I hereby declare that this thesis is the result of my own investigations, and where I have drawn on the work of others, due acknowledgement has been made. The text is no longer than 100,000 words.

_______________________________

Michelle Nayahamui Rooney
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My late father, Wesley James Rooney and our late nephew, Dudley Yariyari junior – DY. Memories of your journeys in different times and spaces have helped to weave these pages.

Rest in eternal peace.

Dedicated to

The children of Port Moresby – city, settlement and of a place -, and

Kobi, Annabelle, and Jeremy;

May you and your kin make and find value and inclusive spaces on your journeys.
Abstract

*Nogat mani*, the Tok Pisin term expressing ‘we have no money’, is a familiar refrain of migrants in Port Moresby, the capital city of Papua New Guinea (PNG). In the absence of formal income opportunities and affordable housing, many are forced to resort to informal forms of shelter and income generation. Food and shelter are particularly difficult to secure which is why many rely on support from people of their own ethnic group.

One such group is the Tufi people of Oro Province who live in the ATS squatter settlement located near the city’s airport. There, kin and neighbors are important sources of support but, paradoxically, also place severe demands on those who have food, housing and money. Moreover, people must contribute to collective undertakings or risk becoming alienated from this urban safety net. This collective identity has to be balanced with the reality of being marginal citizens in the increasingly cosmopolitan city.

This thesis examines the livelihood and social safety strategies of this group of Tufi migrants over the period from the mid-1990s to 2013. It draws on a combination of ethnographic and quantitative data based on fieldwork conducted in 2013, reflective autoethnographic data and secondary sources. It examines the changing forms of indigenous Melanesian value systems in urban settings as they come into contestation with neo-liberal systems of value which dominate access to basic needs in the city.

Drawing on theoretical concepts of value, exchange, kinship and urban space, this thesis provides a grounded account of settlement life in PNG. It examines the challenges and responses of the Tufi as marginal citizens in one PNG informal settlement and demonstrates how collective identity is deployed to address the many challenges encountered in urban life. The thesis makes visible emerging forms of citizenship in urban PNG and the paradoxes of collective action and identity.
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Terms, currency and boundaries

Following Goddard (2010) I use Moresby throughout the thesis to refer to the city of Port Moresby, Papua New Guinea (PNG) (Figure 1.1). I use Moresby in place of National Capital District (NCD) which is the official name for the city. I use the formal name National Capital District Commission (NCDC) to refer to the municipal authority managing the city.

I use the term ATS settlement throughout the thesis to refer to the settlement in Moresby where I carried out my fieldwork in 2013 (Figure 1.2). This term reflects the settlement’s history, location and dominant provincial origin of its residents at the time of my fieldwork. The acronym ATS stands for Air Transport Squadron of the PNG Defence Force and refers to the formally designated residential compound of the PNGDF ATS which is located adjacent to the settlement (Figure 1.2 and Figure 1.3). In the media, national census and other documents the settlement is also referred to as Oro, Popondetta (the capital of Oro province), Oro-Bada village (a combination of Oro and Motu language where bada means big) settlement. I use the term ATS compound to refer to the formally designated ATS compound. Oro Province is the province in PNG from which most residents of the settlement came from in 2013 (Figure 1.1).

This is a thesis about Papua New Guinean people who come from a certain region who have moved to an urban centre. In this regard, the reader should note the use of a place name as an identity term in the urban setting as well as a geographic place in the country. For example throughout the thesis references to Tufi people or Oro people generally refer to people from these places who live in Moresby. The term Oro also has linguistic and indigenous
meaning which is distinguished from its meaning as a geographic place as a province in the country (Figure 1.1). Where there is ambiguity I specify the meaning in the context it arises.

PNG Kina is the national currency of PNG and is made up of one hundred toeas. In 2013 one Kina, denoted as K1, was equivalent to Australian $0.4620 and US $0.4469 (BPNG 2016).

Incomes and wages are measured in fortnightly amounts. This reflects the ways that people described their income cycles and the common practice in PNG of paying employee wages in fortnightly intervals. For wage earners in the study group, this was the dominant interval between paydays. I convert daily earnings from non-wage activities into fortnightly amounts for ease of analysis and comparison.

All paraphrased transcripts, interview notes, quotes or case studies are italicised. All Tok Pisin terms or language terms are italicised. If a Tok Pisin or language term is used within a case study or quote I use regular font. In-text explanations of Tok Pisin are added. These are included in brackets immediately following the Tok Pisin word or phrase and the abbreviation TP used to denote Tok Pisin. If another language is used then the in-text explanation uses the language name.
Prologue

*Mani,* or money in English, and forms of exchanges and relationships it entails – incomes, remittances, financial and social investments, and social and customary gifts and exchange – invokes mixed emotions in me. Empowerment, responsibility, excitement, joy and status sit alongside anxiety, fear, anger, frustration, shame, guilt, relief, and a need to vindicate myself of responsibility.

As a PNG woman living in Moresby three major family events that occurred during 2007 – 2009 deeply tested my convictions about what money symbolised. A close relative’s bride price and the diagnosis of another close relative with a terminal disease both obliged my partner, Dudley, and I to make considerable contributions of money on top of the ever present flow of other contributions. The third was our experience trying to seek health care at the Port Moresby General Hospital for our daughter. Despite living less than a five minute drive from the Hospital, and having lived in Moresby a long time, it was shocking to discover the state it was in. The paediatric ward was picture of despair – torn and dusty fly wire screen and missing or broken louver blades. The night we were admitted there, it was raining heavily and the wind blew in moist air. The bed had no sheet. In the bed next to us a toddler lay very sick with a respiratory ailment. His mother lay asleep on a mat on the concrete floor underneath his bed. During the night when I went to relieve myself, the restroom doors were broken revealing a row of filthy toilets. Wet soiled footsteps on the wet floor suggested leaking pipes. I saw vulnerability as a young girl crouched in this filth. A man – either her father making sure she
would be alright, or a stranger maybe - waited in full view for her to finish. I waited, unsure; hoping for some privacy.

Without the facilities in the country to diagnose our daughter, we invoked the overseas health cover available through our work and I took her to Townsville for further medical attention. We knew we were lucky to afford access to world standard health care. In stark contrast, an aunty of Dudley’s was diagnosed with breast cancer. Unable to afford to seek treatment in Moresby, she died untreated in her settlement home at the Erima ridge settlement.

We also faced immense obligations on both sides of the family. Dudley is the first son in his family and a lawyer so he was central to many family decision making processes. Cultural obligations such as funeral costs were ongoing and a source of much tension between us. Others regularly come to him for support. Collectively, the family was under pressure and we were struggling.

With our daughter’s illness it became harder to deny the deep anxiety I had begun to develop about the possible outcomes that could arise from having no money - *nogat mani*. Even though we were on good salaries, I felt financially and emotionally vulnerable. I was not able to reconcile my participation in ongoing customary and social obligations and responsibilities like bride price, funeral costs and supporting family with the imperative to invest in my own children’s’ health and educational needs. The pressure was unbearable and I feared succumbing to bankruptcy or some form of mental illness. Certainly I did not have to continue making contributions. But opting out of the ‘system’ would have placed me in a vulnerable position if I lost my job, fell sick, needed help or if my marriage fell apart. I had nowhere else to go but to rely on my xxx
circle of family and friends for support. Would they support me just because I had supported them? How was I making the decisions to about who to help? Who was I obliged and accountable to? Was I greedy for thinking this way?

A night in this life

Amidst all these threads of stories, life unfolded at home, at work, at church, at the soccer fields, with family and with friends. One particular night is etched in my memory. On this night, around 10:00 pm, Dudley, his uncle and I returned from dropping his brother’s family at a settlement near the Laloki river (See Figure 1.2). None of us was very talkative so we quickly chewed betel nut and bade each other good night. Dudley and I drove towards our three bedroomed, corrugated fenced, windows barred, pipe watered, plumbing completed, electrified, fully furnished, and overfull house in the suburb of Korobosea. This was home for us, our three children, and a number of other relatives. I called my aunt, who was living with us and helping me with child care for our children while I worked full time, and asked her to get someone to open the gate when we arrived. We had been held up at gunpoint a couple of times inside the gate so this was our normal security routine in Moresby to avoid the risk of being held up while waiting.

I was subdued and feeling relieved that we came back without any dramas. Had I realised earlier where we were going I would have declined the offer to go for a ride. My fear had subsided. In fact fear is an inadequate word. It is such an understatement for a feeling that mixes anxiety, dread and terror that was engrained into my psyche in Moresby; the feeling of the ‘forever-ness’ in negotiating between the ‘television style’ good life on the one hand and, safety
and social reality on the other hand. Adding to my troubled emotions was fury. I unleashed a string of expletives towards Dudley: “You fucking asshole! You know I’m terrified of being held up. Anything could have happened out there. Why did you take me with you?” I ranted on for a bit.

I am still haunted by the memory of that night. As though a veil that obscured my vision was lifted, the light that flashed in caused my eyes, and my heart, to hurt as I struggled to come to terms with what seemed to be a surreal existence. The hurt was accompanied by an illogical mix of guilt - about choosing not to help people – and at the same time a resolve that I was making the right decision.

Dudley’s brother and his family had been visiting us at our home that day and Dudley had asked me if I wanted to go for a drive to drop them off so I went along. For additional security, we had picked up his uncle who was a street vendor on the streets in Moresby. We drove out of the city past the airport towards Laloki where we turned right at the National Agricultural Research Institute’s Laloki station junction.

After driving for some time, the car pulled off on the right of the main sealed road and bumped onto a rough dirt road. Through the dusty dark hue, I could vaguely see that we were driving through grass land with trees thinly spread on the sides of the road – the typical Port Moresby savannah bushland. By this time we were so far off my beaten track and were in another – scary – world. For me this was unknown territory but for Dudley’s brother’s family it was their neighbourhood.
For me this was a ‘no-go-zone’ or the ‘no-mans-land’ of Moresby. This was the world where stolen cars got taken and held for ransom. If the owner of a stolen car was not fast enough to recover it through his networks or the police, then its remains would be found later - stripped of all parts and most likely torched. In my imagination, this was the place in those countless media reports of rapes, gangs, ethnic clashes, and murder where criminals retreated.

We were all quiet. I was uncomfortable and scared. Dudley did drop-offs for family and soccer everywhere in Port Moresby but I did not generally join him on these runs because there was never any space. My sister – Dudley’s brother’s wife - quietly said something like– ‘Don’t worry, nothing will happen to us – the boys here all know me and they know the car’. Apart from the car being a save kar (TP: known, recognised or acknowledged car), it was also possible that the boys in the settlement would think this was a stolen vehicle and leave it be. I had no doubt that if anything untoward was to happen I was dependent on my sister being a save pes (TP: recognised, known, or accepted person) in this place. No amount of my money, social status, kinship seniority and education would protect me in this neighbourhood. I knew, and respected (!), that - we were not even equals - this was her world.

I did not respond with my usual brazenness nor was I impressed. I hoped desperately for this drive through this dark and eerie ghost land to end. The car’s engine hummed loudly as it bumped through the dusty gravel maze of dirt tracks. Eventually, silhouettes of rickety looking houses on stilts emerged in the dark. Through their open windows flickers of flames – candles or kerosene lanterns – ominously danced in the dark. We continued passed this scattering
of houses and continued through the maze and finally drew to a stop in a dark opening surrounded by more rickety houses on stilts.

In the darkness, an elderly, frail man emerged and quietly helped my brother-in-law to carry their young children. They waved us along as Dudley turned the car around for us to drive back. It seemed like hours driving over bumps again. I did not care about any damage to the regularly maintained Toyota land cruiser – our proud symbol of status and prosperity. I wanted the damn thing to go faster. The light of the car reflecting on the dirt road in front and the moonlight created an eerie hue that made the night appear less black and more of a dusty grey colour背景下 by the black silhouette of trees and grass.

I imagined being ambushed by figures of men – black shadows in the dark – springing from the bushes with bush knives or home-made guns made from wood and metal triggers and banded together with rubber. I imaged the home-made gun would look similar to one I had seen in 2000 when I was held up while walking to catch a bus to work one morning. I thought, ‘I will get killed or raped tonight’. There was no solace in knowing that we might be able to invoke our relationship with kin in this area should be encounter trouble.

Whatever that troubled feeling I felt that night one thing is certain. Culturally my husband’s brother’s wife is my sister. We are married to two brothers – men from the Korafe speaking people of Tufi – who live in Moresby. Their family are long term residents of Port Moresby. Our children are brothers and sisters. We are their mothers. Our husbands are their fathers. In another time, in another place, we would perhaps share the same hamlet, have relatively equal access to clan land to make gardens and cook and share meals daily. We may have
shared the same land and same ‘formal’ structures, rules and regulations of custom.

