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**Report No. 2 Chimbu People  
under Pressure:  
The social impact  
of urbanisation  
K.J. Dalton**



CHIMBU PEOPLE UNDER PRESSURE  
THE SOCIAL IMPACT OF URBANISATION  
IN PAPUA NEW GUINEA

BY

K.J. DALTON

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Chimbu People Under Pressure: the social impact of urbanisation

PREFACE

This study by Dr. Jennifer Dalton is one of several conducted as part of the Papua New Guinea Human Ecology Programme during late 1977 and early 1978. The basic objective of this Programme was to examine from an integrated ecological perspective the problems of development facing the industrial city of Lae and its hinterland. Researchers were concerned with the impact of urbanisation on both the social and physical environments, and hence focussed on the relationship between urban and rural communities affected by the changes accompanying rural to urban migration and increasing contact the Western market economy.

The Papua New Guinea Human Ecology Programme was restricted to one year's duration because it was initially intended as a pilot programme leading to more intensive studies along similar lines. The task faced by Dr. Dalton in the study reported here was to find means by which to observe and analyse the changes in social behaviour, and in human well-being, associated with urbanisation. The object was to formulate practical policies designed to alleviate at least the most debilitating impacts of change.

There are many ways of approaching this kind of research. Perhaps the most common methodology is the large scale social survey whereby a statistically representative sample of the population, say 500 households, is interviewed for up to 30 minutes. This snapshot approach may be satisfactory for a head count, or a survey of readily observable physical conditions, but when used as a means of ascertaining values and attitudes, or individual perceptions of social well-being, it is of doubtful worth. This is so even if a great deal of preparatory work is done to standardise and calibrate questions and scaling instruments in order that the interpretation of questions is the same for both interviewer and interviewee. In Papua New Guinea as elsewhere, it is naive to believe that people will respond accurately to questions of an intimate nature when their privacy has been invaded by strangers.

Perhaps the only satisfactory approach to this type of research is a long-term, longitudinal analysis of a particular group, where time can be afforded to gain the confidence and respect of the people concerned. This approach is, of course, common to anthropology, human geography and human ecology, but the years of committed research which it demands do not satisfy government needs for solutions to immediate problems. Is there a solution to the methodological dilemma which does not result in a worthless compromise of established traditions of research? Can research designs appropriate to short-term intensive study be formulated which yield really valuable insights for policy-makers? This study is an attempt to do just this.

Here a few families were selected in each target population in each contrasting environment, and only a few supposedly fundamental aspects of social behaviour were examined in depth. Theoretical considerations of the predominant forces of change and of the psychological and social factors likely to maintain ecosystem stability, were used to select the particular components of the social system to which most attention was paid. The resulting analysis is largely quantitative; it is a picture of change as seen through the eyes of one researcher. So long as the circumstances of the research are carefully described, and the objectives, assumptions and personal value judgements are explicit this more subjective assessment of the problem should be a valuable guide to policy-making.

However, the research design encompassed more than this, for there was not one but several researchers dealing with different, though related, aspects of the ecology of the same communities. Moreover, the integration which may have been anticipated at the reporting stage, also took place throughout the fieldwork, greatly enriching the findings in each area. No doubt there is a limit to the number of simultaneous projects that one budget or one community can stand, but there is the suggestion that productive research can be organised in this manner to partly overcome the limitations of time.

The topic of rural to urban migration is the subject of a massive literature, dominated by research confined within single

disciplinary boundaries. No doubt much of this research is rigorous and intellectually rewarding but can it purport to be a basis for policies leading to improved social and biological well-being? While this study does not offer clear cut policies, it is bound, by the nature of its approach, to offer a broader perspective of the problems at hand, and this is surely an essential ingredient in the policy-making process.

Ken Newcombe,  
Port Moresby,  
1979.



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## CHAPTER 1

### SOCIAL CHANGE IN PAPUA NEW GUINEA

The research reported in this paper forms part of the Papua New Guinea Human Ecology Project. This project is an interdisciplinary study of the impact of urbanisation on human health and well-being in a developing country. The present research concentrates, in particular, on the social aspects of the process of urbanisation. The project as a whole aims not only to provide information about the consequences of urbanisation, but also to relate this information to policy options necessary to effect desired future states.

While not one of the world's most densely populated countries, Papua New Guinea is experiencing large changes in the size and distribution of its population. The birth-rate is 3.7 per cent per annum, and in the major towns an annual increase in population of 17.4% was recorded between 1966 and 1971, which means a doubling of urban residents for this period (Skeldon, 1977). By 1976-78, urban population estimates showed a decline in the growth rate to between 3-5 per cent per annum (PNG Statistical Bulletin, 1978). Rapid urbanisation, and the processes of westernisation and modernisation which accompany it, are not only placing strains on the physical environment and the ability to provide resources and facilities for the new urban dwellers, but are also challenging the structure of Papua New Guinean society and culture. Moreover, social and cultural changes are apparent not only within the urban environment, but also in the rural areas.

#### Traditional society in Papua New Guinea

Traditionally the Papua New Guinean lived in a small village, the houses of which were made from natural materials. He lived off the land by subsistence agriculture, and, where possible, by hunting. Throughout his life he tended to stay within the same area and hence to know everyone within it. All members of his village belonged to the same clan as did members of neighbouring villages. His environment also included, however, people belonging to other tribes with whom his tribe might be in alliance or who might be enemies. The situation for women was slightly different. They would come from a different clan or tribe from that of their husbands and would move, upon an arranged marriage, to join their husband's village.

The Papua New Guinean thus lived within an extensive network of people whom he knew all his life and whom he considered to be his relatives. With these people his culture decreed that he enter into a reciprocal system of mutual obligation to give and receive. This exchange of goods and services provided the basis for security of the individual within the group, and also the means for developing power and authority. Those who gave most were the most powerful, since they held the less powerful in their debt.

Men were more powerful and of higher status than women. Within the society there was considerable segregation of the sexes, both in the roles ascribed to each sex, and in their living accommodation. Authority also tended to reside with the older men who had considerable power over the younger men. The older men had developed power not only through the exchange of wealth whereby younger men were in their debt, but also through the development of leadership skills and knowledge. An important component of the system of knowledge in traditional culture was religious superstitious beliefs, and sorcery was common as a means of controlling events and other people.

#### Agents of change

Several forces are operating to change this traditional way of life and the culture which supports it. Two of the most pervasive agents of change are first, the introduction of a cash economy and the availability of western goods; and second, widespread western-style education. Rowley (1971) argues that cash is the prime instrument of change. A cash economy demands savings and investment. In contrast, the traditional system, which supports a subsistence economy, requires that you give to and help your relatives in order that they may help you later. This requirement to give freely is detrimental to success in a cash economy, and the demands of a cash economy may reduce willingness to participate in a traditional system. In addition traditional forms of authority may be eroded as Harris (1972)

points out, when young men who have accumulated large amounts of cash challenge the authority of older men who have little cash.

Traditional forms of authority may also be eroded in other ways, particularly by the education system. Lawrence (1975) and Forge (1977) note that whereas the Papua New Guinean system of thought is based on religious belief, modern European thought, such as is now taught in the schools, is secular and scientific. The status and authority of the older men, raised under the traditional system, will therefore be undermined by young men with the new knowledge and also the new skills required to cope with western goods, such as motor cars.

#### The reasons for urban migration

Urban migration may be seen as a partial consequence of these forces, but it too, once undertaken, introduces still greater change. The allurements of cash and the goods it can buy, and the promise that education offers of new jobs and independent living whet the appetites of young men in rural areas, and encourage them to move into town in search of a more comfortable, exciting life away from the restrictions of their elders.

Conroy (1973a, 1975) details how education is seen as an avenue of social mobility, where aspirations are focused on modern-sector wage employment, and where, even if these aspirations are not met, there is disillusionment with subsistence agriculture as a way of life. Harris (1972) also comments on how the younger men complain of the lack of excitement in the village and how cash and urban migration have replaced warfare as a source of excitement and diversion from the monotony of subsistence agriculture.

Urban migration also offers the young man an opportunity to escape from the authority of his elders; an authority his education has taught him to question. This is seen by Marilyn Strathern (1974) as one of the primary motivations for urban migration. She argues that urban migrants can pursue a way of life with a strong adolescent flavour - they have few responsibilities and a lot of enjoyment - and by absenting themselves from village life, they can delay assuming mature adult roles.

Other less hedonistic factors also motivate urban migration. They include the fact that many migrants are pushed out of the rural areas by the shortage of land due to population increases. Fear of sorcery and attempts to escape it also provide other "push" factors away from the rural areas.

#### Social consequences of urbanisation

The rapid urbanisation that is occurring in Papua New Guinea is itself introducing considerable change into Papua New Guinean society, and is posing its own problems. At one level there is the physical difficulty of coping, in a short period of time, with the large influx of people into a small area. This poses problems of providing adequate systems for sanitation, housing, food, maintenance of law and order, etc. At another level, there is unease about what this is doing to the social and cultural system of Papua New Guinea, and a questioning of the type of society Papua New Guineans want in the future.

Some of the immediate consequences of modernisation and urbanisation are apparent in the high rates of unemployment and the increasing incidence of crime in the towns. Within a developing cash economy, young men in particular are moving into town in search of employment and cash. There is however, as Conroy (1975) has pointed out, a wide gap now in Papua New Guinea, between the numbers seeking modern sector employment, and the availability of jobs. Faced with unemployment, theft is one means of acquiring the money necessary for living in town and also of equalising what is perceived to be an unfair, unequal distribution of wealth. It would seem that increasing numbers of people are resorting to theft.

Urbanisation also changes the social structure. As already indicated, even in the rural areas, patterns of authority tend to change. In town, new procedures are required for enforcing law and order amongst the large numbers of people belonging to different tribes and areas who now live close together. Again it is the young men, rather than the traditional older leaders, who have the new skills required to operate and enforce new procedures.

Migration to urban areas also means that individuals are moving outside of the village communities and are starting to live amongst people they do not know. Both Oeser (1969) and Whiteman (1973), studying migrants to Port Moresby, indicated that as families became more adapted to the urban environment they tended to form a greater number of associations with people who were not kin, and to restrict associations with kin. No longer did they welcome indiscriminate visiting and use of their homes and possessions by all people who bore some relationship to themselves.

This trend is well documented in studies elsewhere. Bott (1971) for instance, describes how, in tribal, rural and long established working class situations, social support networks are close-knit and are based on kinship. Closest relationships tend to be with same sex kin, and this loyalty to members of the extended family prevents the nuclear family from gaining the whole-hearted attachment of its members. Geographical mobility necessarily makes these close-knit networks more loose-knit, and in particular, tends to result in increasing intimacy between husband and wife, once alternative, strongly supportative kinship relationships are weakened by distance.

Bott's own work was with families living in London, but Gluckman (1971) details its relevance to anthropological studies of a wide range of tribal situations. Walker et al (1977) and Dunphy (1972) describe other studies which show the same kinds of change in social networks as individuals become more mobile.

Changes to existing social orders tend to bring with them unrest and social maladjustment. Nisbet (1970) states that alienation, anomie and deviance are inevitably more profuse in periods of change. Anomie, for instance, is behaviour characterised by the tensions and distresses which arise from the effort of an individual trying to meet the obligations of two or more irreconcilable norms or cultures. The individual is poised between two cultures and becomes unable to identify with either in a close and continuing way. Nisbet argues that anomie and suicide is not greatest amongst those whose economic conditions are worst, but amongst those whose desires and expectations have been stimulated by improving economic circumstances. That is, the mere act of getting is likely

to intensify the desire for more and a condition of tension arising from unfulfilled expectations ensues. This is very relevant to Papua New Guinea today.

#### Health consequences of urbanisation

The process of change which accompanies urbanisation may not only lead to experienced social malaise, but also to a decrease in health. Pulseford and Cawte (1972) report that in an epidemiological study of the Gazelle Peninsula in 1967, the incidence of symptoms of neurosis, psychosis and personal discomfort was much higher in the immigrant labour population than in the settled land-holding Tolai population. In this study, the Sepik immigrant group had the highest incidence of physical symptoms and maladjustment, and it was also the group with the poorest standard of housing and the least ability to improve its living conditions (Cawte et al., 1967).

Several writers have also pointed to a number of culturally determined behaviour patterns in Papua New Guinea whereby anxiety can be expressed. For instance, Frankel (1976) reports cases of epidemic hysteria amongst teenage girls in school in the New Guinea Highlands. These girls represent an educated élite and are in a stressful position as they become increasingly defiant of traditional law, especially with respect to the choice of marriage partners. Clarke (1973) cites literature on transient mental disorders which usually affect young males suffering from personal conflict and stress; and Burton-Bradley (1975) documents several pathological means, including the development of cargo cults, whereby members of the Melanesian culture cope with the anxiety engendered by technological change and rising aspirations.

Other research, primarily in western countries, has demonstrated a relationship between the experience of change, social stress and the onset of illness. Rabkin and Struening (1976) review this literature. They conclude that while there is a relationship between exposure to stress and to change, and the onset of illness, the relationship is not a straightforward one. In particular, there are protective factors which buffer the individual from the physiological or psychological consequences of exposure to a stressful situation. Among the most important of these is the strength of social support received by the

individual from his primary groups. Cassel (1974) and Walker et al., (1977) make the same point, and Brown et al. (1975) provide experimental evidence of the particular importance of an intimate, supportative relationship with a husband or boyfriend in mediating between a severe event and the onset of psychiatric disorder for a group of women living in London.

These research results are particularly pertinent to the situation in Papua New Guinea today. It has been detailed above how Papua New Guineans in general, and more particularly, those who are urban migrants, are experiencing considerable change in their lives, and how this is a risk factor in mental and physical disorder. It is therefore at this point that they are in particular need of social support systems which could help buffer them from the effects of change. However, it is also at this point that those very support systems are being subjected to change and are weaker than usual. The individual is therefore doubly vulnerable.

When considering the social and health consequences of urbanisation in Papua New Guinea it is important to distinguish between the effects of change per se, and the consequences to health and well-being of the new urban environment once it has become a stable and enduring way of life. Thus many of the consequences of urbanisation detailed above can be attributed largely to the process of change, rather than to being necessary components of urban living.

For instance, Newcombe et al. (1977) review literature relating to the impact on health of urbanisation. They conclude that there is no substantial evidence supporting the hypothesis that urban living per se results in a higher incidence of physical and psychiatric disorder than rural living. Higher rates of physical and mental health problems tend to be specific to particular groups and particular situations and it is these differences between sub-groups which are significant, rather than the broader comparison of urban versus rural life. They do, however, conclude that the act of migration is a risk factor in disease, independent of the nature of the environment into which the individual is moving. Thus in Papua New Guinea any decrease in health which is found amongst new urban migrants may be due to the stress of change as much as to the nature of the new environment.



Similarly, it may be asked whether such a phenomenon as the increase in crime which is found in the urban areas in Papua New Guinea is the permanent result of a new urbanised, westernised society. Or is it a symptom of the anomie arising as a consequence of social change and increased aspirations? The former gives rise to a much greater concern about the nature of the new society which is developing in Papua New Guinea than does the latter.

#### Advocates and opponents of change in Papua New Guinea

The changes which are accompanying urbanisation and modernisation are causing widespread questioning of the type of society which Papua New Guinea wants. Avei (1973), for example, expresses a common concern about the nature of the 'development' that is occurring, and the fear that Papua New Guinea is in danger of losing its system of communal living characterised by mutual dependencies, sharing, and corporate and collective leadership. He argues that cities should be designed to foster communal living and to prevent Papua New Guinean society from becoming "fragmented and swallowed up by western mass-culture". Kerpi (1976) too, shares a similar concern about the emptiness of modern life and how political economic and social change have eroded the individual's sense of meaning and of belonging to a group which existed in the past. He argues that, traditionally, warfare and other cultural and religious beliefs and practices reinforced the cohesion of the extended family, or clan. Now, however, there is a widening gap between young and old, and the young in particular are bored, apathetic and lack a sense of drive. He believes that priority should be given, through local self-help groups, to finding non-violent alternatives for fostering competition between groups and restoring group identity.

Others, too, are concerned to halt the progressive urbanisation and with it what is seen to be the deterioration of traditional rural life. Conroy (1973b) argues the need for economic upgrading of traditional rural activities, especially agriculture, in order to stop urban drift due to a lack of rural enterprise.

In contrast, Ward (1973) believes that urban development and rural development are twin processes and that extensive urbanisation is necessary before there can be successful rural progress.

#### Technological change versus cultural conservation

On the one hand it has been seen that Papua New Guineans are proud of their cultural heritage and desire to retain much that they see to be beneficial in their traditional society and culture. On the other hand there is the inevitable and immediate fact of change which is occurring now, and the desire on everyone's part for at least some of that change. It would seem that even the opponents of urbanisation and widespread westernisation advocate the need for new systems of agriculture, for improved services and amenities in the rural areas and for an increased standard of living. The question is, what changes to Papua New Guinean society and culture will necessarily accompany the institution of even such rural development?

Foster (1975) states that it is common for élites in developing countries to think they can pick the best of modern and traditional cultures. This, he argues, is an illusion - social and cultural systems are not jigsaw puzzles with interchangeable pieces, but rather development is a package deal. Duke and Sommerland (1976) have a different point of view. They discuss the same issue, but with respect to rural development strategies for Aborigines in Northern Australia. They feel that it is possible to teach new skills and institute new procedures without changing the traditional culture. They term it teaching "skills without the packaging of white values". However, Anderson et al. (1976) argued, in reply to Duke and Sommerland, that this was not possible because the successful introduction of new skills requires changes in traditional ways of viewing and thinking about the world. This in turn will change patterns of authority and social structure.

These latter arguments would seem to be valid for Papua New Guinea. It was noted above that traditional Papua New Guinean culture rested on religious or magical ways of thinking and that authority resided with the elders who were the most learned in this system. In

contrast, western culture and western skills require scientific, logical thought structures and individuals are encouraged to question existing knowledge. To be successful, any introduction into traditional Papua New Guinean society of new agricultural skills, new types of equipment, new services, new health and medical procedures, etc., must also be supported by new ways of scientific thinking. Without the requisite scientific understanding, these new provisions will fail, once white personnel cease to supervise their operation. Failure to change ways of thinking accounts for the failure of numerous projects in developing countries. However, as was discussed earlier in this chapter, the critical factor is that the change in thinking necessary for the successful operation of new projects will also institute an attendant chain reaction of changes to social and cultural beliefs and practices.

Change to Papua New Guinean society and culture therefore is inevitable, as the country's population develops new skills and practices and improves its standard of living. Given this, it is urgent that Papua New Guinea ensures that the change is positive and in the direction in which it wishes to go.

When thinking about the process of change, it has already been argued that two separate considerations are important. The first is the nature of the new social and cultural environment towards which Papua New Guinea is moving, and the ability of that environment to foster human health and well-being. The second is the process of change itself, and what the experience of change does to the individual. These two factors need to be considered separately, since the process of change has its own consequences for health and well-being, which may be separate from the health consequences of the new environment once the individual is stably settled within it. It may be that special measures are required to buffer the individual against any of the negative consequences of the change process experienced during the transition to a new and desired future society.

In order to make decisions in these areas, studies are required to provide information about what options are open to Papua New Guinea in the future; what would be the impact on human

health and well-being of pursuing different options; what course should be followed to achieve a desired future situation; and what measures should be taken along the way to help buffer individuals from any of the more disruptive consequences of change. Such considerations provided the motivation for the present Papua New Guinea Human Ecology Project.

CHAPTER 2THE RESEARCH DESIGN

The aim of this research was to study how migration from a traditional rural village to a new urban environment was affecting the life-style and conditions of people living in Papua New Guinea. It was decided to concentrate on two particular attributes of daily life which would be considerably affected by urban migration, and which are most important to individual and societal well-being. The first of these is the tasks which people carry out each day and the role which they play in society; the second is the nature of social relationships and the social support networks available to the individual.

