponsor from the senior generation. Sponsorship will also affect a man's chances in ceremonial exchange and other enterprises. As long as he remains at home, it may not be relevant whether a boy's sponsor is his father or some other relative. But if he goes away, the question of agnatic status can in retrospect become crucial.

When his sponsor is his father (or close father's brother), other agnates of his clan recognise diffuse obligations towards the younger man, which are not entirely overthrown by the migrant's leaving home. He is still a clan member after all. But when a man is attached through a personal tie (for example with his mother's brother) to a body of clansmen who do not recognise such an obligation to the same extent, then the cultivation of this tie is extremely important, especially if the boy's attachment has been relatively recent (in late rather than early childhood). Expectations of support are contingent on the boy's own behaviour (help in gardening, and so on). Someone who cultivates such a connection and shows his loyalty is 'rewarded' by support, or hopes to be; someone who then removes himself physically may find the tie repudiated. Certainly kinsmen are quick to use the rationale of the migrant's absence to explain lukewarm feelings on their part.

It was said of one man now in his late twenties who had been living with his mother's brother as a member of this man's clan group, but had then gone to take up work as the kagoboi of a Councillor from a neighbouring clan: 'If he had helped his brothers [i.e. members of his clan of adoption] at home, they would get him a wife. But he is mad! He has left his brothers and they won't get him a wife now. Who would know if this Councillor will!'

Sometimes an individual leaves his adopted clan because his self-styled 'brothers' have in fact hitherto not rewarded him. This is among the motives of those who make changes

¹ Unless he marries a widow or divorcee.

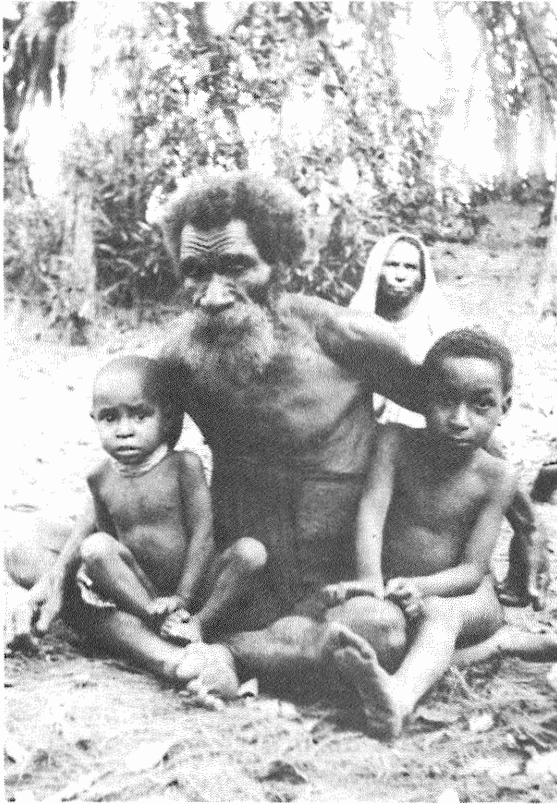


Plate 5. Father of a middle-aged migrant with his son's two children. He himself has been to Moresby on visits.

Plate 6. The family of a recently departed youth. The young man wearing a fur headband and apron is a half-brother not long back from a contract in Rabaul. Migrants' families at home (Northern Melpa)



of clan affiliation (for example, A.J. Strathern 1972a: 152-53), although it does not seem to feature much in the accounts of those who migrate right outside the Hagen area.

An agnatic member of one Kawelka clan, now about 28, whose father is long dead and with no close brothers alive, seems to have failed to attach himself to any close sponsor in his sub-clan. This is attributed by clansmen to his own behaviour. One developing attachment was broken when he went away on contract to a plantation near Moresby. On return he found various kagoboi jobs around Hagen. He then went to reside with the wife of a man from another section of his clan (a daughter's daughter of his own sub-clan). Other members of the clan commented, 'He is wangen now. He wrecked his own chances. He left his brothers. He went off to earn money - that is all right, but he did not help his brothers'.

This is a case, then, in which attachment to a non-agnatic clan was not involved. The lad was trying to seek support from among clansmen of his dead father. It is only when his claims are on a very close agnate that a migrant can expect sponsorship to persist in spite of his absence. If his sponsor is a distant agnate or a non-agnate, he is likely to destroy the basis of future support by leaving home.

These cases are taken from information on the Kawelka and Tipuka tribes. I tabulate the home circumstances of thirty-nine¹ of the Tipuka-Kawelka migrants in Moresby in 1971.

We should modify Table 3.7A by noting that since the migrants departed the fathers of at least six men have since become very old; while of those whose sponsors were other relatives, at least five of these probably can no longer be counted upon. The sponsors of all three men living away from their father's clan have lost interest in the migrant. Thus of the thirty-four who left effective sponsors, perhaps more than a third would find a changed situation on return.

A word should be said about Table 3.7B. Ordinarily a youth does not look after his own pigs before marriage, but

¹ For whom background information is most accurate.

Table 3.7

Home status of Tipuka and Kawelka migrantsA: Sponsorship situation approximately at time when migrant left home

	<u>Migrant affiliated with</u>		Total
	Father's clan	Mother's brother's or other clan	
Father the effective sponsor	24	-	24
Effective sponsor other than father	7	3	10
Ineffective sponsor	2	0	2
No close sponsor	3	0	3
	36	3	39

B: Current claims on resources at home and marital status

Migrant has at home	Not married	Migrant is/ has divorced	Wife at home	Wife in Port Moresby	Total
Coffee and pigs	7	2	4	1	14
Coffee only	11	4	0	0	15
Pigs only	3	1	0	0	4
Neither	5	0	0	1*	6
	26	7	4	2	39

* Previous Hagen wife divorced.

C: Tables A and B combined: sponsorship and resources at home

	<u>Migrant has claims on</u>				Total
	Coffee and pigs	Coffee only	Pigs only	Neither	
Effective sponsor is own father	9	13	1	1	24
Effective sponsor other than father	3	2	3	2	10
Ineffective sponsor	2	0	0	0	2
No close sponsor	0	0	0	3	3
	14	15	4	6	39

his parents will allocate him a token one or two as the nucleus of his bridewealth, and these are the pigs referred to in the case of unmarried men. In some specific instances, parents cited pigs previously allocated which have since been given away; in others parents who had set no pigs aside might still say that should the migrant return they would start raising bridewealth. Unless a migrant has a wife at home, his mother cares for 'his' animals. Coffee is recorded irrespective of amount planted. In some instances the trees are not yet in production; in three the gardens have been allowed to fall wild - overgrown by weeds and neglected, so that in effect the migrant has no productive coffee. These were all men with coffee only, and no pigs, so if they are counted as having 'none' the total here drops to twelve. Parents will tend and collect the proceeds from coffee, unless the man has himself indicated someone else such as an elder brother.

The discussion of the unskilled migrants' home background underlines the fact that the gradual increase of semi-permanent migrant settlers from Hagen in Moresby has as much to do with Hagen town society as with conditions back at home. First, desire to experience an urban style of life - however vaguely expressed - seems to be a recognisable motive among those who seek out the town, or return there after spells at home. Secondly, a migrant's economic and social status at home plays its most crucial role not at the point when the youth decides to leave but when the time comes of beginning to think about going back. The years he has spent in town are likely to have modified his position: prospects of low status are an effect rather than a cause of migration.

The skilled migrant

The most significant difference between the backgrounds of skilled and unskilled migrants lies in education: skilled migrants often come from families where the father has had some extensive employment experience himself and most of the siblings are in the educational system. Thus one Mokei man has three younger brothers and a sister who are at or have been to school and another brother at a training college. His father is a medical orderly at the Mt Hagen hospital. His comments are worth recording:

I don't send money home to my parents. My father earns himself and besides they have plenty of bisnis in coffee - they are not short of money. I just send



Plate 7. A mother mourns her absent son in the now wild coffee garden which he planted before he left eight years ago.



Plate 8. Mother of a recent migrant with a small bag of coffee to sell, picked from trees her son planted.

money to the boy at College...I wanted to bring him to finish schooling in Moresby, but couldn't get a place for him. I am afraid that he'll think of women and courting and run away from school.

Education leads directly to certain recruitment opportunities. Many of those who go into the army or police force or take up apprenticeships are recruited from school.¹

One quite senior Central Melpa policeman recalled how he entered the force. He was at school and there responded to a recruiting drive from the navy. He was called to Manus for interview, and left without informing the headmaster. ('I ran away to Manus'.) When he returned to school he was expelled for this behaviour, so his account went, and went off to join the police force. Later he learnt that his application to the navy had been successful.

I give another example of the family of a Central Melpa migrant. Geoffrey joined the army directly from school and then after four years as a soldier in Moresby did not renew his contract but went into a commercial firm as a clerk.

His father was one of the early bosboi who looked after carriers during the war in Hagen and accompanied kiap on patrol. He subsequently became a tultul and a Council komiti. Geoffrey is the youngest of three brothers, the eldest of whom works as a driver for government transport in Hagen. Of three brothers by his mother's co-wife, one is a storekeeper in Hagen town and one is still at school. Geoffrey helps the schoolboy with money and has also sent substantial sums to his parents; he himself improved his educational qualifications by correspondence courses when in the army. Interestingly enough, he says that one of the reasons why he left the army was because he wanted to transfer from Taurama barracks, which lies a few miles outside the town, to Murray barracks in the town itself; or else to go to another town, Lae.

¹ For some details of how police are recruited see Ranson (1972).

Among Hageners who have semi-skilled jobs at home, one also finds a number who are sent to Moresby for short training periods. This may include mechanical or technical training (for example, in a transport workshop) or simply be an educational widening of experience (for example, apprentice is shown round the head office). One Central Melpa employee of a commercial company was sent on a visit to Australia and spent a few days in Moresby on the way trying to persuade a classificatory 'brother' of his, an unskilled labourer, to return to Hagen.

Since most of the skilled migrants come from Central Melpa, we should ask whether the educational background which they share with other members of their families is not true for all Central migrants - skilled and unskilled. A quantitative answer would be difficult. Indeed it would be almost a methodological impossibility to document the educational experiences of migrant's 'families'. The assumption behind the question is that people are more likely to pursue their education if other members of their families are also at school and are seen to be getting on well, and that a parent who encourages one will encourage all his children in this direction. We are dealing then not with a role (such as sponsor) but with questions of influence. One would need to know exactly what constituted an individual's 'family' - with whom he was brought up, with whom he associated at various stages of his childhood - and even when this was done one still would not be able to account for those situations in which someone outside the 'family' - an uncle or cousin - exercised a particular influence over the boy. I simply record my impression that the spread of educational qualifications is not uniform throughout all of the Central Melpa area, and that the few unskilled migrants from the Central Melpa area are likely to have backgrounds very similar to those from areas such as Northern Melpa. That is, these men come from families which are involved in cash cropping and whose members work 'at home'. On the whole such migrants are not the younger or elder brothers of men who have left home in a skilled capacity. This confirms in micro-terms my generalisation for Central Melpa as a whole: that the example of what can be achieved in employment through high educational qualifications discourages rather than encourages an exodus of unskilled, uneducated men.

Chapter 4

The town and work

The new arrival

One or two key places in the town are likely to be already known to the new migrant. Labourers who have caught a truck for the last leg of their journey from plantations will request to be put down at Koki market. A Tipuka or Kawelka man arriving at the airport may ask about the Administrative College, where several Northern Melpa work, or 'Four Mile', which he has heard returned migrants speaking of. The first action of a newcomer is invariably an attempt to contact other people from his home area. Hageners working for the airlines may recognise a newcomer on the tarmac. At Koki there is the chance that conversation among several new arrivals will be overheard by another highlander - someone from Chimbu perhaps - who recognises their speech and can direct them to their wantok (compatriots). Indeed, for as long as they are in Moresby, Koki market will remain a centre for information.

Dismay may be the first private reaction of unskilled workers to the appearance of a newcomer. Migrants themselves recount how their relatives demanded: 'Why have you come to this place?'. The point of their grumbling is not simply that the new arrival will put a strain on their resources, though this is part of it: it includes an element of chastisement, which is also perhaps self-chastisement, directed to the insouciant youth who has been deluded about the opportunities which the town offers. This is quite separate from the personal welcome he will also receive as someone from home. Although a little depends on what day of the week he arrives, a migrant's first few days in the town are likely to meet his expectations. Those closest to his home area will take him drinking, and if they have a car, driving; he will see the sea, the twelve-storey building, the hotels. If it is a week-end he may be taken out into the country on a drinking picnic. Apart from the heat and the strong smells

of Koki market, which Hageners constantly comment upon, cars, drink and the smartness of his friends' turnout are likely to be outstanding in the migrant's first impressions.

People say that when a newcomer arrives, all his former acquaintances are willing to put him up.¹ He may in fact find lodging with several residents in succession, although if a member of his clan or subclan is in Moresby this man is likely to take initial charge. The men in town are 'sorry' (kaemb in Melpa; to have the kind of sympathy which exists especially among kinsmen) for the new arrival. This may be partly because he reminds them of home towards which they also do or in any case should feel kaemb. It is indeed much easier for a newcomer to get lodging than it is for someone who has had work and finds himself unemployed; once he has started working he is on his own. The new migrant will share whatever food is being cooked in the house he stays in - rice and tinned meat, or at the weekend, frozen chops or steak; or his hosts will take him out to eat fish and chips or perhaps a Chinese meal, or to drink beer. He will find that most of his friends have two or three pairs of trousers and three or four shirts besides other clothing, and he may be given some clothes. Few would-be-workers come with any baggage of their own. Several men may give him odd items such as tobacco, but as far as money is concerned only a narrow circle of relatives, perhaps just one individual, will make small gifts of a dollar or two, a tiny income to tide him over his period of initial unemployment. When he departs for home some months or years later, by contrast, a large party may be held and the worker will receive substantial financial contributions towards his fare and his 'home-going' from a wide circle of town acquaintances. It is their links with home as much as with the home-going individual which the donors are expressing.

Most Hagen workers in town shave and migrants who come seeking work, when they are not boys, tend also to be beardless. Visitors, on the other hand, are conspicuous by their beards. Because of their imminent return home visitors are usually taken on more extensive sight-seeing tours and given quite generous sums of money to cover their

¹ There is no clear pattern, as among Siane, of newcomers seeking out 'senior men' or those who have 'focal roles' (Salisbury and Salisbury 1970).

subsistence, as well as a range of gifts of which clothes will only be an item. Unlike the would-be-worker, the visitor will probably have luggage and spending money of his own.

Impressions of the town

Although sight-seeing often forms part of the migrant's welcome, and he will later show others around, I rarely heard 'descriptions' of the physical appearance of Moresby. Visitors may be less inhibited in their exclamations than workers: a woman visitor seeing the sea for the first time in her life, that day whipped up by wind, cried out that it was just like froth on beer! But whatever their impressions, these are not often given verbal, imagistic summings up.¹ Apart from comments on the scale of the place (the large number of cars and people, the proximity of indigenes and expatriates) and the heat, most observations relate to conditions which affect the individual's achievements. They are epitomised in the despairing exclamation of one domestic servant: Em i tuhat na mani tu pinis, ('It [Moresby] is hot and money is always gone').

The wage a person earns is a constant source of comment. So is the question of whether accommodation is provided along with employment. In both cases, the migrant's frequent complaints are related closely to his idea of what he is worth to his employer, rather than to a general standard employees should claim by right. The fact that people can be put out of work, however, does receive more abstract comment because of the hardship which the cost of living creates. Not only does having to find means of support while unemployed strike them as one of the 'problems' of town life, but the process of seeking out jobs is often a difficult one. As one Central Melpa put it: 'There are plenty of men in Port Moresby, and we don't find work quickly!'. But complaints about wages as such tend to be put in particularistic terms ('I work from 7 a.m. to 6 p.m. and I have been there three years and have never got a rise'). Only from men with families in Moresby does one also

¹ The stony landscape round Sogeri may appal visitors who look on it as a desolate place. They are taken up there on car trips. Astonishment is expressed at the dry, hard ground 'without grease', the quality of stones and rocky outcrops, the lack of habitation, gardens, people.

hear statements such as 'How does my employer expect me to manage on this wage?'

The houses making up a labourers' compound may be jokingly referred to in Melpa as 'windbreaks' (temporary, insubstantial shelters). Really bad housing is blamed on the employer rather than on general working conditions or class exploitation. Paul, a factory worker, whose accommodation was a small room with no light or water, consisting of a light wooden frame plastered with cardboard and bits of metal sheeting, said:

We aren't accommodated well; we aren't fed well. It is just the masta (employer) - he doesn't think about his boi (employees). There is one little house, a small one, broken and full with Goroka and Chimbu men (other employees). Sometimes I sleep there and sometimes among the boxes in the factory. There is one tiny bed in this house, and if M [his son, on a visit] lies there, then I sleep outside - if he sleeps outside, then I sleep in the house.

Bitter comments may also be made about the cavalier attitude of employers who tolerate no one but the worker in the house he has provided.

Oh, the work and accommodation in Moresby is all right. You whitemen are all right. But we have to make such an effort. We might be sleeping in a masta's house,¹ and four or five fellows will congregate there - and then the masta says, 'Piss-off!' And where are they to go?

Overcrowding in dwellings is frequently remarked upon but usually relative to the relationship of the moment. When people out of work are showing no signs of getting a job, the general strain on their host's resources will be stated in terms of how crowded the house is. Whether a person says grandly, 'I have a house (that is, plenty of room)', or mumbles, 'My house is full up', will depend on who is asking to share it rather than on the number of bodies in habitation.² Married couples have different requirements

¹ Accommodation belonging to an employer.

² Oram (1971a:1) notes that what constitutes a 'problem' (for example, overcrowded accommodation) is bound to be largely a matter of cultural definition. But he also points out that in accepting certain conditions, people are often unaware of the options available to them.

for privacy from single men. Women, who are expected to be hospitable with food, may complain quite straightforwardly about the imposition of their husbands' acquaintances.

Someone going to visit a friend and finding his house full with 'other friends' may be sarcastic about the size of the dwelling, and quarrels can flare up between people from different regions.

There was a card game in progress at the haus boi [domestic quarters] of a Western Melpa man. A number of Northern Melpa were there. A Western Melpa worker, drunk, came up and kicked at the door, and shouted, 'Is this your house then [to the Northern Melpa] and you are all in here playing cards!'. The Northern Melpa answered back: 'It isn't a house belonging to Nengka [the tribe of the incomer] but the Kummdi [tribe of the owner], and the owner of the house hasn't said anything!'. There was a brief fight and a lot of shouting. The result was that the owner's employer rang the police and subsequently made him put up a han tambu¹ to indicate that his wantok were not to come to his house again.

Food is one subject treated descriptively. Koki market, the main trading centre for local produce, is criticised for the odours which Hageners regard as unpleasant, particularly the smell of fish and of cooked meat; the poor quality of fruit and vegetables,² by their standards, which in turn leads to comments about the agricultural land around Moresby; and the exorbitant prices for all foodstuffs epitomised in what is charged for sweet potato, the Hagen staple. Unskilled migrants never buy this regularly, and only include a tuber or two when they purchase other food - greens, bananas - for a special occasion. Migrants complain about having to pay for their subsistence in any case: to have to part with money for an item which at home is

¹ A drawing of a hand with palm up (blocking the way') indicates 'forbidden entry' or 'private' (tambu).

² For example, local sugarcane is regarded as insipid and without flavour; sweetcorn is usually sold under-ripe with hardly a bite on it; only a few varieties of bananas are to be found, not those one at home would think worth marketing.

available to all sums up the basic drawbacks of their whole position. A word should be said on food prejudice. Most stick to items which they can obtain from tradestores and which they will have known about before coming to the town; only a few have adopted Papuan tastes, particularly for fish, usually men who have close residential acquaintance with Papuans. Many Hageners refuse to buy even the pork on sale at the market because they say it is displayed unhygienically.

It is recognised that consumer goods in Moresby are of a higher standard than those available in rural tradestores. Clothes, blankets and utensils are 'strong' (of good quality). Visitors may come to Moresby with the specific intent of making a few purchases. The would-be worker, with vaguer aspirations, who has been in town for some while will be less struck by the difference between what Moresby and the stores at home sell than by the differences between the stores he can and cannot afford to frequent. Most workers, however, put a high value on the way they dress and their generally smart appearance impresses the newcomer.

The cost of living in general cropped up in almost every answer to my queries about how people found the town. A Central Melpa clerk:

I don't really like Moresby. All the time one has to spend money, on food, on everything. It is all right at home, people have bisnis: they don't have to work solidly for the whole week and then get paid at the end of it - they can earn their money on coffee or cows or poultry while they are living at home. In the town all one's working hours have to be spent in employment in order to get paid at the end.

A Western Melpa driver:

We am a lot of money here, but it gets used up quickly, which is why I want to go home. At home we live for free (mipela wokabaut nating) and money stays on our skins [i.e. in our possession]. But here we spend money on everything - even if we want to wash or go to the lavatory, all the time! Money doesn't stay on our skins here.

Many migrants say bluntly that they feel cheated, not as much by Europeans or employers as by the tales with which their own countrymen lured them to town. Deception in this perspective is a comment on the fact that the migrant will have left home with ideas formed by the role cash plays in a rural subsistence economy: a source of wealth

which can be used for a whole range of prestigious enterprises. But he comes to town to find that there cash is necessary for subsistence itself.

We looked at the men who had returned home and they told us what a good place Moresby was. When they come back they wear dark glasses and dress themselves up, and we think they tell the truth. Now I have come here, I think the town is good, but the countryside is bad - it is too hot, and we don't like it. The town is all right, but then we have no food. We just eat up our money! All our money goes on food and we are fed up! (Northern Melpa labourer)

I bought my own plane to Moresby...My father helped me with some money and took me to the airport. He said, 'If you go, then behave yourself. Find a little money and send it back to me. I don't know if you will be sensible or not.' We did not tell the women in case they would cry...Men had told us we would get plenty of money in the town. We thought it would be like a dream and we came. But when I arrived I felt they had tricked us! They told us for a little work we would get plenty of money and that it was a dream-place, but I felt I had been tricked when I saw for myself...I don't want to stay, Moresby is bad. The work is all right but it [the place] is hard - it is hard to find food, to walk around, to sleep - it is hard on money: we spend our money. I am fed up.
(Western Melpa garage attendant)

For some people these unpleasant facts about town life increase their overt lack of commitment to particular jobs and encourage a stance of independent-mindedness. The speaker who had come with his father's admonitions had previously been offered a period of training in Australia for another job. He regarded this as a piece of good fortune he would be a fool not to take advantage of but in no way saw it as creating any obligations to continue in the job. It would not bind him to a career. He said:

If I go home, I shall not return to Moresby. Perhaps I shall find work in Hagen town, or go and help my brother on his tea-block. Growing coffee is hard work, but I have three gardens - I don't know if people at home have looked after them. After I have been South (to Australia) I shall go straight back

to Hagen. I'll find the money. I'll find some money in Australia too. It is my own wish. They [the employers] can't grease [entice] me. I can leave. I shall tell the masta when I want to go to Hagen.

Sometimes, however, a privileged attachment to a kind employer attracts specific loyalty:

William¹ a domestic servant, was brought to Moresby by his employer. He said: Moresby, it's all right in some ways, but in others it is not. I see the fish and the betel (in the market) and that is no good. I don't go about travelling. I look at the leba [unskilled workers], their houses and their work is not much good. But my thoughts are fast on Moresby. I find good food here [= style of life] and I have decided to stay on the coast. When I have saved a little money perhaps I'll go home, but I'll stay here first. I shall stick to my masta, and if he transfers to another place I shall go with him. I have coffee gardens (at home)... my parents will look after them. I'll stay in this work: wherever my masta goes, I shall go with him.

A final characterisation made of Moresby is its violence. Hageners say it is a 'bad place', especially at week-ends when everyone is out in cars and they get drunk and accidents happen; that they are afraid to be with strangers in Moresby, so they walk around with their mates from home, and do not go 'outside' (beyond their circle of acquaintances).

Of the various complaints noted here, only those about money tend to be related by Hageners to reasons for subsequently leaving the town. For all his criticisms, Paul (p. 106) has been in Moresby many years, regards himself as committed to the stesin and has no intentions of going home. Indeed, the issue of money is most fundamental to the way unskilled migrants formulate their position. The new arrival says he has come to make money; after a while this turns into a desire to save enough to return home - not just for the fare but to be able to take back something for people there. Paradoxically, it is the

¹ See pp. 72-3.

impossibility of accumulating the hoped-for sums which makes some people the more intent on leaving, even though they feel they can only do so respectably with money in their pockets.

Positive statements about the town are rarely heard. And yet in much of their behaviour many individuals show a strong, if not permanent, commitment to town life. But when it comes to speaking about it, they tend to be off hand, saying they will stay till they decide to go, or that they like it well enough, or have become addicted to stesen life. This does not contradict my suggestion that its style of life is one of the things which attracts Hageners to Moresby. Rather the apparent paradox lies in the unskilled migrants' having little explicit ideology about urban rewards, no standard assumptions and values which they can point to easily.¹ If asked to formulate their views, they tend to be inarticulate, or else to talk through the mouths of people at home, presenting Moresby and their² own position as they know visitors and their kinsmen see it.

¹ This lack of ideology is most apparent in the unskilled and uneducated. Those in Moresby for training or career advancement do not have the same problem. Some university students from Hagen commenting on their labourer acquaintances said they could not understand why they should want to come to Moresby. Why didn't they stay at home and tend their coffee gardens? Many come to Moresby when they could be earning money at home! (See Chapter 7.)

² A young entrepreneur from Northern Melpa, on a visit in 1970 said pointedly that he would ask the men in Moresby whether they lived on ground (soil) or on stone - an aggressive piece of rhetoric: he meant (i) that migrants in Moresby slept in 'bad places', even on rocky, bare hills such as Paga Hill, with no good soil, and (ii) by innuendo, they had no basic resources with which to raise wealth, no soil on which to grow anything (that is, establish a bisnis), and they could only live off others (since what money they earned was wasted, they could never be independent). On another occasion he observed that the Moresby workers were all dependent on white men, were white men's kintmant wamb (Melpa, 'servants') making their employer's and not their own names prestigious.

Urban realities: jobs and houses

Most Hageners seem to find work fairly readily. If people are without jobs for long periods (say, over six months) this is likely to have become as much a matter of habit as of misfortune. Table 2.2 enumerated 167 migrants from Northern, Western and Central Melpa in non-institutional occupations. With the exclusion of individuals in transit through Moresby or working away from the town, I have information on the jobs held by the remaining 158 (cf. Table 1.3) in July 1971. Fourteen (9 per cent) were at that time out of work, a proportion mirrored in Sample I (10 per cent). Almost all would be people who wanted to find work, though a few would be resting. These figures do not include visitors. Of the 14 at least 5 found casual jobs, usually gardening, from time to time. A number of men in regular jobs also take on casual work as an addition but this is not recorded in Table 4.1.

The prominence of different occupations depends partly on how they are categorised. That of domestic servant is most common and we may note the popularity of this job against the fact that in Moresby as a whole employment in domestic service declined between 1961 and 1966, and was predicted to increase only slowly beyond this date (Langmore 1970:16).

Among the unskilled, driving is the most prestigious job and the best rewarded. It is the most lucrative occupation open to people with no other training. Its returns compare very favourably with some semi-professional salaries. Hageners who are in the police force or army regularly earn over \$20, though with deductions the police wage falls just beneath this; an army private earns between \$25-\$30. Many take driving lessons in the hopes of gaining a licence. One or two operate their own pasindia ka (passenger carrying vehicles) such as the cleaner in Table 4.2, who may earn four times his wage from his car when it is running. Drivers are outstripped in number by general labourers if we class together gardener, builder's labourer, cleaner and such (32). Working 'outside' as a casual labourer, especially on the roads, is the most denigrated, although labouring jobs attached to an institution such as the university (gardening, cleaning) are not regarded in quite the same light. Office boys and clerks, as is probably true of most skilled workers, are likely to have a sense of the prestige of their job

Table 4.1

Occupation of Hageners in Moresby at July 1971

(n = persons in certain jobs)

Occupation	Population of 158	Sample of 30
Domestic servant	43 (27%)	9 (30%)
Out of work	14 (9%)	3 (10%)
Driver	12	4
Gardener (full time)	10	2
Gardeners' foreman	1	0
Carpenter's or builder's labourer	10	1
Barman or waiter	9	0
Cleaner	7	1
Prisoner in jail	7	1
Cook's assistant (restaurant or bakery)	6	2
Hotel cook	1	0
Hotel employee, general	2	0
Garage assistant (untrained)	4	1
Mechanic, various	3	2
Store-keeper, shop assistant	4	1
Factory hand	5	1
Apprentice	2	1
Fireman	1	1
General labourer (PWD, etc)	5	0
Clerk	2	0
Office boy	2	0
Other*	8	0
	158	30

* Includes a bank guard, a radio announcer, an independent businessman and his employees, a doctor and engineer.

fostered by the employment structure within which they find themselves. Often this is not communicable to others. The number of people in jail should be noted. Some of the figures which Salisbury and Salisbury (1970) give for Siane migrants are worth comparison. Fifty-seven per cent of

Siane migrants¹ were in 1967 mainly manual labourers (under 25 per cent for Hagen); fewer than 18 per cent were domestic servants (30 per cent for Hagen).

The figure of about 10 per cent for Hageners out of work seems relatively low in comparison with those cited by Harris (1972b) for migrants from other areas. Those populations, like Hagen, composed largely of unskilled workers show percentages of unemployed ranging from 16 per cent (Siane, Eastern Highlands) to 20-39 per cent (Purari, Gulf) and in the case of two Moresby settlements, 22 per cent and 27 per cent. Toaripi (Gulf) unemployment rate in the early 1960s (Ryan 1964:2) was 20 per cent, although the migrants are described as semi-skilled. The unemployment rates of skilled and semi-skilled workers from another settlement is recorded as 8 per cent, of Hula (Central) migrants 3 per cent, and of Orokaiva (Northern) migrants, possibly 5 per cent.

The wages of persons in particular jobs and details as to whether or not accommodation is provided with the job are enumerated in Table 4.2.

In 1966 58 per cent of the indigenous workforce in Moresby were earning under \$17.00 a fortnight; 70 per cent were earning \$20 or under. The minimum urban wage for general labourers at that time was \$13 a fortnight, raised to \$14 a fortnight in 1970 (Langmore 1970:32-33; Isaac 1970:10). About 65 per cent of the Hageners with jobs (17 out of 26) earn \$20 a fortnight or under. Nearly everybody regards himself as not being paid enough. Most would like just a little more than they get at present (those earning \$16 or \$18 think \$20 would be adequate; those earning \$20 would like \$25, and so on). Migrants do not often compare wages across jobs ('why should domestic servants get less than...'). They very much see themselves as working for someone and phrase the desire for higher wages in terms of recognition from the employer. The hours demanded of the worker are a chief cause of complaint when the employee thinks he is not getting his

¹ These Siane figures were based on a total male population of migrants, including institutional workers. The latter was not, however, a large category. If these are excluded the percentages are raised by a point or so.

Table 4.2

Wage and accommodation of Hageners in Moresby
(Sample I)

Occupation (see Table 4.1)	Wage average for persons in this job, and range, per fortnight in dollars		Accommodation whether provided by employer or not, for number of persons		
	average \$	range \$	provided	not provided	do not know
Domestic servant	17.50	14-20	4	4	1
Out of work	-	-	-	-	-
Driver	39	30-56	4	0	-
Gardener	18	18(both)	2	0	-
Builder's labourer	14	-	0	1	-
Cleaner	25	-	1	-	-
Prisoner	-	-	-	-	-
Cook's assistant	22	16-28	2	0	-
Garage assistant	16	-	0	1	-
Mechanic	20	15-25	2	0	-
Store-keeper	20	-	1	0	-
Factory hand	20	-	1	0	-
Apprentice	50	-	1	0	-
Fireman	61	varies with overtime	1	0	-

Note: I give gross wage, ignoring deductions where these are known. When overtime is regular, I give an average figure. The wages are for person's main job; income may be augmented by casual jobs.

due¹. Also after a year or two of steady work for one employer, most Hageners think they are entitled to a recognition of their loyalty and hope for a pay rise. They may leave the job if it is not forthcoming. Because of their intimacy with their employers, domestic servants (ol landri) demand the most signs of personal appreciation: not just a pay rise but perhaps a ticket to go home on

¹ Especially if he has to work at nights or on week-ends.

leave. The actual work to be done seems to be less significant, although what is judged an unfair load sometimes leads to a resignation. This happened to a gardener when he quarrelled with his overseer who asked him to dig a deep hole in rock-hard earth.

Of the private employers in Moresby making returns to the Department of Labour, about 66 per cent claim to provide some kind of accommodation for employees. The figure is well over 80 per cent for employers in the public sector. From the point of view of the workers, 50 to 66 per cent are recorded as receiving accommodation. However, these figures will exclude persons in domestic service (Department of Labour, unpublished information; Isaac 1970:46-7). Among Hageners, quite a high proportion of workers have accommodation found for them (nearly 75 per cent), though not all use it. For two of the men who were married only single quarters were available and they found their own housing elsewhere, whereas another two preferred to share a friend's house rather than sleep in a compound full of strangers. Nevertheless, whether housing is provided with a job is often a decisive factor in the migrant's choice, where he has any, although such a provision is not regarded as making up for a low wage.

Apart from those in compounds, Hageners are scattered throughout the town. They do not form urban villages or migrant settlements (cf. Oram 1967, 1970b). Nor do they of course have a village background. At home small settlements or homesteads are dispersed through clan territories. Although there are clusters of Hageners, usually people from a common background, at various points throughout the town, there is no focal location.

As might be expected, given the scattering of residence and the dependence on different kinds of employers, housing varies enormously. Those in semi-skilled jobs have access to what is seen as superior accommodation. Unskilled labourers who live in compounds can expect eating and washing facilities, beds and lockers, but little privacy. The lack of privacy is felt most acutely when non-Hageners share the same house. In such circumstance people may also complain about the dirt and voice fear that they may fall sick. The one or two houses made by Hageners themselves, located on 'waste land', tend to stress privacy: windowless and at times completely sealed up. Houses provided for domestic servants usually follow a common standard, with a bedroom and an open verandah-like area which serves as a

'living room'. This may or may not have a stove; often people are forced to cook over an open fire. Access to the facilities of the employer's house (such as being able to use the iron) may be included in people's estimation of their standard of living. Although some domestic servants are given snacks or meals from time to time, most have to cook for themselves, as do other workers except those employed in branches of the catering trade. One or two Hageners have purchased or otherwise have access to the newly built dwellings on the Housing Commission's estates, and the opening up of blocks of building land at Morata has attracted others.

Mobility in employment

Mobility in jobs and in residence is basic to the way of life of many unskilled migrants. Indeed, changes in where the worker finds a place to live are often a direct concomitant of changes in place of employment.

This is what one Tipuka man, James, from a clan called Kengeke, recalls of his work history.¹ I came [in 1965] and worked in the garden of a masta who lived near the Administrative College. When I first came I stayed for three weeks [without work], then this masta came and found me, and he gave me \$6 [a fortnight]. I worked for two months; then the garden was finished.² The masta gave me a letter of recommendation. And I went to find work again and made other gardens. I worked for three masta altogether. I slept in a compound until the work was finished. I came to the University and worked in the bik lain [gang of labourers] where [a Kaugel man] was bosboi, and I got \$14 a fortnight. I was

¹ References to rate of pay and duration of job were in response to my questions. All estimates of time are no more than the roughest indications. People both over- and underestimate. Money figures will be accurate. Kengeke is clan G in diagram of Tipuka sub-groups, Appendix 4.

²

He was clearing land for gardens around the newly built houses. The employer would regard this as a casual job.

here eight months. Then I myself decided to leave the job - Kengeke Ivan and me, we worked together, and the masta dismissed Ivan, and I said, 'No, they have dismissed my wantok; I think I will go too!'.... And then I was pasindia [out of work and dependent on others] looking for wok landri - perhaps a month as a pasindia, then I found domestic work at Boroko China town, where I worked for a misis.¹ I was only there a month - she gave me \$12 a fortnight - but I didn't know how to work; my work was haywire, and the misis dismissed me.² Then I went to Six Mile where they were building new houses, and I found domestic work in a house next door to where Kengeke Godfrey was working. He worked in one house, I in the next. They provided me with a haus boi [sleeping quarters]. I worked here for a year, and the masta moved to [a house in] Boroko Drive, and I went with him. I got \$14 a fortnight.

I drank beer and had a fight with a masta. I was walking about, and a dog belonging to another masta came and bit me, and I hit the dog. The owner came and hit me and we fought, and I was jailed for three months. My masta [previous employer] didn't forget about me: he sent me food and tobacco, and looked after me. I left jail and returned to this masta and stayed with him another three months. And I said, 'I want a rise. I have been with you two years, more than two years; you give me an increase in my pay!'. But the masta said no. I argued with the masta. 'Give me more pay!' But he said no, so I left him. I had saved \$150 with the misis and she collected this from the bank and gave the money to me. And Kengeke Harry bought a little car, and Harry and I travelled about on the car for about two months. I contributed \$20. I gave

¹ Misis is used more regularly for Chinese women employers than masta is used for Chinese men.

² Note how nevertheless this trial job was enough to furnish the speaker with basic skills he could use more successfully elsewhere.

\$100 to Kukilike Philip.¹ He too wanted to buy a car...but later returned the \$100. He hasn't bought his car yet, but at the time I had the cash in my pocket, and didn't want to spend it, so I gave it to him...²

I found work in town with a masta, as a domestic servant, and got \$10 a week. I spent ten months with him. I slept at Boroko with Ivan and all the time I had to bus into town; they left the house at 7 a.m. and I hadn't got a spare key. And they told me to come at 6.30 or 7 a.m. I was annoyed. The misis said there was only one key and I should come before they left for work themselves. And several times I would come at 7.30 or 8 a.m. and the misis crossed me. All the time she was angry with me, and she talked a lot, and I was fed up. When I had first got the job I found lodgings with a Kukilike (Central Melpa) man, whose name I forget, who lived in the town. So when I started the work I was able to arrive on time. But after that he [the man he lodged with] left and I had to find accommodation elsewhere. I slept with Ivan and I was always late for work. And the misis said: 'I am sick of having to tell you all the time! I'll find someone from nearby'. She was angry and dismissed me. The work was good. It was only a small house and often I had finished before midday, but she was always angry with me over the time, so I left.

I went to Gordon's Estate, for a masta in one of the new houses. This was Ivan's previous employer. Before Ivan worked for three [bachelor] masta, and one of them married and went to Gordon's Estate, and Ivan gave me this work. I was pasindia for only a week before I found this new job. I was here three months. He gave me only \$6 a week, and I was fed up. Then I was pasindia again for a month.

¹ A Central Melpa man who has been in Moresby since the early days and whom the Tipuka-Kawelka migrants look on as one of their 'fathers' (See p.62).

² This was a form of saving. (The speaker would be able to call up the loan at a later date.)



Plate 9 Wok landri

I slept with Ivan again. Then I found further domestic work at Five Mile. At Five Mile I spent three months: they gave me \$7 a week. The misis was good, but the haus boi was broken up. They had transported it by car from somewhere else and it was no good, it had no light, so I left this job. I was pasindia and went to sleep with Patrick,¹ just for one week. And then I found domestic work near Three Mile, a misis who looks after children. I was with her only a month. She paid \$8 a week. There was a lot of work - plenty of things to wash and iron, and I was working all the time. I was fed up and left. I slept with Kengeke Martin,

¹
Another Central Melpa 'father'.

was pasindia two weeks and went to work as a domestic for a misis in Boroko Drive. I was there just two months. First three misis shared the house and they gave me \$8 a week. Then there were only two, and they dropped the pay to \$6 and I left.

Then I went to sleep with Martin again and he told me that there was a job available next door, and I went to ask the misis. So I got the job. I was with her for a month. Once I went to drink beer at Badili and the masta wanted me to help with a party he was holding, and he had to do all the work himself, and he was angry. He looked through a broken pane in my house and saw I was sleeping. I was drunk from the beer I had had at Badili and he threw water in my face. I got up - took my shoe and broke the window - and made as if to hit the masta! He ran away! Then he came in the door and we scrapped, and there was another masta there too, and he put an end to the fight. I broke up the house. The masta said, 'Now you are drunk, you go to sleep. Tomorrow you can go'. This was at Christmas. Now I am pasindia and sleep with Perry [a clansman].

Something has already been said of how Kawelka Simon came to Moresby.¹ This is how he found employment.

I came on a Friday to Moresby. That weekend we toured around. Then on Monday I found work at a hotel - I didn't stay pasindia! I waited at lunchtime, serving food. I was at the hotel for eight months...I would have stayed but Roderick [friend from neighbouring tribe] and those others had bought a car, and on the Wednesday I had my day off I asked them if I could borrow their car to get my licence and they let me do this...So I passed my test with a class 1 licence and continued to work at the hotel. Then one Friday, in the morning while I was working, Klamakae Keith [one of the owners of the car, Northern Melpa] came to see me. Keith's name was on the car and Richard [the previous driver, also from Simon's clan] didn't

¹ See pp. 74-5.

Housing

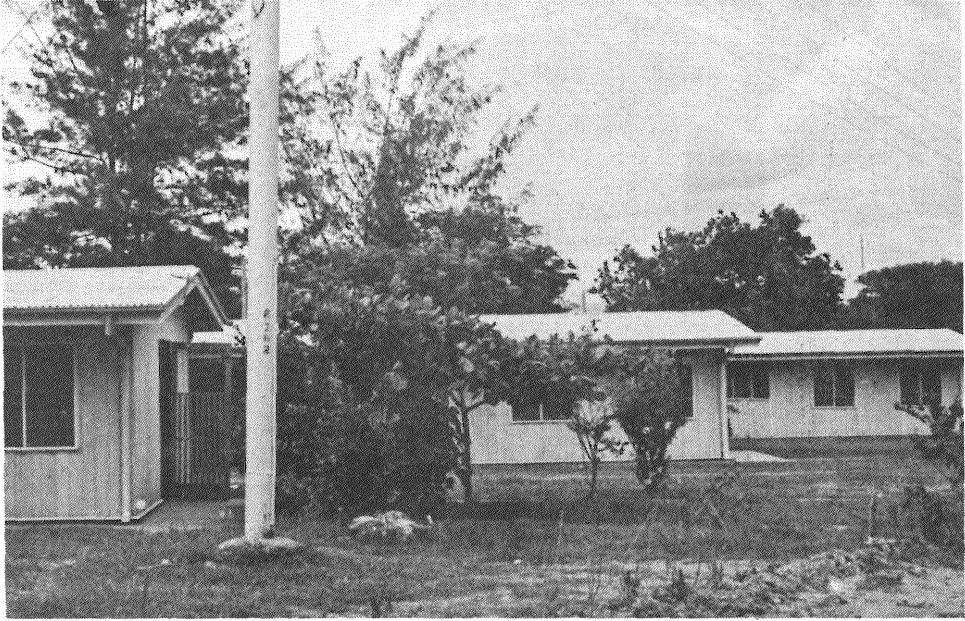
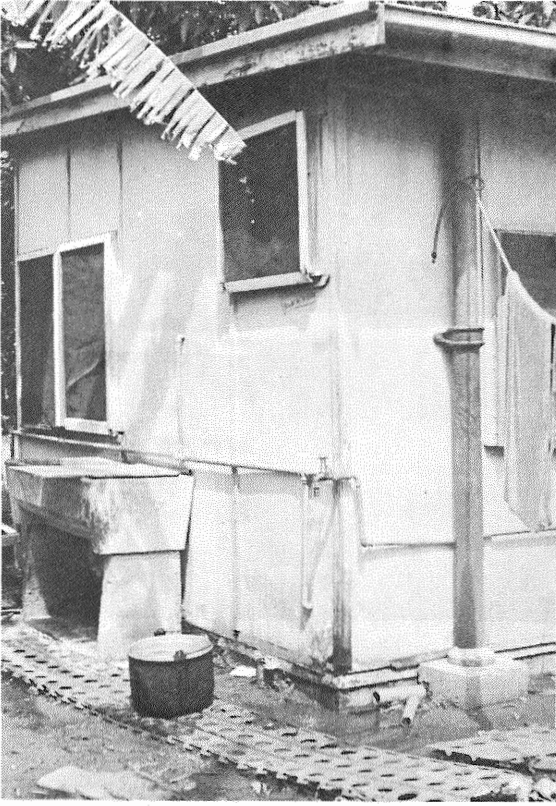


Plate 10. 'Compound'
accommodation.
Plate 11. Single
quarters in another
compound.





Plates 12 & 13.
Quarters supplied by
employer for domestic
servants.



Housing

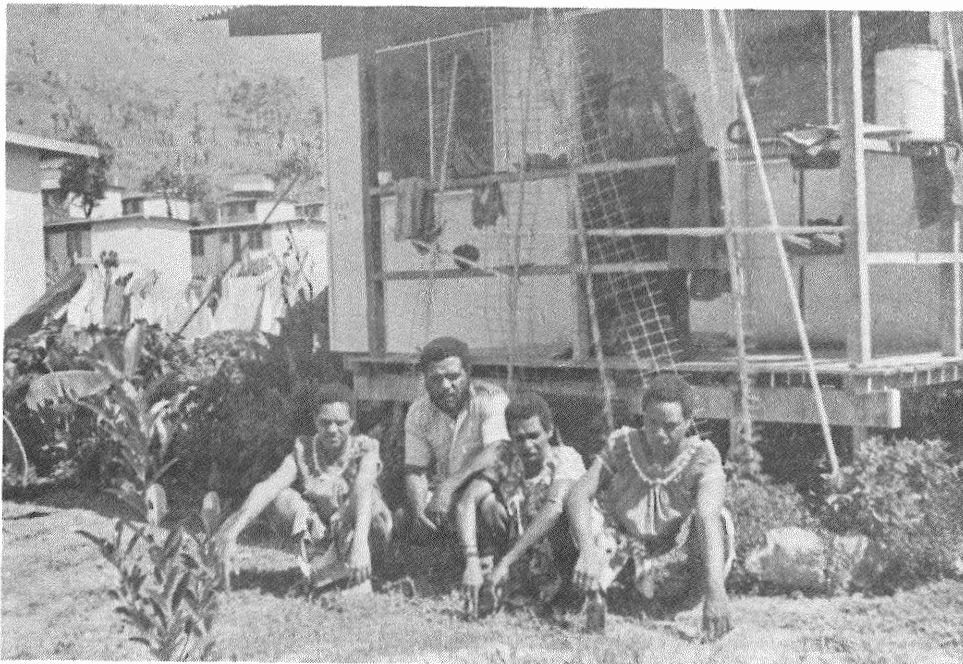


Plate 14. Two independent migrants share a house on a Housing Commission estate. The women had temporary accommodation there till their own husbands (in institutional employment) found married quarters.

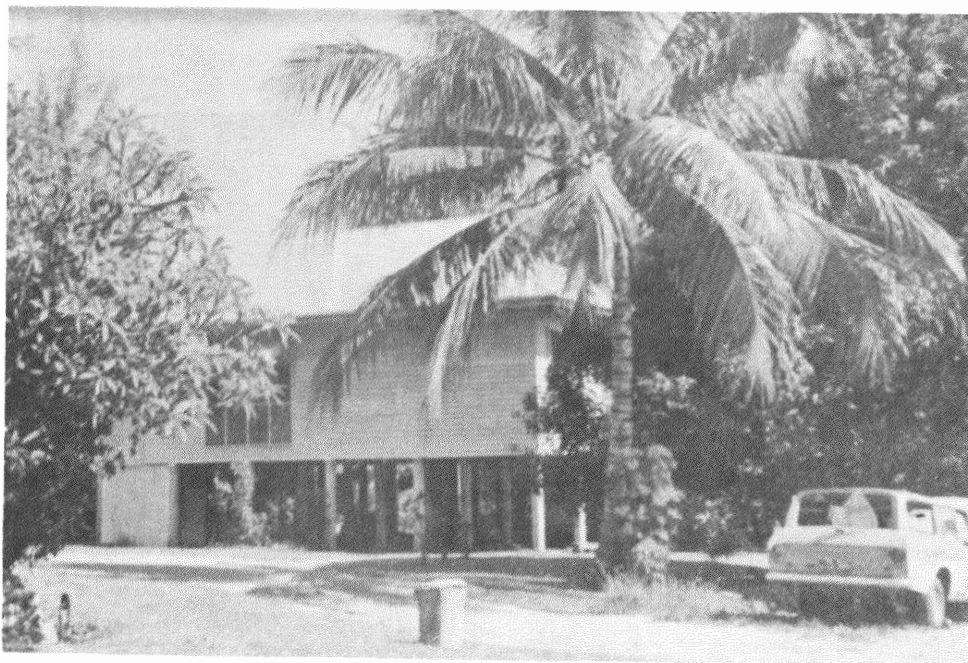


Plate 15. An apprentice's house.

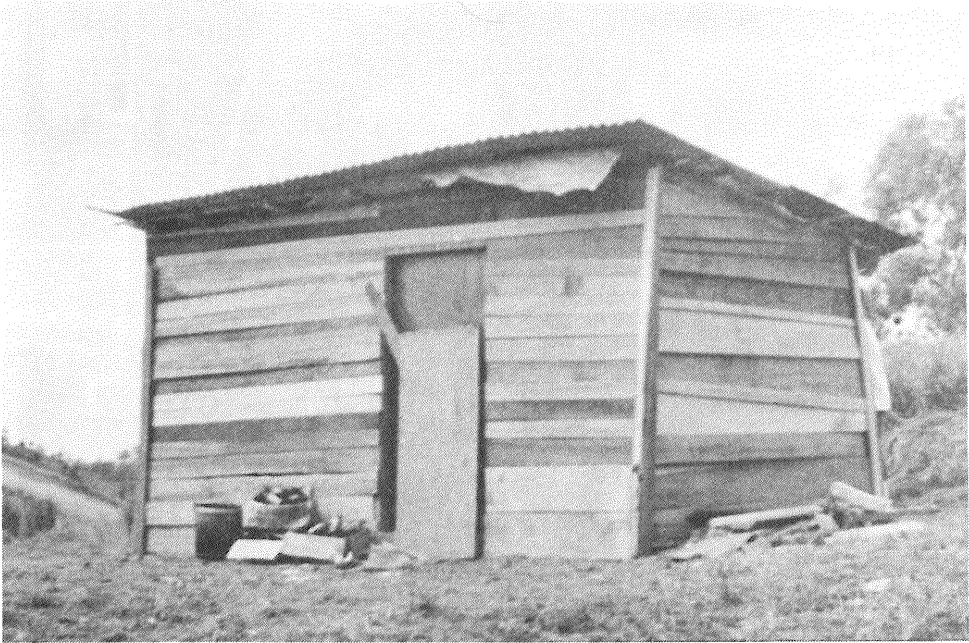


Plate 16. House built by Hageners. The beer bottles outside testify to a recent house-warming party.



Plate 17. Converted caravan with lean-to kitchen.

pick up passengers properly.¹ All the time he just drove to Hula. And Keith said, 'Never mind! Richard can find another job. You come and drive this car!'. Friday he came and asked me and that day we drove round, and the Saturday too, and I didn't bother to go back to the hotel. I drove the car, collected passengers, and went back to Keith's compound....

The other men didn't want me to drive this car. I said, 'Never mind - I won't!'. I quickly found a job in a canteen. After that I left the canteen and took a job as a driver for a bakery. This was in 1969. I stayed there only two weeks then one of the masta who knew me from previously and was now a carpenter told me I should find work with the carpenter firm, so I drove for them. I was with them for two fortnights, and this same masta then obtained a large car and took me on to another job on the Sogeri road as a driver. I was there two months and then the masta went to University transport, and after that got a contract for building houses, and at this time I worked with him as a driver. I stayed with this masta till he left Moresby. His father had died and he went home. He wanted me to remain with his successor, but I didn't want to stay.

So I left to drive a passenger vehicle for a hapkas [part-European, part-Papuan] at L. I collected passengers between here and L. I was two months with them. I came back and a masta I'd known from Hagen² had come to Moresby and was with one of the airlines. I heard of this and got a job there. I was with them from 1969 to 1970. I left last year. I wouldn't have left, but I misunderstood some instructions. A DC3 came in from Samarai, and I had already worked a lot that day, and they had told me to go and get the captain and crew, but I thought they meant another man - and I just went home! And there they were all waiting at the air-

¹ The car was a small PMV vehicle (that is, motor vehicle for carrying passengers, pasindia ka in Pidgin).

² Simon claims to have known the man by sight, though they had not met. The masta would not be expected to know him.

port! In the morning one of the masta was angry with me, and we had a quarrel. So I said, 'No. I'll go!'. And he said, 'All right, we'll see what happens'.¹ And it was just after this that I went to Owen's [another driver and friend of Simon, from Dei Council], and there I heard that the bakery firm Owen works for was looking for a driver. They asked me if I wanted work and I said I did! Then I left the bakery after nearly three months, and drove for another hotel for a fortnight, before coming to work for Nelson [the PMV owner who works as a cleaner]. Nelson had asked me many times. I had thought of applying to the bus service but Nelson found me and persuaded me to drive his PMV. It was the sixth time he asked me!

The 'mobility' of the migrant population is made up of many things. First, there is the overall flux in the numbers of people who come to or stay in Moresby. For example, the total number of men from the tribes of Kawelka and Tipuka who worked in Moresby between early 1969 and January 1972 rose over this period from 39 to 41 (in April 1970) to 44 (in July 1971)² and 52 by early 1972. Over this period of just under three years, 11 men left and 24 new men came. Thus nearly half of the population at January 1972 had come within the last three years and a good number who were in Moresby three years ago had left.

Secondly, there is the rate of job change. The work histories of Tipuka-Kawelka men indicate that after a year about two-thirds of them will have changed their job and after two years, four-fifths. Of the 28 Tipuka-Kawelka who were there in early 1969, only 5 were holding the same jobs in July 1971. What is interesting about this core is that not only were all in the same job in January 1972, but also a year later (early 1973). From the special nature of their employment, however, it would be rash to generalise and suggest that once a man has been in employment for a couple of years there is a high chance he will become a permanent employee. Of the five, 1 is a recluse who lives outside Moresby working on one of the Sogeri plantations. The other four comprise a bosboi at the Administrative College, and 3 associated workers, 2 of them cleaners (one promoted to office boy) and 1 who works directly under him as a

¹ He was not actually dismissed.

² Excluding policeman (see footnote to Table 2.2, p.21).

gardener. The College has always been a focus for Tipuka-Kawelka employment and more than this, for Tipuka-Kawelka activities, something which has no doubt held them to their work. Almost all men from these two tribes have had spells working there. It is a place where those out of work can find temporary refuge and where visitors often stay; the precincts of the compound houses are used for feasts and public gatherings.

Information on the experiences of the men in Sample I depends on the interview material and it should be stressed that the turnover in jobs is likely to be under-estimated. The longer a migrant has been in Moresby, the more likely he is to 'forget' jobs he has held at some time or other, especially short appointments in the early years.

Of those who had been in Moresby more than a year, the only people who had never experienced a change of job were in skilled or semi-skilled occupations. Except for William, who was brought to Moresby by his employer¹ all the unskilled men have experienced at least two jobs since their arrival.² The rate of turnover is variable. From the 22 unskilled³ men in Sample I who have been in Moresby over a year, 9 have averaged one job change per year or less (that is, on average held a job for more than a year), 7 have averaged two jobs a year, 4 from two to three jobs, and 2 from three to four jobs. Although in taking averages, one finds that only 9 men have tended to hold on to a job for more than a year, 15 have at some stage in their working life in Moresby spent a year or more on a single job.

Periods of employment terminated by men in Sample I who were visiting home, in hospital or in jail account for only a small proportion (about 8 per cent) of terminated jobs recorded. Information on some job transfer changes these men have experienced is presented below. Since the skilled workers in the Sample have made no changes, the data relate only to unskilled occupations. Over time an individual will probably vacillate between two or three main categories

¹ See p.111.

² With the further exception of a youth who had one job for a fortnight and has been out of work ever since.

³ Omitting the boy mentioned in footnote 2.

Table 4.3

Types of job transition
(Sample I migrants)

Type*	No. of transitions
A. Employer only changed	48
B. Job only changed	6
C. Previous job regained	4
D. Both job and employer changed	56
Total	114

* A, a person working as say, a domestic for X goes as a domestic for Y; or B, starts working in X's office; C, a person returns to previous job with X after a period away and in no other job or D, leaves job as domestic for X and takes up job as labourer for PWD.

of work. The following are some of the sequences which four men in Sample I followed.¹

Example 1. domestic / A domestic / A domestic /
D gardener / D builder's labourer /
D PWD labourer / D builder's labourer /
D domestic / D builder's labourer /
D gardener / D builder's labourer /
D restaurant assistant / D domestic /
D baker's assistant

Example 2. domestic / D gardener / D domestic /
D waiter / C domestic

Example 3. builder's labourer / D PWD labourer /
D domestic / D gardener / D domestic /
A domestic / D PMV driver / D cook's
assistant / D domestic / D PMV driver /
A commercial driver / A PMV driver /
A PMV driver / D domestic / D bakery
driver

¹ It will be seen from these examples that I reckon labouring for a builder and for public works as two different 'kinds' of jobs, not just a matter of different employers. The skills involved cover a slightly different, though of course overlapping, range.

Example 4. store-keeper / D barman / A barman /
 A barman / D petrol attendant / D barman /
 A barman / A barman

Although some individuals experience a quick turnover of jobs to begin with and then 'settle down', this is not as prevalent as one might have expected. Many continue as they begin, with a steady two or three jobs every year or eighteen months. The man in Example 1 has had 15 jobs in eight years, with as many changes over the last two or three as the first. Note should be made of the small number of types B and C changes which imply continuing association with a previous employer.

On some of these job moves I also have information concerning changes in wages. A number of the transfers to a higher paid job will result from increases in the basic wage rates over the years. It should also be noted that although a person may leave one job because of low wages, he may be forced to accept interim work at even lower pay before finding higher paid employment.

Table 4.4

Types of wage transition
 (Sample I migrants)

Change brings the worker:	Number
Higher wage	31
Same wage	13
Lower wage	20
Total	64

Rapid change from one job to another is in part a product of another mobility: the movement of employers, mostly expatriates, who come to Moresby for a while and then depart. Some evidence for national migration patterns of expatriates is given in Surmon and Ward (1972:40): between 1966 and 1971, 162,000 intending residents arrived from overseas, while nearly 146,000 departed. In addition to the number of employers who leave Moresby permanently, many take periods of leave away from the country. An employee may be forced to find a temporary job to supplement his savings over this period, and this may

become a permanent position. Others just have to put up with a spell of virtual unemployment. The category of workers most affected by the movements of expatriates is domestic servants. Someone employed by a firm has more security. But relations with an immediate superior are often important and replacement of an overseer or boss may make the worker leave. In the case of the domestic servant, both his job and his relationship with his employer are severed when the latter moves away; in the case of someone working for a firm, the job may remain, but the relationships alter, and some depart when this happens.

Some jobs are inherently short-term. This applies especially to the building trade, where men may be taken on for short periods and dismissed when a task is completed. Langmore (1970:14) notes that employment in the building and construction industries fluctuates widely and that in Papua New Guinea employment fell from 9,700 to 6,700 between March 1967 and December 1968. He estimates that about half of this decline occurred in Port Moresby. In reference to the considerable mobility observed among casual labourers employed in the Lines Section of the Posts and Telegraph Department (of 68 casual employees engaged over a period of 3 months, only 16 were employed for the whole of that time), Rew (1970:23) notes that the high turnover was a combination of two factors: 'firstly, the great variation in the Section's work load and the periodic redundancy which ensued, and secondly a high rate of dismissals and voluntary departures'. Rew also gives an idea of the rate of turnover in one brewery company: over one year the total indigenous employment was 337, the numbers of workers leaving during the year being 259. He adds, 'the brewery had no trouble finding replacements and was able to dismiss workers without the fear of being under-staffed' (Rew 1970: 56-57).

What are the reasons¹ unskilled workers give for changing their jobs? They are impossible to quantify. In a way reasons for the termination of employment are very similar to the kinds of 'reasons' given in Hagen when I enquired after the termination of marriages (A.M. Strathern, 1972a: 201ff). There are likely to be many factors in a dismissal/resignation situation and the person one is talking to will

¹ I am referring to reasons cited in retrospect by the worker, not to the arguments he may or may not have put to his employer.

give his own view or select one of what he perhaps really knows are several causes. He may note either his long-term dissatisfaction with conditions or the quarrel which precipitated an actual departure. Some put a conscious slant on their accounts and represent themselves as acting consistently. Thus a migrant will say that he only leaves jobs for one reason - when the wages are inadequate for the work done - and will cite instances of where he has done this.

Reasons are given in one of two forms: circumstantial ('I left because my employers moved') and ideological (notably, 'I left because I wanted to'). The one refers to the particularities of a situation, the other to the employee's state of mind. These cannot be taken as mutually exclusive, for often they refer to quite different aspects of a general situation. Either or both may be relevant. 'I left because I wanted to', is ideological in the sense that it appeals to certain values, in this case that of autonomy or independence, which justify the speaker's actions. To give an example:

Colin describes a job he had had at a sawmill: the masta rubbished me and we quarrelled. It was very hot, the sun was high, and he told me to carry planks to the car, and I didn't load them properly, some fell down and broke, and he was angry with me and so I left the job.

If this were an isolated account, the wording of the last sentence might not strike one as significant; but in the context of many similar accounts, the message is clear. Colin does not say that he was dismissed. He says that the employer quarrelled with him, without justification, so he decided to leave.

If one were to code such an explanation for statistical analysis what elements would one choose? Had Colin been dismissed for incompetence; or left of his own accord after a quarrel with his employer or because he did not like the working conditions? Sometimes one is dealing with an interactional situation, in which both sides have been provoked to the climactic declaration: 'Right, you can go!' 'Right, I'm going!'. Because of the general codes of behaviour which exist between expatriates (who are the most numerous employers) and Papua New Guineans, the latter declaration may remain unspoken. Sometimes the initiative comes from the employer, but in retrospect the employee gives a gloss referring to his own inclination in the

matter. Sometimes an employee wanting to leave a post will provoke the employer into dismissing him.¹

For a number of cases I selected out the circumstantial reason which seemed to be most prominent in the workers' own accounts and it was not surprising to find that in only a few did the employee say without any qualification that he had been dismissed. It should be added, however, that people speaking of others changing jobs refer to dismissal more often. However, they also frequently point to how the employee brought the situation on himself, making it a matter of his rather than the employer's caprice. This is the negative side of the independent-mindedness cherished in oneself: the demonstration of waywardness in others. At the end of the chapter are cited criticisms of workers who constantly change jobs. There is, nevertheless, admiration for men who are free enough to give up at whim and lucky enough to find new positions quickly.

'Reasons' for job termination
(given by employees)

- (i) Initiative attributed to employer:
1. employer leaves town, permanently or on leave and employee finds another job;
 2. job is finished and worker is laid off; in the case of drivers of PMV cars this is often precipitated by vehicle breakdown;
 3. employer transfers worker to another job;
 4. employer dismisses worker for poor work, bad behaviour, or for mistakes at job.
- (ii) Initiative attributed to worker:
5. worker leaves job because of poor conditions, lack of accommodation, long hours, low pay;²
 6. worker finds a better job (while still employed);
 7. worker is persuaded by friends (wantok) to leave for another job (sometimes the initiative will have come from the friend's employer);
 8. worker decides to visit home for a while.

¹ In the account on p.120, the servant would have been aware of the consequences of his fight with his employer.

² However, in the light of Hageners' monetary values (Chapter 7) 'low pay' can also be regarded as an ideological reason (see p.136).

(iii) Initiative mutual:

9. employee leaves after a quarrel with employer.
 (This shades into the situation where an employee feels constantly 'got at' by his employer's nagging, though there is no terminal quarrel.)

- (iv) Worker is jailed, for an offence not associated with his job.¹

Obviously a list like this cannot be 'complete' because the units are of a different order; nor can they be 'added up'. One might, for example, bracket 6 and 7 together. Or one might break down the reasons for the 'quarrel' (9) and some will already be accounted for in this list (for example, the quarrel may be over employment conditions or a mistake in work) or might refer to other types of reasons (for example, employer objects to employee's associates frequenting his accommodation, or personal incompatibility leads to the employee provoking a dismissal). Only a rough impression can be given of the frequency with which different kinds of reasons appear in the accounts given by migrants in Sample I. Number 9 (as I have constructed it here) is the single most numerous category, then 1, followed by 5 and then 2.

Hageners seem as ready to criticise a particular job and the conduct of their immediate employers as employers are to find fault with them. Verbalisation in this field (criticism of working conditions)² feeds into the ideology of independence (see next section). One contributing factor is time orientation. Many migrants have a short-term view of the future. Envisaging only a few years in town before going home, they may see themselves as 'trying' various jobs, and describe how quickly they get bored from doing the same work. In some cases the same restlessness which drives men from home will show itself in their going

¹ There are the odd cases of jailing following a violent quarrel between worker and male employer or charges of seduction from female employers.

² As an aspect of the specific employment relationship, not as a matter of class exploitation in general. As noted earlier in the chapter there is little generalised complaining about working conditions.

from job to job. Or the ambitions (hopes) which led others to find urban employment may turn into a constant search for higher rewards, disappointment being an impetus to change. There are individuals who just accept what comes their way, who perhaps left home under the influence of others and stay in a single job out of inertia. But these are not many.

The migrant's time scale affects his judgement of work duration. A person who has been in the same job a year or more usually begins feeling that he should be rewarded for his loyalty. Thus pay conditions are frequently cited as the reason for the worker moving on. While at the beginning the wage may have been adequate, after several months of work he starts feeling that his sticking to the one job is not being recognised as something of value that he is giving to his employer.

The model for getting a rise in wages after long service comes partly from those occupations (for example, army, police) which operate a promotion system. In a career-based job the worker starts seeking this promotion after a stage. But the unskilled workers are usually outside any such system. All they can ask for is increments in pay and these may be refused or may be too small to make the right impression. For their employers will probably have a completely different time-orientation. In career-based jobs, they are bound to think in terms of a working-life's span of employment. They will make judgements about the 'wage level' for which the unskilled worker is suited (a class idiom) and of the advantages of a 'steady income'. So whereas the expatriate employer regards his offering security in continuing employment as a 'gift', the employee may look on it quite the other way, the 'gift' being his deciding to stay on with the same people. He will be thinking of the reasons which bind him to a single job and impede his independence, and will want a reward for his steadiness. In domestic work which involves the performance of many personal services, the servant may feel, 'If it were not for me, what would they do?'. This is voiced especially where child-minding is added to other duties. ('I even look after their own children!') The worker sees the nature of the job as modifying the relationship with his employer. He often prefers money to other prerequisites, but the money has to be good, because the wage is judged as a direct reflection of what the employer thinks of him.

The ideology of independence

The analogy of reasons for job termination with reasons for divorce underlines a feature of the employment situation. Workers find themselves in a position of powerlessness. They are forced to spend money in certain ways (on rent, subsistence); they are in a weak bargaining position, and have to face dismissals or the disappointment of a low wage. The unskilled worker's power relationship with his employer¹ is not unlike that which exists at home between women (wives) and men (husbands). Workers are rewarded, but in ways defined by the employer: at home men define the rewards women get from their labours. They are dispensable: the employer may find it easier to hire someone else than the worker does to find a new job; there is always the possibility that a man will get rid of his wife or add further wives to his household. Their style of life - what they can eat, where they can sleep - is largely circumscribed by what the employers and their culture provides (women fit their activities into men's arrangements, not the other way round).

This analogy is not one which Hagen men would readily accept. Unlike women at home, I do not think the male migrants would formulate their position as one of weakness. Indeed, they protect themselves by reference to the idea of autonomy (laik bilong mi, 'my own wish'). This gives the worker a sense that he does have some kind of come-back in the employment situation. Thus one sanction which he can bring to bear is the threat to resign, likely to be stated through an expression of personal anger against the employer. The emotion is valid because the dogma of autonomy has as its reference point the actor's state of mind. ('It is my own wish to leave; that is how I feel about it'.)

¹ I leave out the racial dimension here. Oram's discussion of the master-servant relationship involving Papuan workers in Moresby (Oram 1969) stresses the conflict of norms which leads to tensions likely to have effects on race relations in general. Most employers of Hageners when this study was done were expatriates, an assumption behind the discussion in this section.

An outsider may see such attitudes and the attempt to use emotional sanctions as psychological defences on the part of men in situations beyond their control. They have the effect of highlighting the personal relationship between employer and employee rather than, say, drawing attention to general working conditions. It is interesting that these are very similar to the defences put up by harrassed wives. At home, women who are being treated unfairly complain not of the system but of the actions of individual males (husbands, brothers) and will try to force an emotional reaction from these persons to better clarify their own situation. When a marriage is terminated the motivation of the woman is often summed up in the phrase, laik bilong mi. I have argued (A.M. Strathern 1972a) that this is partly a male construct and is used by men to extricate themselves from blame, especially important in a divorce situation. But women also go along with the concept and may exploit it themselves.¹ When men accuse women at home of just 'going their own way' they mean that women are not heeding the men (and the values and rules they propound); laik bilong mi puts the women beyond normal constraints, because the reference point has become their own inclinations. Used by women, it is a statement from persons who are forced to be peripheral: the only way they can secure a divorce is to deny that any constraints exist for them. The imputation also is that since they are being judged as of no worth they are freed from responsibility and are thrown back onto their own wishes. With urban workers the parallel is not identical. But there are enough similarities to suggest we are dealing with a somewhat comparable power situation.²

Colin's comment that his employer was 'rubbishing' him by making a criticism is significant. Adrian has this to say about why he had had so many jobs: 'I myself always left the work. On some occasions it might have been because

¹ When men accuse women of acting according to the dictates of personal inclination they disparage the concept of laik bilong mi as irresponsible. In town it receives a positive evaluation from men, as enhancing their personal status as antonomous beings; though in others it can also be interpreted as waywardness (see p.139).

² I am grateful to Andrew Strathern for discussions on this point.

I left for home and then found new work (in Moresby, on return). Or else the pay was no good so I left, my own wish and I left the job'. He described one such switch.

My previous job was as a domestic servant at Waigani. I only got \$6 a week. And I was there a year. They went on leave and returned, but didn't give me any more pay when they came back, \$8 or \$10 say, no, it was just the old money, and I didn't like it, it wasn't enough, so I left. I told them, 'I have finished now. I want to go and find new work'. They said: 'No, stay! We'll give you \$7'. But I said, 'Maski, you find someone else and give him \$7. I am going off to another job'....As soon as I had found another place, I left my old job. Now I get \$9 a week.

Although at the wage level at which Adrian works an extra \$2 a week is a significant increment, the import of his account is that he left because his worth was not being appreciated. The point at which he hoped for an increment was the return of his employers from leave. Since they did not take the initiative and offer a rise, the initiative was up to him: 'If you don't think much of me, I am just going off!'. In the absence of reciprocity, the employee is free to suit himself.

It is not just relations with employees which are coloured by this attitude. A migrant might take a similar stance on his general position towards people at home.¹ These are persons he has severed himself from, temporarily refusing to admit that he and they are bound by common norms. In his account of how he left home, Adrian deliberately pointed out that he had gone against his kinsmen's wishes, obstinately followed his own inclination and not heeded their talk. People say quite adamantly that whether they stay in Moresby longer, or for good, or decide to go home tomorrow, is entirely up to them.

I don't know - I'll stay, and then when I have got a little money, I'll go home. Moresby is all right, but I am tired of all the money I spend on food. But then where shall I find the money to buy my ticket and extra to take home as well? And I am fed

¹ Ranson (1972:40) records i laik bilong mi as the most frequent response among policemen as to why they joined the force.

up. But I certainly shan't stay for good, I'll go home. Laik bilong me, bai mi go. I've no particular time in mind: I'll go when I want to! (Northern Melpa gardener)

The speaker does not regard himself as restrained by either his urban or rural obligations. All that ostensibly modifies his actions is the choice of circumstances in which he does finally decide to leave, at his own inclination.

If a person declares that he will leave Moresby when he wants to, he must also mean that he will leave his employer whenever he wants to. A Western Melpa mechanic, when asked if he thought of ever going back home said, 'I might go home, or else I might just go on leave and come back. The masta said I could have leave this year. But I might just stay at home. Laik bilong mi'. This brings one back to the question of sanctions. At home, a woman who wants a divorce may find it hard to engineer one, against the mutual interests of men on each side, and may have to resort to flagrantly anti-social acts to secure her ends. If she on the other hand wants to maintain the marriage and simply alter her husband's behaviour and get him to do things for her, her generally weak position makes her fall back either on appeals or on a threat of withdrawal.

A migrant worker's ties with his employer are somewhat different. But Hageners do not have models of impersonal, industrially-oriented relationships, and tend to create out of many work situations a dyadic relationship with the immediate employer. They see it as a reciprocal one, even if the communication between them is limited to orders and the wage packet.¹ This brings with it its own problems, especially acute for domestic servants (though not limited to them): how can one terminate the relationship if one wishes? One way is to put the onus of continuity on the

¹ This was explicit in one account. A domestic servant was asked as a favour to help out a neighbour. The second woman turned out to be 'bad' - giving him a lot of work and criticising him. She complained to the first employer, who reprimanded the servant for letting her down. He retaliated (no doubt the thoughts were kept to himself), 'O.K. I can go - what is landri work after all!'. So he left at once. He added, 'Em i lusim mi, orait na mi lusim em' (she abandoned me, all right then I abandoned her).

employer. Possibly it is in this light that one can regard statements which appear on the surface to express not the worker's autonomy but his dependence. People sometimes say in reference to their continuing at a job: 'It all depends on the employer. If he dismisses me, then I'll go - if not, then I'll stay'. At home, a woman might go off on a prolonged visit to her own relatives: she waits to see if her husband will follow her with placatory gifts, for if he fails to do so, he demonstrates a desire to get rid of her. Someone contemplating taking leave after a year or so in the same job is very likely to say something to this effect: 'I am planning to go home. I am going to wait and see if my employer offers me leave fares. If he gives me money to buy a return ticket, then I will come back to him. But if he gives me nothing or just my fare home, then I'll stay at home'. It is the employer who does not bother to buy the worker's plane ticket back who is really responsible for breaking things up between them. (Similar logic I have heard from the mouth of a migrant who abandoned a wife and child at home: when the news came that after staying for a while with his parents, as daughters-in-law should, she had gone home, he blamed the wife for not looking after his ageing parents, and his parents for not looking after her. This absolved him from any responsibility he felt towards them all and he used it to justify his staying in town. Had both his wife and parents in fact cared for one another, he argued, this would have shown that they cared for him: as it was, maski, he would stay in town, he wouldn't go home!)

If a worker wants to terminate a relationship he can also do what both husbands and wives do at home: provoke a dismissal. He may deliberately not turn up to work or make a mistake and when reprimanded refuse a 'second chance' and walk off. The employer may be blamed for having been angry or for arousing anger in the worker.

Paul had had several jobs as a domestic servant and wanted a change: I didn't want to stay in landri. I left [his employer]. He didn't dismiss me. I was sick at Christmas¹...I told him, I am sick, let me go off for 2 or 3 days. But he told me to work. So I was angry and went off. The masta liked me and wanted me back, but I was tired (of the job) and found a new job at a factory.

¹ A time when domestic servants far from being given a holiday are sometimes required to do more.

The onus is put on the employer: if he does not respond to the request, there is nothing to hold the employee. Paul records the emotion (anger) which justified departure; in some cases there is an actual quarrel between the employer and employee or the employer is forced into a reprimand. The person who initiates a quarrel is frequently the one blamed for any unfortunate outcome it might have, and when talking about why they left particular jobs Hagen migrants often refer to the way they were criticised or nagged.

Richard drove a PMV truck for two other Hageners, neither of them drivers. He was with them two months. But one of the owners constantly accused him of not attending to the business of picking up passengers and collecting fares properly.¹ 'He quarrelled with me, and I said, 'O.K. Drive it yourself then!' He quarrelled with me, and I left - maski!'.

A common judgement made of an expatriate employer is that he is 'bad' because he talks too much. For workers are in no position to answer back and this highlights how very few sanctions they hold if they wish to alter but not terminate their relationship with an employer. The strongest lies in the appeal, 'I have been good to you after all this time, what are you going to do for me?'. As far as verbal interchanges go, the worker is not free to answer anything he may see as an insult or an unwarranted accusation by another insult or by some compensation device - reciprocity between him and his employer is restricted to very narrow areas. Because of these restrictions, there is little room for adjustment within the relationship and if the employer does not initiate improvement then the commonest solution is to break away altogether. This may not be done at once: one meets people who seem to be in a state of chronic dissatisfaction, resentful that their services are not acknowledged, or of ill treatment, but who cannot be bothered to embark on the process of a job change.