But here we were in Moresby manoeuvring our various relationships, networks and the forms of power, or lack thereof, these entailed. Held together as family and torn apart by circumstances and by our own wilful and survival choices – and the lack of choices. In place of traditional rules and norms we were living and creating an emerging social dynamic born out surviving life in a city fraught with unemployment, expensive housing, crime and the absence of any state provided social security. It is difficult to describe this uneasy feeling that feels like the heart and soul of a place that is routinely described as one of the most troubled and dangerous cities in the world to live. This heart and soul of the city is the lived experiences and relationships that connect us as we live, love and tear between worlds.

In Moresby, our houses belong to everyone, at least in theory. Our value as good people, as good women was judged according to how we treated those who lived with us – whether invited or not, welcomed or not, our relations or tambus (in-laws) or friends, friends of friends, announced or not announced. This inclusivity is an ideological hallmark of being Papua New Guinean. I knew this but already feeling drained; I had resolved to aspire to a life free of violence, free of such totalising obligations to family. I craved to be free of the feeling that with each crisis or customary event everything around me was caving in and there was nothing anyone could do about it. The inequality in housing and income meant we made choices. With an already full house, and all the ongoing cultural and social pressures, I had become strict about relatives living with us.
My motivation for this research comes directly from these personal experiences, emotions, relationships, observations, anger, frustration, joy, humility, shame, love and much more. I hope that in the future others may engage with this research, add on pieces or tell a different story.
CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Nogat Mani

In terms of survival; this Tufi dance - Foroga (Korafe: traditional song and dance); sometimes we get asked to perform for a little bit of money. Not very often. When people ask to use my dance dress I give it for free. Sometimes they offer to pay but I say never mind I will not die with money. How I survive? I will survive.

Jacob, ATS settlement, 2013.
Paraphrased from interview notes and transcript.

There will come a stage with law and order and all the issues we face now when Papua New Guineans will start to think of themselves as Papua New Guinean. Right now I am from Tufi and if you say you're from Manus well that's it, you're from Manus, I am from Tufi. We will not always agree. Maybe my grandchildren or my great grandchildren will think as Papua New Guineans. At that time nobody will say my father is half Tufi and half Kairuku, where my wife comes from, or wherever. They will simply say, 'I'm Papua New Guinean'. Only then we'll be talking about a Papua New Guinea that everybody will have pride in. But right now I am an Oro man. If you zero in to Oro Province I am still a Tufi man you know. In Tufi I am an Arifama man. I am from Tumari.

Keith, ATS settlement, 2013.
Paraphrased from interview notes and transcript.

As a person living in a settlement you're just squatting. The city authorities and the state treat you as just a squatter. They will provide some services but not the way you would want it to be. Like the water. Eda Ranu\(^1\) has put water in but not to the extent that every house has its own water just like those of you living in formal housing have normal water flow. It’s a political thing because a politician goes and pays them so they can put just enough water in there so he can get elected and that’s how it is and that’s how we are.

Keith, ATS settlement, 2013.
Paraphrased from interview notes and transcript.

\(^1\) Eda Ranu Ltd is the State Owned Enterprise (SOE) that manages and distributes water in Moresby. Eda Ranu is a Motu term meaning Our Water (Eda Ranu 2015a). The way that residents of ATS settlement engage with this corporate entity to access water is discussed in Chapter 7.
This thesis is about a group of people who are generally identified as coming from the Tufi coastline of PNG’s Oro or Northern Province (Figure 1.1) and who now reside in the ATS settlement in the country’s capital city, Moresby (Figure 1.2). This thesis argues that their cultural identity is just as important as money when it comes to survival in the city. I start my thesis with these three quotes from Tufi men living in the ATS settlement in Moresby, Papua New Guinea (PNG), because their words epitomise the essence of the argument of this thesis - dilemmas over money, paradoxes of cultural identity that people turn to as they try to overcome money issues, and struggles of being squatter settlers in PNG’s largest and fastest growing city. These dilemmas involve mediating social relationships on the one hand, and surviving as squatters in a city where money is a basic necessity on the other hand. Jacob’s logic about sharing his Tufi cultural dance dress for free reflects the importance people place on both the sharing of scarce resources and cultural identity. It also emphasises Tufi values of sharing and social relations. A key contribution of this thesis is that it contrasts the ethos of sharing and the inclusiveness of common identity that require exchanges based on collective values, with narratives of being squatters and being without money - *Nogat mani* (no money). *Nogat mani* is the reason why many ATS residents moved into the settlement and why they continue to struggle to meet their basic needs.

Another contribution of this thesis is that place-anchored ethnic and cultural identities, that usually dominate expressions of Papua New Guinean identities, are shown to mask the nuanced dynamics of the demographic characteristics of urban households. Keith’s reflections about his identity as a Papua New
Guinean, an *Oro* Province man, and a Tufi man married to a woman from another province, captures the importance, and contradictions, of cultural identity for navigating daily life in a Moresby settlement. It also underscores the changing narratives of kinship. Indeed, while retaining their cultural identity, Tufi have long migrated to urban areas to pursue education and employment opportunities. However, once established in the city, many Tufi cannot afford to return home, or prefer to remain in the city living with their children and grandchildren. This is where mutual support between generations in the family and access to services like education and health are more accessible. Like Keith, many Tufi people living in Moresby are married to people from other parts of PNG and they recognise that their own children and grandchildren born outside of the *Oro* Province may identify themselves with other places and cultures.

For now though, it is their collective *Oro* identity that has led them to seek refuge in this particular settlement and it is the glue that binds them. It is the basis upon which they tackle the challenges of increasing ethnic diversity in the settlement where ethnic disagreements are major concerns. It is the basis upon which they engage politically and economically with other city actors on matters like land.

However as squatter settlers, residents of ATS are highly cognizant of their status as marginal citizens relative to the state and other city residents who live in formal spaces. At the time of my fieldwork, ATS settlement covered a sizable area of around 450 acres that coincides roughly with around eight large portions of state land (Figure 1.3). It is nestled in a pretty valley less than two
kilometres northeast of Moresby’s domestic and international airport. It is less than ten kilometres northeast of the city’s downtown commercial centre; around four kilometres from the National Parliament; and around five kilometres from the city’s municipal authority centre, the NCDC head office (Figure 1.2). Social service institutions, such as the country’s premier Port Moresby General Hospital, health centres, primary schools, high schools and the country’s key technical and tertiary institutions are located within a ten kilometre radius from the settlement.

From being minimally occupied land prior to the 1990s, the number of households in the area grew to 240 by 2000 with an estimated population of 1072 people (NSO 2011b). By 2010/11 the official number of recorded households in the ATS census units had increased to 609 and the population was 4015 people (NSO 2011b). These figures indicate an annual growth rate in the population of this area that outstrips the city’s population growth rate of 3.3% per annum. This suggests an influx of new residents moving into the settlement from other parts of the city. While people from Oro Province dominated the settlement’s population it became increasingly diverse as more people from different backgrounds moved in.

At the time of my fieldwork, I estimated that the ATS settlement was home to over 7000 people. This is likely an underestimate and is based on my estimates of the number of identified Tufi households in the community of around 120

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2 Preliminary 2010/11 national census data provided by the National Statistical Office show that there are three census units identified with the area. One census unit relates to the formal Defence Force ATS compound. The other two census units relate to the Popondetta Settlement (ATS) (NSO 2011b). The figures used here are the sum of the figures for these two Popondetta Settlement census units.
households. With an average household size of 7.3 people living in the 32 households I surveyed there are approximately 876 people who are identified as being associated with Tufi living in the community. Extrapolating from these figures to the number of ethnic groups from the Oro Province that people generally referred to indicates that between 4900 – 6132 people identifying as being of Oro Province origin were living in the settlement in 2013. In addition, the settlement population comprises people from all over PNG living interspersed within the Oro ethnic groups. This suggests that the total population of the settlement is well above 7000 and is consistent with media reports around that time. For example, Kuusa (2013) reported around that time that the population of this settlement was 10,000 people.

Reflecting the varying socioeconomic status of its residents, inequality in the settlement was evident. Houses ranged from rudimentary canvas tents and uncovered shelters to substantial housing built from permanent materials and enclosed with fencing. Most households shared pit latrines. There were around five water stand pipes at the time of my fieldwork and a handful more in the more populated section of the settlement nearer to the main market at the entrance to the settlement (Figure 1.3). All the households I interviewed accessed water through communal taps. Electricity lines extended halfway into the settlement with only a handful of households having formally installed electricity metres which they shared via extension cord with nearby houses. Transport into and out of the city was relatively accessible with many bus routes terminating in the settlement. There was significant flow of vehicular traffic in the settlement.
Despite this fast growing population and its proximity to the country’s premier governance and services institutions, life for people living in the settlement was hard, and services were not readily accessible. The third contribution of this thesis is that the ATS settlement case study makes visible the segregated nature of service delivery in the city’s political economy, wherein local life and aspirations to attain a better life in the settlement were at odds with government and state regulations and policy frameworks. The terms segregation and, segregated economies are widely used in urban literature globally to examine inequality and residential clustering in cities around the world (See for example: de Souza Briggs 2005; Smets and Salman 2016; Varady 2005). These terms – segregation and segregated economies - have not been widely applied in the PNG context and I use them in this thesis to argue that there exists a measured distinction between sets of citizens in Moresby. This distinction, arising out of the status of land occupied by residents of Moresby’s settlements, complicates the typical anthropological accounts of PNG society as a ‘dual economy’ divided between a traditional economy (based on gifts) and a modern economy (based on commodities) (Gregory 1982).

The thesis explores important social relationships in the lives of urban migrant residents over a period of time in which their mobility within the city is evident. In doing so, it complicates the binary usually applied to urban contexts in developing countries between formal and informal residential spaces. For Tufi living in the ATS settlement, being of the same cultural group and having no money are two sides of the same coin. Having no money pushes one to seek refuge in the settlement while being of the same cultural ethnic group is the
magnet that draws people to this particular settlement. However, being part of the group contributes to financial difficulties. Group identity itself is increasingly ambiguous as relationships change and evolve with the city’s own historical trajectory. This thesis explores these paradoxes and the dilemmas that the people face as they strive to eke out a living in Moresby. For Tufi of Oro Province people living in Moresby, there is a seamless trajectory between the city and the settlement. Indeed Tufi living in the ATS settlement share a common urban sociality with other Tufi living in the rest of the city, and many strive to retain strong social relationships with their family living in the city, and vice versa. The settlement provides a social safety net for people.

Figure 1.1: Map of PNG showing Port Moresby, Oro Province and the Tufi region.

Source: CartoGIS, The Australian National University.
Figure 1.2: Map of Moresby, 2013.

Source: CartoGIS, The Australian National University.
Figure 1.3: Map of ATS settlement showing private leasehold portions, 2013.

Source: CartoGIS, The Australian National University, based on Google Earth imagery and survey data from the PNG Department of Lands and Physical Planning, and the author’s fieldwork data.
1.2 Background and motivation: Initial theoretical framework

When I began my PhD research in 2012, I was grappling with the kinds of issues I presented in the prologue to this thesis. Growing up on Manus Island, historically known for its highly educated migrant population who remit money home, I was accustomed to conversations involving the financial and moral values associated with remittances. Drawing on this childhood interest, my master’s dissertation focussed on modelling migrant remittances in rural Bangladesh. After completing my master’s degree, life back home evolved beyond my childhood social sphere of Manus Province and Moresby city. Marriage to a man from another province, motherhood, employment, home mortgage, friendships, cultural and social engagement all suggested that a narrow focus on remittances obscures the lived experiences of migrants. All around me gifts and transfers between kin in the city and remittances back home were not separate phenomenon. They entangled the city and the ‘home’, the personal and the public. For many of us born in Moresby, cultural and provincial identity was a given fact. However, Moresby also became the place where life and culture were performed on a distinctly urban stage with tentacles that reached out to the rest of the world. Strong emotions always accompanied thought processes that went with money transfers. They were social, economic, political - frustrating and joyous. They both strengthened and undermined relationships. They should not be studied separately.

For my PhD I planned to explore the intersection between the concept of social protection and the concept of gift exchange, social relationships and familial private distribution of personal wealth. I wanted to study the transformations
of livelihoods, social safety nets and emerging social protection mechanisms in contemporary PNG society as I had experienced it as someone born and living in Moresby.

**Development policy discourses on social protection**

My interest in remittances and inter-household income transfers was renewed after a short stint with the World Bank in PNG in 2009 when the discussion of social protection, and in particular conditional cash transfers, was becoming topical among development agencies like the World Bank, the United Nations and the Government of PNG. In the international development policy arena the prominence given to social protection reflected the broader agenda on poverty reduction with the impetus coming from international development agencies (Devereux and White 2010).