With respect to the second of these, the previous chapter has already discussed how patterns of social relationships tend to change under the impact of geographical mobility. It also detailed the vulnerability of individuals, without the buffer of adequate social support networks, to the stresses of changing life situations. The nature of an individual's close social relationships can therefore be hypothesised to be of great importance to his well-being, and to be vulnerable to the sort of changes which are occurring in Papua New Guinea today.

The role which an individual plays in society may also be hypothesised to be of extreme importance to that individual's well-being. Successful operation of a social group is dependent upon the way in which its individual members work together, and complement one another, in performing all the necessary tasks for the efficient and balanced functioning of the group. The role which the individual has in the group contributes substantially to his sense of identity and purpose, and hence is an important component of his state of psychological well-being. Movement to town requires a radical change in the way in which society is structured and the roles which individuals are required to play. Failure on the part of an individual to make a successful transition, or any dissatisfaction with, or limitations in the new role will be reflected in both reduced societal and individual well-being.

Because the study was an exploratory one, it was decided that the most useful results could be obtained from an in-depth approach, where the researcher became well acquainted with a small group of people and involved in their daily activities and social interactions. This approach has many advantages when new concepts are being explored and developed as the study progresses, and where the subjects are of a different culture from the researcher. However, it means that only small numbers of people can be studied.

A small sample is a disadvantage if the results are intended to have generality, since Papua New Guinea is culturally diverse, and different areas have experienced very different amounts of western contact and development. Consequently there are likely to be significant differences in the way in which various ethnic groups have reacted to the experience of urban living. Given these likely differences and the small scale of the present study, it was decided to limit attention to a single ethnic group and to study its members in both rural and urban environments. Ethnic differences between groups are thus removed in the comparison of rural and urban situations, but the results may only be reliably applied to the group under study - unless research findings by other workers suggest their generality.

The group chosen for study were people from Chimbu Province who were either living in their home village in Chimbu, or who had migrated to the city of Lae. The focus on Lae as the urban environment to be studied was established in the initial terms of the Papua New Guinea Human Ecology Project. The choice of studying people from Chimbu Province, either in their rural, home environment, or in Lae, was made in conjunction with Marion Christie, who has focused upon consumer behaviour, also as part of the Papua New Guinea Human Ecology Project. There were several reasons for this choice.

First, Chimbu Province has one of the highest rates of out-migration in Papua New Guinea (Skeldon, 1977:5). Relative to most other areas of Papua New Guinea, Chimbu province is extremely densely populated and in many places there is an acute land shortage (Hatanaka, 1972:9-11). There are thus considerable 'push' factors in the rural environment which foster migration to the urban areas.

Second, the Chimbu people, particularly the men, have a somewhat notorious reputation, especially amongst coastal people (the Chimbu are highlanders), as being aggressive trouble-makers, drunkards and thieves. They are viewed with considerable suspicion and are not trusted. It is possible to find many defenders of the Chimbus, including our own research team, and it may be that the Chimbu reputation is largely a product of inter-group rivalry and mistrust. However, the urban crime statistics reported in Table 14, and the repeated outbreaks of tribal fighting in the rural areas do lend some empirical credence to the Chimbu myth, and it may be that the Chimbu do encounter particular problems in both the rural and urban environments which find expression in anti-social behaviour. As such, they are a particularly pertinent group to study.

Finally, the large increase in income in Chimbu Province with the rise in coffee prices, and the variability in income at different times of the year, made the Chimbu people an ideal focus for Marion Christie's work and so they became the focus for both studies.

The Sinasina district of Chimbu Province was chosen for having one of the highest population densities in Chimbu (see Table 1); for being an area in which coffee was grown; and for being relatively accessible by road. Within Sinasina the village of Iabakogl was chosen for study.\* Members of the Bulagsilbe subclan of the Tabare tribe live there. My research involved five months of fieldwork: two months of research was conducted in the village and a subsequent three months was spent in Lae working with Chimbus who had migrated there.

In Lae, three different groups of people were studied. First, all the members of the Bulagsilbe subclan who were living in Lae were traced. Eight households were found. The second and third groups were comprised of six Chimbu households in Boundary Road Settlement and six Chimbu households in Two Mile or Haikoast Settlement respectively. It was hoped that these three samples, together, would provide variety with respect to the type of homes and community environments in which Chimbus find themselves in Lae.

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\* We are very grateful to Mr Rod Saker, the ADC at Kamtai for his assistance in helping us establish ourselves in Iabakogl, and for his continued support throughout our stay.

Further description of the three samples will be given in chapter 4.

### Study Methods

#### (i) Rural Environment

As was discussed in chapter 1, the Papua New Guinean villager has a magical, superstitious world view which is at odds with western scientific thinking, and which leads him to organise his perceptions of the world very differently from a European. The villager does not tend to have the same concepts of number, quantity, time, causation etc. as the western researcher. For instance, he cannot tell you his age, nor accurately quantify what he owns, and his idea of the time (in hours and minutes) at which an activity started and finished is extremely hazy. He will, in good faith, give contrary explanations for an event, and discovery of such facts as who is related to whom, and how many wives and children a man has had, can assume the dimensions of a major piece of detective work. Moreover, the villager adopts an easy-going approach to arrangements for future events, quite at variance with a westerner's preoccupation with efficiency and punctuality. Important meetings or small social gatherings are frequently not held at the appointed time or place. Arrangements to meet an individual for travel, or to carry out a task as likely as not will fall through. Due to the above factors it is difficult to collect precise quantitative data on social variables. The original research objective was to obtain accurate records of the amount of time individuals spent on particular activities each day, and with whom they associated. This proved to be impossible, and a much less precise set of data was eventually obtained. Three main research procedures were followed and these formed a compromise between a more loosely structured, participant observer approach, and a structured, formal, questionnaire methodology.

First, and most informally, much time was spent with individuals from the village, accompanying them on their daily excursions to the market or the garden, etc., watching how they spent their day, with whom they interacted, and the form of the interaction. Second, more formal information was collected, over a three week period, on how individuals had spent each day: their activities, where they had travelled, and with whom they had spent



their time. Usually these data were collected early in the morning before the villagers had left the village for their day's activities. The villagers were, at this time, asked about their activities on the previous day.

Finally, individuals were interviewed, with the interview being recorded by tape recorder. A structured interview schedule was prepared, but the questions were open-ended, and, in response to points of interest raised by the respondent or problems of particular concern to him, and which he wished to discuss, departures from the specified course were made. The interview covered the following topics:

- (i) demographic details : - schooling,
  - migration history,
  - family history,
  - number of marriages,
  - number of children,
  - near relatives,
  - where people ate and slept.
- (ii) physical living conditions :
  - the size of the house was measured,
  - whether the individual had enough food,
- (iii) activities :
  - what activities the individual did each day,
  - what he/she considered to be women's work,
  - what he/she considered to be men's work.
- (iv) opinions about town and village :
  - where he/she would prefer to be,
  - whether if he went to live in town he would like his wife to go with him or to stay in the village (and the corresponding question for women),
  - whether he/she had any relatives in town, how often he/she saw them, and whether he/she thought they should stay or return to the village.

- (v) social system :
- who the individual went round with/spent much time with,
  - who helped him/her if he/she was sick,
  - who he/she talked to if he/she was upset,
  - whether he/she had *wantoks*<sup>1</sup> or friends around or whether he/she was ever lonely,
  - whether he/she looked after any old people,
  - where he/she would live and who would look after him/her when he/she was old.

Throughout the research, the language of communication was Melanesian Pidgin. Where an individual could not speak this language an interpreter was used to translate between Pidgin and the local language. Iabakogl is a village of about 25 households, and just over 100 people, including children (see Figure 3, and Table 7). All the adults in the village formed the sample for investigation in this part of the project.

(ii) Urban environment

As with the rural sample, the urban sample contained all adult members of the chosen three groups of households. The research followed much the same pattern as that in the rural environment except that, rather than living amongst the people, daily visits to the various households were made. Families were visited every evening for a period of three weeks, and asked about their daily activities. As well, individuals were interviewed and the interview tape-recorded. There were also many informal meetings and discussions with individuals at their homes.

The interviews were similar to those conducted in the village, but lengthier, and included more questions on why people had come to town, and what they thought of the town and the village; how those without work spent their time, and whether they were bored; whether they mixed with people from other provinces, what was the present composition of their neighbourhood and what sort of neighbourhood they would like to live in. Also several questions

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<sup>1</sup>*Wantok*: strictly defined as "one who speaks the same language".

were asked about relationships with kin, and whether they liked people from the village visiting and staying with them. As before, the questions were open-ended and points of interest were pursued whenever they arose. The interviews were conducted in Pidgin.

CHAPTER 3CHIMBU PROVINCE AND IABAKOGL

The rural research sample in this study comprised the inhabitants of the village of Iabakogl, which is situated in Sinasina, a district within Chimbu Province (see Maps 1 & 2). All persons in Iabakogl are members of the subclan Bulagsilbe. The Bulagsilbe form part of the clan Sine, which in turn is part of the tribe Tabare. In this chapter a brief demographic description will be given of these different groupings within Chimbu Province. This will be followed by a general description of the village of Iabakogl and its inhabitants.

The Bulagsilbe in Chimbu Province

Chimbu Province is divided into six districts (see Map 2), the population and the population density of which are shown in Table 1. Sinasina officially gained district status in 1978, although it has had de facto district status since early 1974. It is the district with the highest average population density.

Sinasina district is itself composed of two census divisions, Sinasina and Gunanggi, of which the larger, Sinasina census division, has a population per square mile of 289 (Table 1).

The Sinasina census division is composed of four tribes, and the Gunanggi census division of another three (Table 2). The largest of these tribes is the Tabare and it, in turn, is composed of eight clans (Table 3). The Sine are the largest of these clans and they have six sub-clans, of which the Bulagsilbe is one - in fact, the largest (Table 3).

The age and sex distribution for the Bulagsilbe subclan are shown in Table 4. In all age groups, except for people above 50 years, there is a higher proportion of men than women. There is also a higher proportion of men throughout Sinasina (Tables 2 and 3), and in Papua New Guinea as a whole (Table 13).

TABLE 1

1976 CENSUS DATA FOR CHIMBU PROVINCE WITH  
SINASINA ELEVATED TO DISTRICT STATUS (1978)

	Population	Area - square mile	Population per square mile
Kerowagi	32,217	238	135
Gumine	40,746	823	49
Chuave	31,692	264	120
Gembogl	22,261	204	109
Kundiawa - Kundiawa	3,886	87	45
- Karimui	7,826	1,450	5
Sinasina	26,632	97	266
<b>Total Chimbu Province</b>	<b>165,260</b>	<b>3,163</b>	<b>52</b>
<u>Sinasina district</u>			
Gunanggi census division	7,559	31	244
Sinasina census division	19,073	66	289
<b>Total Sinasina District</b>	<b>26,632</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>266</b>

TABLE 21976 CENSUS DATA FOR SINASINA  
AND GUNANGGI CENSUS DIVISIONS

Census Division	Tribe	Population	% Male
Sinasina	Tabare	10,312	54.5
Sinasina	Kere	2,349	52.4
Sinasina	Dingga	4,348	54.8
Sinasina	Nemai	2,064	54.4
Gunanggi	Dom	2,826	54.7
Gunanggi	Gunanggi	3,777	54.5
Guranggi	Kebai	956	57.8

TABLE 31976 CENSUS DATA FOR TABARE TRIBE AND SINE CLAN

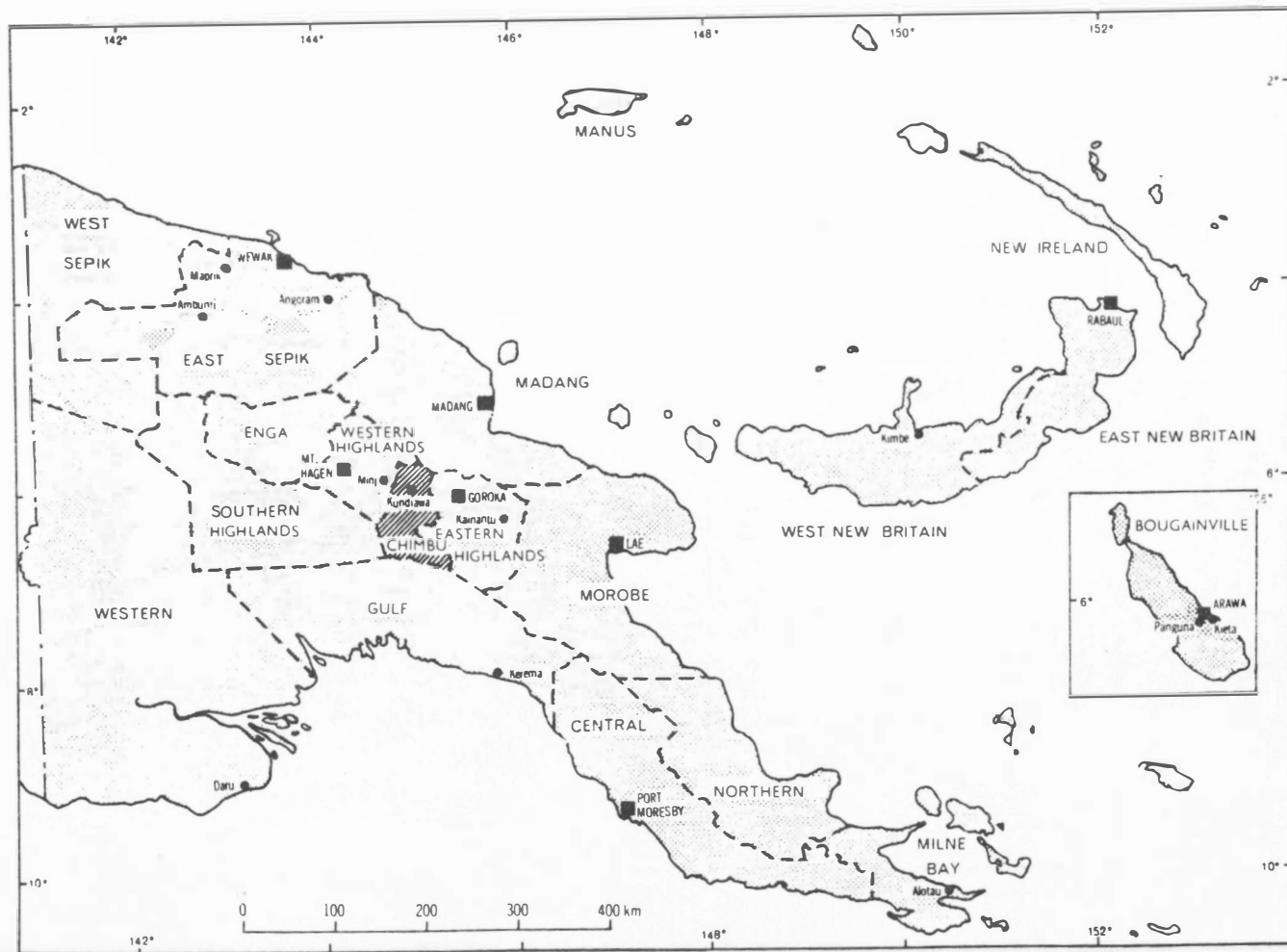
<u>Tabare Tribe</u>			<u>Sine Clan</u>		
Clan	Population	% Male	Subclan	Population	% Male
Sine	2,479	54.8	Bulagsilbe	852	54.7
Maima	447	57.3	Sinewai	244	60.7
Kilai	991	56.9	Kumotemi	284	58.4
Gola	716	55.2	Gilmai	526	49.8
Miule	1,657	53.4	Gunakane	251	55.0
Kabma	1,758	54.5	Yogomulkane	322	55.3
Kilma	1,309	53.8			
Wouma	955	52.8			

TABLE 4THE AGE AND SEX DISTRIBUTION OF THE BULAGSILBESUBCLAN - 1976 CENSUS DATA

	Age							Total	% Popu- lation
	0-9	10-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60+		
Males	120	108	68	61	51	36	19	463	54.7
Females	96	75	51	55	33	43	29	382	45.3
Total	216	183	119	116	84	79	48	845	100
% Population	25	22	14	14	10	9	6	100	



MAP 1 PAPUA NEW GUINEA SHOWING LOCATION OF CHIMBU PROVINCE



MAP 2 CHIMBU PROVINCE SHOWING DISTRICTS AND CENSUS DIVISIONS



Sinasina is densely populated and there is a land shortage. Perhaps partly in consequence, there are high rates of migration out of Sinasina. In 1969-70 Hatanaka (1972) indicated that 3,600 people out of 26,357 were absent from the area. This is 13.6 per cent of the population. At the 1976 population count 20.9 per cent of the Bulagsilbe subclan were absent. The percentage of the population within each age group who were away is shown in Table 5A. One quarter of the total male population was away, with the highest proportion of men being away in the 20 to 29 age bracket. When this is broken down into smaller age categories in Table 5B, it can be seen that sixty per cent of Bulagsilbe youths between the ages of 17 and 22 were away at the time of the census. For older and mainly married men up to the age of 50, over a third were away. These are very high proportions of able-bodied men to be away from the village. The locations of the absentees are given in Table 6.

#### Iabakogl

Iabakogl is one of the larger villages of the Bulagsilbe subclan. There are some eighteen villages and hamlets in which the Bulagsilbe live, but Iabakogl, with its population of just over 100, contains nearly one-eighth of the total Bulagsilbe population. It lies half-way between Kundiawa and Chuave. The village is accessible by road.

Table 7 shows the age and sex distribution of people living in Iabakogl. The ages have been estimated since almost no-one knew his own age. One peculiarity of the village is that it has become the home for most of the Bulagsilbe unmarried young men who remain in their home area. These young men, of about 18 years old, go around together, and sleep in the men's house in Iabakogl. Some have parents in Iabakogl, others do not. The big attraction of Iabakogl seems to be that it has a prosperous business family which owns two passenger motor vehicles (PMV's). The youths can obtain food from the women of this family in return for the performance of small tasks such as collecting firewood. They can also sometimes obtain free rides on the PMV's, which daily make trips to such places as Kundiawa, Goroka and Lae. Iabakogl is the only Bulagsilbe village with PMV's

TABLE 5

THE PERCENTAGE OF EACH AGE GROUP, IN THE BULAGSILBE  
SUBCLAN LIVING AWAY FROM THEIR HOME AREA AT THE TIME  
OF THE 1976 CENSUS.

## A. ALL AGE GROUPS

	Age							Total
	0-9	10-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60+	
Males, n = 463	21.6	25.9	44.1	29.5	33.3	2.7	5.2	26.1
Females, n = 382	16.6	22.6	15.6	18.1	12.1	2.3	0	14.6
Total n = 845	19.4	24.5	31.9	24.1	25.0	2.5	2.0	20.9

## B. YOUNG PEOPLE

	Age				
	14-16	17-19	20-22	23-25	26-28
Males, n = 123	17	61	60	46	37
Females, n = 90	27	30	31	13	17

TABLE 6

THE LOCATION OF ABSENT MEMBERS OF THE BULAGSILBE  
SUBCLAN AT THE 1976 CENSUS (Total absent, n = 177)

Highland areas		Coastal areas	
Goroka	17%	Port Moresby	18%
Chuave	8%	Lae	11%
Kundiawa	6%	Other Coastal areas	8%
Other Highland areas	31%		
(small numbers in each area)			
Total in Highland areas : 63%		Total in Coastal areas : 37%	

TABLE 7

THE AGE AND SEX DISTRIBUTION OF PEOPLE LIVING IN  
IABAKOGL

	Age						Total
	0-9	10-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50+	
Male	8	20	6	8	7	7	56
Female	15	6	11	6	3	10	51

and it would seem to be the most lively village from the point of view of these young men. In contrast, Iabakogl has only two girls of equivalent age, and one of them spends most of her time with relatives in another village.