The quick reaction of anger to a slight reprimand is particularly characteristic of those in a dependency position (cf. A.M. Strathern 1968) and may result in a denial of dependency, where circumstances make it possible to break off the relationship. Hageners treat many

¹ Another version of the incident recorded on pp.127

employer-employee relationships as close, which is why it sometimes has to take evidence of bad feeling to break the tie.¹ But the migrant cannot openly use the threat of resignation as an effective sanction against his employer for improved conditions or better wages when he wants to stay in the job. Given the number of workers looking for employment, he would be risking a dismissal he does not want.

Quentin described how he was working at a restaurant. He had to prepare food, wash up and assist the cook, getting \$20 a fortnight. But he was tired of the work after a 'year' - I crossed with the masta, and he crossed me, and I was les (tired, fed up), and I talked back to him, so I left....I was out of work for four months after that. Then I went to work for three months at landri. I earned \$16 a fortnight. Then Owen and Jack [Dei Council friends] came to stay in my house, and the masta didn't like them coming. I said: 'They haven't come to your house, they have come to mine. They are my wantok. If you don't want them to come, I'll go'. So I left this job, and went to the house of a friend and had no work for three or four months.

From Quentin's story it is not possible to tell whether he was using the threat of departure as a sanction to get the employer to let his friends come or whether by the time he had confronted his employer, that is, staged the quarrel, he judged it too late to recover the situation and would have to go anyway. One can see, though, that in the worker's mind a threat of withdrawal can operate as a kind of private sanction: he makes an agreement with himself ('if he doesn't let me do this, then I'll go') which does not have to be communicated to the other side.

The worker can hint at his state of mind by partial withdrawal - he does not turn up for a day or is slack at work. His protest may not be recognised, since the employer may well be at a loss to know what is being communicated. But the employee is signifying to himself his own stance ('If he carries on treating me badly, I'm not staying...').

¹ A process which has its counterpart in the classical witchcraft situations involving relations of authority where a severance of the relationship is attributed to a malicious abuse of power.

Two labourers stayed away from work. Both were annoyed that their wishes specifying that they should be given one particular half-day off and not another had been overridden. (From their point of view it is all the same to the employer what days they work, but they may have very special plans made for certain times; in a more general sense their grievance is that their wishes were not taken into account.) They took revenge (Mitupela paulim em tru - pastaim paulim mitupela na mitupela paulim em! We've really messed him up - first he messed us up, now we have messed him up!) by simply failing to turn up to work. One of them pretended he had to go to the post office; he slept the morning in a tribesman's house in another compound, returning at mid-day with a story about difficulties of transport, which were accepted. The other chose a rainy morning and deliberately kept inside, chatting up other residents working on different shifts, to be given a reprimand when he eventually turned up late.

To return to Quentin's story. Although he blames the employers in both cases, it is clear that he did not engineer his dismissals in every aspect; he had not, as sometimes happens, another job to go to. And this leads one to a rather different, perhaps a more positive aspect, of the stress on autonomy. It is almost as if there were an ethic among the urban migrants that what differentiates them from the people at home is their freedom of action¹ and that this should be displayed whenever opportunity arises. A person cannot bear to be criticised, then, when the criticism reminds him of his actual dependency on others. From this point of view, the 'right' to do what one wants is not modified by generosity on the part of employers.

Quentin claimed that at one stage he had spent two years with a newly married European couple who were good to him in every way they could be. He got a relatively high wage, and food too. When the masta had to travel on business, he asked Quentin to look

¹ Their staying on in town is often in defiance of relatives' feelings.

after his wife and little baby and when he returned, praised Quentin's solicitude, and gave him sums of money for having taken care of them. Quentin had enough to contribute \$150 towards a car which some clansmen were buying. 'I was still with my masta and misis. I didn't learn to drive - they looked after me well, and I heard their words (did what they told me to do: recognising constraints). I didn't go about in the car. Then the following year they went on three months' leave to Australia, and gave me \$48. I lived off the money, and it was this time that I learnt to drive in my own car. Then the pair returned and called out for me to go back and work for them, but I wanted to be a driver now and did not go back to that job'.

A refusal to be bound by obligations of any sort is the ultimate demonstration of laik bilong mi. If the migrant is almost forced to take a stance of laik bilong mi because of his general powerlessness in the employment situation, he can also exploit the ethic to turn against the work system in general, and act as though remaining in employment at all were simply a matter of personal whim. And it is not only European employers who are involved.

Quentin at a later stage applied for work to drive a dustcart. He was told that he could start as soon as one of the vehicles was out of repairs. Quentin agreed. It was early morning still. On the way back he called in at a bakery to see if there was any work there. At Boroko Motors he met some Wabag men who had just bought a car. They sang out the Enga for 'brother', and they said they were looking for a driver. So he took their car and drove it for them. At the end of the day they gave him \$4 and told him to go back the next. (He didn't return to the job he had applied for.)...He drove the Wabag car for some while. Then one day the clutch went. He was walking home and at the Boroko Hotel found a cluster of Hageners who had purchased a car. They told him to leave the other car in the workshop and drive their vehicle. He simply switched employers.

It is the same kind of freedom which makes men abandon the job they are doing for a better one if they get the chance. We could analyse the way in which the migrant responds to the value of 'autonomy' as a mechanism which in the area of unskilled, non-career-based jobs in fact

encourages the worker to make best use of his employment opportunities. Since he has no prospects of promotion, he puts no value on security and is thus free to move when new positions offer themselves.

The epitome of the individual who sees himself as not bound by any particular obligations to anyone is the wanpis.¹ People are more likely to refer to themselves as wanpis than others are to use it of them. The phrase is brought up in contexts in which the migrant is emphasising both his individuality and his lack of dependency on others. It is used, however, not to distinguish himself from the world in general, but in particular, from those on whom he might be expected to depend for company, support and such, that is, his wantok, the other Hageners in town. It may set the speaker apart from all other Hageners or just those with whom he would otherwise be associated (for example, his close clansman when he takes up the company of men from distant tribes).

Sometimes the estimation of oneself as a wanpis may incorporate a rationalisation of otherwise inescapable circumstances.

Francis, now an office worker, was living in a compound in 1971. He had a room of his own, which he highly valued, but was forced to share cooking facilities with people from all over the country. There were no other Hageners there. He would prepare his own meals and eat them in solitude or else team up with a man from Kainantu who did work similar to his own. Others in the house were from Popondetta, Finschhafen and Samarai. Francis had no previous contact with the Kainantu worker but since being thrown together in the house they had an arrangement whereby they sometimes prepared food for each other.

Others in his position might have found different accommodation but he made a virtue of the circumstances by saying he was a wanpis, he enjoyed being

¹ See Rew (1970:162) who quotes Mihalic (1957:159): from the English 'one piece' wanpis is Pidgin for anyone who is alone, without friends, an orphan. A relative term, it is used by Hageners to stress a person's situational isolation, usually when the isolation is self-selected.

by himself, hating to have wantok hanging around all the time. Although he was 'alone' (wanpis) in that he only had one regular friend among his co-residents, he also saw himself as, in some situations, a wanpis in relation to the Hageners with whom he in fact spent much leisure time. This characterisation of himself was used to justify first his rather definite ambitions (he had had hopes of being offered permanent employment in the Public Service) and later his uncontrollable behaviour in relation to cars (he stole a series of them).

Earlier, Francis had shared a labourer's compound with other highlanders - from Wabag and Chimbu, and used to play cards with them. The only Hagen present at these games, he reports how they had joked when he lost and called him a Hagen wanpis! In reaction, he refused to make partners with other players but played by himself, indeed as a wanpis. During this period he cooked alone.

A wanpis is an unusual person, then, who differentiates himself from his wantok (in Francis's case by his ambitions, his association with non-Hageners and to some extent his life-style) thus also putting himself beyond the bounds of constraints they would impose. A person may do this even while living closely with wantok.

Gerry, a gardener, also living in a compound, spent most of his working hours in the company of other men from his tribe. But at midday breaks, in the evening, at weekends, he took to disappearing.¹ He was not there for the little corporate occasions involving the cooking of special food and such, though he did join in card matches. His closest Hagen associate came from a neighbouring (and sometime enemy) tribe. He cheerfully maintained his independence, to the occasional irritation of his co-tribesmen. They saw themselves as having no control over him and could not ask him for loans.²

¹ See p.212.

² Another labourer in commenting to me that he owed no money to anyone and no one owed him anything added mi wanpis hia! ('I'm a loner').

Even when he was around, Gerry at this time cooked by himself, although most of the others in the compound formed partnerships or small groups for household purposes. To me, he said, 'I eat where I want. I don't cook at the compound if I don't want to. Laik bilong mi. If I want to cook there, I do; if I don't, then (unless I go elsewhere) I just go to bed without eating anything'.

The gardener is in fact criticised by those he lives with for his failure to join in corporate activities. They say that all he thinks about is cards and that he is never ready with a contribution when people are in need of money. 'He is not a good man!' Someone begging for help from another declares his destitution by saying he is a wanpis, has no other friends and wants X to help him. But a man like Francis may deny the pressure which obligations to others brings:

Francis recounted how he had met Larry, a man from a neighbouring tribe who would have been of low status at home and was of little significance in town. Larry was out of work and had been hanging round others in the hopes of being given some food because he was hungry. But none of the other Hageners had provided any. So he came grumbling to Francis, 'I am not a stranger, I am their wantok! Whatever they do, whether it is collecting money for beer parties or for buying a visitor's plane ticket back home, then I'm always ready to help. But they don't want to help me now that I'm hungry'. Francis admitted that it was true Larry always helped with contributions; but that wasn't the point. He said he told the man that this was Moresby, this wasn't home and in Moresby everyone is wanpis. 'Everyone looks after himself. They are all wanpis in Moresby'. Larry's reply was that he wondered what kind of man they all thought he was - a Chimbu or a Buang perhaps! Francis then said he told the fellow that if he'd had any money on him he would have helped, but he didn't.

Francis is here claiming that Larry's appeals to the norms of reciprocity and Hagen solidarity were inappropriate. The point is not that what Francis is saying is always true (for as we shall see there is a considerable ethic of reciprocity and solidarity among Hageners) but that he was able to counter Larry's appeal to values with reference to

a different type of value: the ethic of self-sufficiency, of autonomy.

People who think of themselves as wanpis carry the notion of laik bilong mi to the limit. They deny even dependency on their close tribesmen in town. Most, far from denying it, stress their association with Hageners in contradistinction to other relationships they may make and 'true' wanpis are few. Yet independence of this kind is something which the town environment does make possible. It is feasible for an individual to associate with friends of his own making, in a way that would never be possible at home.

In summary, we might say that the notion of autonomy makes an ethic out of instability. It runs in flat contradiction to aspirations about careers or job commitment. In making it appear that the decisions are all his, the unskilled migrant is by-passing the hierarchical and power aspects of the situation he actually finds himself in. At the back of this lies the expectation held by many workers that they will soon be going home, where they are not dependent on employment for subsistence. In the urban context this is expressed as: 'I chose to come here, I don't have to stay. I can go home the moment I want to. I chose to do this work, I don't have to stay in this job'. Given the exigencies of the employment situation in Moresby, the second statement is less close to reality than the first. But deciding to leave a job can be seen as an exercise of the same kind of choice made in deciding to leave and come to Moresby or to leave the town and return home. The migrant's initial position in withdrawing from home leads him to deny certain obligations or to suspend his fulfilment of them, and there is perhaps a carry-over of this into the relationships he makes in the town, especially those with employers on whom he is economically dependent. I have suggested there are parallels in the worker's position and that of a wife at home. A more acceptable formulation to Hageners would be that of a parent-child relationship.¹ On the one hand, given the model of close reciprocal ties of the kind which exist between kinsfolk, the worker could be seeing employer-employee relations as a substitute for these, and wishes to be cared for. On the other hand, the impetus which enabled him to cut himself off from people at home also makes it logical that he should seek justification for

¹ Hagen men would not dream of making the first analogy; occasionally the second is made.

terminating these new relationships in similar idioms of autonomy. Moreover, since he really deludes himself, and knows it, that he can in actuality abandon all ties with home, terminating ties with former employers perhaps affords the gratification of complete effectiveness. He can make a total denial of persisting obligation.

The presence in town of other people from the home area is to some extent a reminder of home ties. Most men seek out their close tribesmen. But a few, the wanpis, set themselves off from their wantok and take to extremes a position which the migrants by their very existence in Moresby find themselves in.

Finding work

The fact that individuals, through their working life, will have come into contact with numerous employers and a variety of occupations generates a further source of job mobility. A diverse background means that, within the range of unskilled jobs open to him, the migrant feels he can 'manage' almost any offer which comes his way; he is not likely to be deterred at the appointment stage, though he may well give up after a short 'try'. However, the longer the worker stays in Moresby, it is also true that the more he is likely to formulate for himself the style of work he would seek by preference. He may, in fact, run through a series of stop-gap jobs till he finds suitable conditions.

Previous employers sometimes put pressure on the worker to return to their old place (which of course entails their leaving the current job).

Hugh recounted how an earlier employer subsequently came to ask if he would return to work. He came to the store [where Hugh had a new job] several times, and greased me [Pidgin gris, to persuade] and said: 'Before you worked well and I was daft to dismiss you. Now the boi [workers] I have do not work well. You come back and work here again'. The masta himself sought me out and made this talk in the store. I asked about payment. Before it was \$14 a fortnight and I asked if he would pay me well. He said, 'O.K., you would get \$16 or \$18'. Now I think a lot about all this. I can't make up my own mind. Should I leave this job and go back to the other one?

The considerations passing through his mind are worth recording.

I don't know what to think. I think of the timetable [he used the English word]. It was good [at the previous job]: the hours were good even if the pay was lower¹ - from 8 a.m. to 4.30 p.m. At the store we work from 8 a.m., close the store at lunchtime, then work till 6 p.m., open again at 7 p.m. and work through till 9 p.m. Saturdays are the same. On Sunday it is open from 9-12 - that's all. I get one day off during the week. But at [the previous place] there was no week-end work at all.

They look after us [in the present job]. The misis [female employer] cooks and feeds us. She gives us rice. We get meat and fish from the bulk store. They mark a carton for us and tell us to take 2 tins a day and we eat. That's all right. But their timetable isn't right. I think of the hours at the present job and wonder whether to go back to the [previous job].

In fact Hugh did not return, though he appeared to be considering it seriously. The point about the hours of work and having week-ends free are related to use of leisure time. Many spend this in the company of their friends and having time off when no one else does is of little value.

Men in Sample I were asked how they obtained their present job, and two had found employment through a previous employer. Seven had applied for the work on their own initiative. But the biggest category comprised the thirteen² who had found employment through other workers. In most cases this amounted to a friend passing on information about a vacant place. The worker to whom this information was passed would then apply independently. Only in the odd case is the informant also instrumental in securing the job, as when his employer asks him to find an acquaintance to fill a particular place. Of the 13 in the sample who obtained information about work through a contact, 8 found jobs with the same employer as his contact,

¹ He was getting \$20 in his current job.

² Three had no current job, and one answer was ambiguous.

while 5, mostly domestic servants, heard of vacancies elsewhere. Sometimes the contact gives the applicant his own job:

Two friends worked at a timber yard. One of them left to be a domestic servant; he had no accommodation of his own, so he slept in a compound with the bosboi of the labour line there, from his own tribe. The bosboi told him as soon as he heard of a vacancy in the labour line and he went to ask about this. When he was offered the job, he took it, and 'gave' his job as a domestic servant to his former companion still working in the timber yard.

Occasionally workers attempt to exchange jobs with each other.

Thomas was out of work. He had been a domestic servant, but quarrelled with his employer over his too free use of the latter's car and clothes. He was particularly upset because he was married and had to have somewhere for his wife to stay. He came to an arrangement with Jim, a man from the border of the Melpa and Wahgi language areas, who had a job as a domestic servant and a house to live in, but who was dissatisfied with his wages (\$10 a fortnight) and wanted to move. Thomas was afraid to recommend Jim to his masta, who in his anger over Thomas's behaviour would be unlikely to listen to him, so he told Jim to apply on his own. Jim was attracted by the larger pay (\$18) and Thomas had had a house there that he would now use. When Jim applied and the masta asked Thomas if he knew where he was from, Thomas pretended he had no idea. Jim got the job first. Subsequently he told his own employer that he was leaving to go home. Thomas then applied for the vacant position. Although he could not live on the wage, he was anxious for the house, and planned eventually to find another job for himself, while his wife worked there.

Those who have 'found' the most places for their wantok tend to be persons of some establishment in their own job and working for an institution with a high labour turnover. The bosboi of a labour line is one example. The new recruit does not necessarily find himself working directly under this man, however. Indeed, persons who have placed many

wantok need not themselves be in positions of direct control over vacancies but simply pass on information about other jobs in their establishment. Among Hageners in this position is a prominent cook at a hotel; another is a driver of long standing. Such men do not in this way build up a following. The prestige they undoubtedly have rests more on the fact that they have access to valuable information than that they bind the recipients of the information to themselves. Although there must be some selection as to whom news is relayed, I have never heard of any disputes arising from someone feeling he was not told of an opportunity, or from the person who 'found' the job being angry that a worker afterwards left it. Being able to pass on information contributes to the person's general prominence in affairs which concern migrants but it is not a direct instrument of power. But although no specific debt has been created, help in finding a job is appreciated.

There was a fight. A Tipuka Ndikmbo man, Saul, had offered to accompany Timothy, a Minembi friend to Waigani where he wanted to make arrangements with a driver to take him to work the next day. The Minembi man had part shares in the driver's car. The car passed them on the road: it was full up with various people including some men from Tipuka Kitepi clan. As the passengers recognised the two walking along they laughed at them and made obscene gestures. Saul and Timothy pursued the car to Waigani where they all scrapped. Saul was victimised for supporting Timothy¹ and after several pursuits rang the police. The others disappeared, leaving one drunken Kitepi man lying at Saul's feet. The police took this man, and asked Saul if he was unemployed. Saul said he was and maliciously added that he had not had work for six months. So the police hauled the Kitepi man off to charge him for being without means of support. Afterwards Saul felt bad that he had said six months and not just a week or something like that, since now the man would be charged. He later went round trying to raise money to bail him out. The particular reason he gave me for feeling contrite was that the

¹ Minembi and Tipuka are neighbouring but hostile tribes within Dei Council (see Chapter 5). Ndikmbo and Kitepi are clans within Tipuka tribe.

drunk was of the same subclan ('a brother') as the man who had found him his present job.

As one might expect, information circulates most readily among those closely acquainted. The degree of acquaintance may be defined by relations stemming from the home background, and also by people's previous work history or other experiences in town.¹ Saul and Timothy come from tribes which are near neighbours at home, but are also traditional enemies. Individual clans from two tribes can form alliances which cross-cut the major confrontations of tribe to tribe and this applies to some extent to the clans of these two friends. The basis of the friendship does not, however, lie in this alone. Their amity seems to have begun when the two were thrown together in their early days in Moresby, both working at the same place and finding each other's company congenial. Although subsequently they left this job and went different ways, they kept up contact.

Where the job requires a degree of specialisation (among unskilled workers this is most likely to mean driving under a high-class licence), word may simply be passed around those with the right qualifications; the number of drivers with such licences is small and they easily keep track of one another's movements.

It so happened that at the time when Sample I was constructed all four drivers were working for a single company. A, who had been there longest, 5 years, had heard about the job from a previous driver, Z, who had since left; A subsequently informed B when a vacancy arose; C himself approached both A and B and asked them to let him know when someone left and he could apply; C in turn told D of a later opportunity there. Z comes from the Western Melpa region, but the others are all from Northern Melpa.

Information sometimes comes from non-Hageners. These are most likely to be acquaintances made through previous contacts at work. In one case a domestic servant had been housed with other employees of his masta who included a couple of lads from the Wahgi valley. After he had left

¹ The person passing on information may want his friend to come and work at his place of employment or be near to keep him company (especially when he is accommodated with strangers).

this work, one of these lads later gave him news of a job he had heard about elsewhere. In another case, someone who had made friends with a Chimbu in a labour line later heard from him of a masta who had just got rid of a Goilala servant and was looking for a replacement.

Out of work

Oram (1970b:68-9) lists seven main classes of people who are not at any given time earning a cash income in the town. (1) Those who seek work but cannot find it; (2) small-scale contractors or artisans who find it difficult to obtain consecutive jobs; (3) educated or otherwise trained men who are only prepared to undertake work suited to their skills; (4) men who are resting, taking the equivalent of unpaid leave and we may add here those forced to take leave when their employers are away; (5) voluntary unemployed men who may or may not do odd jobs from time to time; (6) permanently unemployed men who have retired or are chronically ill; (7) 'temporary town dwellers' including both visitors and those who may eventually find work but have only newly arrived.

Most unemployed Hageners among the unskilled in Moresby fall under class (1). Mention has already been made of the labourers who are put out of work by the fluctuations of contract opportunities for their employers (2). The number of educated and skilled men in the town is small and these individuals seem to have little problem in their jobs or in finding new work. From time to time individuals take a deliberate 'rest' between jobs but someone forced to take a rest because his employers left may in fact decide to seek a fresh employer, so that (4) becomes (1). There is a small and rather exceptional group of Northern Melpa young men, mostly from one clan, who seem to be more or less permanently and voluntarily out of work though they talk vaguely of seeking jobs (5). In 1971 I knew a Kaugel man who had retired but was staying on in Moresby for a while, possibly an isolated example, while the chronically ill go home, so this category (6) is small. Finally, visitors and new arrivals are distinguished quite sharply by their intentions (7). The visitor has no intention of finding work, while the new arrival (who plans to stay for a while) hopes for just this. The latter and not the former is a pasindia.

Hageners refer to spells they have had out of work as making them pasindia. This is the equivalent of

'passenger' (its English derivation) in the transport context: 'people who are carried (by car, and so on)'. Men out of work are also 'carried': they subsist because of help from their acquaintances in town, in effect living off others' wages. They share another characteristic with passengers: they are always on the move. Without work, they are likely to be without housing and must spend their days wandering about, perhaps trying to find a job, and their nights seeking somewhere to sleep.¹ Em i stap pasindia, in contrapoint to em i wok i stap or em i gat wok ('he is employed'), signifies that the person's present state is temporary and his ultimate aim is to find work. This may be after a rest, or as in category (5) may be put off till a rather improbable future. But discounting the visitors in (7) and the few men who might qualify under category (6), all other cases of Hagen pasindia are really a sub-type of (1). Oram's categories, devised to describe the characteristics of Moresby's total population, point to a type of urban dweller who for various reasons does not regard his staying on in town as contingent on finding cash employment. Although some Hageners may unwittingly be becoming men of this type, most of them perceive their staying in town as connected with earning money. Hence the dichotomy into those who are earning (ol i gat wok) and those who are earning at the moment (ol i stap pasindia).

I describe various people who were out of work in 1970-71.

The new arrival. Angus exemplifies the optimism with which newcomers often arrive in the town. Two men from his own clan worked at a small factory and slept in a makeshift house nearby. He attached himself to them and clearly saw himself as being able to sleep and eat there till he found work of his own. I met him one day when he had been in Moresby about a month. He had been going from house to house knocking on doors and asking for domestic work. Although somewhat downcast at not finding

¹ Though Hageners do not seem to have such a tough time as their Siane counterparts who Salisbury and Salisbury (1970) describe as never being able to spend more than a single night in one place. In fact people may set up fairly stable arrangements, perhaps spending two or three weeks with one friend and then moving on to another. But they are without a base of their own.

work quickly, he was still full of exuberance: Moresby was a 'good place'. He would go back home eventually but he wanted to stay in the town for a short while first, earn a little (that is, a lot) money. He had spent all his own money on raising the fare to Moresby, and he could not leave the place without earning some here first.

The indifferent worker. Charles had been in Moresby for over a year. During this time he had had a couple of jobs. Significantly enough, he spoke of himself as having been dismissed from both.¹ The second job, at a hotel, had lasted only two weeks and others said the reason was that he 'didn't work well'. He was not very well dressed, forlorn in appearance, said little. He seemed to lack decisiveness. His mates put his being out of work down to his own indifference. Charles was lucky in that two or three from his and a neighbouring tribe who had run away from contract together² had met up with a small group of co-tribesmen and they all (their numbers fluctuated from seven to nine) shared a largish haus boi, attached to the residence where one of them was a domestic. A liberal employer let them all stay in return for help in the garden. Charles could thus count on support.

The others had all had short periods out of work but never for any length of time. Their comment on Charles was that he could easily have found employment if he had really tried. But he would not bother to go out and make enquiries; he just stayed in the house all day, sleeping. One of his mates had offered even to pay his fare home but Charles was indifferent to that prospect as to everything else. He vaguely said he would go sometime.

On forced leave. Mokei Luke was waiting for his employer to return from his leave. He was a domestic servant and was allowed to carry on using the haus boi but had been given no wages. Unlike a visitor, a pasindia cannot expect regular financial help from others, though he can always get a meal somewhere. Luke spent a lot of time in the company of two other domestic servants from his own tribe, a soldier and a

¹ A further indication of his indifference. Most people are concerned to put up a front of independent-mindedness (see previous section).

² If he had not been swept along in their company, Charles would probably have never signed up for a contract or after doing so would not have run away.

fireman, and in the evenings had been given food by them. He intended to wait till the employer returned.

The odd job man. Tipuka Larry¹ was without full employment for several months. One of his very first jobs in Moresby had been as a gardener for Mr H. When he lost a subsequent job as a labourer, he sought out Mr H, and begged the use of his haus boi. Mr H employed a Papuan girl who lived elsewhere, and this house was empty. Larry had maintained his connection with Mr H by gardening for him part time; all the while he had had various other jobs and now offered to garden 'for nothing' if Mr H would let him use the house and pay for the water and electricity. Mr H agreed and also gave Larry the job of caretaker when he went away on leave. Early in 1972, Larry was looking after another pasindia from his clan who had nowhere else to go. Larry said he had tried to persuade this man to go home but he had drunk away his savings. Larry himself was then earning a little money as an itinerant lawn-cutter. A Buang acquaintance owned a lawn mower and Larry arranged to use this, giving half or so of the proceeds to the owner. He earned between two and three dollars per session. Once he took back \$5 and the Buang man took \$2 and gave Larry back the \$3. Larry laid out \$2 on food and put aside \$1 to spend at the weekend. On another occasion he earned \$6.50, giving \$4 to the owner, keeping \$2.50 for himself. Then he went off with some companions and spent a dollar on cards, which he lost. With the \$1.50 he bought rice and fish. He usually bought sugar and tea but a loaf of bread was too much to finish before it went stale. He had a garden where he had planted a stand of bananas and it was bearing at that time, so he ate bananas as well, or sold them. He had contributed \$50 towards another clansman buying a car, but did not call in the debt. When he was first out of work, two individuals gave him \$2 each. Not many of his wantok helped. He approached a man from his own clan to return a debt of \$8 but this was not forthcoming. Sometimes people bought food and cooked it at his house. Larry recalled one occasion when he went to the house of a married clansman. He was hungry and asked for food but the woman reminded him of an unpaid debt (\$1) and refused to give him anything more. Larry was upset. He said (to me): 'I was angry and left; she doesn't work either! She is a pasindia too!'².

¹ See p. 148.

² That is, a dependent housewife.

Larry had invested \$30 in learning to drive and had vague hopes of staying on in Moresby long enough to qualify for a licence. He certainly did not plan a return home, where as an oldish man he would be of 'rubbish' status.

Living on the future. Another man to subsist on odd jobs was Ken. He had had three driving lessons and hoped eventually to have more, get a licence and then go back home - a date he put at some eighteen months hence. He wanted very much to go home but in particular hoped to find a job there truck-driving. He lived with a man who part-owned a saloon car and waited in hope that he would be able to learn on this vehicle. Ken had been slowly using up his savings during the six months he was without a job. He did odd gardening jobs, in one fortnight earning \$7.50. A co-tribesman was out of work at the same time and helped him on one of these tasks; Ken gave him \$1.50. The rest he spent on food, soap and such. He contributed the food to the household which was supporting him.

Pasindia as a way of life. The examples given so far are of men who have all been fortunate in finding accommodation. One group of five youths, all from the same subclan, built themselves a small wooden house. One or two of their number are regularly employed; the others do odd gardening jobs and vaguely seek work but are otherwise happy to drift on. One of their company is self-employed as a thief. Pasindia who seem to be making no attempt to find work are sometimes accused of stealing. The house gives them ultimate security and other youths from their clan join them from time to time. One of them expressed a definite disinclination to work. He said that in Moresby people had to work hard to find jobs and then work hard at the jobs themselves; he would really like to go home and plant some coffee then watch it grow and produce money. He had a little money in his bank book which he was not spending, but envisaged as eventually going towards his fare. He does not feel inclined, he said, to seek employment in the town.

It is fairly easy for a single man to get by for considerable periods without a house of his own. An attraction of owning a dwelling is that it may well become a 'centre': people drop by, congregate there at week-ends and so on, and a man without a house certainly feels at a disadvantage. For the few married men¹ in Moresby, the situation is more

¹ The position of married men is discussed in Chapter 5.

acute. I have already described Thomas' efforts to get himself a house.¹ Another husband, with a family, who lost his job just left Moresby altogether. Nevertheless, even a single man may look on an impending move as extremely tiresome and tedious.

Brian, a domestic servant, knew that his employers were leaving Moresby soon. He was wondering where he should put his things: his suitcase, his clothes, plates, saucepans and cutlery. First he thought of Simon, but he lived in a compound and there were always strange people there and he was afraid they might take his things. Francis, another close friend, also lived in a compound, and he didn't like the look of the house. He could have left them with the bosboi at another compound, where many of his associates lived, but he was ashamed to ask them for favours because he had previously worked there but left, and did not want to underline the fact that he was out of work now. Perhaps he would leave them with a clansman who had a room at the University. He thought of the house of another clansman but he was a married man and he didn't want women peering into his belongings. In any case, he would feel awkward later if he did find work to remove his things from there, that is, once having placed them in the care of a woman.

A number of people claim never to have been pasindia for more than a few days at a time. A rough computation of the experiences of the unskilled workers who supplied information for the figures in Table 4.3 gives ten men as probably being out of work on average for less than one month per year of the time they have been in Moresby and nine men as probably being out of work for between one and three months out of twelve.² Two claimed never to have been out of work or for only a few days at the beginning (this also holds for the skilled workers in the sample). Only two have experienced chronic unemployment while remaining in the town.

Individuals vary in the extent to which they are supported by wantok. Some look for no more than the

¹ See p.152.

² One of these had also spent a year outside Moresby, without a job, this time not being reckoned in his average.

occasional hand-out; others move in with a friend for several days or weeks. The basis for the welcome lies in the norm of reciprocity. The person giving money or food does not necessarily expect an exact reciprocation although he may look to the previously unemployed for some support if he in turn is out of a job. Expectations are diffuse rather than specific. The donor gives help because there is always the likelihood that he too might be in a similar position at some stage. The possibility of getting some material return from the recipient himself decreases the longer he is out of work or the more numerous his periods of unemployment become. And although in many instances where the once-out-of-work man is later in a position to make a material return is not asked for it, those who become chronically out of work attract criticism for constantly living off others.

The longer and more frequently a person is unemployed, the more others complain. Although an unemployed person can be absorbed fairly easily among his friends and wantok, he forfeits support if he makes himself unpopular to too many people. There are cases of irascible men who quarrel with one set of hosts after another, exhausting their credit.

Let us look more closely into criticisms of pasindia. A European view is that pasindia are 'parasites, sponging on their urban kinsmen and wantoks and a cause of much of the town's crime and social malaise' (Rew 1970:xi). The simple fact of being out of work for a while does not carry much stigma among Hageners¹ and we have noted that hosts may be housing, as well as the unemployed, those with jobs but no accommodation. It is accepted that people take rests. Hosts gain a certain amount of social credit from supporting others. What is criticised is the attitude of mind which makes people throw up lucrative appointments or unable to settle down to a single job or keeps them in a constant state of unemployment. Pasindia then has the connotation of

¹ Police prosecution of 'vagrants' is regarded as both ludicrous and outrageous. One Moresby veteran described how in the early 1960s he was left jobless for six months when his employer went on leave. He was picked up by the police; he told them he would wait the six months till his masta returned and then work again. But he was taken, according to his account, to the District court. 'They said I should pay a fine of \$20, but I was angry. Why should I give them money? I had not killed anyone or stolen something. So I refused, and they sent me to jail.'

someone who does not earn a steady income, whether he is out of work, subsists off part-time jobs or runs through a series of employments. It is not just that others get tired of giving support (one should remember that the host will also want to maximise his position and spread his resources by helping many rather than just one, so a prolonged attachment by one unemployed person becomes an imposition) but that these people in their behaviour mock one ostensible dogma: that the aim of life in town is to amass money. It is assumed that chronic unemployment, of whatever kind, can be avoided if the worker really wishes. Migrants who commit themselves to long spells in the single job because they hope their stability will be rewarded in substantial increments of pay have the most to say about pasindia. To them, the person who travels from job to job is almost as much a pasindia as one without any job at all.¹ Someone who works for a week's wages and then leaves is the butt of jokes - 'He has had forty or fifty masta'. One migrant so spoken of (not in his presence) referred to himself as having 'fouled' (mi paul olgeta! I was completely messed up!) for a driver had induced him to spend his working hours travelling round in a truck, so that he lost his job. The same individual criticised the group of lads mentioned on p.155:

True, we talk a lot about these men. W (a friend, who lodges with the speaker, but who has a job) and I said to ourselves, 'Where do they find food? They don't work - they don't find money - they have no sense: they spend all day in the house! Or else they go and visit their wantok.' When I was pasindia I cried, 'Where am I going to find work and find money? I have only a little, and my wantok won't give me money!' so I would cry, and go out and find money. Perhaps their wantok are good men and support them so they don't need to work.

The last comment is sarcastic. What needled him was the lack of concern these men displayed towards being unemployed when this was a period of such worry to himself. Individuals differ in the degree of autonomy they find comfortable.

¹ James whose exploits are described on pp.118-122 was referred to in a derogatory way by one Central Melpa man as a pasindia boi because 'he only works a little, drinks, hum-bugs and 'rounds' (that is, spends his time wandering about from job to job or about the town)'.

For all pasindia also display another quality: they exercise the independence which migrants in town feel is part of their town way of life. Perhaps it is this uncomfortable paradox which leads to bitterness on the part of others. Indeed someone who says that he has 'fouled' is not really condemning himself; he is mouthing what he knows would be the viewpoint of others (especially people at home) but is also drawing attention to his recklessness and in a sense his daring.

Matthew had worked solidly for two years as a domestic servant, but was told to go when he borrowed a car belonging to a friend of his masta's. In fact he was recalled and went back to work. But he had already put his belongings in the house of one clan brother and had made plans to sleep at the house of another. He said, at the time, 'I am pasindia now! I can sleep where I like. There are plenty of houses where my wantok are and I can choose to go where I want to!'

Independent-mindedness in others is admired as self-interest if they combine following their own inclinations with luck or a flair for finding fresh employment. But it is denigrated as self-destructive if it results in prolonged dependency of another kind. Pasindia becomes dependent on their fellows. They may have shown autonomy in abandoning jobs at whim, but it is generally assumed that they remain out of work (for more than a short period) because they cannot help it: if they had the choice they would seek employment again. For although feeling free to leave jobs exemplifies independence, earning an income of one's own brings another kind of self-sufficiency. By working for others employees become dependent, but independent financially from their wantok; pasindia depend on wantok but are independent of employers. Because opportunities for self-employment are so few in Port Moresby, migrants thus have to strike a balance between different kinds of self-sufficiency. For some, a high turnover of jobs - so that one is in constant but changing employment - is the most satisfactory mean. But individuals vary greatly in the extent to which they carry the idea of autonomy. Many prefer reasonably regular employment. These are the people who see too much autonomy in others as dangerous, putting them beyond control, and who may criticise even the lucky risk-takers. Perhaps self-interest so blatantly displayed carries something of a threat to the person's fellows, in the same way as those who stick together find the autonomous wanpis irritating.

Chapter 5

Groups and networks

Job mobility is probably the single most important factor in throwing Hageners into the company of town dwellers from other parts of the country. Few unskilled Hagen migrants in Moresby are attached to urban associations such as a church or football club. It is through work that they meet non-Hageners and although such relationships may not have much depth, on a casual basis they can be quite tenacious. A high turnover of jobs increases a person's contacts and diversifies the range of men whom he counts as his friends. Two individuals now holding quite different positions may have got to know each other in the past when they both worked at or near the same place, and this association is commemorated from time to time. An acquaintance will be acknowledged in the street, his friendship renewed at a chance meeting at a pub. Among Hageners themselves, job contacts are of much less significance in determining people's associates. Indeed, from an individual's point of view, there is quite a sharp distinction here.

One knows other Hageners primarily because of their tribal background and secondly through whatever friendships or enmities in the town have given specific shape to the acquaintance. One gets to know non-Hageners, on the other hand, because their personal histories have crossed with one's own, and these crossings occur most regularly at places of work.

Brian¹ was going down Waigani Drive. He waved to three drivers of other vehicles as he passed. One was a policeman from a Central Melpa tribe whose settlements neighbour those of his own clan at home. The second driver came from the far eastern

¹ A Kawelka man from Northern Melpa, whose family have lived in the Wahgi valley (see p.44). Appendix 4 lists the names and some sociological details of persons mentioned in this Chapter.

Melpa borders and was someone he often played cards with. The third was from Lae, a driver for the then Commonwealth Department of Works where Brian had been employed for a short while as a gardener sometime the previous year. All three returned his salute.¹

On another occasion Brian had gone to visit a Central Melpa fireman friend and saw across the street a Wabag clerk who was working for the harbour board. The two held an animated conversation. The clerk had originally been a student at an educational institution when Brian was a labourer-gardener working in the grounds; since then the student had joined Department of District Administration, served in Rabaul and was now back in Moresby with a desk job. Brian had been a domestic servant for several employers, a road labourer and gardener.

Brian claims another acquaintance from the time when he worked at the institution, a Kerema man who was then a storekeeper. It was a clan-mate of Brian's, Simon, who introduced them, since Simon and he worked together for a while. The possibility of becoming acquainted with the work-mates of one's friends can further enlarge the range of contacts one makes. On the way to Koki market one day Brian stopped to chat with a Buang driver who worked for a bakery. Simon had driven a bakery van for a while and it was while he was on the job that Brian got to know this man from Buang.

Interaction between such casual acquaintances is often limited to salutations although there is always the chance that they may be able to do one another a good turn. Brian includes among his connections a wharf guard and a clerk in a government department. All of them may be referred to as 'friends' (pren).

Regular associates and those to whom one usually turns in time of trouble are likely to be drawn from a smaller

¹ Brian stressed that the Lae acquaintance was a wantok of his, that is, someone with whom he had a specific connection. The concept is explored in the next chapter.

circle of men, mainly Hageners. Many factors turn Hagen acquaintances into friends. Among these may be particular group ties at home such as common membership of a subclan or clan, or an affinal tie - Brian once contributed to the returning-home presents of a Kendipi man whose younger brother had married a sister of his and with whom Brian's father makes moka (ceremonial exchange); or some other kinship connection; or the friends may have had a common school background, or known each other slightly at home and in Moresby found one another's company congenial. Among the things which friends do in town is provide bail money when one is detained at the police station.

Brian was drinking in a hotel with Richard (from his own clan) and some men from Tipuka. They got very drunk and were taken off by the police. Brian was bailed out by Tipuka Gerry, one of the Tipuka-Kawelka crowd who live together in the compound of an educational institution. The two are not particularly close friends, but Gerry was acting out of general loyalty to a man from Kawelka.¹ On a subsequent occasion, a number of the Tipuka-Kawelka employees and their compatriots were playing cards at a compound along with a Chimbu associate who works under the Tipuka bosboi and joins many of their activities. Simon and Brian, among others, were caught; Richard bailed Brian out.

Sometimes the man who has been helped pays back his friend, sometimes the friend helps 'for nothing'. A particular responsibility may be felt for those who sleep in the same house. When a resident fails to return at night and cannot be found the next day, his room-mates will tour the police cells.

For a while a Central Melpa man, Kenneth, was living in Brian's haus boi. Kenneth was taken off by the police when he became mixed up with some trouble started by a group of Minembi men at a night club. Brian went along to the cells to bail him out, grumbling at having to do it. He was up on a charge of drunkenness and Brian said he should have had more self-control. Some Minembi were also in the cells. Minembi is a tribe traditionally hostile

¹ Tipuka-Kawelka are paired together and were traditionally allies of each other. See Appendix 4.

to his own, a relationship which carries over to some extent into the town context, and Brian did not help them. Another Kawelka man recognises closer personal ties with the Minembi through intermarriage at home, but before he had helped them and never received anything in return, which was why this time he would not bail them out.

What are we to make of these incidents? There seem to be many elements in the relationships here (for example, obligations set up by kinship at home, by residence in town, through norms of reciprocity) and many bases for the relationships themselves (such as work association, common tribal membership). Men act as members of groups and also have a network of contacts their mates do not necessarily share. But this is not unique to the town. At home everyone finds a place in a particular clan, but also has individual ties with many other clans. In one sense, the urban situation is a replica of this structure, although on a larger scale. At home membership of a clan or tribe determines group attitudes to other clans and tribes around one; cross-cutting this are the interpersonal links set up by marriage and perpetuated in exchanges. In the town, one's placement as a member of a particular tribe determines to some extent attitudes towards fellow Hageners and as a highlander attitudes towards other Papua New Guineans. Cross-cutting this are myriad acquaintances formed in town, among Hageners on a variety of bases, and with non-Hageners chiefly from work opportunities. Intermarriage itself enters the picture to some extent, significantly most important in establishing connections with non-Hagen migrants or the local Papuan population.

This and the following chapter give something of the sociology of the migrant's position: the groupings which are relevant to him, the relationships he sets up, the way he categorises others. It largely ignores the givens of the town structure (geographical layout, administration, the commercial system) and concentrates on those areas where the migrant is most free to choose his contacts: leisure-time activities and out-of-work relationships. Important in these activities are ones we have already come across in the account of Brian's exploits, beer-drinking and card-playing. Formal associations are also set up through exchanges of commodities, mainly beer, and on occasion people act in concert to raise funds for some enterprise. Household composition is also subject to a degree of personal choice.

Such activities usually concern only Hageners. In Chapter 6 attention is turned to extra-Hagen contacts.

The relevance of tribal groups

Migrants all come, and are known to have come, from particular clans and tribes. At home these clans and tribes interact with others in specific ways. Some will have a long-standing tradition as one another's close allies; others will be major enemies; yet others will be beyond the range of frequent contact but brought into confrontation because of issues concerning their respective Council areas.

Chapter 2 introduced some facts about group structure and segmentary relationships and noted that the Hagen population is divided into political units, tribes, which are further divided into tribe-sections, clans, subclans and so on. The relevance of membership in any particular group is determined by context. Two subclans may quarrel with one another over the timing of a festival, but join together as a common clan in a court dispute involving someone from elsewhere. The clan is a prominent unit of action and in the past often fought as a solitary entity. Nearby clans were, and still are, divided into those who are major, perpetual or traditional enemies of one's own, and those against whom one fought from time to time (minor enemies) but could also be called upon as friends and allies.

With the advent of Europeans, pacification and radically different communication techniques, the number of clans with which one's own deals has increased. In the past immediate knowledge may have extended to twenty or so tribes belonging to a quasi-geographical region, with only vaguely known groups beyond. Nowadays people's personal experience is likely to include a geography of the whole sub-district and its component Council groupings. The range of clans from which wives are chosen is larger and some relatives-in-law find it practical to visit one another only when motor transport is available. A few 'foreign' wives (say, from Kainantu or Mendi) have been brought home by men who have worked abroad and some Hagen girls have Tari or Papuan husbands from among immigrants to the sub-district. In Hagen town are to be found workers from all over Papua New Guinea.

The name Hagen is a post-contact term. It is adopted widely in the sub-district by Melpa and Temboka speakers, and in context by Kaugel. Hagen radio, with its multi-

lingual transmission is among the instruments which demarcate Hagen from Enga speakers to the west (ol Wabaga) and the inhabitants of the Wahgi valley to the east (ol Mint-Bant, Minj-Banz). Traditional segmentation patterns provide the model for inclusions and exclusions of this kind, such segmentary thinking makes it easy for migrants in Moresby to place themselves within the context of Hageners vis-à-vis men from Wabag, or highlanders vis-à-vis coastals; it also results in a specific structuring of intra-town relationships between Kaugel and other Hageners who may be embraced within the same category 'Hagen', but on occasion also confront one another as two groups with opposing interests. These latter relations have a content particular to the town context, and do not reflect social realities at home. Migrants also have to take into account such realities.

In spite of widening contacts, at home the most influential social groupings remain the traditional ones of a person's immediate clan and tribe and the alliances and enmities it maintains with others. Not only past relations but the recent histories of the migrant's local groups affect him in town. He is likely to keep up with events in order to judge where his own loyalties lie. For the very fact that within the town he may come into contact with people from distant places means that he is vulnerable in a way his rural contemporaries are not. Conflicts at home which lead to homicide for which revenge is sought put him in a particularly delicate situation. Sometimes men in the town feel they are in a state of amesty and are not touched by rural events; at other times they take care to avoid public places where their enemies, as defined at home, may go. The particular histories of relations between tribes and clans then mould social realities in the town. Thus minor urban rivalries, as in the composition of card-playing groups, may take their cue from alliance and enmity relations between the migrants' clans of origin.

But groups are not everything. The movement of women between clans traditionally affords roads (their idiom) along which men seek out contacts on an interpersonal basis. An individual will thus have a network of acquaintances - matrilateral relatives, in-laws and exchange or trade partners - unique to himself. Sometimes the majority of a man's contacts will be from among groups with which his own clan is most friendly; sometimes his personal loyalties may completely cross-cut these alignments. A positive value is put on cultivating as wide a circle of contacts as possible

and this perhaps provides a model for the urban network. Certainly a man like Brian takes great pride in the number of acquaintances he can point out: one never knows when one will find oneself in a situation of having to call on their help.

Various elements of the rural network situation are relevant to the migrants' way of looking at things. First, although intermarriage and other bases for relationship bring men into contact with one another, the tie has to be cultivated if a profitable friendship is to result. Through visits and gift-giving, acquaintance expands into a full exchange partnership. If the contacts are not assiduously kept up, the relationship may to all intents and purposes lapse.¹ With one's own clansmen, however, loyalty is shown on many occasions and although it is always possible for an individual to forfeit clan support, in the interests of clan solidarity his continuing association will usually guarantee protection. This does not hold to the same degree in town. There one's support group is both narrower and wider. Those from whom one can expect automatic help are likely to be confined to a close range, for example, members of the same subclan. But there is also a strong expectation that an individual will be helped by the friends of the moment, and friendship ties in town may be stronger than those of clan-ship. Friends, as at home, have to be cultivated. From among Hageners of a common local background, they may come together because of work association, co-residence or simple compatibility. Thus those of his own clan or tribe or neighbouring tribes with whom a migrant most regularly associates are also likely to be personal friends. While at home personal friends tend to be contrasted with one's tribesmen or clansmen, in town one makes friends out of these as well as out of extra-clan acquaintances.²

Secondly, men at home may deliberately form personal alliances with others from groups who fall into the category of enemy. Indeed, the most successful will seek to diversify their contacts. The town analogy is the migrant who cultivates friends where there is no prior base for relationship. These may be from enemy groups or a distant council area in little communication with his own. Or they may not be Hageners at all, but come from other migrant

¹ Cf. the discussion of the position of non-agnates and sponsors in Chapter 3.

² This is discussed further on p.198.

populations in Moresby, or local Papuans living there. The wanpis (p.165ff) is someone who seeks out just such contacts.

Thirdly, there is the model of non-agnatic affiliation. At home it is always possible for someone to move away from his father's¹ clan and associate with another group, if he is able to find a sponsor there. Again, the association must be cultivated; he must show himself as supporting the new group. But it is also possible for an individual's clan affiliation to remain ambiguous for long periods. He may garden with one clan but make moka as a member of another. In Moresby non-Hageners may attach themselves to Hagen workers, perhaps in long residential association, and cultivate a relationship which is not just to a single person but to a whole group of Hageners. The Chimbu man with whom Brian was playing cards is one such person. He does not forfeit his Chimbu status,² but for practical purposes can be looked to for support and called on for contributions as Hageners in the same compound can be. Such a person who actually comes from the borders of the Hagen area itself, and who can speak their dialect, may be included as a 'Hagen' man. This also holds for persons of mixed ethnic descent, for example, those with a Hagen mother and a father from elsewhere.

Brian once claimed as a 'Hagen' man someone whom he recognised in the street but whose name he could not remember. His father was a European and his mother a Chimbu but he had been brought up for a while in the Hagen area and knew the Hagen language. Brian claims that the man acknowledges the link in calling Hageners by the courtesy title kandere (Pidgin, 'cousins').

Table 5.1 shows some of the elements which make up urban relationships among Hageners and their close associates. It distinguishes principles of organisations from particular events. In relation to home influences these are on the one hand the processes and norms embedded in segmentary relations or the development of personal networks, and on the other, the individual enmities or kinship connections which arise from the past history of the groups or individuals concerned. Thus we may contrast the dogmas and ideas associated with alliance and contemporary alliance

¹ This is only likely to happen if his father is dead.

² And would not be referred to as a Hagenener.

formations. Both have their effect on the migrant's social position. In the town certain relationships are relevant only as long as the migrant remains there and are given shape by his personal history (an urban 'event'). Urban principles of organisation are less easy to define. Alliances and confrontations following the home situation are derivative in principle, though town events may influence particular relationships. In the case of personal networks, however, it is arguable that the notion of independence gives these a particular value in the town, which does not hold to quite the same extent at home. Where this seems to be operating it is recorded as a 'town principle'.¹

Examples of group interaction

(i) 'Hagen' and Kaugel: a quasi-ethnic case

Northern Hageners recognise that men of the south-west from around Tambul are related to themselves culturally and linguistically. These Kaugel people may be included as Hageners, or differentiated as unique, depending on context. A Northern Melpa man may say in the abstract that while it is quite true that outsiders lump together Hageners and Kaugel and that they are wantok, nevertheless 'they are not the same'. 'We people from Hagen call them Kɔwul or Tambul wamb (Kaugel or Tambul people)'. However, when Richard who is from Northern Melpa, married a Kaugel girl in town, a visiting clansman expressed relief that at least the bride was a 'Hagen girl'. He compared Richard with Simon, who was courting a local Papuan. He was afraid this indicated that Simon would never return home whereas Richard was making a 'Hagen' marriage, even though his bride's kin lived so far away from his own.²

The number of Kaugel counted as Hageners is contextual. A Northerner may note that some Pangia men (from the Southern Highlands) attach themselves to Kaugel migrants but this does not make them 'Hageners'. A Kaugel policeman, on the

¹ My information here is limited to the viewpoint of the unskilled migrant. Educated workers may attach a different significance to both town and home events (M. Levine, personal communication), to the point that one could refer to their operating by (new) principles of their own.

² Some attempt was made by the home kin on each side to enter into transactions over the event.

Table 5.1
Types of relationships among Hageners and close associates

Example cited in text	Page reference	Relationship	Relationship is based mainly on			
			Home principles of organisation	Home events	Town principles of organisation	Town events
Melpa-Kaugel or Kɔwul	168-188	Different cultural regions within Hagen area	Segmentation and alliance	-	-	Confrontation in town context only
Dei-Mul	191	Different council areas	Segmentation and alliance	Modern enmity between them	-	-
Tipuka-Welyi	192-193	Neighbouring tribes	Enemy-ally relations	Traditional enmity between them	-	-
Brian-Richard	161,162	Members of same clan	Clan solidarity	-	Personal networks	Leisure-time association
Brian-Gerry	162	Members of ally tribes	Diffuse solidarity between ally tribes	Alliance between Tipuka-Kawelka	-	Membership of Tipuka-Kawelka cluster in one suburb
Brian-CM policeman	160	Friends from different regions	Personal network	Neighbourhood link between them	'Independent' network	Personal link reinforced in town
Brian-EM driver	160	Friends from different regions	Personal network	-	'Independent' network	Card partnership; link relevant only in town
Brian-hapkas	167	Acquaintance between Hagerer and quasi-Hagerer	Relative affiliated elsewhere	-	Inclusiveness in respect of category 'Hagerer'	Link recognised only in town
Tipuka-Kawelka - Chimbu man	167	Group of Hageners and non-Hageners	Agnation: partial affiliation of non-agnate	-	Inclusiveness in respect of support group	Link relevant in town only; work and residence in common
Brian-Lae man	160	Hagerer and non-Hagerer	Personal network	-	'Independent' network	Work acquaintance

other hand, when talking about his fellow-countrymen in the force, included two cadets from Ialibu which is towards Pangia and from another dialect area. I once heard someone from the Jimi Valley (extreme Northern Melpa) refer to friends as playing cards wantaim ol Mendi ('with a crowd from Mendi'). It turned out he was referring to Kaugel men who, moreover, came from nearer rather than more distant groups, on the Nebilyer Valley side.

The categorisation of 'Hagen' and 'Kaugel' has almost an ethnic cast to it. What is going on at a small scale between a Hager and a Kaugel man has some similarities to interaction between 'Hageners' and 'Chimbu' or 'Kerema'. Perhaps it was the potential ethnic opposition inherent in the relationship which made a Northern Melpa gardener greet the policeman from the far side of Tambul as namo!¹ The salutation was laughingly returned. Namo is described by Hageners as a Papuan term for 'brother' or wantok, and is used as a joke (see Chapter 6). But other Hageners treat Kaugel as they treat no one else from the highlands. As far as I know Hageners in Moresby have never formed groups for the purposes of confrontation with any other ethnic entity. They have become involved in disputes and conflicts because of their Hagen identity, but never acted as a group. In events which took place in 1971 between Kaugel and other Hageners, there was a specific alignment which involved many of the migrant population in Moresby, and which resulted in men on both sides coming together and organising an exchange.

These events began in a fight. Fights among closely related men usually end informally, to be dropped, or to be resumed on some future occasion. Little recourse is made in the town to the peace-keeping measures which follow conflicts at home (where compensation is handed over after a quarrel in which bitter words or blood have flowed. Indeed judicial procedures and the payment of compensation in general, important features of rural public life, hardly operate at all. Fights with non-Hageners are more likely to lead to official detention by the police; otherwise the issues are dropped and there are again no regular peace-making devices. Thus fighting usually occurs between closely related persons, which makes it 'unimportant', or with non-Hageners and not within the province of Hageners to settle.

¹ The policeman had been to a school on the borders of Northern and Central Melpa, hence his friendship with the Tipuka man.

But after the fight between some Kaugel and Northern Melpa men, there seems to have been two very strong feelings: that because of the distance between the groups the matter was a serious one and that because of their closeness it was desirable that it should not be left unresolved. Separateness was combined with relatedness in such a way that, uncharacteristically for townsmen, they felt impelled to do something about it.

The impetus to arrange compensation stemmed, however, from other aspects of urban culture. Exchanges of beer and such items at pati ('parties', 'feasts') are a prominent feature of urban public life, and these particular events were also a pretext for a grand display. This is in direct analogy with arrangements which are made at home when moka develops from war compensation payments. An enabling factor lay in the fortunate circumstance that because at home Kaugel and Northern Hagen groups hardly had anything to do with one another there were few existing relations of animosity which the town dwellers had to take into account. Ordinarily traditional enemies were defined, in contrast to minor enemies/allies, by their inability to ever come together to make peace. No such block existed between the Kaugel and the Northern Melpa antagonists, nor was there any history of poisoning suspicions between them either at home or in the town. In spite of the lack of content in their social relationships outside the town, they were regarded as belonging by origin to a single entity to the extent that it was possible to patch up their differences on a common cultural idiom.

The fight. Tom, from the Kaugel tribe Kuklumint¹ owned a PMV which was driven by Carl, a fellow tribesman. One night early in 1971 Tom was drinking at the Boroko Hotel. There were one or two other Kaugel men there with him and a group of Tipuka and Kawelka from Northern Melpa. Carl, or so the latter thought, drove up to fetch Tom from the hotel, and they asked to be taken back to the compound. They were all a little drunk. When the car stopped they shambled

¹ Or Kulumint (N. Bowers, personal communication). My account is almost entirely from the Northern Melpa side, where the block designation of 'Kaugel' comes from. I do not know how far the Kaugel participants regarded themselves as an entity (Levine, pers. comm., points out that enemies of the Kuklumint might have regarded it differently). This qualification should be borne in mind.

about in the dark and it started to move off again before they were all down. Derek from Tipuka and Adrian from Kawelka fell and hurt themselves. Derek lay on the ground with blood streaming from his nose; the others were angry with the driver for not stopping, but he had long since driven away. While they were waiting, Gerry came up in his car and said disgustedly that they were all drunk. Eventually he agreed to take Derek to the hospital. Four men, led by Adrian, wanted to chase the driver, found another vehicle, and discovered not Carl but Tom back at the Boroko Hotel. He emerged at closing time with a Mulke (Nebilyer Valley) companion. The Tipuka and Kawelka beat him up; the companion who was slightly hurt ran away. They apparently had assumed that Tom had been with Carl in the car, though Tom later claimed he had never left the bar. Tom was quite badly hurt.

The next morning¹ the Northern Melpa men tried to find the driver again. When they met Carl walking amiably down a road they accosted him and demanded what he had been doing the night before. Frightened by their fierceness, Carl broke loose and this made them think he was running away. The Northern Melpa party, Adrian and six others from Tipuka and Kawelka, set on him. Other Kaugel men had heard of how Tom and his companion from Mulke had been beaten up and they hurried into the fray. Gerry, Brian, Roderick (the Tipuka bosboi at the compound) and some others on their way to visit Derek in hospital drove up in their car, and Gerry and Roderick tried to break up the fight. They took all the Tipuka-Kawelka men to the hospital.

The Kaugel assembled their forces. In addition to the Kuklumint car, a Poiaka and a Kutimbu² both brought along their trucks, and men from Nebilyer Valley as well as Kaugel proper were with them. They were very angry. They pointed out to themselves that Carl had not even been driving Tom's car the previous night. It had been a Wabag man who had taken the Tipuka home. Nor had Tom gone in his car to accompany them. The Northern Melpa had been drunk and had not seen what was happening. The three car loads of Kaugel men made for the hospital. There were now thirteen or fourteen Northern Melpa there. They set on some of the Tipuka; Adrian had run away, but Quentin and Saul were among whose who came off worse. Quentin was bashed with

¹ It was the week-end.

² Both on the Nebilyer Valley side (see Appendix 4).

stones¹ and someone was also wielding a length of iron piping. By the time a police car came to the scene the Kaugel had gone.

Everyone looked on this as a serious fight. Kaugel spread word around that if any 'Tipuka' men showed themselves in a public place such as a bar they would be set upon. (They put Kawelka and Tipuka together here under the rubric of the larger of the two tribes. Adrian, regarded generally as the chief instigator of the fight, is Kawelka. Some Tipuka-Kawelka men answered with equal bravado; 'You may be numerous but we are numerous too!', while others counselled peace: 'There are too many men involved and if we all fought it would become very serious. Fighting and quarrelling is no good. Let us settle this and shake hands² with the other side and become friends again'.

The initial payment: Northern Melpa to Kaugel (gift 1). Among the arguments which made the Northern Melpa wish to compensate the Kaugel was that this was the first time any big enmity had come between them. Before they had been friends, and at home had never fought with one another. This was something new to their coming to Moresby and they should put a stop to it. They were also afraid of the scale of the affair, that someone would be killed and then other people in the town would talk about them (give them a bad name). Adrian said that they agreed that they were 'all from the same district' and that they decided to shake hands 'in the same way as people at home make moka'.³ The chief

¹ An example of cross-cutting loyalties: Kawelka Francis has a room in the compound where many Kaugel slept. Francis tried to help Quentin in the fight, but the other Kaugel, his co-residents, told him to keep out. They would not attack him unless he deliberately took the Northern Melpa side.

² The conventional designation for a compensation item given to restore good feelings between two sides.

³ An interesting characteristic about these payments, however, was the speed with which they were made; only a matter of a few weeks elapsing between each bout. It was necessary to organise people when the precipitating events were still fresh in their minds. At home exchanges are delayed over much longer periods. This may be related to nervousness over the social control aspects of the case (they were anxious to make a settlement as soon as possible) and also to the fact that these gifts were not reactivating old links or creating new partnerships which would be expected to endure for many years.

organisers were Adrian and Roderick, the bosboi; among those who pressed for compensation to be paid was Evan, from Minembi. Minembi (see below) are neighbours of Kawelka and Tipuka in Dei Council but their traditional enemies. Evan himself works near Roderick's compound and a number of the Minembi in Moresby are friendly with the Tipuka and Kawelka. Nevertheless, Minembi also have contacts with Mul Council (Western Melpa) people (some of whom sided with the Kaugel on this occasion) and he may have found his position ambiguous.¹ He himself has a Kaugel friend among his work-mates. As we shall see, his part in the exchanges was unusual.

The gift comprised money, several cartons of beer and cooked hens. A carton of beer (worth about \$5) is a conventional unit of prestation in urban exchanges. One man, in explicit reference to traditional practice, said that the money was for the injuries sustained by Tom and Carl, 'to buy their blood', while the comestibles were 'to shake hands' and restore good feelings with the Kaugel in general. Another said that the whole gift was to 'buy the blood and shake hands' and in subsequent exchanges the total amount seems to have been treated as a single unit. For the purposes of raising money contributions, the Northern Melpa divided themselves up into locality groups (rather along the line of men's houses at home). Migrants come to be associated with certain 'centres' (see below) or geographical locations according to where they live. On this occasion 'the men of Waigani', which meant Roderick and the others at the College, asked the 'men of Four Mile' and the 'men of Six Mile' to provide a certain number of items. The Waiganimen took prominence for organisational reasons. Many of the others were domestic servants who had to work over Saturday morning but the Waiganilabourers could devote this time to purchasing the food and drink and preparing the ovens.

The prestation was made in the College grounds where the hens were steam-cooked in earth ovens along with vegetables bought from Koki market. Most of the food was eaten there but the Kaugel took the beer away with them. There are varying accounts of the size of the gifts. It seems to have comprised sixteen² cartons of beer, sixteen cooked chickens

¹ Though he was not forceful enough to take an actively mediatory role.

² Two 'hands' of eight (a unit of enumeration).

with perhaps \$20 worth of vegetables and \$54 in cash. The total amount raised was in the region of \$215.¹ The most prominent contributors were Adrian, a friend of his, Mitchell, who had been closely involved in the fighting, and Roderick (each provided a carton of beer, a hen and \$5). Evan, who had urged the settlement, gave \$10 and a hen. Most of the cartons of beer came from other principal fighters on the Tipuka-Kawelka side. A small group of Minembi helped along with Evan. Of the outside contributors, an eastern Melpa man from Kuli helped 'because Tipuka and Kuli are allies (Pidgin, kampani)'. This is a relationship relevant to the town context and does not derive from home politics. Two Central Melpa from Ndika tribe, Patrick and Terry, contributed between them a carton of beer and \$6. Both were personal friends of the Tipuka-Kawelka; their contribution was also rationalised in terms of reciprocity for support which Northern Melpa men had given in raising money to send home the corpse of a Mokei (Central Melpa) who had died in town.² But most of the contributions (some 72 per cent) came directly from twenty-six Tipuka-Kawelka men.

On the recipient side were the Kuklumint, Tom's and Carl's tribe, and Mulke, and men from the Kaugel groups who had supported them in the fight. Men from two Mul Council (Western Melpa) tribes, Nengka and Remndi, joined the Kaugel (ol kampani wantaim), but another Mul Council migrant from Kumudi, David, helped the Tipuka. Nengka are described by Northern Melpa as wantokples (common language) with some Kaugel groups. Tom invited these men because he wanted their support when he gave the return gift.

The return payment: Kaugel to Melpa (gift 2). At the first compensation Tom said that the Tipuka had done well and that they would indeed now 'shake hands'. He promised that they would make a return gift as soon as they had

¹ Of which \$15-\$20 is not accounted for. It is customary for the donors on such occasions to buy themselves a little beer to drink afterwards and perhaps some of the money went on this. The Kaugel received goods and cash worth about \$195-\$200.

² The agreement was that should a similar misfortune happen to a Northern Melpa man the Central Melpa would help them in return. The gifts on this occasion did not erase that obligation, but assured the Tipuka-Kawelka of continuing intention of support. Terry is matrilocally related to Roderick's clan.

raised enough money. The Kaugel were turning the compensation into a recognisable moka sequence, where gifts given for restoring good feelings develop into a regular pattern of delayed exchange. At each exchange an increment should be added to the original amount.¹

The Kaugel provided a very lavish return gift, perhaps a month after the compensation. This comprised a repayment of the sixteen cartons of beer, with an increment of nine;² the sixteen hens with an additional nine; and a return of the money with a further \$18. The total outlay would have been towards \$300, including the cooked food. Northern Melpa commented that the Kaugel had 'beaten' them, for they had more than returned the original gifts and put them to shame. There is a strong element of rivalry in moka sequences at home and the size of the Kaugel gift would be taken as a statement of aggressiveness. The Northern Melpa would be forced to raise an even more handsome gift to return this. As it happened, the two organisers, Roderick and Adrian, miscalculated. When they realised what the scale of the Kaugel gift was going to be, they invited a number of Central Melpa friends to share in the distribution. Their calculation was that by spreading the distribution among these men as well, they would maximise their future credit, and when the time came to pay back, would be able to draw on Central as well as Northern Melpa men for contributions. Many Central Melpa did not recognise the obligations: they said they were simply invited 'to eat', for the beer and food were broken down into such small quantities that no one felt particularly responsible to make a concrete return later. What Roderick and Adrian did do was to antagonise their Northern Melpa supporters, the men who had raised the first gift and who felt that they were not getting the returns individually due to them at this distribution. A number consequently withdrew their support. Some of the Northern Melpa had also brought personal friends of their

¹ These exchanges typically take place between allies-cum-minor enemies, who repair their good relations after fighting or homicide had disrupted them. Underlying rivalry between the two sides finds new expression in the way they pit their gifts against one another.

² According to some enumerations an additional twelve. This would make the outlay \$315.

own¹ and found that they were not given what they had hoped for, and were shamed in front of their friends.

The chief items for distribution were the cartons of beer. Twenty of the twenty-five were given by Adrian and Roderick to non-Kawelka-Tipuka men whom they invited to the feast. All who had helped previously on a personal basis but who were not Tipuka-Kawelka received handsomely.² Many had brought along other friends. The Kuli man, for example, who had contributed a hen and \$5 and now received two cartons of beer (worth \$10) came with his wife and two or three other Kuli men. The two Central Melpa friends, Patrick and Terry, who had contributed a carton of beer and \$6 before, were given three cartons of beer to divide along with at least six other guests from their own tribe, including two soldiers. The Mul Council supporter, David, who had brought along eight or so acquaintances was given three cartons of beer. Additional gifts were made to other Central men: they had not contributed before, and this was hopefully the start of a 'new' relationship. Finally, a carton was given to two Chimbu friends from Roderick's compound.

Not all the guests who arrived had been invited but the presence of men from other tribes, especially Central Melpa groups, forced the hands of the Tipuka and Kawelka leaders and very little was left for their own tribesmen. Roderick and Adrian were blamed for the outcome for it had been their strategy to spread the profits from the return gift. Their immediate and most reliable supporters were disillusioned at their treatment. Francis, from Kawelka, complained that he (and a friend) had contributed \$14 the first time, and all he got out of it was a single lukewarm bottle of beer. He would not help the next time, he said. Roderick said afterwards how embarrassed he was by the number of people who had

¹ Brian, for example, brought a police cadet from Bomana (a boyhood playmate) and a policeman friend.

² Those who had helped the Tipuka-Kawelka out of personal friendship but who nevertheless came from other tribes were for the purposes of distribution treated according to tribal origin. Thus a Mokei labourer at the College was included among other Mokei - army personnel and professional men. A Welyi man in a similar position was given to along with several other Welyi migrants who lived elsewhere in Moresby. These two were associated with Tipuka-Kawelka primarily through their place of work.

turned up.

The final gift: Melpa to Kaugel (gift 3). The Kaugel had made their prestation on 'their own land', an open space at the back of a compound. The Northern Melpa made a return gift for this in June 1971, some six weeks later, and the location was the grounds of the Administrative College.¹ A number of former supporters (including Francis and Brian) refused to help and the chagrin of the organisers was heightened by the fact that while they were supervising purchases, preparing earth ovens and trying to raise extra last minute donations, many of their mates sat in a concentrated little knot in the compound bent on nothing but cards. One or two had made donations and were not going to help further; others did not participate at all.

Adrian and Roderick directed the preparations, helped by Ndika Patrick and Terry. Of the other non-Tipuka-Kawelka, about half the individuals who had been the main recipients on the previous occasion turned up with substantial contributions; but money was not forthcoming from the others, nor from the multitude of guests who had also been brought along. The Chimbu men at the compound who had received beer donated money, but did not take part in the preparations. The organisers' strategy would have worked well if the original Tipuka-Kawelka supporters had also turned up. But there was a drastic falling off in the number - from twenty-six to eleven - who contributed by comparison with the first, while the number of non-Tipuka-Kawelka men rose from thirteen to seventeen and the percentage of their contributions from about 28 per cent to 60 per cent (see Fig. 5.1).

These figures exclude Minembi Evan. His participation had changed in character, and on this occasion he was giving a private pati to his Kaugel friend, Nelson, who worked at the same place as himself. At the previous prestation, Nelson had set aside some of his contribution² specifically for Evan and told Evan that if he were to cook some hens or a pig for him, that would be good. He was disappointed if he had hoped for a pig, but Evan cooked five chickens at his own house and invited Nelson and his family to eat them there. Afterwards Evan came up to the main arena and

¹ I was present on this occasion.

² He had made a major contribution of \$40, matched only by Tom's donation of \$40. Tom was the chief organiser on the Kaugel side.

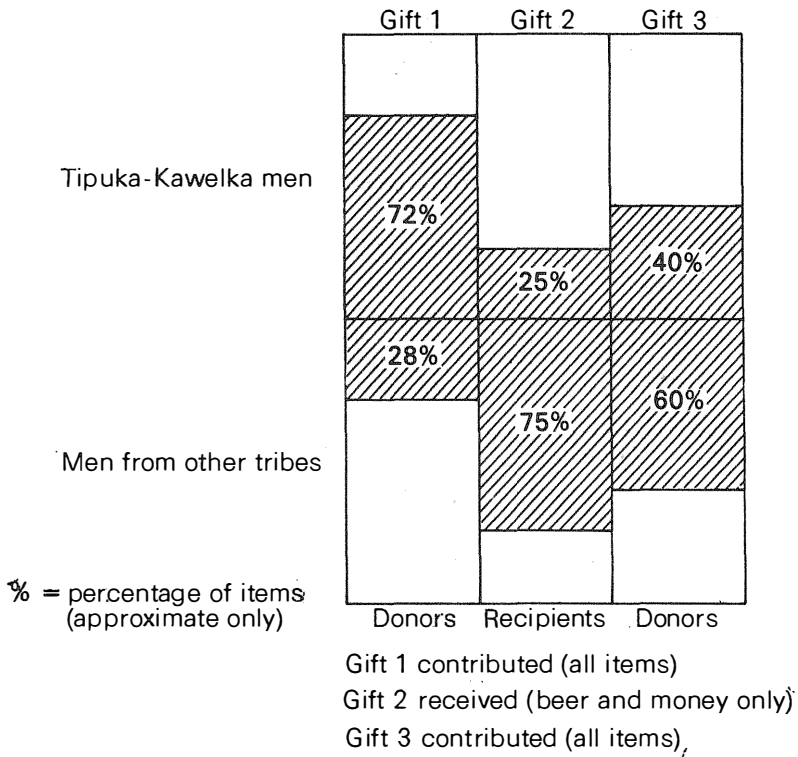
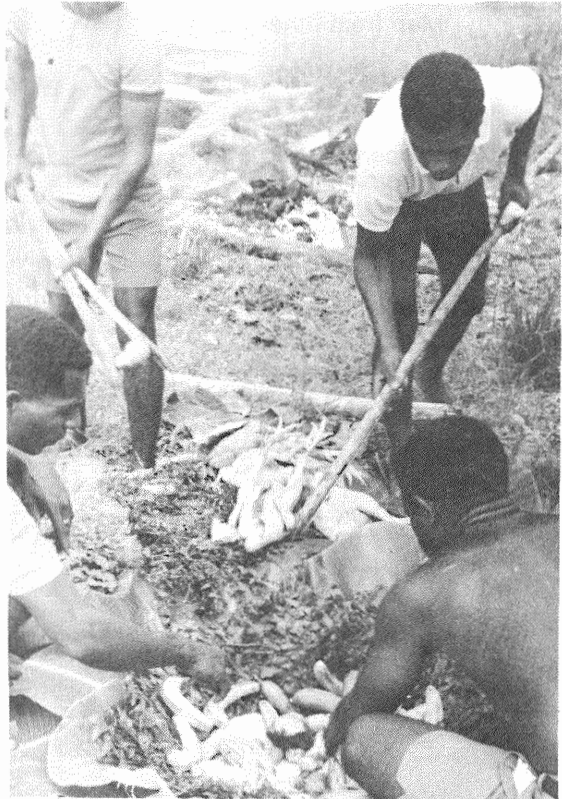


Figure 5.1. Schematic representation of Tipuka-Kawelka participation in the gift sequence



Plate 18. Peeling the vegetables: Northern Melpa donor with Central Melpa friend. Plate 19. Northern Melpa donors filling the earth oven with bananas, taro, sweet potato, greens and chickens.



The gift is set out



Plate 20. The oven is opened and food put on a trestle.

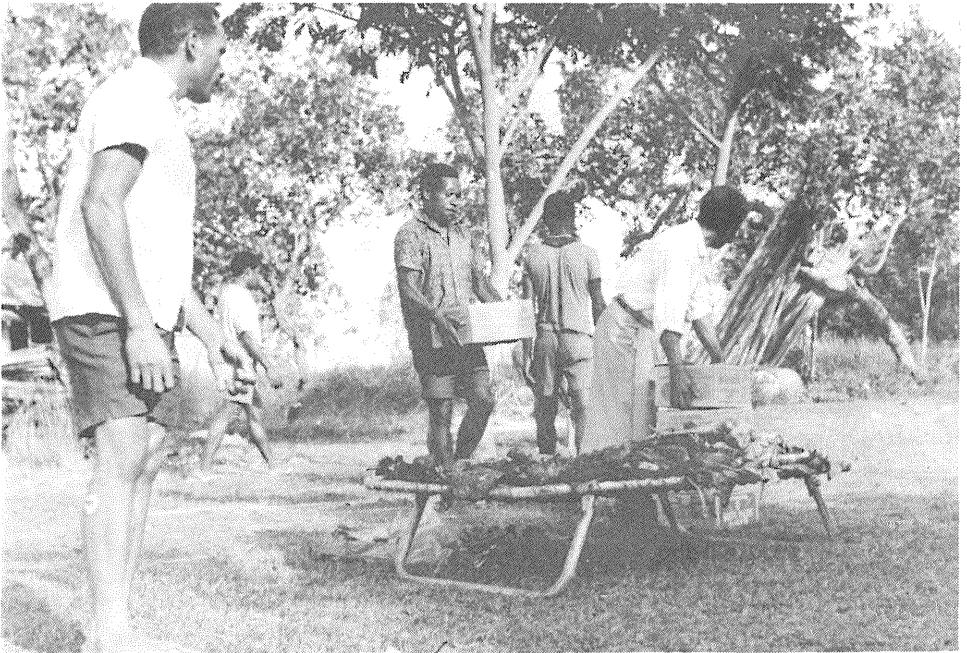
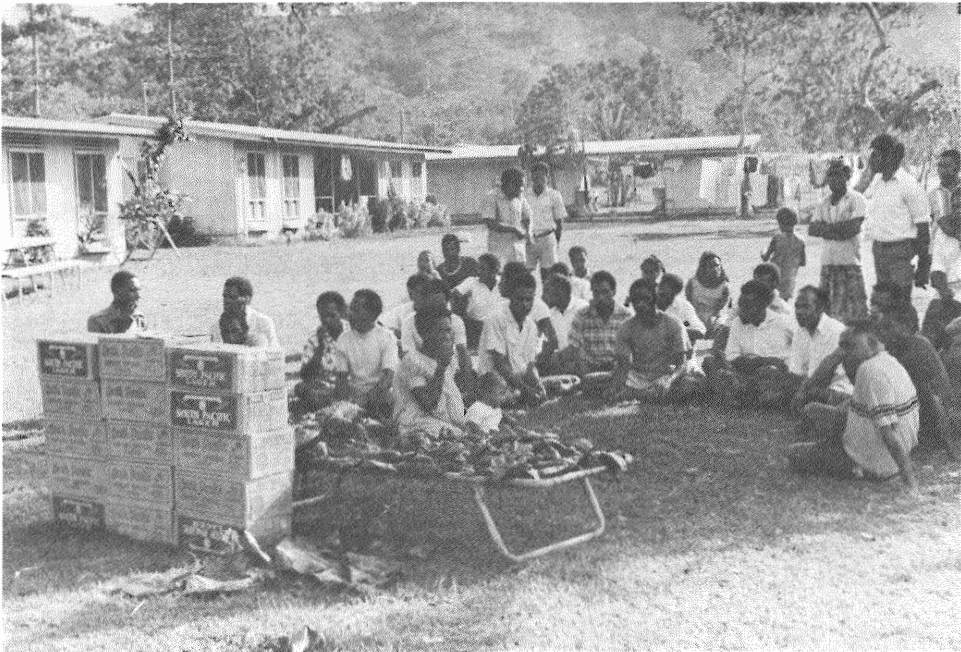
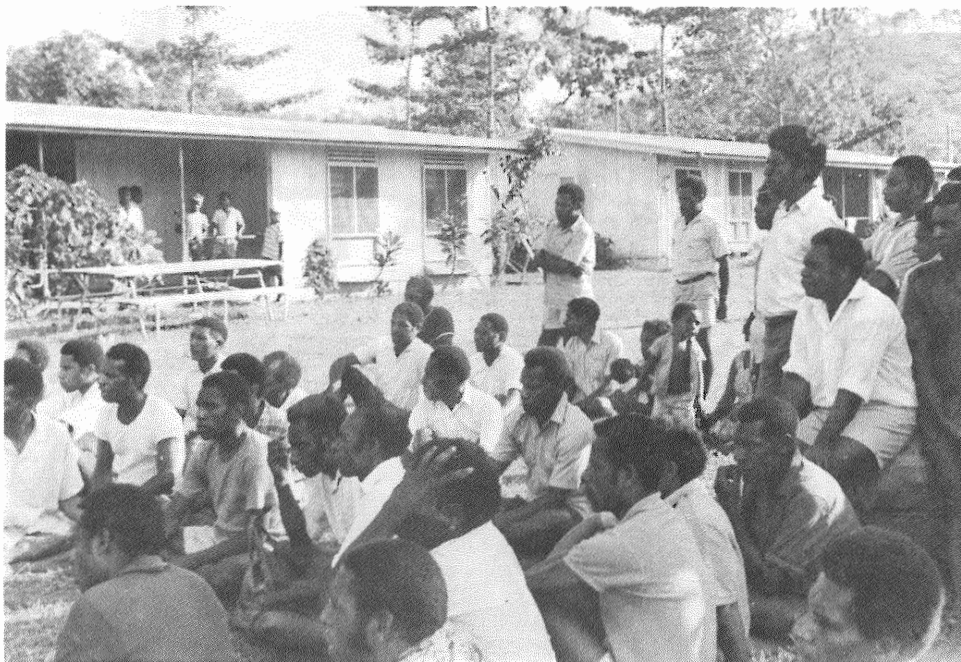


Plate 21. Beer is stacked near the food trestle.