Development agencies, focussing on the poorest and most vulnerable members of society, generally define social protection as interventions that support social security through enabling access to sustainable and resilient livelihoods and, providing coping measures to deal with hardship. This includes identifying and mitigating the risks people face in their livelihoods individually and collectively (for example: Dercon 2002; Ellis 2012; European Commission 2012; Kabeer et al. 2010: 3; World Bank 2003:i, 3)\(^3\).

**Informal social safety nets**

From this largely state and ‘international development agenda’ centric perspective, I wondered how formal social protection policies would work in

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\(^3\) There is increasing debate on social protection policies and interventions. Excellent discussions can be found in Nino-Zarazua et al., (2011: 165); Devereux and White (2010); Hickey (2007); Ellis (2012); Slater (2011: 253, 258); Koehler (2011); Devereux (1999); Arnall et al (2004).
PNG. At the same time my own lived experiences indicated that the alternative – ‘informal’ or traditional safety nets - could no longer be taken for granted as part of an egalitarian society that many of us continued to idealise. Even with the kind of cash handouts proposed in social protection programmes it would not be enough to feed a family, let alone house them and sustain other expenses such as school fees, uniforms, transport, health costs, clothing and so on. Families and social networks will remain important forms of informal social safety nets, and there is a growing scholarly and policy interest in the Pacific (for example: Jolly et al. 2015; Mawuli and Guy 2007; Ratuva 2005). For PNG three inter-related dimensions of traditional social protection mechanisms are social groups, land, and gift exchange systems based on principles of reciprocity and obligation, which underpin social, economic and political organisation of society.

Thus the theory of gift exchange so prevalent in anthropological accounts of PNG society is central for understanding the basic tenets of traditional social protection mechanisms. Morgan’s (1877) work, based on studying kinship classification systems in American Indian society, was influential in shaping the understanding of the distinction between ‘descriptive’ Western class based societies and ‘classificatory’ Non-western clan based society’s kinship systems. In particular the notion of the inter-relatedness of land tenure, property and kinship remains important in gift exchange theory in non-Western societies (Gregory 1982: 16). Mauss’ (1970) theory on gift exchange contends that individuals within society are bound by three obligations – the obligation to

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4 Examples of literature in other countries include: Devereux (1999) for Malawi; and Arnall et al. (2004) for South Africa.
give, to receive and to reciprocate. Gift exchange is not only about economic processes of distribution and circulation but is an important and inalienable part of social, political and economic life within societies (Mauss 1970). This system relies on the circular creation of debt (Gregory 1982). Levi Strauss (as summarised in Gregory 1982: 20-22) contributed the concept that marriage is a form of gift exchange involving women as labour exchange between clans.

Polanyi (2001) introduced the concept of the social embeddedness of economic processes. His historical critique of ‘double movements’ in economic transformations in the Western world remains important in contemporary critiques of social transformation and the duality between traditional and market economies (see for example: Curry 2003; Hickey 2007; and Stiglitz 2001). Polanyi’s thesis is important for both the discourse on social protection (for example see Hickey 2007) as well as the theory of gift exchange. Polanyi argues that three important commodities - labour, land and money - in market based economies are in fact ‘fictitious commodities’ (Polanyi 2001: Ch 6). Labour, which is human activity, and land which is nature, are both inalienable from social life and values. Although money is an essential part of market economies, it requires active state regulation, as do the natural factors - labour and land. Polanyi (2001) illustrates how the destruction of traditional social and economic systems, including coping strategies, brought about by economic transformation towards market economies led to a collective societal response to protect society (labour) and the environment (land) against this force. In industrialised nations, these social responses to market transformation - one side of the double movement - led to the emergence of social and political
movements - the other side of the double movement - that have themselves evolved into modern day institutions that the so called free or laissez fair market cannot operate without. Examples of these institutions are labour laws, social security systems and environmental laws (Polanyi 2001).

Sahlins (1972) introduced the concept of a spectrum of reciprocity in traditional societies where kinship structures and social relationships play an important role in reciprocal relationships (Sahlins 1972: 193-196). Generalised reciprocity, which is more likely to be practiced among close kin, involves exchanges that are considered altruistic and based on giving and receiving in response to need. The counter exchange does not require consideration of quality, value, time or the ability to reciprocate (Sahlins 1972: 194). Balanced reciprocity involves the exchange of items of similar value and the gift and the counter gift take place around the same time such as trade exchanges (Sahlins 1972: 195). Finally, negative reciprocity involves ‘forms of appropriation’, for example, theft (Sahlins 1972: 195). Gregory (1982) in contrasting commodity exchange with gift exchange, noted that commodity exchange, as seen in market economies is based on class societies where the factors of production – land, capital and labour – are separated. In contrast, gift exchange economies as seen in clan based societies such as PNG are based on the prevailing connection between social groups, land owning groups and land tenure systems (Gregory 1982: 17, 40, 116, 165). Land and labour are not alienated from each other and gift exchange is the primary mechanism linking them. The connection between kinship, social groups and land ownerships systems are key in understanding social relationships of reciprocity, obligation and how
political leadership is determined and exercised. These, together with a moral ethos of generosity and reciprocity, or, in other words, the giving in order to create indebtedness (Gregory 1982; Sahlins 1972: 133-134), lay the foundation for social protection in traditional societies.

In the field of economics, Becker (1974) argued that private income transfers involved utility maximising exchange between the transactors. Givers have altruistic motives and derive utility from their own and the recipients’ incomes (Becker 1974). Since this seminal paper an extensive body of economic literature around the topic of inter household income transfers and migrant remittances in developing countries has emerged. Lucas and Stark (1985) suggested that transfers were a mixture of altruism and exchange. For example, children may transfer income to parents in return for gains such as inheritance.

In the case of migrant remittances, they may be driven by a mixture of altruism and self-interest (Lucas and Stark 1985). The migrant remits funds as part of the household’s income diversification and risk management strategy but only continues to remit as long as it is in his/her interest to do so. For example, migrants’ remittances may be reciprocated in the form of care in the event that they become unemployed, ill, or old (Lucas and Stark 1985). Transfers are said to play an insurance role for family income. The application of this theory to empirical data has been used extensively to ascertain whether private income transfers play a re-distributional role between rich and poor households (Cox and Fafchamps 2007; Cox and Jimenez 1990).

The implication for policy is that the introduction of publically provided transfers may lead to reduced private transfers (see Arnall et al. 2004: 443).
Furthermore, private income transfers may be viewed as filling gaps that exist because of imperfect financial and insurance markets or the absence of formally provided social security schemes. Informal family and kinship networks, and exchange systems provide an important means of support to enable households to insure against risk associated with agricultural incomes, which are subject to a higher degree of variability (Cox and Jimenez 1990; Cox and Fafchamps 2007; Fafchamps 1992; Gibson 2006; Witoelar 2005: 3).

**PNG context**
The ambiguity between generosity and reciprocity as they play on political, economic and social processes resonates throughout PNG. While generosity is a virtue, greed and selfishness are despised. Attainment of prestige and political leadership status involves public demonstration of this ethos through giving and sharing. However, sustaining this status involves the creation of ‘debt’ or reciprocal exchange (Barker 2008; Bashkow 2006; Malinowski 1972: 97; Sahlins 1972: 131-133; Schwimmer 1973; Waddell and Krinks 1968). Other studies show that reciprocal relations are malleable and that extended periods of default reflect on a party’s inability to reciprocate and eventually the relationship will disintegrate as partners enter into new partnerships (Morauta 1984; Zimmer 1990: 83).

Traditional social structures; land access and utilisation structures; and local customary practices, are interconnected (Filer 2007; Gregory 1982). Gift exchange is an important part of ensuring continued social group identity and associated land access and use rights (Bainton 2010; Barker 2008; Bashkow 2006: 4, 217, 228; Morauta 1984: 72; Schwimmer 1973; Filer 2007).
Participation in gift exchange also ensures diversification of access to resources such as land and other resources important for subsistence survival beyond the immediate set of resources guaranteed by virtue of communal ownership (Boyd 1990; Morauta 1984; White 1990; Zimmer 1990).

These cultural and social traits evident in social practice raise interesting questions for social protection discourse in contemporary PNG society. What happens if the conditions linking land, social group and exchange that cement this moral ethos of generosity and reciprocity break down? For example, in urban areas traditional land structures no longer hold; labour is a commodity to be sold in return for wages; and natural resources such as land and water are commoditised. Furthermore, in urban contexts traditional kinship relationships that shape social lives are challenged by inequalities in incomes or by marriages outside traditional social boundaries.

These questions are highly relevant for PNG’s increasingly mobile and urban population. Relationships between urban residents and their home villages are important and in PNG participation in exchange systems has a dual importance for both migrants and their villages (Baxter 1973; Boyd 1990; Carrier and Carrier 1989; Curry and Kockzberski 1999; Mawuli and Guy 2007; Morauta 1984: 92; Rasmussen 2015; Umezaki and Ohtsuka 2003: 20; White 1990; Zimmer 1990). Villagers’ relations with their relatives who have migrated involve strategies for accessing cash income (Morauta 1984: 110). This influences relationships between migrants and their families left at home. The notion of generosity (child rearing) creates a future obligation (reciprocity) that can be counted on

Urban residents can become alienated from their social groups, land and other avenues for social protection. Exchange systems continue to play an important role in survival strategies of residents in Port Moresby where families rely on sharing family incomes (Barber 2003; Monsell-Davis 1993; Storey 2010). Others have suggested the emergence of class distinctions in PNG society (Cox 2014; Gewertz and Errington 1999). Strathern (1975) showed that while making money is a primary objective of Hagen migrants to urban centres, other relational issues are important in determining the decisions, actions and values of urban migrants in relation to their rural relations. The findings of studies on the redistributive role of income transfers between rich and poor people are mixed. They play a limited role in redistributing income between rich and poor in rural areas (Gibson 2006; World Bank 2000). Within urban areas, they appear to have more impact on reducing inequalities, and collective incomes and resources are important strategies for households (Gibson et al. 1998; Storey 2010; Umezaki and Ohtsuka 2003).

Those who earn relatively high cash incomes come under immense pressure to distribute their earnings. In addition to their individual and clan exchange commitments, they are expected to support their extended family and kin. Cultural principles of exchange, including the moral ethos of generosity and reciprocity, are invoked to ensure that support is continued (McMurray 2002; Monsell-Davis 1993; Morauta 1984). High income earners as a result of this
pressure can lose productivity and morale resulting in people leaving their employment (Monsell-Davis 1993:10-11).

These social practices suggest that tensions, paradoxes, or moral dilemmas in social relations may reveal insights into contemporary safety nets. By exploring relationships between people whose dispositions and habitus (Bourdieu 1977) make them behave towards each other in certain ways we may discover new insights into contemporary social protection mechanisms. For example, in the context of contemporary Tolai society, Martin (2009) describes the paradoxes people face in choosing between immediate family and the extended kinship groups such as the clan. Such paradoxes involve moral reasoning on the part of actors as they consider questions such as what is the right and just thing to do, thus bringing morality into tension with reason (Sykes 2009: 25).

Moral economy perspectives can also help to elucidate societal valuations on what are just resource allocations and other economic processes for collective wellbeing. In so far as price is a mechanism for distribution of resources, Baldwin (1959) notes that the moral economy concept of a ‘just’ price is ancient. Thompson (1971) argues that the English riots in the 18th century were not merely occasional reactions to hunger and poverty but rather they were based on deeply engrained moral values about justness relating to necessities for subsistence. These are universal phenomenon common to societies everywhere (Thompson 1971: 135). Similarly, Fafchamps (1992:167) argues that the ‘right to subsistence [is] a moral obligation and mutual insurance [is] a social institution’ (Fafchamps 1992:167).
With these personal and theoretical questions in mind, I begin this thesis from a position that I asserted in my early reflections (Rooney 2012). Household relationships in the current PNG context are a mesh of distinct groups of communities and people that are clearly distinguished by differences in socio-economic, demographic and geographic characteristics, and are interwoven together by their common history, genealogy, and ethnic and cultural identity. This connects the urban with the rural; the formally employed with the agricultural smallholder; the homeowner with the customary landowner; cash-earners with subsistence farmers; migrants with non-migrants; and the employed with the unemployed. Traditional systems of exchange continue to operate in this transformed setting and are interwoven with other modern day effects such as friendships, professional relationships, and inter-provincial marriages. People, and families, transfer income between each other and participate in an array of exchange relationships. Informal safety nets are context specific. That they exist in traditional systems can be attributed to traditional forms of access to land that enables people to sustain subsistence livelihoods. Ancestral land regimes and traditional social structures are inalienable parts of traditional socioeconomic protection mechanisms. Transformations in land regimes and/or in social structures that involve a change in this principle will necessarily lead to societal responses to negotiate and shape new social protection mechanisms (Summarised from Rooney 2012).