Accommodation in the village is provided by 26 individual women's houses and by the communal men's house. Twenty of the houses were occupied at the time of research. Generally, each nuclear family has its own house where the women and children sleep. Sometimes additional female relatives may sleep there too. Adult men, and boys who have reached puberty, eat and may spend time during the day in these women's houses, but at night they sleep in the men's house. A few young married men are now starting to sleep in their wives' houses, except during her menstrual period, when they again move to the men's house. The typical woman's house has either one room, with a sleeping platform in one corner, or two or three rooms. In the latter case, the rooms are separated by thin woven partitions which do not reach the ceiling, and which have no covered doorway. Privacy is thus minimal. The average number of men, women and children per house, and the average area per person, are shown in Table 15, where these figures are compared with those for urban families.

There are distinct differences in the status and material wealth of the different families in Iabakogl. The large business family mentioned above is the most prosperous. They run several businesses: coffee buying, trade stores, PMV's. The younger men in this family are developing a new life style based on a cash rather than a subsistence economy. They spend much of their time running their businesses, and rarely work in the gardens. Their wives, too, consequently spend much less time in the gardens, and depend, rather, on buying food with the money their husbands give them. It is to this family that many of the young single men attach themselves. All members of this family, when asked if they always had enough food, or sometimes went hungry, said that they always had enough food.

Members of one other family also said that they, too, always had enough food. One of the men in this family was a doctor's assistant and he sent money home every fortnight to his wife. Otherwise, the remaining villagers said that there were times when they were hungry

and did not have enough to eat. These members of the village were primarily dependent on a subsistence way of life.

Within the village 48 people were interviewed formally; 24 men and 24 women. In addition 50 people were asked, over a period of two to three weeks, about what they had done on the previous day. On any given day only some of this total sample of people could be found for questioning at the time the interviews were to be done. The breakdown of these two samples into sex and age categories is shown in Table 8. The main body of the research results will be reported in chapters 5 and 6, together with results from the urban sample. In the remainder of this chapter, some demographic details of the people interviewed in Iabakogl will be given, and this will be followed, in chapter 4, by a description of the urban sample and the general environment in which they live.

Table 9 shows the number of people in the sample who could speak English and Pidgin. English was never used for communication within the village, although men or youths who had completed six years of schooling had some competence in English. Pidgin was spoken by all men under about 50 years, and by some of the younger women. Many of the younger married women were fluent in Pidgin but very shy to speak it. In particular, they would not speak it in front of men, especially their husbands, saying later, in private, that they were ashamed to. This probably symbolises a hesitancy on the part of some women in moving from more traditional, submissive roles to more modern, assertive ones.

In general, men in the village are better educated than woman, and young people have received more 'formal' education than older people. Table 10 gives the educational level attained by people in the village sample. In many cases people who have received just one or two years of schooling did so at a mission school.

As already mentioned there are high rates of migration out of Chimbu, especially among younger men, and Iabakogl is no exception to this. At the time of research three adolescent boys were away for schooling in Lae, Moresby and Enga. Four adult men were living in Rabaul, Chauve, Enga and Lae, and another five were spending much more time in other rural environments in Chimbu than in

Iabakogl. These figures are approximately halved for women. Amongst the men interviewed aged between 20 and 50, half had spent more than one year resident elsewhere in the highlands, and half had spent more than one year resident on the coast. These figures are shown in Table 11. Women are much less mobile than men, and as will be elaborated below, the absence of the man may cause hardship to his family.



TABLE 8

PERSONS IN THE RESEARCH SAMPLE IN IABAKOGL

Years:	Men N = 51			Women N = 48		
	Old (50+)	Adult (20-49)	Youths (17-19) Single	Old (50+)	Adult (20-49)	Young (17-19) Single
Interview	6	10	8	7	16	1
Daily activities	4	12	11	6	17	1
Total	10	22	19	13	33	2

TABLE 9

VILLAGERS' KNOWLEDGE OF PIDGIN AND ENGLISH

	Men			Women	
	Old	Adult	Youths	Old	Adult
<u>Pidgin</u>					
Good	2	10	8		4
Good, but shy					6
None	4			7	6
<u>English</u>					
A little		2	6		
None	6	8	2	7	16
Total	12	20	16	14	32

TABLE 10LEVEL OF EDUCATION OF PEOPLE INTERVIEWED

	Men			Women	
	Old	Adult	Youths	Old	Adult
None	5	2	1	7	10
Up to 2 years	1	5	1		4
3-6 years		2	6		2
Post-secondary		1			
Total	6	10	8	7	16

TABLE 11MIGRATION HISTORY OF VILLAGERS IN THE IABAKOGL SAMPLEA. Residence in other places within the Highlands

	Men			Women	
	Old	Adult	Youths	Old	Adult
Never/short visits only	4	4	7	6	14
Less than one year residence	1	1	1	1	2
More than one year residence	1	5			
Total	6	10	8	7	16

B. Residence in coastal areas

	Men			Women	
	Old	Adult	Youths	Old	Adult
Never/short visits only	3	4	6	7	14
Less than one year residence					1
More than one year residence	3	6	2		1
Total	6	10	8	7	16

CHAPTER 4THE CHIMBU IN LAE

The urban sample for this study was comprised of twenty Chimbu households in Lae. This chapter will first give some general details about the impact on Lae of in-migration of people from other areas of Papua New Guinea. Where it is appropriate particular reference will be made to people from Chimbu Province. This will be followed by details about the composition of the urban research sample, and a general description of their life conditions.

Migration into Lae

Like all major urban centres in Papua New Guinea, Lae has grown rapidly; its population expanding at a rate of about 15 per cent per annum between 1966 and 1971, which meant a doubling of the population in that six year period, to reach an indigenous population of 32,076, and a total population of 38,706. Apart from natural increase due to the birth rate, which nationally runs at 3 per cent per annum, the growth of Lae is due to in-migration from other areas of Papua New Guinea. In 1971, 61 per cent of Lae's population were such migrants (Skeldon, 1977: p.68).

Table 12 shows the place of birth of the Papua New Guineans in Lae in 1971. Apart from in-migration from other areas in Morobe, the province in which Lae is situated, the Chimbu form one of the biggest groups of migrants in Lae.

A more recent population estimate from the Urban Population Survey, conducted in Lae in October 1977, shows the national population as 41,000 and the total population as 45,100, which gives a growth rate for the national population of 5.0 per cent per year and that for the whole population (including non-nationals) of 3.3 per cent per year, between 1971 and 1977.

Due to the large proportion of migrants in Lae, the age and sex structure of Lae's population is unusual. This is shown in Table 13 where the age and sex distribution of Lae's population is compared with that for Papua New Guinea as a whole. Many migrants

TABLE 12PLACE OF BIRTH OF LAE'S INDIGENOUS POPULATION, 1971 CENSUS

Place of Birth	Number	Percentage
Morobe	20,571	64.1
East and West Sepik	1,873	5.8
Eastern Highlands	1,520	4.7
Chimbu	1,429	4.5
Madang	1,360	4.2
Central	1,312	4.1
Northern	942	2.9
Milne Bay	759	2.4
Gulf	665	2.1
East and West New Britain	551	1.7
Western Highlands	404	1.3
Other	690	2.2
Total	32,076	100

TABLE 13

AGE AND SEX DISTRIBUTION OF PAPUA NEW GUINEA'S AND LAE'S  
INDIGENOUS POPULATIONS, 1971 CENSUS, (PERCENTAGES)

	Age							Total
	0-9	10-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60+	
Papua New Guinean = 2,433,809	34.8	19.5	15.7	12.1	9.6	5.4	2.8	100
Lae n = 32,051*	28.8	24.5	29.5	11.1	3.8	1.6	0.6	100

35

	Sex		
	Male	Female	Total
Papua New Guinea, n = 2,435,409	51.8	48.2	100
Lae, n = 32,076*	63.2	36.8	100

\* As given in the Census Data

to urban areas, including Lae, are young men between the ages of about 17 and 30 years. This was apparent in the migration statistics for the Bulagsilbe in 1976 (Table 5). Some migrants bring wives and children with them, but many do not. Consequently, there is a much higher proportion of men than women in Lae. Also, compared with national figures, there is a lower proportion of people aged up to 15 years, a higher proportion aged between 15 and 30 or 35 years, and a lower proportion thereafter.

These figures are evidence of a somewhat unusual urban population, one with an undue proportion of young men who do not have the stabilising influences of either extended or nuclear family living in close proximity to them. In addition, there is a high rate of unemployment. Results from the Urban Household Survey conducted in 1973-74 indicate that some 20 percent of males in Lae between the ages of 15 and 44 years were without formal sector employment, full-time students excluded (Garnaut\*, Wright and Curtin, 1977). When the sample is narrowed to male Chimbus in Lae between the ages of 15 and 44 years, the same proportion - one-fifth - is found to be without employment.

The urban environment is thus characterised by a high proportion of young men away from their families; a high rate of unemployment; many novel stimuli and cultural mores; and the necessity for money - for both subsistence, and to pursue the offerings of the new environment. With the combination of these factors it is hardly surprising that there is a high crime rate in the cities, and that most of the offences are committed by men between the ages of 15 and 30 years.

Table 14A shows the age, sex, and place of origin of defendants appearing before the Morobe District Court in Lae in January 1978. It also shows in part B, the type of offence committed.† Ninety per cent of cases coming before the Court were committed by men. When the proportion of people in each age group committing offences

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\* We are grateful to Ross Garnaut for making these data available to us in advance of their publication.

† We are grateful to the Chief Magistrate, Mr Peter White, for providing us with access to this data.

is compared with the age distribution of the total population in Lae aged 15 years and over, it can be seen that the 20 to 34 year age group, in particular, is committing more offences than their numbers would warrant, if the defendants were spread evenly across the age range.

There is also not proportional representation, among the defendants, of people from different provinces. Fifty-four per cent of the convicted were coastal people who form 88 per cent of the population. In contrast, highlanders form only 12 per cent of the population, but were responsible for 46 per cent of convictions. While the proportions of coastal and highland people in Lae may have changed a little since 1973, the difference between highland representation in the population as a whole and amongst the convicted will still be considerable. Highlanders in general, and the Chimbu in particular, have a bad reputation in Lae, both amongst coastal people and amongst law enforcing authorities. Certainly these statistics lend some empirical validity to that reputation. The Chimbu form perhaps one-twentieth of Lae's population and yet in January 1978 were responsible for over one-fifth of the convictions.

Finally, Table 14 summarises the type of offence with which people were charged. Just under one-half of the offences were angry acts against another person - provoking a breach of the peace, assault or damaging property; and almost one-third were for theft or being unlawfully on premises.

#### The urban research sample

Within Lae, three separate Chimbu samples were used. First all members of the Bulagsilbe sub-clan living in Lae were traced. This provided one sample of eight households. The other two samples were composed of six households each; from Boundary Road Settlement and Two-Mile Settlement, respectively.

Boundary Road and Two-Mile Settlements are both self-help settlements. This means that individuals have been allocated a block of land by the Government, and are eligible for a loan to build whatever sort of house they wish, out of whatever materials they can obtain. The two settlements have adopted different development policies and were chosen for this reason.



TABLE 14

PERSONS APPEARING BEFORE THE MOROBE DISTRICT COURT  
IN LAE IN JANUARY 1978

A. <u>Home Province of defendants</u>	Convicted		Total Appearances+		% in Lae Population	
	n	%	n	%	1971	1973-74*
	Morobe	48	29	74	29	64
Sepik	18	11	33	13	6	9
Other coastal	25	15	33	13	19	26
Chimbu	37	22	54	21	4	4
Eastern Highlands	24	14	36	14	5	8
Other highlands	15	9	26	10	2	-
Total	167	100	256	100	100	100
Total coastal	91	54	140	55	89	88
Total highlands	76	46	116	45	11	11

+ total appearances = acquitted + convicted

\* 1971 Census, and 1973-74 Urban Household Survey in Lae.

B. <u>Age of defendants</u>	Convicted		Total Appearances		% in Lae's population aged 15 and over*
	n	%	n	%	
	14 and under	1	-	1	
15-19	32	21	51	21	25
20-24	63	41	92	38	28
25-29	29	19	57	24	19
30-34	13	8	20	8	11
35-39	4	3	4	2	7
40-44	6	4	8	3	3
45-49	7	4	9	4	3
50 and over	0	0	0	0	4
Total	155	100	242	100	100

\* 1971 Census, indigenous population aged 15 years and over.

TABLE 14 (CONTD.)

C. <u>Sex of defendants</u>	Convicted	Total Appearances
Male	159	238
Female	17	32
Total	176	270

D. <u>Type of offence</u>	Convicted	Total Appearances
Provoking a breach of the peace	16	32
Assault	53	78
Damage property	10	14
Theft	38	60
Unlawfully on premises	13	19
Other	38	53
Total	168	256

In Boundary Road, settlement was largely spontaneous, and this is reflected in the unordered geography of the place. The shape and juxtaposition of the various blocks show no signs of the tidy layout attributable to a western planner. People from the same province tend to be clustered together. The settlement as a whole is large and contains areas which are primarily occupied by Sepiks, or Morobeans or other groups of people. In the middle is an area primarily occupied by highlanders, and the six households were drawn from this part of Boundary Road.

In contrast, Two Mile has been planned along western lines with a regular system of roads and house blocks. Each block is rectangular and fronts onto a road (see Figure 6). Each block has running water, and the settlement committee enforces standards of block care and maintenance, and law and order. In addition, and of most interest to this study, a deliberate policy was adopted, when blocks were allocated, to achieve a social mix within the community. Particular ethnic groups were not expected to develop their own small communities by occupying neighbouring blocks. Rather, neighbours were intended to come from different areas of Papua New Guinea, and the objective was to create a new community of people who were originally from diverse backgrounds. Choice of these two settlements in the present study was designed to investigate whether these differing community arrangements affected the lives of the individuals within them. In fact, as the study revealed, the two settlements were somewhat similar, in that, in spite of planning, significant clustering of people from the same home areas had occurred in Two Mile Settlement.

The third group in the urban sample, the Bulagsilbe households, were scattered across Lae. All lived in neighbourhoods that contained few Chimbus and many people from different coastal areas. Four lived in company houses, one in a housing commission house, and three in self-help areas.

Living conditions in town are somewhat different from those in the village. The houses are made from different materials. In the village bush materials are used and houses are constructed on the ground. Fires are made inside the houses, for warmth, and people spend much of their time indoors when in the village. In

town, self-help houses, constructed by the occupants, are made of an assortment of salvaged, factory produced materials: corrugated iron, timber, etc. They are usually built on stilts and are often in poor repair. Because of the heat, people spend as little time inside their houses as possible. They sit, eat and cook outside, on their house blocks (see Newcombe et al, 1978). Company housing for the people in the present sample was of fairly low quality, very basic, and made of corrugated iron.

Half of the men liked their houses, half did not; whereas only a third of the women liked their houses. The chief complaints were that the houses were too small, poorly constructed and that the mosquitoes could get in. Six of the 20 houses had no toilets and the occupants used the nearby bush. Also in those houses that had no regular water supply, occupants complained about the bad water they had to drink. There seemed to be much more discontent with housing conditions in the town than in the village. This may be because aspirations were raised in town by the awareness that better housing existed.

Household composition also varies between village and town. In the village most men sleep in the men's house and each woman's house is generally occupied by one woman and her children. Sometimes another close female relative will live in the same house, or one house will be divided into two, each half having its own door and belonging to a separate nuclear family. In town, the men sleep in the same house as the women. The permanent residents of a house very often include several other relatives beyond the nuclear family, and there is a constant stream of visitors passing through the house. These are people who come from the village to stay with their relatives in town for anything from one night to several months. Usually they do not work, and the town family must feed them, give them shelter, pay their way back to the village, and give many other gifts. They can be a considerable burden on the town family.

One particular type of visitor to these houses is the single unemployed young man. It was observed that many of these young men appear to have no regular home, but to divide their time between the households of a number of their *wantoks* who live in different

locations across Lae. Through this residential pattern it may be assumed that these young men escape regular supervision by any one more senior person. While such a group of young men did not form a focus for the present study, it is probable they represent a serious urban problem: they are unemployed, restless, have little to do, and are away from the stabilising influences of family. The crime statistics suggest that this group of people may be responsible for much of the urban crime which is becoming an increasingly serious problem.

Table 15 compares household composition and housing density in the rural and urban households in the sample. On average, houses in town are larger than village houses, but have to accommodate more people; and in fact, the average area per person is the same in the village and the town when only the permanent residents in the urban households are included. When the urban household figure is adjusted by the average number of visitors per night, for each household, the average area per person is considerably reduced. Rural and urban households have the same average number of children, which would be expected, as each urban household, as in the village, has as its basis a nuclear family. However, it can be seen that urban households have more adults as permanent residents. Also most of the visitors to urban households are adults.

Within the urban sample, 37 people were interviewed formally, 19 men and 18 women. Fifty-one people were questioned over a period of three weeks about their daily activities. The break-down of these two samples into age, sex and employment categories is shown in Table 16. Most of the analysis will be concerned with adult, married men and women, and in particular with men who work and women who do not. Most of the interviews were with people in these categories.

All but one of the 20 households studied in Lae had at least one person in wage employment. Usually this was the head of the household, but in two cases the household head was unemployed and another permanent resident had a job. In 10 households only one person had a job; in 7 households two people had jobs and in 2 households three people had jobs. In most cases the basic household

TABLE 15

## HOUSING DENSITY IN LAE AND IABAKOGL

	Town households				Village households
	Bulagsilbe	Boundary Road	Two Mile	Total Lae	Iabakogl
Average area per house; sq ft	201	247	264	261	201
Average number of persons per home					
- permanent residents only	4.3	4.6	5.8	5.0	3.2*
- residents and visitors	5.1	5.8	7.3	6.0	4.3**
Average area per person; sq ft					
- permanent residents only	51.8	52.8	62.4	55.9	56.7 <sup>∅</sup>
- residents and visitors	44.2	42.2	50.1	45.8	42.2

Average number of men, women, children per home	Men	Women	Children	Total
Iabakogl: including people who sleep in men's house	1.4	1.3+	1.6	4.3
Iabakogl: not including people who sleep in men's house	0.4	1.2+	1.6	3.2
Lae: permanent residents only	1.8	1.5	1.7	5.0

\* 3.2: does not include people who belong to a household but who sleep in the men's house.

\*\* 4.3: includes people who belong to a household but who sleep in the men's house.

∅ : includes area of the men's house

+ : two old women slept in the men's house rather than in the houses of their daughters-in-law.

TABLE 16PERSONS IN THE RESEARCH SAMPLE IN LAE

Age Employment status	Men			Women		
	20-49 Em- ployed	20-49 Unem- ployed	17-49 Unem- ployed	20-49 Em- ployed	20-49 Unem- ployed	17-49 Unem- ployed
Interview	14	4	1	2	16	0
Daily activities	18	5	4	4	17	3

TABLE 17

NUMBER OF YEARS SPENT IN LAE BY PERSONS  
IN THE URBAN SAMPLE

	Male	Female
Less than 1 year	3	2
1-2 years	1	4
3-4 years	1	3
5-6 years	3	2
7-8 years	5	4
9+ years	6	3
Total	19	18

had been established for several years in Lae. Table 17 gives the number of years persons in the sample have spent in Lae. Three-quarters of the men have been in Lae for five or more years, and half the women also have been there for that time.

Ability to speak Pidgin is essential in town, if an individual is to talk with anyone other than persons speaking the same local language. All men in the sample could speak Pidgin and it would be extremely rare to find a man in town who could not. The exception would be the occasional old man who was visiting close relatives, probably his children, for a short time. All but one of the women could speak Pidgin, and none showed the same shyness about it evident in many women in the village. A quarter of the men in the sample knew some English, but Pidgin was far preferred as a medium of communication. The men in the town sample tended to have had more education than men of the same age in the village sample; but there was no difference between the women in town and village (see Table 18).