Plates 22 and 23. Kaugel recipients gather at the compound and listen to the donors' speeches.



Compensation pati: Melpa to Kaugel (gift 3)
The distribution of the gift



Plate 24. Beer being distributed among the recipients, a knot of donors sitting in the background.

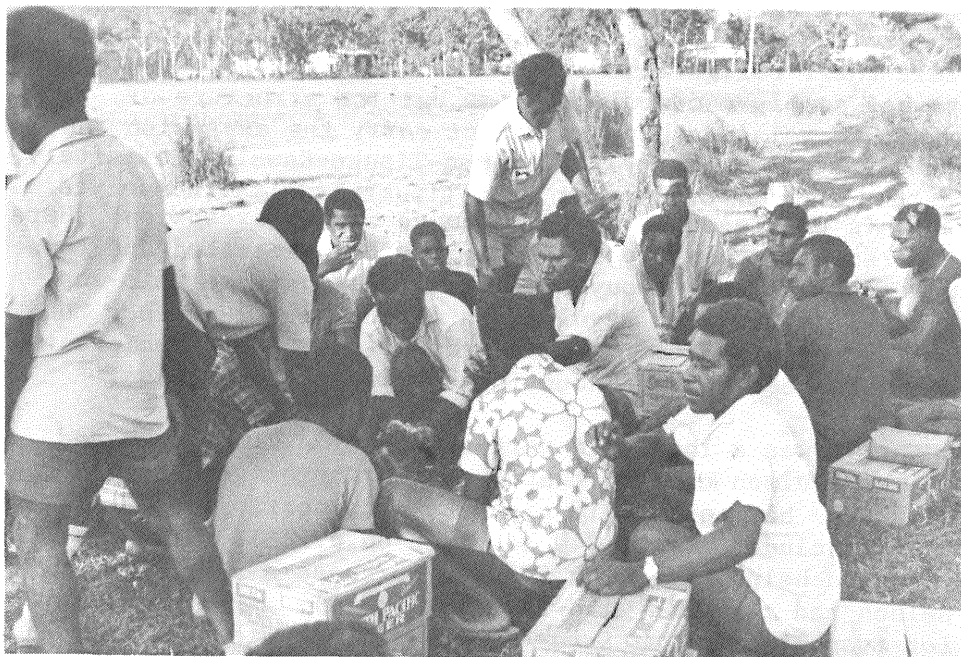


Plate 25. The beer is divided up into lots and the food shared out.

publicly added \$20 to the money the others had collected; the separateness of his contribution was manifest.

This little incident is of significance. At home most group-based exchanges are mediated through personal exchange partnerships, individuals on one side giving to and receiving from individuals on the other. In the Kaugel-Melpa exchanges there were no interpersonal partnerships, because the gifts did not fit into a pre-existing exchange structure. Each side was giving as an entity, internal distribution depending on the leaders' decisions. The contributions of individuals were thus anonymous. This in part accounts for the signal failure of Tipuka-Kawelka support the second time round. At home, even if one has received badly, a long-term interest in keeping up an exchange partnership will make one wish to be generous again and thus at least keep the road open for future gifts. But the donors of these Moresby gifts were not bound by such long-term interests. The impetus to give the first time came from a desire to show solidarity after the recent disputes with Kaugel. The impetus the second time (gift 3) derived from obligations which the Kaugel gift (number 2) set up among the recipients. These obligations were not directed towards the Kaugel themselves, but towards the Tipuka-Kawelka organisers who were responsible for distributing the gifts. Those Tipuka-Kawelka who received almost nothing clearly felt their obligations at an end. The leaders were trying to act as big-men would at home but the structure of exchange relationships could not carry the expansion they instigated, and support from non-Tipuka-Kawelka definitely at the expense of support from Tipuka-Kawelka themselves. To this the Nelson-Evan interchange was an exception. Here a personal exchange partnership was being created and these were the only non-anonymous gifts. But because this was unusual rather than regular, in effect, it meant that the pair hived off from the main body of donors and recipients and were seen to be conducting a private transaction.¹

¹ There was a long-term partnership of a kind discussed later. Nelson claimed that when the Kaugel gave to the Tipuka he had personally given Evan two cartons of beer and \$20, (included in the \$40 recorded on p.182). Previously Evan had helped him with \$100 to purchase a PMV, which Nelson had returned with interest (\$340). Among the reasons for Evan giving a pati for Nelson on this occasion were (i) to make good the particular debt he had incurred at the previous exchange; (ii) to show his appreciation for the

The nature of the urban exchange relationships set up between Kaugel and Tipuka showed clearly in the Kaugel reaction to what was eventually given them. The Melpa men raised only a little more than they had on the first occasion (in the region of \$220), which was spent on fifteen cartons of beer, fourteen hens and cooked food, to which was added (before Evan's contribution) a cash gift of \$70. The Kaugel opinion was that there would be no further exchange between them: had the Melpa gift been much larger they might have continued 'the moka', but it had obviously reached a terminal point. The Melpa were regarded as only just paying back the debt owing: they had been unable to 'add anything on top', which is the component that gives prestige to the donors.¹

To the exchange came men from almost all of the Kaugel and Nebilyer (Temboka) groups in Moresby. Kuklumint Tom acted as chief organiser, along with a well-known man from a Nebilyer Valley tribe, Kopilike. In addition to several Kuklumint and Kopilike were men from fifteen other Kaugel and Nebilyer tribes (in total there are in Moresby men from approximately twenty-six tribes from these regions).

There were also individuals from six of the seven Western Melpa tribes with men in Moresby. Antagonism exists at home between Northern (Dei) and Western (Mul) Melpa, and the alliance with Kaugel was predictable. But one Western Melpa, Kummdi David, had firmly allied himself with the Tipuka, and he had been given to generously by the Tipuka (gift 2) precisely because they recognised the pull of other loyalties: 'He has come inside us - plenty Kummdi do not like us and have gone to the other side, so we are afraid he will feel bad and so we gave to him well'. He was

Footnote 1 (continued)

large 'interest' (Pidgin, profit) he had received on his loan; and (iii) to welcome Nelson's wife, who had just arrived from Hagen. Others regarded Evan's action as a defection because they had been waiting on his readiness in timing the prestation; and then he did not join them.

¹ It should not be thought that transactions on the Kaugel side went completely smoothly. Nelson criticised the way in which Tom distributed the beer. He was blamed for not being able to conduct a proper distribution but just let everyone grab what they thought was their due.

prominent among those who helped in the cooking and thus placed squarely on the side of the donors.

While some Central Melpa assisted the Tipuka-Kawelka, a few others (including two who had been recipients of Tipuka-Kawelka gifts the previous time) on the basis of their independent links with Kaugel and Nebilyer men also received from the Kaugel. They came from five of the thirteen Central tribes.

A final point to note in the personal allegiances of the migrants is the position of Richard. Kawelka Richard, while in Moresby, married the daughter of a Kopilike man, strictly on the Nebilyer side, but referred to by Richard's clansmen as Kaugel. Richard comes from the same clan as Adrian. On the first occasion (gift 1) he helped Adrian with the equivalent of \$12. When Adrian and the others distributed the gifts from the Kaugel men, Richard's wife was given \$2. Like many of his clansmen, Richard did not get anything. On the third occasion, when his clansmen were again giving to his wife's people, Richard contributed a minimal \$2, and then kept away from the compound. Far from making the car he had available for the Tipuka-Kawelka to use, he brought several of the Kaugel guests in it, and sat for a while with them. As someone from Northern Melpa commented, he helps both sides and eats with both sides when they eat.

The main body of Kaugel,¹ as they would at home on entering a ceremonial ground, formed into a body and marched impressively in. They arranged themselves in an orderly circle in front of the stacked cartons of beer. The trestle on which was laid the cooked meat and vegetables was brought forward and put in front of them, while the money was placed on top of the beer. Short speeches were made by Adrian, Terry, Evan and Tipuka Paul, mainly to the effect that there was nothing to say. They acknowledged that only a bare return was being made for the Kaugel gift, for this had been raised by only a few men, not the many they had hoped would help. There was some awkwardness on the Kaugel part and no real attempt at a speech in reply. Tom and another then began to lay out the beer in rows of two. A number of Kaugel began crowding up to claim what they felt was their due. The hosts kept out of the way so that the Kaugel could distribute the items in privacy, as is traditional convention at food distributions.

¹ In all the Kaugel side numbered some sixty men, and three or four wives came too.

These transactions show Kaugel and Melpa men in Moresby attempting to act as groups. I have paid considerable attention to the details of the exchanges, for it is a clear example of the limits to which traditional principles of organisation can be applied to the town context. The ideology of the transactions, first the compensation and then the moka, is home-based; the sociology is not. The contrast is one of segmentation level rather than number. As to the number of men involved, the Moresby exchanges were on a par with inter-clan or inter-tribal transactions. But there is no direct precedent for Kaugel and Melpa men interacting on a block basis, although one model lies in the recent attempts at home to solve inter-Council disputes through compensation payments.

The organisation needed to raise the contributions was also conducted along familiar principles. On the first occasion, men from particular local groups were asked to make donations. These were also, non-traditionally, referred to as taxis mani (a personal tax), which pointed up the fact that the donations would be anonymous. As big-men at home maximise their personal networks, the Northern Melpa organisers tried to enlarge their support base by involving many others in the distribution when they became recipients themselves (gift 2). They distributed gifts to sets of contacts on a tribal basis (Kuli, Kumndi, Ndika, Mokei, Minembi, Yamka, Welyi). This move failed precisely because the main inter-group gifts were not mediated through a network of interpersonal partnerships. The anonymity of the gift put tremendous strain on the leaders, when recipients, because they became wholly responsible for allocating it among men who were thus defined as supporters. They were acting more like distributors of bridewealth or as household heads at a cooking of food than like big-men at moka. When food is distributed at home, the organiser does indeed become responsible for the distribution, and the quality of his tie to the various participants is reflected in the goods they receive. At a public moka of live pigs and shells, however, the partners on both sides know exactly which items are going from whom to whom, and after these have been lined up the recipients quietly take possession of them. The role of big-men on these occasions is quite different, primarily to make speeches. There were no speeches of significance at the Moresby prestations. The recipient leaders were involved in the impossible task of trying to make an equitable distribution, and they found themselves in the same tangles as do bridewealth distrib-

utors, who never have enough items to meet all claims. Bridewealth is only one of many quasi-group activities which link clansmen at home together and a bad distribution does not necessarily mean the termination of future support. But the future of these novel exchange relationships in town hinged only on themselves; there were no other principles of solidarity which the leaders could effectively appeal to. After the initial gift, supporters defined their obligations almost solely in terms of the norm of reciprocity, and those who felt they had not been given enough at the second stage simply withdrew at the third.¹

(ii) Enmities new and old

The lines along which the migrants grouped themselves to restore good feelings among themselves were to some extent predictable from alignments of allies and enemies at home. For example, the Minembi are traditional enemies of the Tipuka and Kawelka, and would not look to them for automatic support, even under the rubric of common Council membership (they all belong to Dei Council). Indeed, invocation of Council loyalties is not a straightforward matter. Andrew Strathern (1972c) has described the political events which since 1967 have rocked what were hitherto relatively unemotional relations between tribes in Dei and Mul Council. Tipuka (in Dei) and their allies acquired a new enemy in the Nengka tribe (Mul) and its other Western Melpa allies, and the Minembi, geographically interstitial, were put into an ambiguous political situation. There is in any case continuous rivalry between Tipuka and Minembi within Dei Council. In 1970 the then Tipuka Council President was axed by a Nengka man and sent to Moresby hospital. Tipuka and Kawelka migrants in the town rallied to his side and gave him sustained support. Avid attention was paid to news broadcasts; it was necessary for the migrant to keep himself informed of events which affected his own and other tribes at home. Individuals became circumspect in their dealings with other Hageners, and I relate some of the stories with which they were preoccupied. These come mainly from the Dei side. No doubt similar suspicions were rife among Mul men.

A rumour reached the ears of Tipuka migrants that the sick Council President had died. This was quite untrue but

¹ There were a number of unpleasant repercussions. Adrian in particular, a somewhat hot-tempered man, felt that his status had been attacked and became involved in a series of fights over the next two months (see p.243).

it was taken to be 'hidden talk'¹ which signified an intention to kill him. The rumour was traced back to some Nengka men in town. Tipuka men claimed they got the police out to hunt for two men they suspected had started the rumour, but nothing came of the search. However, for a while men from both Tipuka and Kawelka carried pocket knives with them in case an attack should be sprung on any one of them. It was assumed that the tribal enmities at home affected the interpersonal relations of Tipuka and Nengka in town, who before 1967 were 'friends' and sat down together to drink beer.

This enmity already had a local base in Moresby. The attack on the President had been in revenge for the purported murder of a Nengka driver on Tipuka territory in 1967. In 1969 a Northern Melpa man, Keith, had died suddenly in Moresby.² He came from the Klamakae tribe, neighbours of the Kawelka and their allies from time to time. More important perhaps, Keith worked at the same institution as Tipuka Roderick and the others, and associated closely with them in the town (he had recently bought a car along with some of their help).³ His sudden death was interpreted at once as in revenge for the Nengka man killed at home. A specific Nengka migrant was named as the one who had given the poison. That afternoon Keith had gone into a hotel where he was served by this Nengka who was working there as a bartender. Keith asked for a cold drink and the man poured him out a tall glass of orange, and then turned his back to put in some ice. The Tipuka reckoned that this was when he slipped in the poison. All the Nengka together would have agreed on this procedure, delegating the bartender to do the job. The bartender subsequently returned to Hagen. The Tipuka and Kawelka, who thought that something like this might happen, had been taking precautions and the Kawelka companions with Keith on this occasion did not drink with him. But Keith had thought that as a Klamakae he was safe.

¹ Pidgin, tok bokis, an innuendo or insinuation, a secret way of saying something whose meaning will be apparent only to those in the know.

² Possibly from a heart attack. He was described as showing no signs of illness prior to his death, circumstances which would immediately give rise to suspicions of poisoning.

³ He was connected to Roderick also by his wife's sister's marriage.

Avoidance of hotels where Nengka men worked was kept up till well into 1971. A party is safe. When there are several men it is difficult for poison to be administered individually but a Tipuka or Kawelka man would be afraid to drink by himself. Even if he were not served by a Nengka, there was always the possibility that he would get drunk and lose his senses and someone might take advantage of his stupor. These fears do not act as complete checks on an individual's behaviour but mean that if he does drink by himself he is regarded by others as rash and provocative. Indeed some said that the Nengka were provoked into killing Keith by what Adrian, a Kawelka, had said to them one day when he was drinking at the hotel where the Nengka barman worked. In a drunken state he abused other Nengka there. The insulting monologue was reported as something like this:

We kill you about on our roads [in direct reference to the Nengka man who had been killed in a car accident on Tipuka territory] like pigs and frogs [a particularly insulting epithet] that we run over in our cars! Birds and frogs, we run you over! If you want to poison us, you won't be able to. We are strong, like haus kapa [a house with a corrugated iron roof], it would take a strong man to break us down!

Keith was the first man associated with Tipuka or Kawelka to enter the hotel after this event.

Although these hostilities and the emotions they give rise to emanate from the home situation - and Adrian's remarks referred directly to this - we can see that the actual sequence of events was built up from happenings (provocative words in a bar) and relationships (association of a Klamakae man with Tipuka through common employment) peculiar to the town.

Enmity with Nengka cut across personal contacts which Tipuka and Kawelka men had with men of this tribe. For example, one of their number had married a Nengka woman living in the town. For a while at least they avoided her house. When some visitors came down from home and wanted to be put up it was regarded as safe for the women but not the men to sleep there. Nevertheless, a couple of years later one of Adrian's clan brothers married into Nengka. When a Nengka man in town was trying to raise contributions towards a bridewealth (with a non-Hagener) some Kawelka considered helping him, though at least one Tipuka man refused on the grounds that 'he is not one of us'. Nengka were not alone.

Their traditional allies at home include Kumndi, and some Minembi clans were also incriminated in the attack on the President. In 1968 an empty medicine bottle had been discovered among the possessions of a Kumndi man who was staying with Ndika Patrick (an old friend of Adrian's). It was suspected that this was poison intended for the Tipuka or Kawelka.

People in Hagen were aware of the vulnerability of the migrant's position: he cannot retreat to his 'home' in safety and circumstances bring him into contact with all kinds of men who might have grudges against him. While the trials were being held for various offences which happened in connection with the attack on the President, letters were sent regularly to Moresby with information about what was going on and warnings to take care.

A final point to be made over Tipuka-Nengka relations is that although the units of action and responsibility were primarily tribes, and within them certain clans, the affair was also seen to involve their respective Councils (Dei and Mul). Enmity could be phrased as between Dei and Mul.

In early 1972 Quentin, from Tipuka, was contemplating marrying a Kumndi girl, the sister of a Kumndi migrant (Nigel) in town. Nigel had been friendly with the Tipuka and Kawelka for a long time. One or two migrants attempt to cement their friendships in this way, by promising girls from home to their fellow migrants, although often the arrangements do not come off. The girl was Nigel's sister's daughter. The sister had died while Nigel was still in Moresby, and he was upset that he had not seen her before she died. The daughter had written saying that she was starting to go to courting dances and did not want to embark on marriage before her mother's brother came home.¹ Nigel's reaction was to invite her to come and get married in Moresby. However, Quentin was anxious; after all the woman was from Mul Council. And even if things were all right in town, when he was at home and went to visit his in-laws perhaps they would kill him. He was from Dei and they

¹ An apparently not uncommon sentiment between sisters and brothers also. She was pointing out that under ordinary circumstances this would be the time when Nigel would be looking forward to his share in her bridewealth but as a migrant he was forgoing this. She was also expressing her sorrow for his being away from home.

were from Mul.

The issue was perceived as relating whole areas of Hagen - Mul (Western Melpa) and Dei (Northern Melpa) - and an overall alliance structure emerged in the town. We have seen how the Western Melpa associated with the Temboka and Kaugel people at the Kaugel-Melpa exchange. To a large extent, Central Melpa aligned themselves with the Northerners. This was partly on an individual basis: thus Ndika Patrick (who had discovered the poison hidden by a Kumndi man) is an old friend of Roderick, and particularly of Adrian, for they were both among the very first independent migrants to Moresby in the early 1960s. But anecdotes about the mythical origins of some Central and Northern Melpa tribes were revived to lend credence to their urban alliances. Thus it was recalled that long ago Kawelka and Mokei had been paired together under a common name, before they later dispersed to the regions they now inhabit. The group basis for these alignments in Moresby had been strengthened by an incident in August 1970. This involved an assault on a Ndika soldier who subsequently died from his wounds. Kumndi and Nengka (Western Melpa) were implicated in the fracas which had led to the fight. Among the men who congregated at the police station to 'help the talk of the Ndika' were a number of Northern Melpa. Also speaking on behalf of the victim were one or two Nengka and Kumndi individuals who dissociated themselves from their fellow tribesmen. But the solidarity of the Central Melpa groups and the unequivocal way in which several Northern Melpa regarded themselves as a block on the Ndika side was significant. Indeed, the case was used for the direct expression of further enmity between Tipuka-Kawelka men and their Western Melpa enemies.¹

Briefly, I want to turn to a different kind of enmity, an old and intimate one, the relations Tipuka have with the Welyi. Nengka are strangers to many Northern Melpa men and this contributed to some of the anxiety felt by the latter when they thought about the possibility of poison from this source: a Nengka man might not be recognised. Hostility with Welyi, on the other hand, was long standing. It dated from the days when the Welyi at home suffered military defeat at their hands. It does not have the same quality about it as the more traditional and equally matched hostility between

¹ Facts relevant to the funeral pati which later took place (see Chapter 7).

Tipuka and Minembi, nor the recency of the conflict with Nengka. Tipuka and Welyi are enemies, but were not major ones before this rout. Tipuka migrants in town thus have two models to choose from in their relations with Welyi: they may treat them as friends and remind themselves that enmity was sporadic rather than traditional and is of marginal importance on the modern political scene; or they may treat them as enemies, for since the battle Welyi have kept much to themselves, intermarrying little with their neighbours, so that cross-cutting ties of kinship are few. One sphere in which these choices are expressed is card-playing.

The extent to which traditional loyalties and enmities are mobilised depends on whether there are representatives of particular groups in town. Up to 1970 there had only been a few Welyi in Moresby, who kept up personal contacts with other Dei Council men. Then late in that year several lads from Welyi and Mongaepkae, a related group, arrived from local plantations and congregated together under the leadership of a Welyi man who had been in Moresby for some time. The year 1971 saw a series of card contests between them and the Tipuka-Kawelka.

Card games may be played among friends; they may also be played in an aggressive fashion against enemies¹ and Tipuka-Kawelka regarded some matches with the Nengka or Kummdi in this light. Matches arranged between Tipuka-Kawelka and Welyi were also carried on in a spirit of intimate aggression, a context in which hostility can be expressed but controlled. At the same time the competitive structure of the game also turns erstwhile friends into rivals. This was said of a match which had lasted the whole of one week-end between about six Tipuka and Kawelka and six Welyi and Mongaepkae men: 'We are enemies and play cards with them (the Welyi). At home we fought - the Welyi fought the Tipuka and Kawelka, and now we are birua long kat (enemies at cards)'. The speaker (from Kawelka) went on to say that they were not personally hostile towards the Welyi but opponents in the card-playing context. Moreover, for the purposes of arranging at matches they are birua with other groups as well, with whom they have no traditional enmity. He cited the case of the Kaugel teams against which they play. Card playing thus involves a structure of its own which may or may not perpetuate other feelings of competit-

¹ At home matches are often conducted between the young men of groups which are minor enemies to one another.

iveness. But although he suggested that the old enmities between Tipuka and Welyi were not the total cause of their competition at cards, the departure of a large number of Welyi and Mongaepkae migrants home in 1972 was put down to old fears. Their card matches with the Tipuka and Kawelka eventually erupted into fights and as these became serious the Welyi became very much afraid that they would be really hurt by the Tipuka, and decided to leave. Probably no other group would have quite this reaction.

Examples of personal networks

In the preceding sections some incidental information on networks has already emerged. I have tried to indicate where individuals seem to be acting on the basis of personal rather than other associative ties (such as clan loyalty). It is not always possible to separate these types of relationships and in what follows we shall find points too at which group allegiances become relevant.

At home it is fairly easy to make a distinction between clan- and tribe-based ties and those individual connections a person has which he does not share with his clansmen (such as through his wife). But in fact from within his clan there will be some individuals with whom he associates for particular purposes more than others and their interaction cannot be explained in simple group terms. So in another sense a person's own network of associates cuts right across all other relations, however they are formed: he will have particular 'friends' or 'enemies' from among his own clansmen as he does from connections outside his clan. Here the contrast is not between sociological spheres of action (namely clansmen and a 'network' of extra-clan kin) but between the quality of two types of relationship: the ties which are given, one's relatives within and outside the clan, and the ties one cultivates on an individual basis, one's 'network' of associates, who are usually (but need not be) drawn from these relatives. Nevertheless, the prominence of the clan and such groups means also that the rationale for interaction with clan-based friends, in spite of the idiosyncratic history which may have drawn them together in the first place, is likely to be given a group gloss. Their common membership of a subclan or whatever is the relevant unit will be put forth as the 'reason' for their association. ('Of course they help each other; they are subclan brothers.')

In the town, we have seen some of the effects of clan association. The simple fact is that these clans are just not so important and this combined with an ideology of individual 'autonomy' gives emphasis to the network aspect of relations ('These are my personal friends') rather than also other bases for it ('We come from the same tribe; we are related through our mothers').

The diminished importance of clans is not only related to a different ecology (membership of a tribe in Hagen gives one no rights over land in Moresby) but also to a diminished notion of clanship. Viable social groups at home will never have more than a handful of representatives in town. It could have been that Hageners recreated a microcosm of the rural group structure, so that these men behaved as if they were nothing but representatives of these groups (thus members of a common subclan or clan would associate more closely among themselves than with other members of their tribe). But although one finds instances of this, so that in a crisis a man hopes those immediately related to him will show the kind of support he would receive at home, it is not systematic, and the victim probably knows he can only expect help from relatives whose friend he also is. The clan relationship alone will not guarantee support. Urban Hagen society is not a microcosm of the rural society. Numbers have another effect. One feature of urban social life is the ease with which broad categories of persons can interact, for example, Kaugel and Western Melpa versus Northern and Central Melpa. A facilitating fact here is that the numbers of men involved correspond to the size of groups which are action units at home. Thirty or forty, fifty or sixty men, these are groupings of the order of clans or paired clans in alliance. Thus, on sporadic occasions migrants do form groups which are of the numerical order of clan units, although in reference to their home sociological background they 'represent' whole geographical regions.

This section gives examples of social situations in which an individual's personal ties with others appear as important factors in his relationships. It starts with the composition of households and moves on to brief descriptions of certain leisure activities: card-playing, picnics, pati, drinking, and fighting.

Households: single men. In their account of the strategies adopted by Siane migrants in Port Moresby, Salisbury and Salisbury (1972) give particular prominence to housing.

They suggest that it is the virtual unavailability of houses, except through an employer, which makes pasindia status so degrading to Siane and makes the role of the hut bosboi so important. Thus workers who have held jobs in Moresby for a long period and are in positions of some influence (as are bosboi put in charge of a sleeping hut) tend to have a 'focal role in the network of Siane interaction' (1972:62). The emphasised significance of a core of senior Siane migrants can perhaps be related to Siane lineage structure, with its seniority and 'elder brother' ideology (cf. Salisbury 1962:21). In one or two locations in the town Hageners hold bosboi positions. Bosboi, however, are primarily work overseers and although influential in securing jobs, they do not directly control the huts of the compounds where they work. As far as I know their permission is not sought by pasindia brought in by other workers. Their support might, however, be crucial at a later stage: should the incomer without a job quarrel with the residents, the bosboi might be instrumental in seeing that he goes, or in giving him enough protection to stay.

What leadership there is among Hagen migrants emerges chiefly in the management of fund-raising activities (see Chapter 7). A person in possession of accommodation (such as a domestic servant with a haus boi) who is also a spokesman in public affairs may enhance his reputation by accreting individuals to his household; but it is also possible, as in the notable case of Adrian, to be prominent publicly and a pasindia as far as residence goes. Men who are otherwise ineffectual but are able to offer people accommodation tend to remain ineffectual. The advantages of attracting residential dependents (companionship, protection, sharing of resources) may be offset by the disadvantages (job may be jeopardised if employer regards strangers as a nuisance, fighting may break out among them, resources are stretched if the dependents are out of work for long periods).

Because a bosboi has usually managed to obtain jobs for several of his associates, in the compound there are likely to be numbers of men from related clans. Pasindia and other incomers may activate ties with any one of them, or be given sleeping space by the agreement of them all, as he would in a men's house at home.

In 1972 Roderick, one such bosboi, moved from a compound house to married quarters a few yards away. He now had more room, could entertain more people. In early 1973 one of his

wives lived with him, and he was able to offer hospitality to a friend with no accommodation of his own, who also wanted to have his wife in Moresby. Finally, he was in a position to entertain the local MHA, who brought his wife and one or two followers to Moresby from time to time. Conditions at this compound may differ from those of other compounds in the town and I should not perhaps generalise from them. As far as the two tribes, Tipuka and Kawelka, are concerned,¹ the development of the Administrative College and a housing estate nearby has been bound up with their expansion in Moresby. Nowadays they will point out a garden which they first hacked from the raw soil, or grass they planted by hand. That numbers of them were employed by the College itself has had a cushioning effect: many have had work here, and when later unemployed have been able to fall back on hospitality from those still in work. Of the forty-two unskilled Tipuka-Kawelka migrants who were in Moresby in 1971, at least nine had at some stage found domestic work on the housing estate, though only one, Perry, was working there in July 1971. A total of nineteen (including two of the above nine) had been employed directly by the College. In at least five cases this was their first job. In July 1971 there were, apart from the Tipuka bosboi, six gardeners and cleaners there from Tipuka-Kawelka.

Where were other Tipuka and Kawelka living? Apart from the seven at this compound by virtue of their jobs,² another two also lived there, one a pasindia, recently dismissed, and Adrian. Three drivers lived in employers' compounds and one or two others in a small house provided by an employer for factory workers. But no more than a total of eighteen of the forty-two men (forty-one if one excludes a migrant in jail) were in compound-style housing. It is only in compounds that men are forced into close domestic proximity with non-Hageners. All others (twenty-three) were living either by themselves or with other Hageners, in most cases with other Tipuka-Kawelka. Nine men had haus boi of their own, one of them (Matthew) putting up three others, all without houses but in employment, and three each putting up a single man. Richard lodged with his wife's people in town while six men (three of them pasindia or new arrivals) shared a converted caravan belonging to Timothy from Minembi. One man lodged with an associate from the Welyi

¹ See previously p.128

² Though in 1971 Roderick did not always sleep there (see p.212).

tribe. In short, nine migrants had individual houses of their own, and fourteen lodged with others in non-compound-style housing. (Of these lodgers, a total of three only were without work.) Comparative information for Sample I migrants is given in Appendix 3.

Although men from Tipuka and Kawelka are exceptionally well placed, then, with access to a compound where many of their mates work, at any one time only about a quarter of the workers from these two tribes live there; others are scattered through the town. In other compounds, residents may be more isolated. Thus one institution provides individual rooms (two persons per room) for single workers. There was one Tipuka there in 1971, along with a man from a neighbouring tribe (Minembi Evan), and a number of Kaugel. The Tipuka was lucky to have a room to himself, and did not set up any regular household arrangements with anyone else. The style of the single quarters where Roderick and others lodged, however, encouraged the formation of small household groups (see below). Hageners are dispersed in 'predominantly non-indigenous' (Oram 1970b) areas in the town. But while there is no major central location, individuals lucky enough to have both a house of their own and an employer who will tolerate his having visitors, will attract a small nucleus of residents. The residents in turn attract others who visit or spend leisure time there, so that the house becomes a little centre, a place where one calls for entertainment, to find out news, seek information on others. If there are no Hagen 'villages' in town, there are Hagen 'men's houses'.

These minor centres become associated with tribal groups. The associations are limited to the continuing residence of persons from these areas, and centres change location from one year to the next. They are likely to be more permanent when housing is independent of the occupants' employment, an increasingly feasible option with the development of the new housing estates at Tokarara and Morata. The following are examples of the temporary nature of residential constellations.

Mokey Roy is a Central Melpa labourer under Roderick. His most frequent associates were drawn from his Tipuka-Kawelka companions at work. For a long time he had no associates from his own tribe living nearby. Then a Mokey student took up a course at the College, at about the same time as a Mokey fireman was appointed to look after the local fire

station. Both had married quarters, and their houses became centres for other Mokei visiting from elsewhere in the town. Roy went to these dwellings constantly, for entertainment and company, and drank and talked with a whole crowd of Mokei he had not been particularly friendly with before.

A Minembi man called Timothy, a strong personal friend of Tipuka Gerry (with whom he part-owns a car) lived in a converted caravan on the fringes of town. In 1970 two Kawelka lads were sharing with him, but they moved out when one of them was given a haus boi of his own. Timothy then put up six men, including several young newcomers, from Tipuka. They were made to move from there, according to one report, because of the complaints of the kampani masta (works boss) where Timothy worked. (The employer had let him use the caravan.) So the boys decided to build a house of their own. However, other reasons were put about to account for their departure, which fit the incident in with local political history. It was at about this time that Adrian had challenged and fought with Timothy.¹ This made the Tipuka men ashamed to be living in Timothy's house, so they moved out.

Although residents who share a house often come from the same clan as the owner, men from other clans of his tribe may strike up a friendship with him, or extra-tribal links be activated (through matrilateral or affinal relations). Thus a migrant will seek out a cross cousin or 'mother's brother', as did Paul when he was out of work and stayed with Quentin (a classificatory cousin). Friendships developed in the town are also used as the basis for co-residence. Someone seeking a house will thus have many choices open to him which also make it easy to leave if relations with the owner deteriorate.

An employee whose accommodation is tied to his job loses both when he departs. And since it is more than likely he will be supporting others from time to time, his loss con-

¹ See fight no. 4, Table 5.6.

cerns them as well.¹ The house Charles² lived in was the subject of laughing comment. There were many men sleeping there: 'What will happen when the masta gets rid of them all? They will have to sleep 'outside' around the place!'. In actual fact, when the employee left this house, the household was able to reconstitute itself. But ordinarily termination of employment disperses people, although some succeed with the request that they retain the house even if they give up the job. (People sometimes prefer to stay in a job they would otherwise leave because they want the accommodation.) But the composition of households is varying all the time, with the movement of people in and out, and workers may have quite cavalier attitudes towards the housing problem.

At home, households are given some stability by their relationship to family structure and to tasks such as pig-raising and gardening. In the town, 'households' exist as no more than units composed of small numbers of men who tend to share the cooking and eating of food. These are arrangements of convenience and do not lead to enduring obligations between the members. There are three types of households among the unskilled bachelors: (i) in haus boi or other small dwellings inhabited exclusively by people who are all friends of one another, all those who sleep there will usually cook and eat together. (ii) The inhabitants of a compound house, on the other hand, may share sleeping quarters with many others, including non-Hageners. Here the men usually form themselves into smaller groups for cooking purposes. (iii) Migrants who live alone, either in solitary haus boi or in compounds, may cater for themselves, or go to the houses of friends to eat (on a visitor basis), or perhaps more often than others do, eat in a café or buy fish and chips.

¹ One Northern Melpa man who had been told to get out of his house was musing on the fate of those dependent on him. He ran a small business and two men whom he employed could sleep on the premises; another would go to share the house of either X (a Central Melpa man with many links with his own area) or Y (a man from a neighbouring tribe), both domestic servants with haus boi of their own; a visitor from his home clan whom he was putting up could go into the compound where a close brother lived; and a married man, temporarily estranged from his wife's people who were in Moresby, would just have to go back to them.

² See p.157.

Colin works at a bakery and lives in the bakery compound in a room with two Gailala men and a lad from Minj (Western Highlands, but a different language group from Hagen). There are no cooking facilities, and he does little more there than eat the bread and scones provided by the bakery. If he wants a cooked meal, he goes to a wantok's house. At the time I was talking to him, Colin had just placed \$4 with a Chinese storekeeper to his credit. He would draw on this over the fortnight when he wanted food.

Among the residents of a small house, various catering arrangements arise. (i) They may be left informal and casual: whoever gets home from work first or whoever has a little money will buy and cook the food. If only some members of the household are earning, they will expect to support the others; otherwise, it is assumed there will be a rough equality between people's contributions.

The inhabitants of Timothy's caravan sometimes provided for themselves 'together'. For example, over one week one man provided 2 lbs rice and a tin of meat, then a second man provided the same quantity, then a third the same again. The sharing involved only food; cigarettes, soap and such personal items individuals bought themselves for private use.

Such informal arrangements do not always work well. One night everyone may come home assuming that others have brought food, and find no one has; the next night everyone turns up with something. People may then decide to stop sharing and that each find food for himself, either at work or at a cafe or bring provisions home to cook privately. This in turn may break down when some of the household come home fed and others are hungry. The ones who have eaten may feel moved to go out and buy for those who have no money. So the arrangements shift back to sharing again.

(ii) A rotation may be established. One person cooks for one week, another the next, the cook usually also making the purchases. Sometimes quite complicated systems are set up. At one stage four men were living in one house. Their system was related to two things: first, that two of them (A, B) were paid at the end of one fortnight, and two of them (C, D) at the end of the alternating fortnight; and secondly, the practice of mekim sande (see Chapter 7), whereby workers pool their wages.

Each week each of the residents is responsible for certain standard purchases: he buys for the week days 5 lbs of rice, 5 tins of meat, 2 lbs of sugar. At the week-ends arrangements are more fluid and purchases more lavish; frozen meat and vegetables from the market may be included. Tea or coffee and such items are bought when they run out.

A and B at the end of alternate fortnights give the bulk of their wages to each other (mekim sande) and C and D do the same. Over a four-week period, first A receives money, then C, then B, then D. The person who receives from his partner will be the one who buys the food for that week. The standard purchases come to between \$3 and \$4, whereas in addition to their own wages each receives \$16 from his partner. The mekim sande arrangements structure the delegation of responsibility rather than being essential to the financial viability of the set-up.

The four chief residents will also provide for any visitors who come. Their supplies were stretched to cover the appetite of one visitor from home in 1971 who, in their eyes, seemed to consume enormous quantities of food. They cut down the size of their own portions in order to fill his plate. In addition they gave him monetary gifts (A had given \$50, B \$20 and two blankets and a radio he had bought, while C and D were planning to give him money). They would not expect the visitor to contribute to the household or spend money of this magnitude on items to be consumed in Moresby.

(iii) Sometimes, especially in large households, everyone contributes a little money and one man is delegated to do the shopping and cooking. At week-ends this may be regular practice, in addition to different week day arrangements.

Households do not necessarily stick to one arrangement; they may switch from one to another, or alter as members come and go. The elaborate example mentioned under (ii) probably would not last more than a couple of months.¹

¹ I have not covered all permutations. One domestic servant who shares a house with another employee, a Papuan woman, pays her from time to time (\$1 or \$2) and she cooks for him.

Where a household provides for a number of pasindia or visitors, the composition of eating groups may change from day to day. On one night, a house which was a centre for men from the Remndi, Kumndi and Nengka tribes (Western Melpa) held six men and two further new arrivals; the following night, four of these men and two others who had not been there previously. Household members absent themselves from time to time. The composition of households also changes permanently. People can fall out over the catering arrangements, or may use these as a cover for other disagreements: a pasindia outstays his hospitality; someone regularly fails to contribute his proper share of money; or does not cook for his friend who was expecting to come back to a ready meal; or cooks food that the friend had put aside for a special purpose. Quarrels between co-residents break out for all sorts of reasons, but because they are members of a common domestic unit, the links of hospitality and sharing which are being disrupted are quite often brought into argument. If an actual fight brings the attention of the employer, then the non-employee(s) may be evicted. Sometimes the employee himself hopes for this outcome, calling on an outsider to do what as a wantok he cannot. But much depends on the general tenor of the residents' relationships.

Brian, a domestic servant, had for several weeks been letting Joe, a driver who had no associates in the compound housing provided for him, use his house.¹ Brian also had a girl friend (from Chimbu) with him and relations between him and his fellow Hageners were tense over the presence of this woman. Joe had been repulsed in his advances, although he believed that others had gone out with her.

A whole crowd of them had been out drinking.

Another friend had presented Brian with a carton of beer, and he brought most of it back home undrunk.

A clansman of his (Francis) started to pull the beer

Footnote 1 (continued)

Another is sometimes fed by his employer; another cooks for himself over an open fire outside his haus boi. He is not allowed to have permanent guests though he looks after the possessions of some of his wantok and invites friends to eat with him from time to time. Depending on who has the money, he or they will buy the food to cook at his home.

¹ In recognition, Joe at one stage presented Brian with a carton of beer.

out of the fridge and sat down to consume it, while others shouted at him. There was a lot of bickering. While this was going on, Joe, who had been drinking elsewhere, came up. He was already in a maudlin state and began crying tears of rage when he discovered that there was nothing left for him to eat at the bottom of a saucepan but some burnt rice. He claimed to have given Brian \$1 to buy some frozen meat, and where was it? All he could see was a tin of fish and he detested fish. He accused Francis, who was still stolidly drinking beer, and who in turn told him that Brian and his woman had eaten the meat. Brian grumbled that he hadn't invited anyone to come to his house and what were they all doing? (By this stage there were about ten men there.) Joe in his fury banged the rice saucepan on the concrete, irreparably denting it, and he and his host hit each other. Joe directed a stream of abuse at Brian, calling him a woman, a rubbish man, without any money, so that when visitors came from home he never had anything to give them! Brian pushed him against a drain pipe cutting Joe's head open. Joe was sobbing. Brian seemed to relent at the sight of the blood and escorted him back to the house to find rice all over the floor, two saucepans and their lids battered beyond repair, broken bottles in his bedroom. He was furious: whose beer was it? Whose money had they been drinking? At one stage he said Joe could go and sleep in the compound, he would not have him in the house again, but later took this back. Joe himself said he'd leave in the morning. He plaintively protested that it had been the others who had broken the pans, and he, a wanpis, had no one to look after him and now that he had been wounded he might lose his job (if he wasn't up in time in the morning) but of course no one would think of that ...

At the suggestion of others Brian agreed to compensate Joe for his wound (he was shaken to see the blood he had drawn) if Joe would replace the pans. But although Joe persisted in denying his responsibility, and refused to make any payment, he still continued living with Brian.

To describe households within a compound, I consider the single employees; gardeners, cleaners and domestic staff of the College where Roderick is bosboi (see Fig. 5.2). Near dwellings for married staff lie three single men's houses

Table 5.2

Inhabitants of two single men's houses in a compound

House	Room	At August 1970	At July 1971
A	1	<u>Gerry</u> , <u>Raymond</u> , <u>Lesley</u> , <u>Mark</u> (<u>pas</u>)...All T,K	<u>Gerry</u> , <u>Lesley</u> , <u>Gregory</u> (T,K)
	2	1 from Gulf	1 Western
	3	<u>Roderick*</u> , <u>Mitchell</u> and <u>Martin</u> ...All T,K	<u>Adrian</u> , <u>Mitchell</u> (both K) <u>Saul</u> (<u>pas</u>)(T)
	4	2 EHD)
	5	2 EHD) various EHD
	6	2 EHD) (incl. <u>pas</u>)
C	7	<u>Clive</u> (WM) (<u>pas</u>), 1 EHD, 1 Central D	Chimbu men
	8	<u>John</u> (WM), <u>Roy</u> (CM)	<u>Roy</u> (CM), <u>Frank</u> (NM)
	9	<u>Wilson</u> (T), <u>Frank</u> (NM)	<u>Wilson</u> (T), 1 Western D
	10	<u>Sebastian</u> (NM), <u>Ian</u> (T)	<u>Ian</u> (T), <u>Sebastian</u> , <u>Max</u> (NM)
	11	1 Chimbu D	Eastern Highlanders
	12	3 Chimbu D	1 Chimbu D

* bosboi

Note: T or K stands for Tipuka or Kawelka; NM, Northern Melpa apart from T or K tribes; CM, Central Melpa; WM, Western Melpa; and pas for pasindia. All these individuals are Hageners and names are underlined. Non-Hageners are indicated by district origin (EHD, Eastern Highlands District) and simply by number of persons. Some of the relationships between the Tipuka-Kawelka men are given in Appendix 4.

and a block with washing and laundry facilities. In August 1970 the married quarters were inhabited by various people from Morobe, the Huon Gulf, Rigo, Kairuku and the Sepik River, some of them working directly under the Tipuka bosboi and all known by name to the Tipuka-Kawelka migrants in the single quarters.

Each of the three houses is divided in the middle by a covered corridor, along which are placed sinks, a stove and a cold water drinking fountain, and which at the back opens out into a small verandah with tables and benches. Although the kitchen area is common to the residence of the house, those who share a single room are most likely to cook together. We shall be concerned with the rooms in houses A and C, the middle house, B, being inhabited by men who keep different working hours from those in A and C. 'wantok (fellow workers)', commented a Tipuka gardener indicating other gardeners and the cleaners who live in A and C and excluding the men of B. In 1970 the B men were from Lae, Finschhafen, Samarai and Kiwai. Tipuka-Kawelka men say 'We don't know their names'. Table 5.2 indicates who was sleeping where in August 1970.

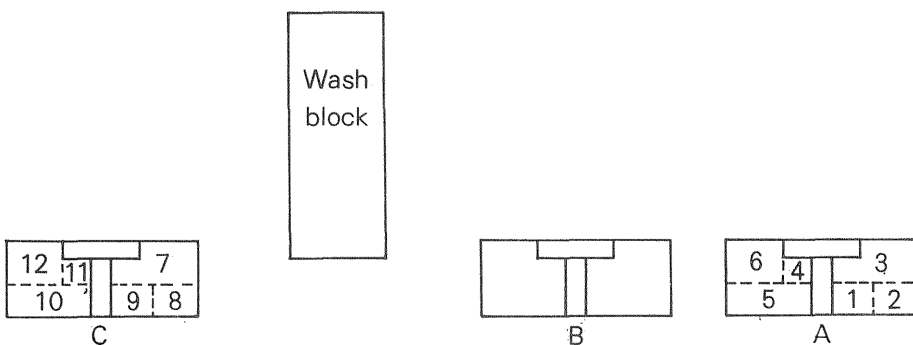


Figure 5.2 Schematic representation of single men's quarters in a compound.

In August 1970 the two houses thus contained eight working Tipuka-Kawelka, along with four other Hageners and two pasindia. All twelve workers had beds of their own, the two pasindia sharing a bed or sleeping on the floor. Raymond and Lesley were described as sleeping with Gerry because he was an older man and could look after them.¹ Frank slept with Wilson because he had no close wantok of his own there when he moved in. Households are constituted as follows.

Room 1. Those who share this room² eat together. Sometimes they entertain Perry, a domestic at a nearby house, but this man may also eat with Roderick (Room 3) and with Wilson (Room 9). Gerry, Raymond and Lesley take turns to cook.³ Perry does not contribute to the household as a member. Mark, out of work, was a former contributing member and is now supported by the others.

Room 3. Roderick, Mitchell and Martin also form a household, each taking it in turns to cook.

Rooms 7 and 8. Clive eats with John and Roy, as he is pasindia at the moment. Clive often sleeps in Room 8 as well.

Room 9. Wilson and Frank share cooking.

Room 10. Sebastian and Ian also cook together, taking turns.

There is a bit of informal sharing among the non-Hageners. The Papuan in Room 2 was described as having no wantok of his own, 'so we (the Hageners in Rooms 1 and 3) talk and joke with him'. Once he brought sago from his own place for Gerry and the other Hageners when they expressed curiosity as to what it was like. But he does not eat regularly with them. If he has no food he will ask them for help and they will give him ingredients for him to cook himself. Sometimes the younger boys, Raymond, Lesley and Martin, eat with

¹ Gerry comes from Tipuka and Raymond is the son of a neighbour who sleeps near Gerry's place at home. Lesley, from Kawelka, has a brother who married a girl from Gerry's clan, so the two are 'brothers-in-law'.

² The partitions between the rooms are up to the ceiling and make each unit relatively private.

³ That is, the main meal during working days, the evening meal; the midday meal is a much more casual affair, not involving cooking, while week-ends are another matter altogether.

him. With the Eastern Highlanders Hageners occasionally give and receive food, cooked or not, this being done most regularly with the man in Room 7 who moved away from his compatriots because they were too noisy. The same tokens of friendliness also exist between the Hageners and Chimbu men there.

Relations are close between the Central Melpa man (Roy) and the other Northern Melpa; Roy was brought up with a Northern Melpa tribe (Ukini) as a boy. They are a little more strained with the Western Melpa men. Roy himself claims a distant kin relationship with Clive and John, both from the same Remndi clan. He said of them: 'My father and their father were matrilateral kinsmen at home and so when I found them in Moresby I was friends with them'. Clive also has a link with Tipuka men of Roderick's clan who are his classificatory mother's brothers; but some of the Tipuka and Kawelka made discreet enquiries about their backgrounds, and discovered that John had a wife at home from the actual Nengka clan whose men had attacked the Tipuka President. A number of his Northern Melpa workmates took care not to be in too close association with him and eventually he moved out of town to work at Goldie River. He later returned home to Hagen; Clive also left.

A year later, there had been a number of changes. Six Tipuka-Kawelka workers were there together with the recently dismissed Saul who was still sleeping there. Roderick, with his first wife in town, was sleeping in Perry's house, within a few minutes' walking distance of the compound. He had given his bed to another domestic servant, Adrian. Both these men are linked to Roderick through a personal kinship tie. Adrian is his father's sister's son and Perry belongs to his mother's brother's sub-sub-clan. Max, from Sebastian's tribe, was a newcomer, as was Gregory, a half-brother to Lesley. Gerry had since obtained a car¹ and was keeping to himself; 'laik bilong mi; mi raun na kaikai long haus belong ol man (I do what I want; I travel around and eat at various men's houses'. His participation in compound life had become perfunctory, and Gregory and Lesley often joined up with Mitchell and Adrian. Mitchell sometimes cooked for himself, sometimes with Adrian and sometimes with all three of the Kawelka men (Adrian, Gregory and Lesley).

Room 8. Roy and Frank cooked together, sometimes sharing with the inhabitants of Room 10 if there was plenty of food.

¹ See pp.145 and 199.

Room 9. Wilson, who had had a job change which he regarded as a promotion taking him outside the commonality of ol leba (the unskilled worker), kept much to himself.

Room 10. Sebastian, Ian and Max 'ate from one saucepan' (as the phrase is). Sebastian and Ian were on an evening shift, but Max stopped work at 4 p.m. and usually did the cooking.

Adrian was soon after forced to leave. He got into a fight with Mitchell, his room mate. This happened after a funeral feast (pati) which had been held on the grassy open area at the back of House A, often used for public gatherings by Hageners.¹ The compound inhabitants were expected to take a prominent part in the cooking preparations.

The feast involved cooking four pigs and everyone was a little nervous, for it was a rare event and one that had to be carried out properly. Although all the Hageners in the compound had contributed money, a small but active group including Mitchell detached themselves from the others and stolidly played cards throughout the day. Gerry left before the prestations and went off in his car. Mitchell and the other card players remained engrossed in a game with Chimbu and Eastern Highlands compound residents. Adrian had played earlier but he broke off to help Roderick, and along with Ndika Patrick did much of the hard work connected with preparing the ovens, butchering the animals and deciding on the distribution.

Adrian was wrought up; he was deeply involved in trying to make the affair a success and, as over the Kaugel-Melpa exchange, felt that others had let them down financially. Card games sprang up again once the recipients and the bulk of the non-residents had left. Mitchell and Adrian played opposite each other and Adrian lost his money.² It seems that Adrian provoked the fight which followed. The next day, the results of the fight could be seen: spots of blood on the sheets of

¹ For a detailed account see pp.333-42.

² Adrian had been planning to send a sum of money home to mollify his parents and his two wives who were becoming increasingly irritated by his prolonged absence. The \$50 he lost on cards on this occasion was almost all that he had saved.

Mitchell's bed, a great hole punched in the asbestos walling of House A and Mitchell going off to the dentist to have his front teeth mended. Adrian lost face over this event. A clansman commented that he was too quickly roused to a fight, his talk was too 'hot', he abused everyone, even his wantok. He should look out: if he went on like this he would find himself without support one day.

The immediate result of the fight was that the European overseer in charge of the labourers told Adrian to clear off, and removed Roderick's bed, which Roderick could have back if he started sleeping at the compound again. Adrian slept on the floor for a day or two but faced the fact that he would have to find somewhere else, and went off to Patrick's house. Roderick and the others were also forbidden to have any more visitors/pasindia in the compound houses.

The enmity between Adrian and Mitchell was situational. Later Adrian was involved in other fights,¹ and Mitchell helped him.

Households: married men. A small but growing number of Hagen migrants have wives living with them. Outside the army, there were ten Hagen wives in town at July 1971, and about the same number of non-Hagen wives or consorts. Two wives came from elsewhere in the highlands (Mendi and Sinasina), while at least two had Chimbu girl friends. Perhaps six Hagen migrants had Papuan wives or girl friends, though this may be an underestimate, while the wife of one skilled worker was from Madang. There were only five couples with children, about a quarter of the unions. Less than a tenth of the general migrants (skilled and unskilled), then, had regular sexual partners.² The prevailing ethos among most workers was that of bachelorhood and the attempts of some to acquire partners in the town (bringing wives from home was another matter) led to considerable tension in their peer group. Although married men give shortage of accommodation as the main reason for not bringing their own wives, this can also be a rationalisation of a positive

¹ See pp. 244.

² The number of couples in Moresby has increased dramatically since 1971, and provided a new focus for single migrants, who enjoy the household services which women provide.

reluctance to give up a bachelor existence.¹

In households including a married couple, cooking falls naturally to the wife, although purchasing may be done by the husband, or by them together. Although a married couple do all they can to get a house of their own, this does not mean that they form an exclusive unit. Most will be putting up other Hagen men. One woman cooked for a tribesman of her husband who was training to qualify in the same job as her husband; another had her brother staying with her on a long visit, and also shared her house with the wife of a soldier without married accommodation. When houses became available at the new Tokarara estate in late 1971, a Central Melpa bachelor who had put his name down for one allowed a Kaugel couple to use it, along with himself, a Northern Melpa friend and another Kaugel man. He and the married man paid the deposit for the house, while the couple and the Northern Melpa friend (who for a while had a Chimbu girl living with him there) shared the rent. Another Kaugel couple moved into a house on the estate along with their daughter who was married to Richard (Northern Melpa). The father-in-law paid the deposit on the house and he and the son-in-law shared the rent. The wives may cook on alternate days or cook together.

When there is a woman in the household, contributions are regarded in a rather different light from arrangements between bachelors. In most cases the wives are not working and therefore not earning anything. Men seem to feel obliged, in a way which almost suggests they perhaps feel guilty about keeping women in town with nothing to do, to give them money, and a wife will find various of her husband's clansmen or tribesmen making her small gifts from time to time. In turn women may more readily than men complain about the number of mouths to be fed, and that the men she feeds have not helped her. For her relationship with them is different from the casual reciprocity which characterises all-male households. Her role as cook is more definite and she demands more explicit recognition of what she does.

The strenuous and somewhat exaggerated complaints of Violet, a Western Melpa woman, are worth quoting.

Her complaints were voiced to me the day after she had told two other couples who were sleeping with

¹ The general position of women is described in a later chapter.

them to leave the house.¹ She said the same to a clansman of her husband who had single quarters of his own in a compound very near by. This still left three other clansmen and a visitor. She said: 'Oh, here there are so many people! They do not buy food or help with anything. R. [one of the evicted husbands] never gave me any money - just meat pies occasionally [from the bakery where he worked], and his wife does not work.² K. (the other husband) used to help me with money - oh yes! A dollar or something like that [sarcastic]. When we were at our previous house U. slept with us, and he really helped us with food. I used to buy it one day and he the next. He was good.'

She also had some scathing comments on her husband's contributions. 'He does not give me much money. I had some saved in my bank book [from her previous job] and I used this to buy food - to buy food for his pasindia. My own money! I hit him for this. He should give me money each fortnight, but he doesn't. Perhaps he eats 'outside' [that is, before he comes home]. I alone look after his guests. But I am a woman who plays cards; I play cards all the time and win money. When I win, I give some to [the visitor from her husband's clan] - I could even buy his plane ticket home!'³

Against this account should be put the fact that some couples have a reputation for generosity, allowing others to use their house and regularly providing food for dependents. A woman who is ready to put up with this situation also finds it easier to make these men contribute financially to the household: if she cooks daily so that they come to depend on her, she can use the simple sanction of making them wait for their meal or just going out one evening in order to press her point home. The woman who regards extra mouths as a burden and the presence of others an incursion

¹ A particularly spacious dwelling, with several rooms, in a secluded location.

² She herself had been employed for a couple of years previously.

³ The standard gift which visitors receive from their close relatives in town. She is pouring scorn on her husband's financial ability.

into privacy has no weapons but to claim her 'rights' as a wife against her husband. She may well antagonise him by this. Indeed the exclusiveness which a wife sometimes likes to claim over her house may meet with resistance from bachelor migrants. The household mentioned on p.211 was uneasily balanced between the Northern and Central Melpa men and the Kaugel couple. Both Central and Northern Melpa men criticised the Kaugel woman for not making guests welcome, only putting up with her because the husband was 'a good man'. One Northern Melpa man came on the Kaugel couple quarrelling one day and reported how she had spoken to him rudely in Pidgin. He answered back (so he told me later):

'This isn't your house! It belongs to my brother!
But you Kaugel come and fill the house up. But
it isn't your haus compaun - if you are angry with
me, I'll tell my brother, and he can get rid of you!'

Card-playing. This is one of the most important activities for which people congregate at the houses of others. It used to be illegal but has always had an important part in the migrants' lives, and like other forms of gambling supports monetary values (cf. Oeser 1969:62). The unskilled labourer who thinks of himself as being in the town to earn money yet whose wages are less than \$10 a week, is perhaps given an impetus to carry on by the possibilities¹ of winning ten times that sum at cards. Regular players usually know each other well so that the money is seen as circulating among themselves rather than being spent on outside sources of entertainment, and losers hope they will be able to redress the balance at return matches.

Card-playing brings in non-Hageners and this is especially frequent where residence is shared as in a compound. Someone like Francis, who keeps himself apart as far as cooking and sleeping is concerned, will enter into matches with other members of his compound house. An idea of the range of matches can be gained from a synopsis of a Tipuka-Kawelka's (A's) games over a period of a month.

¹ Similar possibilities exist at home of course, although the size of the sums usually involved tend to be smaller. For a description of the game 'Lucky', of which many varieties are played, see Burton-Bradley (1968:29F). The laws against card-playing were repealed in 1974.

Table 5.3

Synopsis of some card games played by A over a month*

1	2	3***	4#	5	6
Date	Played at house of	Team (A's partners)	Versus Team (opponents)	Total number present	A's losses & gains
1st (Sat)	Kaugel _a	A + H	Kaugel _a + WM	7	- \$4
2nd (Sun)	NM man**	A + H	Kaugel _b)		+ \$3
2nd (Sun)	NM man	B + Q	Kaugel + NM)	29##	0
2nd (Sun)	NM man	B + Q	NM + CM)		
7th	A	A + H + I + V	Welyi _a	12##	+ \$4
9th (Sun)	Welyi _a	A + H + Q	Welyi _a)		- \$5
9th (Sun)	Welyi _a	A + H + D + E + C + J	Welyi _a)	14	+ \$19
9th (Sun)	Chimbu	A + Q + V	Chimbu	d.kn.##	+ \$4
11th	A	A + T	2 Welyi	4	between A + T + \$9
13th	Welyi _a	A + H + T	Welyi _a	15	+ ?
15th (Sat)	M, Q	A + H + K + L + M + Q	various from Chimbu, Tari, Popondetta, Karema, Wabag, Kaugel	14	- ?
15th (Sat)	Welyi _a	A + T + E + R	Welyi _a	12	- \$6
16th (Sun)	T	A + T	Welyi _a)		- \$2
16th (Sun)	T	B + D + E + F + P	Welyi _a)		0
16th (Sun)	T	A + U	Welyi _a)	15##	- \$2
16th (Sun)	T	A + T	Welyi _a)		- \$6
16th (Sun)	A	A + T	3 Welyi	5	- \$10

Table 5.3 (continued)

1	2	3***	Versus	4#	5	6
Date	Played at house of	Team (A's partners)		Team (opponents)	Total number present	A's losses & gains
21st	Welyi _a	A + B + Q + J + M + R		Welyi + WM)))	14	+ ?
21st	Welyi _a	A + B + Q + R		Welyi _a))		?
23rd (Sun)	A	A + S		NM + WM	5	+ \$6 between A + S
23rd (Sun)	N?	A + H + B + N + L		WM	8	+ \$1
24th	A	A + V		NM + Chimbu	4	no stakes
29th (Sat)	A	A + H + Q + M		Welyi _a		- ? (H lost ± \$100)
29th (Sat)	F	A + F + T		Welyi _a	10	?
30th (Sun)	A	A + G + M ? (+ O)		Welyi _a	10	?
31st	Kaugel _c	A + Q + C		Kaugel _c	8*	?
31st	Kaugel _d	A + Q + C + V		Kaugel _d + WM + NM	10*	+ \$40 between A + Q

Note: NM stands for Northern Melpa; WM, Western Melpa; CM, Central Melpa.

* : Does not give all the games played but merely indicates some of the alignments on particular occasions. At any one session there are probably several shifts in the partnership.

** : Not a player in Alex's games.

*** : Letters used to indicate individuals.

: General origin of player indicated.

: Women present and in most cases took part.

Key to synopsis

1. A's partners and the men 'on his side', indicated by letter, come from the following groups:

B - C same clan as A (within Northern Melpa)
 D - G other clans in A's tribe
 H - P from clans of pair-tribe and allies to A's tribe¹
 Q personal friend from same region as A
 R - S from same region as A, both Welyi men, who also played with the Welyi^a team
 T - U personal friends from^a another region (CM)
 V Chimbu girl friend of A's

2. A's opponents

Kaugel various groups of Kaugel men: a and b overlap,
 a,b,c,d but the others are discrete; c includes
 Nebilyer men

Welyi^a a company of about ten men, of whom four to
 eight² might play on any one occasion. They
 were drawn from two closely related Northern
 Melpa tribes, Welyi and Mongaepkae, and a
 Tipuka man also consistently played with them.

Chimbu Chimbu contacts of A through his girl friend.

WM, NM, designate the regional origin of individual
 etc. players not otherwise indicated.

The number of partners who play on one side may vary during the course of several games, a person counting himself as 'with' those he partners or who lend him money or those spectators who give him encouragement. A said that when he played among men of his own tribe he had no regular partners but when he played 'outside', that is, with others, there were four or five people whom he usually partnered. Two of them (T and U) figure in these games (the others are from Western Melpa and the Nebilyer). In this series of games A's most regular partners were Q, a personal friend, and H, a man from a neighbouring tribe who was living with him at that period. The alignments are not permanent, although a factor which encourages duration is the desire of losers to recoup their losses by playing return matches

¹ It was not clear whether O actually partnered A or not.

² If fewer than this number played, or other men from these groups not of their 'team', the designation 'Welyi' appears without the subscript.

against previous opponents. The composition of 'teams' may be partly a matter of whim, especially when stakes are low or non-existent. F who played with A on the 16th had previously played against A's other partners on the 2nd.

The losses and gains recorded for A are not necessarily net ones (there is no record of how much he put into the games) but simply signify A's overall impression of how well or how badly he did; they also include money lent to him by friends. During the course of a match someone may play with the money of several other people. He usually tries to return this within a fairly short period, later on in the game or within a day or two. Should people play explicitly on someone else's behalf, there is no debt to be repaid if the money is lost.

One or two of the games are worth individual comment. Those held on the 2nd were at a private house which had become quite a centre for Northern Melpa people and men congregated there regularly at week-ends. Only three out of the very many games of that day are noted in the Table. In addition to the Hageners there (nineteen Northern Melpa, one WM, the wife of one of the NM men, one CM and seven Kaugel), was a Chimbu friend of Alex. The occasion on the 15th was typical of groupings which form in a compound dwelling with residents from many different parts. The non-Hageners are recorded as opponents, although they probably did not make up a single team but played against Alex's friends in varying combinations.

Games are not always played for stakes among people who know each other well (see the entry for the 24th). On the other hand the amount of money involved may make the losers frantic to sustain play and the game may become very serious indeed (as over the 15th and 16th). The average turnover is often only a handful of dollars. But sometimes it is much more substantial.

A man (V) who was out of work described how he had managed to save \$30 from his wages at his previous job, and lived off this for a while. Then his luck turned. He partnered two men (X and Y) from a tribe traditionally allied to his own in a match at which they won \$100 altogether off their opponents, who were from another region. He had put in \$10 and got \$40; X and Y gained \$50 and \$10 respectively. V and X went off and spent \$14 on beer. They were very drunk at the end and began fighting between themselves for no reason he could afterwards recall or

care to tell. During the fracas V lost the remaining \$30 that was in his pocket.

Some migrants refuse to play cards for long periods because they seem to be constantly losing money; others play all the time, whatever their luck. X subsequently lost two large sums within a month: \$50 to a tribesman who sleeps in the same compound and \$70 to a migrant (W) from another region. Earlier in the year he had played W and lost an even bigger sum:

X was bitterly bemoaning his losses. In a game with W which had lasted two days W had won \$160 of his money. Two people had helped him with a total of \$24 but the rest had been his own. X had been so furious at losing early on in the game that he had taken all his savings from his bank account. But it had been no use and W took it all. He was angry and helpless: 'It is my own fault', he said. A particular cause for chagrin was the fact that he had been intending to send this money home. He was in addition embarrassed by the presence in town of the mother of a clan sister who is married to a friend of his to whom he is also related matrilaterally. On several scores¹ he should have been helping her with small presents of money. His embarrassment was increased by the fact that he had failed also to fulfil his traditional obligations at the time when the girl was married, since he should have helped in the bridewealth. Now the girl's mother was here he recognised his duty to make her gifts, and lamented that he could not.

Gambling also interferes with town-based investments.

Two clan brothers were planning to get together money to buy a PMV vehicle. One raised \$400, the other \$150. They approached a third clansman, but he was amassing funds for a bridewealth payment to a girl he wanted to marry. Their plans petered out. One of the brothers lost \$300 on cards and the other \$120. They were part of a partnership which lost something like \$600 over a fortnight's steady play. Everyday for two weeks they congregated together at lunchtime

¹ Men feel a particular obligation towards female visitors who are seen by them as ordinarily not capable of earning money, and in any case as representing home obligations even more than male visitors.

and in the evenings to continue the games. They lost to close acquaintances who were working at the same place. One of the brothers was especially bitter about his losing. He had been in Moresby perhaps eighteen months and had saved steadily through this time. This was the first major occasion on which he saw his bank balance collapse completely and his reaction was to say that he could never be bothered to save again.

While people talk more readily about what they lose than what they win, the winners should not be forgotten. The victors of the above match were all unskilled labourers in low-paid jobs.

Losing money on cards does not cause much personal hardship to single men: the situation is changed if he marries or brings his wife to Moresby. Not only the wife but other men will criticise those who gamble all their money away so they cannot support their family properly. However, wives with little to do all day may also engage in cards for profit.

Violet¹ played regularly with women from other houses near her own in the married quarters where she lived. They included wives of men from Goroka, Popondetta and Goilala. She said she did not know all their names - the Gorokan women she addressed as ana! (Melpa for sister, woman-speaking). For some months she sought out their company daily. One reason was to fill up the hours of a day which she now felt was too long: previously she had been working full time and the imposed idleness was irksome. Violet claimed that it was only her income from cards which was keeping everyone fed. Her husband, on the other hand, saw things differently. He complained that his house was always full of people who had just come to play cards with her and grumbled about their sitting up all night and using up expensive electricity.

Card games are one of the few activities in which both sexes mix and interact freely. As a regular basis for interaction card games lead to fights but can also act as peace-makers.²

¹ See p. 215

² See p. 235-6 for an example.

Picnic week-ends. Very few Hageners go to church or are involved in sport. If they are not playing cards, then the week-end is spent in sleeping and 'rounding' - visiting the houses of other migrants - and often finishes with a rather more elaborate meal than people bother to get for themselves during the week. Sometimes they make up a party to go to the cinema. This is one of Brian's week-ends:

Brian was finishing off his Saturday morning's work when Gerry came up with his car and two Tipuka men. They were joined by Simon who brought along a Poiaka man (Kaugel). They chatted for a while, then went down to Koki market. They bought some cucumbers to eat and met some Central Melpa men. Gerry brought them back and then went to Brian's house for a sleep. Simon went off. Brian went round to Matthew's house (a block or two away) and found Adrian and some Tipuka men and a Chimbu whose name he did not know. Brian had lost his watch and made enquiries about it. When Brian got back to his own haus boi, Francis was there, and another Tipuka man. He drank some water and rescued a packet of cigarettes, then locked up and went round with Francis to a house well known as a centre for a neighbouring tribe, and found a dozen or so men there. He joined them to play cards till about 9 in the evening.

The next day Francis was around at his place early. They went to Bomana to search for a police recruit who said he had a vest he could give Brian. They failed to find him and came back. Richard's father-in-law was at Brian's house, looking for Richard. Francis went off to fetch in some clothing he had washed and left on the line at his compound. Brian had a sleep. When he woke, he went to the house of Sam, a Central Melpa domestic servant, who was a personal friend. A Mokei warder, a Ndika migrant (both Central Melpa) and another Northern Melpa friend were there. They were joined later by Kukilike Ronald who had purchased a saloon car, and Owen, one of Brian's Northern Melpa associates, was driving for him. Brian went off with Ronald and Owen and visited the house of some Chimbu but they were out. They then called in at the house of an Eastern Melpa man, Stewart, who also worked not far from Brian's place of employment. Stewart suggested that they go to the cinema. They made up a party with Stewart and his wife, a married Central Melpa

couple, and one or two others and went to Badili. But Owen and Brian decided not to see the film after all and left the rest there; Owen dropped Brian off at home. Owen returned after a short while with Simon, then went back to Badili to pick up the film-goers. (This was his arrangement with Ronald for being able to use the car.) Simon and Brian went round to the house Brian had been at the evening before, and played cards again till the middle of the night.

Some week-ends, however, are made occasions for picnics. Migrants frankly express the pleasantness of getting away from the town for a while. Picnic arrangements are largely dependent on access to private vehicles. One or two Hagen migrants had such cars (see Chapter 7) and PMV vehicles were also used for outings on Sundays by their owners. These affairs can be very simple: the car is loaded with cartons of beer which the passengers take off to drink in some secluded spot out of town. The driver for the day may be importuned by the others not to drink himself. There is some prestige attached to those who have the resources to organise such occasions, and Francis when he was contemplating buying an old saloon car said one reason was so he could go on picnics. Sometimes they are quite elaborate. In addition to beer, chickens and vegetables may be brought. Other necessities such as banana leaves are scavenged. There are chosen spots where people go to cook the food.

Quentin had acquired a saloon car. One Sunday morning he drove up with it full of people at Brian's house. Owen in Ronald's car followed in a few minutes. They roared off to buy the chickens and vegetables and beer which would be needed, meeting up again at a place outside Moresby known as Seventeen Mile. Gerry and another car load joined them there: they had three cartons of beer and had bought sandwiches at a hotel. Francis and Brian later joined Gerry's party, while Owen and Quentin decided to go on by themselves and cook elsewhere.

On another occasion Richard drove his father-in-law's PMV car and organised a picnic by the river at Seventeen-Mile. They went in the evening, taking five hens for which they had collectively raised the money. Those present included Richard and Matthew, also from his tribe, a Minembi man and several Kaugel - his wife, her parents and younger brother

and sister; the two wives of Kopilike men (Nebilyer Valley) and one of the husbands and a visitor to Moresby from his own clan.

Richard's links through his wife account for the heterogenous nature of this second picnic. It is usual for persons to go on picnics with a much more restricted range of people than they would, for example, play cards with. The fact that food and drink is shared may be a significant element here. Eating food together (as distinct from distributing it) is a semi-domestic activity and people ordinarily eat only in the company of those they are intimate with. Men are also wary of drink. They do not like to become very drunk, away from the town and its services, in the presence of people they did not know well.

Pati: personal exchanges. Friends form little partnerships for the purpose of making formal exchanges with another set of partners. Food and drink is again a major component. At week-ends people often cook up frozen meat and fresh vegetables and invite guests to share the meal, or several men club together to make purchases which they cook at one man's house. But the occasions known as pati (Pidgin incorporated into Melpa, from the English 'party') are rather different from this.

Pati can be used to cover a range of occasions which involve the distribution of beer and foodstuffs. A common element is the formality of the event, for it either creates an obligation to make specific returns later, or itself discharges obligations. Thus the exchanges between Kaugel and Melpa¹ were glossed as pati, as was a funeral distribution described in Chapter 7. Feasts given for visitors or for workers about to depart for home, which will include money gifts to the departing man, are also pati. But most commonly pati refers to occasions at which food and drink is presented to another person or group of people who will later make a return with increment. There need be no further rationale for the exchange (as there was in the Kaugel-Melpa pati series, which focused upon compensation) and migrants make a direct comparison between pati and moka as it is conducted at home.

The basic unit of exchange is a carton of beer, worth roughly \$5. Cooked hens and vegetables, perhaps packets of cigarettes, may be given along with this. A pair of friends

¹ Described on pp. 177-191.

initiate an exchange between them, each calling on a few supporters to help, on the one side to raise funds and on the other to help consume the items. Those who eat or drink then become obligated to assist at the return gift and the former contributors are now invited to share. In the Kaugel-Melpa exchanges a structure of this kind was blown up enormously in scale, in the end failing to sustain itself. Those who make pati exchanges with one another are usually quite closely related. In relations with their supporters, however, the principals do not always avoid the pitfalls which destroyed the Kaugel-Melpa sequence. At every stage of the sequence of gift, return gift, counter gift, return gift and so on, an increment should be added to the original amount received. Often exchanges take place with a lapse of only a few weeks between each event. Since the principals on each side are unable themselves either to raise the entire sum needed for each fresh bout or consume the increasing quantities of beer given away, they find it necessary to expand their circle of supporters. But this in the end has the effect of reducing the flow of gifts. As more people join in, the distributor has more choices to make, and in hoping to ensure the promised support of newcomers, he may alienate those who helped him earlier. Sometimes, when the thing gets too big, individual pairs hive off and start their own pati.

Two points should be stressed about the conduct of pati. First, although it has parallels to the pilai and pati which Ploeg describes for Situm and Gobari and for Kapore,¹ it is not a fund-raising effort. Money is collected by the principal and his supporters, who spend it on beer and food. Their returns come in a like gift and its hoped-for increment later. There is no buying or selling of commodities at the time of the pati. Secondly, it is not a feast at which everyone sits down to eat. The comestibles are in the first place gifts, which donors present, and then depart. The recipients, invited to the donor's house, usually consume the food and some of the beer there and then taking the rest to drink quietly on their own premises.

¹ Resettlement areas near Lae and at Hoskins. Ploeg (1973: 21) suggests that fund-raising pilai and pati are regarded as a form of bisnis. A new style of Hagen pati became popular in 1973-74 which was oriented towards fund-raising and more similar to those Ploeg describes. They were regarded as quite separate from the kinds of events described here.