1.3 Thesis theoretical orientation: Value, kinship, urban space
As I explain in Chapter 2, my entry into the field led me early on into the ATS settlement in Port Moresby, where I revised my fieldwork plans to focus the thesis on the Tufi community living there. In my search for understanding how
Tufi people living in the ATS settlement interact with each other and with other spaces and stakeholders in the city, I was drawn to literature on value, kinship and space because these concepts kept emerging in the stories I was hearing. I use these theoretical concepts to guide my renderings of the data. Excellent overviews of these are discussed in Graeber (2001), and Otto and Willerslev (2013) for value; Franklin and McKinnon (2001), McKinnon and Cannell (2013) and Sahlins (2014) for kinship; and (Castree and Gregory 2006 and Harvey 2006, 2008, 2009) for space.

**Value**

Value, Graeber (2001) reminds us, can mean: (i) something that is morally ‘good, right or desirable’ (p2); (ii) something that has an economic value and an opportunity cost in obtaining it; and (iii) the linguistic value of words where the meaning of particular concepts or things need to be understood in given contexts and this is shaped by the environments surrounding them. Together, these three concepts are ‘refractions of the same thing’ – value (Graeber 2001: 2). The key debates about value in anthropology relate to the divide between economics and anthropology and various strands of anthropology – substantivism versus formalism, and structuralists versus functionalists (Graeber 2001). Drawing on Graeber (2001) the thesis demonstrates the paradoxes between actors maximising their individual benefit and as collective beings acting as social actors. It also demonstrates that both markets and gift exchange are important in urban PNG. Graeber (2001) cites Strathern’s work (for example: Strathern 1988) to emphasise that the meaning of value has to

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5 Graeber draws on the linguistic concept formulated by Saussure that value is ‘meaningful difference’ (Saussure 1966 cited by Graeber 2001: 2).
be understood in a given context. Drawing on this, the thesis also demonstrates that value is context specific. It also shows how the economy and society are in dialectic and ongoing relationships with each other Gudeman (2008).

The thesis also explores the intersection between action and value (Otto and Willerslev 2013; Widlok 2013). In particular, as Widlok (2013) demonstrates, context specific renderings of value in acts of sharing pose interesting questions for theories of exchange. In Melanesia, Gell (1999) argued that sharing is a transactional mode in its own right – as distinct from a form of generalised reciprocity (Sahlins 1972). However as Widlok (2013) points out, sharing is still usually subsumed in generalised exchange. As a transactional mode, sharing has been considered in other contexts. Peterson (1993, 2013) explores demand sharing in Indigenous Australian sociality as a form of asymmetric reciprocity; Widlok (2013) in the Northern Namibia context, considers sharing as a complex social phenomenon reliant on proximity between actors; while Peterson and Taylor (2003) explore sharing as an enduring feature of indigenous Australian domestic moral economy. Rasumussen (2015) explores forms of demand sharing in the Melanesian context through his study of migrant remittances among Mbuke Islanders of Manus Province in PNG. He argues that the *singaut* [TP: request or demand] economy, comprising less ceremonial exchange, is an important basis for the relational person (Rasmussen 2015: 43-53).

**Kinship and personhood**

Sahlins (2014) argues that kinship should be reconsidered as “mutuality of being”: kinfolk are members of one another, intrinsic to each other’s identity and existence’ (p62) where ‘intersubjective relations of being’ (p62) are as
important for the formation of kinship as procreation. McKinnon and Cannell (2013) and, Franklin and McKinnon (2001) argue for a more nuanced examination of kinship in modern society and its institutions. Critiquing portrayals of modern societies that tend to separate the family sphere from the public formal sphere, McKinnon and Cannell (2013) explore configurations of kinship that transcend this divide between the family and domestic spheres, and the public, political, social and economic spheres (McKinnon and Cannell 2013: 15). Focussing on typical modern institutions like the companies and the state they ‘follow the trail of kinship relations as they lead us into what are supposed to be the discrete domains of economics, politics, and religion.’ (McKinnon and Cannell 2013: 15). They argue that this approach opens up new possibilities of understanding kinship in contemporary society.

Throughout this thesis, I draw on this approach to examine the urban kinship and social relationships of Tufi in ATS settlement, and in the city. This reveals new insights into modern PNG society and the ways that kinship is shaped by and shapes urban formations of economic, political and national structures.

**Urban space**

Globally, there is an increasing call for more attention to be paid to urban processes in developing countries (Parnell and Oldfield 2014). They are, as Holston and Appadurai (1996) argue, sites of contestation in which culture, the economy, society, politics, and religion come into confluence with each other. They are also spaces where inequality between abject poverty and marginalisation and wealth are readily seen side by side. They are also sites of hope and aspiration, where rural people converge to seek a better life and
where future middle class society and their development aspirations and political voices are formed (Saunders 2010: 3). Cities in developing countries provide a lens to explore citizenship and sociality (Holston and Appadurai 1996).

The concept of ‘the right to the city’, initially introduced in 1968 by Henri Lefebvre (1996), is defined by Harvey (2008) as:

*Far more than the individual liberty to access urban resources: it is a right to change ourselves by changing the city. It is, moreover, a common rather than an individual right since this transformation inevitably depends upon the exercise of a collective power to reshape the processes of urbanisation. The freedom to make and remake our cities and ourselves, is[...] one of the most precious yet most neglected of our human rights (Harvey 2008: 23).*

The concept has been used by some scholars in the Pacific. Noting the popularity of this concept among scholars to theorise political expressions of marginal urban residents, Stead (2015) examined the responses of residents of urban informal settlements to eviction in Timor Leste. In the Solomon Islands capital of Honiara, Foukona (2015) examined urban residents’ strategies to access land.

This thesis makes visible the ways that residents of ATS settlement have exercised collective action not only in respect to land and housing, but also to access services through citizenship action. The thesis shows how a people living in the city respond to the marginalisation caused by urban processes and how they reshape their experience of the city. The thesis draws on Harvey’s (2006, 2008, 2009), and Lefebvre’s (1991) articulation of space, time and urban space, in which space can be thought of as absolute, relative and relational where social, economic and political issues come into tension with each other. The
thesis looks at the absolute space that the ATS settlement occupies; the settlement space relative to the broader city and its history as well as the settlement as a relational space in which actors’ relations within and beyond the settlement mutually shapes the settlement and the city. Central to this is the fact that urban spaces are particularly subject to forms of power driven by capitalist money, fear, poverty and demographic change (Harvey 2006, 2008, 2009).

An outcome of increasing capital investments in urban areas is the marginalisation of those who are not able to benefit from these developments with consequences for inequality, social justice and a decline in democratic principles in which the most vulnerable are those whose only productive resource is their labour (Piketty 2014).

1.4 Guide to Chapters
This thesis is an ethnography of people who come from the Tufi region of Oro Province and who now reside in the ATS settlement. It seeks to make visible the ways that residents of ATS settlement work within, alongside and between existing value regimes (Appadurai 1988; Narotzky and Besnier 2014). This enables them to navigate urban life while retaining connections to their histories and identity. Reflecting my initial interest in social protection, each Chapter focusses on a particular livelihood challenge commonly identified by my informants. After outlining in Chapter 2 my fieldwork, methods and the ethical issues I encountered, the rest of the thesis addresses urban identity and sociality, land, housing, services, employment and low incomes, crime and violence, and relationships with home in separate Chapters.
Collective urban Oro identity and Tufi sociality are an important part of their livelihood strategies and are examined in Chapters 3, 4 and 5. The meanings of the word Oro in the urban setting are elaborated in Chapter 3. Having lived in the city for many years, people retain strong indigenous cultural identities while drawing on their colonial, mission, education and contemporary state political and administrative backgrounds to construct an urban identity. Although the term Oro has an official use in its reference to the province it is an indigenous term connoting a variety of meanings that are significant for people’s sociality. This collective Oro identity was used in the establishment of the settlement. Although it continued to shape the social and political organisation of the settlement, people increasingly re-position themselves as occupants of titled land as they collectively defend themselves in court battles against threats of eviction. These collective strategies are examined in Chapter 4.

Once established, the settlement became an important social safety net for wage earners and elite who faced housing challenges in the city. Those who could not afford their own housing or faced tenuous access to their relatives’ homes sought refuge in the settlement. Their moves and the effect these had on changing social and power dynamics are examined in Chapter 5.

Ironically, even though people say they remain in the city in order to access services and a better way of life for their children this is not easy. I examine what it means to be marginal citizens residing in an urban informal settlement in Chapters 6, 7 and 8. The moral economy of land in the settlement is examined in Chapter 6. Although people narrate the settlement as being a settlement for people from the Oro Province, they also find that the idea of access to land
based on their *Oro* identity is problematic. The increasing importance of money in land transactions, demographic changes, and outsiders interested in establishing themselves on the same land threaten the dominant *Oro* narrative of the settlement.

For residents of the ATS settlement access to water and education are a daily struggle. Their responses to securing these services are discussed in Chapter 7. Services must be won as citizens engaging actively with churches, business houses and NGOs. Another daily struggle is securing food and cash in a context where there is high unemployment and low incomes. The moral dilemmas families face as they recognise that their lack of money to buy food means they must make difficult moral decisions are examined in Chapter 8. Traditional moral values of sharing with family and neighbours are renegotiated in the urban setting. What emerges is a gendered economic sphere, where men dominate formal labour employment and women dominate informal market stalls. It is in these household negotiations and decisions about supporting others that local social safety nets relating to food and cash are morally negotiated.

Paradoxically, their *Oro* and Tufi identity, which is necessary for survival in the city, also intensifies their financial problems. These paradoxes are explored in Chapters 9 and 10. Insecurity and violence are outlined in Chapter 9. Crime in the city connects Tufi living in the settlements with those living elsewhere in ways that foster a sense of security in the urban setting. But within the settlement Tufi must negotiate with other groups whenever one of their ‘boys’ creates insecurity for others. Locally, group security is secured through
collective action such as payment of compensation to or fighting together against retaliation from offended parties. This collective response often comes at the expense of women and vulnerable people and creates financial hardship and further insecurity for the whole group.

Tufi identity and their relationships with their home are important parts of their identity and are essential for their survival in the city. These issues are considered in Chapter 10. The repatriation of deceased bodies back home for burial is a central process in the regeneration of Tufi and Oro identity in the city and in reconnecting Tufi with home. It is also when the precariousness of their existence is most evident. Poor and rich alike are obliged to contribute to these efforts. People bankrupt themselves in order to maintain their Tufi/Oro identity.

These local dynamics of collective identity, low incomes, land access and crime, create a rather insulated socio-economic and political-cultural urban system within the settlement that regenerates itself in relation to broader developments in the city. As citizens occupying places of exclusion caused by poverty, crime and structural inequalities they negotiate with city leaders. As people from Oro firmly grounded in their urban collective identity they occupy positions of power in relation to their elite Oro kin who may one day need to draw on this common identity.
CHAPTER 2. THE FIELD, METHODS, AND ETHICS

2.1 Entering the field
With this theoretical and personal background in mind, my planned fieldwork set out to explore the following questions. How does the redistribution of personal income between social actors impact on socio-economic security in contemporary PNG society? What are the moral and political influences determining how people participate in these social practices and how do they value the outcomes?

I initially planned multi-sited fieldwork that spanned urban and rural areas. Starting from urban migrant perspectives in Moresby, I planned to follow my family stories into Manus and Oro Provinces. I also anticipated that the choice of an urban centre and two rather different provinces would enable a comparative study that could uncover broader insights for rural and urban connections.

Drawing on the definitions of social protection, livelihood risks and vulnerability, and the existing ethnographic evidence for PNG, I planned to focus fieldwork questions on transactions and interactions between people as they responded to self-identified livelihood challenges.

Upon arrival in Port Moresby in December 2012 I commenced my fieldwork by seeking interviews with people from Manus and Oro Provinces who lived in the city. Because of the large number of people from the Oro Province living in the
ATS settlement, including Dudley’s brother, I planned to conduct some fieldwork there. Dudley, his brother, his brother’s wife, his sister and his parents, accompanied me on my first couple of visits to the settlement in order to introduce me to the Tufi community living there. During two initial meetings in January 2013 I explained the nature of my research and people asked questions about it. I also walked around the settlement to gain more familiarity. It became apparent during these consultations that there were very deep issues right in the settlement itself - issues that in themselves demanded a deeper exploration. At this point, I revised my fieldwork plans to focus on the ATS settlement, as the setting that could illuminate and inform my research questions.