TABLE 18

LEVEL OF EDUCATION OF PEOPLE IN THE  
URBAN AND RURAL SAMPLES

Age:	Town				Village			
	Male (17-50)		Female (17-50)		Male (17-50)		Female (17-50)	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
None	3	16	11	61	2	20	10	62
Up to 2 years	6	31	7	39	5	50	4	25
3-6 years	8	42			2	20	2	13
Post-secondary	2	11			1	10		
Total	19	100	18	100	10	100	16	100



CHAPTER 5CHANGING PATTERNS OF DAILY ACTIVITIES

This and the following chapter report the main research results. Several themes emerge from these results. In particular, the data depict a people in the early stages of transition from a traditional social and economic system to a new one. Old patterns are challenged and eroded, and yet, in many cases, they have not been replaced by something new. So basic needs are unmet.

In this study the main focus was the impact of urbanisation on patterns of daily activities and primary social relationships. In both these areas, movement to town is found to change traditional patterns, and to require that new activities and new primary groups are developed, if the individual is to have a satisfying, productive role within his family and community and adequate companionship and emotional support from people close to him. In addition, it appears to be the women who are most vulnerable to the process of change, and who find it harder to make the necessary adjustments in order for their needs to be met in their new environment. This chapter will examine activity patterns and roles within the rural and urban environments. The following chapter will look at primary social relationships, and the effect that changes to these, following movement to the urban environment, have on the wider social system,

Traditionally, within the village, daily activities revolve around gardening, house-building, tending the pigs, collecting firewood and other tasks necessary for subsistence. As in most traditional societies there is a strong division of labour between male and female. Both men and women have set, well-defined roles, and there is considerable role segregation between the two sexes. Men and women would be ashamed to trespass into each other's areas. The woman would be considered too forward if she were to move into spheres of male influence, and it is beneath a man's dignity to perform female tasks.

In general, the men are responsible for all political matters involving authority and status within the group, and negotiations and relationships between groups. They are also

TABLE 19: REPLIES TO THE OPEN-ENDED QUESTIONS "WHAT IS MEN'S WORK?"  
AND "WHAT IS WOMEN'S WORK?"

	People in the village				People in town				Village		Town	
	Men's replies		Women's replies		Men's replies		Women's replies		All replies		All replies	
	Men's work	Women's work	Men's work	Women's work	Men's work	Women's work	Men's work	Women's work	Men's work	Women's work	Men's work	Women's work
Make fences	16		17						33			
Collect firewood	12		12						24			
Clear - new garden	6		6						12			
Build house	3		6						9			
Rur. business	2		2						4			
Dig ditches	2								2			
Banana production	6	1	2						8	1		
Sugar production	6	1	2						8	1		
Coffee production	11	3	7	5					18	8		
Look after pig	1	2		7					1	3		
Production of other vegetables	1	7		9					1	16		
Market/shop		3	1	4		1		4	1	7		5
Kaukau production		16		18						34		
Kumau production		15		17						32		
Weed garden		9		13						22		
Collect kumai for house roof		2		4						6		
Care of old people				1						1		
House cleaning		6		12		9		9		18		18
Cook		7		9		10		7		16		17
Wash clothes		3		11		13		14		14		27
Wash plates etc.		2		2		7		14		4		21
Mind children				4		4		2		4		6
Look after garden						1		1				2
Look after yard						2	1	4			1	6
Work for wages					15	1	16	1			31	2
Total number replies	66	77	55	116	15	48	17	56	121	193	32	104
Total number people	16	16	19	19	15	15	16	16	35	35	31	31

responsible for some of the heavy work in building a new house and developing a garden. With respect to the latter, they clear the heavy bush, dig ditches and make fences for a new garden. Thereafter it is the woman's role to plant, weed and harvest the staple foods - *kaukau* (sweet potato), *kumu* (greens), and other vegetables. Some crops are considered to be man's work, and he plants and harvests these, in particular bananas and sugar cane. The women are primarily responsible for the daily management of home and garden, and need to work steadily, day after day, if the family, and its pigs, are to be fed and properly looked after. The men, on the other hand, have more sporadic work, hard at times, but with much easy time in between.

This system has developed to suit the requirements of subsistence agricultural living in Papua New Guinea. While men are politically dominant, and women subordinate, both men and women are equally dependent on the work of the other. If the work of either is left undone, the whole system breaks down. For instance, if the man does not clear new ground, dig ditches and make and repair fences, the woman cannot grow the staple foods. If she does not tend the gardens adequately, food is not produced for the family. Both men and women thus have vital roles to play, which structure the way in which they spend at least part of their time each day. These patterns are being challenged by new ways both within the village and, more significantly, within the town.

#### Perceived Roles

During the interview, men and women were asked "What is men's work?". These were open ended questions, and respondents stated just those tasks which came to mind. People in the village were asked to describe village work, people in town, town work. The number of men and women naming particular tasks as male or female are given in Table 19. As men and women do not differ in the roles they ascribe to each sex, combined male and female replies are summarised on the right hand side of the table.

Role segregation is very noticeable in these data. Amongst village replies, only one of the sexes was nominated for 16 out of 22 of the tasks; and for five of the remaining six tasks, the

activity belonged dominantly to one sex, with only one person nominating the opposite sex. The activities were often related as a small story, showing the sequencing of male and female activities and the mutual dependence of one on another. For instance:

"The man cuts down the trees and clears the bush. Then he takes all the wood and cuts fence posts. Then he makes fences. He digs ditches, and plants banana, sugar and other man's things. Work finished alright, the woman comes into the garden and plants women's things - *kaukau*, *pitpit*, *kumu*." (Male respondent).

"The woman plants *kaukau* and weeds the garden. She harvests *kaukau*, washes it, and she gives the good *kaukau* to her husband. He eats it and is happy." (Female respondent).

"When we build a house, the man starts and cuts the wood and builds the frame. Then the woman cuts kunai grass and brings it to the man. The man puts it on the roof. House finished, the woman goes inside the house and makes it tidy. That is our custom." (Female respondent).

In Table 19, only one item showed considerable overlap between male and female roles and responsibilities. This was activities connected with coffee, which is a new, recently introduced sphere of behaviour. As a very profitable cash crop, coffee is a considerable agent of change within the village community. It is not surprising, then, to find that it also heralds changes in role stereotyping amongst men and women.

Movement to town is accompanied by considerable change in perceived roles. The man's work becomes "*wok mani tasol*" - work for money, that's all. This is seen to be of overriding importance to everyone, and was the unanimous reply, even from unemployed men and women whose husbands did not work. The woman's role, on the other hand, was seen to be similar to that in the village, but greatly reduced in scope. Practically all gardening activities disappeared, and the woman was just left with housework and shopping. For instance one man replied:

"The woman cooks, washes plates, saucepan, washes my clothes, and the baby's clothes, sweeps the house, and she sits down in my house, that's all."

### Daily activities

People's perceived role also corresponds to that which emerges from analysis of their daily activities. Individuals were asked what they had done on each day over a two or three week period. The results are reported in Table 20. As indicated before, these data were not precise. On any day, some individuals could not be contacted. People did not recall all that they had done, nor could they place accurate times on the start and finish of their activities. Individuals are categorised as having done or not done a particular activity for the morning and afternoon separately. Table 20 gives the percentage of individuals in the sample who performed a particular type of activity on any one morning or afternoon. Results were similar for mornings and afternoons, except that individuals tended to do less in the afternoons. Figure 1 summarises diagrammatically the morning results for the most important groups of people and activities.

The Pidgin terms "*stap nating*" and "*raun nating*" have been retained as being particularly expressive of the activities they describe. "*Stap nating*" or "*sindaun nating*" means staying at home and not doing anything in particular. Individuals were classified in this category if they had spent several hours at home, in either the morning or afternoon, without doing any other notable activity during this time. "*Raun nating*" refers to going round town, or the local neighbourhood in the rural environment, without any other motive than to pass the time and to meet people casually. The category "long distance travel" refers, in the rural environment, to trips to places such as Kundiawa or Goroka; and in the city to visits to places outside Lae, such as Bulolo, or Chimbu.

The data indicate that, within the village, the women do most of the gardening and housework, while the men do most of the fencing, building of houses and toilets, etc., and collecting firewood. The men also spend about one-fifth of their days travelling, by the PMVs owned by village men, to towns such as Kundiawa, Minj, Chauve, Goroka. With movement to Lae, there is a big reduction in the amount of time

FIGURE 1B DAILY ACTIVITIES OF RURAL AND URBAN RESIDENTS (CONT.)

THE PERCENTAGE OF PEOPLE ON EACH MORNING WHO PERFORMED PARTICULAR ACTIVITIES.

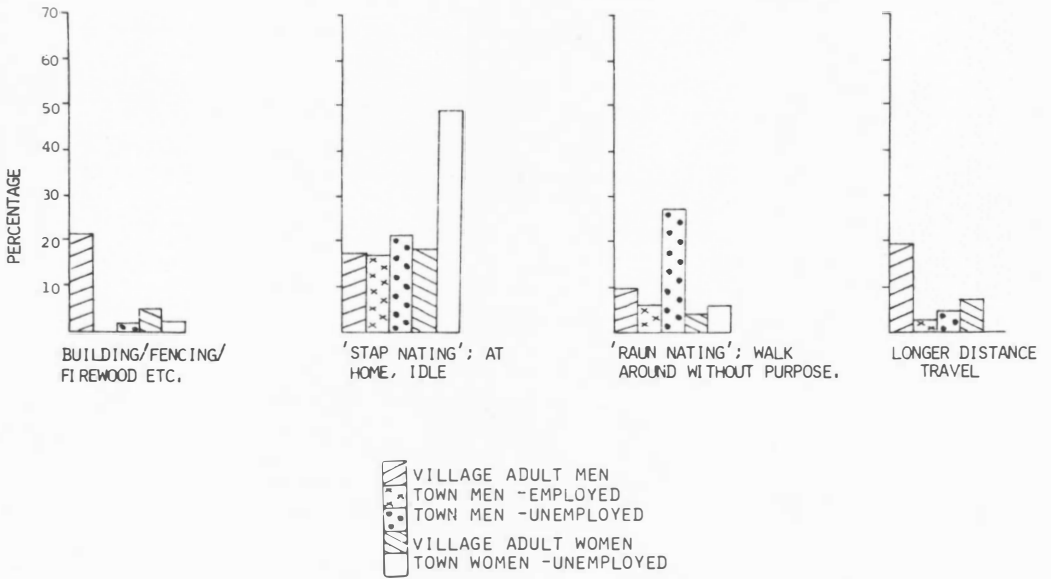


FIGURE 1A DAILY ACTIVITIES OF RURAL AND URBAN RESIDENTS

THE PERCENTAGE OF PEOPLE ON EACH MORNING WHO PERFORMED PARTICULAR ACTIVITIES.

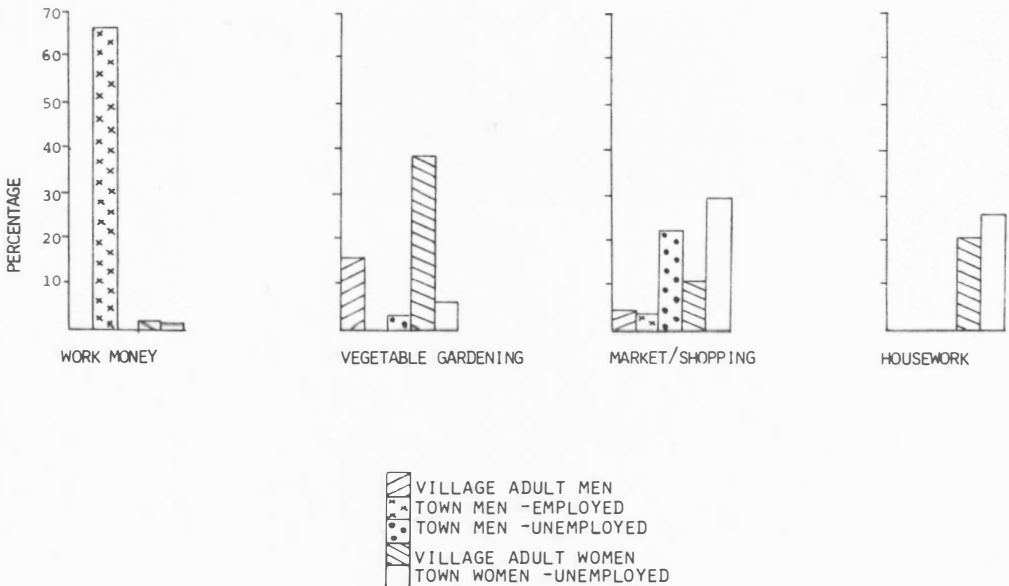


TABLE 20: DAILY ACTIVITIES

	number of man days	work money	gardening	shopping	house- work	building, fencing, firewood, etc.	community work	visit church hospital, school	large social gathering	play cards	'shap nating'	'raun nating'	make social visit	longer distance travel
<u>MORNING</u>														
<u>VILLAGE:</u>														
old men (50+)	27	4	19			33	4	7	4		22			15
adult men (20-49)	141		16	5		21	2	12	4	2	18	10	4	19
young men (17-19)	60	3	3			25	3	5	2	3	18	22		30
old women (50+)	35		43	20	6	6		11			26	3	3	
adult women (20-49)	174	1	39	10	20	5	3	6	3	2	19	4	7	7
<u>TOWN:</u>														
employed men (20-49)	272	66		3		1		6	2	2	17	7	3	2
unemployed men (20-49)	68		3	22		1	1	6	6		22	28	6	4
unemployed young men (17-19)	38		3	3		3		3			45	47		
employed women (20-49)	64	66		11				6			13	5	5	
unemployed women (20-49)	252	1	6	28	25	2		9	2	5	50	7	2	1
<u>AFTERNOON</u>														
<u>VILLAGE:</u>														
old men (50+)	27		15			15					56			15
adult men (20-49)	141	1	10			16			11	10	36	11	4	20
young men (17-19)	60	5	7			12			15	7	35	7		24
old women (50+)	35		31		74				3		46		6	
adult women (20-49)	174		29	1	68	3			7	15	34	1	6	6
<u>TOWN:</u>														
employed men (20-49)	272	63	1	4		1		2	3	3	23	8	3	2
unemployed men (20-49)	68		4	19			1		4	3	34	28	6	4
unemployed young men (17-19)	38			3						8	55	50		
employed women (20-49)	64	63		9	80			3	2	3	19	16	5	
unemployed women (20-49)	252		4	16	71			4	2	10	71	5	3	1

\* 'shap nating' = stay home doing nothing in particular  
 \*\* 'raun nating' = wander about without purpose

spent gardening, and also in activities related to fencing and building. This is replaced, for men who are employed, by time spent at work. For men who are unemployed, these activities are replaced by shopping and "*raun nating*". Unemployed women in town spend their time on housework, shopping and "*stap nating*".

#### Gardening

Eight of the 20 households studied in Lae had vegetable gardens. All were small gardens which occupied little of each family's time. Four families had gardens almost adjacent to their house block, two had gardens a short walk away and two had gardens some six miles away, near the university. Only two of the remaining 12 families without gardens said that they would like to have a garden, but there was not enough land. None of the men with employment themselves wanted to garden - they said that they were too tired after work, but some saw it as a suitable occupation for their wives. However, many of the women did not want to garden in Lae, saying that it was too hot, too wet, they were too tired, or they would get sick.

Apart from a little betel nut, coconut or the occasional taro, none of the families grew vegetables on their house block. When asked about this they said either that their block was too small; or that the block was a place to sit down, not a place to grow vegetables; or that they had been told to cut down vegetation like banana trees because it encouraged insects like mosquitoes to breed; or that it was forbidden to grow vegetables on the house block. All families, for one reason or another, were against growing vegetables on their block. However, while this is true for all these families, at the time of research, it is not universally true in all Lae settlements. For instance, vegetable gardening is apparent on house blocks in Taraka.

#### Daily travel

A similar pattern of how men and women spend their time, and of the differences between town and village emerges from analysis of individuals' daily travel. For each morning and afternoon individuals were categorised with respect to the type of journeys they had made



TABLE 21

THE PERCENTAGE OF PEOPLE WHO ON EACH MORNING AND AFTERNOON ADOPTED A PARTICULAR MODE OF TRANSPORT

	Number of man days	No travel		Local neighbourhood - walk		Further distance - walk		Further distance - motor vehicle	
		a.m.	p.m.	a.m.	p.m.	a.m.	p.m.	a.m.	p.m.
<u>VILLAGE:</u>		%		%		%		%	
Old men (50+)	27	2	63	59	22	0	4	15	15
Adult men (20-49)	141	23	33	44	41	11	5	20	21
Young men (17-19)	60	27	35	35	35	8	3	35	32
Old women (50+)	35	26	54	67	46	6	0	0	0
Adult women (20-49)	174	21	39	63	48	9	5	7	8
<u>TOWN:</u>									
Employed men (20-49)	272	14	23	7	6	19	13	60	60
Unemployed men (20-49)	68	19	31	9	6	13	13	54	49
Unemployed young men (17-19)	38	42	47	16	16	34	29	11	13
Employed women (20-49)	64	13	17	30	28	16	6	44	53
Unemployed women (20-49)	252	48	67	13	10	8	7	30	15

away from their home. If they had stayed at home for the whole period they were classified as "no travel", otherwise they were placed in one or more of the following three categories:

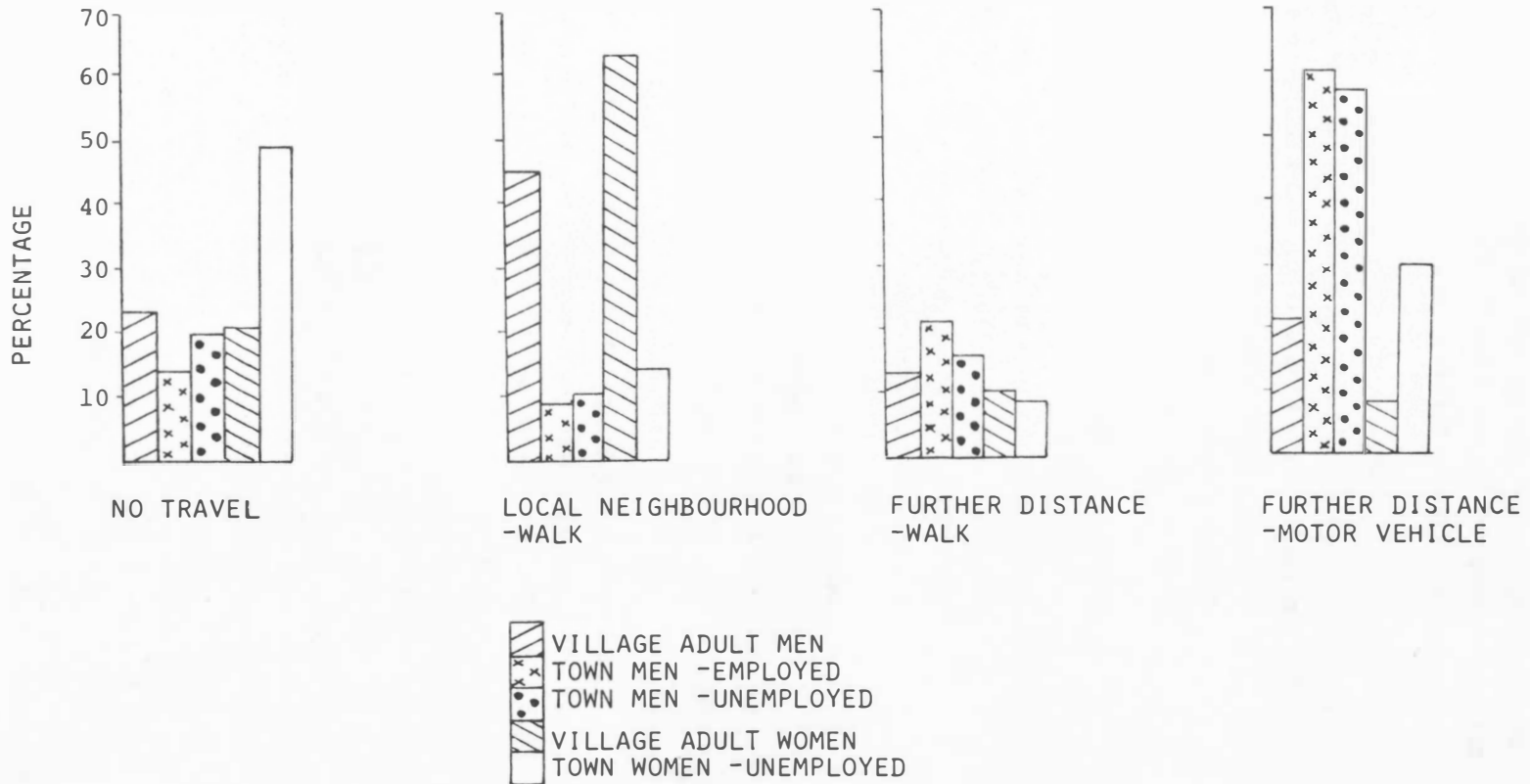
- (i) local neighbourhood - walk: In the rural environment this referred to staying within an area of one or two miles from the home village, and walking to a local village, market, vegetable garden etc. In town this referred to walking to places within the settlement, or very close to it, such as to a local store.
- (ii) further distance - walk: In the rural environment this referred to journeys of several miles or more, such as walking to a village across the valley on the next range of hills. In town it referred to walking several miles to the centre of town, the main market, the hospital etc.
- (iii) further distance - motor vehicle: This referred to the same sorts of distances as in (ii) or even further, such as trips to Kundiawa, Goroka etc. These journeys were made by motor vehicle - almost invariably buses or PMVs.