It is through arranging and conducting pati that one kind of leadership emerges in the town. An indication of the high value put on these exchanges is given in the extent to which defaulting gives rise to bitter animosities, which may even lead to violence. One such sequence was going on roughly at the time of the Kaugel-Melpa exchanges. It involved Brian on one side and Roderick on the other. I give the history of these exchanges, to show how the relationships they generated were affected by the larger (Kaugel-Melpa) enterprise. Table 5.4 indicates the changing composition of donors and recipients.¹

(i) Phase 1: pati 1 to 3. The idea for this series arose from a joking challenge. Roderick and Mitchell, a labourer in Roderick's gang who had been in Moresby a number of years and was a close friend, were treating Richard and Adrian to drinks at the Boroko Hotel. They made some reference to the fact that it was they who were providing money for the other two to drink, and Adrian took them up. He said jokingly that if they were going to talk about giving them money they could buy three or four cartons of beer - then they would have some reason for boasting! Roderick and Mitchell retorted that the others could never finish off that quantity; the challenges had been made.

So Roderick and Mitchell presented two cartons of beer and a hen to Adrian and Richard (pati 1).² Richard could not be found on the day of the presentation and Adrian invited Brian to come, along with two Chimbu friends (one a domestic servant who lived in a nearby compound, the other a student formerly at the College and subsequently at the University; at this time Adrian was working on the University campus as a domestic servant). Richard had been out all day driving a PMV, and came later, along with his wife and some of his in-laws. Adrian and Brian had almost finished the beer, and were angry with him for not turning up earlier.³

¹ For the recipients, there were probably in each case one or two extra people who turned up to share in the distribution informally and who are not recorded.

² See synopsis in Appendix 4 for tribal affiliations. Roderick is Tipuka; Mitchell, Adrian and Richard are all Kawelka.

³ Among themselves they blame Richard's affinal involvement with the Kaugel as the cause of his 'losing' his Northern Melpa friends.

Table 5.4

Calendar of certain events in 1971

Date	Kaugel - Melpa exchange + other	Private <u>pati</u> sequence
Early 1971 (relationship between two columns not certain here)	Fight: Kaugel v. Tipuka-Kawelka	Roderick + Mitchell to Adrian + Brian <u>no.1</u> Adrian + Brian to Roderick + Mitchell <u>no.2</u>
? April	N. Melpa to Kaugel <u>gift 1</u>	Roderick + Mitchell to Adrian + Brian <u>no.3</u>
? May	Kaugel to Melpa <u>gift 2</u>	
June 27	Melpa to Kaugel <u>gift 3</u>	
July 3		Brian + helpers to Roderick + Mitchell <u>no.4</u>
July 10	Fight: Adrian v. Brian	
July 10	Funeral <u>pati</u> *	
August		Roderick + Mitchell to Brian + helpers <u>no.5</u>
September		Brian + Matthew to Roderick + Mitchell <u>no.6</u>
November 11		Roderick + Mitchell to Brian + Matthew <u>no.7</u>
February 12		Brian + Matthew to Roderick + Mitchell <u>no.8</u>

* And fight between Adrian and Mitchell (see p.212).

Richard did not help Adrian and Brian when they made a return pati (no.2). They gave three hens and four cartons of beer, aided by the two Chimbu men, and also by Larry from Tipuka who had come in on the tail end of pati no.1. The recipients invited along two others to help consume the beer. One was Gerry who shared on this occasion but judged that the exchange was now terminated. However, he helped when Roderick and Mitchell made pati no.3. The number of cartons had now risen to six and the number of recipients to ten. Brian had brought along a fellow-tribesman (Matthew) at whose house he was living at the time. Richard turned up, but Adrian was angry with him for not supporting them previously. There was a carton of beer left, which Adrian pointedly allocated to two Welyi men working at the College. Brian felt sorry for Richard and gave him some bottles from his own carton.

(ii) Phase 2: secession, pati 4. The return pati was held over until after the third Kaugel-Melpa exchange had been completed. Brian had been contemplating making a return to Roderick and Mitchell together with Adrian, along the lines of the previous pati. But, as the reader may recall, the third Kaugel-Melpa party was distinguished by Adrian and Roderick's failure to raise adequate Northern Melpa support. Brian had contributed nothing. This was regarded by Adrian as a personal slight. The rift between them grew with Brian's plans to make a pati of his own to Roderick and Mitchell, with the help of personal friends of his (a Central Melpa apprentice, Julian, and Matthew). He gave as his reason the fact that Adrian had taken over the distribution of the beer at pati no.3, allocating Brian only one case and giving the rest to his own Chimbu and Welyi friends. When Adrian suggested it was now time to make the return gift to Roderick and Mitchell, Brian said that he was going to give a party on his own. He assured Adrian he would give him the price of a carton of beer (which he technically owed), but would not co-operate further.

For pati no.4 Brian had five supporters, including Richard. Three were new to the series (see Table 5.5). The recipients were joined by Simon, Owen and Francis who were sighted on the road and informally joined in. On this occasion the recipients drank the beer at the donor's house. Brian and two of his friends went to the Boroko Hotel, coming back late at night to find the recipients still there. An unpleasant incident followed, a direct product of the way Adrian and Brian had handled the Kaugel-Melpa exchange and pati no.4.

Table 5.5

Pati sequence: composition of Brian's side

<u>Pati no.</u>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
<u>Status</u>	recipients	donors	recipients	donors	recipients	donors	recipients	donors
<u>Amounts</u>								
Cartons of beer	2	4	6	3	6	9	13	18
Hens	1	3	4	5	6	10	14	10
Other				1 rum	2 rum		4 packs cigarettes	
<u>Participants</u>	Adrian Brian Chimbu J. Chimbu P. Larry (Richard arr. late)	Adrian Brian Chimbu J. Chimbu P. Larry	Adrian Brian Chimbu J. Chimbu P. + friend Larry Richard Matthew 2 Welyi*	Brian Richard Matthew Joe Evan Ndika Julian	Brian Richard Matthew + 2 'bros' Joe Julian Simon Owen NM friend	Brian Richard Matthew + 2 'bros' Joe Simon Owen	Brian Richard + W. WZ, WB + 2 others Matthew + 1 'bro' Joe Evan Julian Simon Owen Philip Sam + ? 2 others	Brian Richard Matthew Joe Simon Owen NM friend + 3 others
<u>Total number of participants</u>	6	5	10	6	11	8	18	10

Pati sequence: composition of Roderick's side

Amounts

Cartons of beer	2	4	6	3	6	9	13	18
Hens	1	3	4	5	6	10	14	10
Other				1 rum	2 rum		4 packs cigarettes	

Participants

Roderick	Roderick	Roderick	Roderick + W	Roderick	Roderick	Roderick	Roderick	Roderick + 2 friends
Mitchell	Mitchell Perry Lesley	Mitchell Perry Lesley	Mitchell Lesley	Mitchell Lesley	Mitchell Perry Lesley	Mitchell Lesley + Gregory	Mitchell Lesley + Gregory	Mitchell Lesley + Gregory
	Gerry	Gerry Wilson	Wilson	Wilson (Simon, Owen, Francis) Jack	Wilson Jack	Wilson (visitor) Jack Frank Ian Sebastian 2 Tipuka- Kitepi*	Wilson Jack Frank Ian Sebastian 5 Kitepi* Roy Max	Wilson + Patrick, (2 visitors) Francis Jack Frank Ian Sebastian 5 Kitepi + friend Roy
<u>Total number of participants</u>	2	5	6	9	6	12	16	24

Key: * tribe designation
 ** clan and tribe designations
 + contact brought by named person

W wife
 WB wife's brother
 ML mother-in-law
 'bros' subclan brothers



Plate 26. Pati no.4:
Brian to Roderick.
Recipients share the
cooked food.

Plate 27. Pati no.7:
Roderick to Brian.
The beer is unloaded
and stacked for
presentation.



of our enemies that we made this pati! And who was there to help ... No, it was me alone, and now they know all about us ...' Adrian's ranting increased when another Tipuka man arrived, who was accused of being the cause of the fight in the first place and then not helping. The men began slipping away and Adrian became plaintive. One of the causes of his distress then emerged. He wanted to find out how much money had been spent on Brian's party. Only a week divided this party from the Kaugel-Melpa exchange, and if all these Tipuka and Kawelka had money to throw away this week-end on food and drink for themselves, where was the money the last week-end?

At this point a grim Brian appeared, followed by about eight policemen. Brian complained that the men were not wanted in his house and anyway they had been playing cards. No cards were found and the police departed. Brian was terrified that Adrian and Quentin would come and break up his haus boi even though police had ordered everyone off the premises.

The details of this dispute give some idea of the depth of feeling which can be involved on occasions depending on the loyalty and support of others. The way money is deployed is extremely important to Hagen social relationships in town (see Chapter 7) and it was in a fund-raising enterprise that Adrian had fallen down. Brian's pati, let alone the fact that he had decided to go ahead without Adrian, was an open statement (as he saw it) that some of the Tipuka and Kawelka who had stayed away the previous week-end had not been short of funds but just reluctant to help him. Instead of being ashamed (and thus admitting they should have helped) they were openly vaunting their wealth. Brian said afterwards it did not matter that Adrian had poured scorn on his little pati; what upset him was the way he had insulted his Central Melpa friend Julian (a semi-professional of whose acquaintance Brian was proud). Adrian had made remarks about people in sunglasses and white socks up to the knees who did not have any cash in their pockets at the right time.¹ Brian, ashamed by this, complained:

¹ As a Central Melpa the friend might have been expected to help the Northern Melpa side at the Kaugel-Melpa pati (but had not done so).

Brian was followed home by Adrian and some others. Adrian was drunk and he and Brian came to blows. When I arrived they were all standing about the garden near Brian's house. Adrian was shaking with emotion, mucous from the tears in his eyes welling up in his nose. There was a splash of blood on his shirt front and a cut on his chin. He was shouting that he could hit them all if he wanted to! Everyone else was very grave. Brian hid himself. Adrian began addressing the others there, getting more and more wrought up, the tears cracking his voice: 'Who raised the money to pay the Kaugel? Who helped Mitchell and me?' he barked at Richard. 'Who was it? It was me alone and Mitchell and Quentin (Quentin was present).¹ We raised the money - you were nothing! I can beat you all up if I want to - I can hit you if I feel like it!'

Seeing that efforts to restrain him were no good, the others (including Roderick, Mitchell, Simon and Francis) began soothing him, saying that what he said was true but all the same he should not have hit Brian. Minembi Timothy had arrived on the scene and Adrian turned on him as well: 'What happened to all the Minembi? Where did you all go? You just drank the beer you were given and did not come to help afterwards!' He threw out his remarks to everyone now: 'Who was it that paid the Kaugel? I did. I found \$14, and where was your money? Does money just grow? No, it is earned, and I had to find it all! You are all rubbish - nothing!'

Simon said gently that he had helped with the original gift but received nothing back when the Kaugel gave again. 'And what did I get back?' shouted Adrian hoarsely. 'We did not eat (consume anything, get any benefit) either - me and Mitchell and Quentin, we did not eat either, but we raised money for the return. And where were you all? There were our enemies, the Kaugel people, and we stood up in the face of our enemies and gave them these gifts - it was in the eyes

¹ Adrian had raised \$14, Mitchell \$15 and then a further \$10 (although he took no part in the later organising), and Quentin \$10. These were the highest contributions from among the Tipuka and Kawelka. (Roderick had been active in the preparations and organising but contributed a smaller sum.)

Who does Adrian think he is? I am only a boy; I have no wife and children, yet he crosses me! Does he think I am a big-man then? But if he wants to fight me, I have brothers at my back. And what is he? He goes home, but he has no bisnis there, and always returns to Moresby again. He has nothing at home; it is he who is really rubbish.

These comments (made to me) are of interest. Brian, a young and unmarried man was contrasting himself with Adrian, who has a family at home and has often gone to visit them, but never stayed there. He was pointing out that his own future was before him: later he would marry and when he did go home would remain because he could count on the support of his brothers, and be able to start a bisnis. But Adrian had passed this stage. In spite of his family at home, he will not stay there and thus has no prospects. They were at different points in their lives: Adrian was jeopardising his social standing by staying in Moresby, while he was not. Brian was also commenting sarcastically on the inappropriateness of a would-be big-man troubling to interfere in the private affairs of a little man like himself.

A brief note on the way the dispute ended.

Adrian alienated at least one of the Tipuka men on that occasion (by his insults about the money he purportedly spent on women) but most took it that Adrian was drunk and not responsible for what he was saying. Francis took Adrian back home in a taxi, and chivvied him up by saying it was just the married people who went round eating, that is, spending money on themselves) - a reference to this particular man and also to Roderick and Simon, both of whom had women with them in Moresby. He managed to deflect some of Adrian's bad humour. Roderick himself grumbled that his pati had been spoiled. No one held it against Brian that he had rung the police, though Francis did comment (to me) that he had said to Brian they were all equal (poroman) and what was he doing running to his 'fathers' (the police; meaning, why should he claim their particular support - was he their son?). The next day Francis went up to the compound to see how people were feeling. Roderick explained that he held no rancour and everyone seemed quite cheerful. Adrian, with Quentin, Simon and others, rather shyly came round to Brian's house, saying that if he stayed away after what happened last night Brian

really would think he (Adrian) was angry with him. Brian was stony-faced to begin with, but they all crowded into his little house. As the afternoon wore on the sounds of animated conversation and laughter began to emerge from it. A card match was in progress. During the evening several other people, obviously anxious to check that everything was all right also looked in, and joined in the game.

(iii) Phase 3: pati 5 - 8. Subsequent events followed a relatively smooth course. Brian and Roderick continued their exchanges, as can be seen from the Table 5.5. When he received pati 5 Brian deliberately widened his support base¹ so that he would have plenty of helpers the next time, and raised \$80 for pati 6 with little trouble. By the time pati 7 was arranged, Roderick was receiving contributions from fifteen others. Brian distributed the cartons of beer in the names of those who were the core of his side (himself, Richard, Matthew, Simon, Owen and Julian) but sharing the food were about a dozen others (including Richard's wife and a number of his affines). Brian was feeling the strain a bit. He afterwards made the familiar complaint that it had been his own money which started it all off and that when he was raising contributions people did not help him; they only came to eat when it was their turn to receive, an accusation not entirely true. The complaint, however, was symptomatic of the burden which the exchange was becoming.

The series was drawing to a close. It was at pati 7 that Roderick embarked on a new series with another partner. (He and Mitchell initiated this with one carton of beer, a hen and a pack of cigarettes to Quentin, said to be in return for a debt incurred earlier, but Roderick also expressed hopes that Quentin might make a return pati to him.) The interval between this and its return (pati 8) was also longer than Roderick and Mitchell wanted, and they grumbled several times about their partners' tardiness. At the last pati (no.8) for which I have record, the lateness of the return in fact spurred the donors to extra effort. Brian was rescued by Simon and Owen who took prominent roles in the organising and between them provided eight cartons of beer. Both drivers, stung by the taunts of the other side about the amount of money they earned,

¹ Simon and Owen had eaten with Roderick at pati 4 but only on an informal basis. Brian deliberately solicited their help when he invited them to pati 5.

tried to make two other drivers present raise a similar contribution, but failed. Brian was pleased with their efforts, but grumbled at the size of Richard's contribution - two cartons - in the light of what he had received at pati 7 (two cartons to himself and a further carton to the affines he brought with him). As on all such occasions, the feeling was expressed that if everyone contributed as much as the few then they would be able to make a truly glorious presentation. An explicit comparison was made between this pati and the Kaugel-Melpa enterprise.

Simon addressed the assembly briefly. He said: 'We are numerous, but only some of us have brought things. Do not be cross, you recipients, and think we have only returned your debt and not put any profit on top; some of us have worked hard to make this gift and others have not. When men get drunk they complain¹ and we have heard people talk about the pati to the Kaugel and say that many men ate the first time but few men gave the second time. All right, this is another pati. But if you have such thoughts, talk among yourselves, do not make us ashamed in public. We are all wantok [related] here, we do not want to hear these words.'

Brian was of the opinion that this was the last pati he would give. Perhaps the others would carry on. He was particularly angry with Richard, and also named other supporters who had not given all he hoped from them. Afraid of being made ashamed, he said that if Roderick and Mitchell made a return gift he would stay away. If he ate again it would only be a burden to raise the next return. Roderick was apparently not very pleased with the scale of the gift and grumbled that the hens were so few. (More than twenty people turned up to receive from him.)

In these accounts we can see a constant feedback between the desire to expand one's connections of influence and demonstrate these to others in prestigious displays, and the need to convert them into specific support necessary to sustain the exchanges.

Drinking. Some people eschew cards altogether and prefer to spend on beer; others take up the same attitude towards cigarettes. It is much rarer to find someone who does not drink. One migrant said he did not drink because he was

¹ ? A reference to Adrian's outburst.

afraid of jail and the trouble and fights which always follow. Examples have already been given of such fights. Hageners sometimes, in advance, try to minimise what they know can be the effects of a drinking bout. Thus when cartons of beer are presented at a pati, the recipients may drink a little on the spot but take the rest home so they do not become drunk at someone else's house. Some individuals pride themselves on the quantity they consume. A man who has been given a carton of beer may quietly sit at home and work his way through the case till he falls asleep. Yet men who take pride in their self-control in one situation may deliberately let themselves go in another if they have a grudge against someone or a quarrel to pick. People under the influence of drink are not held fully responsible for their actions. This means that fights between drunks can be more easily patched up than fights in cold blood, since the seriousness of the onslaught is diminished by the condition of the antagonists. The next day the aggressor can always plead he did not know what he was doing. The quarrel between Brian and Joe illustrates this (see p.206). Brian complained that he himself had not been affected by drink and that Joe should not have drunk so much and in any case was quite unjustified in his behaviour. Nevertheless the formal excuse which Joe could make (that he had only acted like that because he was drunk) meant they could carry on living in the same house.

This syndrome is of some significance. In the absence of elaborate techniques of social control and in spite of neglect of traditional-style compensation payments, disruption to social life is nevertheless reduced. The damage done is not necessarily judged to reflect malice or intention to inflict harm. But the fact that most acts of aggression occur when people are drunk has a feedback effect too. Since people are drunk and thus not wholly responsible for their actions, ordinary settlement procedures are indeed seen to be not applicable. To make a formal settlement afterwards would be to acknowledge responsibility and thus in turn diminish the freedom of behaviour which drinking brings. Brian pressed Joe for monetary compensation and although Joe from time to time promised he would give something, never did. He would know that - and here the situation differs sharply from that at home - few other Hageners would have any interest in persuading him to settle his affair with Brian in this manner. His behaviour would be excused by them.

The acceptability of being aggressive while drunk might minimise social damage in one sense but aggravates it in another. It means that when people do get drunk they regard themselves as licenced to act with violence if they want, so that drink also encourages fighting. The most violent outbursts seem to occur after public drinking. Sometimes just the company of more distant Hageners or strangers in a hotel seems to spur people on, so that if they subsequently see smmeone against whom they have a grudge they are likely to attack him there and then. The victim may or may not have been a member of that particular drinking party. Hotels are also places where Hageners from different parts meet regularly and many friendships with non-Hageners start from bar encounters. Often these meetings are by chance and the buying of drinks is equally casual. But sometimes an accurate tally is kept of the number of glasses or bottles which one member of the drinking party buys and an exact reciprocation is made on a later occasion.

Card-playing and drinking are usually mutually exclusive, which says something of Hageners' insight into their own behaviour. Drinking may follow a card match, but while it is in progress all money is channelled into the game. Losers are not felt justified in taking violent reprisal: they should play again to get their money back. We have already seen that card matches are often arranged between partial enemies, and that the structure of the game makes antagonists out of the players. The confinement of antagonism within the terms of the game would be jeopardised if the players were also drinking. Moreover, the players are not just being sociable. On many occasions they are also anxious to win money, too serious a business to be mixed with drinking.

Hageners are taken in by the police most regularly on charges of drunken behaviour in public or fighting following drinking. People feel a certain amount of responsibility for getting their relatives or friends out of the cells.¹

Relations between Brian and his Chimbu girl friend were very up and down. They separated for a while, then came together again. With the renewed union, came new responsibilities. Some other men from Brian's tribe took the girl's 'father', an oldish Chimbu man, drinking at the Gateway Hotel. There was apparently some antagonism between him and

¹ See p. 166.

other Chimbu men who were angry with him for 'allowing' the girl to consort with Hageners; so when he came home in a drunk state and smashed up one of their windows, they rang the police. The Chimbu men then said that it was the Hageners who had got him drunk and they could bail him out. Brian, who had not been part of the drinking party, provided \$10.

Friends who help take a drunk home are much appreciated. Usually these are close clansmen but a workmate from elsewhere may also stop in. One Northern Melpa man counted four different men from his pair tribe, two Central Melpa friends and one Chimbu and one Finschhafen workmate among those who had rescued him on various occasions.

There are many things in town, it is said, which 'pull' the migrant's money but those who spend everything on beer are criticised, especially when the money is seen as squandered at the expense of helping others. One notorious drinker (said to have finished \$40 one week-end and \$60 the next) was criticised for not using his money to buy the plane fares home for two sub-clan brothers of his. This man shares the drinks he buys and will give people bottles of whisky or rum (which they may later reciprocate) but this is not a prestigious activity in the way that running a pati series is. Essentially it is consumption, whereas pati also involves an element of investment. Thus the comment that he drinks all his money away is readily made of someone who is unpopular or anti-social. Private generosity at a bar or hotel table does not really offset his image as a consumer. A final criticism of drinkers is that they may say more than they should. This is significant in the light of the political fears and enmities which run as an undercurrent through migrants' encounters with others. Drunken men voice their suspicions or intentions in ways which lead to all kinds of difficulties.

Fighting. People fight over many things, though most causes could be subsumed under the rubric 'insult'. This was at the back of Adrian's tussle with Brian.¹ One fight began while a party of half-drunk men were coming back from a picnic; one of them made a remark in English, rather than Melpa, which was taken to mean he was putting on airs. A second major category could be called fights to do with women. A single migrant who strikes up an amorous acquaint-

¹ See p.232-3.

ance with a girl in town (unlikely to be a Hagener) upsets the camaraderie which he enjoys among his friends, and may find himself in an awkward situation if he tries to maintain both the girl and his friends. Rumours circulate about their respective fidelities; his friends turn vicious for no apparent reason; and he becomes the target for attacks. Drink is usually a catalyst to such aggressive episodes. We may interpret the aggression as attempts on the part of single men to force their mate to give up the girl; they come from his trying to maintain his bachelor friendships as well. Men who set up house with girl friends in an independent way, taking no notice of the bachelors, escape attack.

The fight between Brian and Joe has already been described.¹ His bachelor friend Francis aggravated the situation by consuming the beer Brian had wanted to keep. When things reached a pitch, Francis began shouting that Brian and his girl friend were both rubbish people, that she was not Brian's woman anyway but everyone's [that is, a prostitute] and that she had consorted with him [Francis] as well. He swaggered about saying that he was the equal of them all, and did not care a fig for anyone - Brian, the woman, the place where he worked! It is worth noting that although Brian attracted venom from other quarters as well, in some respects Francis was the person from his close circle most comparable in status to himself.

Women may also bring Hageners into fights with outsiders. In one case a group of Hagen men set on a New Guinean of unidentified origin whom they suspected of assaulting one of their wives.

The crisis of an on-going fight brings support in a more automatic way from one's clansmen or tribesmen than occurs in any other situation. This holds most strongly if the victim is someone who does not usually fight. Those who acquire reputations for stirring up trouble tend to find their chances of support diminishing, for they are likely to have fought as well with men who would otherwise help them. Context is important, however, and in the case of a relatively 'outside' attack, close tribesmen in spite of themselves may fight on such a person's behalf. A few individuals are named as trouble-makers and people predict that

¹ See p.202.

sooner or later they will end up in jail. Men of violence were never for that reason alone accorded high status in traditional Hagen society and over-violent men in Moresby are regarded more as a liability ['he will get us all into trouble'] than anything else. According to some, Adrian is held to belong to this category. Rather than enumerate various miscellaneous fights of which I have record, I give a diary of some of Adrian's exploits over 1971, many of which have already been recounted in this Chapter. In all he was the or among the principal instigators. It should be emphasised that Adrian's bellicose behaviour is criticised by other Hageners.

Two of these incidents are worth further comment. Adrian had attacked Minembi Timothy for not helping him in the exchanges with the Kaugel and a Minembi man set on Adrian to take revenge (no.5). For a while the two grappled with one another and others around left them alone saying it was just Dei Council men fighting. As soon as a Nengka stepped in to help the Minembi man, other Dei Council men went to Adrian's assistance: it had now become an affair between Dei and Mul Council. This is a product of the alignments described on p.191ff. The Minembi were put into the Mul Council camp and when news later came that the Minembi fighter had visited home Adrian at once assumed that his purpose was to procure substances with which to poison him.

The other incident (no.8) shows how contextual alignments are. Wilson, who belongs to Tipuka Kengeke, some of whom Adrian had fought several times, bribed Adrian with beer to provoke a fight with a visitor, who was from Adrian's own clan and an immediate brother of Brian. Their eldest brother had recently married Wilson's former wife¹ and seeing the middle brother in Moresby had reminded him of this and angered him. A timid man himself, Wilson incited Adrian to attack the visitor.² Adrian insulted the visitor at a hotel. They were drinking with some Chimbu and Adrian dissuaded the Chimbu from buying the visitor a drink by saying: 'He is only a pasindia, he has no money, and won't be able to pay you back!'. The two men quickly came to blows. This made Brian furious and he said that he would not allow

¹ Because of his long absence, she divorced him taking her child with her.

² One result of his bribe would be to set Adrian at loggerheads with his own clansmen and potential supporters (but see p.253.

Table 5.6

Some fights in which Adrian was involved (1971)

Approx. date	Adrian's supporters	Opponents	Possible reason on Adrian's part	Page ref.
1. early 1971	'All the Tipuka-Kawelka'	'All the Kaugel' (diff. region)	Mistaken insult over car ride	171-173
2. 3/7/71	None	Brian (own clan)	Insult over Kaugel-Melpa <u>pati</u>	230-231
3. 10/7/71	None	Mitchell (own tribe and supporter)	Losing at cards (and tension over own role in exchanges)	209
4. early July	+ ?	Minembi Timothy + ?	Lack of support at Kaugel-Melpa exchange	-
5. 16/7/71	+ 6 Tip-Kaw + 2 other Dei Council + 1 Central Melpa	Minembi (Dei) + Nengka (Mul Council) men ('diff. Council')	Revenge for previous fight between Adrian + Timothy (4)	239
6. 19/9/71	+ Francis + Mitchell	3 Tipuka Kengeke (Hugh, Godfrey + bro)* (defaulting supporters)	d.kn. (to do with Kaugel-Melpa exchange?)	-
7. Sept. 71	+ Francis + Mitchell	Tipuka Kengeke	Explicit resentment over lack of support at Kaugel-Melpa exchange and ? revenge for no.6	210
8. Oct. 71	(He was bribed by Tipuka Kengeke Wilson)	Visitor + Richard (own clan)	Acting on another's behalf (see text)	239
9. 20/11/71	+ T. Kengeke Godfrey*	Southern Highlanders	d.kn.	cf.p.
10. 27/12/71	+ Mitchell	T. Kengeke James	Same reason as on occasion no.7; also anger because James had taken them to court over this.	-

* Godfrey helped him on 16/7/71 (occasion o.5) and later on 21/11/71 (no.9).

Adrian to come to his house again. He did not adhere to this and whatever enmity he felt was suppressed on ordinary social occasions. However, in January 1972 Adrian assaulted Brian's girl friend, along with Francis and some others. After this Brian's condemnation of his clansman was even more vehement. He did nothing but fight his wantok and sooner or later would find himself in trouble.

Groups and networks: discussion

The early part of the Chapter described situations in which migrants acted together on a group basis or responded to certain situations because of their group identity. Clearly, however, neither groups nor group thinking exist in quite the same way as at home. In the Kaugel-Melpa transactions, the Northern Melpa leaders were counting on a more automatic loyalty to Tipuka-Kawelka enterprises than the men from these tribes actually showed. At home, an enduring interest in group solidarity stimulates people's involvement in corporate exchanges, overriding individual disappointment or resentment if the appeal to it is made strongly enough. Bloch's discussion on the morality of kinship is relevant here. He contrasts short-term and long-term relationships: 'the long term relationships have a greater tolerance of imbalance in the exchanges between individuals, while the shorter term, less moral, relationships only tolerate shorter term imbalance' (1973: 83). Traditional ties between members of a single clan include relationships of the first kind, and the Moresby leaders were trying to draw on this characteristic.

When fights break out clansmen and tribesmen in town readily help, in spite of factional issues; it is true that here people's long-term interests in maintaining a support group give direction to their loyalties. And this is partly the point. Ordinarily there is no reciprocation given for help in fights except the ultimate expectation of similar help in further crises. Where exchanges deliberately set up partnerships, as between those who make pati with one another, reciprocation is rapid (the delay is never more than a few weeks) and direct (the return gift cancels out obligations created by the previous one). Specific reciprocity signifies that relationship is short-term. We may see this as another product of the migrant's time-scale. In the town, then, relationships include diffuse, supportive ones where no direct return is given for help (as in fights), and specific ties based on norms of reciprocity (as in pati).

What happened to the Northern Melpa in the Kaugel-Melpa confrontation was a conversion from one type to the other. Everyone rushed in to help after the fight and raised the first sum of money out of general feelings of solidarity; but a transformation of the payment into a moka-like institution introduced the element of specific reciprocity. At home this would have been subordinated, or could have been, to clan interests. In the town it became the determining factor in the making of return gifts. Participants were treating relations set up by the exchanges as short-term. This is a measure, if one likes, of urban ties, and one connected to the migrants' self-image as autonomous individuals. In Bloch's terms, we can point to a modification in the morality of clanship.

Two factors, then, which the previous Chapter suggested were relevant to work attitudes, the ideology of independence and the migrants' time-scale, also affect attitudes towards urban clan or tribal obligations. In the town an individual will perhaps more rapidly assert his autonomy than at home and will see himself as bound only by the way he is treated by others. His time-scale means that he may envisage himself as being closely associated with these particular men for a handful of years and no more. In addition, clan allegiance is just less significant in the town. It is not crucial to employment, income, or housing, and is relevant only in a diluted sense to his general welfare. It is most important in providing a set of men on whose support he can hope to depend - if he has fostered the connection. Aside from the extremely emotional circumstance of a fight actually going on, clan ties in the town are less diffuse than their counterparts at home and have to be activated by personal cultivation. In other words, they have more the character of the kinds of relationships found at home between specific 'friends'.

The terms 'network' and 'group' can be used both analytically and to represent folk models. Whiteman (1973) cites Bott's definition of these units and comes to the conclusion that all Chimbu kinship relationships in Moresby have a network character:

Bott (1957:289) distinguishes a social network from an organised group mainly on the basis that there is a lack of a common boundary in a social network, that is, a lack of 'agreement by all members of the group on who is and who is not a member'. She also mentions (1971:58) that an organised group makes up

'a ... social whole, with common aims, inter-dependent roles ...' On the basis of these definitions, it would not be accurate to describe the social relationships of (various) families in Port Moresby as forming a group. Kinship relationships were extended to other Chimbu on an individual or close kin group basis, rather than by all the people with whom an individual had social relationships. Consequently there were no common boundaries in the social relationships of the families studied (Whiteman 1973:95-6).

Here the concepts are analytical devices. They can also correspond to cultural constructs. The early part of this Chapter essentially followed Hagen concepts in making a contrast between interaction which stemmed from group loyalties and that stemming from interpersonal contacts. Yet, if one were to plot out an individual's contacts at home, it might be hard to make a sociological distinction: thus if a man selects some of his group mates to help him in this or that enterprise, his behaviour may be seen by others as 'X and his friends doing this', or as 'clan Y doing that'. But the distinction is there in ideology.¹ Behaviour is judged as falling into one of two patterns. Those from his group who come to help X may be seen as motivated by personal ties, each being involved in the task through this central figure; or they may be seen as all belonging to a common group Y and acting together because of shared interests. The Hagen contrast between group and personal network thus stems essentially from a set of ideas about how and why people behave in certain ways.

This helps us see what is happening in the town. Analytically, it would be difficult to find groups of any duration. There are action groups (members of a card playing team, of a drinking party) and tiny domestic groups (who organise their household needs out of common interests).

¹ I have since come across Parkin's contrast between congregational (for example, religious and descent-group) and non-congregational (for example, interpersonal) ideologies (1974:124). I talk about groups and networks both as analytical concepts and as migrant ideology, distinctions necessary to bear in mind. Network members in the Hagen view tend to be culturally designated as close or distant 'friends' (see below). These are not just 'action sets'; involved is a classification and evaluation of certain types of relationship.

Yet most activities involve people who come together through criteria which are not exclusive and do not produce bounded entities. If we take the way Hageners see things, the picture is altered. Groups are very significant in some contexts. Paradoxically, card playing teams or households would probably be regarded by them as formed on the basis of interpersonal, network-like contacts. Groups which are most relevant are migrants' clans and tribes of origin. These do not emerge in Moresby as minute social replicas of the units at home, but in the form of group-thinking: people's behaviour will be explained in terms of clan or tribal allegiance.

There are situations in which migrants will choose whether to acknowledge group or interpersonal ties - or adopt a mixture of both. On top of this is added that further ideology of independence which encourages them to take up, as it were, a network stand ('So and so did not treat me as a friend properly last time and I'm not helping him now') where others may be trying to appeal to group ties ('We Tipuka-Kawelka should raise all we can to give to our enemies'). While Hageners have a home model to draw on in delineating the importance of an individual's network (his set of 'friends'), this is combined with the urban value put on a notion of doing things in one's own way and on freedom from traditional responsibilities. Whenever someone stresses group ties, he is also likely to bring to mind all the home obligations which membership there would involve. Some people do not mind this, and stick to their kinsmen closely; others find it an irksome restraint and make a display of withdrawal. Insofar as 'everyone in Moresby is wanpis', as Francis told Larry (see p.148), it is possible to play down group affiliation.

The selective character of a person's network has certain implications. The town situation in any case collapses distant relations into near ones, by bringing people of different tribes or regions together. But the process of 'collapsing' is carried further. When personal friends (pren) are created out of members of one's own tribe or clan, one is bringing closer people who are already close. In a sense the 'closeness' of the clanship tie is thereby denigrated since 'true closeness' exists between clansmen who are also friends. (Most migrants in fact probably make friends out of the majority of their clan-mates.) 'Friendship' in town has certain connotations, especially of goodwill and solidarity, so that it is a category with a specific cultural content. If town friends to some extent

replace rural brothers, this would explain a phenomenon of Hagen urban networks. The stressed relationships are of those who are 'friends'; mere acquaintances are simply there. There is a constant tendency to convert secondary order links into primary ones.

This has a bearing on Barnes's (1969, 1972) analysis of networks and types of relationships within networks. He suggests that one should take as 'a network' all relationships comprising a social field.¹ Within this can be distinguished clusters which focus on particular individuals. All persons to whom ego is directly related belong to his primary or first order star; he has indirect access to the contacts of these people and relations with this second set of persons comprise ego's second order star. Barnes implies that ego may interact with members of his second order star. He gains access to these through intermediaries (his primary order contacts), and subsequently may set about 'influencing or even establishing direct contact with, some of the people he cannot initially reach directly' (1972:9). In this chapter 'network'² has been used loosely to refer to parts of a total social field (for example, personal contacts Hageners have with others) and also to indicate people's primary or secondary stars (for example, the persons to whom any one individual is connected). But I have, as it were, approached this terminology from the other side, from the actor's conception of his social field (cf. Barnes 1972:3).

The Hagen notion of a personal network corresponds to an ego's stars of varying order, primary, secondary and so on. But it seems likely that if they were to formulate relationships in these terms, migrants would collapse the model into one gigantic primary star. Someone whom one gets to

¹ Relations among Hagen migrants comprise, of course, only a partial network within the town as a whole.

² But in an essentially metaphorical sense. There is a considerable literature on network theory which I do not cite here. My purpose is to illuminate features of Hagen urban society rather than cast the whole description into one particular analytical frame. It would be quite possible to construct a picture of Hagen urban society using network analysis, but I do not attempt this here (no doubt it would be profitable in understanding Adrian's public status, and the way in which some of the disputes recorded in this Chapter, ended (cf. Kapferer 1969).

know through an intermediary is, on meeting, transformed into a primary order contact. The desire to feel that one possesses a wide range of useful contacts produces the model here, and some would claim that, other than their enemies, every contact is a friend.

In one sense this is an ideal model which does not correspond to reality. But is it really useful to describe reality in terms of primary and secondary order stars? One could argue that those of his range of contacts whom, through his behaviour, ego actually brings close, belong to his primary star. (Included should also be his personal enemies.)¹ The others, whom he would like to think of as friends, but does not in fact interact much with, along with the residual category of acquaintances form his second order star. But this does not do justice to reality. Two factors must be taken into account. The first is that the idea of an intermediary as someone with a specific role, who can introduce ego to his contacts and thus be a bridge between them, is given little cultural emphasis. The autonomous migrant does not see his relationships dependent on the services of others in this way. While formally one could describe as second order contacts ego's associates who are in the first place close relatives and friends of his own close circle, he is unlikely to stress the indirectness of his tie with these persons. He might explain how he knows them by counting through the steps of their relationship with his close friends but will not really think of these latter friends of his in social terms as intermediaries. These distinctions are important to the description of behaviour. A second factor comes into play in respect of mere acquaintances. Distant persons are known through their membership of particular tribes or councils, or as belonging to other categories such as a regional area, a set of enemies. A Hageners would probably contrast his personal network and those he has contact with on a group or cate-

¹ One may contrast friends and acquaintances, meaning by the distinction those more or less close to ego. Given the specific cultural connotations of 'friend' (an ally), however, it is necessary to point out that personal enemies are also likely to be socially close, that is, involved with ego, and one can make an analogous contrast between (a) close friends/close enemies and (b) acquaintances (neutral or potential friends)/distant and/or potential enemies. Both distant friends and enemies are typically subsumed under categorical designations (see below).

gorical basis, rather than considering the second type of relationship similar to but of a different order from the first.¹

Brian knows men who belong to groups in the Nebilyer and Kaugel areas. Many he recognises on sight, while he simply remembers the names of others, and has heard vaguely about the rest. Some he has come into close contact with: Poiaka Nelson for a while shared a house with Simon, Brian's clan-mate. One or two Poiaka are regular card companions of his. One could say that these Poiaka friends belong to Brian's primary star, his other Nebilyer and Kaugel acquaintances to his secondary star. But if Brian himself looks on the Poiaka men as personal contacts (= primary star), the others he relates to on a category not an interpersonal basis. There is no particular intermediary through whom he has contact with other Kaugel men. He is connected to them and his behaviour reflects this, by organisational principles which embrace his own region (Northern Melpa) within the whole Hagen area and differentiate his tribal affiliations from those of Kaugel men. This is not an indirect relationship. In a sense it is very direct: the sequentary opposition of categories or groups. Brian does not have to go through anyone else to regulate his behaviour towards these men.²

The notion of primary and secondary order stars is particularly applicable in situations where goods (services, information and so on) circulate among a wide range of people.

¹ Analytically speaking, network theory encompasses group membership: common membership being among the rationales for tracing out a relationship with someone (cf. Mitchell 1969:44). Barnes (1972) distinguishes the morphology of networks from the classification of relations. It is quite proper in his terms to visualise a network of persons who are linked by bonds of various kinds, among which will be group affiliation. Thus Ryan (1970) analyses Toaripi categories and groups as catchment areas from which individuals create their own networks.

² Migrants interact, as at card games, with people they do not know personally or would not consider were linked to them by an interpersonal tie of any significance. Thus one may drink with a 'party of Western Melpa men' simply as a member of a group. In the fight described on p.235 the participation of a Nengka man was not interpreted simply through the activation of interpersonal links but as elevating the affair to one between opposing Council blocs.

An item is thus passed on from C to A through B. Among the urban migrants most significant,¹ as opposed to trivial, transfers take place within a dyadic relationship and stop there. The idea of a network composed of primary and second order stars, from ego's standpoint, is more relevant to aspects of the rural society. Thus in describing exchange partnerships in moka Andrew Strathern writes:

Each man has number of partners and he can bring pressure to bear on them. But he cannot bring pressure to bear so effectively and directly on their partners in turn. He exerts pressure only through his immediate partner (1971:221).

An analogous situation arises if a person traces out the route along which poison intended for him travelled from hand to hand, one which occurs in the town too. But in general the urban contexts in which secondary stars emerge are transitory. It was through Simon that Brian got to know the other Poiaka men, with some of whom he later became friends. At the point of introduction one could say a primary order contact activates a secondary order contact. But the frequent effect of an introduction is to establish a personal connection and transform that secondary order into a primary order relationship. Simon's friends may become Brian's friends in a specific or in a general sense. The contrast between specific and general friendship is significant. For people do refer to others as being the 'friend' (or enemy) of so-and-so rather than of themselves, and the word pren is most commonly used for such specific relationships. Thus Brian's Northern Melpa partners in the pati recorded earlier would refer to Central Melpa Julian (see p.232) as Brian's special friend. Yet were any of them to pursue their acquaintance with Julian, they would be unlikely to consider Brian's and Julian's friendship any further. In a general sense they would look on Julian as their friend and some one whom, should the occasion arise, they could approach directly.

I have argued that one may talk of intermediaries in only the most limited manner (thus Brian was an 'intermediary' between his Northern Melpa partners and his Central Melpa friend insofar as they made this man's acquaintance through

¹ That is, where the transfer from C to B has specific repercussions on the relation between B and A and are not just incidental to it - as is the case that a shopkeeper obtained his money from C when he hands A his change.

him); in terms of social behaviour and the way effective relationships are perceived there is no great weight given to the idea of an intermediary. If Brian's Northern Melpa friends were to call on Julian, they would probably recall their former meeting, which made them acquaintances in their own right, or point to the traditional urban association of Central and Northern Melpa men. It would be against the ethic of autonomy to stress that their tie depended on mutual acquaintance through Brian. Nevertheless they might use the fact of Brian's and Julian's friendship to modify their own friendship with Brian: ask for a loan because Brian is known to be receiving a gift from Julian shortly;¹ or differentiate themselves from him by saying that Brian's friends are not their friends - 'He may be your friend but he is my enemy'. Thus indeed Adrian exploited the closeness of the tie between Brian and Julian to embarrass Brian (p.232). He criticised Julian as one of the wealthy Central Melpa who should have supported them. Adrian was attacking Brian by attacking Brian's friend, and depersonalised his own link with Julian by making accusations against him on a categorical basis. Someone who says that a friend's friends are not his friends, whether because he is indifferent or hostile to them, is in fact stressing the uniqueness of his own relationship with these persons as distinct from his friend's relationship with them and thus his autonomy. This may be expressed in either an interpersonal ('Oh, they are enemies of mine') or a categorical ('We don't have friends in that group') idiom. Whether they are thereby part of his network in an analytical sense would be hard to say. Ideologically they are not.

About networks Barnes writes,

A distinctive feature of the use of this concept [network] we take from Bott ... She says, 'My aim was (and still is) to understand how the internal functioning of a group is affected not only by its relationship with the people and organisations of its environment, but also by the relationships among those people and organisations' (Bott, 1971, p.249). The first part of her aim could be achieved perfectly well without the use of the idea of a network ... It is the second part of her aim - to

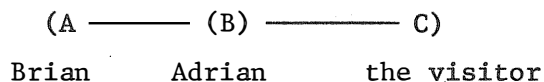
¹ Not to put pressure on Julian (contrast the moka situation noted pp. 254-5) but a simple matter of information about Brian's likely financial situation.

discover how A, who is in touch with B and C, is affected by the relation between B and C - that demands the use of the network concept. As Nadel says, defending his use of the term 'network', 'I do not merely wish to indicate the "links" between persons; this is adequately done by the word relationship. Rather, I wish to indicate the further linkage of the links themselves and the important consequence that, what happens so-to-speak between one pair of "knots", must affect what happens between other adjacent ones' (1957, p.16). (Barnes 1972:3)

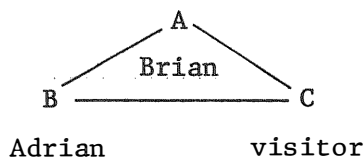
Among Hagen migrants it is unlikely that A and C either will be or will think of themselves as linked to one another only through B. Situations do arise, nonetheless, in which the relationship between A and B will be affected by the relationship between B and C. There is a further case in Adrian's attack on a visitor from home, who was Brian's brother (see p.239). From Brian's point of view the encounter between Adrian (B) and the brother (C) affected both his own attitudes (A) and his ties with Adrian (A - B). Mitchell writes:

The essential idea behind a social network ... is that the variations in the behaviour of people in any one role relationship may be traced to the effects of the behaviour of other people to whom they are linked in one, two or more steps, in some other quite different role relationship' (1969:46).

On this occasion, Brian did not interfere, so we could isolate a network or chain of relationships:



But this apparent network is highly contextual. The enduring relationships between these men are triangular. A and C also interact (they are brothers). Moreover, one of the reasons why Adrian was willing to be bribed into his onslaught on the visiting brother was his previous enmity with Brian. He was directly getting at Brian in attacking Brian's brother.



We can describe the chain of events as mobilising a network (relations between B and C influencing relations between A and B), but the concept fits neither the enduring¹ relations between these persons nor the chain of causes which led to the changed relationship between A and B.

Perhaps this example is not entirely fortunate, because of the close relationship between A and C. Take the Kaugel-Melpa distribution. Tom on one side and Adrian on the other were focal figures who organised sets of supporters. Adrian's (B) relationships with his supporters (A) certainly affected the size of the final transactions between Tom (C) and his supporters (D). This led to Tom having difficulties in distributing the goods: thus the relations between A and B affected relations between C and D. Again this is a contextual configuration. But we should note the break in the network. The focal point was not relations between B and C, but between A - B and C - D,

thus (A - B) : (C - D).

As far as I know there were no personal recriminations between Adrian (B) and Tom (C). Subsequent complaints were all about how the Northern Melpa (A - B) had treated the Kaugel (C - D).²

This all applies to intra-Hagen relations. In two situations intermediaries are more significant and the analytical notions of network and of stars above the primary order more appropriate, both to an understanding of behaviour and in being closer to Hageners' perceptions. As we would expect, these situations occur outside the over-arching system of tribes and regions in which every Hagener has a place. One arises when migrants come into contact with urban institutions such as place of employment, the hospital or government agencies, that is, industrial and bureaucratic organisations; the second in contact with non-Hageners. This is

¹ Surely important if networks are seen as channels of communication and relay messages about norms. Enduring relations must modify the content of any temporary network structure (for example, Epstein 1969, a, b, Kapferer 1969). Mitchell, who contrasts action sets with someone's personal network, clearly envisages the latter as enduring beyond any particular transactions (1969:39).

² Nor does it add anything to describe the Ds as members of B's secondary star on this occasion, or the A,s as members of C's.

most marked when the connection is through a woman (a girl friend or wife), where special behaviour towards her close kin singles them out from the broad category of 'Chimbu' or 'Hula' or whatever. In both these examples patterns of behaviour are not necessarily known in advance - the procedure for becoming an in-patient, how to eat at a Papuan's house - and this means that the incomer is to some extent indeed dependent on his primary contact for introducing him to the situation. Diffidence about how to behave may persist and sustain the dependency he feels on the intermediary, in a way that would not happen among Hageners themselves.

Chapter 6

Beyond Hagen: inter-ethnic contacts

Work and residence throw Hagen migrants into the company of non-Hageners but there is great variation in the further use made of these links. The patterning of associations is much more dependent on individual inclination than are relationships among Hageners themselves, which are affected by group ties at home and by expectations arising from a shared culture. I have already suggested that value put on having many non-Hagen friends is part of the ideology of independence. Interaction with foreign acquaintances may amount to little more than passing courtesies when one happens to meet any and need not affect ties with fellow Hageners. It will, nevertheless, contribute to the migrant's image of himself. Those who think of themselves as belonging to the town and stress the enjoyment they get from the style of life they are able to lead there often emphasise their network of non-Hagen friends.¹

Most people with outside links contrive also to maintain their Hagen network. However, there is some association between the idea of autonomy and the fact that the migrant has cut himself off from home (see Chapter 4), and when autonomy is further expressed in an elaboration of non-Hagen ties, it may seem that the migrant is also cutting himself off from other Hageners in town. The expectation among the majority of Hagen migrants is that they will at some stage return home. They may judge the firmness of a person's urban Hagen relationships as indicating the genuineness of his assertion that he belongs to Hagen and will eventually go back. Intention to return to the rural society in turn reinforces attachment to Hagen society in town. These perceptions are probably derived from the recency of migration (all are first generation migrants) and from the

¹ Rew (1970:177) suggests that a relationship 'across the usual social boundaries' may be regarded by the parties involved as a measure of sophistication.

force of the home ideas about wage-employment, bisnis and so on. The sense of common identity in terms of origins is reinforced in the migrants' eyes by the stated desires of individuals that they mean to return (and the evidence of those who do). The intention to return home thus also becomes a symbol of attachment to other Hageners in town. Behaviour which seems to jeopardise someone's chances of returning may, therefore, be interpreted as in defiance of a proper stress on intra-Hagen relationships.

It is probably too early to say whether these Hagen ideas have any base in fact and whether migrants who have, for example, taken non-Hagen wives will stay longer in town than their companions. But this is the way it is seen. Utterly casual contacts with non-Hageners need carry no threat; but semi-permanent unions or relationships which generate their own obligations and responsibilities are another matter. Such a relationship is at the same time at the expense of urban Hagen society and at the expense of society at home.

Interpersonal ties

Casual contacts among migrants. Given that the number of non-Hagen contacts a migrant has is seen as expressing his individuality, it is not surprising that this is a feature which differentiates people of otherwise comparable status. Most migrants participate in pati, card games and drinking picnics which involve other Hageners. In addition some have wide non-Hagen contacts, and others almost none.

When work association is reinforced by common residence, quite close relationships may develop. This happened between Francis and a Kainantu wantok (fellow worker) who for a time formed a household together.¹ We have seen something of the involvement of Chimbu work-mates in the Tipuka-Kawelka pati described in Chapter 5. However, it by no means follows that such contacts will develop into friendships.

For a while Ndika Patrick shared a house with two Samarai employees. They slept in separate rooms. Patrick had a little gas ring in his own and cooked for himself. He had been putting up Adrian, who had subsequently gone elsewhere, and in talking about his position mentioned how alone he was, that

¹ See p. 146.

he had no wantok living with him. In referring to the Samarai men he said, 'Oh, they are all Papuans (that is, there is no particular reason why we should be friends)'.

Attitudes of this kind do not necessarily indicate animosity, just distance.

A gardener commented on the large number of Papuans and other highlanders who were his work-mates. 'We sit down together and we talk and we are friends. We sleep in one compound too, and are kampani at work. But I am not really their friend. Just in the course of work we share cigarettes and talk and so forth.'

Casual acquaintances with non-Hageners have most chance of survival when both parties are sharing a place of work or residence, for the institution gives some permanency to the relationship even though the content of their interaction remains slight. A migrant will be more likely to make a loan to a non-Hagener who is also a work-mate: he may not be a particularly close friend but will continue to be around. Activities which concern several Hageners in a compound may include non-Hagen residents, like card-playing, pati and so on. At the death of Keith, who had worked under Roderick and lived in the compound, a funeral pati was held, and there were a number of non-Hageners among the participants.

Hageners from all over the Sub-District including Mul Council, the Nebilyer Valley and Kaugel helped the Dei Council people to raise £100 to charter a plane to take the body home; a further £50 'for the coffin' and then another £50 for the plane fare of the person who accompanied it. The Tipuka and Kawelka subsequently held a feast which, as at home, combined a funeral for the dead man with the expression of gratitude to those who had assisted the bereaved to discharge their obligations. In addition to chickens and vegetables, two pigs were purchased. The portions were formally distributed to the following groups: one portion to Nengka, Kumndi and other Western Melpa tribes; one to Ndika, Yamka and other Central Melpa tribes; one to Nebilyer Valley and Kaugel groups; one to the body of semi-professional men in the army,

police and corrective institutions;¹ and finally one to a set of people 'from Finschhafen, Sepik, Papua, Goroka, Mekeo - because they helped us'.

The Finschhafen man was a driver at the same institution at which Keith worked, thus a wanwok. He had contributed £1 towards the money raised to send Keith home. The Sepik was similarly employed, although he had recently come and had not made a contribution. The Gorokans were labourers in the same work lines as the Tipuka and Kawelka, while the Papuan and Mekeo were workers in the mess. A number of them had helped with contributions. Among the 'Papuan' was an individual from Hula who did not work at the institution but who had become a personal friend of some of the Tipuka. They had met him while out for a drive for one day; later he brought the Tipuka men some bananas and stayed a night in their compound. On this occasion he was given three live hens and a little pork for his family.

Although domestic servants tend to be more isolated, casual acquaintance may be struck up with non-Hageners working nearby. Brian first chewed betel when he was offered some by a Samarai family living in a haus boi not far from his own. At a time when both Perry and Adrian were working as domestic servants in houses near to one another, they set up a savings rota along with a neighbouring Wabag servant. Perry commented, 'Mipela wanples na kampani, we (work at) one place and join up'.

Car drivers hold a rather special position. Because their skills are in great demand they are hired by all kinds of people in town. Thus when Joe first obtained his license he got a job driving a PMV truck for a group of Chimbu (Gumine) people. Quentin's case is instructive:

When he left employment as a domestic servant in 1967² he drove for a while the car of which he was part-owner. It broke down the following year and he had to go back to domestic work. But he was always on the lookout for a driving job. A Chimbu man one day came to his house looking for a driver

¹ Note the way in which these persons are treated as a category on their own.

² See p.144.

for a PMV truck he had just purchased. For several months Quentin drove the Chimbu car, being paid \$14 a fortnight. At this time he became closely associated with Chimbu men and women, and slept and ate with them. Week-ends too he spent in their company. Then there was a dispute over repairs between the owner of the vehicle and others who had been using it, and the hire purchase company took the car back. Quentin stayed on with his Chimbu friends for another month. But Tipuka Jack, who had been one of those contributing to the Hagen vehicle Quentin first drove, wanted Quentin to return to the company of his wantok.

Jack got work for Quentin in a garage. But he was only there for a month when they found he was not literate and sent him to apply for a job driving a dustcart. What happened subsequently is recorded on p.143. The detail to note here is that when he began working for the Wabag men, he did not go back to his Hagen mates but to the house of a Chimbu friend in Boroko. He found there his former associates whom he addressed as mama, papa (Mother, Father) and told them he had a job driving a Wabag car. They cooked food for him and pressed him to stay. They reportedly said: 'It doesn't matter where you work - whatever you do - but you must come back and sleep with us at night.' So he stayed on with the Chimbu couple for a while until he found work driving another Hagen car belonging to two Kaugel.

But he was not happy with this job. The vehicle had no proper PMV license and Quentin did not at first want to drive it. They insisted, but he behaved with a great show of independence, refusing to pick up passengers, and in return was not given any wages. In spite of his going slow on collecting passengers he earned \$270 for the owners over a period of four months. He was so angry at not being paid properly that he contrived an accident. The car was a write-off. He took \$3 he had collected from fares that day and gave it to the owners telling them where they could find their vehicle. That night he once more looked up his Chimbu friends. It was not until this couple left Moresby that he took to sleeping

regularly again with Hagen companions.¹

The value of having contacts in unexpected places, able to help should the need arise, is shown in the following anecdote.

Brian met Luke, a Mokei servant, with whom he claims friendship on the ground that the particular clan to which this man belonged at home had migrated to the Wahgi where it occupied Kawelka land - 'So I know these Mokei people and that is why I am friends with this man', he said. Both had time to kill, since they were waiting for some clothes to dry. It so happened that Luke was the recipient of savings donations that week-end and had money to spend. So they went to a pub and met a Kerema clerk, a friend of Brian's on the ground that they both used to work at the same place.² The man left after a while, so did Luke, by which time some other Central Melpa had come and Brian stayed on with them. He became very drunk, refusing to go home with anyone. Then a Chimbu who happened to be in the bar came up and, according to the way Brian retold the event, rescued him. He had seen how Brian was getting and judged that he should be at home. The Chimbu was a doctor at the main hospital and knew Brian through a Tipuka friend of his who also works there.

Most of these remarks apply to unskilled migrants whose jobs make no particular demands on their associations with non-Hageners. The situation is probably different for police and soldiers and different again for other professional men. My impression is that the claiming of foreign friends by persons in these occupations on an entirely casual basis (as opposed to forming close friendships) is less frequent than among the unskilled workers, partly perhaps because relations at work are more likely to be structured. Possibly there is less room for defining work-mates along ethnic lines because of other relationships dictated by rank or a career hierarchy. In relatively undifferentiated (unskilled) jobs, on the other hand, ethnic criteria will be used to classify others - 'Oh those are Papuans' - and perhaps there is a greater impetus to override such boundaries and make casual friends across them. But this is

¹ He also had spells driving a Rigo vehicle and a PMV belonging to Buang men.

² See p.165.

only an impression.

Travel and the local population. Some lads made quite firm friends among the local Papuan people while they were working on plantations near Moresby. One Welyi boy claims a 'mother' and a 'father' from a group near where he was on contract. At week-ends he would stay with them and go out hunting; help the man on his coconut plantation. In return they would feed him. Migrants finding sponsors such as these would give them small sums of money from their wages. This particular relationship, however, did not survive the move to Moresby, though once when he met the couple at Koki market the Welyi boy gave them \$2 in acknowledgement of their former friendship.

The car is an important catalyst to the development of contacts with the local population. Thus a Papuan man from Kwikila who worked at the same place as Gerry begged Gerry to drive him home one week-end. When they got there the man asked Gerry to stay the night and gave him bananas and coconuts. Said Gerry: 'He did not give me any money (to pay for the car hire). He helps me and I am his friend so I help him'. One or two Hagen drivers have jobs which take them about the countryside (for example, a bread delivery round¹), but most knowledge of villages around Moresby comes from private travel. Some migrants claim to hardly ever go outside Moresby but to 'round' always within the town. Statements of this kind came from about a third of Sample I men. But the rest have all travelled - either on PMV vehicles or in the private cars of their wantok - to at least two or three locations outside the town, and a number - perhaps another third - have spent nights away at such places as Hula, Rigo, and Lea Lea.² When Richard was working along the Hula road collecting passengers, he used to sleep overnight in the house of a friend he had in one of the villages. On these trips he would bring along his own mates - Roderick, Simon, Brian. For a while both Richard and Simon hoped to win girlfriends from the village.

Among those who own and drive cars there is almost what might be called an ideology of privilege (noblesse oblige). Giving lifts is very frequent. Anyone in charge of a car, his own or not, may feel under a diffuse obligation to

¹ And some people have had spells of work in the environs of Port Moresby, five out of the Sample I men.

² All Central District villages.

assist his friends (usually fellow Hageners) when he can, an adaptation to the geography of Moresby which is sprawled out over a large area, and effective use of its resources and facilities really depends on motor transport.¹ The fact that privately owned cars need constant maintenance is a more direct catalyst to cultivating friendships with non-Hageners. Thus Gerry has a Papuan friend at a garage who will work after hours and fix his vehicle for the cost price of the spare parts. Most Hagen drivers and their friends are amateur mechanics but for big jobs have to turn to trained men, and few Hageners have specialised skills. When travelling outside Moresby extra-Hagen contacts may prove vital.

Quentin and Francis drove out to Kwikila one week-end. Not far from there the fan belt gave out. But Quentin had a friend in Kwikila so they walked into the village together. Quentin obtained a new fan belt from this friend and borrowed a spanner which he pledged with \$1. When the car was fixed he returned the spanner and got his money back. The fan belt he would pay for later, for he already owed his Papuan friend the cost of a new tyre which he had been given a few days previously. He had then left him his old tyre and pledged his watch. Quentin was known to the Kwikila people as Chimbu Quentin; he had had a bread round there at one stage. On his way back from Kwikila on that previous occasion, Quentin's car had subsequently sprung a radiator leak near Tupuseleia. A local there who knew him towed him back to Moresby. Quentin offered to pay, but the man reportedly said, 'We are friends - later you can buy me a drink or something!' Quentin decided he would visit this friend over the new year and take him down a gift. He planned a trip to Kwikila to redeem his watch the following week-end and also decided that while he was down there he would carry on to Hula in any

¹ Cf. Oram (1970a:7): 'There is a congested central business district near the harbour and a number of low density suburbs laid out on an Australian pattern with small shopping centres. The town is designed for people who follow a prosperous and car-oriented, Australian way of life'.

case.¹ A Kuli (Eastern Melpa) man, Stewart, has a wife from there and one or two Hageners have lived at Kula or its environs for longish periods.

Living with others. A small number of Hagen migrants have spent periods of residence in Papuan villages. These in 1971 included a fugitive from justice in a village several miles from Moresby. He already had a prior contact there through a girlfriend. Others put about the story that he had gone home. Some people also 'disappear'. Their fellow-Hageners have a vague idea that they may be living somewhere in the countryside but are not sure. One was a man described by other migrants as wangen. He was old, with no resources, in a poor job. A relative in town suggested he give up working there and go and make gardens in the Rigo area where he (the relative) had contacts. So he gardened, growing vegetables for sale, and occasionally bringing in produce. After a while the townsmen lost track of his movements. Another was a Klamakae man who had bought his own fare to Moresby after completing his plantation contract; unable to obtain good employment in the town, he disappeared telling the others he would go and find a plantation to work on again. It is surmised that he is living with Papuans somewhere long bus ('in the countryside'). They know from news at home that he has not returned there.

Some migrants spend periods living away from town and then return.

Colin struck up a friendship with some Papuans at Koki market and accompanied them back home where they hunted. He claims to have spent several months there. When his hosts went to Koki market with fish to sell, he would stay behind and look after the

¹ He went along with a number of friends in Francis' car the following week-end. They spent the night at Hula, at the house of Stewart's wife's relatives. On the return journey its clutch broke down on the other side of Kwikila. A passing European towed it as far as Rigo where Francis had a contact from whom he borrowed tools (his immediate superior at work being a Rigo man). However, they could not fix the car. It would cost, they said, \$100 to have it towed commercially back to town, so they made their own way back and planned to contact a Papuan mechanic who would mend the clutch for something in the region of \$ 4 or \$6; some of them spent the night in the car.

women and children. The relationship was broken when he eventually returned to Hagen. On his reappearance in Moresby, they sent talk for him to come and visit, but he did not take up the contact again. Among his contacts Colin also claims a Hanuabadan, at one stage a fellow labourer in a gang. He spent nights at this man's house, sharing his wages and food. At a village further out of Moresby he says he was offered a house and garden-land if he wanted to stay. Through all these contacts Colin claims to have struck up friendships with local women.

On the whole, connections with local Papuans are considered an advantage. Especially if he has no close kin in town, people may not worry themselves unduly if a migrant chooses to bury himself in the hinterland. If he associates closely with another ethnic group actually in the town itself, others will be more critical. However, the following story, told by Mokei Roy, suggests that close friends are sometimes anxious for their companion's welfare.

When Roy was a boy, Edward's father (also from Mokei) had come as a refugee to his settlement and the two boys grew up together. Later they shared experiences at a plantation, and came to Moresby at the same time. But whereas Roy settled down, Edward became a rover. He apparently went to Tapini where, according to Roy's account, he married four Goilala women. Two of them he got rid of, but by two he had children. However, he left them to go to Moresby where he was friendly with brothers of these women, to whom he made a small payment. He slept for many months in a small Goilala settlement in town before eventually moving in with another Mokei and finding a regular gardening job. His Goilala affines were said to have returned home, and Edward was rumoured to be thinking of bringing one of his wives to Moresby.

It was while Edward was still at Tapini that Roy heard about him from other Goilala men. He decided to go off and look for him, afraid that in a foreign land Edward would be killed. He searched and searched but did not get as far as Tapini. At Waitape he had the luck to find a Chimbu with a Goilala wife and he spent two

months with this man. The Chimbu knew a few words of Melpa.

Although he was unsuccessful in his search for Edward, Roy sees himself as looking after his interests. He also says that he will not go home till Edward decides to. Meanwhile, he commented, Edward just drinks beer and plays cards, and has no money. But if he, Roy, abandoned him now and went back to Hagen it would be bad.¹

Within Moresby town itself people may take up periods of residence with non-Hagen migrants. Quentin's story has been recounted already (pp. 263-4). The ex-policeman² who went to jail found a Rigo contact to live with after he was released. He had caught the Rigo man drunk in public, and sorry for him because he was old, sent him off with a warning. The old man became his friend, and so he later went to his house when he was out of work. A man who associates with non-Hageners in town may widen his support base but also jeopardise support from his own people. He alienates them if his association with others is too emphatic. This is what happened to Robert.

Robert found work as a domestic servant in Korobosea. He had struck up an acquaintance with a Buang³ couple who both had similar jobs in the area, and lived in

¹ An element in Roy's position was the deference he felt towards an older Mokei man of the same clan as Edward also in Moresby. He linked these two together in saying he would wait till others were ready before going home. He himself had had a chequered childhood, living with both father's and mother's people. His attachment to Mokei (which is what he calls himself) is important to him, expressed vividly in his loyalty to these men. His status is thus akin to that of a 'non-agnate' (see Chapter 3). In this regard we might note that his home status did not in fact deprive him of the chances of marriage and a position there. His relatives had plans to obtain a wife for him and it was his own desire to escape matrimony which led him to seek a labour contract. 'They wanted to marry me a wife, and women came and turned head with me and I did not like it. And a married woman, too, she came and greased me. I didn't like this so I ran away to the stessin.'

² See p. 63.

³ The man he had known from the days when he was working on a plantation.

their house. One night he slept outside in their PMV truck, under a tarpaulin. A number of Goilala (it was said) came by and discovered Robert there. From the tattoo on his face they surmised he was a Chimbu¹ and attacked him. He fought them, but received several knife wounds about his face and neck. He fell down and they ran off, thinking him dead. He eventually stumbled up to the Buang couple who wakened their employer and he was taken to hospital.

A number of his Hagen friends visited him in hospital. However, none of them saw themselves as being under any obligation to pursue the matter. Brian said: 'If Robert went about with us and slept with us, we would help him. But he lives with the Buang, and goes around with them too. If we had been there on the spot we might have helped but if anyone wants to do anything now, it is up to the Buang to help him. Em i tanim Buang pinis! (He has become a complete Buang!)'

Brian recognised that Robert was under something of an obligation to the Buang couple, which was why he was still living with them. When he first came to Moresby it was they, rather than his Hagen wantok, who had helped him and given him shelter. He found work, but felt that he should not leave them at this stage, after he had shared their money, their food, their house. If he had left then, when he was at the point when he could begin to make some return for their hospitality, to live with his wantok, the Buang couple would have felt upset. Contacts of this kind do set up obligations which may be felt as operating at the expense of association with other Hageners.

Intermarriage

Most of the above examples show individuals cultivating acquaintances among non-Hageners on a personal basis. When they visit, they may bring along friends. The migrant who has the initial contact with the non-Hagener holds something of the position of an intermediary. The friends who accompany him to a Papuan village may receive hospitality,

¹ Something of the 'Chimbu/Goilala' enmity is described in a later section.

perhaps even spend the night there, but need make little effort themselves to enter into a personal relationship with the hosts. However, aside from some interest in minor trading, migrants may cultivate friendships of their own, if they hope to establish liaisons with girls. This applies particularly to the local Papuan population, less so to other migrant groups in town.

If relationships develop through interest in a girlfriend, the Hagen suitor must adopt certain formalities in his behaviour towards the woman's kinsfolk. This in turn means that constraints are put upon those who accompany him. The suitor not only introduces his Hagen friends to the family he knows, but the friends' behaviour will be modified by this man's position vis-à-vis the villagers. This is an area in which one probably could develop network analysis to describe the influence of different relationships upon one another. The Kuli man, Stewart, who has a Hula wife, is a focal figure in the more casual contacts other Hageners have in the village, and visits there will often be explained in reference to his connections. (He actually works in the town where his wife lives with him.) On the strength of his established tie, both Northern and Western Melpa men have tried to strike up friendships with Hula women. Moreover, the Hula affines may feel free to call upon minor services from the husband's wantok.

Francis came across the Hula family who were waiting by the road to visit their son-in-law at Bomana (he had been jailed). The mother-in-law shouted out (she knew Pidgin): 'Hi, tambu(in-law), give me some money to buy tobacco and a cordial!' Francis looked a bit sour, but Quentin came up and said, 'O tambu, you mustn't be anxious - I'm here. I have my wages.' And he bought her what she wanted and paid her fare to Bomana.

There were not, in 1970-71, many stable marriages between Hagen migrants living in Moresby and Papuan women, although there were a number of attempts to find girlfriends. Of the six wives or girlfriends mentioned in Chapter 5, one was a migrant from Kerema; the rest were girlfriends from local villages in informal and most cases short-term liaison with the Hagen migrants, with two exceptions. One was the wife of Stewart, and the other a Kwikila woman who had been married to a Nengka man and was now attached to Kummdi Nigel. Nigel had not paid bridewealth, saying it was local Papuan custom to wait until after the birth of children. Stewart

was also childless, but had made a payment to his wife's kin.

Hageners contemplating union with Papuan girls, or their friends' inclinations in the matter, comment that bridewealth payments are high. Simon was courting a Lea Lea woman for a while but was daunted at the prospect of having to pay perhaps \$1,000 with no return. In actual fact this sum is not high if compared with the overall cost of Hagen bride-wealths which include several pigs and perhaps shells as well as money; it is only high if compared with the money component at home (in the order of \$100) and the fact that the migrant has to find it all himself rather than depend on the support of senior kinsmen. Although a migrant hopes for aid from his mates in town, they are more reluctant to contribute to what, in that context, is a basically selfish enterprise than to ventures such as a truck purchase in which they can all share. It is not simply that the wife belongs to one man only but there is no scope in town, as there is at home, for her to support her husband and thus his clansmen by her work; moreover, by marrying, the migrant may well remove himself from the bachelor company of his mates, the very men whose support he needs to raise bridewealth.¹

Stewart was lucky. He married his Hula wife in about 1966 and was able to call on wide assistance. Someone commenting on this pointed out that in those days there were not many Hageners in town and everyone was ready to help in one another's enterprises. Nowadays, with a much larger migrant population, men keep more to themselves. £400 was paid the first time, Stewart subsequently adding a further £100. Of the first gift, as much as £300 was said to have been raised by helpers. It is interesting that this union should have been with a Hula woman, in the light of Oram's descriptions of Hula society. A high proportion of Hula women marry non-Hula men and the figures for 1964 show that 11 per cent of these non-Hula men were New Guineans (Oram 1968:265-9).

Although Nigel has not made any single prestation to his wife's kin which could be called a bridewealth, he sends presents to them from time to time. He estimates these have totalled about \$350.

Nigel has been a domestic servant, most of the time in Moresby. In 1969 he was at Koki market when a

¹ At home those who help a groom most will themselves be married and with established families.

woman came up to him and asked where he was from. He said New Guinea and she asked for more detail, and then begged for a cigarette. He protested, but gave her one, and she followed him back to his servant's quarters. Eventually they set up house. If this had happened at home, Nigel said, he would have paid bridewealth, but in addition to it being a Papuan custom (he claimed) not to give payments till after the birth of children, the woman had had a number of previous liaisons herself which made her in his eyes a pasindia meri (someone who has or has had several sexual partners). At home one does not hastily give bridewealth for such women. His gifts to her kin have amounted to \$350 but he says he will not send any more since she has had no children. He told her kin it was she who found him and not the other way around. In addition, he also lets her send whatever she wants from her own wages¹ to her parents. For a while they were putting up her sister and her child when the husband of this woman was in jail.

Nigel used to criticise his wife for not treating her kin in what he regarded as a proper manner. It upset him that when they came to his house she did not always offer them food and drink. He said (to me) that he had said to her: 'You must leave the ways of Papua and follow my ways. If your wantok come then you must offer them food and drink, and if you don't I shall beat you.' According to his account she conformed to his requests and followed 'the ways of Hagen'.

Nigel travels quite regularly to see her kin in their village. He comments on the fact that they have no bisnis, no money, no cars, and just sit down all day long. 'We travel around and at night come home to sleep; but they just eat and sit down all day. But they are good people too.'

Nigel's wife was previously married to a Nengka man, who himself had had a series of liaisons. These included an affair with a woman from the Southern Highlands who was in Moresby as the wife of a Popondetta migrant; she eventually went to a Kaugel man. Through his Papuan marriage, the

¹ She worked as a domestic servant as well, earning \$16 a fortnight; he said he got \$14 himself.

Nengka migrant claims to have obtained building land in Moresby, in the Badili area.¹ After his Kwikila wife left, the Nengka migrant pursued another Rigo acquaintance and then a Mekeo woman but none of the liaisons lasted long. Two of the Nengka man's wives thus subsequently married Hagen husbands again. Nigel's wife also introduced a younger sister of hers to Quentin and Quentin enlisted the help of Kukilike Philip (an oldish and important man, one of the original migrants) to speak to her kin on his behalf. A 'mother' of this woman had meanwhile set up house with another Northern Melpa (Minembi Evan). But the marriages fell through. Quentin's 'wife' was removed by her brother who wanted her to marry a Rigo man. Nigel was instrumental in encouraging both these matches (between his wife's 'sister' and Quentin,² and his wife's 'mother' and Evan). When Quentin was trying to put his affair on a firm basis, it was Nigel who told him how to behave correctly towards the affines-to-be and who advised him to find a patron such as Philip to speak on his behalf.

Marriage may be used to cement friendships between migrants in the town. Hageners report various non-Hagen friends of theirs suggesting that since A and B are friends, A should give B his sister or daughter in marriage. But the suggestions are made much oftener than the marriages are. The migrant demurs that he does not want to marry; or other of the woman's kin are not agreeable. Moreover, when 'wives' are acquired from the immigrant population, especially in the absence of the bride's parents the status of the union becomes anyone's definition. The woman is likely to have some menfolk in the town who claim her as a sister and who may press for bridewealth. But she herself may play various demands off against one another, or leave and return again, recreating the relationship casually each time. Often such affairs do not last more than a few months. When a girl is

¹ The 'owner' of the land where he built himself a small house comes from Daru, married to the sister of his former Kwikila wife. His connection with the Daru man has outlived the marriage. He makes this man occasional gifts of \$5, \$2 or whatever he has. The Daru man in turn obtained the land from a Moresby inhabitant, and all the residents in addition pay this individual 50c every fortnight.

² Cf. Nigel's previous attempts to find a wife for Quentin (p. 195).

taken from another immigrant population, considerable antagonism may be aroused among her own wantok who feel they have first claims to her themselves. This may lead to aggressive confrontations between members of the two ethnic groups. Far from cementing a friendship, the liaison can create hostility.

There is something of a contrast, then, in attitudes towards girls of the local Papuan population, who have families nearby, and where there is some formality over channels of communication, and the sisters or daughters of other (non-Hagen) immigrants in town. Relationships with the former are more respectable. Someone who associates with immigrant women and comes under pressure from his girlfriend's male sponsors to make some kind of prestation to them, canvasses his own friends about the chances of help with 'bridewealth'. But because of uncertainty over the woman's background there is much more ambivalence about the match. In at least one case, a clan brother of the suitor made investigations of his own as to the character of the girl he was interested in. Judgements are in traditional terms: a woman with a reputation as someone who goes from man to man is all right for the casual affair but not for a permanent union which will involve financial investment. To their faces, the suitor's friends may greet his girlfriend's brothers as tambu ('in-law') and be openly hospitable but privately, resolve to have nothing to do with any bride-wealth.

The promise of a wife to cement friendships is also made among Hageners themselves, again the promises and rumours of impending liaisons being much more frequent than actual unions. Since the number of unmarried Hagen women in Moresby is negligible, men bespeak girls who are still at home, and have an exaggerated sense of their control and influence over either the woman or her other kin in Hagen. Real marriages made while the migrant is in town are most likely to be carried through by his kinsfolk themselves.¹

¹ In such cases the bridewealth will be of traditional amounts, though the migrant still in town may help with money (perhaps of the order of \$100 or \$200) in addition to valuables provided by his kin (in one case worth \$1500, some of which would be returned by the bride's kin as is customary). One Hagerer who married a woman from Sina Sina in Lae had given a small cash gift to her people when he was at home himself; she has no close brothers in Moresby and he does not contemplate making any more payments till he goes home again and can settle with her actual kin there.

Home kin thus remain something of a reference point when people are contemplating marrying a Hagen girl with bride-wealth. Migrants prefer that this side of the union should be consolidated by rural transactions. It does mean, however, that the migrant is expected to be generous when his kin travel to see him in Moresby and he is particularly obliged to make handsome gifts should any of his wife's brothers visit from Hagen. Kaugel Nelson who married a girl from home while in Moresby gave something in the order of \$700 to various of his wife's kinsmen when they came to visit him. This was in addition to the formal bridewealth transactions which he professed to know little about.