About the field: Moresby and ATS settlement
PNG’s urban population is around 13% of its total population (Jones 2011; Office of Urbanisation 2010) of which up to 50% are estimated to be living in informal settlements (Connell 2011; Jones 2011; Numbasa and Kockberski 2012). Central to challenges of urbanisation in Melanesia is the shortage of available land for development and housing (Chand and Yala 2012; Connell 2011; Kidu 2002; Numbasa and Koczberski 2012).

Popular narratives of Moresby portray a troubled national centre riddled with chronic law and order problems and increasing poverty. These problems exist amidst broader national political and economic developments, which oscillate in response to national and global factors. Many of these narratives focus on the disparity between the country’s abundant natural resources and prolonged

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6 I introduced my partner Dudley in the Prologue to this thesis.
economic growth and stagnant or declining national indicators of development. These include increasing corruption, declining social services and deteriorating law and order. Despite these problems the city has grown steadily as migrants seeking opportunities keep coming there. Officially, the city’s population is estimated at around 364,125 (NSO 2011a), although some observers consider it to be much higher. The city’s population growth rate of 3.3% per annum is higher than the nation’s average population growth rate of 3.1% per annum (NSO 2011a). Officially it is home to over 5% of the country’s population (NSO 2011a), half of whom live in informal settlements (Galgal 2011; Jones 2011). The population data for the ATS settlement presented earlier suggests that the population growth rate of settlements outstrips that of the city and there is a very high degree of population mobility from formal residential zones of the city into informal settlements.

In many ways 2013, the year of my fieldwork, marked the dawn of a new era in Moresby’s history. Around this time several sweeping changes were introduced which significantly changed the social and physical character of the city. In 2013, PNG was at the end stages of a prolonged period of economic growth that was stimulated by the construction phase of a liquefied natural gas (LNG) project. The first export shipment of the LNG product took place in mid-2014 creating national political euphoria about a new era of wealth (National Newspaper 2014a). However, in the months that followed and into 2015, declines in commodity prices and a delayed response on the part of the

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7 The preceding paragraphs draw on Rooney (2015b).
government exposed serious flaws in these promises of new wealth (Flanagan 2014; Flanagan 2015; Flanagan and Howes 2015).

Major decisions to host significant international events such as the South Pacific Games in 2015 and the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation meeting in 2018 led to the approval of a multi-million dollar road and infrastructure programme for the city. These included the construction of the ‘Kookaburra flyover’, which commenced in 2013 and was completed in early 2015, and the rapid construction of sports facilities for the 2015 Pacific games. These projects led to the eviction and resettlement of the populations of several urban squatter settlements. In 2014, the governor of the city introduced a ban on the sale of betel nut - a major source of cash income for many poor families. This highly contentious law led to a number of abuses by law enforcement personnel against poor people who continued to sell the product to make a living (Baines 2013; Sharp 2013).

Several studies have considered Moresby’s transformation. Oram (1976) writing about Moresby over the colonial to independence period spanning 1884 to 1975, described the transformation of the city from a colonial town to a Melanesian city. Other studies have focussed on the indigenous people of the area (Belshaw 1957; Bramell n.d.; Groves 2011) or on the increasing numbers of migrants from around the country converging on the city for employment (Langmore and Oram 1970; Monsell-Davis 1993; Rew 1974; Strathern 1975). Housing and social life were important aspects of the studies. For instance, a number of studies provide perspectives from urban settlements as social spaces that reflect contemporary Melanesian makings of urban spaces, rather

Taking Oram’s (1976) account as a historical reference point, the time of my fieldwork, nearly 40 years on, may also be regarded as an historical moment in the city’s transformation from a Melanesian city to something else. Certainly the city is Melanesian and it can be described as a city of contrasts, where rich and poor people live side by side and where formal and informal social, economic and political spaces function side by side. As an emerging regional city at the intersection between the Pacific and Asia regions it is also the centre for global corporate investment in the country’s extractive industry. In this context, global and regional processes meet Melanesian values and a multiplicity of indigenous people navigating multiple forms of city life.

Another historical reference point for this thesis is Strathern’s (1975) account of the social lives of Hagen migrants in Moresby, and their social relationships in relation to their relatives at home. She examines the role that money plays in mediating and undermining these relationships. The stories I unpack in this thesis may be regarded as a study of the social relations and the role money plays in the lives of Melanesians living in the city in the early 2000s. While Papua New Guineans remain firmly identified as ‘of a place’, they have to navigate through a remarkable myriad of complex contemporary and neo-liberal value systems that past migrants did not.

This thesis is therefore a useful baseline study for a time just before major change in the city. Furthermore, responding to increasing attention among
scholars to more nuanced accounts of PNG society that reflect lived experiences of people rather than theoretical renderings (for example, Sharp et al. 2015) it departs in style from previous studies in its examination of movements between spaces that are usually presented as binaries. For example, the thesis examines the movement of people between formal parts of the city and informal settlements in the city, as well as interactions between formal laws and social practice; between formal economies and informal economies; between formal justice systems or lack thereof and localised practices of conflict mediation.

2.2 Methods

Primary data: interviews, focus group discussion, and observations
The first set of primary data is based on formal fieldwork carried out in Moresby and the ATS settlement between January to June 2013. The household demographic and socio-economic data is drawn from 32 in-depth interviews with households who self-identify as being from Tufi8. There are some limitations to the data presented in Tables, Figures and the text, which however, do not affect the findings of the thesis. These can be explained by two factors. First, in the 32 households that I interviewed some quantitative data was missing for individuals in these households because the respondent did not know the information requested. For example the respondent may not have known the level of education of someone living in the household or their place of birth. Second, although full interviews were conducted with 32 households I

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8 Only one interviewee from this group had no immediate connection to Tufi but she was from a different part of Oro province. I have included this household data in the socio-economic and demographic data in the results because it makes no difference to the general findings.
had the opportunity to interact with, observe and obtain data on other households even though I may not have interviewed them or only had a partial interview. Where relevant, I include this information. This explains why in some Tables I have 33 households as opposed to 32.

Based on observations of kinship relationships, I estimated that there were around 120 households in the settlement that have an ongoing association with and identify as being from Tufi. Thus the household data represents approximately 27% of the Tufi households. The households interviewed can be considered as representative of the wider ATS settlement population because they include an array of income, marital, economic engagement, and educational, demographic, and residential tenure characteristics.

I visited the settlement at least twice every week and established several key interlocutors who accompanied me during fieldwork and assisted in setting up interviews. A key challenge I faced during fieldwork was trying to find a balance between overcoming my fears related to security issues in Moresby and visiting the settlement on a regular basis. With support from and firm guidance from Dudley, I tried to visit the settlement between Sunday and Wednesday as I was less likely to encounter alcohol related violence. Reflecting the city’s pay cycle, between Thursday and Saturday night there is more alcohol consumed in the settlement. On a couple of occasions when Dudley was available we visited on a Saturday. During the visits I interviewed one or two people and then spent the day walking around the settlement or ‘hanging around’ chatting at one of the betel nut stalls.
The interviews with households were semi-formal and focussed on five themes. These included: household demographic data; household income and employment; life histories of people’s movements into the settlement; the main challenges facing the community at the household and community level; and finally basic questions on key relationships with Tufi back home. I also collected kinship data on the household’s relationships that extended well beyond the boundary of the settlement. This enabled me to map out people’s historical pathways and kinship connections when accessing land in the settlement or other support.

Other primary data included interviews with key representatives of the local institutions such as, the Oro Community Development Association (OCDA); the Oro Social Economic Development Association (OSEDA); the Tembari Children’s Care Inc (TCC); Christ the King Anglican Church; Christ the King Primary School; and with several key informants including one of the Oro men who had been part of the group of men who established the settlement in the mid-1990s. Fortuitously, two separate chance meetings with two members of the land owning group provided valuable insights into customary land issues. I triangulated these insights with several other meetings and informal conversations with people familiar with customary land in the Moresby area.

I conducted several small focus group meetings. My first two introductory meetings with the community were conducted in focus group style and were an important part of both the university ethics expectations as well as the PNG social and cultural ethical process. These meetings provided me with important guidance for fieldwork. For example, several women approached me and
offered to support my research and one woman suggested that I meet with people in the privacy of their homes rather than in a public forum. I had focus group meetings with the principal and staff of the Christ the King Primary School (Chapter 7). Two small meetings were conducted at our apartment with community leaders who provided me with valuable guidance about the social organisation of the settlement in the early stages of my fieldwork. Two further focus group style meetings were held in early 2016 when I returned for a brief visit. The first was with the staff of the Christ the King Primary School and several other local leaders. The second was with members of the church community chaired by the church’s chairlady.

Some of my interviews and focus group meetings were conducted at the Paga Hill apartment. Most interviews were held near people’s homes in the outdoors and as is common in such settings there was little room for privacy. I therefore let interviews flow in a relatively informal manner letting people decide how much information they wanted to provide on any particular matter. Sometimes people were reluctant to openly share information about incomes or crimes or acts of violence. When income information was not readily shared, I estimated incomes based on prior responses to a particular vocation or employment. People emphasised violence as a major concern but refrained from giving too much detail or mentioning specific names or incidents. Generally, people spoke more openly about ethnic violence and crime than they did about domestic violence. Ethically, I was careful in asking about violence for fear of triggering strong emotional responses from people who may have experienced violence. A young man had been murdered in the community around two months before
I commenced fieldwork and people were still clearly traumatised and preparing for his burial while the police investigated his death. Yet while making every effort not to explicitly ask about his death, people spoke about it to varying degrees both during and outside of the interviews. Very important insights also emerged outside of the interview process when people were chatting about various events.

I interviewed a number of other stakeholders, including the Governor of the NCD, representatives of development agencies such as the Australian Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, World Bank, United Nations Development Programme, World Vision, Water Aid, Mother and Child Support, the Eda Ranu and the former bishop of the Anglican Church of Moresby.

**Primary data: Reflexive autoethnography**
The second set of primary data is reflexive autoethnography in which I analyse Reflective Memories and draw on personal experiences to support or juxtapose against fieldwork data to draw out salient points or deepen nuances in the thesis storyline. Autoethnography is ‘an approach to research and writing that seeks to describe and systematically analyse (graphy) personal experience (auto) in order to understand cultural experience (ethno)’ (Ellis et al. 2011: 273). There are a number of genres of autoethnography. For example, native anthropology is when a researcher engages in ethnographic research among his or her own group of cultural identity. Ethnic autobiography involves placing emphasis on ethnic and cultural identity in personal life stories. Autobiographical ethnography involves outsider researchers including personal accounts of their lives in their research (Reed-Danahay 2001: 407). Influenced
by feminism, reflexivity calls for researchers to acknowledge their connections with their research, and their research participants, by making themselves more visible in their research (Etherington 2007; Reed-Danahay 2001). Smith’s (1999) ground-breaking work on decolonising methodologies inspired indigenous scholars to argue for an indigenous lens on autoethnography because it is an integral part of indigenous knowledge systems, methods, and ways of knowing (for example, McIvor 2010; Whitinui 2014).

I used reflexive autoethnography (Ellis et al. 2011; Reed-Danahay 2001; Neumann 1996) because it enabled me to foreground the voices of research participants that emerged out of formal fieldwork data, while positioning myself and my lived reality as a participant, albeit an outsider, in the research. This approach is important because as Denzin (1997) notes, ‘[t]he trick is to balance the subjective with the inscriptive and to continue to produce texts that bring news from one world to another’ (p223).

At the same time, my long term lived experience in the various spaces of Moresby has proved to be an important source of data which has enabled me to better understand fieldwork data and present participants’ lives in relation to broader developments in the city. I do this by juxtaposing what I know of the formal spaces in the city, and what I did not know, and what I imagined about settlements with the fieldwork and ethnographic data. In this way I deploy a combination of traditional ethnographic analysis with methodological approaches borrowed from anthropology of phenomenology (Desjarlais and Throop 2011; Knibbe and Versteeg 2008); intersubjectivity (Duranti 2010); and autoethnography (Ellis et al. 2011; Neumann 1996). I am in an intersubjective
relationship with my participants in which some of our world views may coalesce while others diverge. Whilst coming from different perspectives together we experienced the city as residents around the same period.

In terms of Tufi and Oro social life in Moresby, a significant part of the data is based on my long term relationship with my partner Dudley, whose family is prominent in the Tufi diaspora community in Moresby as a recognised clan in the Korafe speaking area of the Tufi region and as well-established members of the migrant community. Dudley and I have been a couple in the Tufi community since we met in 2001. We have three children, including my son from a previous relationship. We visited Tufi as a family in 2007 and regularly interacted and contributed to the many cultural events such as haus krai (TP: a venue where the gathering to mourn for a deceased person takes place) for a deceased person, and foroga (Korafe: traditional song and dance) in which Dudley’s family are eminent participants in Moresby.