Table 21 gives the percentage of individuals in the sample who on any morning or afternoon adopted a particular mode of travel. Again, mornings and afternoons differ, in that individuals are much more likely to stay at home in the afternoon than the morning. Figure 2 summarises diagrammatically the morning results for the most important groups of people.

In the village, most journeys involve walking around the local neighbourhood and, as in the daily activity data, it is noticeable that men go further afield in PMVs more often than do women. In town, the main mode of travel changes from walking around the local neighbourhood, as in the village, to travelling outside the local neighbourhood but inside the city, by PMV or bus. Also women in town who are not employed stay at home much more than women who work, or women in the village.

FIGURE 2 DAILY TRAVEL OF RURAL AND URBAN RESIDENTS

THE PERCENTAGE OF PEOPLE ON EACH MORNING WHO ADOPT A PARTICULAR TRAVEL MODE



### Changes to village life

The picture which emerges in the village is one in which women have a steady stream of tasks to keep them occupied, and a very well defined role. Performance of these tasks takes them away from their home, but generally keeps them within the local neighbourhood where they know most people they meet. During the time in which they are not performing other duties, and there is a reasonable amount of this time, the women make *bilums* (string bags) and chat, and the younger ones sometimes play cards for money. The latter has been forbidden by the newly instituted Village Court, and so was conducted in secret during most of my stay there. However, since then it has again become a more open activity, (pers comm, M. Christie, CRES, ANU).

In comparison with the women, village men have a less structured way of life, with fewer demands made on their time. They have sporadic bursts of enthusiastic activity making a new fence, building a new house, etc., which usually lasts for a couple of days or so, after which time they return to a less strenuous way of life. Iabakogl has two PMVs which operate daily, and village men ride on these, or other vehicles, to nearby towns. They make decisions to travel very impulsively, and, for instance, if they discover a free place on a vehicle travelling to Lae, they may take it immediately, and leave without informing their family.

Activity patterns have changed considerably from the time before contact with Europeans, particularly for the men. There is a reduction in the time spent on warfare and related activities. More efficient equipment, such as steel axes, has also meant a reduction in the time required for building fences and houses, digging ditches, etc. Men therefore have more spare time and different responsibilities. Women, also, have benefitted from the introduction of steel spades with which to garden.

Alongside this, it is now much easier for men to travel away from the village. The absence of able-bodied men from the village has significant repercussions on the women who are left behind, and who depend on them. As indicated above, there is a complementarity of male and female tasks, and if either set of tasks is left undone, the total process of producing food and shelter fails. In families with weak ties amongst them, where other members do not rally around adequately, this can cause considerable hardship. For instance, in

Iabakogl, one woman's husband has been living in Port Moresby for two years. He has once, during this time sent her 20 kina (about A\$20). Otherwise she has been left to bring up her three young children and one teenage daughter with very little help. Her old gardens have failed and she has had no-one to make new ones for her. Consequently she has had no food except what she could gather from the bush - or possibly steal from other gardens, or what she was given. Her children complained quite often of being hungry.

The introduction of cash has also changed roles and reduced dependence on subsistence agriculture, although this is still the main means of survival. In the big business family in Iabakogl several of the young men no longer worked in the gardens, but made money through buying and selling coffee, and running tradestores or PMVs. Because they no longer contribute the male work to gardening, their wives cannot play the traditional female role. Rather, the man gives his wife money, earned through his business, and she buys food instead of growing it. In this way the woman's economic productivity and so her husband's dependence on her are reduced, while her dependence on him is increased. Thus one wife said:

"If the man works hard then we wives work hard too; food comes up, and we sit down and eat well. But if the man doesn't work, the wife doesn't work either. Sine just thinks of business, he doesn't work, so his three wives don't work. He goes to Lae, Hagen, Goroka, and buys food and comes back and shares it between his three wives. At market time he gives us two kina or four kina each and we buy food. Before I worked hard in the garden. Now I just like to sit down with money."

"Work" in the village is synonymous with traditional subsistence activities (see Table 20), and those men who make large sums of money through their businesses, while having considerable status in the village, are also considered to be men who are lazy, who do not work hard.

#### Urban life

Within town, the emphasis is very different. "Work" becomes working for money and this is seen to be the key male occupation. Men who work have money and can support their family and relatives. Men who live in town but have no job are seen as "hangers-on" and a burden to those they live with. They are termed "*pasindia*" (passengers) in

Pidgin. Men who work are generally reasonably happy with their way of life, while men who do not work are bored and would like to find employment. "I think about money and I come to town to look for work. If I have no work, I *raun nating* and I am fed up. I want to work."

For women without employment, movement to town involves considerable role reduction. Their lives revolve around shopping at the market or at local or central stores, and staying at home doing the housework - washing clothes, sweeping the house, cooking and washing up. In some cases the woman manages a small garden, but gardening has much less importance, and is much less time-consuming than in the village. It is not uncommon in the settlements in Lae to find women whiling away the time by sleeping or just sitting with their children or a small group of women. *Bilum* making seems to decrease considerably in town, even though the women have more time; and card playing is apparently no more prevalent than in the village. Unlike the men in town, the women take much less initiative in travelling around the city unless they have a definite purpose such as visiting the market, shops or hospital, otherwise they stay at home. It must be remembered, however, that in town, the care of children becomes a more dominant responsibility of each mother and so restricts her mobility. Almost all the unemployed women in the town sample are bored. However, unlike the men, they did not think of relieving their boredom by finding new activities or work in town; rather they thought nostalgically of activities back in the village. One woman, typical of many, said:

"I don't like town. I like to be in the village.  
I'm bored here. In the village I work well and I  
feel good. I pick coffee and I work in the garden.  
Here I *sindaun nating* and I don't do any work and  
I'm fed up."

This woman had a small vegetable garden near her house, but somehow this was not the same to her as working back in the village.

Thus, in moving to town, the male role changes from subsistence activities on the land, to wage earning in the city. The female role changes from one of economic importance in subsistence activities in the village, to one of economic dependence in town. In this way, a considerable imbalance is introduced in the relative importance and necessity of male and female roles.

CHAPTER 6CHANGING SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS

The previous chapter showed how, in the rural environment, a man and his wife form a functional economic unit in which they have separate roles, both of which are required if the family is to be fed, clothed and sheltered, and if it is to produce extra goods, such as pigs, to fulfil social obligations and increase the man's status. Patterns of social relationships in the village complement these arrangements.

Traditionally, kinship is one of the most important determinants of the way in which people interact with one another. Persons who are related live together, associate with one another, and have a system of mutual obligation and dependence between them. An individual is set in an ever-widening network of kinship associations. At the centre is himself and his most immediate family - wife, children, parents, relatives - all of whom belong to the same group as himself within the sub-clan. Beyond this is the total sub-clan. All members of a sub-clan can trace their relationship to one another if they go back far enough. In Pidgin the term for a relative is "*wantok*", or literally "one-talk". This reflects the fact that people who speak the same local language tend to be relatives.

The set of widening kinship relationships within which an individual is situated is mapped onto residential patterns. An individual tends to live in the same village as his immediate family, and most other members of his village will belong to the same group as himself. In addition, all members of a sub-clan live together in a cluster of villages which are located in an area of land identifiable as belonging primarily to that subclan.

Within this society based on kinship, there are complicated rules governing who is obligated to whom, and how one individual must relate to another. It is a man's concern to perform well within this system, fulfil his obligation to his *wantoks*, and maximise his status in the community.

The society is patrilineal, and the man has greater status than the woman. The woman is bought in marriage by the man and his family, and she leaves her family to become a member of his. All

children of the union belong to the male line. A good wife is of great value to her husband, since he is dependent on her to produce food, tend his pigs, raise his children, and fulfil his obligations to his elderly relatives, especially his parents, by looking after them. A man's status is increased by the number of wives he has, and this is dependent on his wealth and energy, since he must buy each wife, and provide her with gardens, a house and pigs. Bonds of affection may develop between the married couple, but this is not the prime motive for the marriage. The man's primary loyalties are to his family and clan.

The marriage also has significance to the group as a whole, since it helps to ally the two clans involved - those of the man and his wife. While this alliance of clans is advantageous to the group, it is detrimental to the cohesion of the marital relationship. The husband has taken into his closest family circle a member of a potentially hostile group, and the wife is subject to suspicion. For instance, she has access to her husband's most intimate possessions which, if given to his enemies, may be used in sorcery against him. In addition, women are traditionally regarded as dangerous and unclean, especially during menstruation, and able to weaken a man (Whiteman, 1973:29).

Men usually associate primarily with other men of the same clan as themselves, and women correspondingly associate primarily with other women. The division of labour and all other matters into those that concern men and those that concern women, and the potential distrust and antagonism between the sexes, reinforces these separate male and female allegiances (Meggitt, 1964). Stability of residence and continuous dwelling near close relatives also reinforce the strength of extended family bonds over those of the nuclear family.

#### Kinship and residential location in Iabakogl

In Iabakogl there is a strong association between kinship and residential location. The Bulagsilbe sub-clan is divided into six groups, and everyone in Iabakogl, with the exception of one family, belongs to the same group. Further, within the village, closer kinship ties are expressed by the spatial proximity of houses. Figure 3 shows this diagrammatically. Houses connected with arrows belong to closely related people.



The largest and most influential family occupies houses numbered 14 to 24, excluding houses 17 and 18. This family has at its head old D. who sleeps in the men's house. His three old wives sleep with their daughters-in-law. D's younger brothers own houses 14, 23 and 24, and his sons own houses 15, 16, 19, 20, 21 and 22.

Houses 17 and 18 belong to the children of two brothers, Kua and Gun. Gun is still alive and sleeps in the men's house. His teenage son sleeps alone in house 17. House 18 is occupied by the family of Kua's son; Kua is dead.

Houses 6, 7, 11, 12 and 13 belong to the offspring of another two brothers, Dom and Dawa. Dom is dead, but his old widow lives in house 7, and his son owns house 6. Houses 11, 12 and 13 are owned by Dawa's three sons.

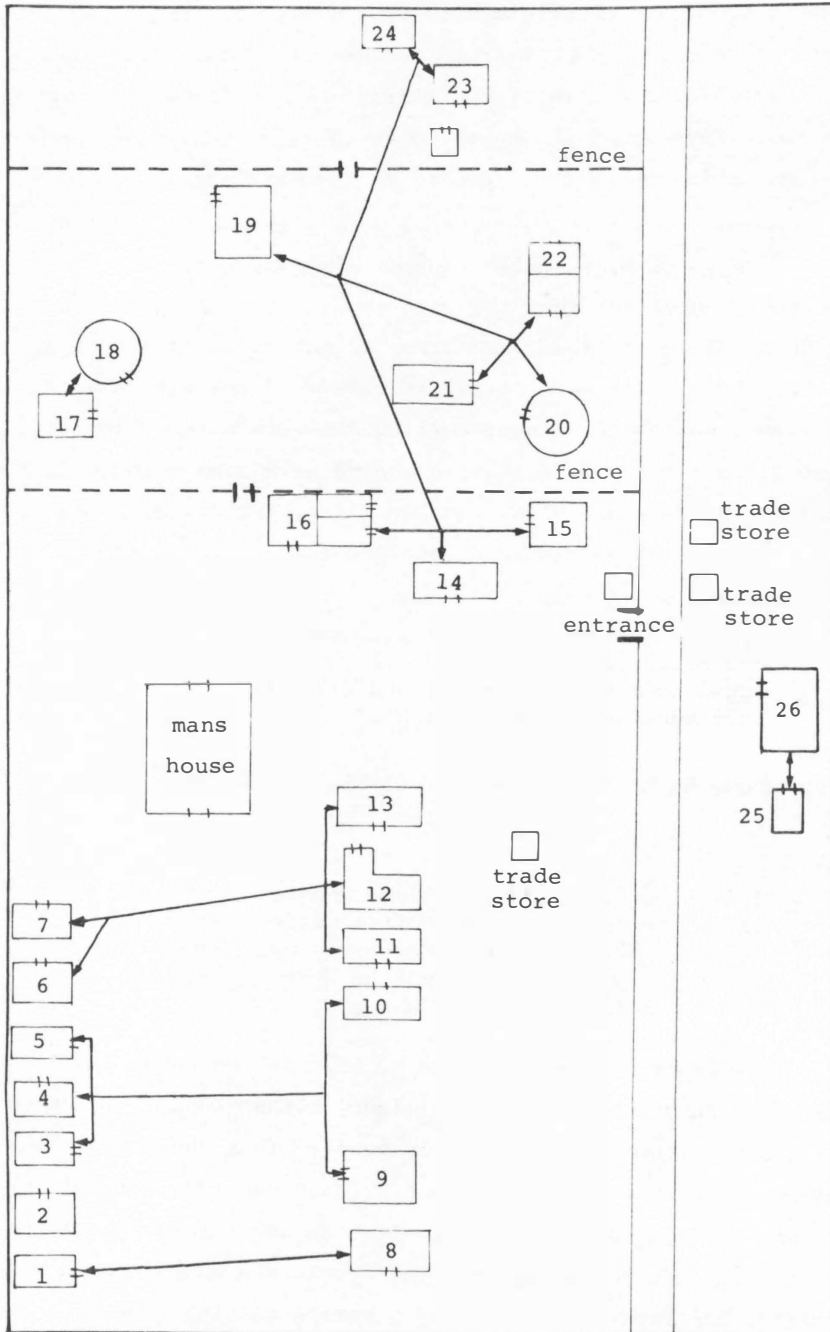
A similar arrangement also connects houses 3, 4, 5, 9 and 10. Houses 3, 4 and 5 belong to the three sons of another Dom, who is also now dead. The old wife of Dom's brother, Kuri, lives in house 10, and Kuri's son owns house 9. Finally, two brothers own houses 1 and 8; and a middle aged woman lives in house 26, while her husband and old blind father sleep in house 25.

Close relatives - fathers, sons, brothers and cousins - thus tend to live near to one another, and, as data presented below indicate, both men and women tend to associate most frequently with, and depend most upon, people from within these connected family groupings.

### Marriage in Iabakogl

Marriage is important to the status and daily functioning of both men and women, and in Iabakogl all women aged between late teens and early fifties are married. Only two men in the same age group are not married, one being widowed and one divorced. However, there is a high rate of divorce, especially among younger couples. Once children are born, the marriage tends to become stable. Two-thirds of the men in the sample had been married twice or more, and half had been married three or more times. One-third of the women had been married more than once. However there were only two men with more than one wife concurrently. These were D., the most senior man, and his eldest son. Both had three wives.

FIGURE 3 A DIAGRAMMATIC REPRESENTATION OF THE SPATIAL LAYOUT OF HOUSES IN IABAKOGL SHOWING PRIMARY KINSHIP TIES BETWEEN RESIDENTS.



Several behaviours indicate that in many cases the marriage bond has primarily functional significance, and that the spouse is not the main source of emotional support. Traditionally, all men sleep in the man's house and associate with men. This is changing a little, but all the old men and unmarried adolescent youths sleep in the man's house; and three-quarters of the married men in the middle age range do so too. Five young men have chosen to sleep mostly in their wife's house, and this represents a departure from traditional ways.

Men and women in the village were asked whether, if the man went to life in town, the wife should accompany him. The number of people replying either that the wife should stay in the village, or that she should go to town, are given in Table 22. Almost all the women and the old men were firmly in favour of the wife staying in the village, while the younger married men were more ambivalent. The reasons given for the wife staying behind were always that she had to tend the gardens and pigs, and look after the children and old people. One man who works in Chuave and returns regularly to the village said,

"My wife must stay in the village and look after my old mother and father and the pigs. I must go round town and earn money and give it to all of them. They must eat in the village."

A woman whose husband had spent a year in Moresby but had now returned said,

"I like to stay in the village and look after the pigs, the children, the coffee garden and the old people. When K. was in Moresby I was hungry because I didn't have a man to work in the garden, but now he's come back I'm not hungry."

The important factor seems to be that the woman continues to perform her function within the village, rather than that the couple has a close relationship on a daily basis. Thus one young woman who was married, with a baby, and whose husband was away working in town, said that she did not miss him at all. It was important that he continued to send her money, but the people she wanted to be with were her child, her mother, an aunt and a female cousin.

TABLE 22

VILLAGERS' REPLIES TO THE QUESTION "IF YOU (YOUR HUSBAND)  
WENT TO LIVE IN TOWN WOULD YOU LIKE YOUR WIFE (YOU) TO GO  
TO TOWN OR TO STAY IN THE VILLAGE?"

	Old men	Adult men	Old women	Adult women
Go to town		1	1	1
Stay in village	4	4	4	14
Depends on stability of husband's job		3		1
Total	4	8	5	16

This emphasis on the role that the woman plays means that a good wife is someone who works well in the garden and is properly deferential and helpful towards the old people. If she is lacking in these respects she is liable to be divorced. One married woman said,

"If the woman works hard in the garden and carries heavy *bilums* of *kaukau*, looks after the pigs and cooks good food then her husband will be happy and keep her. If she is lazy and doesn't work he will divorce her."

The importance of the wife's ability to work and be accepted by the older generation is indicated by the case of D. and K. D. is a younger son of a big man in the village, and he has started to earn himself money as a coffee buyer. He has had several "wives", that is younger women who have come to live with him for a short while, but his family has not yet paid a bride price for any of them. At the time of research he was living with K. This was an arrangement entered into by the young couple on the basis of mutual attraction. However, his family were dubious about K's willingness to work hard and be suitably obedient, and so were unwilling to pay the bride price her parents demanded. A bride price in an important family such as this one might be equivalent to \$A2000.

After several meetings between the two families, K. was sent to stay with D's parents who were working on land near Minj, some 30 miles from Iabakogl. This land had been given to them in exchange for help they had given to the original owners. K. was to live with and work alongside her prospective mother-in-law, and if found to be a hard-working and dutiful daughter-in-law, her bride-price would be paid. She did not, however, win approval during this time and she was sent home to her parents. D. was unperturbed by these proceedings and said that he did not mind what happened as he had his younger, teenage sister to look after him and cook for him. A few months later, D. had acquired another "wife".