Categories and stereotypes

Like everyone else in the town, Hageners have stereotypes about foreigners. Rew (1970:195ff) points out that ethnic categories in Moresby exist both as a means of classifying other people and as named entities with which an individual can identify himself.¹ To categorise migrants as 'Chimbu' or 'Buang' carries moral and emotional overtones through the process of stereotyping. From the viewpoint of Hagen self-identity, we can also see this process as a kind of defence mechanism. It does not just sharpen the perceived boundary between Hageners and others but in differentiating persons in terms of expected patterns of behaviour gives some structure to the kinds of obligations which arise from personal contacts through friendship networks. I have already suggested that when extra-Hagen contacts put the migrant under certain obligations the relationship may be resented by others as a kind of morality leak. These contacts are regarded as at the expense of intra-Hagen solidarity. It is as though morality were limited, and one can only discharge so many obligations without detriment to others. Stereotypes which judge people's behaviour are thus defensive in the sense that they bring home to the migrant the fact that the demands foreigners make on him can never quite match the (legitimate) demands of his own wantok.

Hagen identity. Hageners know that non-highlanders often class them along with other highlanders as 'Chimbu'. In

¹ Except for specific comparisons I do not discuss the topic of ethnicity as it has been treated, for example, in African studies (cf. Cohen 1974). This discussion is not attempting a definition of ethnicity in the emphasis it gives to the Hagen situation.

many situations they prefer to preserve the anonymity this gives them. They have no particular desire, it would seem, to be themselves the subject of stereotypes which would either lead into the kind of antagonisms which flare up between ethnically-designated groups, or give them a bad reputation in employment. People regret the continuing flow of migrants from home partly because this makes them numerically more conspicuous. Occasionally an employer will take revenge on the misbehaviour of one Hagerer by dismissing other employees whom he identifies as this man's wantok. It does not happen often and Hagerers suggest that they have a fairly low profile as far as stereotypes about work go, which increases their chances, as individuals, of finding profitable employment.

If this is one image of themselves vis-à-vis the outside world, pride is taken in common cultural identity.¹ Yet town life in Moresby does not lead to any great economic or political stress being placed on the ethnic category of 'Hagerer' (although political events in the future may alter this). This is very clear if one considers the situation of, say, certain urban groups in Africa. Cohen's (1969) study of Hausa migrants from northern Nigeria in Yoruba (western Nigerian) towns is addressed specifically to the question of why Hausa maintain and exploit their ethnic identity. Cohen suggests two major dimensions to this. One is that ethnic groups are in an advantageous strategic position for the development of informal political organisations. The base for common loyalties is already there, embedded in customs which identify the group. The second dimension is more specific to the traditions of West Africa. The region is covered by a network of trading relationships which link many different cultures. Hausa take a chief part in the organisation of long distance trade. Migrants set up formal communities in the towns where they reside, and it is to their economic advantage to stress their Hausa connections. Cohen concludes that tribalism may be 'a live political and economic issue and is not just a method of categorisation to help the African migrant to deal with the bewildering complexity of urban society or to regulate for him such "domestic" matters as marriage, friendship, burial and mutual help' (1969:193).

¹ If this Bulletin raises the profile a little, I hope it will be through an understanding of some of their concerns and preoccupations, and that it will enhance the respect with which many Hagerers are already held as individuals at their places of work.

What do we make, then, of the situation of Hagen migrants in Moresby? Economically (from the point of view of employment opportunities) they under- rather than over-stress their background, and lack much of a collective reputation, for example, as a style of worker, which would be of benefit. They are not really an interest group competing with others, and only in the weakest sense a 'structural category' as a member of a wider community (Schildkrout 1974). Thus they become involved in the ties and cleavages which emerge from the segmentation of Papua New Guinea and its regions (see below), but there is as yet no ethnically based organisation to which Hagen identity as such is relevant. Given the value placed on individuality, it is necessary to ask why Hageners stay together at all and thus reinforce their 'Hagen-ness'. I do not think they find the 'complexity' of urban society particularly bewildering. Categorising others of course has the effect of structuring a heterogeneous environment, but this is not enough to explain the significance of the ethnic labels. While the regulation of the kinds of 'domestic' matters to which Cohen refers is undoubtedly important to maintaining identity, here it is the subdivisions - clan and tribal affiliations - which are most crucial. There is also the question of relations with home. But leaving this aside, one can point to some rewards for the individual which come from adherence to a Hagen identity: it gives people a place within a prestige system.

The acquisition of prestige is at home the most significant of male pursuits. Unskilled migrants cut themselves off from the particular avenues which enhance men's reputations there, temporarily if not permanently. The town offers few alternative routes. Among themselves, however, who share assumptions about basic values, migrants can judge and give meaning to one another's behaviour. The scale is right too (a man's network of Hagen acquaintances in many cases corresponding in span to the male members of a clan or small tribe). Not every migrant has a conscious striving for prestige, though some, such as Adrian and Roderick, perhaps have such aims. There is, however, a strong feeling of 'I am as good as anyone else'. The projection of this sense of self-worth would be faint against a screen which comprised the whole town, or the commercial or governmental sector in which the migrant works. For in spite of the stance of autonomy, the estimation of others also counts. In most cases fellow Hageners comprise the migrant's most important reference group.

Terms and names. Among the general migrants of Sample I, all speak Pidgin, perhaps three or four persons know a little English and a third claim some knowledge of Motu. Two know other coastal languages. Within the highlands, most claim some familiarity with languages of the Wahgi Valley, and some of Eastern Highlands languages near Goroka. The Lutheran Mission in Hagen formerly employed Kâte, a vernacular of the Finschhafen area, in its teachings and some men claim to speak Kâte. Contacts in town have led others to familiarity with Chimbu. Northern Melpa say that Nebilyer and Kaugel people are also acquainted with Wabag (Enga). Pidgin is spoken widely with non-Hagen acquaintances if the vernacular is not known. Kâte is occasionally used as a lingua franca with other highlanders who have also had contact with the Lutheran Mission. As one would expect it is those who travel most frequently outside Moresby or who have had spells of staying in Papuan villages, who know coastal dialects best. Only about a third of the migrants from Sample I claimed to know no languages apart from Melpa (or Temboka) and Pidgin.

There are, however, terms of address for people from various areas which may be used whether any other words are known in the language or not. It is courteous and is also an act which presumes and therefore expresses some familiarity to address a foreigner by his own term for 'brother' or 'cousin'. People¹ say they use the addressee's term for 'brother' when hailing men from Enga, Mendi and Tari, Chimbu, Goroka. The Melpa for brother may also be used or the person being addressed may employ it reciprocally to the Melpa-speaker; the Melpa term is in any case employed towards people from areas neighbouring Hagen, the Wahgi Valley and Ialibu, which suggests a degree of closeness. Enga for 'cross cousin' (specifically 'maternal kinsman') was cited as also being used with Wabag men. The term implies some connection through a woman in the senior generation and indicates a generalised friendly relationship. One Hagener said: 'We drink beer with them and are friends and call them this'. The phrase 'in-law' refers to a marriage in the same generation as the speaker and will

¹ My records are not complete and usage is likely to be idiosyncratic in any case. Too much should not be made of the patterns mentioned here. (How the terms are used will depend on the degree of familiarity which is being claimed by the speaker. Some say these terms are employed only when the person's own name is unknown.)

often be used in a joking way. As well as being called 'brother', Minj and Banz (Wahgi Valley) men may be addressed by their own term for 'brother-in-law', and may call Hageners this or use the Hagen term. These references to kinship relations are metaphorical. The quality of the ties with people from these various parts is likened to the quality of ties which exist between certain classes of kinsmen, and the assumption is that these values are relatively constant for several cultures. No particular kinship connection may be in mind. However, it was also said that the phrase 'brother-in-law' is used of Wahgi Valley people because in actuality there have been a number of marriages between them and Hageners. (There does not have to be any specific tie between the speakers.) The Pidgin wantok ('brother') or kandere ('cross cousin')¹ may be used instead of the vernacular.

Outside the highlands these usages are extended to three categories of people. It is said that many Sepik men have married Hagen wives and that Hageners jokingly address Sepik men as tambu ('in-law'), using Pidgin, not the vernacular. They may also be called kandere for the same reason. Men from Finschhafen accompanied the Lutheran Mission to Hagen as evangelists in the early days and anyone from the Finschhafen - Lae area may be called kandere, or (the Melpa form) apa. The rationale is that 'these were the people who brought us up and gave us the word of the Lutheran Mission': they are maternal figures. Finally, coastal Papuans may be addressed by the Motu word for 'brother', and the reply come in the Pidgin form (wantok, sometimes brata). Those who know other coastal languages use the vernacular. This applies particularly to people of the Central District and reinforces the impression that migrants' behaviour towards the autochthonous inhabitants of Moresby and its environs is different from their attitude towards other migrants, including other Papuans. More effort is made to establish a contact which will be friendly. An exception here is Kerema. Kerema, I was told, may be addressed as brata ('brother') or

¹ Kandere (or kantri) carries the specific connotation of a kinship link through one's mother or sister. It is used metaphorically where a close personal rather than group tie is claimed (as would be so with matrilineal kin). Common clanship in Hagen usage may be subsumed under the rubric wantok. Hence the gloss 'brother' for wantok. (Brata is among Hageners themselves used with a much tighter kinship connotation.) Wantok is discussed further on pp.293.

tambu (Pidgin for 'in-law'), because there have been marriages between Kerema migrants to Hagen town and Hagen girls. In addition a Kerema man may jokingly be called saksak, sago.

This opens up another realm of name-calling. Kerema may be referred to, or addressed,¹ I was told, as 'sago' because they eat sago all the time and even use sago leaves in making their utensils. It is a term which refers to a particular cultural characteristic. Hageners say coastals call them 'bush people'; or 'men who eat the roots of kunai grass', since much of the highlands is open grassland. Hageners refer to Wabag men by the Melpa phrase for 'shorn ears', a reference to the custom, which Hageners profess not to understand, of cutting the ear lobes. They conclude that Enga 'have no sense', for this is the kind of thing done to pigs. Phrases for Chimbu, and indeed for all their neighbours eastwards from Wahgi to Goroka, single out the traditional habit of wearing high wigs which expose a large area of the forehead ('bald tops'); while the Hagen preference for bringing the hairline down and thus emphasising the hair's bulkiness is admitted to lie in the Chimbu reciprocal for Hageners ('big mops'). Sepik men, who in a friendly fashion are hailed as tambu, may also be called the equivalent of 'poor relations'. It is pointed out that some highland rivers drain into the Sepik and whereas Hageners are at the head of the river and drink from clear, mountain streams (an evocative concept, involving notions of strength and fertility), those lower down have to be content with dirty water. These terms are not used often. They all touch on the cultural origins of particular groups in town.

Such terms merge into stereotypes which make direct comments on behaviour. Thus Tolai are said to be fierce, less perhaps in Moresby, but very much so on their own ground. Coastal Papuans are quiet and peaceable; they do not rush about but are content to sit and fish and talk in their houses. But stereotypes of this kind are not applied systematically to all ethnically identifiable groups. As Rew (1970) points out, some ethnic groups have more notoriety in the town than others and one of these is 'Goilala'.

Of all groups in Moresby, the Goilala are viewed by Hageners in a very specific way. Sometimes they are

¹ In the following cases the address would only be made in a joking context. If any insult is intended this probably adheres to its use in reference.

distinguished by geographical origin but usually the term is applied in a block way to anyone who comes from the Moresby hinterland. They are described as unkempt, giving no thought to their appearance. It is considered appropriate that they can bring themselves to work as dustmen, which means also emptying latrines on housing estates with no main sewerage, a job Hageners could not conceive of doing for the pay Goilala men get.¹ But above all the stereotypes are related to behaviour which has serious social consequences for the migrants. Goilala are regarded as dangerous, ready to kill at any time. Most Hageners profess to be afraid of them, including those who during the work day may be in their company. They are wary of travelling in certain parts of the town at night in case of attack and some even do not like to go along the road to a farm just outside Moresby where they have heard that Goilala work. These fears are linked to a series of incidents which have involved 'Chimbu' and 'Goilala' men in fights in Moresby. There was a streak of frenzied exaggeration in some of the gory stories put about concerning the activities of Goilala in 1970-71 - that they staged homicidal raids every Christmas or that mutilated bodies had been discovered in parts of Moresby. The reputation of the Goilala is not helped by the fact that every unknown attack is attributed to them. Hageners fight with other groups but it is only in the case of Goilala that the incidents seem to confirm a stereotype of ethnic behaviour. Goilala are so feared that people ensure they do not walk about alone at night although this does not amount to an obsession except for a very few. Nor does it exclude the formation of personal friendships between Goilala and Hageners.

Categories in action. Two significant categories which affect Hagen behaviour in town are the designation of Hageners as 'Chimbu' (that is, highlanders), and as 'New Guineans' (as opposed to Papuans). The first is one made by others of them, which Hageners take as an identification between themselves and actual Chimbu people, and which they

¹ It is also said that Chimbu would do these kinds of jobs; but apart from comments on the number of Chimbu who find it hard to get employment, I did not hear many stereotypes about them. Some Hageners said that they pitied Chimbu because they were so often unemployed and had to sleep out in the roads at night, and when they did get work it was 'outside' - a term meaning that it was both in the open (for example, road mending) and not attached to an institution or employer on a regular basis (was casual).

sometimes resent. The other is an identification with the rest of New Guinea, in which they concur quite readily.

Hageners use the word Timb (Chimbu) or Kombukla timb wamb ('Chimbu people' + a regional term) for Chimbu proper and for anyone east of themselves as far as the Eastern Highlands (cf. Whiteman 1973:10). They acknowledge that they are called Chimbu by the Papuan population (it was once said to me that Papuans may call all New Guineans 'Chimbu', not just highlanders). On some occasions Hageners use the designation as a cover term. In a fight with strangers, they may disguise their identity by pretending they are what the strangers take them for - Chimbu - and thus hope to confuse their assailants. When they meet again they say, 'Oh it must have been Chimbu who hit you. We do not fight; we are good men.' This kind of subterfuge rebounds, of course, when others are out to take revenge on Chimbu and may attack a Hageners in the course of it.

Over 1970-71 several incidents, including deaths, were put down to conflicts between Chimbu on the one hand and Goilala on the other. Hageners say they were not the only ones who were afraid - men from all over New Guinea took precautions in case the Goilala sought them out. The conflict was not generalised, however, in their minds, as being against all Papua. ('Other Papuans are good, they don't quarrel with us, and they didn't help the Goilala.') The shift here from Chimbu - Goilala to New Guinea-Goilala (not New Guinea-Papua) illustrates a feature identified by Ploeg in his study of ethnic interaction at the Hoskins oil palm settlements. He writes, 'The groups brought together in ... segmentary organisation are not defined merely by reference to such organisation, since they have also a separate identity as ethnic groupings which may, for example, oppose each other whatever their place in the segmentary hierarchy' (1972b:26-29).

As far as I know no Hageners actually assisted the Chimbu in the fight; they were simply fearful that Goilala would make a mistake in identity and attack one of them. These alignments were quite separate from individual skirmishes which some Hageners had had with Goilala.

A Tipuka man was set on by unknown assailants. They attacked him from behind and no one saw who they were. His clan-mates and friends thought they might be Goilala. The Tipuka had made trouble with them earlier: a number of Goilala are accustomed to selling betel nut outside one

of the cinemas. Once he was present when a policeman came up and tried to make them move on. On a subsequent occasion he came back and finding the sellers there again took it on himself to act like a policeman, kicking the produce all over the place. He had been drinking. Although they did nothing at the time, it was surmised that the Goilala would not have forgotten the incident.¹ This attack was thus placed in purely personal terms as arising from the particular animosities the Tipuka migrant had created with others.

There were also face to face encounters with Goilala, such as pub brawls, which did not lead to anything further; so possibly Hagen fears were a little far fetched. However, they interpreted the subsequent involvement of Wabag migrants in the Chimbu-Goilala affair as a case of Goilala lumping together all highlanders, and this fed their apprehensiveness.

In some of the ways in which Hageners talk about themselves, it would seem that belonging to the category 'New Guinea' is much more important than that of 'highlander'. (Hence the interpretation of the ascription Chimbu as meaning all New Guineans as opposed to Papuans.) They are conscious of being on Papuan soil. Yet in spite of the numerical preponderance of Papuans in Port Moresby, Hageners sometimes regard New Guineans as in the ascendancy, partly because they come from so many different centres and the roll call of names - Lae, Madang, Manus, Hagen, Goroka, Rabaul, Kavieng - impresses them. There is a spirit of rivalry which makes a Hageners say things such as, 'It is the New Guineans who hold this town.' This speaker went on to note that Moresby had to depend on the New Guinean labour force because Papuans had too many home obligations. A visitor said he thought that New Guineans must 'boss' the place: Wherever he went people commented on his beard and knew he was a New Guinean and greeted him! On the other hand, migrants may do a volte face when kinsmen urge them to leave the town and return home. One such visitor was told by his clansmen to stop asking them to go back: 'We are Papua New Guineans and this (Port Moresby) is Papua New Guinea (that is, we belong here)'.

¹ However, it was also thought that his enemies might be other highlanders, from Tari (see below).

Stories of the famous rugby match a couple of years earlier which resulted in a fight between 'Papua' and 'New Guinea' were still circulating in 1970-71. Its cause was said to have been a specific taunt from a Papuan woman at the New Guineans losing. An eyewitness said that all those on the New Guinea side rallied and gave chase to Papuans throughout the town. This seems, however, to have been a highly specialised context, the structure being set up by the form of the game (Papua versus New Guinea), and there was no generalised hostility which affected the Hageners in the way that the Goilala-Chimbu affair did. Indeed, rivalry rather than hostility would be a better description of Hagen attitudes as New Guinean towards Papuans. A quite separate issue is the feelings Hageners have towards Papuans in their role as the autochthonous inhabitants of Moresby.

Sorcery and poison. The negative side of the deference shown towards the local population is fear of sorcery. People say that when they go on a visit to a place like Hula they do not tell the inhabitants their proper names and thus put themselves in their power, but say they are called Peter or John or something. This applies to men who have Papuan girlfriends as well. It is not quite certain what the Papuans do, except that they make concoctions, if possible along with articles belonging to the victim, and speak his name. The motives for such aggression may be left undefined. 'We are just afraid of the natives, ol man bilong ples'.

Plantation labourers feel particularly vulnerable, and several men whose ailments develop after they have reached Moresby put their distress down to the malevolence of ol man bilong ples while they were working on contract.¹ But Hageners also attribute definite feelings of anger to Papuans over specific issues and see their attempts to poison migrants as understandable if rather drastic revenge for genuine grievances. 'We [Hageners] just get angry', commented one man, 'but when you steal from Papuans they make sorcery on you.' People may help themselves to produce, or scavenge for raw materials, and are not always certain who, if anyone, owns a particular plot of land and the

¹ One unfortunate labourer fell violently sick at a plantation and a Madang man there healed him, removing from his body the nails, bottle glass, bones and other things which the sorcerer had deposited in his flesh. As in all these cases, a fee is paid to the practitioner (here \$20). The victim's clansmen said that the man had stolen things belonging to some Papuans, so they took their revenge.

things growing on it. One new arrival fell very sick shortly after coming to Moresby (his limbs swelling, a sign of 'poison') and some of his clansmen concluded that he must have stolen food from local Papuans, while others thought he may have been attacked while he was at a plantation. Theft from the trees of Papuans who are themselves migrants to Moresby may result in the same thing. A pair who went hunting marsupials in the bush outside the town came across a grove of coconuts belonging to Goilala settlers. They fell sick after stealing from this grove. It was assumed that the owners had put poison at the base of the palms to catch thieves such as themselves. Others say they took warning from this not to pick things planted by others.

Someone who wins heavily at cards may be afraid the losers will be so angry that they ensorcell him.

Brian was playing several games with his work-mates, including men from Mul Council, some others from Lae and Finschhafen, and Papuans. He won about \$50 but after that had bad luck after bad luck. In the end he concluded that the losers had taken his name and made magic with it so he would not win again. (Brian surmised that the man had called out his name and knotted up a rope while doing so, thus capturing it, then the names of the cards Brian had called the day he won and threw the thing away into a hole.) He suspected the Papuans because they have such strong sorcery.

In fact any enmity with strangers (as with Hagen enemies, see Chapter 5) may lead to fears of poison. There are cases of Hageners attributing sickness to poison from Chimbu labourers on plantations and from a Kerema work-mate.

Occasionally sorcery is manifested in madness, but usually the victim falls sick. In two cases the worker returned home because he could not get better. People say that Papuan poison is especially strong, manifesting itself in general lassitude: one's flesh swells up, one feels weak at the joints and wants to stay indoors all day. There are reported to be materials in the ground in the Moresby area similar to the deadly substances found in the Jimi Valley which at home are made into lethal poisons and destroy men. But Papuans also make use of foreign matter - they shoot nails, iron, and glass into people's bodies. Other groups, such as Chimbu, supposedly have knowledge of this kind of poison as well. There is in Moresby a famous practitioner

known to Hageners as 'Cowboy' from his garb,¹ said to come from Lae. He is able to get rid of the kind of poison which inflicts migrants to the coast. A number of Hagen men have consulted him and claim in all instances to have been cured. He is said to charge a fee of between \$4 and \$10 a time. He talks in Pidgin and utters spells in his own language, also using leaves and other magical items, extracting substances claimed to be the poison from the victim's skin. This fits in with Hagen notions of curative ritual, which usually combines spells and the manipulation of objects. Brian went to him to have the sorcery which was making him lose at cards removed, so that afterwards he began winning again.

Disputes with foreigners. Disputes develop from time to time between Hageners and non-Hageners. When Richard was courting his Kaugel wife he had a rival in a man from Wapenamunda (Enga). Since Richard's success they have become bitter enemies, it is said, and quarrel whenever they see each other. Sometimes a Hagener takes offence at the customs of others. Francis was annoyed by the smell of some fish that a Kerema man was cooking in the compound and, so the story went, picked up the saucepan and threw it and the fish away. He and the Kerema man fought over this. Fights follow card matches too.

A number of Hageners were playing cards with Gorokans at a compound. One of them went against the rules and tried to withdraw money he had already lost in the game. A Gorokan demanded he put the money back; the Hagener went off and was followed by two Gorokans and they fought with fists and sticks and at one stage stones. The Hagener was helped by some mates and the Gorokans were badly beaten up; but everyone in the compound reprimanded him later. His wantok criticised him for getting up the fight with the Gorokans who were, after all, their work-mates. He replied that if they (his wantok) ever needed his help in a fight he would assist, and what were they worrying about.² The Hagener afterwards boasted that all the Gorokans were afraid of him now

¹ He is often to be seen carrying a guitar and wearing a cowboy hat. People refer to him as longlong ('mad, abnormal').

² That is, they should make up their minds to help him, since they could always depend on his help in turn if need be.

(they had come off worse) and do not 'big head' with him.

In cases like these there is no settlement procedure which can put an end to the quarrel. Partly because there would be no question of any compensation going to the Gorokans, in spite of the fact that as work-mates they were quite close to the Hageners, the other Hageners made their criticisms of the card-player's behaviour public. (Had they been going to hand over compensation as a corporate act, they might have presented a more solidary front.) Subsequently he returned to playing cards with his opponents, although it was thought that if the Gorokans ever discovered him by himself one night they would take revenge.

With one group, Tari from the Southern Highlands, there exists something like a feud, in which minor incidents between individuals feed into generalised hostility between the two categories, Hagen and Tari. This was not so in the Enga, Kerema or Gorokan disputes recorded above.

The enmity with Tari was of long standing. It was said to have begun when two Kumndi (Western Melpa) men brawled in a pub and two Tari men got so hurt they had to go to hospital. Since that occasion the Tari were on the look out for Hageners. An attack on a Ndika (Central Melpa) was put down to them. He was badly cut about the face and had to go to hospital for two weeks. It was said that the Tari were not interested in Kaugel or Temboka speakers, but only those who spoke 'Hagen' (Melpa).¹ On the Hagen side the enemies were identified by their language as from Tari proper - not from other localities towards or in the Southern Highlands whose languages are distinctive.

The attack on the Northern Melpa migrant described on pp. 280-1 was also attributed by some to Tari. No particular incident precipitated the attack. However, when Adrian got into a fight with a Tari man at a pub (fight no.9, p. 247) and Tari there apparently tried to stop it spreading by surrounding the fighters as at a boxing match and forcing them to go it alone. It still

¹ One Hagerer surmised that perhaps there had been other encounters between Tari and men who pretended to be from Hagen and spoke in Melpa to deceive them, which was why Tari were attacking Hageners specifically.

contributed to general feelings of animosity between the groups. When a Kuli (Eastern Melpa) man was later forced to flee from the threat of an attack from a group of Tari who accosted him on his way home, the reason for the enmity (birua) was put down to the two pub encounters.

Attitudes towards expatriates in Moresby

Attitudes towards Europeans and Chinese in the town are usually generated in the context of employment (see Chapter 4). Yet people pass from working for Europeans, Chinese or Papuans with, it would appear, few marked preferences and few stereotypes about the respective characteristics of employers from different parts. Employers are judged in terms of how good they are to the worker. Those who joke and talk good humouredly are praised. Because of the presumption of inequality, particularly with Europeans, gestures of kindness and solidarity are highly valued, and people speak with pride of being 'friends' with this or that masta. Conversely, behaviour which in other contexts might be regarded as hostile does not arouse the antagonism it would between equals. It is not assumed that if a European is cool then he is plotting revenge for some grievance. Inequality should be understood here in a rather special sense. A wide gap is felt to exist between Europeans and Hageners; but concurrent with this is the strong feeling that the gap is a product of particular social and economic situations. As individuals most Hageners consider themselves the equal of any men, including non-Papua New Guineans. This may be demonstrated in deliberately ignoring the gap - as when a domestic servant makes free use of his employer's car and clothes, or leaves his job because the misis is always talking at him. Such actions cross the gap and thereby affirm its existence,¹ but deny that the premise on which it is based has anything to do with the employee's status as an individual in his own right.

There is some antagonism expressed when expatriates are¹ Some friendships could be interpreted the same way. One Central Melpa talking of his long association with a European couple said he could go to their house whenever he wanted. Indeed, they told him he should not go around with his wantok because these men would get him into trouble with the police. 'So I listened to their words' (that is, obeyed). The two are mother and father to me and I behave myself with them.

seen in the company of Papua New Guinean girls. On one occasion a Hagerer exclaimed at a European who was giving a ride to a Papuan girl that he was 'stealing our girls' (my emphasis). This is said to be a cause of fighting at night-clubs. On the other hand, occasionally a Hagerer sets himself up to solicit custom from European men for ladies he can introduce them to. One Northern Melpa had in train for a while two Kerema girls, and an unmarried Hagen woman (of whom there are very few in Moresby), along with a friend she had made when in Lae. The Hagerer claimed that he also offered protection to European clients who might find themselves attacked when seen leaving a nightclub with Papua New Guinean girls. He in turn was treated with drinks and given small sums of money. He regarded himself being liked by ol masta because of his gudpela pasin, 'admirable ways'.

People find Europeans in Moresby more easy going than those who live near Hagen town and comment on how they may be given lifts or can visit their houses. Personal experiences vary so enormously that it is hardly worth describing them. It is by way of contrast that the following two incidents are cited.

Some clothes had been stolen, and the masta came and investigated the haus boi of his domestic servant, where he found suitcases belonging to the servant and to three other people who had no regular accommodation of their own. He asked them to take their cases away, then when this had not happened after a week, rang the police. The police opened up the cases to see if any of the missing clothes were there. This behaviour on the part of the employer was described with little emotion: it was judged quite normal. Abnormal and highly praised was another employer who refrained from dismissing a servant after his car had been smashed up. The servant had been told to keep the car in running order when the masta went away and on one rainy night did \$600 worth of damage to the front. The servant reported the accident to the police and he and his wantok thoroughly approved of the masta's reaction which was not to dismiss him but ask him to pay back the \$600. Actually the servant and his friends raised \$300 and the employer found the rest.

Although migrants from time to time seek the support of expatriates and some individuals take pains to demonstrate the breadth of their contacts, there is no great cultural emphasis on the idea of a patron. This is consonant with the underplaying of intermediary as a role. I suggested in the discussion on networks that intermediaries were most

important in a cross-cultural context and Hageners do try to manipulate Europeans and others whom they see in positions of power. But this is likely to be for short-term ends (obtaining a driving licence, getting a job). Unskilled migrants are not really interested in access to the expatriate's social world. One might surmise that expatriates as intermediaries and patrons are more relevant to those skilled and professional workers who are interested in widening their own social fields.

Europeans are regarded, on the whole, as motivated by self-interest, ready to interfere in people's affairs, but also gullible, listening to the stories anyone tells. Chinese, and it is as traders especially that they come into contact with Hageners, are felt to have a more realistic approach to the furtherance of self-interest. People grumble at the profits they claim the traders make at their stores, but also appreciate the services which the Chinese are willing to offer. Some open credit accounts with particular storekeepers, putting in an amount of cash from their wages and then buying provisions there for the rest of the fortnight. The Chinese are thought to be not above tricks (giving short change and such like). But it is behaviour of this kind which links them with rather than separates them from Papua New Guineans. Thus Hageners may refer to Chinese as waitskin ('whitemen'), but also claim that when they talk to traders they sometimes address them as wantok and are in turn addressed as such by them.

The meaning of wantok

Being a Hager in Moresby does not really confer many advantages or disadvantages on the migrant in his dealings with the outside world - with urban institutions or with non-Hageners in a competitive sense. One cannot talk in this case of ethnicity as a strategy (cf. Barth 1969). In stressing their ethnic origins Hageners are to some extent 'making sense' of the town society. For this at once gives them a niche in the hierarchy which is constructed along the lines of European; Papua New Guinean; highlander; coastal; Western Highlands; Chimbu and Eastern Highlands; and so on. But as Ploeg has pointed out (1972b) such classifications need not represent a consistent segmentary system. (In any case the division highlander:coastal overlaps with that of Papua:New Guinea.) Units at one level may be counterpointed with those of a different level, as in the example of New Guinea:Goilala. This suggests that the units are

perceived of as interest-groups. The advantages a particular group claims at any one moment may be to the disadvantage of other groups of any span. When the Goilala were out seeking revenge, 'all' New Guinea was said to be afraid. But if on some occasions these units appear to act like interest-groups, the actual interests which precipitate action do not provide an enduring rationale. Only sporadically do situations occur when a common interest is seen to oppose or unite one unit in relation to another. At the level of 'Hagen' this happens hardly at all in relation to others, the Hagen:Tari enmities being a possibly unique example. And yet people are constantly being slotted into ethnic categories - 'We Hagen do this'; 'That Popondetta man is my friend'; 'I know a Tolai in X Department'.

The reason is partly simple history. Most migrants in Moresby are of the first generation and to talk about someone coming from Popondetta or Rabaul is to comment on the easily accessible fact of their geographical origins. It still remains a question, though, why people should be interested in the geographical origins of others. Among themselves, part of the value of 'being Hagen' lies in the support and domestic services which a migrant can claim from among those he is familiar with. Fellow-Hageners, who share his culture, provide a ready made security circle, and are important as a reference group: because they share the migrant's culture they, and to some extent only they, can provide rewards in terms of prestige and social standing. They form as it were a moral community, which accords status to its members. How does this apply to non-Hageners?

It would seem¹ that the Hagen model of the town is mechanical rather than organic. They do not, as Europeans might, visualise it as a body, or a machine, with its various sectors and systems interlocking and thus interdependent. They have an idea of the administrative hierarchy, because this corresponds to political forms familiar from the home district. But they have little notion of an economic structure, apart from a utilitarian and practical knowledge of how to get what they want. I doubt whether they would readily apply the European image of urban workers as 'cogs in a machine'. If they have a model at all it is rather of an enormous replication of like units. There is a proliferation of governmental departments, of commercial

¹ The following is largely conjectural, my own reading of rather than a translation of Hagen concepts.

firms, of industries. Each segment has a particular job to do because all the jobs have to be done and this is the way they are parcelled out.¹ Feeding into this are a great number of migrants who come from a variety of different groups. They too evince a kind of replication. There are people from Samarai, Buka, Madang, Manus, Goroka ... and so on. The groups can be related to one another in a political sense (for example, people from Madang and Manus are coastals and more alike than Gorokans who come from the highlands); but they can also be seen as a string of discrete entities, units existing side by side, similar (they all have an ethnic identity) but not having a great deal to do with one another.

The perception of similarity is important. There is an assumption, I think, that being, say, a Buang does for Buang what being a Hagen does for Hageners. He will be supported by his fellow-Buang and accorded social standing among them, not just when Buang confront some other group, a product of segmentary opposition, but internally, a product of an enduring association. The importance of placing someone as from Buang or Popondetta or wherever is not just to mark out a structural relationship between his society of origin and Hagen society. It does something quite different as well: it says that the person so identified belongs, as the Hagen man does, to a group which makes certain demands on him and will support him in certain ways. The cultural details of the way obligation and support is worked out will vary, but the Hagen migrant and the Buang or Popondetta migrant are seen to belong to comparable moral communities.

Now Hagen society in town is unlike Hagen society at home in a number of respects, and especially in what one may call morality (see Chapter 8). Possibly a perception of other urban residents as all belonging to units comparable to one's own points to some common bases for the various urban societies, an assertion which detracts from continuing acknowledgement of the total moral order which holds at home. In addition, this model gives some shape to expectancies about behaviour. Estimation can be made of how far an outsider or an insider can go in his claims on a person from a particular area, what is likely to happen if a dispute

¹ The idea of the division of labour is appreciated but accompanying notions of interdependency are played down. We can see here a correspondence with their own values of autonomy.

arises, and so on. In a context where there are few formal channels through which one can apply pressure on others, or exert a justified influence, the migrant is protected from feeling that there are no rules at all. It is quite true that many migrants exploit the experience of relative anomie which the town appears to offer in contrast with home, but they are saved, as it were, from total anomie: even if there are few rules which a Hageners can follow when he communicates with a Buang, he knows that by placing him as Buang he is dealing with roughly the same kind of person as himself. Thus a complete stranger may be greeted as wantok, in a preliminary opening to friendly discourse. Given their relatively small numbers, the same can be said of members of the Chinese community; less so of Europeans. A Hageners migrant can claim, beyond the friendships he has developed, few ties with the other inhabitants of the town. But those who belong to specific ethnic groups like himself at least may be presumed to be, like him, acting according to certain social rules towards their fellows. There is, then, a presumption of morality.

Relations between different ethnic groups are essentially amoral. There are few overreaching and effective principles which code behaviour, though there are sporadic political alignments and certain expectations about urban social life. This is, however, an area which needs more investigation. (Thus I know little about, say, the ethics of mixed drinking in public, or behaviour on public transport.) Interpersonal contacts, residence, neighbourhood and work associations all generate norms for individuals in their dealings with one another, yet no migrant is acquainted with more than a handful of people out of the town population. He never knows when he might have to deal with a stranger. The assumption of similarity provides certain guidelines. At least one knows one is dealing with someone who, like oneself, observes some rules. Now this model could only work for Hageners if it was also shared by other Papua New Guinean groups; there seems to be some evidence that it is.¹ For example, migrants suggest that wantok solidarity is sometimes deliberately fostered by the police. Someone goes to

¹ Otherwise there would be no positive feedback - a Hageners could not feel security in conversing with someone he has placed as Buang if the Buang did not regard him in somewhat the same light and this was communicated between them. See Kasaipwalova (1972:453-4) for an account of the 'wantok system'.

the police station with a complaint about a debt which a fellow-Hagener owes him, and the police ask if they come from the same place or not, and on hearing that they do reputedly say, 'You cannot come to court. You are all wantok and should return the money at home'. So they refuse to handle the matter.¹

The category wantok marks persons from whom one hopes for support and is used widely in town among New Guineans, and between them and some Papuans. Europeans are thought to operate their own wantok network. Thus if an employer asks someone to work for a friend, he will be described as helping his wantok. But the term wantok is not often used across the colour barrier.² Of course it may carry different connotations for different Papua New Guinean groups, but this remains to be shown. A Hagener uses the term in reference to a range of people, according to two principles corresponding to the two structures described above: ethnic hierarchy and ethnic segments.

Wantok applies to those who identify themselves as having some interest in common (a group of clan-mates, household residents who cook together, a man's supporters in a fight). These interests may be held in competition with a unit of comparable order (for example, another clan of the tribe) or against the world in general (the rest of the compound residents) or against a unit defined on a specific occasion as in opposition (the enemies of the moment). This is a hierarchical model. It implies a degree of inclusiveness among those embraced by the term. Hence wantok can cover persons identified as belonging to all the highlands districts, or to New Guinea as opposed to Papua, or all Papua New Guineans as opposed to Europeans. A Papua New Guinean from anywhere

¹ Doubtless reflecting particular cultural attitudes towards the propriety of going to court over debts with kinsmen, not scruples which Hageners adhere to very strongly.

² A domestic servant working for an American negro woman (as he described her) aggressively addressed her as wantok on one occasion which made her very angry. She informed him he was to call her misis. Another time he answered 'yes' to a question and was told he should say 'Yes sir, misis!'. 'Tasol em i kanaka tasol' ('She is only a native'), was his laughing comment. The servant's hostile statement of parity was a product of generally unpleasant relations between them. However, if the employer had been white it is unlikely that the aggression would have taken this form.

in the country may thus be addressed (as distinct from the rather special usages noted in the section on terms and names). But Hageners also address others as wantok without necessarily invoking this hierarchy. It could be argued that it is always there latently, so that when a Hagen migrant hails a Buang as wantok he is thinking that they do after all both come from 'the New Guinea side'. But I think the model of ethnic segments is also relevant. Wantok is used most readily when talking to outsiders of persons within an ethnic group (its etymology specifically distinguishes them as speakers of one language from those of another). When it is used of people from other groups it may mean, 'We all belong to a much larger quasi-ethnic group, namely, New Guinea' (hierarchical model). But it can in addition or alternatively be interpreted as, 'Like me you belong to an ethnic group too' (segments model). Here the term implies not that the two speakers share obvious identity and interests but that they are of comparable standing in respect of their own ethnic loyalties. Wantok, with its connotations of brotherhood (see below), draws attention to the most salient feature of belonging to such groups, that one has supporters.

Wantok means literally those who speak a common language or dialect, but in Hagen usage often draws attention to a general rather than specific basis for identity or association. It is used as frequently to distinguish groups within a language area (such as tribes or clans) as it effectively embraces speakers of many languages (such as all highlanders, or a pair of friends from two different districts). Indeed, if a Hageners wishes to make a special comment on language sharing he is likely to use the phrase wantokples - 'common vernacular' - rather than wantok. Thus in respect of Wahgi Valley people, Hageners may admit that they understand something of their language, for at home they are neighbours, and this makes them all wantokples. This can be a basis for friendship between individuals.¹

Wantok is one of many terms which point to some common identity, but is the one which refers most directly to ethnic

¹ One or two people said that when Wahgi men were their neighbours in town they would share food with them more regularly than with other non-Hageners, on the basis of this identity. Enga, especially those from groups on the borders of Hagen, may be described similarly as wantokples or as speaking tokples bilong mipela, for persons from these areas may well understand Hagen, and vice versa.

(home) origin. Cultural groups are often seen as language groups, and one's vernacular is the most obvious clue as to cultural origin. Another common term is wanwok ('work-mate'). By reference this simply indicates people who work together; but is usually a specific marker of inclusion. It too may be the rationale for friendship ('Oh, we are wanwok and that is why we are friends'). Less commonly heard are wanbos (people who work under 'one boss'), wanlain ('same work gang'), and wanwokpe (people who earn 'the same wage'. Wantok identity or other forms of association (such as knowing each other as children) usually take precedence over wanwok as a rationale for relations among Hageners,¹ but in descriptions of ties with non-Hageners wanwok is often heard. When Kukilike Philip was looking for a place where pigs are sold, he stopped by at the house of a former wanwok, a man from Lae, married to a Papuan whose local knowledge he wanted to tap. People who claim each other as wanwok are supposed to evince loyalty, and it may be a loyalty which is expected to modify their ethnic obligations. With non-Hageners, then, wanwok is used regularly of friends who are made through a work association. Among Hageners, people will be distinguished less by this than by some other rubric such as wankontrak and wansain (those who together signed a contract for plantation employment), or wantrening and wanskul (those who have been to an educational institution together). In reference to their coming from the same locality at home people may refer to themselves as of wankaunsil and wanples (under a single councillor or coming from the same place).

Usage is idiosyncratic. One person explained that he would use wankontrak for companions from another tribe who had shared plantation experiences with him, but not for a clan brother who was also there. They were too close; the brother was his wantok after all (here meaning fellow-clansman, a tie that would take precedence over others) and he would be ashamed to think of him as just a fellow-worker.

¹ I heard it once used of Hagen men in the army. Soldiers (and other professionals) are differentiated by their occupation from general migrants and this distinctiveness gives them a certain identity. When migrants were raising money for the funeral of a soldier who had died in Moresby, they complained that some soldiers had not contributed enough - and they were after wanwok of the dead man (and thus under an obligation).

He would use wankontrak only of men who were a little distant from him. Indeed, individuals have different styles. Some are known to accost all and everyone with 'Hi, wantok!' while others are much more diffident about addressing strangers. Usage is also contextual. Wantok may be employed as a neutral term for fellow-Hageners in contrast to pren (friends), which specifies a particular type of association. Or it can be used to reinforce a special association. Brian spoke of a Central Melpa man from Ndika as his wantok tru (his 'real wantok'). Other Ndika were all wantok, but this man was a wantok tru because they had been to primary school together, and so the pair were also wanskul. A 'true' wantok may also be defined as someone who can be relied upon to help. When Brian was drinking with his Kerema friend (see p.) and was rescued by the Chimbu man, he said afterwards that the Chimbu had been worried because Brian was not in the company of true wantok (here, men from his own region) who would see that he got home safely.

Wantok is heard much more frequently than poroman (mate), which translates a particular Hagen notion of parity between two persons - they are the same age, have the same status, and so on. Two men who decide to return home together will explain their common decision by saying that they are poroman and should thus match their life experiences; the parents of a policeman who died in Moresby were said to be particularly bitter when they thought of what their son's peers, his poroman, would now be doing in the force. Wantok says less about equality and more about solidarity. It is often invoked where the solidarity of a relationship has to be demonstrated or explained to a third party. Thus a Hageners would be unlikely to use the term for brothers within his own tribe to other Hageners, who would be acquainted both with the sociology of the tribe and know the kind of support brothers are supposed to give one another. He might well use it of them in speaking to an employer or to a non-Hagen friend.

Indeed, wantok is used frequently in conversations with Europeans. A migrant may beg work for a wantok; say he gave his last week's pay to a wantok; request permission for a wantok to sleep in his house; ask for time off to see a wantok at the airport. To the European this can sound as though the Hageners is under constant pressure from the same

source.¹ In fact his obligations and rights in relation to these people may be differentiated quite sharply in the migrant's mind. The wantok seeking work may be a migrant of long standing from another tribe who befriended him when he was out of work; the wantok to whom he gave his wages, an influential visitor from home about to return and in whom he is making an investment; the wantok seeking accommodation for a newly arrived younger brother from his own lineage who has nowhere to sleep; the wantok leaving on the plane a soldier acquaintance going on leave. The migrant calls them all wantok because he assumes that the European will not be particularly interested in the relationships involved and even if he did know could not appreciate the precise norms and choices behind his behaviour towards them. To say that these people are wantok states quite simply that there are grounds for association and that, moreover, the association carries some obligations.

An employee will use the same blanket term according to the European interpretation when he wants to enlist his employer's help in avoiding certain responsibilities or resisting pressure from others. He can make out that he is constantly beleaguered by the claims of wantok and asks his employer to get rid of those who are crowding out his house. Or the worker feels that too many visitors are coming from home and draining his meagre resources, and grumbles about the rapacity of wantok. Since the term can cover all those to whom he has obligations, people to whom different kinds of obligations are due can be dismissed together as wantok nuisances. Someone making a statement of this kind may add that he himself is a wanpis.

It is not possible to exhaust all the contexts in which wantok is used. A man may particularise an association which distinguishes him from his clansmen by referring to his special friends as wantok. Quentin spoke thus of his Chimbu contacts (wantok bilong mi) (see pp.259-60); and someone explaining why he bailed two men out of jail said that as

¹ Cf. Harris (1971:52) who lists various 'social problems' associated with urbanisation: 'including crime, prostitution and living off wantoks'. But as Kasaipwalova points out in reference to a criticism of wantok networks: 'to claim that wantok system will give rise to nepotism, well this is assuming that what wantok is all about is exploiting each other. But that is only one side of it; from the other side, the wantok system is a system of helping each other' (1973: 453).

relatives connected through his mother, they were persons related to him in a rather special way, and thus his wantok. The term is even used, then, of matrilineal kinsmen who differentiate a man from his brothers. Someone who disclaims friendship with others in his same compound or working on the same job may say, 'I am not friends with them - ol i no wantok, no gat (they are not [my] wantok)'. A Northern Melpa speaking of a man from the border area between Kaugel and Ialibu said, 'He is not a wantok, he is from beyond Tambul; but we are all together in Moresby and I call him wantok, which is why I gave him some money'. A Kerema passenger car nearly ran over a pedestrian at a crossing whom Brian identifies as from Wabag. 'If he had been killed,' said Brian, 'I would have taken the Kerema to court - the Wabag man is my wantok'. In the extent to which any category of persons is included as one's wantok the idea of distance is constantly manipulated. Distance is a highly relative matter; hence assertions of the kind 'We are not wantok (according to those criterion) but we are wantok (according to these)'. After the Kaugel-Melpa fight, people pointed out the social distance between Kaugel and Melpa migrants: 'We do not live nearby [at home]; we do not [normally] walk about together. Just in the town we are wantok.' But in spite of the distance, there were urban ties which had been ruptured. 'So let us make a pati and be wantok again.'

The content of the relationship which is presumed to characterise wantok comes not from the links which speakers of one language have with one another, but is modelled specifically on clan and generally on kinship relations. Wantok can thus be translated as either 'brother' or 'relative'. Hageners use it in town to refer both to clansmen related by a group tie and to extra-clan kin as well, such as a man and his personal relatives by marriage. Kandere and tambu (see p.277) will be used if the personal relationship is immediate, but in most relevant contexts the speaker would be employing Melpa terms. To outsiders, employing Pidgin and speaking of his own relatives, he says wantok to cover any connection. It can mark out 'maternal kin' from 'brother', or emphasise brotherhood against other kin ties, or encompass all kinship relations. Solidarity is of a diffuse kind: gifts may be made to wantok with no direct expectation of a return. One man contrasted money he gave to some tribe brothers, here his wantok, with other gifts he had given to a mother's sister's son. He expected that the latter would make a return, but 'I don't think the

others will return my money; they are my wantok simply, and that is why I helped them'. A Kaugel man running a passenger vehicle was said to give other Hageners rides for nothing 'because they are wantok'. Migrants who are contemplating leaving home will say confidently that they will be able to find many wantok in Moresby, clansmen, matrilinear kin and friends, from whom they will be able to claim support. Because of the expectation of solidarity, one is suspicious that others will define their circle of wantok to one's own disadvantage. Non-Hagen workers in influential positions may be accused of favouring wantok.

Rather diluted, but nonetheless there, is the feeling that it is bad to forsake one's wantok. At least in retrospect people attribute troubles which have fallen upon avowed wanpis (those who keep to themselves) to their unbrotherly behaviour. The Klamakae man who died in Moresby was said to have become very mean over use of his car. He would say he was sick when others asked him for a drive and then when they came back they would find he was up and gone himself. 'And we saw what kind of man he was, and then he died', said Roderick. The imputation here is not witchcraft or sorcery from fellow-Hageners, but of a vaguer connection between his behaviour and his death, which leaves room for the suggestion that perhaps ancestral ghosts killed him. They too would be able to see what kind of man he was. People muttering about the wanpis described on p.147 also said that they were just observing what he did and then they would see what happened in the future. They do not criticise him to his face, for the unstated insinuation is that the ghosts are also watching, and may eventually chastise him themselves. At home ghosts are the guardians of clan morality and would be expected to interfere if someone persistently acted in an unclanly way. It should not be thought, however, that these ideas are prevalent in town. On the whole ghosts have a very minor role to play. Sicknesses which at home would be attributed to their activity in town are much more readily put down to the sorcery of strangers.

The idea of wantok is not in itself an urban phenomenon. But its widespread usefulness in town gives it a content there it does not have back at home. Used primarily in conversations with non-Hageners - both as a term of address which draws attention to common ground between people from different ethnic groups and in reference to fellow-Hageners, it points out the moral community to which they all belong. Hageners do not use it much among themselves, because these relationships do not have to be stated; they are known. It

is thus an outward-looking term, explaining the nature of ethnic ties to others. For a while in 1971 a Northern Melpa migrant was joined by his wife in town. At home she had been a participant in a cargo cult (see p.) and the cult spirits (ancestral ghosts in another guise) were said to be still coming to her in Moresby. One night she woke, hearing voices outside. When her husband followed and began talking in loud tones, the spirits beat the wife so she fell forward unconscious. The husband brought her back into the house and while they were there he heard a voice address him directly: 'Wantok, gut nait! (Good evening, wantok.)'. The rest of what they had to say was in Melpa, but in making initial contact with the urban migrant the spirits used the Pidgin phrase.

Chapter 7

Money: operator and trickster

So far little has been said about money. Yet there is much more to money than budgeting, employment preferences and a standard of living. According to their own account it is money which brings Hagen migrants to Moresby in the first place; it is money which facilitates a recreation of a Hagen style of life in town, which enables them to maintain links with home and which is likely to be both the incentive to and the stumbling block against actually going back. These are not just economic matters.¹ What is done with money very much reflects the image the migrant has of himself. Finance is a central idiom by which Hageners explain their behaviour and motives. In the absence of developed ideologies about urban living and its rewards, it is a focus for dogmas and values: indeed, if there is any cultural ideology about their way of life and modes of behaviour in town, it is perhaps to be found here. The role of money in maintaining relationships is also significant. Few migrants could be bothered to remember their household expenses, when I asked them; most readily gave detailed accounts of their monetary transactions with others. It is thus an important operator, a medium through which relationships are expressed, very much the coin of social commerce; but it is also a trickster, leading migrants on to entertain certain aspirations and then changing character or vanishing. In a sense migrants in Moresby find themselves in a dilemma. Only a few of them envisage being permanent residents in the town, yet the longer they stay the harder it becomes to go home. Much of this stems from the fact that money is the only currency at their disposal.

¹ Contra Conroy and Curtain (1973). It is not just that non-economic factors are important (cf. Harris 1972) but that apparently 'economic' factors may have non-economic (for example, ideological) dimensions. The point is taken up in A.M. Strathern (n.d.).

What kind of urban ideology

One aim in presenting the descriptive material of the preceding chapters was to elucidate some of the concepts and values by which Hagen migrants shape their life in town. In dealings with fellow Hageners reference is made to values and rules for behaviour derived immediately from home (see Chapter 5); but there are others to which the town context seems to give particular emphasis, such as in the making of personal friends. This amounts to an exercise in autonomy, insofar as the cultivation of such ties may be at the expense of the kinds of social constraints associated with home, finding final expression in the wanpis who ostensibly ignores the claims of others.

This particular cluster of urban attitudes I summarised in the phrase 'the ideology of independence'. It has its roots in the value people at home put on self-reliance (which leads to their denigration of wage-earning, see Chapter 2), and is bound up with the worker's position as a migrant - someone who has cut himself off from the immediately pressing ties and obligations of social life at home (he has 'escaped' to town, see Chapter 3). In town individuals take an autonomous stand towards the external condition which most closely rules their lives: finding employment. These attitudes involve a consistent denial of hierarchy. The economic system is seen as being segmental rather than organic and individuals are more or less equal with one another, a view which leads to the denigration of leadership among themselves (see Chapter 8). There is also a denial of dependency. Most Hageners in town in fact live in a social world in which they are dependent on the friendship and support of their fellows, as well as employers and external agencies. But this aspect of their social relationships is played down and what receives stress is the amount of choice people exercise in finding jobs or making friends, the latter being most dramatically expressed in the cultivation of non-Hagen contacts (Chapter 6). Neither patrons nor brokers (intermediaries) have developed significant social roles. The extent to which values such as these influence the migrants' lives is demonstrated again in Chapter 8 which discusses questions of social control, with migrants' emphasis on informality and hesitation in employing status categories. Significant is the absence of public speaking. Oratory is a finely developed art in Hagen and most public occasions set the scene for speech-making. Speeches deal with current crises, present triumphs, past

histories, full of evaluations of people's behaviour. Anyone who aspires to cut a figure learns to speak out. In the town, men are silent. If discussions take place they are conducted in low key, not turned into public forums. Occasions arise, as at pati, where speeches would be appropriate and people feeling this become embarrassed; one or two may attempt to talk, but the results are usually short and rough. Although public speechmaking is not the only medium through which social values are enunciated at home, it provides a context in which they are given pithy and aphoristic expression. Norms and evaluations of behaviour are used emphatically and without hesitation. They are brought in constantly to justify this or that activity, to support one side in its jockeying for advantage over another. In the town people avoid situations which might be conducive to any clear public formulation of their opinions about the status of others. Later sections of this chapter describe the reluctance of migrants to operate a ranking model in respect of occupations. Although the values associated with autonomy, such as claims on group solidarity, clash with others, internally they form a fairly consistent set and produce attitudes which flourish in a range of situations.

But this ideology is limited in one respect. It is essentially a set of ideas to do with the migrant's self-worth, the stance he takes against the world, his interpretation of his freedom and his ties with others. It refers to the tone of social relationships, and has little to say about what migrants think in general of town-living in a material sense, of an urban style of life. Paradoxically the most frequent remarks made about the town as such draw on the kinds of negative attitudes which visitors from home give voice to.

One of the problems in trying to understand what, in the case of first generation migrants, amounts to a novel way of life, is finding the right vocabulary to describe people's reactions and adaptations. Hagen migrants do not have a pool of widely accepted values and sentiments by which to give shape to their urban experiences. Individuals make their own personal responses to the town relatively unprepared by dogmas and ideologies of the kind which support institutions at home. It is hard to grasp what migrants 'really think' the town is like, difficult to ask someone's opinion without making a fool of oneself. They have few guides as to the form an easy answer could take. The items they do pick on - cost of living, proximity and number of inhabitants - tend to be negative and to refer to values

derived from life at home. It seems clear that many migrants enjoy living in the town and are ready to carry on doing so for a while. They are not under any external constraint, and regard being in town as voluntary on their part. Yet it is almost impossible to get any consistent idea of the material rewards and the attractions of urban life as they appear in their eyes.

Later in this chapter I present the migrant's position as something of a dilemma. But in truth it is only a dilemma if one believes the stated negative attitudes which people give as to why they are still in town. This flow of ideas is circular. Hageners share few set opinions about the town which place emphasis on the advantages of living there and the rewards it brings. They do arrive with a set of fairly well formulated attitudes towards wage-employment, money, their place at home and home values (even if they are choosing to ignore the implications of some of these for the moment). Their best articulated impressions tend to relate the town to home and thus refer to conditions which make town life disparaged in the eyes of rural people. This produces a set of attitudes about the negative sides of town life which, in turn, eclipses and possibly inhibits the development of positive attitudes. The development of negative attitudes is thus a direct corollary of the extent to which home society remains the reference point when the migrant talks about his general position. That it is the sole reference point is belied by the behaviour of many who stay in town, by their settling down, their reluctance, in spite of everything, to leave. But in what terms can one describe these other attitudes, since they are pinned to no values which are given regular expression?

There is one focus for values and attitudes through which opinions about urban living are expressed - money. But it is not an exclusive one: attitudes towards money also have a bearing on how social relationships are perceived and both support and challenge the ideology of independence. Let us look at this aspect first. When laik bilong mi as exercised by one person is seen to go against the interests of others, it becomes denigrated as wilfulness, a transformation which has roots in traditional attitudes towards female autonomy (cf. Chapter 4). The negative side of independence is waywardness and others may find a blatant or excessive pursuit of autonomy, as in the wanpis, positively irritating. In the discussion of pasindia it was suggested that people have to keep a balance - though not everyone is balanced at the same

point¹ - between different types of dependency. Thus wage-earning (dependency on an employer) makes a migrant to some extent financially independent of his wantok; being able to fall back on wantok makes him independent of employment opportunity. Moreover, as noted above, ideologically sub-merged as values associated with clan and tribal solidarity sometimes are, most migrants interact most frequently with their fellow Hageners, and depend on them at the least for emotional support and social appraisal. Like the existence of home ties, it is an inescapable dependency. Claims arising from this necessarily inhibit absolute autonomy on the part of individuals, a condition anyway which few would strive for. There is an exact parallel here in the use to which money is put.

Earning money away from home is seen as an exercise of autonomy; having to stick to a job is an urban constraint. A wage for an unmarried man offers, within its scope, almost unlimited freedom of action as far as expenditure goes; yet there are pressing social necessities which his resources must meet if he is to maintain relationships with other urban Hageners, not to speak of rural ties. Money simultaneously symbolises freedom and its opposite. The worker has choices over the disposal of his resources unparalleled at home; yet his wealth is in fact of a limited nature (cash) and with it he must meet demands of many different kinds. In what he does with his money he underwrites his commitment to his fellows, to home and also to urban life as such. For expenditure also reflects his asceticism or his indulgence; it reveals what people reckon is worth spending on. These are not simple deductions of mine from seeing how money is spent. Money is a pronounced area in which people are ready to voice opinion, becoming a metaphor in terms of which events, relationships and life-style are expressed. It is used to demarcate obligations ('He really owes it to me because of the way I helped him') and to demonstrate freedom ('I gamble all my wages'); to evaluate town ways of doing things ('People from home don't understand where our money goes; it is just wasted on subsistence') and what the town offers ('I'm the kind of man who spends all his money on drink'). As we shall see, some

¹ Nor do people always agree as to what is (good) autonomy or (bad) caprice. (At home in respect of women, male judgments are, by contrast, orthodox and predictable.)

statements are given more public emphasis than others.

But before one can understand just how relevant money is to feelings about urban styles of living and the quality of social life in the town, it is necessary to review migrants' attitudes towards wage-earning as an aspect of employment.

Career and class thinking. There is a grand commitment to the idea of money but not many Hagen migrants are committed to careers. Few of them, as Chapter 4 shows, experience anything like a 'career' in their work histories and few have career attitudes. The dissociation of aspirations to earn more money from notions about job advancement contrast with how most Europeans in Papua New Guinea probably see their work history, as in some kind of linear development, with a gradual move 'up' to better positions. If Hagen migrants - and these remarks apply to the unskilled in the main - look on job transfers as a means of improving their earning power, it is not in terms of a progression through a hierarchy but rather of lateral leaps from one job or occupation to another. This is a realistic appraisal of their situation, for careers develop most readily for those with education and professional skills. At the same time the whole tenor of their attitude is to acknowledge differentiation without admitting stratification.¹ Few appear to bother about the implications of the notion that careers are for those towards the top of the pile. They do not think they are at the bottom of the pile because they do not really see themselves as in a pile at all. At a minimal level, types of jobs may be recognised to rank individuals according to the criteria of the outside world, but the relevance of such ranking to prestige among the migrants is another matter. The idea that one can at any minute and will some time decide to go home as an ever present possibility sustains the view that one's sequence of jobs is not integral to one's life-style.

It is quite true that the offer of high or low wages determines job changes. Those in high paying jobs are quite frankly envied for regular access to so much money. But among the unskilled, the mere fact that someone has a huge income does not bring him prestige. (Whiteman (1973:44) suggests the same is true of Chimbu migrants in Moresby.) A driver earning \$50 a fortnight who spends it all on drink is not much better off, in their eyes, than the domestic

¹ A contrast suggested by C. Nolan (personal communication).

servant who carefully husbands his \$15. What is done with the money is far more crucial to any estimation of a man's worth and in this the migrants follow what people at home think. There prestige lies in the skill with which wealth is deployed. Some jobs are seen as better than others but this evaluation relates chiefly to earning potential. Everyone would like to be a driver but it would be wrong to deduce from this that drivers are superior. Migrants do not see occupations as dividing people in terms of economic classes. What enhanced earning power does for someone is to increase his freedom of action: he simply has more choices open to him in how he uses his resources. This comes out in another way. Not many Hageners have a target-attitude towards saving. They may accumulate money, sometimes as an insurance against going home, but chiefly the sum represents a whole range of choices of action which are now before the worker: he may invest it in a car, try to raise a bride-wealth for a girlfriend, go on a drinking spree. The high wage-earner has a potentially enlarged freedom of expenditure. Conversely, he may also be expected to contribute substantially more than others to group enterprises, a kind of equalising strategy - as the taunts at Brian's pati, recorded on page 266, indicate.

Hageners are exposed to class- and career-based notions about the respective prestige of white collar and manual jobs but adopt them in a very half-hearted way. The attitudes of apprentices and clerical workers may be more clearly formulated in relation to the outside world but when they interact with other Hageners they are treated almost without reference to their place in any employment hierarchy. The labourer may appreciate a person's position but this is a unique aspect of his job situation and is not seen to extend outside it. Many placed in institutions such as the army make comments about the value of independence ('I'll carry on as long as I want to') very similar to those uttered by unskilled labourers. Job performance is not entirely irrelevant to migrants' assessment of themselves and something was said about pasindia and people who are always changing work in Chapter 4. But the comments and qualifications which come to people's minds do not conform to the career/class type of thinking which probably colours the attitudes of their white employers.

In his study of brewery workers in Moresby, Alan Rew made an assessment of occupational prestige rankings. He showed workers a set of photographs depicting Papua New Guineans at various jobs and asked his respondents to rank them in terms

of the prestige assigned to each occupation by the community at large. He found that although professionals, teachers and doctors were placed at the top of the hierarchy, and unskilled and menial workers at the bottom, there were interesting deviations from an industrial model. A number of manual jobs were ranked higher than white-collar ones.¹ That of clerk came lower than linesman, policeman, mechanic and coffee-grower (though white-collar workers and apprentices were over-represented in his sample of respondents). However, the manual workers who ranked high were all artisans of a kind, for example, carpenter or linesman. Drivers came fairly low and the completely unskilled, labourers and domestic servants, at the bottom. Rew suggests a number of particular reasons for the high ranking of semi-skilled manual work. He also notes that 'there was an undercurrent of rejection of urban wage employment as a whole, certain respondents preferring 'business' occupations ... unequivocally centred in the rural areas' (Rew 1970:277).

Rew points out that because of the close association between occupation and general social standing in industrial societies, studies of occupational prestige have often been pursued as part of the enquiry into general stratification. Where this has been done 'the results have borne a striking resemblance to results achieved in the industrial nations; professional and white-collar occupations heading the list of rankings and unskilled and menial occupations appearing at the bottom' (1970:270-1).² It is clear that his own

¹ School children whose opinions were consulted by Conroy and Stent (1970) also showed little evidence of a 'white-collar mentality'. Skilled trade and technical occupations came quite high in the children's preferences. Farming appears low on the list but this is likely to be a product of the associations of career/urban employment/prestigious occupation and high income potential which school children might be expected to adopt and also because it is already within reach. (Cash crop farming comes higher than 'village gardening', however, and competes with some wage-earning occupations.) Some of the Hagen respondents to my own questions suggested that different criteria apply to an assessment of rural and of urban occupations - the kind of dilemma likely to rise in the absence of a class model.

² For a trenchant critique of indices of social change which produce models of this kind see Magubane (1971).

findings do not replicate this industrial model¹ though it is also clear that he was able to elicit rankings of a kind. There seems, for example, to be an assessment which takes note of skill, even though the skills do not correspond to educational qualifications in the way in which employment status in industrial societies is determined.

Rew's sample was drawn from men of many different ethnic backgrounds and he notes that all those who ranked drivers as high were highlanders. We are obviously dealing with ethnically-biased opinions to some extent (for example, the accord these occupations are also given in the rural community). He very kindly placed at my disposal the photographs he had used. Most of the Hageners to whom I showed them resisted strenuously the idea of putting the occupations into linear order. They argued that some jobs were good for some people, others for other people. Or that all the jobs had their good aspects (? needed to be done). Or some simply compared the ease with which work could be carried out (jobs requiring much effort being poorly considered). Most stipulated the work they would like to do, blandly saying that they could not speak for community opinion. Laik bilong mi was the guideline. The photographs clearly failed to spark off in the migrants' minds any other code of evaluation. Such a code would have to be to some extent a social given. When someone from a class society is asked to rank occupations, a predetermined social values give him a guide - he is not acting from scratch and evaluating the usefulness (say) of dustmen and company directors, but applying a framework of notions about status which ignore all but a few dimensions of the occupation in question. Although Hagen migrants might have been expected to absorb some of these ideas, they did not give much evidence of it. The results are detailed in Appendix 5.

It is not useful in the Hagen case to argue that evaluations about occupations are an index of the respondents' urban involvement (Rew 1970:268, quoting Epstein 1967). Their responses say nothing about how far they are involved

¹ He cites Epstein's study (1967) on the Gazelle Peninsula. Agricultural occupations were ranked highest but on the whole there was great variation in evaluations and a large number of 'don't knows'. He suggested that Tolai were not greatly dependent on urban employment and occupation thus had only a small role as an indicator of social standing. Rew's own findings do of course relate to urban workers.

in the town, only something of what kind of town they envisage themselves to be part of. A refusal to rank occupations is an aspect of the segmental model which is quite independent of personal involvement. Those who in their behaviour and expressed inclinations seem to be most town-oriented are neither those most firmly embarked on careers nor those who see the urban system in terms of job hierarchies and economic classes. Indeed, one might well argue that their alternative model of the place of unskilled work in town, as one among many styles, with its advantages and disadvantages like any other occupation, at least does not inhibit attachment to an urban way of life. Prestige is held independently of occupation. This possibly encourages rather than discourages the unskilled to develop urban commitments.

Attitudes towards jobs. If the men in Sample I are to be believed, many workers are content to stay in their current jobs, although a number said they were hoping for a rise in wages. However, a sizeable proportion of those in employment (perhaps 40 per cent) wanted a change, not just of employer but of occupation as well. Other general migrants were asked whether they considered their present wages adequate. The overwhelming response from those earning under \$25 a fortnight was that they were not being paid enough. The only ones who admitted that the wage was fair were three domestic servants (earning \$18 and \$20) who pointed out that their present work load was light, and a hotel worker (\$16) who was given many privileges. Those earning \$25 or over generally felt their wages were all right, though one driver on \$36, sometimes \$40 with overtime, complained that this did not compensate him for the shift work he had to do. A cleaner getting \$25 also complained that he had been working in the same job for many years and wanted a rise to something in the order of \$30-\$40 in recognition of this. I sketch some of the attitudes which migrants have towards different occupations in Table 7.1.

Evaluations of different jobs were often combined with factors to do with being in Moresby. Thus one or two soldiers, while expressing no great dissatisfaction with their work, grumbled that it meant that they had to be away from home. The fireman, recently promoted, was happy enough, but would have preferred to have been posted to Hagen. Mechanics and drivers place high value on themselves and are valued highly by others precisely because their skills and expertise are transferable. Moreover, a job as a driver is

Table 7.1

Some attitudes towards jobs*

Job	Attitudes expressed by	
	Men in this job	Others
1. Soldier	Conditions generally good but patrolling is hard	Sometimes exciting, but over-regimented (whereas 'outside' labourers are free); patrol work very hard
2. Policeman	All right, but wages are low	Same constraints as being a soldier, poorer conditions
3. Fireman	Proud of position, good shift arrangements, but money not enough for a married man	An important job; lucrative
4. Oil company employee (apprentice)	Good pay and conditions, though personal commitment may be low	Admired because of use made of education rather than for actual work
5. Mechanic	Proud of position, partly because of high evaluation by others	Admired; the ambition of many (associated with desire to own and maintain own car); a useful and lucrative job with transferable skills
6. Driver a. for company	Would not change type of job to be non-driver, but may grumble about long hours, shift work, having to be at beck and call in some cases) These are the most glamorous jobs within grasp of the unskilled; directly follows from home values and fact that a driver can go home with an asset (his experience) and get a job there; regarded as independent, in that he travels around and cannot be always checked up on; mobility also prized; highly paid
b. for PMV	Would not change job to be non-driver, but grumble about constant pressure to collect passengers, wearying work, irregular or low pay)
7. Domestic servant	Brings perks, but pay often too low, have to submit to nagging; short hours appreciated; housing may be a problem	A reasonable occupation, though great variation in conditions: some are well off and others not
8. Gardener/cleaner attached to institution	Pay may be too low and service not recognised; more independent than 7.	Reasonable; likely to be given housing
9. 'Outside' labourer, e.g. for PWD or builder	Tolerated only in lieu of better job; close to being <u>fulwok</u>	Despised; exposed to all weathers; badly paid

* This is not comprehensive. For a number of jobs, for example, barman, storeman, office boy, worker in factory or bakery, cook's assistant, people have no well defined set of attitudes, similar criteria of wages, hours and work conditions applying to individual cases. One hotel cook was admired because his prominence gave him power over others in his establishment. Those who have hopes of becoming or are members of the Public Service regard themselves as well off and committed to Moresby for several years; because of the prospects of a pension, others say of them that they have 'strong work'.

the only realistic opening anyone going home could hope for in employment there. There is no opportunity for and no prestige attached to working as a gardener or domestic servant back in Hagen. Many adopt an attitude of resignation which places their present spell of work quite outside the context of a future life back at home ('I shall stay in this job till I decide to go back to Hagen'). People in all occupations, from policemen to gardeners, suggested they might leave urban employment at any time and do bisnis at home.

In all these jobs, people say they get bored with routine. A desire to escape this may be presented in terms of aspirations ('I shall get a licence and become a driver'; I shall attend evening classes and become a lawyer'). One hotel worker, commenting on how he thought all jobs in town were good ones with the exception of outside labouring which meant exposure to the sun, said: 'In Moresby all the work is easy, none is hard. The employers do not force us to work: it is our own inclination and when we want to stop, we leave it'. The freedom of ordinary workers is compared favourably with the contracts which bind persons in the police or armed forces.

In these attitudes there is no consistent appraisal of the work from the point of view of its urban location except in a negative sense. People put up, they suggest, with being in Moresby, as a matter of suffrance. One or two, with high expectations about the flexibility of the educational system, suppose that by being in town they have better access to schools and adult education programs where they can improve their educational standard. Some use the opportunity to read newspapers and perhaps attend evening classes to increase their literacy skills. Others are given on-the-job training. The town thus encourages those with some schooling to make use of it. Twelve of the Sample I migrants were literate, mostly in Pidgin rather than English, including two self-taught men. Of these only eight had come to the town with education above standard 1.¹ One young domestic servant (Robin, see below) wanted to remain in town for several years to continue his education: he hoped to get a job as a clerk though parallel to this was another desire

¹ Twelve Sample I migrants had not been to school; six ran away from primary school or their schooling was otherwise terminated; four had primary schooling of varying duration; and eight had schooling of standard 2 and above.

to become a regular driver. In relation to all this he praised the town for its comforts, invested in a small stove to replace the open fire he otherwise cooked over and kept his house neat and well furnished. But he was almost the only Hagen migrant who seemed to find pleasure in creating for himself surroundings similar to those of the Europeans he worked for and whose educational qualifications and opportunities he admired.

'No money on our skins'. This brings us back to the question of what positive values unskilled migrants bestow on urban life. As far as personal independence goes, they see themselves as free from the kinds of constraints which bind people at home, able to choose even when and where to work. Many pursue the idea that in the town they have the chance of earning money in significant amounts, in spite of the disillusionment to which they also constantly give voice.

Some comments on the town were given in Chapter 4. Visitors from home say that the migrants are pleased with themselves because they 'round' all the time, that is, travel about in cars, see many places, are not tied down. Also, they say, the migrant is happy because he washes himself, wears smart clothes, walks around as though every day were a holiday, and drinks beer. But these are advantages imputed by visitors or expressed by newcomers. Established migrants are as likely to complain about the expenses of such pleasures. But of these points, perhaps two are significant. One is the ability to 'round', linked also to the freedom which is an explicit urban value. The other is beer drinking, a marked Australian leisure-time pursuit. To a number of migrants, drinking is an important aspect of their life in town. A few men have become addicted to beer; many indulge in it freely although rarely does anyone formulate the reason, 'I stay on in town because I like the beer'; in any case beer is consumed heavily in Hagen too. Perhaps it is the rhythm of life, with its regular guarantee of an income which gives a security to this kind of indulgence in town: one may finish one's money one week and know one will be in pocket again the next. But it would not be easy for a migrant to give public voice to such values, if values they are to him, insofar as they run counter to explicit attitudes towards expenditure which he knows are shared both by other migrants and people at home.

In their behaviour a number of migrants in fact reject many home values and rationalise what is interpreted there

as irresponsibility as a matter of autonomy. In 1971 several men were grumbling about the way visitors from home constantly took off all their money. They began saying that it would be better if they spent the money on themselves. These feelings coincided with a spate of private car buying. This was a gesture of defiance, understood well enough among themselves, but not referred to publicly in a way that might get relayed back to their rural kinsmen. Overt and dogmatic statements about their position would have been interpreted aggressively by people at home and no one wanted an open rupture. Idioms of independence have a free currency within the migrant community (though muted in face-to-face encounters with visitors); values to do with spending on urban luxuries are given much less verbal prominence and even among themselves rarely find positive and articulate expression. Migrants do not wish to cut themselves completely off from their rural background yet these monetary values are subversive of their relationships there: if to people at home autonomy looks more like irresponsibility, a lack of both social and self-control, town spending is frankly self-centred and indulgent. In addition, as we shall see, interdependence among migrants in town is expressed obliquely in terms of financial obligations and transactions. Spending on luxuries has a negative connotation (like the stance of wanpis).

Conceivably, it could have been possible for the unskilled migrant to develop, as one supposes many school children do, values about the material side of town life¹ which did not ostensibly run against home values, but presented a set of alternatives. They could have said, for example, that they were imitating a European style of life because it was the 'new road' they were going to follow. Indeed, this would have been superficially acceptable to people at home because they grant that this is what those with higher education are going to do anyway. While such alternative values do not directly challenge traditional ones (they are seen as a parallel 'road'), in fact, insofar as the person's expectations are fulfilled they may make the latter less relevant to him. But unskilled migrants do not seem to be set on a different road altogether. Paradoxically it is because home remains a reference point that the migrant sees his position as a rebellious one. He is not jettisoning home values but stating that they apply to him in a special way. Thus he appears to be in greater conflict

¹ As Ploeg (1972:87ff) records happening in some resettlement areas where bisnis men have an ideology about 'progress'.

with people at home than the educated men. In the case of the educated person, progress along his own road is watched with interest. In the case of the migrant his divergence and defection are a constant source of irritation: he has not lifted himself far enough outside the home system. And when he uses a money ideology he both reinforces his links with home and increases the irritation factor. For of all aspects of urban life which the migrant experiences, money remains a focus which he has most in common with people at home. It is the easiest medium the migrant can find by which to talk openly about his position, and given pre-existing values its negative aspects are given most voice in relation to home expectations.

The youthful migrant excuses his departure by saying that he had not yet started bisnis and 'had no money on his skin' no ready source of income. He has come to town to find it. But there it is hard to save and when visitors ask for financial help, the migrant has to plead that the town has impoverished him, and he can give only a little. Again, he has 'no money on his skin', no ready cash for spending. Many would go home quite soon but, as they explain, they have 'no money on their skins', no savings to make this possible. In fact there is a regular trickle of migrants returning back after spells of work abroad. But this is the way in which the man still in town explains his situation to others. Money is the symbol of his raison d'être; and if privately, of his enjoyment of urban life and publicly, of the dilemma in which he finds himself when he thinks about his ties with home. The ultimate emphasis of these idioms, as they are overtly expressed in generally held and articulated social attitudes, is not on its purchasing power and on what is bought but on the fact that money gets spent. They carry connotations of waste rather than consumption.

The next section turns to a positive way migrants regard money: in defining relationships, to make statements about urban relationships. Figure 7.1 very roughly sets out some of the above comments to indicate where the greatest ideological stress (values given public prominence) falls.

	IDEOLOGY OF INDEPENDENCE	MONEY (FINANCIAL IDIOMS)	
Relates to	social relations	social relations	urban style of life (material aspects of ways of living)
Among townsmen	explicit PUBLIC	positive side = transactions explicit ('operator') PUBLIC	positive side = spending not explicit (private)
In relation to home	muted (private)	negative side = no savings explicit ('trickster') PUBLIC	

Figure 8.1 Interrelationships of ideologies.

Money as operator

Hagen migrants come from a home background where prestige and renown accrue through the management of resources. Transactions with valuables - pigs, shells and money - signify the status of individuals and of groups, and their relationships with others. The young man who comes to town is exploiting a new source of currency. But money has to become the sole operator, the only medium through which status and relationships can be expressed. Many start out full of the idea of returning home with affluence. But in the course of wage-earning, shifts occur in the migrant's preferences and goals, if that is what they ever really were. People at home profess incredulity at why the worker cannot just save his money and bring it back. Some do manage to save a proportion of their earnings.¹ By

¹ There is one group of men among the Kawelka who are renowned as savers and give substantial sums of money to visitors from home. They set themselves somewhat apart from their mates, do not drink as heavily and may be ribbed by them: 'What are you holding on to your money for?' (They include Robin and Matthew referred to later.)

migrating to town the migrant puts himself in a position to earn, but also puts himself in a position where he has to spend.