In terms of the city more broadly, prior to 2013 the little experience of settlements in Moresby I had was fleeting and principally mediated by others. My experience of Moresby has predominantly been that of a well to do child of migrant parents residing in formally zoned residential suburbs, completing formal education, and undertaking formal employment. In addition to this largely ‘formal’ world, I was born in Moresby and grew up between Moresby and my parents’ places – Manus Island and Australia.

A reflexive autoethnography approach was also important because of my status as an ‘outsider’ in-law and non-resident of ATS settlement. While this status enabled me to engage with the community with relative ease, it did ‘not allow
me to claim insider status in my research’ (Scott 2013: 113). Although, I was not able to authoritatively speak as a Tufi woman of the ATS settlement, my perspective as an ‘outsider’ affine that lives in the formal part of the city enabled me to empathise relatively easily with narratives of ‘outsiders’ to the settlement, which was important for the analysis that is interwoven throughout the thesis. This reflexive autoethnographic position therefore departs from others in which indigenous researchers are writing autoethnography about their own group (for example, McIvor 2010; Whitinui 2014).

That this process was reiterative is evident in the fact that I did not anticipate this methodology to emerge so strongly in this thesis. To assist me to think about the links between my research proposal and my personal experiences, early on in my research it was suggested that I write up personal case studies (Rooney 2012) that highlighted the key forms of exchanges and personal relationships that shaped my views, emotions and dilemmas about exchange, sharing, gifting, remittances, social safety nets and migration (Rooney 2012). This initial step of reflecting on my memories and experiences, left me feeling vulnerable as a woman, a Papua New Guinean, and as a researcher, but it also provided the anchor from which, as Huang (2015) shows, my identity in the research was able to grow. To illustrate this iterative process, some of these stories have been used in this thesis as data, which I call Reflective Memories. These Reflective Memories are used to help me to draw out the nuances and complexities of life of Tufi people in the urban context which have bearing on the life of Tufi living in the ATS settlement. This method of reflexive autoethnography allowed me as a researcher to continuously reassess my
interpretation of the data and my own position within the research (for example, Huang 2015; Scott 2013).

Another important set of autoethnographic data was my experience during formal fieldwork in which my position was that of both kin and researcher. I refer to primary ethnographic data collected during this period as Field Notes and they sit alongside the fieldwork data. During fieldwork, the children and I lived with Dudley at his apartment in the well-off suburb of Paga Hill where he ran a law firm with a partner. During this time, the Oro Football Club was established as a team in the National Soccer League, and Dudley, who had previously sponsored and managed a soccer team in the city competition, was invited to be part of the management team. In similar fashion to previous years, our home became a central place for the Club. The team’s uniforms were washed there each week and a number of players who had come from the Oro Province to play in the tournament, lived with us for several weeks. It was the place where many meetings and interactions occurred. We interacted daily with the broader family and friends in the city both from and beyond the Oro community. Through Dudley, I was also able to attend a number of important meetings or events that are significant in understanding urban Oro and Tufi sociality in this thesis. In this way, our home, both during fieldwork and during our life in Moresby, was central for my fieldwork observations of Oro sociality in the city.

As people from the Tufi area are closely connected by kinship relationships my interactions with Dudley’s family’s and with research participants provided valuable information and insights into land, social life and historical matters on
the Tufi side, in Moresby and in the settlement. Dudley’s family were particularly important in assisting me to travel to the settlement, to obtain additional data from the lands department or provide insights based on their own experiences in the city and for assisting me with our children while I attended to fieldwork.

Secondary data
The ATS settlement has received extensive media coverage and I have used media reports to support my arguments and triangulate fieldwork data. I used websites of various institutions and NGOs to complement city or national level data with fieldwork data. I used google maps to show longitudinal progressive physical changes in the city. I used newspaper advertisements from 1985 to 2010 to show the increasing value of land in the city. I used laws, regulations and policies to situate residents’ narratives within the broader context. I used Department of Lands and Physical Planning, Incorporated Land Group (ILG) records to triangulate fieldwork data on the customary land owning group. I used court records to triangulate narratives of court proceedings against eviction notices. I also drew on the results of previous studies that have included the settlement as part of broader studies on settlements in Moresby. These include Chand and Yala (2008; 2012); Galgal (2011); NSO (2011b) and, NSO (2012).

2.3 Ethics
Tambu meri
Although I had not previously met most of my research participants, my status throughout my fieldwork was that of a female affine – tambu meri in Tok Pisin. Many people told me fondly of their long term relationships with my parents-
in-law not only as kin but also as foroga dance partners. Several people said that, apart from the importance they saw in the research, it was a way for them to reciprocate the support that Dudley’s family had provided to the Tufi community in Moresby over the years. It was also an opportunity for people to renew relationships.

This status also presented challenges. As a tambu meri I was expected to adhere to the norms expected of me in the cultural context. As such I was more comfortable talking with women and it is likely that some people declined an interview because of my association with a particular family. As tambu meri, some of my insights into outsider and cross ethnic marriages on perspectives of life in the settlement came about because of this incorporation into the category of tambu (affine) within the settlement.

As my fieldwork progressed, I sensed that most people welcomed my research and the opportunity to tell the outside world their stories. Some insisted that I tell the good and the bad so people ‘know how we live’. This was evident in people’s willingness to engage with me throughout my fieldwork.

**Relational ethics with intimate others**
Dudley has been an intimate part of this process since I initially started conceptualising my research. Relational ethics with intimate others (Ellis 2007; Ellis et al. 2011) has therefore been a central concern for me in the conduct of this research. As I explained in Section 1.3 my initial plan was to follow my personal stories in PNG as a way of seeking answers relating to my research questions. Given the decision to remain in Moresby, and conduct my fieldwork in the ATS settlement, the thesis has primarily focussed on aspects of this initial
plan as they relate to the Tufi side of our life in Moresby. This has also meant that I have implicated both us and our families, but particularly Dudley, in the process of developing the thesis. This has been one of my greatest challenges in writing the thesis, as I have been mindful of the need to explain this somewhat skewed perspective in relation to my initial plan.

The issues I was beginning to formally explore drew on both our experiences and the many interactions between us. Our own life as a couple, as co-parents, as family members of both our extended families and as new migrants in Australia dealing with our own identity crises and adjustment to a new country, continued to evolve at the same time the thesis progressed. This also meant that data collection was immersed in life. Challenges included guilt and anxieties that come with knowing one is drawing on personal life to inform research.

I have made some difficult decisions in order to set boundaries between our personal lives and my formal research, as well as to protect Dudley and our larger family from further public gaze. Despite Dudley’s support and interest, I had to be fully and solely accountable for the final product. This is also because once I began formal fieldwork I realised that I had entered a field that not even Dudley, nor his family, had privilege to. One major ethical and family decision I took was to rely solely on my supervisory panel as my readers. Although throughout the research Dudley and I have had many discussions and debates about our memories of events, and our decisions as a couple, these became part of my autoethnographic process. The stories which I tell that involve our lives could not have been recounted without his inputs, versions and help with
interpretation. Throughout the process, Dudley accepted my position as a researcher and has respected my decisions about the research. The thesis is an independent exercise undertaken by me with his support but one in which he can validly distance himself from should the need arise. As both a Tufi man and a local lawyer, this is important because, as Scott (2013) notes, ‘[p]ersonal stories and the identities that form from them are always in a state of revision.’ (Scott 2013: 114). As a scholar, it is my autoethnographic account and my analysis that is presented in this thesis.

**Fieldwork ethics and consent processes**
Participants were usually recruited through a snowball approach wherein an interviewee, an interlocutor or I would identify a potential participant in the course of the interview or other interactions. Interviews took place in response to a direct request from me to interview, a request from someone to be interviewed, or a recommendation by an interlocutor. I handed out my research information sheet during my visits and this gave people the opportunity to consider their participation in consultation with others in their lives. For example, several women agreed to be interviewed after consulting their husbands or other family members. If someone declined the invitation to participate, I usually did not hear about this nor did I pursue an interview.

I started each interview by explaining the research, going through the consent process and answering any questions people asked. Several people asked me about the tangible outcomes they could expect from participating in the research. I responded to these questions by explaining that I was a student researcher and as such there may not be any immediate tangible gains that I
could bring. However, I did inform people that I hoped that the research would reach policy level audiences in PNG and internationally and that this may influence policy makers and that may have a bearing on their lives. I also noted that the research may be of interest for future generations of their families and communities. Out of respect and adherence to social norms in PNG, I always brought with me betel nut and I bought food from the local market stall to share. I also assisted people with transport costs to and from the settlement if the interview took place at Paga Hill or compensated them for the time they took from their market sales to help me.

In this urban context Tok Pisin and English were widely spoken as the local vernacular. People frequently code switched between Tok Pisin, English and their own languages. When it was evident that someone had difficulty reading, I verbally explained the consent process in Tok Pisin. Usually there was someone with me who could communicate in the village vernacular if a question was raised in language other than Tok Pisin or English.

As a researcher, I was in a position to observe intimate details of peoples’ lives. My ongoing involvement as a member of the broader community also meant that I had to consider my position in terms of what and how to share the data I collected. I am mindful of representing residents of the ATS settlement in a way that further worsens their predicament as ‘illegal’ settlers. At the same time, it is also important that I do not sanitise or romanticise life in the settlement. People emphasised hardship and survival and I remain in awe of their incredible resilience and ingenuity in the face of harsh circumstances.
Although all but two people gave me consent to use their real names in my research, I decided to conceal the identities of most participants because their marginal status leaves them vulnerable to potential negative consequences. In particular, city authorities tend to emphasise the illegal status of residents of settlements or informal market vendors as a justification for forceful evictions. Another reason for protecting people’s identity relates to the highly contested nature of some of the exchanges I describe in this thesis. I use pseudonyms or the term ‘informant’ to protect the identity of people I interviewed. In several cases I have used a composite character – folding a case study or two case studies into one with several characters conflated into one or one character expanded into several. In a couple of cases, I have ascribed two pseudonyms to one interviewee. I have also changed potentially identifying information such as the provincial identity of some people. These do not change the nature of the data and the findings. I have only mentioned people’s names in a few instances, primarily where they are quoted in a public document such as a media report or court document, or where they are a public figure in the settlement.

Another important reason why I have concealed the identities of most research participants stems from my role as a researcher and the fact that I am in a position of relative power. Having attained the consent I needed to proceed with my research, I had the most control over how the data is presented and interpreted. Try as I might to accurately reflect the point of view of my research participants, the thesis is an abstract product of my understanding and interpretation of their views and life that incorporates my own world views
which includes the incorporation of autoethnographic data. It is also shaped by my prior understanding of the city, research inquiry, motivations, and methods. For example, although my fieldwork did not explicitly interrogate the term *Oro*, I know from my own association with the Tufi community and my *Oro* friends, that the term carries a significant social and moral meaning. Chapter 3 draws on available research and secondary data, as well as triangulating these against information from key informants to provide a synopsis of the term *Oro*. Another example is my emphasis throughout the thesis on making visible the social interactions between people in the settlement and those living outside. Many of the case study data in the thesis are summaries of interview responses to predetermined research questions and some of these have been presented in the ‘I’ to enhance the thesis narrative.

I often sensed I was intruding into a world where a different political and social order existed. My dual identity as kin and researcher with institutional funding and support meant that I brought with me power that may have unsettled existing power dynamics. It is possible that this may have influenced responses. These challenges were mitigated by the fact that I lived outside the settlement throughout my fieldwork thereby enabling me to remain relatively neutral. This neutrality is evident from people I interviewed who represented different, sometimes polarised, views within the settlement or who may have been in conflict with each other at the time of my fieldwork.

Finally, the ATS settlement is a large place where a substantial and diverse population of Port Moresby residents live. It is possible that my focus on one particular ethnic group may be regarded as a biased representation of only a
segment of this diverse population. Throughout my fieldwork I endeavoured to explain the nature of the research project as an exercise aimed at exploring broader societal issues and that the focus on one migrant group would enable a deeper analysis of this. My decision to work with people who identified as being from Tufi was primarily driven by the background I outline in Chapter 1 and the practical exigencies of conducting fieldwork in this setting. While examining what it means to be a Tufi person, from Oro Province, living in the ATS settlement in Port Moresby in 2013, I also hope the thesis provides a glimpse of more general issues of value, kinship, ethnicity, group formation, and urbanisation in Papua New Guinea.
CHAPTER 3. BEING ORO

‘I am an Oro man’, said Keith in his statement that I used to begin this thesis. Oro is more than just the name of the province where Tufi is located (Figure 1.1). This is evident in the responses I received when I asked two elderly Oro men what the term meant. One of them, who is employed as a very senior public servant, responded – ‘Oro means tribe – a people’. The other, one of the men who helped to establish the settlement responded, ‘Oro means – You come! Welcome!’