### Social relationships in town

Movement to town necessarily entails a change in the village emphasis on extended family relationships and the functional significance of the woman's role in marriage. When a man migrates to town most members of his extended family do not move with him. Consequently, he has much less contact with them on a day to day basis. When his wife and children move to town with him they may become the only close relatives he has near to him on a daily basis. In addition, the importance of his wife's role declines. She no longer has a significant economic function tending gardens and pigs and looking after the old people.

There are two likely consequences of this change in situation. First, the emotional importance of the marriage is likely to be increased since the husband and wife have fewer other close relatives to relate to on a daily basis, and the functional importance of the wife's role is decreased. Second, there is likely to be a broadening of the type of person with whom an individual associates. The network of close kinship ties within the village needs to be replaced by a social network of people who are either less closely related, or who are unrelated.

### Primary social relationships

In order to obtain data on whom they associated most closely with, individuals were asked who they spent most time with and who they went round with; and also who they talked to if they were upset and who helped them if they were sick. Table 23 (A and B) summarises their replies. Individuals were scored once for each category shown in Table 23, even if they named more than one person in that category. Children, parents and spouse were categorised separately. "Near male kin" included brothers, uncles, nephews and first cousins; "near female kin" included the corresponding female relations. "Male same clan" included all men of the same clan other than the above close relatives. "Male different clan" included all other men. In the majority of cases, even in town, these were often Chimbus, or at least other highlanders. No-one nominated someone from a coastal area. Figure 4 summarises these data for the main groups of

people. "Close kin" in that figure combines the categories of children, parents, and near male and female kin of Table 23. "Other" refers to the combination of all other categories except "spouse" and the reply "no-one".

People in the village primarily go around with, or spend much time with close relatives - parents, children and near male and female relatives. Men spend more time with men, and women with women. This is also borne out by observation. The villagers have a wealth of interactions each day with people in the same or neighbouring villages, but they appear to have closest contact and to do most activities with their close relatives who live in neighbouring houses. With movement to town the same range of close relatives is not available, and men and women have to rely much more on the company of people of the same sex who are either from the same clan as themselves, or else are Chimbus from other clans. For no group, either in the village or town, is the spouse a particularly important person to be with.

A similar pattern emerges for people in the village when they were asked on whom they rely for help and emotional support. They nominate the same set of close relatives, and in particular parents and children, that they say they go round with. In town, these types of close relatives are not available to the same extent, and hence cannot be depended upon in the same way. However, men and women in town do not seem to feel that they can call for help and support on the friends that they go round with in place of their close relatives. The bond between them is not close enough. The situation is less critical for the men who, more than women, travel around town, visit their *wantoks* who live in other parts of Lae, and are more assertive in forming new friendships. Two contrasting statements from a man and a woman illustrate this point.

"In the village there are plenty of *wantoks*, but here there aren't so many, and sometimes I think I'm lonely. So I go round, and go and find some of my *wantoks* and stay with them for a little time and talk to them, and then I come back to my house." (male respondent).

"In the village I've got plenty of *wantoks*, but here I haven't. Sometimes on Saturdays and Sundays I meet *wantoks* at the big market, but they don't come to my house. I sit down by myself, I don't like going round and about so I stay by myself." (female respondent).

TABLE 23

A. PERSONS NOMINATED IN REPLY TO QUESTION: "WHO DO YOU SPEND MOST TIME WITH/GO ROUND WITH?"

	People in the village					People in town	
	Old men (50+)	Adult men (20-49)	Young men (17-19)	Old women (50+)	Adult women (20-49)	Men 20-49	Women (20-49)
Children					4	3	4
Parents Including in-laws		2	1		6		
Spouse	2	2		2	5	6	2
Near male kin	1	5	1		1	4	2
Near female kin	1				7	3	3
Male same clan		1	8			12	
Female same clan		1			1		10
Male different clan		1				7	
Female different clan							7
No-one	3	1		5	2	3	1
Total number replies	7	13	10	7	26	38	29
Total number people	6	10	8	7	16	19	17



TABLE 23

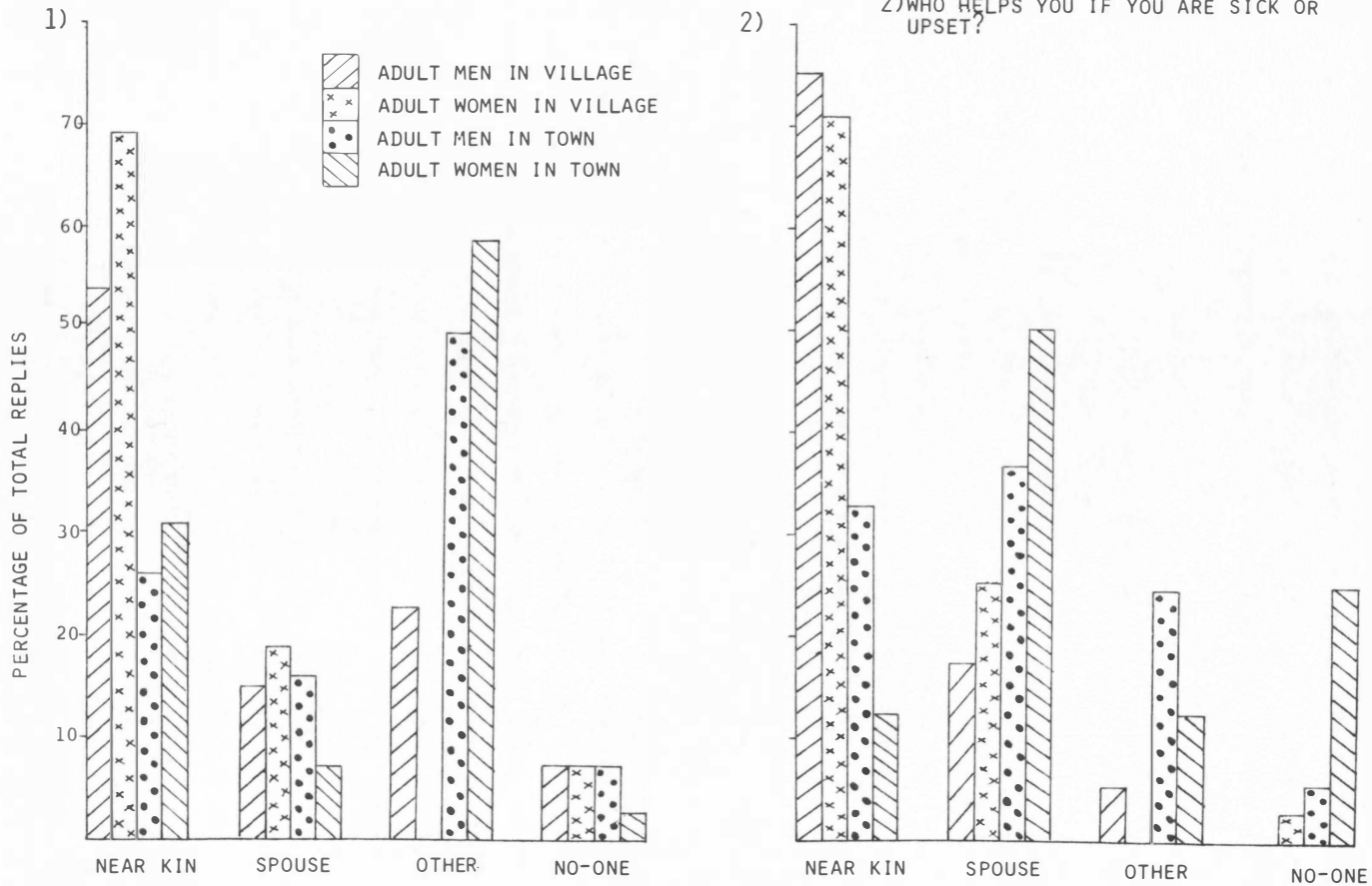
B. PERSON'S NOMINATED IN REPLY TO THE QUESTION "WHO HELPS YOU IF YOU ARE SICK OR UPSET?"

	People in the village					People in Town	
	Old men	Adult men	Young men	Old women	Adult women	Men	Women
Children	5	3		5	6	3	2
Parents Including in-laws		3	5		8		1
Spouse	1	3		2	9	12	12
Near male kin	3	6	6	3	5	4	
Near female kin	1	1		3	5	4	
Male same clan	1	1	2			5	
Female same clan							2
Male different clan						3	
Female different clan							1
No-one	1		1	2	1	2	6
Total number replies	12	17	14	15	34	33	24
Total number people	6	10	8	7	16	19	17

FIGURE 4

PERSONS NOMINATED IN REPLY TO QUESTIONS: 1) WHO DO YOU SPEND MOST TIME WITH?/  
GO ROUND WITH?

2) WHO HELPS YOU IF YOU ARE SICK OR  
UPSET?



For the women there is a sense of loneliness, and in times when they need help, one-third say that they have no-one at all to help them. This lack of support increases the wife's dependence on her husband, and although she does not tend to view him as a person with whom to do things, he does become her prime source of support when she is upset or needs help (see Table 23B).

#### Adequacy of social support

In Table 24, individuals are categorised as to whether they had an adequate social support network or not. This was based on observation; on individuals' replies to the questions about who they had to go round with and to help them; and on any complaint that the individual was lonely and missed people who were either back in the village, if the respondent was in town, or vice versa.

Within the village five women and one old man were categorised as having inadequate support. This referred to both physical and emotional support, and the two seemed to be inter-linked. Absence of the appropriate physical support is indicative of the absence of close emotional ties with others who would also provide emotional support. All five women cried and became quite upset during the interview when asked about these matters. The younger woman was mentioned in the last chapter. Her husband has been away in Port Moresby for two years, and she has not received much help from others in the village. She and her children are always hungry, and she spends much time by herself.

The other four women and one man are all old, the husbands are either dead or too old to work, and the sons, who should be looking after their parents, are either away in town, or are "big-heads" and are not fulfilling their duties. "*Bikhet*" (bighead) is a Pidgin term referring to young men who have new ideas concerning their own importance, and who will not obey their elders and toe the traditional line. Thus one old woman said:

TABLE 24

THE ADEQUACY OF EACH INDIVIDUAL'S SOCIAL  
SUPPORT NETWORK

	People in the village					People in town	
	Old men (50+)	Adult men (20-49)	Young men (17-19)	Old women (50+)	Adult women (20-49)	Men (20-49)	Women (20-49)
Adequate	5	10	8	3	15	19	4
Inadequate	1			4	1		13
Total	6	10	8	7	16	19	17

"My sons don't look after me. They don't work in the garden or get firewood. G. is nearby and when he cooks pig he doesn't give any to me. He doesn't help me. G. has bad ways and I worry and I cry. S. too is very big-headed. he pigs broke into my garden and I told him to go and mend the fence, but he wouldn't and I was very cross and I cried. No-one looks after me and I am all alone. My children are all female children."

Another woman said:

"When my husband was alive all men looked after me and sat down with me. Now he's dead I'm on my own and no-one looks after me. Who's going to help me with my garden? Who's going to build my toilet? Who's going to build my house? I have to go and get firewood. I have to sit down by myself."

She started to cry.

Most of the old men appear to be well cared for. They have more status and authority than the women, and also the men's house is a communal centre where the men can gather and be assured of company and assistance. One older man, however, was not in this position. His was a low status family, and he slept, not in the men's house, but in a small house with his wife's very old, blind, immobile father. He figured very little in village affairs, and felt himself to be alone.

"I look after the old man, he sleeps here in this house and I think it is no good if he dies, so I don't go to the men's house where all the men congregate. Instead I stay here with him. I've got three sons and I've worked hard for them, but they don't help me. They are all big-heads. I work alone and my bones hurt, and sometimes I stay at home and I'm hungry and I think who is going to look after me? My sons don't work with me, and I think I'll die on the road, or I'll die in the house, and I'll be alone and I worry a lot and I'm very upset."

In town most of the women were unhappy, missed their *wantoks* back in the village and felt that they had little or no adequate companionship or support.

"I haven't got anybody here, there is just me and I'm here alone. There are only a few women in town, and I sit down by myself. In the village I have plenty of *wantoks* and I can sit down with them and talk and be happy. But in town there is no-one. I miss my Father and Mother and I'm upset and worried."

These data indicate that it is the women both in the village and town who are most adversely affected by changes to the social system caused by migration to town, and the introduction of new values. In the village, some women are no longer provided with the male support they require, either because a key relative has gone to town, or because he is a young man who no longer wishes to play a traditional role and be at the beck and call of his elders. In town, women become more dependent on their husbands both economically and emotionally, and they seem to find it harder than the men to replace the social network they had back in the village. Women miss both their role back in the village and their relationships with the people.

#### Town versus village

Given the reduction in both role and social relationships which accompanies a woman's move to town, it is not surprising that almost all women, in both the village and town, said that they would rather live in the village than town. This can be seen in Table 25. In contrast, most men in town prefer to be in town now, although all anticipate at a later date returning to live in the village. Thus two men said:

"While I work for money I can stay in town. If the company fires me I can return to the village."

"In town I can learn some new work. In the village you don't learn too much. You sit down and work in the garden or work a business. My father is still young and he looks after all the business in the village. So I come to town. When my son has finished school and has got a job I'll leave and go back to the village."

Always, the main reason the men give for liking town is their ability to earn money. Their main complaint is having to spend that money on food and housing. It is as if they still expect these things to cost nothing in cash terms, as in the village, and the cash they earn to be an extra.

Several considerations seem to keep the women in town, even though they personally would prefer to be back in the village. Firstly, their husbands want them to stay.

TABLE 25PREFERENCES FOR LIVING NOW IN THE TOWN OR IN THE HOME VILLAGE

	People in the village					People in town	
	Old men (50+)	Adult men (20-49)	Young men (17-19)	Old women (50+)	Adult women (20-49)	Men (20-49)	Women (20-49)
Prefer:							
town		2	1			12	2
village	6	7	4	7	16	3	13
Like both		1	3			4	1
Total	6	10	8	7	16	19	16

"I like P. to stay here with me. She can look after my clothes, wash them, dry them in the sun."  
(Male respondent).

"I want to go back to the village but K. won't let me. He says I'll get sick in the village."  
(Female respondent). (This is a reference to sorcery in the village).

"P. wants me to stay here in town. He says that in the village things are dirty and I would be hungry." (Female respondent).

"It's up to my husband. If he wants to stay in town, we'll stay in town. If he wants to go to the village, alright, we'll go to the village." (Female respondent).

The women also stay in town because of their children.

"I want to go back to the village but it's no good taking the children back and they get sick, so I stay in Lae." (Female respondent).

"The village is good, but if the children are sick it's a long way to the hospital in Kundiawa. And in town the children can go back to high school." (Female respondent).

In the village, people have a somewhat ambivalent view of town. The women, as seen above, do not wish to live in town. The men regard it as an interesting place to visit, but also as a hard place in which to exist.

"Town is too hard. You need a lot of money in town, and if I haven't got money, I steal, and they catch me and put me in prison. This is no good. So I stay in the village." (Male respondent).

"I would like to go to town and work and earn a lot of money. But town is very hard. In the village I can go round and I know plenty of people and I'm all right. I'm never short of *wantoks*. But in town, if I haven't got *wantoks* I'm lonely, and if I haven't got work I'm afraid. Who is going to give me food? And I go round and I steal. But if I find *wantoks* in town I go inside and eat and sleep and we talk and have a good time."  
(Male respondent).



Villagers' attitudes towards their *wantoks* who are living in town are very often couched in terms of self-interest. Either they want their relative to return so that he can provide help in the village. Or, if the migrant is earning money, they think he should continue to stay in town and work.

"It's good that he stays in town and works money.  
Then he can send money and food, shirt, laplap and  
blanket to us here."

Table 26 shows the number of villagers in the village sample who think that their migrant *wantoks* should either stay in town or return to the village.

#### The effect of moving to town on the *wantok* system

The *wantok* system, which is based on kinship and mutual obligation and dependence between its members, evolved to meet needs arising from a traditional rural life-style. Within the village it performs a variety of functions, from the maintenance of law and order and the development of authority structures, to the meeting of needs for companionship and emotional support. With movement to town this system no longer adequately provides for many of the needs it was developed to meet, and strains are being imposed on its operation at a number of levels. The present data will be used to examine three such areas where this is happening. First, the strains placed on an urban migrant by his obligations to his rural *wantoks*. Second, the effect of the *wantok* system on neighbourhood composition. Third, the effect of urbanisation on care of the old.

#### Relationships with *wantoks*

From the urban householder's point of view a distinction can be made between three groups of *wantoks*. The first is people who come from the village and visit for a short time. While in town they expect to be supported. The second group is unemployed people who are living for much longer periods of time in town. They too must depend on their relatives. In Pidgin they are termed "*pasindias*" (passengers). The third group is people who live in town, and can support themselves.

TABLE 26

VILLAGERS' REPLIES TO THE QUESTION "DO YOU THINK YOUR *WANTOKS* WHO ARE NOW LIVING IN TOWN SHOULD STAY IN TOWN OR RETURN TO THE VILLAGE?"

	Old men (50+)	Adult men (20-49)	Young men (17-19)	Old women (50+)	Adult women (20-49)
Stay in town	5	2	5	3	5
Return to village	1	1	2	3	6
Whatever the wantok prefers		6			1
Total	6	9	7	6	12

The data on housing density, given in Chapter 4, indicate how most households contain, on a fairly permanent basis, one or two extra adults in addition to the nuclear family, and have also a constant flow of visitors. Householders are obliged not only to offer accommodation to *wantoks* who request it, but also food and money. Often they must provide their rural *wantoks* with their fare back to the village. Marion Christie's work (1979) indicates the large sums of money which wage earners give to their relatives.

This is a large burden on the urban family and in spite of being lonely and missing their *wantoks*, half the women and almost three-quarters of the men state strongly that they do not like *wantoks* coming to stay with them. The numbers of people in the urban sample who like or dislike *wantoks* staying with them is shown in Table 27.

The reasons given for disliking *wantoks* staying are nearly always monetary ones.

"They come all the time, one after another and we're fed up. We must give them money and then we haven't got enough, and we're short of food, and we're hungry, and we're very cross." (Female respondent).

"*Wantoks* often come and stay with us. I don't like this because I've only got a little money and I can't save any. When they come I must give them money and then I'm short." (Male respondent).

Householders do not seem to like either the regular stream of short visits which they receive from people who live in the village (to which the above quotations refer), or the longer term residence of "passengers".

"I don't like passengers. I say to them - 'You go! I don't want to give you money. You just go and drink beer and go round and about town, and then you come back to my house!' I don't like this. They are all drunk and they spend too much money. All the time I'm cross with them. They don't help me and they come and eat our food and take our money and we don't have enough." (Female respondent).

However, no-one felt that they could refuse to offer their *wantoks* hospitality. The obligations are too strong, and there is also the problem of where else the *wantoks* would go. A few individuals, too,

TABLE 27

URBAN RESIDENTS' OPINIONS ABOUT *WANTOKS* COMING  
FROM THE VILLAGE TO STAY WITH THEM

	Male	Female
Likes	2	5
Intermediate	3	3
Does not like	11	8
Total	16	16

felt positively about having their *wantoks* stay. This variety of feelings is illustrated in the following quotations.

"I don't like all my *wantoks* coming and staying with me. They finish all my food and take all my money. But when they come they haven't got another house where they can stay, so I don't turn them out. I let them sleep with me" (Male respondent).

"Plenty of young men come and stay with me. I can't turn them out. Otherwise they would be hungry and go about and steal and be put in jail. I don't want this. C. can give them food, so can T. and everyone can be happy. Also, if I am alone here plenty of rascals will come and kill me, so I like all the young men to come and sit down with me." (Male respondent).