Spending takes three main forms. He has to pay in order to live; a proportion of the fortnightly wage must go on subsistence items such as rent and food. He also has to fit himself out in some style - people enjoy wearing fresh clothes. Finally, money is used in the maintenance of relationships; expression of support to an individual or loyalty to a group often takes a financial form (a loan, a contribution). Cutting across the last two categories is money spent on beer. This is both an indulgence in a style of life, for drinking is associated with the pleasures of the town, and a medium through which solidarity can be shown towards one's mates. It can thus be regarded as selfish in one context (someone who spends all his money on beer is just spending it on himself) and sociable in another (he is ready to sit down and drink with a table of friends). Those who refuse to be drawn may be looked on as unsociable. But being sociable is different from making the kinds of explicit investment in social relationships involved in financial contributions. Drink (except in the form of a carton of beer or an unopened bottle of spirits) is an item of consumption and people who stand one another drinks are 'sharing food' rather than 'donating gifts'. Ambiguities may arise over the status of these items, as happened at the Kaugel-Melpa pati, when Northern Melpa distributed a number of cartons of beer (valuables) among a wide circle of people, who failed to pay back this debt subsequently because the cartons were opened up and each individual received small quantities (regarded as comestibles).

Leaving aside the item of beer, perhaps most money is spent on social relationships. This means that the migrant recreates something of a Hagen style of life in town; it means that when he does decide to go home he can expect others to help facilitate his return. Yet it also means that it is more difficult for him to save from week to week.

Income. Details of wages are given in Table 4.2. A number of unskilled migrants supplement their income with part-time jobs, such as gardening after hours, which may bring in an extra \$4 or \$6 a fortnight. Factory workers or drivers are less ready to do this than labourers or domestic servants and complain sometimes if they are prevented from working overtime. Some migrants grow vegetables, not so much to supplement diet but to supplement income. On the

housing estates married women plant root crops as well as market crops, such as peanuts; but when men plant vegetables most of it will be for sale. Domestic servants may beg the use of a patch of their employer's garden.

For a while Adrian grew vegetables in his employer's garden - mainly cabbages, peppers, onions. He claims to have made at Koki market on successive occasions the sums of \$4, \$7, \$11 and \$3.20. He gave a large cabbage to his employer in recognition for the use of land. He found, however, that after the first crop things did not grow so well and in any case he had to move jobs after a while.

Some migrants manage to plant quite extensive gardens. One domestic servant grew bananas, sugar cane and sweet potatoes in the waste ground at the back of his haus boi. Minembi Evan planted corn and peanuts near his compound house and invited Poiaka Nelson and his wife, as well as Tipuka Perry's wife to share in it. An occasional stand of bananas or sugar cane may be planted near the houses of a compound for casual consumption.

One Northern Melpa migrant was running an independent trading business in 1971. He paid himself a formal wage of between \$20 and \$30 a fortnight, and his helpers at an appropriately lower scale. Wages were omitted when business was bad and the debt made up by borrowings from the till in good times. The most regular form of business in which Hagen migrants took part and many aspired to was the running of passenger trucks. Several men have had private saloon cars. In late 1971 there were at least eleven on the road, seven of them belonging to unskilled workers. This was an unprecedentedly large number. Before 1971 I have record of a total of only five in use. Northern Melpa men alone purchased three second-hand saloon cars in late 1971 and two other purchases were planned. Hageners have bought twenty-one PMV vehicles, dating back to 1964-65, of which the majority were obtained between 1967-71. Some six were said to be running at one time in 1970 and five later in 1971. Most car purchases involve between three and six people. Second-hand saloon cars may mean an outlay of \$200 to \$600; PMV trucks are more often purchased new and may cost between \$2000 and \$3000. Sometimes they are bought outright; more often a deposit is put down and the loan is paid off as it runs.



Plate 28. The owner of a passenger truck with his family and driver.



Plate 29. Boroko street scene. The three saloon cars belong to Hageners.

Earnings are likely to be high over the first few months. But most PMV vehicles are driven, at some stage, by people trying to improve their driving skills and the number of accidents is also high. There comes a period when the car is in and out of repairs and finally reaches the point where it may be uncertain if the PMV licence can be renewed; the owners may then turn a relatively new car over to the hire purchase company instead of completing payments. When the vehicle is in use, it may bring in from \$8 to \$12 on a working day and \$20 to \$30 from Friday to Sunday, perhaps \$50 if the driver works hard. With careful husbanding, and luck with his drivers, the owner may be able to show a profit.

Nelson had bought two vehicles. For the first one he paid, in 1968, a deposit of \$600, of which half was raised by himself and half by co-tribesmen. He paid out \$100 a month on it and completed payments before the car was wrecked.

He used the income from his car to pay his driver (\$25 a fortnight) and running expenses, as well as using some of the money for his own purposes. When he finally abandoned it in 1970, he had \$300 savings which he put towards a second car. Again he was helped by others. To each of them he returned the loan with substantial interest. Minembi Evan¹ had given \$100 and he returned \$340; a Ndika man \$80 and he returned \$220, and a Kaugel man \$100 to whom he gave back \$340. These payments were made concurrently with paying off the purchase price of the car at \$100 a month. He paid his driver \$30 a fortnight, buying petrol and paying for repairs with separate money. He did not himself drive.

Those who buy small private cars often aspire to gain their own driving licences and thus be able to return home with a relevant skill; a number of those who purchase PMV trucks hope to be able to make enough profit to buy a new vehicle to ship home and run there. This happens from time to time though not as often as people wish.

Owners or part-owners of PMVs augment their incomes dramatically while these are earning highly. Some, however, see no profit from their ventures, mainly those who have

¹ Cf. p.184

contributed a substantial sum to a truck but are not really counted as among its owners. Others just make bad purchases. A Kaugel man who paid \$400 for a second-hand car which he hoped to run as a PMV found himself soon paying out \$600 for repairs. Those who run saloon cars only spend on them. In one week Gerry spent \$3 of his wages on petrol and Timothy drew out another \$40 from his savings account to pay for repairs. On another occasion the repair bill came to \$64 which Gerry paid out of a windfall card winnings of \$70. For most people income is generally augmented by winning at cards, by asking for loans or by entering into a rotating credit scheme (see below). The amount a person has at his disposal is likely to fluctuate from week to week.

Subsistence. Except in the case of married couples, the proportion of money spent on food or household items is fairly low. Someone earning \$40 a fortnight may spend the same \$3-5 on food as the \$15 wage-earner does. It is difficult to systematise data because incomes vary, depending on the person's transactions with others.¹ People were also not very interested in my question as to how much they spent on household items. However, some budgets are presented in Table 7.2. Four rather more detailed accounts are given in Appendix 6.

Some migrants refused to give more than a generalised account of their expenditure. Sums that appear under the overall rubric 'food' may thus have been spent on other household items as well. Rent is usually deducted before the worker receives his wage and does not appear in these figures. Figures also tend to be rounded to the nearest dollar, the odd 10c or 20c spent on a bottle of cordial or an apple not being remembered. Nevertheless, the table gives some idea of the proportions in which migrants see themselves as spending money. Outlay on food and household items is quite low in the case of single men.² At

¹ A point Baxter also stresses in his study of Orokaiva migrants (1973:99).

² The married man (number 7) was at this time supporting a large number of dependents. He had no children but was entertaining visitors from home as well as a floating population of wantok. The amount recorded here as spent on beer is probably an underestimate.

least, as much may go on cigarettes and beer,¹ and a substantial amount on loans and contributions to others. Expenditure on food is regarded as a constraint; once this is out of the way the rest of the money is released as it were for social and sociable activities. People frequently said that they spent \$4 on rice and meat over the fortnight and the rest was spent on This allocation enables the migrant to cope with the major incursions on his spending power. Thus the office boy recorded in Table 7.2 (no. 6) earned \$22 in a following fortnight; \$16 he contributed to a mekim sande credit ring and the remaining \$6 was allocated thus: \$2 food, \$2 to a Chinese storekeeper for credit (food, cigarettes), \$2 on the cinema, transport, cigarettes.

In the case of married couples, the husband may hand over a large proportion of his wage to his wife. Thus one fortnight Richard earned \$30 and another \$10 from sande. The latter he spent on drink, cards and cigarettes, while he gave the \$30 to his wife. She passed on to her parents \$10 and spent the rest on food for the family. If the money is kept by the man, they say, he will be tempted to spend it all on beer so there will be nothing left for his dependents. Craig, whose budget is given in Appendix 6, exclaimed:

My wife buys the food. I give her the money - if I kept it myself it would all go on drink! Whatever I have in my hands, \$2 or \$5, I spend it on drink!

Several men spoke of themselves as 'throwing money about' or referred to Moresby as a place where everything was spent on beer. There is bravado rather than self-criticism in these remarks.² It is related to the perception migrants have of themselves as people who have 'fouled'. If they are saying that they know they fall short by home standards, they are also saying that these are the freedoms and indulgences which the town offers.

¹ Heavy drinkers may from time to time spend almost all of their wage on beer. One man earning about \$25 spent \$20 on drink, and some food, entertaining nine men over the weekend. Such a person will not spend thus to the total exclusiveness of other obligations: the previous fortnight this individual had contributed \$10 to a friend's going-home gifts (baim balus).

² Used of others, observations about drinking habits are often critical: 'Oh, him! He drinks all his money away'.

Table 7.2

Examples of some budgets of unskilled migrants
for a selected fortnight*

Occupation	1 Gardener	2 Domestic	3 Domestic	4 Factory worker	5 Domestic	6 Office boy	7 Self- employed (married)	8 Driver	9 Driver
Income									
Wage	\$15	\$16	\$18	\$19	\$20	\$21	\$25	\$36	\$56
Other	0	0	0	\$ 5 d.	\$ 4.05 b. \$10 h.	\$26 s.	0	\$ 8 c.	0
Total	\$15	\$16	\$18	\$24	\$34+	\$47	\$25	\$44	\$56
Expenditure									
1. Household									
food**	2.00		4.00	2.00***	1.00			5.00	3.00
rice		2.00				1.00	3.00		
meat/fish		2.00		2.50		3.35	10.00		
sugar						.42	3.00		
coffee/tea						.50	.20		
snacks/cafe			.90	1.00		2.60	(from bakery)		
soap, etc.	.50					1.05	(from work)		
2. Personal									
cigarettes	1.50		3.20	1.00		2.30			2.00
beer				8.00	20.00 (for <u>pati</u>)	5.70	?6.00	?4.00	
other (incl. transport	3.00		1.40	2.00		.30	.50		
special# cards	3.00	2.00		2.00		7.00	?2.00		10.50
Sub-total 1 + 2	10.00	6.00	9.50	18.50	1.00 (+20.00)	24.22	24.70	9.00	15.50

Table 7.2 (continued)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
	Gardener	Domestic	Domestic	Factory worker	Domestic	Office boy	Self- employed (maimed)	Driver	Driver
Expenditure									
3. Transactions									
<u>sande</u> out###								20.00	
trade credit###						4.00			
loans to	4.00		6.00	4.00	11.00	9.00		15.00	
others ϕ									
debts repaid						12.00		5.00	40.00
savings		10.00				4.00			
Sub-total 3	4.00	10.00	6.00	4.00	11.00 (+20.00)	29.00		40.00	40.00
Total spent $\phi\phi$	\$14.00	\$16.00	\$15.50	\$22.50	\$32.00	\$53.22	\$24.70	\$49.00	\$55.50

* Income derived from: d. debt repaid; b. returning empty bottles; h. money in hand; s. mekim sande; c. cards; the contribution to the pati (a private one) could be regarded as a transaction.

** Block designation given by informant

*** Sum allocated to another member of household for purchases

Special purchases, for example, shoes, clothes, wallet

Rotating credit contribution owed to others

Amount placed in deposit at trade store for subsequent use

ϕ Includes also contributions, for example to a returnee's farewell party, as well as direct loans and also casual gifts to help others out for which no direct return expected

$\phi\phi$ Discrepancies between this figure and income: plus = money in hand
minus = money previously in hand not otherwise counted in income was also spent. In some cases the numbers may involve ideal rather than accurate enumerations

Many single men are frugal in their eating habits. One reckons he spends on an average 50c a day on food: 10c on rice, 20c on fish and if he is hungry midday, a 20c pie or sausage.¹ But if he has drunk away most of his money, then he just goes without. Robin (no.2, Table 7.2), renowned as a saver, says he can get by on a small tin of fish and half a cup of rice each day. (Doubtless there is great variation from week to week. His account of another fortnight (Appendix 6) suggests a more lavish outlay on food, but this coincided with an alteration in his attitudes towards saving.) The householder (7) whose expenses on food were quite lavish (rice and frozen meat every evening) said that in the morning they have a drink of tea; at midday they might cook a little rice, but otherwise go without and just eat in the evening. This seems quite a typical pattern.² That it is customary to spend more time and money over cooking meals at week-ends must make a significant difference to the overall diet. Enquiries among unskilled migrants suggest that most eat frozen meat at least once a week, some only once a fortnight, and that once or twice in a month (more frequently in some cases) they will cook or share in a chicken at a week-end meal. Those with wives or girlfriends eat frozen or fresh (as opposed to canned) meat most regularly. When chickens are cooked, the meal will also include bananas, greens, perhaps a root crop. Fish or eels are sometimes caught locally. The only fresh pork which is eaten comes

¹ These are all 1970-71 prices.

² Gerry referred to the household consisting of himself and Raymond and Lesley in 1970 as their 'going kampani' together (cf. p.210).

Mipela save kampani ('we are partners'). We buy our food and cook together. I usually buy five tins of meat which cost 45c each every fortnight, and Lesley buys two or three and Raymond the same. Sometimes they purchase tinned fish, but I do not like it. I buy a \$1 worth of rice (5 bags at 20c each), and Lesley and Raymond together will buy another dollar's worth each fortnight. I cook one day, Raymond cooks one day, then it is Lesley's turn. Sometimes we just cook over an open fire outside. In the morning we do not eat, and at lunchtime we buy bread or scones (20c each) and butter (15c pack). Each fortnight we each buy 20c of sugar, and this lasts us through, and then coffee or tea as we need it.

from a major distribution such as a funeral; pork is also brought from home by visitors from time to time.

As at home special cooking of food need have no other rationale than that it is available. But fresh chickens and vegetables, often consumed along with beer, may be cooked as a welcoming pati for someone back from leave or out of jail; or a farewell party for a visitor or departing worker. When the house mentioned on p.155 was built a house-warming was held: the lads bought two hens, two packets of freezer meat and four cartons of beer. The money for freezer meat and vegetables is often obtained by a whip-round among three or four men and others will come along to share in it too. In early January 1972 Roderick and several others held a party for a visitor who was going home. These were the financial details of that occasion:

Several men clubbed together to buy some fresh chickens. Donations of roughly \$1 each came from himself, Robin, Adrian, Lesley, Matthew, three of Matthew's clan brothers, Mitchell, Richard and two other men of his tribe (total \$15). Roderick also added 75c for cigarettes. That fortnight Roderick had received \$24.75 in wages.¹ He gave \$10 to Brian and \$10 to the visitor as a gift, and spent \$1 on rice. With the \$1.75 on the pati, his money was almost gone. Joe gave him \$5 which he 'drank and finished' (as he put it). Then Adrian gave him \$10, \$4 of which he gave to two friends; \$2 was spent on petrol for a trip; the remainder on food, tobacco, soap and such.

Low wage-earners tend to both borrow from and lend others quite a large proportion of their income. Subsistence spending is resented as an inevitable drain on the migrant's resources. But unskilled single migrants generally complain about the high cost of food not because they wish they could make more consumer purchases, but because their consumer purchases clash with spending on social relationships (loans, pati contributions, financial investments such as in cars) and on maintaining links with home. In fact, essential expenditure on basic foods may be kept very low and even the lowest paid migrant will be involved in financial transactions with others. In the eyes of people at home the real

¹ In Appendix 6 further details are given of Roderick's expenditure while his wife was in Moresby. She had gone by the time this party was held.

competition is between what is spent in town and what is kept back to be given to them. For they would lump together essential subsistence along with luxury spending and financial enterprises such as car-buying which all challenge the ethos that the migrant is in town to save. The man at home regards everything the migrant does not actually save as wasted. The migrant regards as wasted what he has to spend on keeping himself alive, as distinct from enjoying himself or giving an impetus to social relationships. This, however, is largely my deduction. As indicated at the end of the previous section, like people at home, migrants, in the way they talk publicly about money, tend to emphasise luxury expenditure as waste also. Hence their humorous self-chastisement about how they 'foul' all their money on beer. The difference between them and people at home is that the latter do not think this is a joke. Some of these attitudes are presented in Table 7.3.

Subsistence as such, then, is not much of a financial problem. People grumble not about having no money for food but about having to pay for it at all, for this restricts what they can do with their wages. The real drain on resources lies in other directions: there is never enough for all the social occasions to which the migrant would like to contribute.

Urban investment. Much money goes on maintaining an urban style of life, primarily on beer and clothes, and possibly cars fall into this category too.¹ Cross-cutting this is what I have called expenditure on social relationships. These are investments of a kind. They are productive in that they affirm relations of friendship or clan or tribal membership, and the donor may also expect either a direct return for his gift or else an indirect return in the form of loyalty, future support and the like. As in transactions at home, it is by no means always certain that reciprocity will be forthcoming. This kind of spending falls into two groups: spending on drinking and cards, and spending on cars, pati, credit schemes (mekim sande), making loans to people and contributing to major enterprises such as a compensation or funeral. Both categories overlap with maintaining a life-style but the first is more ambiguous

¹ Because the urban environment puts a premium on car usage. There is nothing particularly urban about card-playing, however, apart from its frequency as a form of entertainment.

Table 7.3

A suggested classification of financial activities

Regarded by migrants as	Regarded by people at home as		
	Subsistence	Consumption on town-living	Social investment*
Subsistence	rent, food, cigarettes(?)	transport	
Consumption on town living		clothes cinema, etc.	
Consumption on town living plus town relationships		beer cards picnics (cars)	
Social investment in town relationships		cars <u>pati</u> <u>mekim sande</u> loans compensation	funerals
Social investment in home relationships			<u>baim balus**</u> gifts to visitors** savings for home

* See section on 'Money as trickster'.

** I argue later that these also represent investment in town relationships.

than the second, which further overlaps with expenditure considered in the next section: money given to visitors and people returning home.

Enough has been said about beer drinking to indicate that it may be looked on as selfish one moment, sociable the next. Both beer drinking and card-playing are activities which

attract groups of friends, and may contribute to the maintenance of relationships. But they set up no enduring obligations, so there is an element of 'waste'. Card-playing, however, can be seen as generating income. Larry once remarked that he would not dream of 'wasting' his money on going to the cinema (as many migrants do) because this would be simple expenditure; but he plays cards a lot. Some migrants claim they have one expensive vice (laughingly regarded as 'wasteful') but do not indulge in others. A Ndika man pointed out that he did not smoke but liked drinking; Gerry that he did not smoke but played cards; whereas another Northern Melpa man said he had given up cards but drank all the time.

There is little conspicuous purchase of durable goods. Most men have suitcases in which they keep clothes. Perhaps half the migrants have or have had radios, some of which are given to them, others they have given away to friends and visitors. Fewer have watches. No great emphasis is put on these things. To consider the four men whose budgets are detailed in Appendix 6: Robin was given a radio by a brother because he is not allowed any wantok in his house and the brother was sorry for him. He had invested in a stove to cook by. Roderick had a watch and a radio at the repairers. Craig owned a radio but had given his watch to a clansman going home on leave. Geoffrey had two radios, a watch and a motorbike which cost \$325.

Expenditure on loans, contributions, pati and such also contribute to an urban style of life. Few people from home distinguish these expenditures from other 'wasteful' activities. Yet here the style of life aimed for is not that necessarily shared by other town dwellers but relates to the particular society Hageners have created for themselves. This is expenditure on activities which reinforce the bonds between migrants as Hageners in Moresby at the expense sometimes of bonds with home and which gives some shape to social life in the town. Examples of these activities have already been offered. A pati sequence was described in Chapter 5, as was the conduct of a large scale compensation payment. Pati set up ties between individuals on the model of exchange partnerships; contributions to enterprises such as compensation payments draw upon and to some extent thus affirm group loyalties. Here I consider three further kinds of transactions: (i) short-term credit arrangements called mekim sande; (ii) long-term loans and gifts among migrants; and (iii) contributions to joint enterprises: (a) purchasing vehicles, and (b) funerals. The last involves raising

payments to send back home and thus represents an interest in home relationships too.

Mekim sande. To enter into mekim sande (literally to 'make Sunday', possibly a reference to the fact that payday comes at the end of the week)¹ with others may also be known as going kampani ('in alliance') with them. Whiteman (1973:62-3) describes kampani arrangements for Chimbu migrants. Among single Hagen migrants it does not really lead to a feast or famine type of existence since subsistence outgoings tend to be stable if low; what fluctuate are spendings on items such as beer, cards, pati, loans to others and so on. The system works like this. People who receive wages on the same day form a group. The usual size is between two and four people. On each wage day all but one of the group pool a high proportion of their earnings - perhaps 60-70 per cent - and give the proceeds to the one. Each member receives in turn. Usually they all put in the same amount. Thus if three people contribute \$10, each man will receive \$30 on his turn, \$20 from the other two and \$10 of his own that fortnight. It is also possible for people to make differing contributions. Francis once was in kampani with two fellow workers from Chuave (Chimbu) and Kainantu. He and the Kainantu man contributed \$16 a fortnight and the Chimbu \$10. This meant that two of them received \$26 plus their own \$16 and the third \$20 plus his own \$10. It is a fund-raising device which means that every three or four fortnights, depending on how many people are in the scheme, the migrant has a large sum of money in his hands. Often people save up paying back loans or making major contributions or purchases till their turn to receive comes round. It is thus a form of saving. No one receives any more than they put in. It is a social investment in the sense that those who enter into sande with one another tend to be close friends and their dependence in this way strengthens the friendship. It is also a fairly common means of developing ties with non-Hageners since foreign work-mates are often included within a kampani group.

I inquired into the financial arrangements of some thirty-three men. Six claimed never to have had mekim sande deals with others. These included Craig and Geoffrey, both fairly

¹ One week-end is called gavman fotnait ('when government workers receive wages') and the other kampani fotnait ('when commercial workers get paid'); domestic servants may be paid on either.

highly-paid Central Melpa men, whose budgets are given in Appendix 6. Two main reasons for not entering into sande were noted: married men with wives and possibly children to look after have to spend much more on subsistence than others, and men who put much of their money into savings prefer to bank what they have. Of the rest, fourteen were currently involved in sande with others, while thirteen had been recently or had at some stage involved, but for various reasons were not doing so at the moment. One man had had active sande partnerships at one place of work but on changing jobs had let these lapse and had not entered into any new partnerships. Other kampani had broken up when one of their number moved out of the common wage bracket. Thus Gerry and Mitchell used to go sande for \$10 each while they were both earning \$15. Mitchell then took up gardening in his spare time which added a further \$10 a fortnight to his earnings. He stopped being kampani with Gerry and made sande with Roderick and a Papuan worker for \$15 each. He was now in Roderick's wage bracket (\$25 a fortnight). Some kampani lapse if the credit arrangements fall down and people do not make their payments regularly.

Eight of the fourteen current sande schemes involved non-Hageners. Invariably these were wanwok. Sometimes people express distrust of investing outside the Hagen network.

Mitchell had decided to take up kampani with Roderick. Roderick was already kampani with a Papuan driver and for a while the three of them went sande together. But Mitchell was afraid that the driver might just leave his job and they would never be able to track him down. So the three men entered into a triangular relationship whereby Mitchell and Roderick were kampani with each other, and so were Roderick and the Papuan.

Table 7.4 shows examples of how mekim sande money is spent. When it is a man's turn to receive sande he may put some of it in the bank or pay back various small debts he has accumulated. This is the time at which money will be spent on new clothes, and if there is a visitor in town or someone about to go back home a sum of \$20 or \$30 may be given them. But sometimes people just put it in their pockets for beer. One factory worker who gained \$48 said: 'I drank it. I spoiled the money on cards and drink! I didn't put any in the bank, just bought a pair of trousers for \$7 and the rest went on beer!'

Table 7.4

Some examples of how mekim sande is spent

Expenditure	Total amount in hand							
	\$20	\$30	\$30	\$32+\$20 from cards	\$48	\$50	\$55	\$60
Food and general expenses		5.50	25.00	1.00	1.00	14.00*	10.00*	
Clothes			10.00		5.00			
Beer self**			15.00	16.00				10.00
Beer <u>pati</u>		10.00						
Savings in bank	20.00				10.00	20.00	45.00	
Repayment of loans***		2.00		10.00	10.00			
Cards								20.00
Loans, gifts to other migrants		12.50		7.00				
Gifts to visitors or <u>baim balus</u>					10.00			30.00
Other				13.70 (stolen)		16.00 (driving lessons)		

* Includes expenditure on beer, not separated from general spending on self.

** May be in company of others and casual drinks bought for others.

*** To patch up a quarrel.

Mekim sande is a type of rotating credit system (cf. Ardener 1964) as distinct from other banking organisations or mutual benefit associations. For the Hagen migrants we may note the small number of people involved - often only a pair - and the large proportion of the fortnightly wage. Hageners have not set up any other kind of credit association such as a large number of persons pooling small amounts of money for, say, funeral expenses. This must be related to their own view of themselves as being in town on a temporary rather than permanent basis. Personally created networks and group solidarity provide the resources for emergencies and there is no need to depend on the more anonymous membership of a savings society.

Borrowing and lending. Borrowing and lending among migrants is marked among the unskilled. Of the same thirty-three men mentioned above, only one (Craig) claimed to have no debts and none owed him, though actually his budget recorded an outstanding debt. A number named six or so others who owed them something in the region of \$50 - \$100. In return they themselves owed \$20 or \$30. This discrepancy can be explained partly by the fact that people probably talk more easily about what others owe them than what they owe others. But it also points to a loophole in the system of reckoning.

This is a situation in which money has one of its trickster aspects. At home monetary transactions are rarely directed towards subsistence so that the status of a gift or loan is relatively unambiguous. In the town, however, people feel they have to support those out of work or those with no money to buy food, giving them a few dollars to tide them over. They may count this as a debt or regard it as general help, and hope for support later in return themselves. The recipient may not see it as a loan at all since it was money he had to spend on subsistence. Another area of ambiguity (this is true at home as well) is the status of contributions to car purchases. Someone who makes a major contribution may hope for profit if it is a PMV vehicle. Some car owners do make handsome returns to the investors. However, if it rapidly deteriorates the owners regard themselves as absolved from paying off the original contributors who will have had some returns already in the form of occasional use and the prestige of referring to the car as 'mine'. Thus Larry reckoned that he was owed \$249, but \$220 was money invested in now defunct cars and it was very doubtful whether the owners would recognise an obligation to repay him.

It should not be thought that people are always pushing for the returns of sums which are not recognised as loans. In giving a list of men who owe them money many will add, 'I do not mind if he returns it or not'; 'I will wait and see if he thinks of it, I shall not ask him'; 'That was given to him to "eat" and I do not worry about it'. Money given to the wives of migrants in particular tends not to be counted. Small sums (under \$2, say) may also be discounted when these are for trivial purchases of food or smokes or to keep someone in a card match or to buy some beer. Such sums are likely to circulate among very close friends, perhaps people who are also work-mates, and represent a kind of sharing. Several cited a number of others whom they had given \$1 or \$2 but did not count these as debts. People who consistently borrow from and lend to each other large amounts may thereby set up de facto partnerships which may be of quite long standing. This would be true of Roderick and Mitchell, Francis and Brian, Brian and Joe. Such partnerships are not formalised; they are simply examples of solid friendships.

One interesting point about loans, by comparison with mekim sande, is that they flow most regularly among people who are closely acquainted and see each other very often. Very few non-Hageners were named as debtors or creditors. In the case of mekim sande the duration of indebtedness is strictly circumscribed by the rotation, so that it never lasts more than a few weeks. But loans may drag on forever. It is not just that men are most ready to help those they know best but that there is greater security in lending to friends. Even if they leave Moresby, they may still be called upon to make good the debt. Thus some people recalled as debts gifts they had made to migrants going home. Because their common base makes co-Hageners fairly secure persons to lend to and because everyone expects to go home at some stage, putting money into such urban relationships is from the migrant's point of view not completely separate from home investment. Indeed, someone about to depart for home will call in his debts and may also hope for an increment as a gift towards his home-going. By the same token many delay their home-going indefinitely until people have paid back all that they owe. Some say they are held in town by the amount of money others owe them there, while others cut their losses or look forward to some distant date when they are all back home.

Ryan (1968) suggests that there are good utilitarian reasons for Toaripi migrants sharing their resources, primarily due to the lack of job security and the high proportion of unemployed in the Toaripi population. Hageners do not just share among kinsmen in order to spread the means for subsistence; they also engage one another in financial ventures which are only indirectly related to the basic needs for physical survival, although they are arguably related to the survival of certain Hagen values.

Joint enterprise: buying cars. A number of people have substantial sums invested in cars. An amount in the order of \$200 will give the contributor the status of a co-owner. Those who have helped with smaller sums use the vehicle from time to time. The status of the debt itself, as already indicated, may be ambiguous. In giving their list of debts owed many men did not include loans for the purchase of cars, placing such transactions in a different category from ordinary lending and borrowing. Among those who did, however, were two men themselves car owners. One ran an old and unlicensed PMV. He had paid back a man who had helped with \$200. Previously he had given this man \$100 when he had bought a PMV some years ago (1967) and this money had never been returned. He was talking of taking the debtor to court. Among his reasons was that he was owing two other tribesmen of his who had assisted him with repairs to the value of \$90, and since the car was out of business he had no means of otherwise raising the money. The other car owner acknowledged that he owed a contributor \$200 on a PMV which he had run for a while and was now defunct. Another debt of \$40 he took less seriously. but the \$200 he promised to return to the contributor when that man (a domestic servant) decided to go back to Hagen. He himself had helped another Hagerer with \$200 and was trying to get this money back from him.

Owning a car, whether a saloon or a PMV, confers prestige on the migrant in Moresby. It demonstrates the initiative that the owner has shown in a fund-raising enterprise and it is in such enterprises that one sees some acknowledgement of leadership. This is most apparent in the raising of funds for ventures which involve widespread group support but it seems also to be true that car purchasers tend to become men of note. The usefulness of having a car in the town is a factor which would seem to overshadow even the bisnis possibilities of car ownership in the case of PMVs. Of course the owner of a PMV hopes to make a commercial success out of his vehicle. This in turn will give him funds to deploy in further transactions. But because running costs are high

and many ventures do not break even, the luxury of having a vehicle to use perhaps takes precedence. Here there is a great contrast with home, one reason why cars can be considered along with beer and clothes as expenditure on items to do with an urban style of life (see Table 7.3). Ownership or interest in a car also means the chance to learn to drive. Of the men in Sample I only ten have never had anything to do in the way of driving. The rest either have licences, or have had driving lessons or have practised on someone's car.

It seems to be the calculation of some that when they have a substantial amount in their hands it is better to lend it out for a specific purpose and then claim it back later than keep it to probably squander on small purchases.

Kengeke James, whose work history appears on pp.118-22, gave \$100 to Philip. He said that Philip was at that time planning to buy a car and as he had this sum in his pocket he gave it all to Philip, in case he (James) just spent it on useless things in the town. Philip promised him that he would buy the car and then return the money at a future date. But the purchase never came off. So James asked for the \$100 back at a time when he was planning to go home: \$50 he put in the bank and \$50 he gave to another Kengeke man. This person returned his \$50 in due course, and he then gave it to a visitor from home who had come to Moresby to try to buy a truck to ship to Lae and thence to Hagen.

Prospective car buyers who are looking for major contributions may find themselves offered sums by men who do not want to squander their money, nor yet just put it in the bank. By contributing to a car they hope they are both saving (since at the time of depositing they expect later return)¹ and investing their money in other people's enterprises and in the prestige which being associated with the owners of cars brings.

¹ One migrant said specifically he would not help people with private car purchase, because this led to no possible revenue. However someone who helps another buy a saloon car can hope for an eventual return of the debt, but also has claims meanwhile on the owner's generosity (will be treated to drinks and such).

Joint enterprise: a funeral feast. Deaths in Moresby among Hagen migrants average one a year, often the result of accidents or fighting injuries. The tribesmen and close associates of the dead man raise funds to despatch his body back to Hagen for burial and purchase a return fare for someone to accompany the coffin. The funds to do this, which have to be collected together quickly, are provided by a wide range of people. One or two months later the close associates of the deceased then give a funeral feast (pati). This both honours the dead man and repays the help of all those who had contributed towards sending the body back home.

These procedures are a much modified form of traditional practice. At home during the first week of mourning the chief mourners are sustained by presents of food from clans around, including at the end of this time prestations of pigs. Months later they hold a major pig-killing themselves to repay the specific contributions of those who brought them pigs and food and the general support of mourners, as well as discharge certain kinship obligations. The distinction between the principals (the chief mourners, from the deceased's clan) and the helpers (from neighbouring clans) is quite clear. At Moresby funerals the distinction between principal and helper is less prominent. Thus many of those who help to send the body back home will also help the close associates of the deceased to raise money for the funeral feast, at which they will also eat. For although the pati is referred to as repaying help, in fact everyone shares in the feast. People indeed contrast it with other pati at which a specific prestation is made, where one side gives and the other side eats (as in the Kaugel-Melpa exchanges).

The form which the Moresby feast takes has several aspects. First, it could be analysed as a compound of the two traditional feasts, one held at the end of the first period of mourning when pork is distributed to all mourners,¹ both close and distant, and the second, a major feast at which pork and other valuables are given by the close mourners (principals) to more distant ones (helpers). Secondly, people make contributions of money, not produce or stock. On all money-raising occasions support has to be spread, so the close associates of the dead man have to look

¹ The Melpa name for this is koklamanga ('death house') and the urban pati may be known by this term or by the term for the second feast (peng ndi, 'head hair').

for outside assistance, even though they are in fact repaying earlier support. Thirdly, the definition of closeness and distance is not determined by group membership as it largely is at home on such occasions. Although the principals will be men of the deceased's clan and tribe, many others on the basis of work association or friendship will also regard themselves as 'close'. At home, members of a man's personal network, his in-laws, and other friends of his in-law's sub-clan will be active helpers at the funeral and bring major gifts of food, but they will be defined as 'distant' by comparison with the immediate subclan and clan brothers whose strength as a group has been weakened by the death. In the town, the loss may be felt as a blow to the solidarity of the migrant's co-clansmen and co-tribesmen; in addition, those close to him in personal terms - his friends and Hagen work-mates - may also count themselves as among the chief mourners. Finally, the town situation makes it difficult for men to express their grief formally (at home they would disfigure themselves with clay, tear their hair and wail). The few women may gather together and cry but that too is modified into almost silent weeping. The men congregate when they can get time off work on the days following the death to show their concern, but their grief is expressed most strongly in their offering money to assist the closely bereaved. It is also expressed by just turning up at the feast, whether they contributed money to send the body back home or not. So at the funeral feast will also be a number of migrants who may have contributed neither to the original despatching of the corpse nor to the present feast, but are nevertheless showing some solidarity with the bereaved.

In 1968 a funeral feast was held by the Northern Melpa for Klamakae Keith. At that feast a separate distribution was made to the men in the army, police and corrective institutions, an urban category which distinguishes these semi-professionals from the generality of migrants. In October 1970, a further funeral feast honoured a Mokei mechanic, O, who was killed in a car accident. The two men had been 'outside men' (not in institutions). Contributions to send O's body home were raised from a wide range of people. Northern Melpa had 'taxed' themselves to contribute to the home fares of two Central Melpa men who went back with the body. A number of them told me explicitly that they were sorry for O's parents and in addition raised a cash sum for O's relatives. Although O was not among the semi-professionals, it was a Mokei soldier, Albert, who

organised the fund-raising and who was a principal at the feast.

Subsequently, two semi-professionals died, Yamka M in a road accident in May 1971, while Ndika N was mysteriously attacked in 1970, later sent home from hospital and subsequently died in Hagen. A combined funeral feast was held for them on 10 July 1971.

M's corpse had been sent home by his employers. N's fare was also paid by his employers. But this did not mean that the Central Melpa had needed no outside help. Two men accompanied the injured Ndika, and two others the corpse of Yamka M. Money was also sent to M's parents. However, in contrast with the arrangements at O's death, much of the funds for the feast seemed to have been raised by the close professional associates of these two men. One reason lay in accusations of embezzlement made against those who took home the money intended for O's parents. The Northern Melpa were angry at the rumours that the money never reached the parents and this was expected to affect further their enthusiasm for contributions to the feast. As far as I know the supposed embezzler was not confronted with the suspicions circulating about him.

The date for the feast¹ was set for the fortnight following the Kaugel-Melpa party (gift 3). Within the forces, Mokei Albert was among the leaders who organised the collecting of contributions, while among the 'outside men' Ndika Terry took it on himself to inform everyone of the arrangements and organised for their contributions to be pooled. Among the factors determining the fund-raising was the ambiguous status of the Western Melpa men who had been implicated in the assault on Ndika N; it was thought they might stay out altogether or else give handsomely. Contributions for the feast were raised by the following groups: (i) Army men who divided themselves into (a) Murray Barracks (\$77); (b) Taurama Barracks (\$25); (ii) Dei Council (Northern Melpa), focused on the institution where Roderick was bosboi, with Adrian responsible for the collecting (\$37); (iii) 'the town people' - where many Central Melpa work, including here the police and one or two Western Melpa, under the leadership of Terry (\$98). The total of \$237 was made up of contributions from sixty-four people. The alignments which emerged were as follows. The Central Melpa were

¹ See calendar of events on Table 5.4.

the principals and some of their number contributed large sums: eight men gave \$10 or over while the rest gave between \$1 and \$5. They were helped by Northern Melpa men, mainly Tipuka and Kawelka, who contributed as a block and whose donations were all small, between \$1 and \$2. There was a thin scattering of others, but the Western Melpa and Kaugel, quite conspicuously, did not contribute anything. Some Kaugel made small contributions towards the fares home, however. This is another example of the Central + Northern Melpa versus Western Melpa + Temboka/Kaugel alignments.¹ Each of the four collecting groups was described as 'buying one pig' for the funeral, as though they had been men's house groups at home. The money was in the end spent on four pigs, twelve hens, food from the market and four cartons of beer. The chief items were the pigs and this distinguished the occasion radically from other pati prestations, where beer is the chief item.

At this feast, the participants stressed that they were all sitting down together to share the meal. Although in no sense was the occasion thought of as a prestation from other Hageners to Kaugel since all those present shared in the food,² the seating arrangements suggested a structuring which distinguished the contributors from the non-contributors. The food was set out on a trestle and sitting near it was a semicircle of Central Melpa, with a number of Northern Melpa who had helped them. Opposite, in another semicircle, were Kaugel men, along with a scattering of Western and Northern Melpa who had not helped on this occasion. Altogether there were some 110 men and women present.

Mokei Albert, with the help of two Ndika men, took charge of the food distribution. The food was placed in piles and allocated by group. The name of each group was shouted out and representatives came forward to receive. In any case of ambiguity people also called out the personal names of some of those for whom they were assigning particular portions.

¹ Referred to on pp.191-2

² At other pati donors are of course singled out by their abstention. The pork was eventually eaten by a wider circle of men than those who turned up because small packs were carried away and shared with household residents or guests who might not have been at the feast.

Order in which groups received at funeral feast

1. 'Tipuka-Kawelka' (Northern Melpa)
2. 'Kutumbu-Komke¹-Nebilyer Valley' (Tomboka and Kaugel)
3. 'Kumndi-Nengka-Remndi' (Western Melpa)
4. 'Keme-Kukilike' (two Central Melpa tribes)
5. 'Bomana' (including the Bomana seminary, from which some Central Melpa and others had come; lads from the technical college at Idubada and from the Teachers' Training College, and some other semi-professionals whose names were called out)
6. 'Mokei' (some of them were called out by name as the pile was put together)²
7. 'Goldie River and Taurama Barracks' (mainly Central Melpa army men)
8. 'Murray Barracks' (ditto)
9. 'The Kendike men and the big-man who has come' (a reference to some Central Melpa visitors who were at the feast); added to this was then 'the Yamka man who has come' (another visitor) and this was made the pile for visitors from home
10. 'Ndika-Yamka' (tribes of the two deceased men)²
11. 'Minembi and Kuli' (the tribes of two well-known men who had not been allocated to under other rubrics)

Among those most active in the preparations were several Mokei, including a number of soldiers. Some people, indeed, protested that they were taking things too much into their own hands; they should, for example, have waited for a Yamka policeman who was due to return from a foreign posting soon, and a Yamka brother of the dead man also complained that he had not been brought into the discussions properly. Such disputes are similar to those which characterise the staging of major events at home. The cooking was done at the back of the compound where Roderick and the other Tipuka-Kawelka live. Adrian, Wilson and Brian, and Roderick some of the time, were among those who helped with the preparations.³ They were joined by Ndika Terry and Patrick, Kukilike Philip and others.

¹ Two tribes; a 'Kaugel man' was invited to come forward and take the portion. The actual terms used are given quotation marks.

² Those not already included in the distribution to the semi-professionals.

³ But a number of the Tipuka-Kawelka kept in the background. Cf. the dispute noted on p.212.

People were quite tense over the actual butchering of the pigs, commenting on their lack of skill and the way they were doing it by comparison with home. The intestines posed a problem, since washing these is normally a woman's job. None of the wives in Moresby had been asked to assist, although they were present at the distribution.¹ The 'owners' of the feast (Ndika, Yamka and Mokei) had also expressed fear lest not enough people turn up to eat the pig they had so anxiously cooked. In particular they asked each other if the Kaugel had been informed about the feast and if Tom (an important Kaugel man) was coming. The Kaugel were thus treated as a rather distinct group. Indeed, reference was made to the participation of the Kaugel in the previous Kaugel-Melpa exchange and some Kaugel insinuated that they regarded their share in the feast as also in part return for the pati they had given and which had been returned to them so badly the fortnight before.

Farewell and funeral pati



Plate 30. Butchering the funeral pigs.

¹ A comment on their peripheral and dependent position in town. They were not invited along to do a job they could have done and all the preparations were done by men. On smaller occasions women help peel vegetables.

Before the food was distributed, speeches were made. This was almost the only time on which I heard a real attempt at public speaking. The men who spoke were (i) a Mokei sergeant from Taurama Barracks; (ii) Mokei Albert, from Murray Barracks, whose speech was the longest and was greeted by clapping when he had finished; (iii) Tom, from Kuklumint (Kaugel); and (iv) a Kaugel professional who gave a rather ragged speech. Ndika Terry also contributed remarks from time to time. Several references were made in the speeches to home and how things were done there.

The sergeant commented briefly on why they were there. He noted that although Hagen police and soldiers were numerous in Moresby, only a few had contributed to the feast.¹ Instead, they were being helped by ekit orong' kang mat ('the outside men'). He said that they should not make a lot of talk over why and how the men had died² because they were not at home where men talk about these things. The migrants were all in the same boat (lit. 'we have all come by plane to here'), labourers and professionals alike, and should not make trouble by getting upset over too much talk. He went on to say that at home when people die they put on a big ceremony, and here they were just doing a little thing. People should forget about the rumours they had heard and just sit down together and eat the food.

In his speech Albert thanked the Kaugel and the Tipuka-Kawelka for helping to send men home with the body. He praised 'the outside men' for helping them. As to the Ndika man's death, he said, it was never settled how he died and they should not start talking about it again now. Nor should people believe what others say when they are drunk. Men at home might still be discussing it, but it should not be a cause for fighting among Moresby migrants. He emphasised that people here should not tell all sorts of stories (for example, about deaths) to the

¹ A number of people had criticised the professionals for not finding more money, since it was after all their men for whom the funeral was being held.

² An allusion to the possible murder of one of them.

visitors who come from home, because they believe them and then fight about it there. Whatever people at home might make of these rumours, in the town they should just forget about them. He specifically named the Western Melpa groups which had been implicated in the death and said that there should be no more accusations: now they had all been invited to share in the feast.

He apologised for the small number of pigs they had killed, pointing out again that they were not at home (mbo kona, 'root-place') but in foreign parts (kewa kona, 'strange place'), and they could not do what big-men at home did. The men at home are big-men, but [the insinuation was] in Moresby everyone is young and does not know anything. They are just boys who have come to work.¹

Albert said that they were not giving this food to anyone else: they were all to eat it. He referred to the 'law' which the migrants had made in the town, that if a man dies there they should not bury him but send the body home. This was a 'good law', and by making the contributions of money those present had helped them to accomplish a worthy action. Whoever were to die, a Kaugel man, or a Tipuka, or a Mokei, they held to this law among themselves that they [all the Hagen migrants] would provide the means to send the body home. He addressed the new arrivals and informed them of this ruling. The educated who came to the colleges or to the army should follow the ways of the 'outside men' (the general migrants). All these remarks were to indicate feelings of solidarity which should exist among all the migrants. They were being defined as having customs of their own (the procedure in case of deaths) and common interests in one another. He added: 'The men in the army and colleges think that they have plenty of knowledge and sit down with Europeans and talk with them in English. They ignore the labourers

¹ The contrast between migrants and the 'big-men' at home was double-edged. The migrants could not put on a show like leaders there, but nor did they get so upset as such leaders over rumours and talk concerning deaths (see Chapter 8).

outside. But when it comes to a death, who contributes money to send the body home? It is the labour line outside!' By their financial contributions the labourers showed their one-ness with the professionals. He ended with final injunctions to put a taboo on any further gossip about the deaths.

Tom made a short speech in which he acknowledged that the Kaugel had not contributed towards the funding of the feast but had just been invited to eat. They had helped with sending the Yamka corpse home. And they would do it again if another such crisis arose. They [the migrants as a whole] were all the offspring of parents who would wish to see their child's body before it was buried; and they were all Hagen men (he specifically included Kaugel with Hagen here - contrasting them with other language groups which he named, Wabag or Minj); and they were all mortal, any of them might die, and it was thinking of this that he gave money to help the others. He praised the others for inviting them to this feast.

But having said that, Tom began to get worked up. His vehemence turned into storminess. He noted that they were also all wage-earners who had to consume what they earned. This led to him saying that men got drunk and when they drank said all sorts of things; he then referred to the fight with the Tipuka and Kawelka¹ and the fact that compensation had been paid and returned but the Tipuka had not made a good counter-return. He was interrupted by others who cried that they should start eating, and he subsided.

The final speech was drowned by general chatter at several points. Others criticised the speaker for referring to the Kaugel people separately instead of reaffirming that they were all Hagen. His words were not received well (he commented that no Kaugel had died, only Central Melpa men) and as soon as he began to trail off was cut short and the distribution was attended to.

¹ See p. 175

The mood of the participants evidently responded to Albert's words which stressed the solidarity of the migrants and played down the political enmities which divided them. He contrasted them with men at home by drawing attention to their common situation, points which Tom also took up. They were all Hageners - Kaugel, Temboka and Melpa speakers together - and they were all migrant wage-earners whatever their occupation. One of the symbols of their common identity and interests was the way they made contributions towards sending home the corpses of men who died in Moresby. Their solidarity in such a crisis was praised and this practice was referred to as a 'custom' which had grown up among the migrants.¹ The migrants thus had a double charter. This was a custom which they observed in Moresby and which symbolised their common interests; it was also an adaptation of funeral practices at home, for they were bound to one another by common cultural origins.

Some of the participants were anxious that people at home should hear about what they had done. A text was prepared for radio broadcast in the Hagen area giving details of the money collected, how it was spent, and who the principal organisers were. They knew how badly folk there would be feeling about the deaths, and wanted to show them that they appreciated this: the funeral demonstrated that the migrants, too, thought about these things.

Money as trickster

Many of the financial transactions detailed in the previous sections are directed towards the regulation of social life in town, which migrants maintain to a certain extent in a distinctively 'Hagen' manner. This is not appreciated by people at home. Migrants also use money to maintain ties there. But money is tricky and, to expand the metaphor, it tricks in different ways.

In the absence of any other public ideology about the values of an urban life-style, there is an ideology about money-making. The drawback is that it is founded in part on thinking current among men at home, who also have very definite ideas about making and spending money. This is an advantage insofar as the migrant's money motives will be readily understood by the home people; it is a disadvantage in that they will put a rather specific cast on his aspir-

¹ Pasin bilong mipela man bilong Pot Mosbi, 'the custom of us Port Moresby men'.

ations and make demands because of this which he finds difficult to meet. The gap is a product of the different places which money has in the rural and the urban society. Migrants probably come to town with some sort of expansionist ideal: they will just add to their stock of experience and their money-making chances. But they find that both money and status turn out to be limited goods. Too long an absence will jeopardise their home status and in town they cannot use money in a rural-like way, as an extra. Money has to be spent in Moresby, and although most open grumbling is about the subsistence items on which it is 'wasted', a large proportion also goes on maintaining an urban style of life and on urban social relationships; this, they say, makes it difficult for them to go home. Most could raise the air fare without any trouble but lack the substantial savings which they know they will be expected to arrive with.

Money plays other tricks too. Migrants who look forward to going home are careful to treat visitors well and send them back with money; returning workers are given often quite large sums from several contributors (under the rubric of baim balus, 'paying the air fare'). The migrant may look on this as an investment in home relations. He may either be able to recover the actual sums later when he himself goes, or by amply discharging some of his obligations to folk there expect to find support, protection and assets (land, stock) waiting for him. Unfortunately, although visitors may be seen as 'from home' and thus representing home ties, in many cases they are not the immediate relatives to whom a migrant would actually look for support. And although the migrant may name small sums of money to be given to this or that person there is no guarantee that this will reach them. Also unfortunately, what the migrant might regard as an investment to bring future gains, people at home can take as meagre compensation for his absence. The sum that a migrant sends - perhaps a high percentage of his fortnightly wage - is not likely to impress anybody very much. Moreover, migrants half know this. In referring to money they have sent with visitors or others they may say a little ruefully, that they do not really know if they will ever see it again or if the man will help in the future. Maintaining ties with home through monetary transactions is thus something of a gamble. The migrant can never be sure that the money will be received in the spirit with which it is sent. Moreover, in helping some he may offend others.

Since people at home suspect that migrants are bad about saving money, they travel to Moresby themselves in the hopes of picking up funds at source. Otherwise, they fear, their relative's money will be squandered. Yet the more visitors keep coming to Moresby, reactivating links to make the migrant's transition home easier, the more difficult, some say, it actually is for them to save enough to go (though we may expect a measure of rationalisation in such statements). Simon remarked that his father had sent a visitor (the husband of Simon's sister) to Moresby with a message that Simon should come back home quickly. Simon said that he felt he wanted to, but all his money went on paying the fare of his brother-in-law, to whom he after all had some obligation. He claims to have paid this man \$120 for baim balus and given him \$50 to spend on purchases in the town. The presence of visitors to Moresby also deprives the migrant of the choices he might have if he could dispose of his money in a free situation. If a subclan brother turns up, he is obliged to help him, even though it might be more to his long-term interests to give handsomely to a lineage brother.

There is another fallacy too. People at home encourage the migrant to think it is important that they return with plenty of money. Yet this is only part of their attitude. They also want the migrant back on any terms. In many cases it turns out that the migrant's home investments were worth little - not because they were poor or given to the wrong people - but because their kinsmen will support them anyway. Curiously, then, although the migrant may be afraid that if no money is sent home he is cutting off his ties there and although relatives too grumble about not hearing from him, most migrants are received back well when they do return. The younger they are (the shorter time they have been away) the more sure their welcome, for the least ground has been lost. His kinsmen will find the returnee a wife and will raise bridewealth, not so much because of the money he has brought them, but because of enduring kinship obligations. They make sarcastic comments about how little he has helped, but the actual quality of his former transactions will not greatly affect the degree to which they fulfil their obligations.¹ Money may modify his status to some extent, though it needs a lot of money for him to make any impression.

¹ Although they may in some circumstances and appear to, in that refusal of support may be given an economic rationalisation. See the hypothetical cases below.

In most cases the returned migrant is simply back where he began before he went away. The effect of sending money home is largely illusory. At the same time, for as long as he is in town he can hardly avoid giving money to the visitors who come from home and ask for it.

Home investment and the role of visitors. Most migrants have small savings, intended as a stand-by should they wish to go home. One man who was out of work did not touch the \$43 he had in his bank balance because this was for his eventual air fare. Many, in fact, are as financially independent as they claim to be: 'I could go home any time'. Only they cannot; because in spite of \$50 or \$100 in the bank, the migrant will stay on hoping to make more and to take home an impressive amount. Mitchell's remarks are typical.

I have some money in the bank, just \$50 ... At home they ask me to come, and I want to go, but I have no road ... I think of going home, but if I use the \$50 for the fare, what should I carry in my hands for them? Or if I take them the \$50 what should I buy my ticket with?

People who say they have few savings put the reason down to their heavy drinking, a symbol of spending on oneself; or to some recent massive expenditure on a car; or say that there have been so many visitors from home that all their money has gone on them. Someone who sees his savings suddenly depleted may be so angry that he spends the rest at once or refuses to save for a while.¹

A Nengka car owner was grumbling at how the car had consumed all his money, and then broke down. He had \$500 left in the bank, and was so angry at all that had gone on the vehicle that he went on a spending spree, lashing out on drink and food, till he had only \$200 left. This he kept till he should feel like going home.

Frustration at what happens to money was also expressed by Tipuka Paul. In his bank account he had \$100. Then his old father came to visit him, so he spent the money on providing for him and on a plane fare home [\$55 in addition to the ticket]. All his money went. 'I was fed up and threw away my bank book. Then I began another savings

¹ See p.221

account, and K [his father] came again, and I had only \$50. I was furious! Why had he come? So I took all the money out and spent it on him again [\$80 in addition to the ticket] and sent him home ... Now I have a bank book but there is only \$2 in it ... I am fed up, all the time they come here and eat up my money, so now I do not save, I just eat the money myself.'

The impossibility of meeting one's commitments with money thus leads to some saying they will meet none and spend everything on themselves. The spate of private car-buying in 1971 was deliberately expressed resentment over the money which visitors from home demand, simply by their presence; a demonstration of self-spending.

Some resentment also stems from the pious attitude of these visitors themselves who may drop hints about the money which is to be gained from bisnis at home. Many migrants in fact come to believe that there probably is more money at home than in the town. When the cargo cultists came to Moresby, they brought cult techniques already revealed to them,¹ and while some migrants were sceptical about their chances of gaining money in Moresby, others said that if they did this would prove not that Moresby is a place of money, but that people at home know how to get hold of spectacular amounts of it. (What purchases they made in the town and took back home were in fact effected by money they had with them when they came.) The belief, that home and not town is where the money 'really is', which grows on some migrants the longer they stay in Moresby supports their self-image in another way. The one Hagener who had an independent business in Moresby, in despair over his finances, declared:

If so-and-so does not help me, I shall just go home.
There is money at home - I don't have to work here.
If they don't help me I shall just go home.

If indeed there is money at home, the migrant is not dependent on the town and the employment it offers, but is there simply because of his own inclination (laik bilong em).

Table 7.5 enumerates some of the payments which Matthew (a domestic servant) and his clan brothers have made over the last two to three years to visitors from their own tribe and other close relatives. The amounts recorded are all those specifically recalled as baim balus, that is, money given at

¹ See p.78

the departure of the visitor. Other money will have been spent on the visitor while he was in Moresby, including perhaps on a farewell pati (a cooking of chickens and vegetables consumed along with beer); presents (clothes, blankets, utensils) are also given which are not counted here. The sums include money actually used to purchase air tickets (\$45-50) as well as additional cash gifts. It should be noted that Matthew and his clansmen (who include Robin, see Appendix 6) are all renowned as people who do save, exceptional perhaps in the large sums they have consistently sent back with visitors.

Some eight men over two to three years, then visited Matthew and his friends, men closely enough related for substantial gifts to be made to them. Although I cannot offer overall statistics for the 'rate' of visiting, these particular figures are probably not unusual.¹ Details given in A.M. Strathern (1972c:23) show that from the Tipuka and Kawelka tribes a full quarter of the men who have gone to Port Moresby have been visitors. It should be noted that visitors include a small but significant number of women. Gifts to them tend to be more straightforward than those made to men and carry little expectation of future return.

Farewell and funeral pati



Plate 31. Cooking food for a returning visitor. Hageners do not normally cook in containers - a practice perhaps copied from Chimbu migrants.

¹ Though the visitors may have been particularly lucky in the gifts they received. There are individuals, however, whose home status is ambiguous or whose sponsors have died, who escape the pressures of closely related visitors.

Table 7.5

Money sent home with certain visitors, 1969-1971

Relationship of visitor to Matthew	Money provided by			Total
	Matthew	Others of Matthew's clan (5 men)	Others	
	\$	\$	\$	\$
Clansman	20	24	48	92
Clansman*	10	30	20	60
Clansman (same lineage)	50	220	103	373
Tribesman)	10	15	150	175
Tribesman)**	10	6	?	16+
Tribesman)	10	10	144	164
Sister's husband	50	102	23+	175+
Sister's husband	105	38	4	147
Total	265	445		

* Actually someone who had been in Moresby for a while and had tried to find jobs but not succeeded.

** All men from another clan of Matthew's tribe with whom he has 'cousin' and 'in-law' links derived from several marriages between the two clans.

Matthew said in 1971:

Much of our money has gone. We collect a little together and want to go home, and then our wantok come and we send them home with the money. Then again our wantok come, just as we have collected together a little more. And what can we do? My lineage brother came, and we said to him, 'Oh, take it off if you have work for it'. He told us that we had given him a large sum, but it was up to him to spend as he wanted. We give to them, and what they do with the money at home, we do not know. When we go back ourselves, they will not return us our money, but they will find wives

for us, and put their pigs aside for our bride-wealths. We think of this.

The savings habits of this group of clansmen were well looked upon by men at home and when Matthew did eventually go back a wife was quickly obtained for him. Another lineage brother subsequently came to Moresby to raise further funds and eventually the home clan bought a car, and Matthew drove this for them.

One or two migrants actually invest in specific home enterprises: Roderick gave his brother-in-law \$110 to buy a car and definitely hoped for monetary returns on this. Gifts to his parents-in-law were partly reciprocated by their killing a pig for him when he went home on leave. They did this also in the hopes of further presents from him later. A Ndika man sent \$270 for investment in a tradestore, but when he visited home he found that the money was just being drunk away. They had built the store but were 'spoiling' the profits from it. He thought he probably would not get his money back. On that trip he took \$50 with him but spent it on himself. Why should he give to relatives at home after that? Another Ndika man gave \$200 to a local leader who wanted to start a chicken business. He later heard that the business had failed; whether he got his money back was up to the leader. The migrant professed to be unconcerned: 'I do not know if he will return it to me or not'.

Much more money is sent home in the form of gifts (baim balus) to visitors and returned workers than is sent directly to people there. Migrants do not trust sums of any amount to the post and do not really trust that visitors and people travelling back home will deliver what is earmarked for particular kin. Also, the presence of the visitor puts a direct pressure on the migrant, who feels when faced with this man, that he must make a good show towards him personally. Workers who go on leave or who visit home for a spell before returning to Moresby are likely to take quite substantial sums with them - perhaps \$100 or \$200, although when this is divided out it may not amount to much. Some send small amounts regularly to boys at school to whom they write. But the biggest gifts to home relations are made by migrants who have acquired wives during the course of their stay in Moresby and who if they go home must meet the demands both of the kinsmen who helped raise the bride-wealth and the new in-laws. The most substantial amounts given to visitors are those to wife's kin. Some send small presents home for

specific relatives - a blanket for their mother or a shirt for their father, though many migrants say they have never sent anything directly to their parents. But almost all have contributed to someone's baim balus.

Table 7.6 gives some information on the thirty-three men who were questioned about their finances. They include the four whose budgets are given in detail in Appendix 6. The information covers payments to returned workers and to migrants going on leave (a small category) as well as visitors returning home. The sums refer to baim balus, the departure gifts only and not to money given at other times in Moresby, or to other expenses, or to gifts taken home for other kin, or to gifts in kind: in some cases expenditure on a pati for the visitor and presents for him to take back may amount to a half of or perhaps equal the monetary donations people make. They are sums which the migrant happened to recall. Many said they had made numerous other small donations they could not remember.

Table 7.6

Baim balus payments sent by migrants

Recipients and donors		Size of outlay	
Number of recipients	Number of donors	Number of donors	Total outlay (\$)
0	2	2	0
1-5	12	6	10-49
6-10	13	8	50-99
11-15	6	4	100-149
		3	150-199
		3*	200-299
		2	300-399
		4	400-499
		1**	700

* One man in this category claims to have given a further \$130 to assist with the home-going fares at a funeral. Another gave an additional \$900 to visitors from his wife's lineage: he paid one brother-in-law \$400 for looking after his own wife and children when they were at home for a spell; and another brother-in-law \$500 over two visits for two large pigs which this man allocated him at home.

** This man also paid an additional \$500 in bridewealth-type payments to in-laws who visited him in Moresby.

With one exception, all who remember having paid more than \$200 in baim balus presents are unskilled migrants. One is a factory worker; three are domestic servants; two are menial workers with PMV vehicles; two are drivers, and the last the bosboi Roderick. Possibly 80 per cent of the money was given to returning visitors, who vastly outnumbered returning workers.

A visitor, like a worker going home, whether for good or on leave, will depart if he can with a suitcase or trunk full of small gifts. When Roderick went he took a number of blankets. Some he left there for his future use. Others he distributed to his mother-in-law, his own mother and sister and two other wives of his lineage.

A Kawelka visitor from Matthew's clan, a young entrepreneur and contemporary of many of the migrants, was in Moresby for a short visit at the beginning of 1972. A modest farewell pati was held for him. Seven hens and various kinds of vegetables were cooked, and some loose beer bought. He was given baim balus gifts totalling \$134¹, mostly from his own clansmen. He already had a ticket, so this was money he could take home.

In town the visitor purchased a trunk (\$5.80), some necklaces (\$1.80), some playing cards (\$5) and betel (\$2). He searched for furs in the market but could not find any he liked.

In addition several migrants made him gifts in kind. Adrian, his sister's husband, who had given him \$30 also gave him four sheets, two towels, three pairs of trousers and three shirts. Four of his clansmen, including Matthew, gave between them five shirts, one pair of trousers, one towel and one sheet. Roderick provided a laplap, a pair of trousers a European had given him, a towel and a blanket; while a Central Melpa friend gave him three shirts, as well as a blanket to give to his maternal grandmother's brother who belonged to the visitor's clan.

Baim balus and other home-going gifts are raised almost exclusively among Hageners. If an individual obtains a sum to give a returnee from a non-Hagener, this is as a loan to him personally and not a contribution to the gift. Visitors

¹ To which Matthew contributed \$20 and others of his clansmen \$49, subsequent to the transactions recorded in Table 7.5.

thus crystallise intra-Hagen links. Indeed their very presence does this, for in coming from home they remind Hageners of their common origins. They provide displays of solidarity among the migrants (most visitors are treated to a small pati in their honour) and have an important role in relaying information to the migrants about what is going on at home.

Visitors and relations with home. There is ambivalence in migrants' attitudes towards sending money home with visitors or returned workers; not only do individuals differ in what they say, but the same individual will have different things to say on different occasions. Some of the resentment wage-earners feel has been indicated.

A Central Melpa youth came down from Hagen to stay with some Ndika relatives. He had brought with him a large netbag of pork, part of a funeral distribution for an important Ndika big-man who had died. (This was shared among a large number of Hageners in Moresby.) In spite of the gift he had brought, some Ndika grumbled that he had come on a single ticket. Why had he not bought a return ticket in Hagen? Previously he had come to Moresby and they had raised \$100 to send him home, and now he was here again!

Many people say that they give things to the visitors because they are sorry for them (Melpa, kaemb enim). One Nengka migrant who sent \$300 to an old man at home remarked, 'Oh he will not return this money. He is my second father and I am sorry for him. Let him eat the money and then die'. A Tipuka man said: 'When men come here we collect money for them. We are sorry for them when we see them and send them off with plenty of money'. Indeed, the resentment and sympathy which compound the migrant's feelings can be traced to a single cause. Visitors remind people of home. And not just in a vague way; they also remind people of their home obligations. These obligations can only be discharged through monetary transactions. Perhaps obligations is not the right word. There is no standard of expectations which people at home hold about migrants: no specific debt can be cancelled with a particular sum. There is the idea that the migrant should keep his home folk in mind and be thinking of (have kaemb for) them, and that this should be expressed in the form of gifts from time to time. The obligation is, as it were, to show that these feelings are still there. Visitors remind people of these feelings

and hence the numerous occasions on which migrants say they gave this or that visitor a sum of money because of kaemb - expressed as towards the visitor, but derived from thinking about home in a general way. That this puts the migrant under some psychological pressure can be guessed from the comments of some that when the visitor comes they are put in mind of people at home and think about the messages which have been sent; then after the man goes back they (with relief) forget again.¹

Migrants feel some guilt about having abandoned their relatives.

One youth told me about messages brought by a visiting clansman. They made him feel bad. His parents had sent word that they were upset and the migrant should come home. Was he angry with them which was why he was staying away? His mother in particular sent the message that now her eldest son was married and had a house of his own, that she had no one to look after her and she wanted the migrant to come quickly. The brother, however, sent a rather different message. He wanted the migrant to come home, but not at once. Let him stay in Moresby a while and earn some money; then when he had amassed some he could bring it with him.

The degree of voiced resentment is related to this. When migrants grumble that they have no money to give a visitor, this is not just because he is draining away their resources. In addition, the migrant is made uncomfortable by the new arrival, because it is incumbent upon him to prove that his feelings for his kin at home have not died. They are put under a definite constraint when someone arrives from their own clan or subclan, especially if he is quite an important personage.

All this is modified by the investment aspect of sending money home with visitors. Some people state firmly that they expect that when they go home themselves they will be able to recover the sums they have sent. Others do not expect the actual monies to be made good, but hope for general support and help. And yet others are sceptical and say they expect no returns at all. Among the last tend to be migrants who have in fact been back for short periods and

¹ An account of the kinds of messages sent by home kin and migrants' reactions to these is to be found in A.M. Strathern (n.d.)

discovered that people there have not treated former gifts as debts (so that they are owed something specific) but as repayments (for their being away). This is true especially of baim balus money; transactions on a larger scale, perhaps understood to entail a return gift of a pig, may be honoured with more faith. One Central Melpa professional who visited Hagen at the time of a Hagen Show, said he was disgusted that none of the money he had sent men there was returned to him. He said he was ashamed to ask them for it; but made up his mind never to give any again. Migrants also grumble that people at home do not appreciate the value of wage-earned money. One man pointed out that he spent something like \$100 (an unusually large sum) on food and presents for a matrilineal cousin who came to Moresby who then stayed and worked for a while. But after the cousin found work he did not think of this money; so when the cousin decided after a short while to go home, the migrant did not make any baim balus gifts to him.

Thus visitors may regard what is given as something due to them anyway¹ - the migrant is making up for past obligations. Yet if the migrant makes no gifts at all he may be told that because he has not invested anything in home he cannot hope for future support. This of course, an investment idiom, suggests that the migrant is putting himself in credit if he does make such gifts. The whole status of his monetary transactions is thus uncertain. People related to him in different ways (his own parents, clan brothers and so on) will also put different interpretations on them. Take two hypothetical cases.

Migrant A has given sums of varying magnitude amounting to \$70 to four members of his own clan who have visited him in Moresby. He also has given small sums to many other people from his home area, perhaps another \$30. He sent one of the clan brothers home with \$5 for his parents. When he finally goes himself he has further money to give to his parents, who grumble at him for not sending them more. The \$5 was an insult; in comparison with what they assume he was earning it was nothing. If it was appreciated at all it was as some tiny acknowledgement that he did not intend to forget them altogether. Their pleasure at seeing him,

¹ Because also the migrant is in the 'lucky situation' of access to fortnightly wages. Visitors may be sarcastic about the fortunes migrants imagine they can make and put pressure on them by pointing out the relatively substantial wages they receive. They do not of course regard the migrant's 'luck' as being put to proper use.

however, dominates all other considerations and plans are made for his bridewealth. Of his clan brothers to whom he gave money, three who in any case would have helped raise the bridewealth help the father, as do several to whom he gave nothing. The fourth is more distantly related and would not traditionally help and does not now. Another man in his subclan who hoped for some gifts when the migrant returned uses this as an excuse not to assist on this occasion because he never 'saw any of the migrant's money'. This is a rationalisation, because bridewealth payments are as much a matter of obligation to the groom's father as to the groom himself, whose fund-raising role is typically insignificant. The returned migrant feels too embarrassed to ask about the other money he has sent (\$30) in small sums to more distant people, because this would look as though he had come back with nothing. Thus he finds that it does not at all follow that those he helped when they came to Moresby will recognise this and give him money at home; he also finds that some of his folk at home will help him anyway because he is their son and brother, whether he gave them anything or not; and others will refuse to help on the grounds that nothing was sent.

Migrant B gives \$100 to a local entrepreneur who says he wants to buy a car; he also pays baim balus monies to two other clan brothers amounting to \$35. He gives out something of the order of \$50 to various others. When he goes home for a holiday he takes \$80 with him. He gives \$10 each to his mother and father, to whom he has not sent anything before, and spends the rest on himself. He says he has already sent enough home to other men in his clan. His parents are reasonably pleased and start talking about bridewealth and do not want him to go back. He loses all his money on cards and finds himself up for a court fine. He asks a man to whom he gave \$15 in Moresby to help him and the man gives him \$2. Others do not help him. The entrepreneur has not bought his car yet but holds out promises of future support and says that B will get a positive return on his money later. Others also say that he need not worry: when he eventually decides to come home they will give him land and obtain a wife for him. A subclan brother who has not yet visited Moresby says that he will put aside a pig for him which his own wife will look after and will accompany B to Moresby when he returns. [This means that he has been disappointed in not receiving anything so far and, jealous of the money given to the others, he wants to put the migrant into a situation where

he will be forced to give to him.] The migrant protests. So do his parents, who have asked him to be sure to send them money regularly from now on. They also say that they heard that he gave X \$15 and what was he doing giving money to a man from another clan and not sending them anything? This migrant also finds himself criticised for not sending enough but having no clear expectations on the money he has sent. Moreover he finds that the sums he has given have led to innumerable small jealousies among the people at home. These exacerbate rather than allay the demands made on him.

I have emphasised the ambiguities here. Not all migrants have the same expectations about what they send home. Some say simply that it is laik bilong ol ('up to them') if their relatives return the money or not; others rather more grandly that they would never ask for any back in the form in which it was given and that they do not worry about what happens to their money. Pride prevents them from calling in their debts. Thus although the terms in which some people at home talk about these things ('If he does not send money home of course he cannot hope for help from us later') suggests that in monetary transactions with home people the migrant is making the same kind of financial deals as men there do among themselves; this is not so. Because he has gained the money in a different way and in gaining it absented himself, it is not really the same medium as home money. It does not produce the same transactional relationships. No one at home asks another for money simply because he has got it; they do ask a migrant, for he is felt to have come by it with little effort and in exceptional circumstances. Money changes value as it were, when it passes between town and country. The migrant cannot deploy it as men at home deploy money because of the unusual conditions under which he obtained it. It disappears by turning into something else.

This was Adrian's experience. He had twice gone home and subsequently returned to Moresby, referring retrospectively to his sojourn as 'leave'.

He said: All the time visitors from home come to Port Moresby and I am fed up. If those at home were to pay our council taxes and work our bisnis for us there, that would be all right. But they come without cause, crying wantok! wantok! and I am fed up. I do not know if anyone has paid my taxes this year. When R. (a clansman) went back I

told him to tell the folk at home to pay them. A. (at home) owes me \$90; he wanted to buy a car and I gave him the money. B. owes me \$20 and C. owes me \$36 - he promised me a pig but was just lying and took my money. I have all these debts at home and the people there can pay my taxes. When I was home I won \$300 at cards and A. came along and I gave him \$100 and he has returned only \$10; when I go home I shall take A. to court for the rest of the money.

When D. went on leave I gave him \$12 and he has not returned this yet. E. went home for good but before (in town) I gave him \$4 and he did not return this so when he left I gave nothing. When F. goes I shall give him \$10 ... But when I go home they won't return this to me! Plenty of people I have given money to and when I went back home they did not give me any ... I am angry. All the time they ask us for money and they don't think how we earn it with hard work. They just think, 'Oh a man who has rounded on stésin comes now - we can ask him for money!'. But G. and H. [two others to whom he gave money] are my cousin and my brother and I shall not ask them for my money back - they are relatives ... When I first went home they all wept at my arrival and made me ashamed and I gave them a lot. But they never made any return.

Why do migrants persist in making these baim balus payments? First, visitors suggest the dire consequences which will befall those who do not send money home, confirmed in the messages they bring from the migrants' relatives. Few migrants want to cut themselves off completely and money is their only medium of transaction. Second, the rationale for continuing sojourn in the town is to make money and many visualise themselves as adopting a 'rural strategy', in Salisbury's terms: they are in town exploiting sources of revenue alternative to those at home, the profit from which they will eventually carry there. Making contributions thus supports their raison d'être for continuing to stay in town. The third reason is even more closely related to life in town. Visitors who return home with several baim balus gifts will have collected these from a range of people. This means that migrants frequently help the close brothers and relatives of other migrants: they are in effect helping each other.

If sending money home reaffirms the fact that migrants also belong to the rural society, whatever the particular fate of particular monies, they also reaffirm the Hagenness of the urban society¹. Migrants look on themselves as behaving in this way because they are Hageners. Paradoxically, then, home investment is also a kind of urban investment - people give small sums to the visiting relatives of their urban friends; they also assist at the departure of a fellow worker. One who helps others and gives money to a fellow migrant's visitor can also expect later help from the migrant. By spending on gifts to returnees and visitors, rather than accumulating private savings, he puts pressure on his fellow migrants to help him in turn when he goes home. If the plan succeeds he has made better use of his money than the saver, because in addition to securing help he also strengthens his current friendships. People are variable in the extent to which they recognise or honour obligations and the plan does not always succeed. But to a large extent gifts are given for the sake of the urban relationships, irrespective of such expectations. Someone who goes home without telling his fellow Hageners and thereby giving them the chance to contribute to his baim balus may be criticised by them. For the donor to such a contribution is in a sense capping and making explicit all the diffuse support he has given the migrant while he was in town. (There is also a financial factor. Small debts in the context of daily town life are not held against him. But when the worker removes himself from his circle of friends, they are reminded of their past help and may hope that their final gift will be acknowledged in the future.)

Roderick has sent home quite large sums to his various in-laws and said that he hoped he would actually get some monetary return for these. He was not certain and did not hold open much hope about numerous smaller sums he had given to other visitors. When he had gone on leave his in-laws had given him a pig, but no one else gave him anything! Yet when he heard that Richard had paid for his visiting mother-in-law to go back home, Roderick expostulated that Richard² had never told them about this. He should have let them all know and then they could all have helped to raise

¹ Cf. p. 257

² Roderick and Richard are of different tribes. See Appendix 4.

the money for her fare. It was bad to send someone home without telling one's friends and thus not letting them help. This action of Richard's was regarded as a sign that he was ignoring his own friends from the Northern Melpa area in association with his wife's people all the time. In other words, Roderick was concerned about the implications for loyalty and solidarity among the migrants themselves, which baim balus payments demonstrate.

Baim balus gifts to a friend's relatives thus help to cement relations among the friends. In a sense, the urban society is being defined as against society at home, in the act of helping someone discharge some of his home obligations. All migrants have similar obligations and this binds them together, as was made explicit in the funeral speeches quoted earlier. Money sent home may change shape, disappear, and create demands rather than satisfy them. Folk there may misunderstand or discount or hold as of no value their little gifts. But at least as a medium of transaction among the urban migrants money remains relatively stable. Those in town feel compelled to show their loyalty to one another in this way and act with similar motivations towards the visitors. For migrants among themselves know the value of money. It is shared, if tacit, understandings of this kind which give urban Hageners some sense of common identity.

Chapter 8

Urban Hagen society

Hagen migrants in Moresby are not very interested in multi-ethnic associations such as one might find attached to a church or sports league, nor in formal industrial political activity. They are true to Oram's generalisation for Moresby as a whole that 'there is little development of voluntary associations ... and the most significant social relationships still appear to be based on kinship' (1970a:4). Yet although clan and tribal groups are significant, kinship (and political) allegiances operate in town in a demonstrably different way from home. Social relationships may be 'based on kinship', but there is no 'still' about it, for the quality of the kinship in question is modified, and relative to its significance at home has diminished value in the town. Nevertheless, rural categories provide the focus for the most salient groupings in Moresby.