The term Oro, which is so central to the cultural identity of Tufi in the ATS settlement, comes from the Binandere family of languages in the Oro Province and its significance for the three axes of this thesis is that it connotes values, kinship and spatial - social, political and administrative - organisation.

My thesis is about Oro people living in Moresby. But Moresby itself is the multilingual, multi-cultural and multi-value melting pot of contemporary PNG society. This means that the hundreds of languages of PNG are altered in the urban context and often synthesised in social relationships that blend people who speak different languages and have different cultural backgrounds. Commonly spoken languages like English, Tok Pisin and Motu, are the conduits by which some of this blending takes place. Thus language in the urban setting is given day to day meaning in the places, people, things and spheres that people find themselves in.

So although I am not an Oro woman, nor do I speak the languages of the province, I have come to understand some of the urban sociality of people who
are from there, or who identify as being from Oro Province, as they expressed themselves through the use of language during my interactions as a relative, friend or colleague. They too come to understand my own urban sociality as a particular person based on my use of languages.

When I think of the word Oro, as I have come to understand how it is used in Moresby, it evokes a deeply emotional – and ambivalent - response to a social Oro universe of places, people, things, emotions, art, music, customs, social and moral values, political systems, and religion. It is the experiential and emotional that strikes me most because Oro - even in the distant Moresby, and even to an outsider, signifies a total value system, a people, and a place – or to be more accurate – webs of values, people and places. How then does Oro get used in Moresby? What does it mean and in whom does it evoke a meaning in Moresby? How do Tufi living in the ATS settlement fit into this Oro world? It is in their Oro identity that they came to find a shelter in the settlement and it is in their Oro identity that their day to day experiences most resonate. Being Oro and being of ATS settlement, is therefore central to the world view of Tufi in ATS settlement.

In this Chapter, I unpack the term Oro and its significance for Tufi migrants living in Moresby. I trace its indigenous, colonial, mission, and state history in Section 3.1. How Tufi ethnicity fits into this Oro sphere is explained in Section 3.2. The drivers of internal migration in PNG, and the ways that Tufi migrants organise themselves in the urban setting are discussed in Section 3.3. An introduction to notions of urban kinship in this setting and an overview of demographic patterns among the households that I interviewed and basic ideas of urban
kinship relationships are outlined in Section 3.4. The Chapter is concluded with a brief discussion of the key issues in Section 3.5.

3.1 Values of inclusion and peace
The term *Oro* carries deep indigenous social and moral values relating to political order, social practice and spatial organisation. In the contemporary context it also refers to the state concept of a province which also carries political, social, administrative and spatial meaning. *Oro* connotes a value sphere that encompasses everyone who identifies with it, regardless of their social standing in Moresby’s fast moving contemporary, urban and global cocktail. It allows *Oro* in Moresby to situate themselves within and transverse between a number of systems and value spheres: in urban life, ancestral and tribal life, religion, and regional and national processes. As a guiding system *Oro* is also fluid and permeable,⁹ thus allowing outsiders to be incorporated into it and at the same time making it subject to appropriation. This allows for adaptation to change, moral reasoning with ambiguities faced in urban life and a pragmatic approach to navigating life in Moresby. At the same time it is open to challenge. *Oro* is an idiom that has day to day currency and significance in the lives of migrants from the *Oro* Province as well as their children who are born outside the province.

The word *Oro* has several meanings (Table 3.1). It comes from the Binanderean family of the Papuan, or the Trans New Guinea, group of languages. There are

⁹ In a different setting, Haley (2002) explains the different and linked meanings of the Duna phrase *ipakana yakaiya* to frame her conceptual analysis of the interconnectedness between social relationships and landscapes. According to Haley, the Duna phrase *ipakana yakaiya* reflects fluidity and fixedness while at the same time it reflects immutability and transition (Haley 2002).
fifteen Binanderean languages – Suena, Yekora, Zia, Mawae, Binandere, Ambasi, Aeka, dialects of Orokaiva, Hunjara, Notu Ewage, Yega, Gaena, Baruga which includes Bareji, Mado, Tafota dialects, Dogoro and Korafe, including Mokorua (Smallhorn 2011: 1). Most of these languages are located in the geographic area that is defined in the architecture of the PNG nation state as Oro Province (Figure 1.1). Based on figures from around the 2000s, it is estimated that around 80,000 people speak it (Smallhorn 2011: 3). Professor John Waiko, a Binandere man and indigenous PNG scholar, says of his native tongue:

The Binandere do not separate the religious from the secular, or the social from the political, or even the past from the present. Actions are at the one time customary, meeting immediate practical needs, religious, social and political. Words used by Binandere carry inferences and associations that cut through orderly boundaries between sections of knowledge. The words express Binandere values assume that the listeners already share those values. The Binandere vocabulary is not used to define Binandere values: the values are embedded within the language (Waiko 1982: xxix – xxx).

Thus values are embedded in the term Oro. It is as much about the place and places from which Oro people come as it is about their experiences, values, pasin (ethos) or a way of being. People are Oro and when they express the term Oro they mean time places, things, emotions and values.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Lexeme</th>
<th>Part of Speech</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Guhu-Samane</td>
<td>oora</td>
<td>Noun phrase</td>
<td>living and being, making one’s home, lifestyle, abide, continue, or remain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suena</td>
<td>oro</td>
<td>Noun</td>
<td>greeting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Binandere</td>
<td>oro</td>
<td>Noun</td>
<td>house man / Men’s house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ambasi</td>
<td>oro</td>
<td>Noun</td>
<td>house (man)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aeka</td>
<td>oro</td>
<td>Noun</td>
<td>house (man)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dobuduru</td>
<td>oro</td>
<td>Noun</td>
<td>house (man)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jegasa-Sarau</td>
<td>oro</td>
<td>Noun</td>
<td>house (man)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sose</td>
<td>oro</td>
<td>Noun</td>
<td>single boy’s house built off the ground</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ooro</td>
<td>Noun</td>
<td>greeting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hunjara</td>
<td>oro</td>
<td>Noun</td>
<td>house (man)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hunjara</td>
<td>oro</td>
<td>Noun</td>
<td>welcome</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Notu</td>
<td>oro</td>
<td>Noun</td>
<td>house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Notu</td>
<td>oro</td>
<td>Noun</td>
<td>home, welcome</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yega</td>
<td>oro</td>
<td>Noun</td>
<td>house (man)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karoto/Karajembo</td>
<td>oro</td>
<td>Noun</td>
<td>gazebo, sitting porch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doghoroto</td>
<td>oro</td>
<td>Noun</td>
<td>gazebo, sitting porch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Korafe</td>
<td>oro</td>
<td>Noun</td>
<td>leading sib’s house for important discussions; gazebo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: (Smallhorn 2011: 266).
Both in Moresby and in the Oro Province, the term is most commonly used and understood as a greeting. I have visited Oro Province four times. In 1997 I went to Gona for the funeral of a friend’s father. In 2003 I visited family friends in Kokoda. In 2007 I went to Tufi with family. In 2012 as part of my preliminary visit for this research I visited Popondetta, Oro Bay, Embi block, Kakandetta urban village, Kokoda, Mamba, Siroga, and Hohorita primary school. In these places, and in Moresby, the call Oro is a universal greeting. As someone enters a village, home or an area people call out gently – “Oro, Oro” - as he or she approaches to join them or passes by.

Colonial appropriation

During the first colonial encounters, the term was recognised by early missionaries, traders and administrators. For example, Albert Maclaren, the first Anglican missionary to arrive in the area in the 1890’s, noted that,

the Binandere call out Oro Kaiva, the word of greeting, to the diggers, who soon began applying the name Orokaiva to all the [people] of the northern coast (Wetherell 1977: 33).

In another account W.N. Beaver is noted as writing:

‘...we are at a loss to find a generic term to describe all that group of tribes who are considered to belong to one stock and who speak affiliated languages. It seems to me cumbersome to be continually referring to geographical boundaries or to places which are less than mere names to most people, and consequently I have been in the habit of using “Orokaiva” as a general term. ... I would welcome a more correct general term, could one be found.’ (in Williams 1930: 2).

Williams (1930) also noted that the term was commonly used as a greeting. For example,

When Sir William MacGregor ascended the river Mambare in March 1894 he was greeted with cries of Orokaiva! from those who wished
to be friendly. ‘On the Mambare’, he wrote, ‘the password is “orokaiva”, which seems to mean “man of peace”. It at all events, puts one on a friendly footing...Strangely enough the cry of Orokaiva! is now heard comparatively seldom. It has been supplanted by Oro, oro! Which will be heard in almost every village (Williams 1930: 3).

The term Orokaiva is used contemporarily to identify the people of the Orokaiva area (Bashkow 2006) and the term Oro is now used to identify the people of Oro Province in the nation-state of PNG. Bashkow (2006) notes that, while Orokaiva can be argued as a construct of colonial history, it has also assumed real meaning in day to day life (Bashkow 2006).

Following Bashkow’s argument, the greeting ‘Oro, Oro’ that replaced Orokaiva, (Williams 1930) has assumed real day to day currency in the contemporary context – both within the province and outside it. Oro as the contemporary name for the province and as a popularly used term of greeting and welcome among people who identify as Oro, has become commonly associated with space and identity.

*Indigenous value*

However, Waiko’s explanation of the Binandere language and Oro’s meaning as men’s house as well as its references in a number of ethnographic works (Williams 1930; G necchi-Ruscone 1991; Farr 1974; Schwimmer 1973) situates the term Oro within an indigenous moral sphere. It had significant, albeit varying, currency among Binandere speakers prior to, during and following colonial encounters. The above mentioned documented accounts of colonial actors—missionaries, colonial administrators and anthropologists, suggest an
appropriation of the term, which was easily recognised as significant to indigenous users, to facilitate colonial advancement in that part of the territory.

Oro also means peace (Williams 1930: 3). One elder told me that in previous times after a fight or tribal warfare, peace and reconciliation ceremonies involving large exchanges of women, pigs and other items were held. During these occasions, the term Oro had a very powerful symbolic meaning.

Thus, Oro can be interpreted as an expression of an ethos of inclusion, whereby welcome, appreciation, thanks, gratitude and peace are morally valued. In Moresby, the most evident use of the term is during haus krai (TP: house of mourning) when visitors arrive to pay their respects to the family of the deceased person. As they enter the venue a gentle chorus of ‘Oro, Oro’ or ‘Orokaiva, Orokaiva’ is called out. As people usually arrive on such occasions with a token contribution of cooked or uncooked food, and cash, to assist with hosting a haus krai, Oro also expresses welcome and at the same time appreciation and gratitude. As an ethos of inclusion, Oro reflects a moral valuation on acts of generosity, sharing, compassion, and mutual support.

**Kinship and house**

Quite significantly for this thesis, Oro is the term for ‘house’ in many of the Binanderean languages (Table 3.1). Depending on which language or dialect is spoken, it may mean domestic house, young men’s house, or a more significant men’s house where important matters relating to the clan and lineage are deliberated. Oro also means clan, lineage, family, clan history, and men’s club (Waiko 1982: 560). Williams (1930: 70) noted that it usually refers to a relatively plain building that houses young men. Among Korafe of the Tufi region, Oro is
the term use for a platform or shelter traditionally used by men. It thus occupies a central place within social and political life (Gnecchi-Ruscone 1991: 26; Farr 1974). In relation to the social structure of the Korafe speaking people, Gnecchi-Ruscone (1991) noted that Oro can mean tribe, referring to the entire Korafe speaking group, or small ‘groups’ within it. For example, migratory groups, territorial groups, clan and lineage groups, or a social group (Gnecchi-Ruscone 1991: 26-28)\(^\text{10}\). In other languages such as Kaina and Hunjara\(^\text{11}\), Oro also means house.

**Official space - A province**

The phrase ‘Oro for Oro’ is usually heard during public meetings or when there is a gathering to discuss matters of relevance for the province. It expresses a united sense of identity and a sentiment that Oro must stick together and do things with and for each other in the face of challenges and threats from the outside\(^\text{12}\). Thus Oro as a term unifying otherwise disparate and at times rival groups of people, provides a frame that at once includes and excludes ‘others’.

From an ‘outsiders’ perspective Oro defines a provincial boundary and with it national state governmental administrative and political processes and a Western legal normative framework. During the colonial period the area currently known as Oro Province was divided into two divisions and named Northern and North Eastern divisions which were later merged into one: the Northern Province. After independence, with extensive consultations by the

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\(^{10}\) Dudley Yariyari (personal communication, 2015).