These issues pose a problem for the urban householder. On the one hand he is still an integral part of his *wantok* system, and this has in the past met many of his needs for day-to-day companionship and emotional support, a sense of belonging to a group, and a role in the community. However, with his change of life-style to a wage earner in an urban environment, the *wantok* system is no longer totally functional. The costs of relating to certain of his *wantoks* are becoming greater than the benefits. Thus several people made a distinction between their positive feelings about relating to other urban *wantoks* who have jobs and who do not impose, and their negative feelings about their interactions with non-wage earners.

"Men from the village come and ruin us. They take our money and we are hungry and broke and I'm angry. But with the men around here who live here, I'm not angry with them. I like them coming and I call out to them to come and visit us." (Female respondent).

"I like to sit down with my *wantoks* who live in Boundary Road. They have work and we can sit down good. But I don't like passengers. They are no good, and they come and steal from me. It is no good too when *wantoks* come from the village. In the village they grow food, but in town money is the same as food. When *wantoks* come I have to buy food for them, and then I am short of money." (Male respondent).

### Neighbourhood composition

Movement to town means that the individual no longer lives within a close knit community based on kinship, as in the village. He does, however, strive to associate with people who are as closely related to him as possible. This means that affiliation groups become much larger, and for some purposes all Chimbus, or even all highlanders, identify themselves as a single group. Where possible, individuals associate with others who speak the same local language, although the men associate with a wider range of people than their wives. This happens partly through their work, which brings together people from throughout Papua New Guinea, and partly because they spend more time than the women away from home, going around town. Table 28 shows the number of people in the urban sample who said that they either sometimes or never associated with coastal people. No-one spent a lot of time with them.

Individuals' attempts to stay amongst their own kind are manifested in the composition of housing settlements. People from the same area tend to congregate together. Figure 5\* shows the place of origin of householders in a central area of Boundary Road settlement which contained the six families studied in the present research. Settlement here was spontaneous, and it can be seen that people chose to live primarily with people from the same home area as themselves. Other parts of Boundary Road contain people largely from Sepik or from Morobe, but the part shown in Figure 5 is occupied predominantly by highlanders.

Figure 6 shows the place of origin of householders in Two Mile Settlement. When this settlement was developed it was intended to encourage the development of a new national identity amongst the people by allocating neighbouring blocks to people from different parts of Papua New Guinea. In fact, as can be seen in Figure 6, considerable re-organisation has occurred, such that neighbouring blocks tend to belong to people from the same province, and often even the same area within a province.

Individuals were asked in the interview what they thought about either living in a community composed of Chimbus, or one in which there was social mix, and neighbours came from all different parts of Papua New Guinea. In contrast to their behaviour - which is

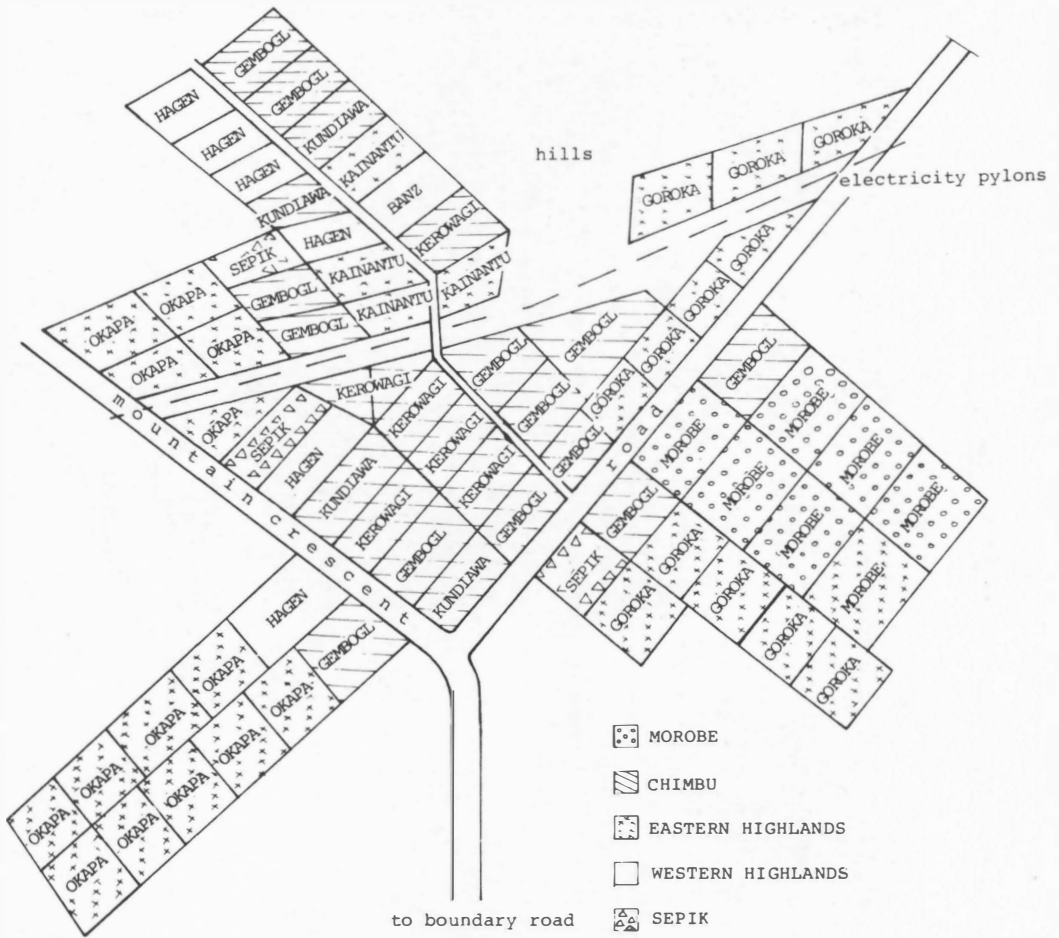
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\* The data presented in Figures 5 and 6 were obtained by walking around the settlements with informants who had lived in the settlements for many years and knew them well.

TABLE 28CHIMBU URBAN RESIDENTS' INTERACTION WITH COASTAL PEOPLE

	Male	Female
Sometimes	16	7
Never	3	11
Total	19	18

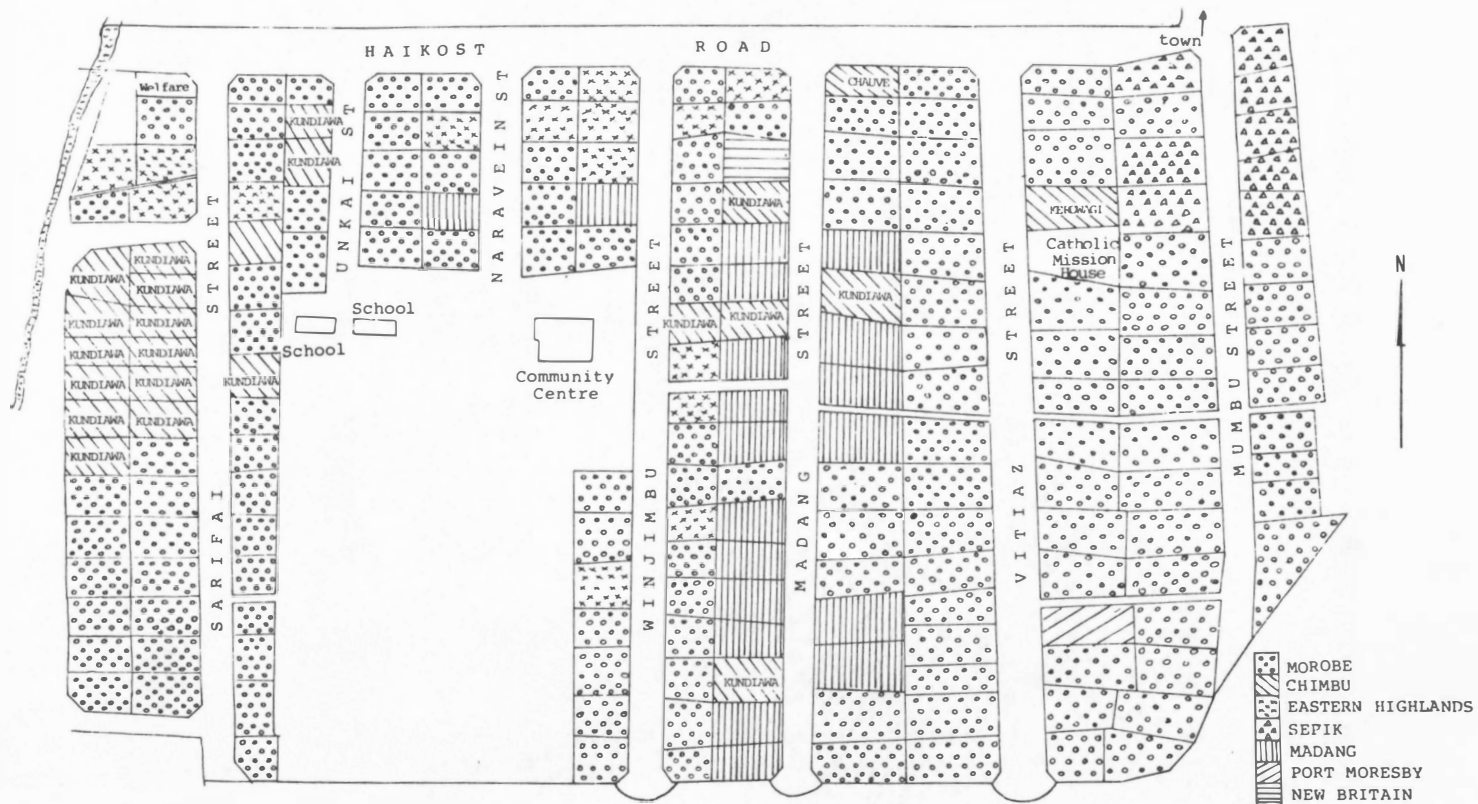
FIGURE 5 PLACE OF ORIGIN OF RESIDENTS OF BOUNDARY ROAD, LAE



The shape of the blocks has been regularised for ease of drawing



FIGURE 6 PLACE OF ORIGIN OF RESIDENTS OF TWO MILE, LAE



SCALE 1: 1250

to associate with Chimbuses, and if possible live amongst them - almost unanimously the men said that they thought a mixed neighbourhood was better, and that they would prefer to live in one. Their reason for this was always the same.

"I prefer to live with men from all different places. If all Chimbu sit down together they talk the language of the village, drink beer and get drunk, they get cross, fight and cause trouble in the town. If men from everywhere sit down together, they sit down good and don't fight."

Chimbuses have a reputation for getting drunk and not being law-abiding and these sentiments may be a recognition of this fact. Certain of the men in the sample were sober and unlikely to cause trouble, but others regularly drank a lot. It is as if they knew how they behaved and what the consequences were, and wished to be protected from their own behaviour. However, at the same time they continued their behaviour and enjoyed it.

The answer, however, may not be that simple. Two men from the Sepik area were asked the same question, but with respect to living amongst Sepiks. They too, replied in the same way as the Chimbuses. A mixed community was better because when all Sepiks were together there was drunkenness and fighting. It may be that the social dynamics in the rural community which enable harmony to be retained between *wantoks*, are disrupted in the new urban environment, and the situation demands a new kind of community. These men may be recognising this fact even though their behaviour does not necessarily follow their judgement.

In addition, there seems to be emerging, in some individuals, not only an annoyance with some of the negative consequences of the *wantok* system, but also a desire for greater integration with other Papua New Guineans. The following quotations indicate this:

"I like going round with Papuan men, coastal men, men from a long way away - all different kinds of men. I'm tired of Chimbu men. They break the law and fight a lot, and they go to court and to jail, and I'm fed up with it." (Male respondent).

"I don't like all *wantoks* getting together and *tok ples*.\* I like to speak the language of Papua New Guinea - Pidgin - we should only talk Pidgin and everyone should mix together and sit down. I don't like *tok ples* plenty, and fighting and drunkenness." (Male respondent).

"In 1977 I gathered together all Papua New Guinea men and I made a big party and I gave a drink to everyone. Plenty of men came from all different places. I said 'Now we talk together and gather together and sit down together, smoke together, drink together. Now we are all one.' Everyone was happy." (Male respondent).

In contrast to the men, and in line with their more hesitant approach towards the town, and their stronger ties with the village, most of the women would prefer to live amongst Chimbus rather than in a mixed community. The preferences of men and women are given in Table 29. The women have much less contact with non-Chimbus than the men, and are afraid of them.

"I just like being with Chimbus. It's no good if some man comes and kills me. I don't know coastal men and I'm afraid." (Female respondent).

#### Care of the old

Among its other functions, the *wantok* system, as it operates in the rural community, provides for care of the old. Families stay together and old people are usually looked after by their sons and daughters-in-law, or by their nephews and their wives. The old people are normally respected and have a valid place in the community. Urban migration disrupts this system. Old people do not tend to move to town with the children. In many cases there are sufficient close relatives remaining in the village to support the old person, but in some cases this can cause hardship. Most people in the urban sample had parents back in the village who were looked after by the migrant's brother or cousin.

Significant problems are likely to arise when the present generation of urban migrants reach old age. All persons in the urban sample intend to live in the village when they are old. The question

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\* *Tok ples*: a Pidgin term meaning village language. Each area of Papua New Guinea has a different local language.

TABLE 29

URBAN RESIDENTS' OPINION ABOUT WHETHER IT IS BEST TO  
HAVE A MIXED NEIGHBOURHOOD OR JUST CHIMBUS LIVING TOGETHER

	Male	Female
Likes social mix	16	3
Likes Chimbus altogether	1	10
Total	17	13

which arises is: who will look after them? If their children have been brought up and educated in town, it cannot be assumed that they will wish to live in the village as adults. Some individuals shrug off this problem, saying that they will worry about it when they are old. Others simply state dogmatically that one of their children will have to live in the village with them. For instance, two respondents said:

"My two children will look after me."

Question: "What if they want to live in town?"

Answer: "No, they can't! I need them, I can't lose them, I will pull them back to the village, and they will look after me." (Female respondent).

"When I'm old I'll go back to the village and my three sons will look after me. It will be alright if one or two of the boys are in town, but if all three are I will be cross, and make one of them come back to look after me." (Male respondent).

It may not be so simple by then.

CHAPTER 7THE IMPACT OF URBANISATION

This research has attempted to study how the process of urbanisation is affecting the culture and way of life of a people who for generations have lived by subsistence agriculture in a rural environment. The impact of urbanisation, and the processes of westernisation and modernisation which partially underlie it, are changing the lives not only of those who move into the cities, but also of those who stay behind in the rural areas. The pressure of change in the village is, however, not as great as in the town, and perhaps leaves more time and opportunity for less stressful adaptation to take place.

The first chapter of this report looked at some of the forces which are promoting changes in Papua New Guinea. It argued that these forces would change not just some aspects of Papua New Guinean society and culture, while leaving others intact, but that there would be change across the board. There is some controversy about whether this is necessarily so, or whether some parts of traditional society can be retained, in spite of changes elsewhere. For instance, many would like to see the introduction of new technologies but the retention of traditional beliefs, forms of leadership and patterns of social relationships.

One basic tenet of the philosophy underlying the Papua New Guinea Human Ecology Project as a whole is that the physical environment, the way in which man interacts with it, the society he organises and the culture which supports it, are all inter-related, such that changes in any one part of the total system will have ramifications throughout the system, and will have an impact on both the physical environment and human health and well-being. This does not mean, of course, that man has no choice about the direction of change. In fact the very opposite is true, and this provides the motivation for the Papua New Guinea Human Ecology Project: to help provide information from which choices can be made.

This chapter will discuss some of the social consequences of urbanisation which were found in the present study. It will consider some of the dilemmas and options facing social planners, and some of the directions which urban planning in Lae might take.

### The impact of urbanisation on women

The people studied in the present research are a people caught in the very centre of a process of transition from traditional society to something new. They have a foot in both camps, but belong fully to neither. The conflict between cultures that they experience in consequence brings with it its own distresses, and affects not only those who actually migrate into the town, but also those who are left behind in the village.

The people who most obviously bear the brunt of the change are the women. Within traditional society, despite being of lower status than the men, they have a well-defined, productive role. Movement into a cash economy, whether within the village or town, reduces this role, and creates an imbalance in the relative inter-dependence of the two sexes. The man becomes the bread-winner, the wife merely the dependent house-keeper.

Movement to town also disrupts stable patterns of social interaction within the extended family and village community. Again it is the women who, at least initially, are most detrimentally affected by these changes. Within the village, the high rate of male absenteeism means that wives and also parents, particularly old women, are deprived of the male support they once could have taken for granted. Changed attitudes and values amongst young men also means that they are unwilling to fulfil traditional responsibilities towards older relatives.

Within the town, individuals must forge new links to replace the cohesive social network of the village. The women seem to find this more difficult than the men, and this may reflect a hesitancy on their part in entering new, more assertive types of roles and relationships. Thus many village women are ashamed to speak Pidgin in front of the men, even though they are fluent; and several urban women said they did not like mixing with non-Chimbu in case they were mocked or misunderstood in their attempts to communicate with people who did not speak the same language as themselves.

Brown (1969) indicates the difficult period of adjustment for a new wife in traditional, rural Chimbu society, when she is removed from her own kin and placed in a new group. Movement to town is a more difficult situation still. Not only is the wife placed in a new

community, but she is placed in a much more unstructured situation. She is not provided with a clearly defined role for which she has been trained, nor is she provided with a cohesive social network in which her place and ways of relating to others are well marked. She must use her own initiative to create a new role and new relationships.

The women in the present study reacted to their new situation in town with feelings of boredom and loneliness. Many had others around them who spoke the same language, but these were not the people they wanted. They wanted to be near their close kin in the village. Several had gardens, but for some reason gardening in town did not offer the same relevance and importance to them that they obtained from gardening in the village. In the village, as well as the town, the younger women spent plenty of time sitting around not doing too much. In the village this was fun; in the town it was boring. It may be wondered why the women viewed the two situations so differently; why those in town wished to return to the village, and those in the village wanted to stay there; why the men found it so much easier than the women to accommodate to the new social situation in town, and to enjoy it.

It is interesting that studies in very different parts of the world have obtained similar findings. Harrell-Bond (1969), for instance, studied Irish immigrants to Oxford. He found that while the men tended to create a satisfactory social network of other men from Southern Ireland, their wives tended to associate with neighbouring Englishwomen, and to feel dissatisfied and unhappy. It appeared to be easy for the men to establish a new network of friends from their own cultural background, whereas for the women, brought up in close-knit kin networks, it seemed that no friendships, even those with other Irish women, could satisfactorily replace their lost kin networks.

In a different culture still, Weiss (1974) studied married couples in the United States who had just moved to Boston from at least two states away. He found that while the men, who were in employment, were able to adjust to the new situation, the wife left at home "was likely to become painfully bored, to develop a sense of marginality, to feel that her day was without structure and her activities without meaning", (Weiss, 1974, p.20). This distress occurred despite emotional support and intimacy in the marriage, and despite the fact



that the wife's daily activities had not changed much in the move. The critical factor was the loss on moving of a network of female friends.

Unlike the Papua New Guinean women and the Irish women, these American housewives were not necessarily previously embedded in a social network based on kinship. However, loss of their circle of friends caused the American women the same type of distress as that experienced by the Papua New Guinean women upon removal from their network of kin.

The important factor in these studies seems to be that if a woman does not participate regularly in a social network with which she can identify and which shares the same life concerns as herself, she experiences severe distress. The type of network which an individual considers meaningful - for instance, one based on kinship or on friendship, is probably significantly determined by the individual's experiences as a child (Bott, 1971,p.282). However, it would also seem that men find it easier to create new forms of social networks than do women who do not work and who have been raised in a close-knit kin network. The significant variables which make the difference here between men and women are not clear. They could be pure sex differences, education, employment or greater exposure to a variety of people.