Urban Hageners give special weight to the elaboration of personal networks rather than to the formation of new town-based groups. Such networks are not peculiar to the town: indeed the town networks are derived in part from principles and values current at home. The migrants' short-term perspective on urban commitments is relevant to the fact that the alternative styles of social life do not take a group form. Apart from Hageners not joining multi-ethnic 'urban' associations, there is no institutionalised grouping of all, or some, Hageners into a mono-ethnic 'tribal' association of the kind described by Little (1965) for West African towns. (Such associations may have formally set out aims; hold regular meetings; impose an entrance fee and periodic donations on its members, and so on.) One might expect urban groupings of a fairly formal nature to develop among those town dwellers who look on their position as more permanent. But as Hageners they define themselves very much in relation to home, a definition which includes, situationally, an explicit defiance of home-based obligations in their statements of laik bilong mi, and which is possibly enhanced in

overt involvement in ego-centred networks. Moreover, at this point in time, unskilled migrants seem to play up the special status they have in the eyes of home people ('young, irresponsible, temporary wage-earners'). They emphasise their isolation as a category of a particular standing in reference to the rural society, and do not really envisage their town life as a complete and whole alternative to home. They flourish, as it were, more like a segment detached from its parent body than as an autonomous entity.

Urban associations

Of Lae, Lucas (1972:262) makes the point that 'neither town-based voluntary associations nor occupational groups yet operate as nuclei for the formation of broad based interest groups or "classes"'. He does, however, go on to describe in quite vigorous terms various welfare, church and political/industrial associations in Lae. His point is that a significant operating principle in these various types of organisations is 'parochialism' - social groupings are perceived to be made up of ethnic groups and loyalties relate in the first place to this. In the case of Hagen migrants, ethnicity is maintained in the absence of affiliation to voluntary organisations. Hageners keep much to themselves, although it would appear that their ethnic biases are not so different from those who do join such associations. If urban associations of the kind which Lucas examined can survive only if built of ethnic blocks, ethnicity itself does not seem to need the associations.

Hageners are not identified as being members of particular Christian congregations. Individuals attend various churches from time to time, but they have not made out of such contacts principles of organisation which could be applied to their urban social life. A very different picture is drawn for one migrant Papuan population living in a Moresby canoe settlement (Oram 1967:37-41). Most Hagen migrants come from a background where Christian influence is pervasive but not particularly strong organisationally. At least among the Northern Melpa in the 1960s, the church was of most significance for the old. Only a small proportion of the youths who come to town are formal church members. But if anything, Christian affiliations become less and not more important in the town. Those who may have counted themselves as among the converted at home tend to drop this status in town.

One or two Hagen migrants are members of sports

teams,¹ but because the numbers are few, far from being a focus of social significance, membership simply adds a dimension to the player's individuality. From the point of view of those few who do join (say) football teams, such membership is obviously significant for their personal networks. But it probably gives them a network range no more or less significant than others build up. The majority of migrants include at least some non-Hageners among their acquaintances. I have suggested (Chapter 6) that too elaborate a cultivation of non-Hagen friendships may be seen to challenge intra-Hagen solidarity, to the extent that a person puts himself in the position of facing a choice of obligations. There is no evidence, however, that membership of formal associations puts any greater strain on intra-Hagen ties, and we may count them insignificant in the process of urban adaptation. Few Hageners belong to them; for those who do belong they do not really present a unique alternative in social life because the contacts they bring an individual can be subsumed under the rubric of 'personal network' and everyone has a personal network of some dimension.

If voluntary organisations had played a large role in Hagen urban life, one could have looked to them either for evidence of non-ethnic principles of social organisation (as Lucas sought) or of ethnicity bulwarked by new social forms (as he found). Hageners certainly do interact with non-Hageners on a variety of bases structured by employment and residence. But this environment is largely outside their control. Where relationships are created by them they are subsumed under traditional rubrics, such as segmentary opposition ('Hagen' versus 'Wabag') or that of the network ('My Kerema friend').

Unskilled migrants bring their home-based political enmities and alliances to Moresby, not the Christian affiliations they may also acknowledge at home; it is moka-style pati² which are so much part of the urban life, not football teams or similar associations which some of the migrants may have participated in at school. Of all the changes

¹ A number of football teams in Moresby are formed round ethnic groups. Rew (1970) and Oram (1968b) describe some of them.

² However, changes have been taking place since 1972. For example, in 1974 a number of Hageners held fund-raising pati whose style and purpose is quite different from the exchange pati.

introduced at home, none seems to have provided organisational models; the only significant area of rural change which affects the migrants is the development of bisnis notions and ideas about money. Hagen urban society is emphatically not an encapsulated Hagen rural society in town; the migrants do not, in sociological terms, form an urban village. But their urbanisation is not expressible in terms of affiliation either to multi-ethnic or mono-ethnic voluntary organisations; it is rather to be found in their adaptation of traditional social forms.

There are, then, no exclusively town-based associations among the Hagen migrants which are both formal and enduring. Most noticeably they do not hold regular meetings; there is no forum at which problems and disputes can be aired; there is no club that new recruits to Moresby join when they arrive. If 'urbanisation' cannot be tied to explicit forms of social groupings nor can Hagen-ness: it is to be found in people's life-styles, in their values, in what they do with money, and in their investment in group loyalties which springs essentially from home ties.

It is the existence of a common background and of shared experiences in Moresby which identify the Hagen town dweller. Fellow migrants understand one another's predicaments and put a common value on the deployment of time and money: they know about the rewards they get from living in the town, even though these are rarely given formal expression. In the same way, from time to time their common background is brought into focus - at the crisis of a death, in modified forms of ceremonial exchange, in home investment, in political suspicions. But these are, as it were, also things which do not have to be said; the next section considers again the implications of reticence.

One can, however, point to some small ways in which town-based structures and values are formed. Chapter 5 indicated how certain home and town principles of organisation seemed to be affecting particular relationships. Chapter 6 put the small group of Hageners within the multi-ethnic framework of the town and its environs and in Chapter 7 the values and functions of money were described. I want to return to the funeral distribution described there. When the money was raised, men divided themselves into four groups, according chiefly to their residential areas in the town.¹ In name

¹ See p.340

and formation these are obviously categories unique to Moresby ('Murray Barracks'; 'the town people'). They were ad hoc groupings, not permanent ones, and on other occasions different groupings may emerge - as in raising money for the Kaugel-Melpa exchanges. Men who club together to purchase a vehicle may speak of themselves in a corporate way; thus Mitchell referred to 'we men of the X institution', meaning out of all the workers the Hageners who lived there. Such categories are analogous to men's house groupings at home, prime units in the raising and consumption of wealth. I never, however, heard any explicit formulation to this effect nor any attempt to subsume categories such as the 'men of Six Mile' and the 'men of Four Mile' under a larger rubric, though this is what in effect happened when the 'Dei Council people' raised money at the funeral. As opposed to collecting funds, in distributions tribal groupings are prominent and these cross cut the residential categories. Thus all migrants from a particular tribe may be called to come and eat from one pile, irrespective of where they live.¹ Here then are two principles of organisation: tribe allegiances, which not only reflect organisational principles at home but correspond to the same units (although there would be few occasions at home on which such a range of tribes would be involved in a single distribution); and the urban residential groupings, which are relevant only in town, though they take their inspiration from home categories (men's house groups). There was also, and it is seen on other major occasions, a third principle, which relates only to the context of wage-employment and may be taken as a distinct phenomenon.

This is the contrast frequently made between members of the army, police, corrective and educational institutions, although they are rarely referred to by a single term, and the 'outside men',² including both skilled and unskilled workers, though epitomised in the latter. One could argue that any way of grouping and separating categories of people reflects some home-based principles. But there is much less correspondence between this classification than, say, between the 'men of Four Mile' and men's house units. The 'men of Four Mile' are linked together for a specific corporate activity (money raising); they are an action group and have an assumed identity from common residence. In these ways,

¹ Cf. p. 340

² Mipela ausait lain; Melpa, ekit oronga wamb.

as well as in the reference to locality, they correspond to the home units (men's houses). This is not so in the army, etc./outside dichotomy. It is a permanent classification, not a situational one. Whatever they are doing, those not in institutions are 'outside' in relation to those inside. No one at home is classified in terms of occupation, though some become associated with particular skills; they are divided, for example, by group membership (tribes and so on), locality (men's houses) and prestige (big-men and lesser men). Prestige divisions are very much played down in the town; it would be tempting to regard this occupational classification as a replacement of the pervasive prestige categorisation found at home. But the contrast between those in institutions and those 'outside' says little about the relative merits of different types of work,¹ and men belonging to one or other class are given no special roles to play (as a big-man at home always feels it necessary to take a prominent part in public affairs). It comments on the way people are divided up by their jobs in a wage-earning milieu, without making evaluations on this score in terms of prestige ratings or special roles.

But there is one evaluative statement contained within the idiom of 'outside'. This may be used disparagingly to refer to people who live scattered across the town. It compares the barrack arrangements of institutions with the way other Hageners are distributed all over the place. It can also be used among unskilled workers to designate those who have no long-term attachment to a particular employer and thus in a sense belong nowhere. But while there is some disparagement, as in the case of pasindia men, the outside men are also evincing qualities which are admired - they are exploiting the possibilities of freedom which town-living offers. It is thus illuminating that the phrase 'outside men' is heard more frequently than its opposite, the 'inside men', though the Melpa for 'inside' (rukrungr oronga wamb) is used occasionally. It is being outside which carries positive and emotional overtones. It suggests freedom; migrants, both inside and outside, compare the relative liberty of general workers with institutional members whose lives are much more circumscribed. General migrants pity them for not being able to choose where to live and where to work. Given that many migrants look on themselves as having

¹ At least from the outsiders' point of view; though the soldiers and police are expected to think a bit differently (see Albert's comments below).

run away from home (their own formulation) and escaped responsibilities there, it is not surprising that they should have some comment on those occupations which involve paternalistic and authoritarian principles.

Men in the forces may refer to the general migrants as doing 'bad work', but as often as not this is in disparagement of their own pretensions. When Albert, a soldier, was speaking at the funeral, he drew attention to the help which the outside men, in particular the unskilled migrants, had given them all, and admonished the new arrivals to listen to their advice. He said that a number of the army personnel were near to completing their service and the new recruits and young educated men should take guidance from the ekit oronga wua kit mbø, 'the bad outside men'. The implication here is that although the professionals may look on themselves as superior and think of the general migrants as in a low position ('bad'), in fact the latter had much to say about the conduct of affairs about the town. On this occasion Albert was deliberately fostering a sense of solidarity among the migrants. The contrast between the members of the forces (whose men had died) and the others was integral to the organisation of the funeral; but in drawing attention to it he was saying that it was no basis for inequality among them. On this same occasion reference was made to the 'laws' which migrants follow in town.

I have referred to urban Hageners as forming a 'moral community',¹ in order to point out the constraints and loyalties which influence them as Hageners. People at home regard migrants as irresponsible, and as in many cases flouting conventional morality: those with wives at home fail to provide for them; those with close kin fail to think of them. Indeed, most of the remarks made in the previous chapter about the allocation of money could be rephrased in terms of ethics. In spending on social relationships within the town, the migrant is acknowledging that they have a moral content. People at home judge the moral content as rather slight. In very simple terms, in town men appear to help others because they too may need help at some stage; while at home men help others through a greater variety of overt kinship and group reasons. At crises townsmen are able to organise large-scale payments, as at the Kaugel-Melipa compensation or in making funeral arrangements. The men at home regard these as pale imitations of their own more splendid affairs and may also find them odd in that so little

¹ See pp. 289-99

political capital is made out of the occasions¹ for urban prestations are not bulwarked by elaborate speeches. Migrants support those out of work and support visitors from home; visitors grumble about them not further supporting their home clan, or elderly parents, or exchange partners there.

Moral obligations at home are justified in terms of people's interdependency. The migrant who leaves home is striking out on his own; he can also be independent of his fellow Hageners if he wants to be. In finding houses or jobs people sometimes stress the degree to which they have to look after themselves. But by stressing independence, the migrant is denigrating the ties he also needs. Reciprocity among town dwellers is important - loans and help when unemployed, support for enterprises. A migrant has to be dependent on his fellows if he wishes to continue in active association with them; he must make investments in them and their affairs. It would be minimally possible for a Hagerer to live in town without interacting with other Hageners. But if he buys the luxury of social life, he must pay by becoming involved. It matters whether his loans are returned or not, whether his pati is reciprocated in like style and so on. Yet the more he invests in urban relationships, the greater risk he runs. If he can look for security in some respects - a loan when needed, assistance in a fight - he also lays himself open to people who do not honour their debts and who justify their withdrawal in terms of autonomy. The wayward element in what is seen as independent-minded action was noted again in Chapter 7. Of oneself, it may be expressed as bravado. Migrants sometimes speak quite openly of the way they have 'fouled' - left a narrow path and just followed their own inclinations. One man who was weighing up various courses of action he might follow in leaving Moresby to go home, considering the ties he had with relatives there, cut off his deliberations with the offhand comment that perhaps his mind would 'foul' him and he would go off to Rabaul or somewhere instead.

By 'moral community' I further meant that among themselves migrants have an understanding of one another's position, and that their judgments and estimations are thus at least informed. I have used the term prestige in this connection.² Perhaps worth would be a better word.

¹ A point made to me by Andrew Strathern.

² Cf. p. 255

Unskilled migrants play down differences in merit and social status among themselves. They value equality; at home this means that all are free to struggle for big-manship, while in town it means rather that they are free from the struggle. Their emphasis is on the sharing of a common status. By contrast with the judgments he can expect from his home kin, a migrant can look to his fellows to accept him as a co-migrant and town-dweller.

What of the significance of personal networks in this respect? Mitchell (1969:36ff) points out that many sociologists use the analytical notion of network to demonstrate the flow of communication through personal contacts, especially in connection with the definition of morality. Persons in a network may exert informal pressure on one another to conform to norms about which there is some consensus. However networks have a rather special role in Hagen town life. Active participation among a wide circle of 'friends', thought of as such, is perhaps seen to support non-conformity, where the model for conformity lies in paying attention to group structure (tribes, clans) and one's proper place at home. Migrants tend to associate conformity with those behavioural rules which bind them to social groups of home origin; non-conformity lies in a defiant association with a wide range of friends, which ostensibly ignores group boundaries, and is to do with their living in town. If there is conformity here, it is to the idea of autonomy.

An observer can point to certain ways in which others are influenced through network connections which do involve keeping to norms. Thus the definition of reciprocity (as evinced at the Kaugel-Melpa exchanges), and of the limits of loyalty, certainly puts pressure on those who are linked together in an enterprise, and stresses the personal as opposed to category or group basis for these links. Most noticeable is the pressure put on those who, at the same time as maintaining their bachelor friends try to have a more regular and possibly more adventurous sex life than they. Another requirement for conformity is that no one should get above himself. While individuality is emphasised, there is also a degree of formal parity among migrants, of all ages and all occupations. Individuality is expressed

most clearly in a lack of commitment¹ - to the town in general, to particular jobs, sometimes even to particular sets of friends. It is not legitimately expressed in a striving for prestige.

Leadership and prestige in the town

Unskilled migrants in many ways share home attitudes towards their particular position. Rather than recreate a microcosm of rural society, they exaggerate their isolation as a special category, with little status in the eyes of men at home. There is strong pressure, for example, against anyone who publicly tries to behave like a big-man in the town context. Those most readily referred to as 'important' are quiet and inconspicuous. They may take charge in organising enterprises and are known to be generous with private resources, but do not present the familiar aggressive and domineering 'big-man' image found at home. People who attempt to talk a lot and make speeches find themselves derided in terms lifted straight out of the traditional context. 'Who are you, then? Who is your father at home? I did not hear he was called a big-man.' There is a great levelling tendency which is clearly associated with the ideology of independence. Francis explained: 'Everyone in Moresby is a poroman (equal)'. The implication is that by home standards everyone is rubbish and they are all equally rubbish. Anyone who starts pontificating will be told that he is no better than all the other migrants and they are not pretending to be big-men. This applies irrespective of age or length of experience in the town.

Not all judgment is suspended. Individuals are rated by their behaviour, by their willingness to help others, by the

¹ This lack of commitment may be either an intense form of escapism from the social pressures of home, or a result of a home orientation which makes the urban networks very ephemeral. Jacobson's study of Ugandan townsmen (1973) raises the question of the stability of network relationships among persons who are primarily itinerant. Social relationships are most stable, he says, when the individuals involved can expect future association with one another. What gives a particular cast to friendship networks in Moresby is that when the relationships are picked up again in the future at home, they will have a different character by and large - being influenced by if not subsumed under all the categories which operate there.

way they spend money, by their associates; and some are regarded as more important, or more respectable, or more worthy, than others in town. And migrants may veer from one frame of reference to another - now making estimations in terms of what people at home would think, calling heavy drinkers who make poor monetary investments rubbish; now crediting their fellow workers with being sociable chaps in town. Certain activities bring prestige - car ownership, organising a pati sequence or a big feast, and one may add, keeping a steady and well-paid job. What is missing is the role of leader.

Migrants do undertake large-scale activities which require co-ordination and it is with the running of these that prestige is associated; but prominence men assume with reluctance. However much effort has gone into the organisation of a feast, it is not capitalised upon by incipient leaders getting up and telling everyone what they have done. The men remain silent, or speak in a half-hearted and apologetic way that contrasts strikingly with the stance of traditional big-men who never cease telling others about themselves. People say they are abashed in the town setting to make speeches because of the Europeans and foreigners who are there. This may partly be, then, a phenomenon of urban crowding and heterogeneity. Very relevant are statements to the effect that the migrants are all really like young boys. This kind of remark is often heard:

A driver described how a party of Hageners had irritated some Goilala men at a bar by their singing, and a fight ensued. The Hageners were all drunk. 'We are single men, we are not married, and it is drink we spend our money on!', he remarked. Migrants referring to the funeral speeches explicitly said afterwards that they had not wanted to make a big issue out of things because they were not 'important' men like big-men at home, only youths who had come to town to work.

They are not aspiring to be big-men. Two possible factors lie here. One may be that notions of big-manship and prestige are so firmly entrenched at home that any classification using these indicators would at once remind people of their actual status vis-à-vis those at home. Another, that the claim of immaturity bulwarks the ideology of independence, which is found also among adolescents at home and justifies what they know is in some people's eyes irresponsibility. It is not as though they were aspiring

and have fallen short; they are not aspiring.

The reluctance to make claims of big-manship among themselves is a particular instance of the general reluctance to give verbal formulation to their own position in the town. The absence of public speaking, so prominent at home, is partly a product of the fact that most speaking is done by big-men and is a medium through which prestige is claimed. Hagen styles of speech-making have the effect of informing public opinion, moulding attitudes and expectations, giving shape to norms and values: a constant exercise of evaluation. They are highly creative¹ - big-men wish to see events taking shape under their direction; they modify people's understanding of history; and so on.

If migrants in town were to begin talking about their own position, they would have to fall back on the formulations of home people, which are well developed and coherent. They have created no positive ideology of urban rewards and status to replace these attitudes, apart from the ideology of independence. It is true that many left as boys, before they would have ever begun to speak in public; but a number have since been so long in the town that one might have looked to them for the emergence of articulateness.² But the initial solution, to behave as an autonomous person, who does not have to justify himself, persists. Resistance to giving verbal expression to one's position protects one from taking all its implications too seriously. Being away from the constant company of those who do speak also has an effect. Visitors from home comment on the impoverishment which the migrants' vocabulary has undergone; how they seem to know few songs; how they cannot manage public situations which call for words to be spoken. As far as I know there has

¹ The following comments about creativity among migrants were made to me by Andrew Strathern.

² In her study of Hohola women Oeser (1969:10) describes the reduction in the number of tasks and relationships the migrant woman has in town in comparison with home as an 'impoverishment'. At the time when the Hagen youth moves to Moresby, there is no drastic reduction, because his position at home has been somewhat marginal. There is a kind of reduction, though, if one compares the positions he would move into if his town-dwelling years had been spent at home. It is not at the point of migration that impoverishment occurs, but is a cumulative product of his staying on in town.

been no complementary development of an urban argot, beyond the use of Pidgin.

One result is that urban workers do appear 'rubbish' in the eyes of men at home. Indeed, this is another realm in which one could draw an analogy between them and women,¹ who are denigrated because they have nothing to say. There are certain consequences for the society in town. Leaders at home provide focal roles. They direct and organise affairs, nicely balancing public and self-interest. It is leaders who are prominent in the settlement of disputes, who mobilise public opinion, who try to direct people's attention to long term as well as short term aspects of trouble cases. Hagen migrants have no real leaders; more than this, they have no regular forums. The point has already been made in relation to urban associations. It is also extremely important for matters of social control. Men do not regularly gather together to discuss problems and issues, and when troubles do arise they are not handled through courts at which people sit down and listen to arguments. The implications of this are returned to in the next section.

Migrants are aware of these issues. I have witnessed more than one public occasion on which people clearly felt embarrassed because a speech was called for but no one wished to get up and deliver one. Moreover they have not forgotten home values. Thus a migrant can list people whom he might in Melpa call nyim (important, the term used of a big-man) or korpa (rubbish, as of someone who is low-status). But these categories were not used with the spontaneity and frequency which occurs at home. There is no doubt, however, that the Tipuka-Kawelka respect the two Central Melpa men, Patrick and Philip. Among themselves, both Roderick and Simon might be called nyim. The main criterion that one migrant (Brian) used in making estimations of this kind was that these men were seen to make substantial contributions to joint enterprises - and he used an entirely home-based idiom: 'At the time of making moka they find big things'.² His list of rubbish men was long, including his erstwhile enemy Adrian, and a number of others who, he said, just drank and made trouble

¹ See the earlier discussion in Chapter 4 in reference to employment (p.133ff).

² Meaning both, were they to make moka at home and in exchanges in the town.

and never 'found big things'. A rather different estimation is of wangen status. Wangen¹ carries the connotation of low status because of permanent bachelorhood. If one asks about people who are wangen by referring to normal expectations of marriage, one is making the home society one's reference point. All the older bachelors are thus strictly wangen, however nyim they might be in town, a congruence unthinkable in traditional terms. There are, in addition, a few older men who behave rather like wangen, men who might have become so even if they had not left home. They tend to be inconspicuous, to dress poorly, to be petulant and feel victimised. A salient criterion of importance at home, whether a person can speak well, was not voiced in the conversations I had with town people on who was or was not nyim.

Social control

Both a muted leadership and a reluctance to speak publicly make for problems of social control among a population whose background is one of vigorous dispute-settlement procedures under the direction of big-men. Troubles at home are frequently settled in reference to compensation payments. The mechanism of compensation is hardly used among the migrants. This is another aspect of the verbal inarticulateness/lack of social definition syndrome. For not only in the public settlement of disputes does the decision to make and accept compensation often come only after a case has been thoroughly talked over, but involved in the whole process is the notion that statuses are redefined in the payments. Disputants who settle their differences through compensation are making an explicit statement about the relative rights and wrongs in the matter, and thus their own standing. Migrants hesitate to make precise formulations about themselves in terms of status categories. There is no inherent contradiction between a dogma of egalitarianism and resort to compensation procedure - indeed at home such payments can be used to assert that relations once disrupted are now back on an equal footing. But what court² procedures frequently (not always) encourage is a minute examination of the relationships which have been disturbed, so that equality is a fine adjustment of all the various rights and obligations which each side owes the

¹ See p.91

² All references to courts in this section are to Hageners' own unofficial 'courts' (kot) unless specified.

other. In town equality is a much simpler thing, a kind of reductionism, which removes the superstructure of obligations and moral ties and says that as urban migrants all are in the same position and no one is better than anyone else. To settle disputes through compensation payments would suggest that the precise balance of obligations and default should be defined on each side. This is what migrants shy away from doing.

At the eighth pati in the sequence between Brian and Roderick¹ there was a little speech from Simon, delivered in an ordinary talking voice from a sitting position. Mitchell followed with a subdued reply to the effect that they should not make an issue out of things: 'We are wantok; what is there to talk about'. At home, issues are made out of things; people are interested in the constant reformulation of one another's statuses. Mitchell was saying that the presumption of equality ('We are wantok') precluded such an activity, because otherwise their common identity would be upset. In other words, what Hageners at home regard as essential to social control - talking over issues, bringing them into the open - Hageners in town seem to suggest is inimicable to peaceable relations. Conflict is played down by supposing that nothing basically differentiates people, and they can have no real reason for bringing actions against one another.

A clear example of playing things down was the funeral speeches.² At home - this was said openly - people would talk and talk, going over the details of the deaths, adjusting their own feelings and attitudes, deciding on retaliatory action and so on. Such funeral distribution would have been the cause of numerous long and formal speeches, lasting perhaps most of the day, delivered in oratorical style in public and continued more privately in men's houses at night. The speech-makers in town said explicitly that they were afraid to bring the talk into the open. The best mechanism at their disposal for dampening down the potential enmities was not to say anything at all. A commentator observed afterwards that they were afraid that had words begun to fly there would be a fight. People also pointed to the fact that big-men at home rouse people's militance in their fiery speeches. This picks on one aspect of traditional speech-making. It is true that words are used to

¹ See p.236

² Recorded on pp.341-4

rouse men to fight; but words also soothe and manage men's emotions so that they find satisfactions in other settlement procedures. Migrants are quite open about the fact that they do not think they have the managerial skill to handle a verbal situation well enough - if they did begin speaking it could only lead to fighting. Theirs is an over-simple interpretation of what goes on at home, which ignores one important function of speaking: to make resentments and grievances public. No one in town supposes that their fellows will forget the various incidents about which they hear rumours; and subsequent troubles are put down to private revenge procedures. But these things have to be kept hidden. Talking does not always solve things; it may not be an excellent mechanism for handling recurrent minor issues, such as disputes stemming from drunken behaviour. But it must increase rather than decrease a sense of security in major crises.

Examples have been given of the way politics at home affect Hageners in Moresby. Serious issues (assault, homicide) which arise in the town may also have repercussions among the home groups of the migrants involved, depending on the state of political relations between these groups. Although migrants have access to fairly good information about what is going on, they are not on the spot, and an element in their reluctance to open up issues in the town is an understanding that things at home are complicated and changeable. They do not really know all the details of current political relations there and this makes them uncertain of the implications of their own actions. What they do in town is known back at home and details of Albert's speech would have been taken back by the visitors present. He was afraid to say too much in case his words were misconstrued by people there.

Migrants are thus afraid to speak, lest they say things which have repercussions they can neither judge nor handle.

As an illustration of the kind of interpretation which home people put on town events, Albert cited the death of the Mokei mechanic. He had been riding pillion behind another Mokei, from a different clan. They both fell from the bike together, but a man from one clan died and from another survived. Now people at home would at once recall that in the past these two clans had fought and been enemies. They would regard the death as suspicious and want to know why one man

died and the other did not. These were the kinds of things that people at home thought, so that men in town should be careful about what they said.

Migrants say they are only 'boys', whereas men at home are all big-men, both because they do not have the information to cope with a conflict situation properly and because they see big-men as always stirring up trouble. They are alarmed by the 'troubles' they hear about. One of the things which kept one migrant from going home was fear that he would not be well enough up on the local political scene to recognise who were his current enemies and would get killed on the journey from the airport to his house. The transference of valuables to effect a settlement makes a dispute a formal matter; whereas migrants like to keep things informal. It would be admitting that a breach of relations was significant if monetary compensation were required to patch things up. Rather than enlarge issues in the manufacture of political capital, they prefer to trivialise them out of existence.

This holds for almost all the disputes which arise between themselves. An exception was the compensation payment which was paid after the Kaugel-Melpa fight. Here things had already got out of hand. No one could argue the situation away by saying it was trivial; on the other hand no one had been so seriously hurt that the home kin would be involved. It was thus an affair contained within Moresby and to do with the migrants' relations among one another, so they felt competent to handle it. As soon as a death or serious injury arises, the context is altered, for people at home become concerned and the political implications of the incident ramify according to relations there. No one would mount compensation for an urban homicide, for example, because of its admission of guilt and allocation of blame, judgments migrants do not care to make, knowing the inflammatory results this would have on folk at home.

In minor squabbles, including fights, compensation rarely passes between migrants.

The fight between Joe and Brian¹ ended with Brian promising he would compensate Joe for drawing blood if Joe would pay him back for the pans that had been destroyed. At home this would amount to an exchange of items which would put the

¹ See p. 208

disputants back onto an equal footing. Joe's claims were backed up by his clansmen who sent out rumours that they were going to come and beat Brian up. At this stage Joe's eye was in a bad mess and they said they would gouge out Brian's if he did not do something. Brian was thoroughly frightened by this. He first offered them \$5 and then \$12 ('two cartons of beer') but they refused. Brian grumbled that it was not Joe who was pressing for the payment but all his wantok. Brian also had supporters, among them Roderick, from Joe's clan but with links to Brian's, and Mitchell, a matrilinear relative of Brian's. They put down the insistent demands of Joe's supporters to Gerry who had a private enmity with Brian. Eventually a pati was held ('to shake hands') at which Brian gave \$30 to Joe. In addition he gave a carton of beer and a bottle of rum. Joe kept \$10 and distributed the rest to his supporters. Brian was disgusted, however, that no mention was made of any return compensation to him - a fact he blamed on Joe's supporters. They had urged Joe to make Brian pay him, but then would not help Joe raise a return gift. In fact Joe refused to make any returns at all, even though the following week he received sande money and according to Brian had a total of at least \$60 in his pocket. Brian said he spent it all on beer.

This then was a compensation which (from Brian's point of view) misfired. Yet in spite of his disappointment and anger with Joe, Brian did not make him leave his house. Joe could get away with not paying, a situation which would have been more difficult at home. He kept up Brian's hopes by promising vaguely from week to week that he would pay him the next week-end; but although the need for some kind of material adjustment in their relationship was thus recognised it was not judged integral to it and the pair continue to be 'friends'. Many fights end with no attempt at compensation at all. Indeed, we should rather look for some special reasons why it was paid in this case than why it is not paid in others. Among those which come to mind was the desire, possibly, to 'level' Brian, who at that stage was living with a non-Hagen girlfriend and there was considerable animosity against him on this score.¹

¹ See p. 241

Fights are quite frequent, mostly taking place, as we have seen, when people are drunk. Drink reduces the culpability of those involved; whereas to pay compensation often involves an admission of guilt. By not talking about a dispute and by not paying for the trouble afterwards, the incident is trivialised. Drink itself has a trivialising effect, since the responsibility of the participants is diminished. Paradoxically, drink also makes it possible for people to talk, and thus provides a vehicle for putting pressure on others. When drunk, migrants feel free to use sanctions they otherwise might not. One day when Roderick had been drinking he accosted Richard and aggressively demanded that his side hurry on with a prestation which was due in the pati sequence, described in Chapter 5. Openly aggressive statements can be made most easily after drinking. At home a big-man would weave insinuations into his speeches to make his listeners ashamed. The migrants are not confident enough of their managerial skills to do this when they are sober.

It is partly because drinking enables people to express resentments that it leads to trouble. The statements are likely to be aggressive and simple, not cunning and complicated; where a court settlement at least gives a semblance of dialogue or a colloquy, drunken ramblings tend to be monologues, so the attacked person has no real come-back and is likely to resort to violence.

Most acts of violence are committed under the influence of drink. Between relatively friendly people, drink can excuse them; when the relations are ones of long-standing enmity, it may not prevent further repercussions. In Chapters 5 and 6 instances of migrants' suspicions and fears were given in relation to poisoning or political attack. People become circumspect in their behaviour - they avoid encounters, take precautions, and so on. But drink makes them lose fear, and perhaps even seek out a confrontation. Men say quite openly: 'I'll get him one day when he is drunk' (meaning: when we are both drunk). Violence is usually the outcome of perceived grievances. At home forceful reprisal may be condoned or condemned depending on current relations. In the town there is more general latitude for violence because of this association with drinking. Factors which restrain violence among the migrants include: deliberate precautions to avoid drink on certain occasions (as at card games or in the presence of enemies); vigilance of the police and the ease with which

someone can telephone for help - and Hageners have little compunction about going to the authorities if need be; fights usually being confined to relatively public places, where there is a likelihood that passers-by will step in to prevent the affair from becoming too serious. Planned violence is also less common than spontaneous brawling, which mitigates its implications. Homicide is more likely to arise from a too drastic beating up than deliberate murder.

Causes for fighting have already been suggested.¹ They rarely include conflicts over theft or adultery; nor did I come across unofficial courts hearing disputes on accusations relating to either of these matters. At home courts provide an arena for publicising compensation payments, though such payments may also be made informally. Theft and adultery there are frequent subjects for litigation. In town there are few cases of adultery with the wives of Hagen migrants. Perhaps it is because females are a disruptive enough element anyway; perhaps because of the divide felt to exist between the married and the single men; perhaps because most of the migrants have never been married themselves and are bashful about sex (at home there is no pattern of regular adultery on the part of youths; adulterers are usually married men). That theft is not a significant crime is possibly related to migrants seeing themselves as all living under similar circumstances. Stealing from Europeans and non-Hageners may take place, but is negligible among the migrants. Those recognised as most likely to steal from other Hageners are newcomers² to the town, put suddenly in the company of men with access to wealth. There is a lot of open borrowing and squandering of kinsmen's and friends' resources, which in other circumstances might have been identified as stealing. But this is balanced by an appreciation among wage-earners that they all have to work equally hard to obtain money. Theft would also be interpreted as aggressive, a deliberate attack on a victim, and cold-blooded rather than spontaneous like a drunken fight. Far more significant than theft as a cause of dissension are broken obligations - loans not repaid and such. These, however, do not lead to unofficial court hearings, but are more likely to be cherished as grievances expressed in withdrawal or a fight.

¹ See pp.237-44

² Stealing is a common youthful pastime at home.

From the point of view of the town as a single community and the maintenance of 'law and order', we may look at the reasons for people being taken into custody by the police. The following are most frequent: drunken and disorderly conduct which usually results in a fine; traffic offence, mainly drunken driving, usually a fine; fighting, theft (also car stealing), both of which may lead to imprisonment. A number of unskilled migrants have spent nights in cells; a third of the Sample I migrants have also spent some time in jail during the course of being in Moresby. Reasons were as follows (eleven men, twelve charges):

theft, or receiving stolen goods (from Europeans, Papuans)	4 cases
fighting or assault (against European, highlanders)	2 cases
giving false name and escaping from cells	2 cases
being unemployed/loitering	2 cases
indecent behaviour (to European woman)	1 case
attempted adultery (intra-Hagen)	1 case

The adultery case was the only one directly involving just Hageners. Disputes likely to be detected by the police and result in official action are thus also likely to involve non-Hageners. Although Hageners rely on the police from time to time to break up fights, they do not make much use of the official courts system to settle their own differences. They say the police are unwilling to pursue cases requiring civil action, as over the claiming of debts.¹ Among themselves there is no one corresponding to a councillor or komiti who could regularly hold unofficial courts as leaders do at home. Nor do any of the migrants take it on themselves to fill such roles informally.

In his writings on Port Moresby Nigel Oram (for example, 1964, 1968b, 1970) has argued that within migrant settlements and urban villages a measure of social control exists where it does not between different urban communities or among migrants whose residence is scattered. While it is clear that Hageners in Moresby form a 'community' of a kind, without being nucleated into settlements or migrant villages, the question of social order is a very real one. One dimension here is the gap between the Hagen population and

¹ Cf. pp.291-2

other ethnic groups,¹ as well as between them and the town's administrative agencies; another is the question of the kinds of sanctions Hagen migrants can bring to bear on one another in the regulation of their own social life.

There is the sanction of reciprocity ('If you do not help me then I may not help you later'), though this is weakened both by the dogma of independence ('I do not need anyone's help') and ambiguities about the nature of the obligation incurred in giving help ('He owed me \$2 but won't help me now I need money'; 'Oh, I gave him \$2 but do not expect it back - it was for him to eat'). Nevertheless, migrants need to maintain some kind of security circle to whom they can turn for assistance in a fight or at some such crisis. Most interactions take place within the framework of networks rather than institutions. There is little interdependence in terms of formal roles - such as division of labour, or domestic arrangements - or in terms of the alliances and partnerships which feature so prominently at home. Constraints on behaviour may be seen by Hageners simply as a matter of keeping up links with friends (though this is actually a simplified view); but it does put the individual into the position of choosing which relationships he will value. A significant source of regulation lies in the migrants; appreciation of their common identity and interests in the town, to be found less in outward-looking assertions of ethnicity, than turned inwards, in the definition of their common lot as urban wage-earners. Cohen's remarks (1969:23) on a migrant Hausa community established in a particular quarter of a Yoruba town are illuminating:

The fact that the members of the community share common interests does not mean that they will always automatically act in conformity with the general interests of the Quarter. This is because there is always potential conflict between the interest of the individual and the group to which he belongs, in respect of rights and obligations. Men in general are always happy enough to claim their rights in the group but often they feel constrained when they are

¹ See Oram 1971a and Ranson 1972. Oram (1971b) notes in an analysis of crime statistics for Port Moresby that relative to the rest of the population, 'people from the highlands and the Goilala sub-district commit offences, especially offences relating to violence, theft and drunkenness, out of all proportion to their numbers'.

called upon to fulfil their obligations to the group ... In its pragmatic and utilitarian aspects, the autonomy of the group is a source of immediate private interest and satisfaction to the individual. But as a common interest, it is non-utilitarian and non-pragmatic, a matter of moral value and ideological significance. People are usually so preoccupied with their private interests that they do not always see the common interests on which they depend.

One of the devices which possibly draw attention to common interests in Moresby is the widespread use of the term wantok which, at whatever level it is used, reminds people of their identity. Finally, there are the obligations and loyalties which arise from group ties structured by the rural society.

Men sometimes find themselves in a position to exert sanctions because of work or residential circumstances. A labourer quarrelled with a bosboi over a debt of \$1 and they fought over the money. According to the labourer's account the bosboi engineered his dismissal. But such situations do not arise often. More common is the kind of predicament Brian found himself in when trying to get Joe to pay him compensation. Joe was a member of his household and he could have threatened to evict him. But membership of this household was by choice rather than necessity. They just were not dependent enough on one another for eviction to have been an effective device. Joe could always find somewhere else. He would respond to any suggestion of this kind by saying he was going off - not by saying he would pay the compensation Brian wanted. Brian would lose by the manoeuvre because he would forfeit Joe's friendship. One could argue that Hageners are dependent on one another for support when out of work and for assistance in fights. But paradoxically, and it is the same paradox which affects their relations with kin at home, this is a very basic level of solidarity which need not, though it can, be affected by fluctuations in personal friendships. People will come to help anyway, or there is a good chance that they will. Others fulminated against Adrian that he would alienate all his supporters,¹ but in major crises group solidarity (common tribe memberships, common council origins and so on) invariably prevails and they support Adrian - not

¹ Cf. pp. 242, 244

necessarily honouring personal commitments to him, but because of their common interests in the group or category to which they belong. In the case of fights which might lead to death or injury, the potential interest of kinsfolk at home strongly influences the migrants' behaviour. Whatever the state of personal urban relationships, they have to take into account the repercussions there will be in clan or tribal terms.

Although this is by no means unique to the town, perhaps more so than at home multiple ideologies give rise to a kind of anomie. Two areas of this have been touched upon in this Bulletin. One is in financial relationships. Because money has to do so much, the status of transactions may be in doubt. There is thus no direct, mechanical relationship between giving assistance and receiving it in return; so that though in some contexts reciprocity will be forthcoming, in others it will not. This leads to uncertainty as to the effect which one's behaviour is going to have on others. Another area of uncertainty lies in the nature of friendship and group ties, in the contrast between individual networks and given, categorical relationships. Someone may be defined now as a friend (whose support is contingent on the general balance of obligations between them) and now as a co-Hagener, clansman or tribesman (whose support is contingent on different things). One man finds he has tremendous leeway in his ties with 'friends' because he is also a tribesman of theirs; someone else finds he cannot call upon the support of tribesmen because he has lost their friendship.

In this kind of situation, people may become reluctant to put pressure on others and give up attempts to define their rights through formal sanctions beyond a resort to fighting. There was one notorious thief among the Northern Melpa who occasionally stole from his fellows. But in spite of their suspicions, there was little that men could do. One particular car-purchaser was in debt to several people, two of whom wanted to take him to an official court. They pushed their case not simply because of the outstanding debt, but because of the man's generally bad reputation, for no other pressures would have any effect at all. However they waited so long, hoping all the while that he would pay them back, that the police refused to handle the matter, saying it was an old case.

One factor which modifies people's beliefs about the control they have over others is that interference from ancestral ghosts in the interests of maintaining morality is rare in town. In few contexts do they point to supernatural intervention.

Larry contributed \$80 to a PMV which various of its clansmen were buying. According to his account the drivers just drove it around without collecting passengers and there were no profits. He was very angry. So he said: 'The car will break down, the car will break down!'. At that stage he had spent a total of \$120 on it (including repair bills) and because of the large sum of money he quarrelled with one of the owners and hit him, and said that because they were fooling around the car would break down. He apparently made these warnings several times and in the end the car did break down. Although it was not stated, the cultural assumption on his part - others might not put the same weight on his account - would be that clan ghosts seeing the anger in his heart had taken revenge, on his behalf, on the unthinking men who were not treating him properly.

Such beliefs are not used with much coercive effect, nor are they significant in the migrants' lives. One visitor to Moresby tried to invoke such traditional sanctions.

Alan¹ had come with a large sum of money to buy a car which he hoped to ship back home, in the mistaken belief that his own brother, a migrant, had promised him enough money to make up the purchase price. He arrived to find the brother had nothing. Moreover, the brother took most of the money he brought to play on cards. This was interpreted by some as theft, by others as a rather generous extension of the kind of sharing of resources which goes on in town anyway, and by others as an example of what happens to a fool who leaves his money about. Alan was very distressed. He began saying things such as he supposed the brother would stay in Moresby till he died. On the surface this is an innocuous statement, the exasperated comment often heard from visitors whose demands that the migrant

¹ See p. 74

return home go unheeded. But Alan also recounted how he had once entrusted his tradestore at home to a clansman who embezzled \$150. The clansman denied it, and then fell sick - his skin shrivelled up and he was near to death. Then he confessed what had happened and lived.¹ The suggestion behind his remarks to the migrant brother was that he too might fall sick for having taken this money. Other migrants who regarded the act as a theft said they could detect already the signs of his crime, for his body was sagging and thin. Alan had to return without money or car.

Internal agents for social control are thus comparatively weak in urban Hagen society (although external agents, such as the police, are much more prominent than at home). Visitors from home put it down to the fact that there are no older men of stature to keep the youngsters in order and remind them of values crucial to the regulation of social life. They accept the migrants' self-image as young men; older workers are pitied for wasting away their lives in an unpleasant environment. They are not held responsible for the younger men's failings.

The kind of offences which Hagen migrants commit can be related to four aspects of their position. First, violence is a product of the absence of institutionalised control among themselves. Most fighting is intra-Hagen. This in turn is related to the kind of perpetual adolescence which characterises their status. They have escaped in many cases from authority figures and do not among themselves care to create new ones. Secondly, drinking is the key sign of participation in the new urban culture. Thirdly, stealing, mostly from non-Hageners, is a corollary of the stated aim that migrants have come to town to get money. Like card-playing, stealing reflects an interest in money and goods; it is also a youthful habit at home and anti-authoritarian. Finally, there are a small number of sexual offences. Adultery may not be much of a factor among Hageners themselves, but minor assaults, invitations, obscene phone calls and such are sometimes directed against non-Hagen, especially European, women. In this context should be noted the fact that unlike other migrant groups Hageners do not spend much money on prostitutes and the sexual activities of many

¹ Ghosts punish kinsmen who do not bring into the open troubles there are between them.

would seem to be negligible. One would not wish to over-emphasise the incidence of these sexual offences. Sometimes the case seems to be nothing more than misdirected friendliness. Others - especially obscene phone calls - are more deliberately provocative and from time to time cases of assault or 'rape' are reported in the newspaper. That these incidents occur at all, however, should at least direct our attention to the question of women in the town.

The position of women

In 1971 perhaps fewer than 5 per cent of the population of general migrants from Hagen were women. Their numbers have increased since then. Almost all were wives of Hagen migrants. There has been no influx of single or barren women to take up prostitution on the scale which apparently exists among Chimbu migrants (Whiteman 1973:138,144). Some Hagen migrants are known to visit non-Hagen prostitutes from time to time; but others are said to keep away because they are afraid of venereal disease. Prolonged association with girlfriends from other areas also brings complications, such as the fear that the proper taboos associated with menstruation will not be observed. Although it would be rash to generalise, it is probably fair to say that sexual gratification is foregone by a number of migrants for quite long periods. They come from a background where rules about male-female interaction lead men to believe that there lie as many dangers as pleasures in consorting with women.

Of Hagen women in town, a quite sharp distinction is made between those who are openly independent, who may have behaved like prostitutes (pasindia meri) at some stage and might again in the future, and the wives who have come from home to join their husbands. The liaisons and behaviour of pasindia women are regarded as very much their own affair (laik bilong ol). They forfeit protection by their show of independent-mindedness. The latter are looked upon as fresh from the country and needing explicit looking after in the town. A brother accompanying his sister down to Moresby to set up house with a migrant specifically asks other migrants from his own clan to care for her. It is usual for such women to be given occasional monetary presents by a whole range of men. This is in explicit recognition of their dependent status in town, since they are less likely than men to find employment.

Women without jobs are dependent on males to a degree unthinkable at home. Whiteman (1973:105) suggests that among Chimbu couples the fact that the town husband is not dependent on his wife for economic support, while she may be utterly dependent on him, is a divisive factor in their relationship. Like her Chimbu counterparts, a Hagen wife in town has to rely completely on her spouse's interpretation of his duties towards her. Violet¹ in her complaints against a husband who did not provide regular housekeeping money emphasised her dependency by sarcastically pointing out that in Moresby men should give women money and not the other way around. She said to one of her husband's clansmen who asked her for a loan: 'Are you a woman and ask me for money?'. A woman has a right to expect money from men because she has no earnings. She is, after all, expected to feed them. At home a woman feeds men from garden produce she has grown herself; in the town she has only the money which is given her. There are few opportunities in Moresby for casual earning such as street trading, apart from selling fresh produce in markets. Pride may be a significant element in the degree to which women get upset over financial matters. Thus Violet went on to complain about the amount of bridewealth which her husband had paid for her.² When her brother visited Moresby, various of the husband's relatives raised \$80, and she gave an extra \$20 to him. Then he turned round and said he had given \$100 bridewealth!

The \$100 is not enough (she said). The men said this was the right sum for a previously married woman³ - it may be so in their place [Dei Council] but it is not in ours [Mul Council]. I think my parents will be angry, for they have not sent me any letters recently. I think they are cross with me. They won't be satisfied with this pay which has been given.

¹ Cf. p.214

² It was a town marriage and payments were made to relatives of Violet's who travelled to Moresby. Most marriages with Hagen wives are contracted at home and the payments settled there. The wife may still hope her husband will send money to her father and brothers.

³ Council rulings have set a lower bridewealth limit on women making marriages subsequent to their first.

house in Moresby to bring the woman to; but others clearly intend to make the woman go away, though they do not put it in so many words - saying rather that they are not sure when they are going home, perhaps they will go sometime but not yet, and so on. A wife may stay for two or three years with her husband's parents before she eventually departs. If there is a wife at home, the migrant's kin put considerable pressure on him to return or make some gesture of supporting her. They are mollified somewhat at stated intentions to bring the wife to Moresby, for this is better than no support at all.

Migrants are sometimes embarrassed at the thought of marriage. It has been noted that many say they left home to escape matrimony. When a sponsor sent word to Francis that if Francis came home they could set up bisnis together and the sponsor would find him a wife, Francis said:

Later I may go home. But as for this talk about women, I hear it now, it is true, but later I'll go and drink and play cards and forget it! I shall not remember these words - my ways are different. And I do not want to marry yet ... There is a Rigo man at work and he is a friend of mine, and this man wants me to marry his sister. But I said, 'Maski let us just be friends ourselves'. I did not want to go to his home [and meet the woman] with him.

Hostility against married couples may be ill-conceived. Francis on one occasion said that all the single men in Moresby were resis (Pidgin, 'in competition', 'had an argument') with ol marit, the married people. Bitterness may come into the voice when a migrant sees an old companion of his going off with his girl to visit another couple. The 'opposition' (resis) may be formalised to the extent that married couples play against single men in cards matches. Sometimes it is said explicitly that the migrant must choose between his girlfriend and his wantok (most likely to arise when the former is non-Hagener and the liaison casual). As at home, women may be looked upon as setting brothers against each other.

When talking about Brian's affair with his Chimbu girlfriend¹ Francis commented later that ultimately she could not upset them because they were after all wantok. But it might be a good

¹ See p. 241

idea if Brian regularised the union and then the others would know she really was his girlfriend. Brian himself commented that he did not attack his wantok for molesting her because although men at home sue those who have adultery with their wives, in the town all they have is their wantok, and he certainly would not want to lose their support.

Women may be blamed for being the cause of quarrelling between men. This is a conventional attitude. At home many unofficial courts deal with what are from the men's point of view 'women troubles'. Their attitudes are compounded of a double evaluation: that women cause men a lot of bother and that men's interests and solidarity are not really threatened since disputes over women are of no account. In the town these wholly traditional notions may be given a further gloss. Commenting on a wounding incident which had involved a prostitute, Simon said that many men kept away from the discussion which was held first at the police station and then under the aegis of visitors from home (big-men who had come to investigate the affair), because they should not make a fuss over a female. 'Why are they trying to turn it into a topic for a lot of talk?', he asked. The more talk there was about it now the more there would be later. Talking would only lead to further trouble since it was a rubbish matter anyway, to do with a woman. Simon is here using traditional notions about 'woman trouble' to denigrate the activities of those who were trying to put it on a formal plane by getting some discussion going; using them, in brief, to uphold the urban-derived value that the less talk the better.

Migrants also point out that dealings with women can lead into physical danger.

One night Simon failed to come home. At that time he was consorting with a Chimbu girl related to Brian's girlfriend. Before he had had a brief affair with another Chimbu girl and then abandoned her. It was surmised by his clan-mates that the Chimbu were angry with him over this. It was quite likely, some said, that Simon had been murdered by Chimbu. Talk went round very quickly; the police were notified that he was missing; everyone, including some Kaugel friends, were on the alert. It turned out that he had gone out in his car which had broken down, so he had spent the night on the road.

Although offers to find brides for a friend may cement the friendship, perhaps between men from different regions or ethnic groups such suggestions can give rise to animosity among the men from whose group she comes. When Quentin was thinking of marrying a Kumndi girl, he voiced apprehension of having a close tie with Mul Council people.¹ When Nigel subsequently tried to arrange a marriage with one of his Papuan wife's relatives² Quentin found that there was opposition from other Mul Council men. Specific individuals from tribes related to Nigel's were angry that he had not thought of them but of someone from Dei Council.

There is no real place for women in urban Hagen society. Apart from physical limitations on what they can achieve in the urban environment,³ there may be something of an incompatibility between being a good husband and being a good urban Hager. The importance of spending habits cannot be overstressed. We have seen how much money is allocated to the maintenance of urban social relationships - pai, drinking, contributions to enterprises. The married man finds all sorts of pressures on him to spend money on his domestic circle and on his affines which limit his freedom in other areas. Some complain quite openly about this. While to people at home it may look as though the migrant is assuming responsibility for the support of his spouse, migrants themselves make the point that her presence really does make it impossible for the husband to save anything.

Some say that they do not mind if they never marry - 'my wife has gone off; so there is no woman at home, and I do not care. If a woman likes me I might marry, but otherwise, maski, I'll remain single' - a kind of fatalism. Others associate marriage with going back home and resuming normal social life there. If a marriage is arranged at home in their absence they may profess basic indifference. One Central Melpa man commented: 'The people at home paid the bridewealth. I didn't want to marry - it was their wish'. Some of this may simply be attitudes which people affect. Given that having a wife is felt to upset the equality which exists between the young bachelors, people possibly pretend

¹ See p.191

² See p.271

³ I have not in this account given much attention to urban life from the woman's point of view, how Hagen women 'cope' (to use Oeser's phrase) with the town.

more diffidence than they feel.¹ Indeed, since 1972 there has been a steady increase in the number of unskilled migrants with wives in town. Nevertheless, his companions may still exert a levelling pressure against the man who tries to set up an establishment with a girlfriend or raise bridewealth for her. Indeed, because of difficulties over returning a town-based bridewealth at a divorce in 1973, one set of migrants rapidly said that they would never raise corporate bridewealths again - any man who wanted to marry could go home and get support from his kin. If they wanted to marry in Moresby they must raise funds themselves. The married man in this respect becomes isolated.

The difference seems to spring not just from a self-image as not ready for marriage yet, but from the image of women as representing responsibility and domestic stability. Many of the obligations which the migrant would have to meet if he went home are expressed in terms of marriage. ('I didn't want to stay at home because they tried to make me marry'/'I was too young to marry and came here'/'My parents got my wife - they can look after her'.) Public indifference to an abandoned wife may be a protest against one's elders as much as against the woman herself, a symbolic defiance of home responsibilities. With the increasing number of wives in town, these attitudes may change somewhat in the future. Still, for many migrants, their being in town is a prolongation of a phase which at home terminates in marriage. This is an informal matter: there are no youth organisations in Hagen, of the kind which has been described among Xhosa-speakers in South Africa, for example. The Mayers (1970:161-62) write of Xhosa youths:

They are no longer or not altogether dependent children but neither are they yet admitted to full participation in the main adult systems ... From the mature adult point of view they form a somewhat marginal category.

A corollary of their marginality is that they are allowed considerable autonomy. This can be seen as a condition of non-interference in the

¹ So these views should not be exaggerated. Nor do they probably extend beyond the general unskilled migrants. Soldiers, who bring their wives to town and who are allocated married quarters, are in this respect participating in a very different social field, and likely to have different attitudes towards women.

adult world, and vice versa. The recreations of the youth organisation are kept entirely extra-domestic, and in some senses extra-community. No adults ever take part in them.

Here the limits of autonomy are clearly defined, applying only to a certain stage in people's lives.¹ Indeed, because this period is well defined, the youth are able to form a society of their own, with rules, procedures and methods of social control. In rural Hagen the phase was never so formally demarcated. Autonomy was more a product of the youths' status as 'not yet though soon to be responsible members of the community'. Marrying marked the gradual beginning of a new phase. In the town the definition of maturity is more ambiguous. Having a wife with him may not entirely modify the urban migrant's attitudes and ways of behaving. Men with wives say they have to alter their financial habits; many have to spend more time at their houses, and find themselves making large outlays to their wife's kin. But town styles of life may also be used to justify outbursts of 'irresponsible' behaviour towards wives so that the migrant vacillates between one role and another ('married man'/'migrant youth').

Moreover while migrants may in some of their behaviour be culturally adolescent - adopting the attitudes and values prevalent among this age group at home - they are not structurally adolescent. People at home keep reminding them of obligations they should be discharging and want to pull them back into the rural society. In describing youth groups in Kinshasa, La Fontaine (1970b:207) comments that the anti-social activities of street gangs there are a function of their lack of occupation and inability to obtain entry to adult society via regular employment. But the Hagen migrants are full participants in the urban world. What is lacking is perhaps the town equivalent of the rural adult. One might have found it in the notion of a 'townsman', someone who had 'settled down' to lead a stable life in Moresby with a social standing comparable to men of maturity at home. But at the present the values of home society are so strong and urban ideologies so much in reaction to them, that the idea of a 'townsman' with connotations of maturity and responsibility has hardly developed.

¹ And 'Xhosa youth peer groups ... are allowed their freedom from adult discipline precisely because they do not show independence in relation to adult expectations' (Mayer, I. and P., 1970:182, original italics).

The question of urbanisation

Most studies of migration to town consider the process of urbanisation. Oeser (1969) makes this process a central theme of her enquiry about women in a Moresby suburb, Hohola. Among the indices of urbanisation which she uses is membership in urban associations. For Hagen migrants commitment to alien institutions cannot be used as such an index, for those who seem to get most out of living in the town in fact do so by emphasising activities such as pati which are derived from familiar, traditional practices.

In fact, however, Oeser's findings suggest that much the same could be said of Hohola women. Those who appeared to manage best in the suburb, the successfully 'urbanised',¹ maintained the most extensive associations (relationships), and these were both of a traditional (ties with persons from same ethnic areas) and urban (ties with others met only in town) kind. Ability to cope was related to the complexity of the woman's total relationship network and not to complexity in one type of relationship (for example, urban as opposed to traditional). These were also the people who maintained most ties with home. In other words, the more energetic, those more concerned to create a wide network of contacts, were more interested in activating both home-based relationships and the new ones offered by the town. Their notion of participation in social life was the more vigorous and maximised all types of links, not just urban ones. She concludes that 'Urbanisation was found not to imply a lack of traditional links or associations, that is, contrary to

¹ Those most efficient in carrying out the tasks associated with living in the town. The criteria of efficiency here are all western-derived and more account perhaps should be taken of the cultural backgrounds of town dwellers; or on the other hand, of the possibility that there may be no single, homogeneous 'urban culture', but a variety of urban cultures. Oeser argues convincingly that gift exchanges, basic to the structure of the Hohola budgets, mean that gifts are 'essentials' (for example, 1969:77). However, in setting up criteria for financial efficiency she rates as inefficient 'regular borrowing and debts' (1969:17), the reason being that 'these inevitably created problems'. On this item almost all Hagen migrants would obviously score low, although in fact their lending and borrowing cannot really be classified as a simple absence of thrift.

expectations there is not one traditional-urban axis along which migrants pass during their adjustment to urban life ...' (1969:88). The point has also been made in other contexts. In his examination of African regional associations Little (1973) observes that such associations both enhance ethnicity and tribal loyalty, and facilitate migrants' assimilation into the wider community and thus their 'urbanisation'. For Hagen migrants this process takes place without such mediating institutions, and is reflected particularly in their attitudes towards the rural society and the image this gives of themselves.

Although both home-based and town-derived ties are significant in Hagen migrants' lives, we are not simply dealing with a single social system which happens to have two foci, as Ryan (1970) suggests is the case for the Papuan Toaripi. Most Toaripi in Moresby are long-term absentees, from an area with a history of large-scale migration. She analyses rural and urban residents as members of a common society. Urban Hageners seem best understood as being in a milieu that, for all the links it has with home, still has the character of an alternative system, though I have suggested the alternatives amplify sectarian (age-group) values rather than create a complete 'new society'. Ryan points to interdependence between rural and urban Toaripi. Activities may be carried out co-operatively (1970:3), as in transactions which require both armshells, provided by villagers, and cash, provided by town dwellers (1970:129). Rural and urban dwellers alike have an interest in keeping open channels of communication between them. It may be that in the future links between rural and urban Hageners will take this form. But at the moment there is a heavy skewing. However relevant home is for the urban Hager, it could not be said that Moresby is of much relevance for the rural Hager. Events which happen in the town may have political repercussions at home; but people there do not see themselves as dependent on the town.¹

Baxter (1973:19) hints that Ryan's model would be applicable to the Orokaiva as well, another group with a long history of migration which 'has developed as complementary to village life' (1973:114). Baxter also notes, 'The main reason that the village and urban areas have existed in a complementary fashion is that conditions have been so

¹ An exception being those officials who are required by their jobs to travel and who need secure lodging in the town.

similar in each that movement between the two has been able to take place with few negative consequences for either the village or the individual' (1973:115). Orokaiva migration is largely circular, with absentees carrying out their intention to return to the rural village at some future stage. Their self-image would seem to differ somewhat from that of the Toaripi. Nevertheless, Baxter emphasises the complementarity of village and town. He writes, 'The extent of inter-relation between the village organisation and migration is suggested by the fact that to the Orokaiva the town is a vital integral part of the village world' (1973:111). Wage-employment provides a useful source of village income, and older village residents accept that while absence as such may not be desirable, it does no harm and can bring advantages in terms of wealth and experience into the village. Wage-employment is worthwhile when compared to the life absentees would lead at home. Absence may even enhance the rural position of a man when he returns. Rural Hageners do not really see town and home as in a complementary relationship. The onus is on the migrant to prove what he can contribute to home society, and most contribute little. People based at home tend to regard Moresby as a source of wealth which they would like to exploit without incurring the costs paid by the migrant worker.

If urban Hagen 'society' is in some aspects an alternative society, in what sense is one talking about 'urbanisation'? Initially at least, it is necessary to follow Mayer's distinction (1962) between an examination of changing culture and of changing social fields (or relations). There are respects in which the migrants' urban culture draws heavily on its rural antecedents, as in the prominence given to financial transactions; other areas in which it responds to the urban setting, as in the role of drinking in dispute-settlement; and further areas where town life gives a particular weighting to certain pre-existing (in this example, sectarian) values, as in their (youthful) verbal reticence. The same point can be made in relation to social fields. Most migrants feel they have status as a member of this or that clan or tribe, relevant to them both were they to go home and while they remain in Moresby. At the same time the migrant also participates in relationships, as with non-Hageners, which lie totally outside the home society. In addition, there is an urban modification of intra-Hagen ties, as when a special emphasis is put on 'friendship'. It would be tempting to see these

various elements as forming a continuum, with the expectation that eventually the urban dweller would abandon his links with home, settle down in his novel situation, and develop an urban culture and society of his own. Because of the brevity of Hagen experience and the migrants' present rather special status as a particular category ('pre-adult'),¹ I eschew such a developmental approach.

There is constant feedback between maintaining links with home and defining the Hagen-ness of urban social life. In Chapter 7 I stressed the costs of this. On the positive side, the more the migrant invests in intra-Hagen social relationships in the town the more he makes both certain his ultimate commitment to the idea of being a Hager and belonging to home, and derives greater enjoyment and support from being in the town for the present. The true isolates are those who have withdrawn equally from contact with home and from the company of urban Hageners.² Maintaining a Hagen social field in the town may be necessary for the migrant's sense of self-worth as an urban man.³ At the same time, of course, common identity and interests among all migrants are seen to run counter to home values.⁴ ('They do not appreciate what we have to do with our money', 'they do not understand us'.) Some say quite frankly that they cannot go home yet because they have too much invested in other migrants. Such negative comparisons are also central to the migrant's definition of his position. Either way, the home society is relevant.

Mitchell (1960) long ago drew attention to the way in which people may operate with sets of norms drawn from different parts of what amounts to a plural society. This stresses the extent to which an individual can choose which

¹ In African studies 'true urbanites' have been described as those who know no other home than the town, for example, La Fontaine (1970a), and may retire in the town after a lifetime of residence there. 'There is thus a steadily growing population which is truly urban, in that its members know no other type of life and are brought up in a way that makes them, if not unfit for village life, at least unfamiliar with it' (La Fontaine 1970a:107). Toaripi would fit this category. Ryan (1968:63) writes: 'They stay in the town because the village now offers very little to them or their children'.

² Cf. p.256

³ See p.275

⁴ See pp. 345, 361

elements to follow in particular areas of his social life. There is considerable latitude in the degree to which a Hagen migrant can keep up home obligations or ignore them altogether, participate in urban social networks or go off on his own. But the patchy nature of the urban ideology means that the 'alternatives', rural life and urban life, are not given equal weight. However much their behaviour suggests the opposite, people just do not see their being in town as one of comparable commitment. There is, I suggested, no folk model of what a 'townsman', comparable to the rural adult, would be like. Many men regard themselves as transient, and with ultimate commitments elsewhere; even though they also prolong their present enjoyment of urban life as long as possible.¹

As a 'Hagener in town', the migrant can think of himself as being both Hagen and urban. In staying in the town he does not have to forego Hagen contacts. The degree of 'Hagen-ness' which an unskilled migrant maintains is a measure neither of urban-ness nor rural-ness.² Nor is it the same as the process of 'tribalisation' which Cohen describes (1969:195) occurring when ethnicity becomes a political imperative in some urban contexts. From this perspective, the 'Hagen' content of the migrant's life cannot be taken as an index of whether he is more a 'tribesman' than 'townsman'. These may well be useful analytical reference points to describe some societies and some towns, but the assumption is that one knows what a tribesman and a townsman look like. Such ideal types can be constructed from external criteria but are not necessarily integral to every instance of rural migrants establishing themselves in town. Most general migrants from Hagen have an idea of themselves as definite town dwellers, for the time being,

¹ Rew's distinction between commitment (attitudes, plans and aspirations) and involvement (decisions and constraints inferred from behaviour) is relevant (1970:266). The former is more significant for the migrant's self-image. Many of the brewery workers he describes were deeply 'involved' in urban wage-employment, though 'committed' to returning to their rural villages at some stage.

² In fact, their style of 'Hagen-ness' differs in many respects from Hagen-ness at home (for example, they take social obligations less seriously, do not make speeches), a paradox which is resolved if one compares migrants not with rural adults but with rural youths.

but not as being townsmen in a way which radically opposes them to other (rural) Hageners. Conflicts in both cultural values and the demands of social relationships are looked upon as transient and contextual. That people do not regularly regard their work as integral to their life-style bears this out. As migrant wage-earners they have interests which set them in opposition to people at home, while still having claims on and regarding themselves as part of the home society; it is a matter of balancing these interests.

On the other hand, the position of Hagen migrants cannot be summed up simply in terms of a rural strategy. In using this phrase of Siame migrants to Moresby, Salisbury and Salisbury (1972) refer to the aim of these Eastern Highlanders as being ultimate success in the rural context; they cope with the urban situation without adopting urban values. Successful adaptation in the town thus has nothing to do with their becoming 'urbanised', but to fulfilling goals related to their eventual home status (for example, earning money to take back). Hageners may think they are conducting a rural strategy; but this is more important to their successful creation of an urban Hagen social life than the eventual achievements of individuals. Home aims may be a reference point in some contexts; in others they are in counterpoint to town aims. The Salisburys (1972) stress the reality of a Siame's choice of options; Hagen migrants seem to have got themselves into more of a dilemma.¹ Rural orientation has been described for Papua New Guinea migrants by other writers as well (for example, Bettison 1961, Baxter 1973). We are probably dealing here as much with people's attitudes and images of themselves (commitments) as with sociologically provable variables of involvement. Among Hagen migrants, at least, the intention to return home has as one of its aspects a definition of Hagen-ness among the town dwellers. Statements of this kind are symbols of present, not only prediction of future, behaviour.

Going home. Many unskilled migrants are quite specific about when they will return home, a date often put at a year or even less ahead, perhaps scheduled for the next 'Christmas' or the 'Hagen Show'. Of twenty-nine Sample I

¹ However the Salisburys do note that those (mainly skilled) workers who aspire to some entrepreneurial position in the town, and then fail, feel they cannot return home without something substantial to show, and for them the rural strategy becomes an impossible option. See Chapter 7 of this Bulletin.

migrants who provided information, nine said they were certainly going, although gave no time depth; seven said they intended to return within a specified period ranging from two-three months to seven or eight months; and a further five said they would go 'another year'. Of the remaining eight, four were evasive about their plans and a fifth said it was up to him if he went or not (laik bilong mi); one said he would go when given leave, and was not thinking beyond that; and two suggested that if their jobs continued and they were given increments in pay (one was a gardener in quite a responsible position, the other a domestic servant) they would not mind staying on in the town. This was in 1971.

Twenty-one migrants, then, envisaged going home; half (eleven) were still in Moresby in January 1974,¹ at least twenty-four months later. The ten who returned included equally those who had been vague and those who had been precise about when they might go. Interestingly enough, none of the eight who were evasive or negative in their replies had left.

Quentin, among those who had indicated they would go home 'another year', said in early 1971:

I shall go back for good and not return to Port Moresby. I have been here a long time [since 1964] and all the things to see here I have seen, as a young man I saw them all. In 1973 I shall go home and take the place of my parents ... I do not know if I will start bisnis at home or not. Perhaps I'll drive a car for the companies at - [two local plantations]. But I shan't 'round' any more.

One or two men pointed out specific opportunities which were awaiting them at home. Thomas, a Central Melpa domestic servant (not in the Sample), and married to a non-Hagen highlands girl, said that a cousin of his had a block on a nucleus tea estate and he would help him with bisnis there; perhaps drive the car this man had bought recently if he passed his driving test in Moresby. One of the Sample I migrants who was evasive in his replies about his own

¹ This falls strictly outside the scope of the study, which concentrates on the years 1970-72. I am unable to give a comprehensive account of changes over time. Further discussion of the significance of migrants' statements about home-going is given in A.M. Strathern (n.d.).



Plate 32. A visitor and a big-man, cutting fence stakes for a new coffee garden.

Plate 33. A returned worker: the youth (arrowed) had been in Moresby under a year and returned without finding steady employment.



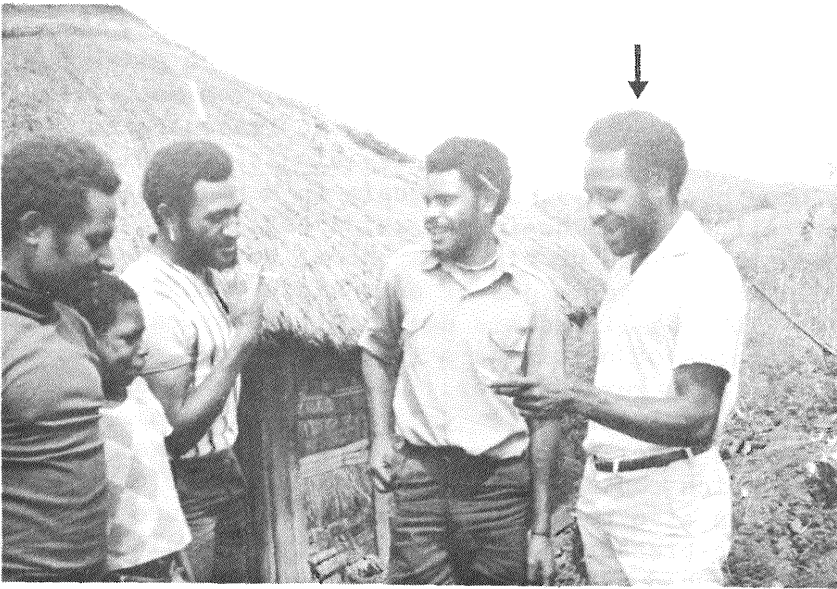


Plate 34. A returned worker (arrowed) with friends in front of his new men's house. He has a tradestore nearby. One of the friends has visited Moresby; another has worked in Rabaul.

intentions added hypothetically that if he were to go home then he would cease wage-employment and just stay in his house and start bisnis there. What was deterring him, however, and this one or two others also mentioned, was the debt in annual taxes which he supposed he owed the local council over his years of absence. He added that although he had liked Moresby when he first came, now he was fed up. These three men were still in the town in mid-1974.

Some of Brian's calculations are worth citing. He set himself various departure dates from time to time. One particular date (February 1972)¹ was put off by the unexpected possibility of being able to buy a cheap car. He

¹ He eventually departed in late 1972, but returned in mid-1973, left again in early 1974 to return to Moresby some six months later. This is a known but not very common pattern. Those in jobs which regularly provide leave often take the opportunity to spend it in Hagen; but the average unskilled migrant will not have been back before he returns home the final time. In addition to a skilled worker in Sample I (who had been home on leave) only three others had spent periods there and then returned to Moresby.

revealed that he had \$200 in his savings account. When visitors come or others ask him for things he gives but gives only a little. Why should he send too much with the visitors home? After all, there is no reason to suppose they will return it, for they have bisnis of their own (for which they need money). The people in Moresby have no bisnis; all they can do is put aside small sums. Brian said that he himself had no bisnis at home; so when he went back, he would have to get a job of some kind, perhaps as a driver. Thus he linked his decision to stay on in Moresby to the chances of obtaining a car in the town with eventual employment as a rural driver. The plan was phrased in terms of a rural strategy. In fact he had much earlier rejected the offer of co-partnership with a rural entrepreneur, which could have well led to some job of this kind. Moreover, he also put off going at this juncture because he resented the pressure which a woman from his clan, married to Roderick, had been putting on him to go back when she departed (a month or so earlier). He said he was not in a hurry to return because he was still sore with his parents.¹ He added that people at home deceive one and do not really have one's interests at heart. They make promises to obtain wives but really think of themselves. He had heard rumours that his family were planning moka which meant they would dissipate any pigs previously put aside for his bridewealth. The thought made him angry. 'They don't think of me,² I can stay here and I shan't think of them.' These calculations are more than economic ones.

Men who have had some schooling may feel differently - a soldier described how he took home \$450 on one leave to give to his parents specifically out of gratitude to them for helping him get an education. (Actually the amount was split up as follows: \$50 to his 'girlfriend', \$200 to a father's brother who was buying a car and \$200 to various of his relatives; on a subsequent occasion he took another \$320.) Compare the attitude of another Central Melpa man who said that his parents had so much bisnis and money of their own, there was no point in him sending them any (Craig, Appendix 6).

Some of the married men I spoke to held attitudes very similar to the bachelors. Thus Nigel, who has a Papuan

¹ See p.87

² A conjecture on his part, of course.

wife¹, said that he would go sometime, but when he wanted to (*laik bilong mi*). In fact his employer had offered him leave that year but he had refused it. He would go when he was ready. He used the convention that he was waiting to get a car licence. Nigel had been in Moresby four years, was fed up, and thought he might go home and drive cars for his wantok there. He had already discussed this with his wife who did not want to accompany him back. Had they had children he might have put more pressure on her; but as it was if she wanted to stay he would go alone. He emphasised the number of contacts and wantok he had at home (that is, he would be sure of support there), then added:

At home they talked about Moresby and said it was a good place. I bought my own ticket and came here but saw that there was no bisnis here. They [the workers] just earn money. They don't do anything else. We travel around as pasindia; we have no houses or food. And at Koki they ask a lot of money for food ... The Papuans find fish, bananas, betel - but they don't have any bisnis. In town we round and go to films; that is good. But people drink, quarrel, fight, bottles get broken, that is no good. Pasim bilong Mosbi nogud: ol man raun na hambak (life in Moresby is bad: people mess about and make trouble).

People who plan to go home generally say they hope to do some kind of bisnis there. A few indicate they would like to find paid employment again. The immediate reasons which make people leave are hard to generalise about. Increasing frustration with the town may simply culminate in a firm resolve to buy a ticket; or someone from home may have written with the news that a close relative was sick or dying; or an older clansman may persuade a younger man who cannot find work to go lest he is killed in town (an association of ideas to do with notions of security); others depart after completing a jail sentence. One family went home when they were evicted from their lodgings. Occasionally a visitor succeeds in persuading a relative to accompany him back. However, for every instance of a man returning home for such a reason, there are several cases of their fellows staying on in the town in spite of such circumstances.

¹ Cf. p. 270.

And what of those who do return? Of fifteen Tipuka and Kawelka men who had gone back prior to 1971 and whom I talked to or enquired about in Hagen, one had found paid employment for a while on return, and one had undertaken further education, but the rest were in their own terms mbo wua, Melpa 'men of the place'. Most had coffee plantings and one or two ran tradestores, although there were no cases of the urban earnings directly financing such an enterprise. Almost all were married, three of them returning to their wives, one to a wife obtained in his absence and at least nine had wives found for them when they arrived. In only a few cases do the migrant's earnings seem to have contributed significantly to his bridewealth. One or two expressed vague aspirations to earn a wage again, although only one (he had found work since return and recently lost his job) was seriously seeking employment. Many more said they had no inclination to do anything but settle down; though several when presented with the idea said they would not mind a short trip to Moresby again at some time - perhaps to work for a spell or just go on a visit.

Returned migrants become after a few months indistinguishable from their contemporaries. They grow beards, often put on traditional dress straight away and seem to fit back easily into the rural context, settling down to catch up with their mates. Almost all who have done this with success have been young. There is some evidence to suggest that assimilation would be harder for older men; in a handful of cases older men going home have stayed only a spell and then gone back to Moresby.

To some extent then, the fears which both migrants have and which people at home express, that the wage-earner is jeopardising his rural status, are really based on the further fear that he may never come back at all. The man who actually makes the move is usually welcomed. For all the resentment and backbiting which may attend his attempts to distribute what money he does bring, after a while his whole status as a former migrant drops into a kind of hole which is gradually closed up and forgotten about. The fears, in other words, act as strong pressures to make the migrant feel he ought to come before he loses everything; once he is back, then people generally ensure that it will have turned

out that he has not lost too much.¹ Almost all returning migrants who subsequently settled down reported that their kinsfolk were simply glad to see them, full of warm feelings towards them. One man whose mother had died in his absence, however, said that some of his kin spoke angrily: 'Oh, you went down to Moresby for no reason and come back now, do you!'.

Those who go tend to be youths who can still hope for sponsorship from close kin at home. The presence of sponsors does not make all migrants return - many stay on. But it is indeed less certain that a man who is not well placed will want to go back (see below). Migrants can also make it difficult or injudicious for themselves to return by their town behaviour. This applies less to those who have abandoned wives or never sent anything to their parents, than to the few who have been incriminated in deaths which have occurred in Moresby. Because of the political repercussions and the 'trouble' which may have been caused, as well as the absence of urban procedures by which the migrant might clear himself of guilt, he may feel home would be just too dangerous.

Table 3.7 gave some background details to thirty-nine of the Tipuka-Kawelka migrants. By January 1974 nine of these men had returned. All of them came from the category recorded in Table 3.7 as having effective sponsors at home and in all but one case (the sponsor was an elder brother) this man was the migrant's father. During his absence, however, the father of one had grown very old; another with an ageing father was himself a mature man with an established wife and family. In short, a third of the migrants who had at home effective sponsors in their fathers returned between July 1971 and January 1974 (eight out of twenty-four).² Of the ten with effective sponsors other than their father,

¹ Necessarily, however, the returned workers who were in Hagen in 1971 had been employed abroad in the 1960s. I do not know what would happen to those who have spent a longer time in Moresby and would return home in the 1970s. However, in two cases migrants spending respectively twelve years and six years in the town and returning in 1973 and 1974 appear to have gone back to rural life with no great difficulty. The man who had been in Moresby for twelve years left behind a Papuan 'wife'.

² Strictly 8/23 for another man in this category was killed in Moresby.

only one has returned, and there are no returnees from the other categories. I mentioned¹ that at least five sponsors were probably no longer to be counted on in 1971 and all five migrants associated with them, along with three others whose fathers are old men, were still in Moresby in 1974. Of the nine returnees, only one already had a wife at home, but all the others had coffee (four), pigs (one) or both (three). None of those with neither had gone back, although one² did later in 1974.

Comments made in Chapter 3 in connection with this table thus seem to be borne out. Those who by their absence in Moresby lose the chance of effective sponsorship are less likely to go home. Although a number who stay on in the town in fact could go to effective sponsors, it is clear that there is also a growing class of men for whom returning home is becoming gradually less feasible in terms of the support they can expect. We may, however, note the small beginnings of an alternative process. Of the four men with wives at home, in July 1971, one migrant returned to his wife; another wife left her absent husband; and I have no information on the third; but the fourth woman came down to Moresby and took up residence with her husband there in 1973. Obviously more systematic investigation over a period of time would be necessary to give substance to changes intimated by the growing number of wives coming to town.

Staying in town. Many things prevent a migrant from going home, though none by itself would be an insurmountable obstacle. Among them are: a feeling that in response to express pressures from home money should be saved in quantity and it is hard to do this; a desire to stay in support of others in the town with whom close friendships³ have been formed; length of stay in town jeopardising chances of rural sponsorship; enjoyment of freedom of town life; fear of political naivete and the dangers of ignorance because of absence from political scene; inertia. In the case of the one or two unskilled workers who have managed to

¹ See p. 95

² He had an effective sponsor in his father who was planning to find him a wife and had in fact entered into bridewealth negotiations before he got back home.

³ Once a migrant goes home these lose their significance. People he may have known in town may, but also may not, be friends at home.

gain membership of the Public Service Association, the possibility of job promotion and wage increment is an incentive to stay in town. One recently promoted man pointed out how all his wantok at home had bisnis and were he to go he would have none. 'I would be too late to start a bisnis.' When Francis was looking forward to a job with similar prospects, he said:

I don't know. I don't want to stay here for ever, but I like Moresby. Some time in the future I'll go home. I like the town, for the work is not too hard. And in the town no one bosses me: I am by myself. At home people give orders; but in the town I can round and do what I want ... I have no bisnis at home. I think of wok mani (wage-earning) as my bisnis. If I were at home then I would do bisnis; in town I have none, so wok mani is my bisnis.¹

Such migrants clearly have something in common with the educated and skilled professionals who are respected for the job they do by people at home and whose involvement in wage-earning at a high level is seen as an alternative to bisnis. (Those with skilled jobs may say they cannot go back because of the lack of work opportunity there; though this does not seem to apply so much to men in the army or police, who envisage a definite termination of their service.)

Almost in spite of themselves, there are among the unskilled Hagen migrants several incipient townsmen. This does not mean that they are culturally unable to participate in life at home, though socially they may be in an awkward position because of their long absence. It does mean that there are some positive elements in their desire to stay on in the town for a bit longer, and, however vaguely expressed, the style of life suits them. The following are some abbreviated portraits.²

¹ Cf. pp. 79-80. He also pointed out: 'I think I shall save plenty of money here and then go home. If I go with nothing and they ask me for my taxes and I shall need money to support myself too, what should I do? I'd like to go home [now], but I think of my skin ... When I arrive, they will say, "Oh, you are a man from the stesin; give us money!". I am afraid that if I go without money my skin will be rubbish'.

² I consider only unskilled migrants here, whose jobs have little bearing on their position.

(i) The long-term resident. One or two of those who have been in Moresby for almost a decade give the impression of a temperamental inclination to carry on a life which has proved comfortable. This may be combined with a sense of worth derived from the respect and prestige others accord them. Interestingly enough, one middle-aged man of this category (Patrick) impishly presented himself as an irresponsible child, someone who 'fouls', drinks his money away, habits incompatible with re-entering the rural society. Pertinent to his staying on is that were he to go home he would find it hard to get a wife. He has acquired some standing in the urban context which could not possibly be replicated there. This particular migrant is uneducated, in a low-paid job, with no prospects, a situation apparently matched by lack of ambition on his part. He is relaxed, sociable, generous in his participation in Hagen life in town and with no seeming sense of urgency about going home. He frankly enjoys beer and finds this an important amenity.

(ii)a The man with aspirations. One or two look upon Moresby as a place where they can improve their education and enjoy the contact it gives them with Europeans. They may say they would like to stay in the town for a while yet (cf. the comments by the Public Service Association men above). The spread of their ambitions may be quite far flung (for example, the domestic servant, Robin, who at one stage wanted to study law). These also tend to be the men who take most notice of the material amenities of the town and who seem to find pleasure in a European style of living.

(ii)b The man with aspirations. Another, larger, group of unskilled migrants consists of those who take the town amenities as they come, but lay greater stress on their personal achievements within the Hagen urban milieu: we might include several of the drivers here such as Quentin and Simon, especially those with their own vehicles, and perhaps a would-be leader such as Adrian and also Roderick. This is the class of men, it has subsequently turned out, most likely to bring wives to Moresby and to obtain houses on the new low-cost housing estates. Some explain their inclination in terms of the long time they have spent in urban or quasi-urban situations (Adrian: 'Stesin em i olsem as ples bilong mi', the 'station' is as though it were my homeland). Unlike those of the previous category who perhaps have some image of an urban style of life (quasi-European), these men tend to say that they will go home

fairly soon, even if they do not.¹ They typify the migrant who is heavily involved in urban affairs and also interested in maintaining the Hagen-ness of urban life: hence their emphasis on links with home.

(iii) The escapee. Another source of 'townsmen' is the isolate, the wanpis like Gerry, who stresses his independence - from people at home and other Hageners in town alike. This may find expression in almost total withdrawal from all Hagen contacts; or else in withdrawal from those close relatives and tribesmen he might have been expected to be friendly with in preference for a privately composed network of friends. Such men tend to be quarrelsome and resent the pressure of obligations.

(iv) The also-ran. There is also a small class of men whose low status is pronounced in the urban context as well as in relation to what they would be at home. They find it difficult to exert pressures on others in their own favour; are insignificant in town life, though they might aspire to more prominence. They may have tried to go home but found the town the lesser of two evils. They seem destined to stretches of unemployment. There may not be many rewards from staying; but there is little motive for going home either. Larry belongs to this category.

These types are not exclusive. In their behaviour people (and Francis is an example) may seem to be now one kind of person, now another. I conclude with some comments made by Paul, a middle-aged man with wife and children at home, who eventually returned to them in 1972 and for good, but who seemed to show a quite strong commitment to urban life per se. This was not bulwarked by any aspirations to lead a European-style life, nor to achieve prominence in the urban society. He was a quiet man who had had various unskilled jobs and spent his last two years in town at a paper factory. He had paid visits home from time to time but always returned to Moresby. Sometimes he spoke vaguely of having his wife join him there but she never did. He had been among the early Tipuka-Kawelka residents (perhaps since 1962) and put down his liking for the stesin as a simple product of having been so long away from home.

Now I'm tired and next time when I go home, I shall go home for good. I have made up my mind. It has

¹ Simon went in 1974 but Quentin, Roderick and Adrian were still in Moresby.

always been my own inclination. Men who want to stay at home, they stay. But ever since I was a young man, I have 'rounded' [travelled], and now too I round again. If I go home, then I am fed up - I'm too used to travelling. It was because I began when I was very young that I am tired of staying at home. If I had not gone in the first place, then I would not want to [be away] now.

And what did he enjoy about the town? He was no more explicit about its advantages than his fellows; however, Jack, a clansman of his who also worked in the factory and was an intimate companion, described what they did one Christmas, which perhaps gives something of the flavour of urban attractions.

Paul, me, Francis, M.¹ and Hugh and Angus - we went in Francis's car and bought some chickens. Paul bought a \$3 bird, me a \$3 one, Hugh a \$3 one and the others contributed money too and bought another for \$2. We took them to Seventeen Mile and Paul and Francis steam-cooked the hens. Francis drove us back and we went to Koki to have our photographs taken [by a commercial photographer], but the light was bad and we came home. Then we went to Brian's house and his Chimbu girl was there and a Chimbu couple. Francis asked me to play cards with him at Waigani. We took Paul and Angus and M. back to Six Mile [near where they lived], and Francis took me and Hugh and Brian and the Chimbu to Waigani to find the others, but they were not there, so we came back.

I said to Francis that Angus had only newly arrived in Moresby and we should go back to Six Mile and get him. Francis dropped me there. That evening Paul said to me: 'It is Christmas - let's round till dawn!'. Angus and I played a trick on the others and said that there was a big fight at Waigani and we should go and have a look! We bought some rice and freezer meat at Four Mile on the way. At the Waigani stores a woman came and 'greased' [made advances to] me and Larry, who was now with us; a Papuan woman. She said, 'Let's go and see the Buang dancing!'. We had not seen her before. We asked her if she was married or

¹ Paul's son, a boy, who was staying with him in the town.

single. She talked in Pidgin and said she had some brothers at the dance ... Paul came up and was annoyed: 'Why are you talking such a lot with the woman?'. He was a bit angry, so we left and went back to the other Hageners, and the woman went off.

We returned back at 2.30 a.m. round the back of G. Club, in the bush beyond: we rounded in the gum tree bush and sang. [By this time there were eight of them.] We sang and rounded till 3 a.m. and came up to Gordon's Estate, and rounded till we arrived at Spring Garden Road. It was Paul who had roused us and said it was Christmas and he did not want sleep that night. So we rounded still. We went up to Arrow Bakery and Paul took two blankets which Roderick had promised him and left at Quentin's house there.¹ So we came to Four Mile, Five Mile and back again. It was 4 a.m. Our heads were splitting but Paul and Raymond [who had joined them] were still singing! We told one another stories.

Then I said to M. and Angus: 'Let's go and sleep. It is night and my body aches'. Paul said, 'Maski, we'll stay up for the morning'. We took M. and Angus back home, and I wanted to stay there, so I made some tea. The others went off ... Then they came back to Six Mile where I was and suggested we buy food at Koki market. It was now Sunday so we went down to the market and bought food. Paul said: 'I and Derek [who was with them] and you (Jack) all have work, but M. and Angus are pasindia. Yesterday the food we bought was for us all; now let's go and buy food especially for the pasindia'. I found \$2.50, Paul \$2.50, Derek \$2.50 and we bought some hens. Paul bought some bananas and we came and cooked them at our house at Six Mile. Paul and I said that we had eaten enough chicken, so Angus cut the meat and distributed it among the small boys there. [three other youths were also included].

¹ Paul is Roderick's wife's 'mother's brother'; and Quentin is Paul's classificatory FZDS.

After this Paul said: 'Let's start again - we'll round till dawn! It is Christmas and I do not want sleep'. Derek and I were annoyed with him: 'Yesterday we did not sleep and you are getting us up again!'. We were cross with him ... We all went to Waigani again but the men were gone. I wanted to sleep there but we were afraid to get into trouble [in case anything should later be found missing] ... We went to the house of Mokei N. At the house were ... [names of various people, Central and Northern Melpa] ... and Paul and M. and Angus and I and Derek and ... [five others] walked about in the night. We had eaten earlier in the day and did not eat again. We rounded, and I could not keep up with them; my head was spinning ... I told them we should sleep, but they all refused. So I went to sleep and the others went on to a bar.

I use an anglicised version of the Pidgin raun here, for there is no single English equivalent. It means to travel or wander and is the activity most frequently associated with stesin, as in the phrase mi raun long stesin. It carries the connotation of travelling abroad and also of travelling for its own sake. A journey with some purpose is not described thus, though parts of the journey may be, if it takes a long time to get somewhere or find the animal one is hunting for. In this sense its English equivalent is to sight-see. But it can also have the further sense of going astray, as in that other epithet migrants frequently use of themselves, mi paul olgeta, which I translated at one point as 'to fall by the wayside'. Somebody who spends his time 'rounding' is also not attending to the kinds of things which keep most people at home or send them off on visits with a purpose. Rural Hageners speak of migrants as 'rounding' on the coast. The way Paul chose to spend his Christmas possibly suggests that town-dwellers may give it a positive value.

Hagen townsmen

The Mayers write of youth organisations:

If a youth group, or any social group, does set great store by 'different' or radical values, it must also seek to play down the moral force of its members' relations with outsiders. A dual

repudiation, of the other people's values and of morally effective ties with the other people, is necessary to keep the distinctive message pure. Another feature of sect-like bodies - whether youth organisations, religious or political groups, or ethnic minority associations - is that, while insulating members against moral and social control from outside, they also provide a strong internal control of their own. (Mayer P. and I. 1970:184.)

One feature of urban Hagen society is its move towards sectarianism. Yet despite the assertion of values contrary to those held at home, these are ill-formulated and open to challenge from rural values. Possibly it is the present openness of the urban society to rural opinions and attitudes which makes the migrants shrink from developing a whole-hearted counter-ethic; I have suggested this produces problems of social control. Sometimes migrants indicate that they see themselves as anticipating the kind of changes which are going to over-take home life as well. For example, they expect moka will die out in the near future, which is their reason for not participating in home exchanges.

This study has been concerned primarily with what Hagen migrants themselves make of their coming to Moresby. Their own constructs give prominence to values and attitudes which are either derived from the values of the adult world at home (as in disparaging remarks made about the cost of living), or adopted and exaggerated from values especially held by rural youth (for example, reticence and the ideology of independence). The sectarianism of the urban society is most explicit in their attitudes towards themselves as urbanites in the sense of being 'in the town'. Life in Moresby confers certain freedoms and there is a fairly well developed set of ideas about the quality of urban social relations and the values underpinning autonomy and dependence on others. In the sense of their being 'of the town', in relation to a particular style of life, they have much less to say in public, partly because the urban style of life is not seen in any straightforward way as conferring status. Or rather, there are two conflicting sets of values here which arise in part from the emotional attitudes towards money shared by rural and urban Hageners alike. Money does many things for the townsman and is used to signify intra-urban ties. Yet home ideas about the use to which money should be put are so strong, and so force-

fully expressed by visitors who also come to Moresby, that this is an area in which incipient urban values are permeated by home ones. Sectarianism becomes a kind of defence ('We are only youths and you know youths squander their money'). This defence relates the townsman to home, as though they were really one kind of rural person (pre-adults); other defences assert qualities about life in the town ('You do not appreciate what town living involves'), though these are stated in a rather half-hearted way and migrants tend to keep such thoughts to themselves or among their fellows.

While being 'in town' gives migrants freedom, being 'of the town' confers no real status, either from the point of view of the rural society, nor in any unambiguous way among the migrants themselves. I have laboured the point that what 'urban ideology' there is seems patchy in relation to well formulated views people at home have about the town. In Chapter 7 this was noted in terms of contrasts between attitudes which were relayed back home and/or were given public expression among migrants and those which as far as I could tell were held privately if articulated at all or were revealed tacitly in people's behaviour. The present chapter has suggested a structural reason for this. In describing the relationship between the urban and rural society I have stressed that the urban society is best seen as a kind of alternative system. At the same time, and at this stage in the history of Hagen migrants (the position may well change), the alternative society is not constructed as a complete analogue of the rural society, with its own counterpart to the range of statuses found there, its own explicit emphasis on a style of life as distinct from rural customs, but is more like an enclosed sect, whose definition derives from the standing which a certain category of people at home have. The usefulness of regarding themselves as 'like youths' gives the unskilled Hagen migrant licence to indulge in those freedoms he associates with urban living. But a result seems to have been an inhibition on developing an urban counter ideology about townsmen as such (which would in itself be an adequate defence against rural criticism).

I have not attempted any systematic comparison between these town-dwellers and other urban populations, although limited comparisons have been used to throw light on the Hagen situation. For example, Hagen migrants are very little involved in heterogeneous town associations, one of

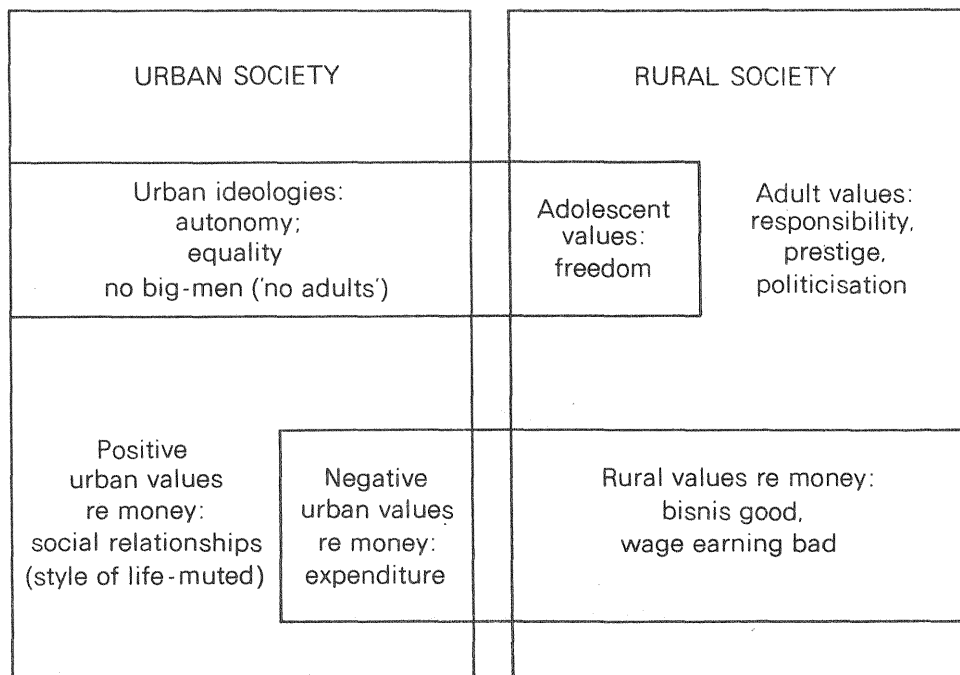


Figure 8.1 Interrelationships of ideologies

the criteria by which Krapf-Askari (1969) defines the quality of life in traditional Yoruba towns. A man who becomes involved in many such associations finds himself with different interests arising out of different aspects of his social life. Only a segment of his total status or personality may be involved at any one time. By looking at this West African example, we can see that circumstances are very different for Hagen migrants. They are little concerned in extra-Hagen institutions by choice. Most voluntary association is with other Hageners so that although only a segment of the migrant's interests or loyalties may be involved at any one time, the whole person is always in the background, and others know the range of roles he may be playing.

My account perhaps lays too much stress on conflicts and the difficulties of a migrant's position. I have cited quarrels and people giving up their jobs, fights and resentments. Such incidents are of course accessible to the observer. They are normal in that they predictably arise from certain elements in the migrant's situation, but they may be unusual in that they do not occur very often. For the large part, most migrants follow the quiet routine of work and week-ends. When disputes arise they may throw

meaningful light on the migrant's status, and it is to that end that they are quoted in this Bulletin. They are not quoted to suggest that his life is a continuous round of such events. A focus of what one identifies as anxieties or dilemmas are as much a technique of the outside writer, a way of organising material, as a reflection of day to day preoccupations.

Finally this has not been a problem-oriented study. It does not attempt to 'explain' migration patterns just in terms of variables which are amenable to direction from the outside (for example, policy measures to curb the drift to towns); nor does it approach the conditions of urban life as a 'problem' from a welfare or administrative point of view. This is not to say that the present state of affairs needs no questioning. But there are other services which an anthropologist can give to those he or she works with. There are many stereotypes about why migrants come to a place like Moresby and what they are like and how they behave. Sometimes these affect administrative decisions - as in the encouraging of business enterprises or employer-employee relationships. My aim has been to present Hagen urban life in something of the way it appears to those who live it. Hence the emphasis on style and values. Perhaps the verbal reticence, the levelling, the problems of social control are typical of poor urban communities everywhere. There may be nothing unique about these aspects of Hagen townsmen; it is still worthwhile trying to give some sort of picture in the round.

Appendix 1

Employment among highlanders

The Department of Labour has compiled statistics on highlanders who seek employment outside their districts. I adapt these figures to show the percentage of adult men in each district, as defined in 1968, who were employed away from home, and the numbers among them who were also agreement-workers.

Table 1

Proportion of highlanders working abroad, by district of origin (1968)*

		From			
		(%)			
		Chimbu	E.H.	S.H.	W.H.
A.	HLS only	5	6.7	8.1	2.1
B.	All types of employment including HLS	21.2	11.4	10.4	3.5

* Based on a wider age range than given in Table 2. As far as local employment opportunities are concerned, more Eastern Highlanders were finding employment within their district (9.6% of adult males) than Western Highlanders in 1968 (7.3%). In this regard Chimbu (3.8%) and the Southern Highlands (2.9%) are to be equated. The base for these percentages is the same as in the above Table.

The number of Western Highlanders who have come to Moresby is slight in comparison with men from other highlands areas. We see that this is not just a feature of Moresby as an urban centre, but reflects district migration patterns:

few people come to Moresby from the Western Highlands, and few Western Highlanders leave their district in any capacity. Table 2 looks at similar details from within the then Hagen sub-district, again compiled from Department of Labour records for 1968.

Table 2

Proportion of Hagen men (aged 16-45)
working abroad by region (1968)

Region of origin	Working inside district (%)	Working outside district on	
		HLS only (%)	All types, incl. HLS (%)
Dei (N. Melpa)	6	0.3	3
Mul (W. Melpa)	13	0.2	3
Hagen (C. Melpa)	11	1	2
Nebilyer (Temboka)	10	2	2
Tambul (Kaugel)	9	2	5
Baiyer*	6	0.8	3
Jimi*	4	2	4
Sub-district as a whole	8	1	3
District as a whole**	9	3	4

* Areas included within the Hagen sub-district but with populations who fall largely outside the Melpa-Temboka-Kaugel-speaking domain, and are not counted as 'Hageners' in this study.

** Based on a narrower age-range than the percentages in Table 1.

These figures are based on census divisions and do not correspond exactly to the cultural regions designated in brackets. In particular, the 'Hagen' figures are unlikely to cover only Central Melpa but also a number of Temboka speakers. It should be recalled that these figures are

based on data collected before 1968 and reflect the low percentage of agreement workers signing up at that time (see Table 2.5 for Northern Melpa). The pattern has changed somewhat since then. Those who leave the district on the HLS are, naturally, unskilled. The second category (B) includes these, unskilled migrants in other capacities, and skilled professionals. One would expect that there has since been a rise in the numbers of skilled/professional workers from Hagen.

A brief comparative point is in order. I have suggested that even with the spread of facilities and expansion of cash cropping within the Northern Melpa region we should not assume that their future migration patterns will mirror those of the more developed Central Melpa. The same point may hold if we compare the Western Highlands, say, with the Eastern Highlands and Chimbu districts. G. Ward (1971:93), for example, writes:

... the proportion of absentees in many parts of the highlands must be expected to rise rapidly in the next few years. For example, as the Western and Southern Highlands as a whole achieve the level of indigenous cash cropping now enjoyed in the Eastern Highlands, and as independent migration replaces agreement, there will be a greater exodus than ever ... local income [in the Eastern Highlands] is providing a secure base from which men (and now women) migrate independently, in the knowledge that they can go back to a partially money-raising economy if they wish.¹

¹ But out-migration from the Southern Highlands is quite high and of a different character from that in Western Highlands. Indeed, among the groups within the then Western Highlands District, the Hagen level of cash cropping is probably more similar to that of Chimbu or parts of the Eastern Highlands than the Southern Highlands. For some districts lack of cash cropping facilities may lead to a widespread movement out of the area, while in others it is the very development of these which gives the impetus to such movement. Elsewhere, as in Hagen, similar development can lead to a blockage on such movement. In looking at responses to change, it would be a gross error to assume cultural homogeneity right across the highlands. This point is subsequently made in Ward, G. et al. (1974:14).

It is perhaps an assumption to argue that the same economic circumstances (for example, a particular level of cash cropping) are going to have similar effects in several albeit related but not identical societies. Ward's point is that with a greater supply of money at home people will have to rely less on agreement work but be able to raise their own fares to work abroad. However, it is not unlikely that different cultures will set different values on the advantages of working abroad and on the attractions of wage-earning: hence my concentration on Hageners' attitudes towards employment. Certainly Hagen out-migration has an idiosyncratic pattern. When the numbers of contract workers on the Highland Labour Scheme fell in the mid-1960s it was not matched by a dramatic increase of independent workers. The subsequent rise in unskilled out-migration appears to be in both agreement and independent migrants, though in actuality in most of the former cases would-be independent migrants are exploiting the agreement system and do not intend to complete their contracts. Many of the migrants, then, are not using local income to raise their fares. As I have repeatedly stressed, however, the most characteristic aspect of Hagen migration patterns - and especially for the unskilled - is the overall low level of exodus. Given Hagen opinions on migration there seems no particular reason why these should change abruptly, though one might expect a small, slow cumulative to the town's drift to build up over the years. But this has more to do with the nature of the urban experience than conditions at home.

Appendix 2

Work experiences of men of two Hagen tribes

The following histograms summarise some facts about the work experiences of Elti and Kawelka men. Fig. 1 takes the present population and indicates the number of those now alive and the proportion of these men who claim to have been in paid employment. There are no great differences between Elti and Kawelka workers from this point of view, except in the older age brackets (forty-six and over). Differences do lie in the nature of work undertaken, as described in the text. A substantial proportion of middle-aged Kawelka men who have been employed is derived from the shell-hunting exodus of the 1950s, while many Elti men of comparable age will have been employed locally. If one turns to the younger generation (for example, 16-25), one should remember that Elti youths have found local work, while a number of Kawelka are or have been on the coast. Fig. 2 takes a different perspective. It shows only men who claim to have been in employment at some stage, and illustrates numbers employed over particular five-year periods. The whole cohort represents men who had some kind of work during this period and the shaded portion those of this number who were employed in the coast (an individual who happened to have been employed both at home and abroad within the same five years is included once, in the abroad section). It shows quite clearly the lag between effective contact - a substantial number of Elti being in pre-war employment, whereas Kawelka do not start getting jobs till the 1950s. It shows Elti working on the coast, mainly as agreement-workers, in the 1950s, this figure then falling off and staying low. In the Kawelka case there are two main out-migrations to the coast: the late 1950s, largely agreement-work, and the late 1960s, including independent and would-be independent migrants. The rise of local employment over this latter period is marked for the Elti (non-shaded area) by comparison with Kawelka.

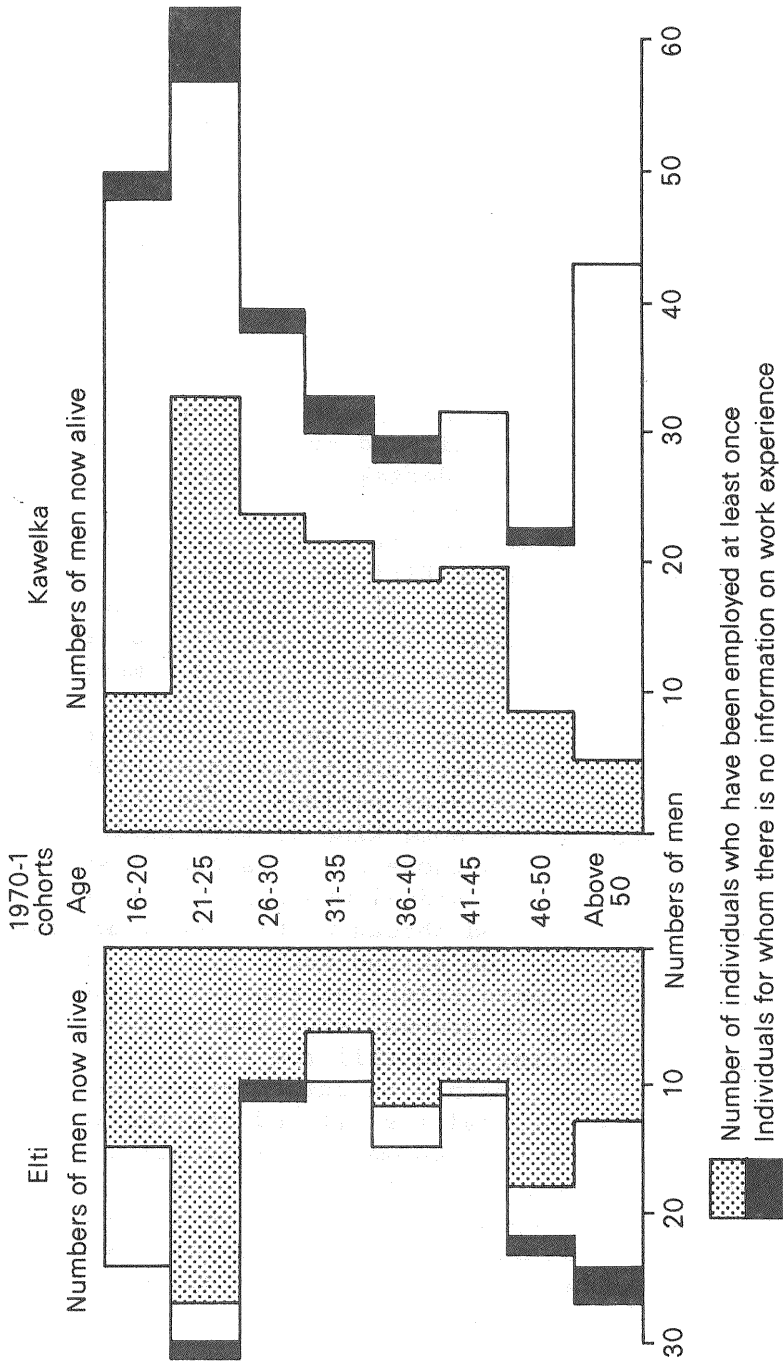


Figure 1 Work experience in two tribes

Notes: Men in employment over four decades

1. Necessarily, only known cases are included and the figures are likely to be underestimates.
2. A particular individual does not appear more than once in any five-year period, even though he may have had different jobs over this time. If his employment spans two five-year periods, he is recorded twice.
3. The base population is the same as that represented in Fig. 1 with the addition of the few men for whom no reliable age information was available.
4. Only those aged over sixteen are included, though some younger lads have had spells of work which would increase the numbers recorded for 1966-70.

Notes: Work experience in two tribes

1. The population I consider as Elti comprises members of the Yowaka tribe-section living in 1970 in the Kelua-Wahgi area (cf. Strathern, A.M., 1972:318). Males of sixteen and over, number 153, but one individual for whom I have no information is discounted from the following enumerations. For Kawelka, males of sixteen and over (in 1971) number 325. This is based on a generous definition of clan membership. (See Strathern, 1972a:104-105 for a precise enumeration of the active members of Kawelka clan groups as they were in the early 1960s.) Eleven Kawelka for whom no reliable age information is available are excluded from the diagram. Certain features about the two populations should be stated.

First, the base is the number of men surviving at a particular date. Whereas the proportions of men in employment to those available for employment is fairly accurate for the more recent generations, figures for senior men, many of whose contemporaries have died, are proportional not to the total who could have entered employment but to those who have survived. Since mortality is unlikely to be directly connected with employment rates, this is not important. It does mean that the absolute numbers from the early periods are low. Secondly, estimates of the duration for which people were employed, and for ages are only approximate. Thirdly, discussion is restricted to the employment of men, although the new-style plantation work is affording opportunities to local women as well. Fourthly, there is likely to be an under - rather than over - estimation of the numbers of jobs people have had, since in

recall they often mention only the most spectacular ones. Brief periods of work are more likely to be remembered by younger men, so that more people may well have been employed in the early years than I have record of.

2. Employment excludes mission and government work of a semi-compulsory nature, also casual labour, such as coffee picking on a day-to-day basis.

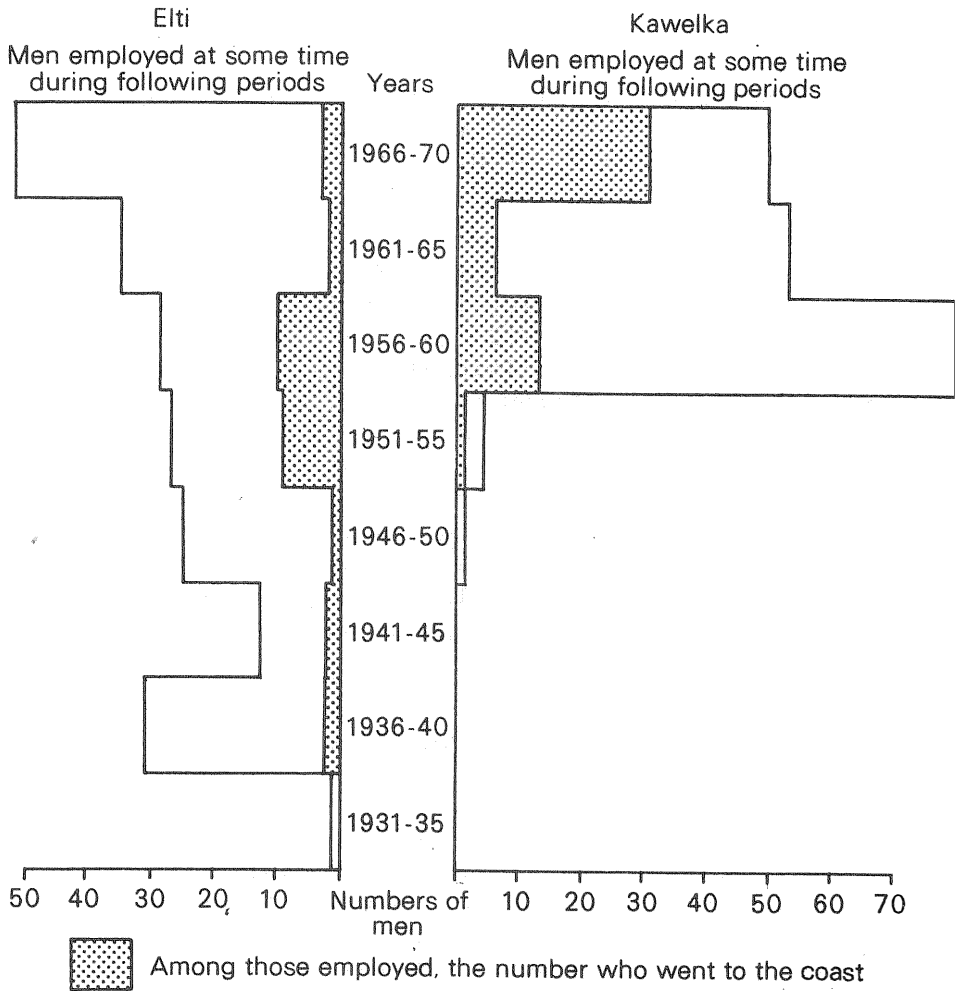


Figure 2 Men in employment over four decades

Appendix 3

Hagen migrants' work and residential associates

Many more people live with than work with other Hageners. 'Live' here refers only to sharing a dwelling, and not to household arrangements of the kind described in Chapter 5. Households almost invariably comprise Hageners only. There is an obvious gradation in the amount of choice the migrant is given. Although he may be attracted to a particular job because he has friends there, the worker has little further control over the selection of work-mates. In the matter of housing, he may have to accept what his employers offer, but he may also be able to invite others to live with him, or go off to someone else's house, or maintain a quite independent establishment. As for the more intimate domestic arrangements, those who share a dwelling with non-Hageners may still be able to eat by themselves or in the company of a few men of their choice. Although there are examples of Hagen migrants setting up households with non-Hageners (see Chapter 6) this is unusual. The preference is to seek out closely related persons.

Tables 3 and 4 are based on two different samples (I and II). The figures are intended as no more than illustrations of the range of situations which exist; an imprecision is built into them in the definitions of 'job' and 'house'. Under 'job' I include those employed in roughly the same category of work by the same employer - and do not go into the particularities of shared work-tasks, the range of people in one department of the organisation or in the whole organisation, and so on. Under 'house' is included all those who sleep under a single roof, differences between internal rooms and partitions, or connections with adjacent structures, being ignored.

Table 3

Work associations of Hagen migrants
(Sample 1)*

Work role	Individual at work associates with				Total
	No one	Hageners only	Hageners plus non-Hageners	Non-Hageners only	
Domestic servant	8				8
Labourer	1		3	1	5
Driver			4		4
Catering assistant			1	2	3
Fireman			1		1
Storekeeper			1		1
Factory worker			1		1
Barman			1		1
Skilled workers			1	1	2
Total	9	0	13	4	26
Out of work or in jail:		4			

*The job profile differs slightly from that given in Table 4.1. Table 4.1 gives information about the distribution of jobs held at one point in time (July 1971) whereas this Table records the jobs held when the person was interviewed.

Table 4

Residential associations of Hagen migrants
(Sample II)

(A) Resident's relationship to house owner*	n = residents				
	House is				
	Provided by employer of owner			Independently owned	
	<u>haus</u>	<u>boi</u>	compound	other	HC**
Self is owner	6	12	1	1	2
Self is part-owner				2	1
Co-tribesman	2				
Extra-tribe friend	5				
Son-in-law				1	
Total	13	12	1	4	3

* 'Owner' here meaning the person who has right of residence in dwelling as purchaser, employee, and so on.

** Housing Commission dwelling, where owner is owner-occupier.

(B)* n = migrants whose co-residents can be subsumed under relevant category

Relationship between person in sample and others; they are from (his):	Number of residents				Sub- total
	1	2 - 4	5 - 7	8 +	
(None)	4				4
<u>Hageners only</u>					
tribe or pair-tribe**		3	3		
other tribes within region***		3	1		
other regions within Hagen area		6	1		17
<u>Hageners and non- Hageners</u>				10	10
<u>Non-Hageners only</u>		1		1	2
Total	4	13	5	11	33

* Only adult men are enumerated here; in some houses there are also women (nine out of the thirty-three in Sample II).

** Most Hagen tribes are paired, greater solidarity supposedly existing between the two than between either of them and other allies. Tipuka-Kawelka are one such pair. See Appendix 4.

*** That is, within a cultural/geographical region such as Northern Melpa, Central Melpa.

Domestic servants form a relatively isolated group. Quite often they work in areas where there are other Hagen servants nearby, although this does not seem to be a significant factor in choice of employment (unless the job has been found directly through a contact there). The four men in Table 4(B) who live by themselves are all servants in haus boi. Table 4(A) shows that another nine men also live in haus boi which are shared with others. If we discount compound accommodation, eight out of twenty-one are living with friends (that is, are not themselves owners or part-owners) on the basis of a personal tie. None of those with work-mates have exclusively Hagen work-mates, though twelve include some Hageners among their associates. But of those (twenty-nine) who reside with others, seventeen live only with Hageners, a further ten (all compound residents) with Hageners and non-Hageners. In detail, half of the thirty-three (Sample I) have some men from their own clan (eight) and own tribe (nine) in the same dwelling as themselves; whereas at work, only four men associate with men from their clan, and three with others from their tribe (a total of seven/thirty Sample I)¹.

¹ These details are not recorded in the Tables.

Appendix 4

Key to some names used in Chapter 5

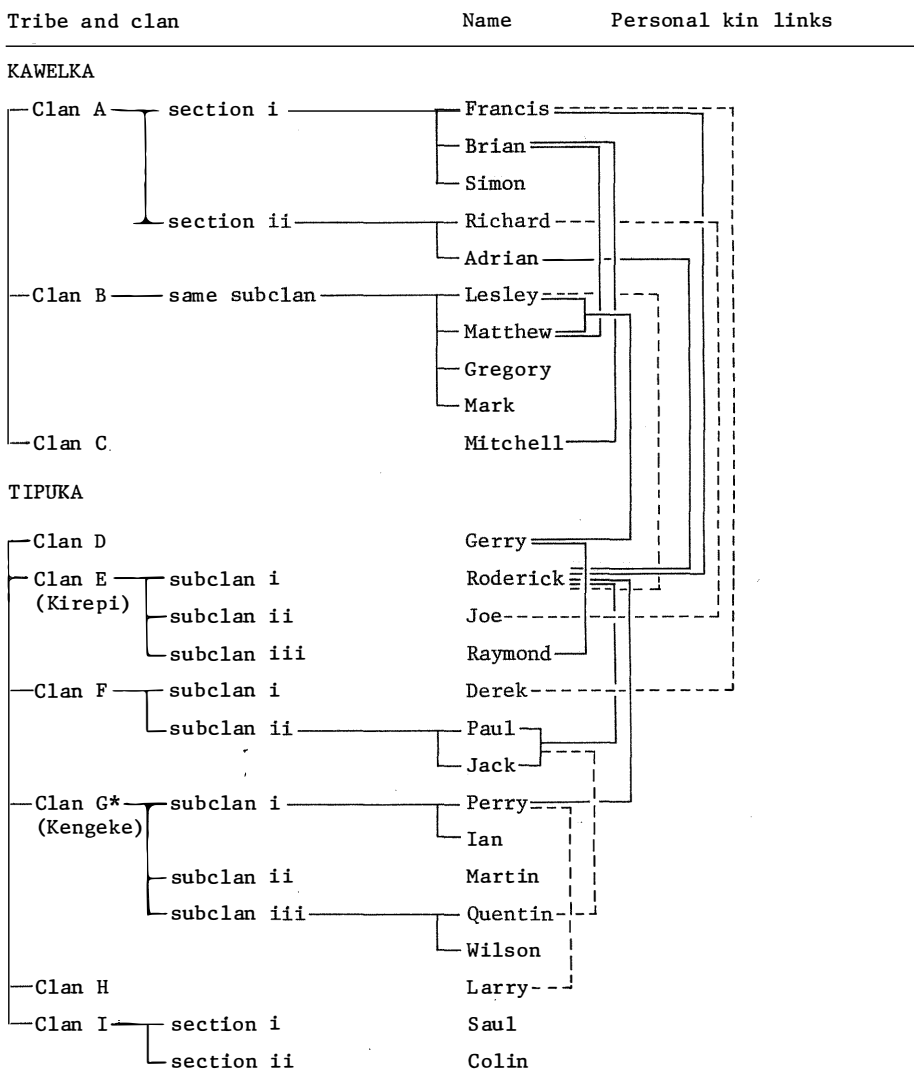
Table 5

A. Some of the tribes named in text

Region	Tribe	Political relations, etc.	Persons from these groups named in text
Northern Melpa	Kawelka)	pair-tribes and allies/minor enemies	See B.
	Tipuka)		
	Klamakae	allies of Kawelka	Keith
	Welyi)	allies/minor enemies; enemies of Tipuka*	Sebastian, Frank, Max, Charles
	Mongaepkae)		
	Minembi)	pair-tribes and allies/minor enemies; major enemies of Tipuka-Kawelka	Timothy, Evan
Kombukla)			
	Kendipi		
	Opoi		Owen
	Ukini		
Western Melpa	Nengka	new enemies of Tipuka	Peter
	Kumndi) Remndi)	pair-tribes; allies/minor enemies	David, Nigel, Clive, John
Central Melpa	Ndika		Patrick, Terry, Kenneth, Julian
	Yamka		
	Mokei + Epilkae	tribe plus attached group	Roy, Sam
	Kukilike		Philip, Ronald
Eastern Melpa	Kuli		Stewart
Temboka (Nebilyer)	Kopilike		
Kaugel (on the Nebilyer side)	Poiaka		Nelson
	Mulke		
	Kutimbu		
Kaugel proper	Kuklumint		Carl, Tom

* Tipuka and Welyi are sometimes named as pair-tribes, as well as Kawelka and Tipuka. See Appenxix 3 for note on pairing.

B. Aspects of relationships between Tipuka-Kawelka men named in text



* James, Ivan, Hugh, Godfrey and Harry (see Chapter 4) are also of this clan.

Notes on B

1. The clan designations are given as in A.M. Strathern (1972c).
2. The brackets on the right hand side of the names indicate personal kin relations between those linked together. Kawelka and Tipuka are heavily intermarried, and such links could probably be extrapolated for most individuals. The ones shown here are those claimed to be of some immediacy (solid lines). Broken lines indicate more general relationships to person's clan section or subclan (not all possible connections are recorded).

Appendix 5

Hageners' responses to questions concerning occupation ranking

List of photographs used

The occupations showed:

1. teacher - urban (?), in permanent-fabric classroom
2. teacher - rural, in bush materials classroom
3. doctor
4. carpenter
5. technician in a laboratory
6. agricultural officer tending seedlings
7. electricity linesmen
8. policeman (on traffic duty, not on patrol)
9. mechanic, repairing a car
10. coffee pickers (it was explained that the several workers were picking their own and not plantation coffee)
11. clerk, filing letters
12. oil company employee, filling drums
13. driver, carrying pyrethrum (in a small land cruiser, not a big truck)
14. betel-nut vendor at market, with money visible
15. fork-lift driver
16. labourers, digging large drain, in rural not urban context
17. plantation labourers, a number lined up for roll call
18. domestic servant, not very smart and washing at a copper, not a washing machine

Numbers 4, 9 and 13 are ambiguous in that it is not clear if the person is self-employed or not. Several Hageners did not recognise the work of 5 and 11.

I asked respondents to arrange the photographs in order according to which occupations they (people would not speak for 'the community') thought were better than others. Given my signal failure to get many migrants to rank or hierarchically group the photographs, a precise verbal formulation on my part would have been spurious; I let their own criteria speak for themselves.

Examples of types of reactions to photographs of occupations

A. Those who produced an overall ranking. There were few of these, constructed entirely from a standpoint of the respondents' personal preferences ('What I would like to do if I had the opportunity'). One man said explicitly: 'All the work is good, but I have put them like this to show what I'd like to do best'. The ranking was not of the worth of the occupations but of his own preferences if he had the choice. There was a tendency to put technical jobs at the top (carpenter and linesman particularly). But also quite high up were policeman, coffee-grower and driver (both 13 and 15). The principle operating here seems to have been the range of jobs which the respondent with a little more training might have done. Low on the list were the labourers (and both pictures showed them in a rural context) and the domestic servant. The betel-nut vendor and coffee grower were both placed quite low, their jobs being ones just done at home (an allocation to be understood in relation to aspirations about possible jobs in a town context). One person gave his reasons for preferring skilled jobs as a matter of money and also of working conditions, for they did not involve the same amount of labour as unskilled occupations. It was pointed out that the labourers (16 and 17) looked as though they were in jail (in one picture lined up, in another doing heavy road work).

B. Those who grouped the photographs. The occupations were grouped together according to similarities in work and conditions. One gardener grouped together (a) the two teachers; (b) driver, mechanic, carpenter, oil company employee, linesman, fork-lift driver; (c) clerk, policeman; (d) doctor and technician (who is depicted looking at test tubes and might be taken for a medical analyst). All these

groups were described as equally good,¹ but the work in the final group (e) was hard: both the labourers, the betel-nut vendor, domestic, agricultural officer, and coffee picker. A very simple hierarchy is thus postulated with two levels: occupations (a) to (d) being all on one level and the (e) jobs being below. The reason for placing certain jobs below others was that they were hard work. Roderick used the criterion of ease, but grouped them differently: (a) the teachers and doctor ('the work is all right for those who know how to do it'); (b) mechanic ('that is really good'); (c) carpenter and oil company employee ('the work is easy and does not require physical exertion'); (d) agricultural officer and coffee picker ('they are easy'²); and (e) all the rest. Again (a) to (d) were all as good according to these criteria as one another, (e) being differentiated as jobs he would not care to do himself. Thus he said he did not want to be a driver because there are too many accidents. His most emphatic personal preference was for the mechanic, which directly reflected his own ambitions. He had had an opportunity to train as a mechanic in Madang, but had listened to influential men at home who said he could be trained in Hagen and nothing had come of it there. (He said that it was because he had been angry at the way he had been 'deceived' that he 'ran away' to the coast; he was, in 1971, thinking of returning home to assist local entrepreneurs there.) One domestic servant picked out only the occupations he had access to (or supposed he might).³ He produced five levels: (a) both drivers; (b) betel-nut vendor, coffee picker, agricultural officer; (c) domestic; (d) labourer (16); (e) labourer (17). He refused to consider the others, but these he placed in an overall order, from (a) highest preference to (e) lowest.

C. Those who just selected some for comment. A number of the unskilled men said they were not able to judge the occupations because they had not been to school. Some ran through them producing a reason or statement as to the effect that each job was good in its way, though the labourers (16 and 17) were singled out as working hard. The

¹ This is a segmental model: an array of homologous units.

² The officer was understood to be just supervising the work; picking and processing coffee at home is or is not regarded as onerous depending on context.

³ 'Wok bilong mipela leba tasol (the jobs for us unskilled)'.

separation of the labourers from the others is understandable in the history of many of these migrants who had run away from such jobs to find urban employment. Again there are two levels only: the labouring jobs, at the bottom, and all the rest on top. People who produced this structure tended to include the domestic servant with 'the others', not the labourers. Some simply refused to make any levels at all, saying that all the occupations were good, in the sense of being in their own ways 'strong work'. One domestic servant, after saying that all were equally good, singled out the ones he would like to be himself: doctor, mechanic, linesman, coffee picker.

Personal preferences were the reference point of many respondents and it is in this light that one must understand why, for example, some rated domestic service as low. In the context of a hypothetical access to a whole range of jobs (as represented in the photographs), and of the kind of reasons for job mobility described in Chapter 4, the occupation one is bound to be able to do is naturally not placed high on the list. We cannot take these statements as indicating actual dissatisfactions with certain jobs.

The men who were shown the photographs were all unskilled workers, a number of them domestic servants. They were not properly representative of Hagen migrants in Moresby. But the resistance against ranking the occupations was so strong as to demand some explanation at least for this group of people. (1) Few unskilled labourers have any chance of a 'career' which might make hierarchical thinking rewarding to them personally. Given the employment system, they can do little more than exchange jobs. The most dramatic change is from a gardener-domestic to driver, which is regarded by them as a skilled occupation with high pay. (2) Uneducated people may have only vague ideas about the jobs of others and a number had difficulty in identifying all the pictures. Some of them set aside the semi-professional jobs as ones they would have liked to have followed had they been educated, but without really saying they were better. Regret that one's own schooling was not finished properly is often heard. (3) In European social class terms, the jobs done by many of the migrants are at the bottom of the scale. A refusal to acknowledge that a scale exists may be partly a device to protect themselves from notions such as these which circulate among some sectors of the population in Moresby. (4) When Hageners interact among themselves in town, job positions are rarely relevant.

Jobs, unlike the deployment of money, are largely beyond the migrant's control, and are not a currency for competition among them.

Appendix 6

Budgets of four men

The details recorded here were kindly provided by four men who kept accounts over a couple of pay periods. Rent¹ was deducted already from the pay of the first three and does not appear in the account of the last (he was sharing a monthly rent of \$22 with a friend).

Although not too many conclusions can be drawn from the small amount of information presented here (compare the generalised budgets given in Table 7.1), it would seem that unskilled workers on a relatively low wage also spend relatively less on food and household items than higher wage-earners. The borrowing and lending of small amounts of money ('spending on social relationships') is also more frequent. Higher wage-earners may send money back home, but be less financially involved in the urban networks.

1. Robin (Northern Melpa). I recorded Robin's expenditure in 1970 and give an example of one fortnight in Table 7.1 under entry 2. He had a reputation as a saver and for being generous to others. A spate of visitors to Moresby over 1970-71 led to his attitude altering a bit. In December 1971 he said: 'I do not put so much in the bank now. All the people come from home and eat my money and I am 'angry'. I shall now eat up all my money and spend it on myself. The people from home just ask me and use it all, and I am sick of that so I shall not save any more'. Note the implication that savings cannot be withheld from the demands of kinsmen. The following records his expenses over two fortnights at the end of 1971.

¹ Water, electricity and garbage-collection were also paid by employers or already deducted.

Table 6

	Fortnight 1	Fortnight 2
Income	Wage: \$17.00 Debt ret.: \$3.00	Wage: \$17.00 In hand: \$13.00 (?plus) Lent: 20¢
Total	\$20.00	\$30.20+
<u>Expenditure</u>		
<u>Food</u>		
rice	.80	1.20
freezer meat	2.70	1.80
tin meat/fish	.60	.65
vegetables	.60	.20
bread/butter	.34	.70
milk/coffee/tea	.10	.40
sugar		.70
cordial/ice cream	.50	.80
cafe snacks	3.00	.35
fruit		.10
biscuits		.20
Sub-total	8.64	7.10
<u>Other</u>		
household (soap, etc.)	.30	.90
cigarettes/matches		.26
beer		.68
transport	3.00	.20
	(driving lesson)	
gifts/loans	6.00	4.30
contributions		25.00
		(towards friend's purchase of car)
Total	17.94	38.44

The 1971 accounts show a significant increase in the proportion of income spent on food. This should not be taken, however, as expenditure all on himself. Although his employer does not like him to have people staying in his house, he nevertheless maintains active links of a quasi-domestic nature with five other men of his clan, and they have many of their meals together. Thus at the beginning of the first fortnight one of them returned a loan of \$3, and Robin decided he would not put it by but they should cook a meal for themselves (freezer meat, rice and onions). The further \$3 spent at a café went on entertaining seven men, including Lesley who had shared with him the day before some chicken meat from one of the pati Brian had given to Roderick (see p.230). He is generous with small sums of money and this is generosity because sums such as 20c or 50c given to help someone buy a snack or cigarettes are not counted as debts. The gifts and loans of Fortnight 1 were spread among seven men,¹ of Fortnight 2 among four people; four of the gifts were of amounts under a dollar.

Of outstanding debts, he owes one man \$3; reckons he is owed five sums ranging from \$2 to \$12. One of \$6 owed by Brian he says he will not claim, because when he first came to Moresby it was Brian who assisted him with food and money. The money Robin had returned and the \$6 was given later. But he does not think of this as a debt to be claimed if Brian wishes to keep it.

Finally in relation to his remarks about visitors, over the previous couple of years he gave money to six visitors from his clan and tribe. Gifts to cover their subsistence in town came to roughly \$59; while he gave them \$208, 'for the plane fare', that is for them to take back themselves; and a further \$18 to take to kin at home. Robin puts his savings into a brother's bank account. He reckoned he had about \$20 there at the moment.

2. Roderick (Northern Melpa). This was recorded when Roderick had his wife living with him. At that stage they had no children. They were living in Perry's house and Roderick's food expenses would be towards the general household.

¹ Including a non-Hagener.

Table 7

	Fortnight 1	Fortnight 2
Income	Wage: \$24.75	Wage: \$24.75
	Loan: \$1.00	Debt repaid: \$10.00
		<u>Sande</u> to him: \$20.00
		Savings: \$30.00
Total	\$25.75	\$84.75
Expenditure		
<u>Food</u>		
rice)))
freezer meat) \$2 to wife)) \$2 to wife
tin meat/fish)))
not itemised (household contribution)		\$5.00
special meal (bananas, \$1.00 greens, meat)		\$2.99 (chicken)
Sub-total	\$3.00	\$9.00
<u>Other</u>		
household .35 (soap, etc.)		\$1.00
cigarettes/ matches .35		\$1.75
beads (for wife) 2.40		\$1.00
clothes (for another)		\$2.00
gifts/loans		\$5.00
debts repaid		\$25.00
<u>sande</u> cont. \$20.00 to wife		\$40.00
Total	\$25.75	\$84.75

In addition to housekeeping money given to his wife, Roderick also provided extra cash for purchasing food for special meals. The expenses of the second fortnight occurred just before his wife was due to return home for a visit. She would take most of the \$40 with her, though she did buy one length of cloth from it before she left (\$2). Others from her husband's clan and from her own tribe in Moresby also sent her off with many parting gifts. Roderick chose this time to discharge a number of obligations - calling in a debt and repaying ones he owed and in addition to the sande contribution, he also withdrew some of his savings.

The scale of his financial transactions with others is much greater than Robin's. He reckoned that he owed four people the sums of \$50, \$6, \$10 and \$10, while six men owed him \$2, \$7, \$20, \$20, \$22 and \$30.¹ Whereas Robin regularly helps visitors with small sums to tide them over their stay (for example, \$2 every week-end), Roderick usually only gives them money when they depart. The contributions he remembers over the last four or five years amount to \$367, including gifts to his parents-in-law (his mother-in-law paid him a visit in Moresby). He sent \$50 to his father. When he went home on leave he took a further \$375, of which \$200 went to his parents who distributed it among those who had helped raise the bridewealth. He donated \$110 to his wife's brother who was buying a car at home. The rest he used for spending money and gifts to a range of kinsmen and friends at home. He has also made investments in Moresby, contributing \$260 to the purchase of Keith's car. After the expense of his wife's departure, he had about \$60 left in his bank account.

3. Craig (Central Melpa), a semi-professional. An example of high income and medium expenditure on subsistence. His wife (no children) did not work and he was also supporting two other men. One of them paid \$5 a fortnight to help with expenses (not included below). Craig's view of the situation was: 'I give my wife \$20 a fortnight and she buys food. If it were just ourselves we could manage on \$10. But we have the others to feed as well. I give the money to my wife because if I held it myself I would spend it all on beer'. The following records their joint expenditure. Craig did not say how much he gave to his wife on these occasions.

¹ One of these a non-Hagener.

Table 8

	Fortnight 1	Fortnight 2
Income	Wage: \$57.25 Loan: \$20.00	Wage: \$76.60 Further overtime: \$36.43
Total	\$77.25	\$113.03
\$		
Expenditure		
<u>Food</u>		
rice	1.40	6.20
freezer meat	5.70	7.92
tinned meat/fish	2.05	2.10
vegetables fresh	1.90	1.85
tinned	1.70	1.35
bread/butter	47	1.07
milk/coffee/tea		1.20
sugar	?	?
cordial/ice cream	.30	.40
cafe snacks	.80	
fresh chicken	2.00	4.00
gravy/salt	.25	.55
bananas		1.00
unspecified	1.20	
Sub-total	\$17.77	\$27.64
<u>Other</u>		
household	.30	
cigarettes/matches	3.43	4.05
? no soap		?
beer	7.86	5.50
transport/hospital	1.40	1.38
clothes (mainly for wife)		7.50
gift (to visitor)		20.00
plane fares for visitors	45.40	45.50
Total	\$76.16	\$111.57

The estimate of \$20 a fortnight for food is fairly accurate. On these two occasions Craig had large out-payments to make to visitors - both gifts and fares back (his wife's brother and father had been on a visit). At other times a larger proportion of his income is available for expenditure on beer. The items spent on beer here were for cartons brought home and drunk along with cooked food by the visitors and others.

He says that no one owes him anything and he only mentioned as owing the debt recorded for Fortnight 1. He has entertained a number of visitors from home, including people from his wife's clan. While they were in Moresby he helped them with at least \$14 in cash as well as money spent on their food, drink and chickens cooked specially for them. Money sent with them when they went back home amounted to \$88, apart from fares of which he recalled one (approximately \$50) in addition to those in this budget. He says he does not send much back to his parents because they are well enough off anyway with their bisnis enterprisés. Indeed, after going home on leave on one occasion, his return fare was paid by his father. He supports a younger brother at a school in the highlands and posts him regular pocket money, but that is all. He thus sees no need to send money to his parents, though he is obliged to make gifts to his parents-in-law (and took \$50 for his father-in-law when he went home). Craig said he had very few savings (he suggested perhaps \$60 in the bank). 'Mi wanpela rabis man hia!' He said, 'Look, I am just a rubbish man!'

4. Geoffrey (Central Melpa), a clerk, earned \$30 a fortnight, and his wife \$40. The accounts below cover a three-week period, spanning two pay periods, and record their joint expenditure. The base income is thus probably \$140, but I have no record of other transactions that might have augmented it. At this time Geoffrey was living in a house rented by his wife's brother. Many of the purchases would have been shared between the two families. The second family had just had a baby but there were no other children. Geoffrey's expenditure was very European in character, with a high outgoing on a wide range of foodstuffs and household items, the only money being spent on others being in the form of entertainment at meal times. (Some details of his financial involvement with others is given below.)

Table 9

Expenditure (over 3-4 weeks)	
<u>Food</u>	\$
rice	5.10
freezer meat	10.80
tinned meat/fish	10.03
bread/butter/spreads	1.15
milk/coffee/tea	2.00
sugar (bag)	3.70
cordial/ice cream	4.40
cafe snacks	1.85
fruit	.60
biscuits	.48
salt	.30
soup	.45
eggs	.90
for special meals:	
fresh chicken	18.00
fresh vegetables	6.55
bananas	3.40
guests for lunch	1.20
<u>Sub-total</u>	<u>\$70.91</u>
<u>Other</u>	
household	12.90
cigarettes	.97
beer/rum (to go with special meals)	63.15
clothes (mainly wife and new baby)	16.80
medicine and baby things	1.27
<u>Total</u>	<u>\$166.00</u>

Over a period of three weeks, there were, apart from a lunch to a former ADC who had been training at the same institution as his wife, four occasions on which he had guests to supper; fresh meat (chickens), fresh vegetables from Koki market and drink were provided. On one occasion the chief guest was his wife's brother, a visitor from home, and on the others, work-mates from elsewhere in Papua New Guinea. He does not record having made any cash gifts.

However Geoffrey said that he was owed money by some people - sums of \$4, \$10 and \$10. He sends money to a younger brother at school and had given at least \$44 to various visitors going home. He has sent over \$450 home to his parents, in addition to \$200 towards his bridewealth raised largely by them. At the time when he kept the account he was hoping to buy a car. To that end he was saving and said he had in the bank \$165 (recently depleted, from \$265 by a withdrawal of \$100 for a farewell party to a returning migrant) and his wife about \$250.

Glossary of Pigdin terms

- as ples: origin place, homeland
- baim balus: lit. to buy a plane (ticket);
cash gifts made to a departing worker
or visitor, incl. money for his fare
- belhat: angry, resentful, aggrieved,
full of revenge feelings
- birua: enemy, opponent
- bisnis: profit-making enterprise, esp.
rural cash cropping or entrepreneurial
concern
- boi: labourer, servant, employee
- bosboi: overseer
- bus: countryside; rural area, hinterland
of village or town
- fulwok: unremitting labour; heavy task
imposed on someone who is thereby
duped or tricked
- gris: to persuade by inducement or
flattery; to try to influence someone;
to hold out expectations
- hapkas: offspring of mixed parentage,
whether through different racial,
ethnic or tribal origins
- haus boi: boy house, accommodation for
employee esp. domestic servant
- ka goboi: labourer, carrier, esp.
contract labourer on plantation
- kampani: (1) business concern; (2)
alliance, partnership; (3) to be in
partnership for pooling wages (same
sense as mekim sande)
- kanaka: native (derog.); country-
dweller; someone not claiming any
special status or position
- kandere (kantri): relative through a
mother or sister; cousin
- kompaun: residential area provided for
a number of employees (usually
several buildings grouped round an
open area)
- laik bilong mi: my own wish, inclin-
ation; it's up to me; it depends on
on what I want
- landri: (1) paid domestic work; (2)
(pl.) domestic servants
- laplap: wrap-around cloth; length of
material
- leba: labourer (who works 'outside',
lit. who works in the open air;
fig. who is unskilled and not
member of an institution)
- les: to be tired, fed up, unable to
make further effort
- marit: married; ol marit, the married
people
- maski: never mind, it doesn't matter,
too bad, so what, what the hell
- masta: male employer (orig. expat-
riate); male European or foreigner
- mekim sande: to pool wages
- misis: female employer or wife or
employer; female European or
foreigner
- pasin: custom, way of doing things,
habit, behaviour
- pasindia: (1) traveller; (2) someone
out of work or otherwise dependent
on others for subsistence
- pasindia ka: passenger motor vehicle
(PMV)
- pasindia meri: prostitute
- pati: (1) party, feast, celebration,
commemoration; (2) to give a
party, etc. incl. funeral feast,
farewell or welcoming meal; (3) to
make (ceremonial) exchange; to
give a prestation to a partner, to
compensate through exchanges
- paul: (1) mixed-up; disoriented; (2)
to act irrationally or irresponsibly
or in an uninhibited way; to fall
by the wayside; to go where one's
inclination takes one
- paulim: to trick someone to one's own
advantage, mess someone up, lead
someone astray
- ples: place, location, site; one's
home area
- poroman: companion, mate, contemporary;
an equal (in age, career, school-
ing, etc.)

pren: (1) friend; (2) to cultivate ties on a personal basis

raun: to wander 'around', to go astray, to travel with no other purpose than to sightsee

resis: to be in competition with someone; to be antagonistic towards them

sande: see mekim sande

stesis: government station, European settlement, urban area, town

tambu: (1) something which is forbidden; a sign prohibiting behaviour, access, etc.; (2) in-law, affinal relative

tanim het: a formalised courting encounter in which the two partners 'dance' with turning motions of the head

tok bokis: concealed speech; allusion, innuendo, double entendre, anything with a veiled meaning

wanpis: someone bereft of friends or close relatives; who cuts himself off from his natural companions, or rejects the claims of his friends, etc.

wantok: lit. someone from same language area as speaker or referent; fig. someone with whom a relationship is claimed on a categorical or group basis

wanwok: someone who works at some place/job as speaker or referent

wok: work, employment; a job

wok mani: wage, earnings

wok boi: employee, wage-earner

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Abstract

As an anthropological study of unskilled migrants from Hagen (Western Highlands) living in Port Moresby, this account focusses on the migrants' viewpoints and attitudes, especially their evaluation of urban life in the light of strong rural criticism. It investigates the social background from which migrants come and their expectations about return, as well as the 'urban society' they have created in Moresby with its own relationships and commitments.

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ERRATA

A number of the internal page references are incorrect.

On page	36 the reference which reads ()	should be (p.32)
	42 (p.51)	(p.52)
	71 p.36	p.39
	77 p.68	p.71
	111 (p.106)	(p.107)
	111 pp.72-3	pp.71-2
	120 p.62	p.60
	134 p.120	p.122
	138 (p.139)	(p.162)
	147 p.212	p.211
	162 p.155	p.159
	171 (p.165ff)	(p.146ff)
	173 Table 5.1 168-188	172-192
	191	192, 195ff
	192-193	196-98
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	160	164-65
	167	171
	167	166, 171
	160	165
	201 (p.212)	(p.211)
	211 pp.145 and 199	pp.147 and 203
	212 pp.333-42	pp.336-45
	213 p.244	p.243
	216 p.211	p.214
	238 (p.206)	(p.208)
	240 p.232-3	pp.233-34
	241 p.202	pp.207-8
	242 p.191ff	p.192ff
	243 Table 5.6 171-173	175-177
	230-231	233-34
	209	212-13
	239	242
	210	- (delete)
	239	242
	cf.p.	285
	250 p.235	242
	251 (p.232)	(p.234)
	252 (p.232)	(p.234)
	252 (pp.254-5)	(p.251)
	253 (p.239)	(p.242)
	260 p.143	p.145
	266 (pp.263-4)	(pp.259-61)
	266 p.63	pp.70-71
	277 pp.293	p.288ff
	285 (p.247)	(p.243)
	295 (p.)	(p.261)

On page 299	the reference which reads (p.)	should be (p.78)
306	page 266	pp.236-37
319	p.184	p.188
325	p.155	p.159
339	pp.191-2	p.196
348	p.221	pp.221-2
366	p.340	p.338
370	p.255	p.275
375	(p.133ff)	(p.132, 137ff)
376	p.91	p.93
377	p.236	pp.236-67
377	pp.341-4	pp.342-4
387	p.74	p.76
394	p.191	pp.195-96
400	pp.345, 361	p.362
406	p.87	pp.89-90
410	p.95	p.98
411	pp.79-80	p.84
443	p.230	p.231

Other corrections

<u>On page</u>	<u>line</u>		<u>should read</u>
xvii	1	Le Vine	Levine
4	24	A.J. Strathern (1972)	A.J. Strathern (1972a)
5	20	want	wants
11	3	at the migrants' point of view of the desire	at 'migrants' from the point of view of the desire
20	9	was drawn from regions	was drawn as follows from regions
20	13-14	Western and Northern Melpa...of the home population.	Western and Northern Melpa together provide the same number of persons as Central Melpa and Temboka with only three-fifths of the latter's home population.
21	5-6	the proportion...which is not particularly high	the overall proportion of migrants coming from this area, which is...
21	8	only 34 per cent being unskilled while over...	only 34 per cent being unskilled; while over...
26	Table 2.3	Total/percentage of adult male population under 50 125 282 (15%) (16%)	Total as a percentage of adult male population under 50 19 47 125 282 15% 16%
35	note 1		<u>add:</u> Hageners refer to pounds or dollars interchangeably, and I retain their wording. £1(Australian = \$2(Australian). Papua New Guinea has since changed its denominations to Kina and toea.
46	12	but with the exception of the Jimi area; this falls off	but, with the exception of the Jimi area, this falls off

<u>On page</u>	<u>line</u>		<u>should read</u>
61	12	of the town attracted persons	of the town has attracted persons
62	2-3	The latter details	The former details
63	6	For 307, some 76 per cent	For 310, some 77 per cent
84	14	a disparate dogmatism	a desperate dogmatism
85	1-5	Far from emphasising...their home status.	<u>should follow after</u> line 16 (...contrasted with cash cropping. Far from emphasising...)
88	28-31	Of those Hagen women...had his wife in Moresby	Of those Hagen women married to migrants, two were in Moresby, four at home and seven divorced. One migrant married to a non-Hagen woman had his wife in Moresby.
105	note 1	'focal rotes'	'focal roles'
109	32	We arn a lot of money	We earn a lot of money
131	8	The man in Example 1 has had 15 jobs	The man in Example 1 has had 14 jobs
155	26	finding new work. From time to time...	finding new work (3). From time to time...
156	10	in contrapoint to	in counterpoint to
156	25	those who are earning at the moment	those who are <u>not</u> earning at the moment
157	37	servants from his own tribe, a soldier and...	servants from his own tribe, and a soldier and...
160	22	but he was a married man and he didn't want...	but this was a married man, and he (Brian) didn't want...
161	13	to make a material return is not asked for it,	to make a material return he is not asked for it,
163	23	<u>Pasindia</u> becomes	<u>Pasindia</u> become
163	25	but it is generally assumed	but it is <u>not</u> generally assumed
169	5-6	exclusions of this kind, such segmentary <u>thinking</u> ...	exclusions of this kind. Such segmentary <u>thinking</u> ...
171	10	but make <u>moka</u>	but make <u>moka</u> (ceremonial exchange)
172	note 1	(M. Levine, personal communication)	(H. and M. Levine, personal communication)
173	table 5.1	Group of Hageners and non-Hageneners	Group of Hageners and non-Hagener
175	29	on a common cultural idiom	in a common cultural idiom
175	note 1	(Levine, pers. comm.	(Levine H., pers. comm.
179	26	Kumudi	Kumndi
188	29	support from non-Tipuka-Kawelka definitely	support from non-Tipuka-Kawelka was definitely
202	4	Sample I	Sample II

<u>On page</u>	<u>line</u>		<u>should read</u>
208	44	single employees, gardeners, cleaners and domestic staff of the College	single employees, gardeners, cleaners and domestic staff, of the College
208a	Table 5.2	1 from Gulf 1 Western room 6 2 EHD	1 Gulf D 1 Western D room 6 4 EHD
209	10	<u>wantok</u> (fellow workers)	<u>wanwok</u> (fellow workers)
213	27	while at least two had Chimbu girl friends	while at least two men had Chimbu girl friends
216	36	a Tipuka-Kawelka's (A's) games	a Tipuka-Kawelka's (Alex, referred to here as A) games
217	Table 5.3	15th...various from... Karema	various from...Kerema
218	Table 5.3	29th...(H lost † \$100)	(H lost c. \$100)
222	15	to single men	to a single man
228	Table 5.4	July 10 Fight: Adrian v. Brian	July 3 Fight: Adrian v. Brian
231	Table 5.5	(composition of Roderick's side)	(status should be indicated viz. <u>pati</u> 1 donors, <u>pati</u> 2 recipients etc.)
240	11	may also stop in	may also step in
243	Table 5.6	7. ...Tipuka Kengeke	...Tipuka Kengeke James
243	Table 5.6	*Godfrey helped...on 21/11/71	*Godfrey helped...on 20/11/71
250	21	the sequentary opposition	the segmentary opposition
251	note 1	That is, where the transfer	That is, contexts where the transfer
256	11	happens to meet any and	happens to meet, and
257	28	Kainantu <u>wantok</u>	Kainantu <u>wanwok</u>
272	25-6	be openly hospitable but privately, resolve	be openly hospitable, but privately resolve
276	note 1		<u>add</u> : All the regions referred to in this paragraph belong to the highlands
279	27-9	Goilala are so feared... for very few	However, although Goilala are so feared...alone at night, this does not amount to an obsession except for a very few.
285	37	...and Tari there	other Hageners and Tari there
288	36.7	European; Papua New Guinean; ...Chimbu and Eastern Highlands;	European: Papua New Guinean; highlander: coastal; Western Highlands: Chimbu and Eastern Highlands,
294	note 1	and they were after <u>wanwok</u>	and they were after all <u>wanwok</u>
297	13	whom Brian identifies	whom Brian identified
297	19	(according to those criterion)	(according to those criteria)

<u>On page</u>	<u>line</u>		<u>should read</u>
298	4-5	Migrants who are contemplating leaving home	Migrants-to-be, contemplating leaving home,
302	20-1	the values associated... form a fairly consistent set	the values associated with autonomy clash with others, such as claims on group solidarity, internally they form a fairly consistent set
314	26-7	and if privately, of his enjoyment of urban life and publicly, of the dilemma	and if privately of his enjoyment of urban life, publicly of the dilemma
314	35-6	money: in defining relationships, to make statements...	money: to make statements about urban relationships.
315	Title of fig.	Figure 8.1. Interrelationships of ideologies	Figure 7.1. Scheme or urban ideologies among unskilled migrants
320-1	(bottom/top)	At least, as much	At least as much
323	Table 7.2	7. Self-employed (mained)	Self-employed (married)
330	8	had at some stage involved	had at some stage been involved
331	Table 7.4	Repayment of loans*** ...2.00 10.00...	Repayment of loans ...2.00*** 10.00...
337	14	co-tribesmen; in addition,	co-tribesmen; but in addition,
350	12	over two to three years, then visited Matthew	over two to three years, then, visited Matthew
353	Table 7.6		<u>add note</u> : The table is to be read thus: 12 migrants have given gifts to between 1-5 people; 6 migrants have spent between \$10-49 on such gifts...
355	3	They provide displays	They provide occasions for displays
356	31	They are put	People are put
363	14-15	Nevertheless... <u>groupings</u> in Moresby	Nevertheless, rural categories continue to provide the focus for the most salient groupings in Moresby, for alternative modes of organisation do not take a group form.
375	37	making <u>moka</u>	making <u>moka</u> (ceremonial exchange)
377	30	Such funeral distribution	Such a funeral distribution
378	13-16	Talking does not always solve...sense of security in major crises.	Talking does not always solve things; not-talking may be an excellent mechanism... But it must increase...a sense of insecurity in major crises,
384	24	migrants; appreciation	migrants' appreciation
392	27	ill-conceived	ill-concealed
395	13	The difference	The diffidence

<u>On page</u>	<u>line</u>		<u>should read</u>
400	12	relationships in the town the more he makes both	relationships in the town, the more he both makes
401	24	These ay well	These may well
402	35	prediction	predictions
407	23	<u>Pasim bilong Mosbi</u>	<u>Pasin bilong Mosbi</u>
423	5	The second category (B) includes...	The second category includes...
424	26	cumulative to the town's drift	cumulative drift to the towns
427	17	Strathern, A.M., 1972	Strathern, A.M., 1972a
427	22	Strathern, 1972a	Strathern, A.J., 1972a
433	13	twelve include...	thirteen include...
433	17	(Sample I)	(Sample II)
441	8, 17	Table 7.1.	Table 7.2.
452	(wanwok)	someone who works at some place	someone who works at same place
459	3	focusses	focuses