The absence of membership in a significant social network not only makes the individual feel lonely, but also makes her whole round of daily tasks appear meaningless and unstructured. Dunphy (1972) reviews a number of studies which reveal a similar finding in industrial and educational settings. These studies show that individuals work better, productivity is higher, and individuals enjoy their work more, if they identify with a small primary group of people with whom they work, and if they feel respected by other members of this group.

The absence of a significant social network with which she can identify may thus be the most important factor in the apparent boredom and loneliness of many of the women-in-town studies in the present research. These women often have other women around them in the same situation as themselves, but such people do not seem to substitute for the close-knit kin network of the village. These women also have a variety of activities into which they can and do sometimes enter,

for instance, gardening, making *bilums* (string bags), playing cards, housework and home improvements. However, in the absence of a meaningful social structure, these do not satisfy, and the women feel bored. This may be contrasted with the village situation where in the context of a meaningful social network, the same activities are conducted with energy and are seen to be important.

Another factor may also prevent these women from making a more committed attempt to enter urban life. They perceive themselves to be in town transitionally, and because of their husbands. For the men, staying in town is meaningful, because of their employment, or search for it, even if they intend to return to the village later. However, for the women there is no personal meaning in staying in town, they would return to the village if it were not for their husbands, and most see their eventual future as being back in the village. The village, therefore, continues to be their point of reference.

#### The impact of urbanisation on men

The process of urbanisation and the change which accompanies it is stressful for the men as well as the women. Superficially, the men are the ones who have control over the situation and who initiate change. They make the decisions to start new businesses or to migrate to town. Their womenfolk have to accommodate to the consequences of these actions. However, the men are motivated by forces beyond their control, such as the rising aspirations engendered by western style education and the introduction of western goods and a cash economy. Such aspirations are frequently not met, and the men are left with different dissatisfactions from those of the women, and they express them differently.

Unemployment rates in town are high. The Urban Household Survey (Garnaut et al. 1977) indicates that there is 20 per cent unemployment in the major towns. Unemployed men want work, and to be able to earn money, and they are bored without it. Frequent reference was made, both in the village and town, to stealing as a necessary way of obtaining money and food in town, if a man does not have employment. Crime is a serious urban problem in Papua New Guinea, and as the crime statistics reported in Chapter 4 indicate, it has two major dimensions.

First, theft, which is a response to the need and desire for cash and the commodities it buys in town. Second, aggressive acts against others, which, according to policemen and magistrates spoken to in the course of research and also urban residents in the settlements, are largely carried out under the influence of alcohol. Such aggressive acts may well serve as a release from some of the tensions arising from the frustrations of unfulfilled expectations.

Marion Christie's work (1979) shows the large amounts of money spent on beer amongst the same sample of people from Chimbu. The motivation for excessive beer consumption is not clear, but again, it may well be a response to the stresses of social change and culture conflict, and the resulting alienation and anomie. Excessive alcohol consumption has detrimental effects at all levels: acts of violence are substantially increased; an individual's health, and efficiency at the work place are reduced; and the money could be spent more wisely on the welfare of the family as a whole.

#### Challenges to the *wantok* system

The *wantok* system is an integral and pervasive part of the traditional culture of Papua New Guinea. This system of association and mutual obligation and dependence between members of an extensive kinship network controls many of the ways in which traditional Papua New Guinean society is run. At a simple level it fulfils the function of a social support network. Individuals are members of a group with which they have a sense of identity and from which they can obtain emotional and physical support. The *wantok* system is, however, much more powerful than this, and controls much of the political and economic functions of traditional society. Forms of authority, and the means of obtaining status and of controlling others are incorporated within it, as are the bases for accumulating wealth. As urbanisation and modernisation proceed in Papua New Guinea, changes to the *wantok* system will inevitably occur, especially within the towns.

The first of these changes can be seen at the level of interpersonal relationships. In the present study, although people in town, especially the women, missed their *wantoks* back in the village, there was no longer whole-hearted endorsement of the value of

interaction with all *wantoks*. This was primarily because visits from *wantoks* drained the resources of urban families. Thus many urban residents made a distinction between employed and unemployed *wantoks*. They enjoyed interaction with the former, but were less enthusiastic about association with the latter, and resented the demands made by them.

In this Project, Marion Christie's work shows the significant proportions of their income which people in the urban sample gave away to their *wantoks*. The present study indicates that these people still feel they should fulfil obligations towards their *wantoks*, because of their allegiance to village life, and insecurity about their own future. However, they are resentful of these obligations and recognise that they reduce their own standard of living within the town.

Such recognition is likely to be a first step in the process of selectively cutting traditional ties, and placing greater reliance on the new system. This requires that the urban resident, in order to survive and improve his position in town, must develop a healthy social network, but one amongst people who do not make debilitating demands; that is, amongst other employed urban residents of similar status. The development of inequalities within society can be seen in this process. Those who have relatively more must preserve their livelihood from those who have relatively less, and to do this the former must cut the ties of mutual obligation with the latter.

This process can be seen in the studies of both Oeser (1969) and Whiteman (1973) discussed below, and is also supported by observation of educated, urban dwelling, Papua New Guineans. Conversation with such people revealed that they had had to become selective in how they fulfilled their obligations to *wantoks*.

Oeser (1969), working with thirteen Papua New Guinean women in a Port Moresby housing estate, reports a progression from a traditional to an urban orientation. In the first stage the woman is on the periphery of urban society, having established no links with other people from her own language group, or people from other groups. In the second stage the woman makes contact with her own language group, but not with other groups. The third group Oeser calls "bridge women", because they have established strong links with both their traditional

language group, and with new, culturally diverse urban groups. The final group relinquishes traditional links and increases multi-cultural urban associations.

This progression indicates the disorientation of the woman on first arriving in town, having lost the stable village community, and having made no new contacts to replace it. These women were also those who, on an independent scale, were least able to cope with the demands of and the tasks required for living in the new urban environment. In the acquisition of new associations, contact is made with people from the same language group before contact is made with people from other groups. Oeser's data also indicate a relationship between the total number of a woman's associations and her ability to cope in the urban environment.

Oeser does not comment on what happens to the nature and quality of a woman's relationships with her *wantoks* as she becomes progressively more urbanised, nor why links with *wantoks* were finally cut. It may be hypothesised, however, from the results of the present study, that recognition of the penalties of meeting all kinship obligations, while also trying to create a successful urban life-style, leads to reduced association with *wantoks*, particularly those from the village.

A study by Whiteman (1973) of 20 Chimbu families living in Port Moresby supports this hypothesis. She divided her families into three categories - I: unsophisticated, II: semi-sophisticated, III: sophisticated - with respect to western life-style and values. She found that Category II families were not as dependent on their kin as Category I families. They had smaller, less dense social networks of kin than Category I, and more social relationships with non-Chimbus. Category II families welcomed the restrictions company or institutional housing placed on kin living in the same house, and had at times turned out unwelcomed visitors. Category I families did not welcome such restrictions, and enjoyed having kin live with them. Whiteman remarks that having kin live with the nuclear family has an unsophisticating influence.

Finally, Category III families lived as nuclear families, had selected those kin with whom they wished to interact, and had the

highest proportion of non-Chimbu associations. Each family had dealt in its own way with the problem of unwanted obligations to kinsmen and people from their part of Chimbu.

Families in the present study represent early stages in both Oeser's and Whiteman's progressions of urbanisation. Individuals related primarily to other Chimbus, and the women in particular had not formed wide networks of associations, nor had they developed a well-integrated urban life-style which met their needs. However, even amongst these families, the first challenges to the strength and unity of the traditional *wantok* system can be seen. These can be predicted to lead to the more complete breakdown of the *wantok* system apparent in the most sophisticated of Oeser's and Whiteman's families, if the same trends continue.

A reduction in kinship ties with progressive urbanisation is also found in studies in other developing countries. Plotnicov (1962) discusses change in families in urban situations in Africa. He details how removal from the tribal situation into town increases the privacy of the married couple and decreases their sources of physical and emotional support. This in turn makes the husband and wife more dependent on one another and increases the equality of the sexes. In addition, their social networks become more loose-knit and based less on kinship. Pauw (1963) also states that urban Africans have more loosely knit social networks and less segregation of the sexes than do rural members of the same tribe. In addition, this was more apparent among well-educated, white-collar urban residents than among those with less education and lower level employment.

The changes to the traditional *wantok* system that can be seen to be occurring in Papua New Guinea have implications at economic and political levels of urban society as well as at the level of inter-personal relationships.

Traditional means of establishing and maintaining power and authority will be challenged as urban residents begin to be selective about with which of their *wantoks* they will associate and enter into systems of mutual obligation and dependence. This weakens the cohesiveness of the group as a whole, and hence also the authority and power of its leaders.

This tendency to be selective about interaction with *wantoks* is partially due to the new cash economy. Individuals must protect themselves from the demands of relatives who have much less than themselves. The requirements of the new economic system also challenge directly the traditional bases of leadership. Before, individuals with the most power were those who gave most and who had the most people indebted to them. In a cash economy, the accumulation of wealth, rather than its dispersal, provides the new basis of power.

Traditional authority is also weakened by the necessity for new structures for law and order, and government when large numbers of people of different tribal origins are combined within a single system. First, if the different ethnic groups are to participate equally within the new national system, and one is not to be favoured above another, democratic processes must operate. Means of rising to positions of authority in traditional society, through personal affiliations and systems of influence, become untenable in large, multi-cultural groups, and acquire such labels as "nepotism".

Democratic processes also require new structures and methods of decision making which are not necessarily known or appreciated by traditional leaders, but are familiar to younger men with a modern education. These young men are also conversant with a range of scientific, economic and political thinking which is alien to traditional thought, but necessary for survival in modern urban society. Different types of men, with different skills and ways of thinking from traditional leaders, are therefore likely to lead the urban component of Papua New Guinean society.

In the present research, men living in the urban environment argued the necessity for local neighbourhoods to be multi-racial rather than composed of people from the same language group. They complained about the undisciplined behaviour which frequently resulted when a male group of *wantoks* gathered together in the urban area. It would seem that mixing with *wantoks* has an unsophisticating effect on a group of men in town, while mixing with a multi-cultural, urban-based group improves discipline and social responsibility, at least superficially.

Where local neighbourhood composition is multi-racial, this too will reduce the political power of traditional tribal leaders. Mylius (1973) also comments on this, remarking that, in Port Moresby settlements, community development workers have obtained greater success in community development projects in ethnically diverse neighbourhoods. In addition, the leaders of such communities have less authority owing to the multi-cultural nature of the group.

### Social planning

This chapter has tried to delineate some of the changes that are occurring in Papua New Guinea Society as it becomes more urbanised, and the likely direction of future trends. These are not necessarily changes that Papua New Guineans want, and it may be that they will wish to redirect some of the trends. When considering social planning two factors need to be kept in mind. The first is the desired end-state and the means of achieving it. The second is the fact that the process of change itself is often a stressful one, even if the change is ultimately beneficial. Individuals need to be buffered from and helped through the transitional stage, wherever possible.

Many cautionary notes have been written about the process of social planning. Leifer (1966), for instance, warns about the dangers of impersonal public bureaucracy increasingly invading private lives. In small communities (such as in traditional Papua New Guinean Society) he notes that the care of the weak and the deviant fell to the family and clan, whereas in large communities (for instance modern cities) the state defines and controls deviant behaviour and cares for the ill. He believes that the attempt to alleviate the stresses of mass industrial society by comprehensive planning is in danger of leading to the homogenisation of society and the extinction of human individuality. To counteract this he argues the need for fostering more humanistic communities with more local control.

Similarly Foster (1975) writes that social scientists should not decide what people should do. Rather they should provide information from which the people themselves can decide what they want. The social scientist can also suggest the best ways of achieving community objectives. This latter, however, may be more difficult than it seems. Fox (1973) argues that there is inherent



danger in prescribing a specific course of action for social welfare planning since there is no prescribed strategy which can be effectively repeated in different situations.

These writers, then, favour placing as much decision making as possible in the hands of the local community, and are wary of either the powers or the inefficiency of mass social planning. Fostering local participation is frequently seen by writers on social welfare in Papua New Guinea as a cure for community ills (for instance, Avei, 1973; Fox, 1973; Kerpi, 1976; Mylius, 1973; Oram, 1973; Willis and Adams, 1973). How to achieve this, however, is a more difficult question.

Bell and Tyrwhitt (1972) postulate that three layers of people develop in urban communities. The top layer is composed of well trained, well informed people who are socially responsible and cooperate for their own benefit and the good of society. In the middle are individuals without scruples whose purpose is their own profit, and who exploit the weakest in society, namely individuals falling into the third layer. This last group is unique to no one place, but they become more numerous with urbanisation. They believe that improvement of the welfare of this last group requires involving them in the operation of society. This they feel can be achieved by organising a large community into a hierarchy of successively smaller units, where each of the smaller units has some autonomy of decision making and ability to look after the welfare of its members, but is also dependent on the larger units within which it is contained. They also argue for diversity of composition in even the smallest of units.

This idea is similar to proposals that have been made for the organisation of urban communities in Papua New Guinea, in order to foster local participation. Oram (1973), for instance, argues the need for a ward organisation for urban administration. Mylius (1973), who writes about community development in urban settlements, also favours a ward system. She points to the delays and loss of initiative and momentum in community self-help projects caused by too much dependence on government bureaucracy.

Costigan (1977) has put forward a proposal for community development and organisation based on these ideas. He proposes that an urban settlement of about 500 houses should be built, on self-help principles, and should be organised into a hierarchy of units, each

with its own areas of autonomy and responsibility. The smallest unit, a cluster, would be comprised of 5 to 10 families, and every 100 families (10 to 20 clusters) would form a neighbourhood.

These ideas for encouraging participation and a sense of community in urban settlements in Papua New Guinea would seem to be valid and promising ones, but they omit one thorny question. What should be the ethnic composition of a small community? Should it be comprised of people from the same language group, or should it be ethnically diverse? There are two schools of thought.

The first school of thought believes that housing policies in Papua New Guinean urban settlement should try to preserve traditional social ties. This policy means that *wantoks* are encouraged to live together in small communities, which operate as far as possible on traditional village lines, with traditional authority systems and social networks. The emphasis here is on the preservation of the traditional, local community. The alternative policy aims to foster new social orders, where associations between people from different ethnic groups are formed. This latter policy requires that mixed neighbourhoods are developed which are governed by new systems of authority and law and order, and which promote association between a culturally heterogeneous group of people. The emphasis here is on the development of national unity.

This latter policy is the one favoured by the Housing Commission. Their rationale is that, while in the short run this policy may be detrimental to individual well-being, because traditional social networks are diminished, in the long run it will help create a united Papua New Guinea with a people who identify with the country as a whole, rather than with just their home area. It will also promote long-term adjustment to the new requirements of urban living which are different from those of rural living.

Opponents of this view argue that western cities are the product of this type of policy, and that they have resulted, not in the development of new, integrated communities, but in loneliness and alienation from society. In fact, the trend in western urban planning is to try to re-establish small communities within the larger city, in order to recreate feelings of identification with the local community. In traditional Papua New Guinean society, it is argued,

the feeling of local community identification exists and should be built upon, not destroyed. Also, opponents of Housing Commission policy point to the spontaneous behaviour of migrants who, wherever possible, and often in direct opposition to official policy, try to live next to their own kind. This process of regrouping was apparent, in the present study, in the residential patterns in Two Mile Settlement. The result of spontaneous settlement can be seen in Boundary Road Settlement.

Both the arguments used to support Housing Commission Policy, and those of its opponents, have some validity, and a compromise proposal falling between the two extremes is more likely to be the most beneficial. This chapter has detailed not only some of the challenges to the traditional *wantok* system with urbanisation, but also some of its strengths. It would seem that a policy is required which realistically recognises the new requirements of the urban situation, which attempts to retain, even in an altered form, some of the best features of traditional society, and which gives individuals and individual communities freedom to choose the balance they wish to strike between the maintenance of traditional ties with *wantoks*, and the establishment of new, urban, multi-cultural social *wantoks*. It would not be healthy for urban development, or national development, to concentrate exclusively on associations between *wantoks*, and the preservation of traditional authority systems. Interaction and close association between people from different language groups is essential. Nor, however, would it be satisfactory to promote association between culturally different people while ignoring the claims of the *wantok* system.

One housing policy which might provide a suitable compromise between these two extremes, while also leaving individual groups considerable freedom of choice as to how they live, might be a variation on Costigan's (1977) proposal. Individuals would be free to form small clusters of houses, say ten neighbouring households. This would be likely to result in small groups of compatible *wantoks* living near to one another and having joint responsibility for their cluster. Adjacent clusters, however, should be occupied by people from different language groups, and hence the small homogeneous clusters would exist inside larger, multi-cultural neighbourhoods.

This policy, in many ways, represents what already happens spontaneously in settlements like Two Mile. Such an outcome enables individuals, especially women and those making a new adjustment to the town, to obtain some support on a day-to-day basis from neighbours of the same language group. In this way, the policy recognises the need to retain some traditional associations within the town. However it will also facilitate contact between people from different language groups, as individuals learn to participate more in the wider community, and hence it admits the necessity of developing a new social order within the urban development.

These processes of adjustment to and integration into the new urban environment need to be supported, however, by procedures other than just basic housing policy. For instance, there is a need, within small local neighbourhoods, for community self-help organisations to help women adjust to the new urban environment. Such help would include the provision of information about how to use urban facilities and institutions, encouragement of social interaction with persons from the individual's own language group, as well as the opportunity for meeting women from different areas, and fostering participation in new activities which are seen to be meaningful.

These last two provisions - social interaction and involvement in meaningful activity are most likely to succeed if developed conjointly. As discussed earlier in this chapter, tasks are most likely to be considered meaningful, and to be entered into with enthusiasm, if they are conducted within the context of a social group with which the individual identifies. There is, however, likely to be a two-way interaction here, such that an individual may also develop feelings of belonging to the small group with which she is carrying out some interesting activity. These two aspects are therefore mutually supporting and it is the breakdown of this interaction upon leaving the village which causes the urban migrant distress.

As part of the Papua New Guinea Human Ecology Project Ken Newcombe has suggested the introduction of new agricultural systems in Lae for those of its residents who wish to garden. Such a project would be an excellent one for fostering meaningful activities and social interactions for migrant women. Each family would be allocated its own plot of land, but neighbouring plots could be allocated to

*wantoks* or neighbours in the housing settlement. Individuals from neighbouring gardens would receive instruction and supervision together and could be encouraged to garden at the same time as one another. As far as possible, then, the project would be conducted as a group exercise, with perhaps ten or twenty people forming a single group, but with each individual responsible for her own plot of land. Such a policy, it would be hoped, would increase both the importance to the individual of the task in hand - gardening - and also her sense of belonging to the group with which she is working. The same groups could be used as the basis of other projects too.

Another serious consequence which is accompanying urbanisation and needs to be tackled at the level of the local community, as well as through national policy, is the unemployment in the cities and the debilitating demands which unemployed persons make on the resources of their employed relatives. This leads to a number of problems. High rates of unemployment are leading to crime, aggression and other symptoms of frustration and alienation. The drain on the resources of employed persons by their unemployed relatives is likely to affect seriously the functioning of the *wantok* system as a whole by encouraging urban residents to withdraw from it.

These problems can be tackled in both the rural and urban areas. At the rural end, rural development and education reform to make education more relevant to rural life could encourage individuals to stay in the village. At the urban end, local urban communities need to encourage individuals who remain unemployed for long periods to return to the village. They also need to discourage extended visits from rural *wantoks* other than close family members.

Such policies were part of the rhetoric of the governing committee of Two Mile Settlement, but were not part of the practice of its residents. For there to be any efficient implementation of such policies at the level of the local community, there needs to be a consciousness in that community of the nature of the problem, agreement as to the means of combating it, and community support for any individual who is implementing agreed policy. This community involvement is the hardest to achieve in any implementation of urban policy, and points again to the need for efficient and cohesive functioning of local urban communities.

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