\(^{11}\) Sauni and Jeff Ogomeni (personal communication, 2014-2015).

electoral boundaries commission in the province, the name of the province was changed to *Oro Province*. The province is divided into two administrative districts that coincide with national electorates – Sohe and Ijivitari (Figure 3.1).

![Figure 3.1: Map of Oro Province.](image)

Source: CartoGIS, The Australian National University.

**Official space - A mission sphere**

The Anglican Church mission history is another important factor in shaping Oro historical trajectories and sociality among *Oro* in Moresby and ATS settlement. Although today there are many churches in *Oro Province*, and *Oro* in Moresby

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13 Jeff Ogomeni, Former Electoral Boundaries Commissioner (personal communication, 2015).
affiliate with many churches, the history of the Anglican Church is evident and remains an important social mediator for migrants in the city.

When the southern part of the island of New Guinea was proclaimed as a British protectorate in 1884, it was divided into divisions for administrative purposes. In 1890 an agreement was reached between the four missions in the territory and the Governor of British New Guinea to divide the protectorate up into ‘spheres of influence’. The Anglican Church, represented by the Reverend Albert Maclaren, was allocated the North Eastern coast of the territory (Synge 1908: xiii; Wetherell 1977). This mission sphere coincided with the Northern and North Eastern divisions of the territory which were later merged into one - the Northern Province. In July 1890, soon after this meeting of the churches, Maclaren accompanied MacGregor on a trip along this coast line in what is documented as the first known contact between the indigenous inhabitants of the Tufi area and white people representing the Anglican Church and the colonial government. In 1891 Maclaren and his fellow missionary Reverend Copland King established the first Anglican mission at Dogura located on the Eastern division in what is now Milne Bay province (Figure 3.1). In the years that

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14 The meeting was held in Moresby between The Australian Methodist Missions, the London Missionary Society, The Roman Catholic and the Anglican Church of England, and Sir William MacGregor, the Governor British New Guinea (Synge 1908).

15 On 29 July 1890 the Maisin and Wanigela of Collingwood bay people experienced their first encounter with Maclaren and Macgregor when the two men visited the villages in this bay. The Maisin fled upon seeing the white men and at one village further up the bay a chief killed a dog as a show of friendship. They gave coconuts to the two men and exchanged some of their things for turkey and beads. They refused to part with their clubs which they valued highly. When the two white men struck a match they ran away in fear. As a greeting they pinched the noses and navels of the white men (Barker 1987:69; Synge, 1908).

On 31 July 1890 the Korafe at what is now called Maclaren Bay experienced their first encounter with Maclaren and MacGregor. The Korafe living in this bay ran away in fear. In the next bay people ran away again. Further north people cautiously greeted them and reached out to touch their skins. One chief exchanged his necklace for a piece of iron as Maclaren tried to communicate that he would return to live among them (Synge 1908).
followed, mission stations were established along the Tufi coast line and further up the North Eastern coast (Barker 1987: 70).

Anglican educational institutions, established in the Northern division (Oro Province) and in Dogura (Milne Bay Province), were important in bringing together young men and women from all over the division and forging between them relationships that still exist today. In 1948 the Martyrs Memorial Secondary School was established at Sangara. Its aim was to bring together the brightest students from all the mission station schools and prepare them for further education (Tomkins and Hughes 1969). Martyrs Memorial Secondary School opened another chapter for Tufi that had up till then revolved around the common government authority, mission work and provision of labour for traders, miners and as army carriers during the war (see Barker 2008 for a discussion on the Maisin).

In 1950, St Barnabas’s Hospital was opened at Dogura and with it commenced training of medical orderlies (Tomkins and Hughes 1969: 85). Another training hospital was St Margaret’s at Eroro (Tomkins and Hughes 1969: 110). In 1955, in an important development in the education of women, the Holy Name Girls Secondary School was established at Dogura as a sister school to the Martyrs Memorial Secondary School (Barker 2008: 33; Tomkins and Hughes 1969:

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16 By 1949 103 boys and girls between the ages of fourteen and eighteen were enrolled at the school. 67 were boarders from; inter alia, the Tufi stations of Wanigela and Sefoa (Tomkins and Hughes 1969: 80-81). After Mt. Lamington erupted in 1951 the school was relocated to Agenehambo (Tomkins and Hughes 1969: 115).
117). A summary of the various meanings of Oro and how they relate to the notions of value, kinship and space is provided in Table 3.2.

3.2 Situating Tufi in Oro: ethno genesis

Keith’s words – ‘If you zero into Oro Province I am still a Tufi man you know. In Tufi I am an Arifama man. I am from Tumari.’ - elaborate his unique identity within the Oro Province. Even as a Tufi man, the ethnic social category in the ATS settlement, he distinguishes himself as an Arifama speaking man from Tumari.

This raises the question as to what constitutes the category of ‘Tufi Ethnic Group’ in the urban context. Within what is commonly regarded as the Tufi area (Figure 3.1) a mix of Trans New Guinea and Austronesian languages, including Ubir, Miniafia, Maisin, Oyan, Onjou and Aisor are spoken (Barker 2008: 26; Bonshek 2008: 88). This mix of languages and cultures places the region as an intersection of social interactions long before the colonial period (Barker 2008).

For example the Maisin, located in the mid-section of the region (Figure 3.1), and between the Trans New Guinea and Austronesian languages contains characteristics of both language families (Barker 2008: 26).

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17 Girls were sent to Dogura Holy Name Secondary School and then selected to move to Moresby for further education. At the request of the administration, men were trained at Dogura and by 1949 ninety men, including married men with dependents, were training at Dogura (Tomkins and Hughes, 1969: 82). Government schools were also being established.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Value</th>
<th>Kinship</th>
<th>Space</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Oro = house</strong></td>
<td>Love, care, nurturing, protection, family, name, intimacy</td>
<td>Birth, Family Clan, Tribe Incorporation by marriage Exclusion of perceived threat to security Rights and responsibilities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Oro = men’s house; bachelors house; clan; lineage, Tribe</strong></td>
<td>Gendered, exclusive men’s domain. Power, politics, decision making, secret, knowledge of land, magic and sorcery</td>
<td>Patrilineal kinship and social structure Corporate group action Family, kinship Biological lineal descent Individual identity in relation to gender Traditional social group formation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Oro = peace</strong></td>
<td>A moral valuation on mediation, harmony, reconciliation, compromise</td>
<td>individual and corporate Peace: diplomacy Harmony, local groups, alliances</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Oro = a password during colonial era</strong></td>
<td>Transition to new value systems Appropriation of language by – traders, colonial administrators, missionaries, others</td>
<td>Convergence of colonial, mission traders, government values and encounters with Binandere and local Colonial era</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Oro = contemporary greeting</strong></td>
<td>Welcome, greeting, appreciation, gratitude, thank you. Moral valuation on generosity, sharing, giving, equality</td>
<td>Social relationships marked by inclusion. Social groups are permeable, mutable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Oro = province</strong></td>
<td>Legal normative framework (politics, economics, citizenship) State funding and budgetary processes, elections, education) Oro-for-Oro: exclusivity, identity</td>
<td>Citizenship, residency Democratic processes State power Representation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Oro = sphere of mission influence</strong></td>
<td>Christian and western religion morality</td>
<td>Christian ritual – baptism, confirmation, church attendance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tangible</td>
<td>People, songs, laments, myths, tapa, art, pots, Foroga dance and dress, Korafe lament and sadness of migration</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Tufi itself is a place in the Korafe speaking area of Cape Nelson (Figure 3.1) whose name has been adopted over time to identify the broader area. Tufi was established as the colonial administrative headquarters for the region when the first resident magistrate Mockton took up residency in 1900 (Figure 3.2). Colonial and mission historical records, as well as anthropological accounts (Bonshek 2008; Farr 1974; Gnechi-Ruscone 1991; Hasselberg 2012; Hermkens 2013; Waiko 1982) show that, although linguistically diverse, considerable interaction took place between the people in the region. This interaction was heavily shaped by migration brought about by warfare and conflict. As people fled attacks or conquered new territory they assimilated into new groups.

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Figure 3.2: Government station at Tufi 1902.

Source: © Courtesy of the Australian Museum

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forming fragile alliances or longer term social relationships (Bonshek 2008; Farr 1974; Gnocchi-Ruscone 1991; Hasselberg 2012; Hermkens 2013; Waiko 1982).

With the establishment of the colonial government, Tufi station was consolidated as a centre of administration and social interaction. It was the point of recruitment and deployment of indigenous men into the colonial constabulary, and as labourers for traders. As the location of the prison for the region it also played a role in the cultural learning of colonial ways. Over time the region began appearing in various records as Tufi district of the Northern Division. The administrative control spreading from it covered the Northern Eastern Division, which included the entire Tufi area as it is known today. In administrative terms it coincides with the contemporary Cape Nelson Rural Local Level Government (Figure 3.1). People familiar with the local context invariably distinguish between the place ‘Tufi’ and specific places, people, languages and societies within the broader coastline.

3.3 Post-colonial migration experiences and urban Oro and Tufi sociality

A note on internal migration
Historically, less people moved into the Oro Province than moved out of it (Bourke and Harwood 2009: 52-53). The province’s proximity to Moresby contributed to the high out-migration. We see from the foregoing history of the Oro Province and the Tufi region within it, that internal migration beyond traditional boundaries and the urbanisation process in PNG and their

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19 Men who spent time in jail would return to their homes and ‘become the policeman of his own village, and to teach his neighbours some of the lessons of law and order that he […] learned while he was in the white man’s prison’ (Chignell 1911: 124).
associated social transformations started with the arrival of the colonial administration and missionaries in the mid-1800s (Stretton 1979; Ward 1977).

Prior to WWII, migration was largely related to regulated contract labour schemes that required labourers to return home after their contracts ended. Migrants were usually men who left their families behind. Pre WWII migration patterns reflected the two colonial territories of New Guinea and Papua. In the Territory of New Guinea, migration involved the recruitment of labour from Sepik, Morobe and Madang to work on plantations in New Ireland, West and East New Britain and Bougainville. In the Papua Territory, migration was mainly into the Central District and Moresby. The requirement to return home after completing a contract produced a circular pattern of migration which enabled migrants to share information about destination areas and towns with their kin when they returned home (Ward 1971). Many young men worked as carriers or labourers during WWII (Bourke and Harwood 2009: 51). Migration to Moresby was strictly controlled and all visitors were required to return to their place of origin after a short period unless they could justify a longer stay (Oram 1976).

After WWII the migration pattern changed. Migration from the Highlands region to coastal areas increased significantly under the Highland Labour Scheme. Men from the Highlands region took up work in coastal areas on two year contracts (Bourke and Harwood 2009; Strathern 1975). Furthermore, after WWII, people increasingly migrated independent of labour contracts and the two main destinations were East New Britain and the Central District and Moresby (Ward 1971). The government attempted to continue its pre-war
policies through regulations such as the Native Labour (Wages and Conditions of Labour) Ordinance 1945 which required migrant labourers to return home and remain there for a specified period before they could return to work in towns again (Oram 1976). However, the regulations were impractical to monitor (Stuart 1970) and the numbers of migrants increased steadily. Many migrants were joined by their families and stayed for longer periods. Migration also involved the training, recruitment and deployment of indigenous workers in the administration as health workers, police, teachers, and labourers throughout the country.

Among these newly trained nationals were many people from the Tufi region who had been trained in the Anglican established institutions such as Martyrs Memorial School and Holy Name School for Girls (Barker 2008: 34). The Anglican Church in Moresby noted that by the 1950s a significant number of Anglicans from Northern and Milne Bay Provinces were living in Moresby and its surrounding regions. Most were men on employment contracts and an increasing number brought their families (Titterington 1991: 12). The Anglican Church provided an important service to support migrants from the Oro and Milne Bay Provinces and in the early 1950’s it established the St Francis Community House and School,

_to serve the increasing numbers of Anglicans, mostly single men from the Northern and Milne Bay Provinces, who were living in compounds [of their various employers] in the Koki-Badili area and beyond (Titterington 1991: 12)._ 

In 1959 the St Francis Community House was designated by the Anglican Church as the St Francis Church and the School was extended.
After PNG attained independence, internal migration continued to increase. Migration was more informal, and influenced by people moving out of low income opportunity places towards higher income opportunity places or moving after conflict (for example, Bougainville) or natural disasters (for example, East New Britain) (Bourke and Harwood 2009: 51). Pursuing education opportunities also influences migration. Tribal conflict is another reason why people migrate.\footnote{During a visit to Mt Hagen and Goroka in 2009, it was evident that the health facilities and schools were not only under resourced but were also overcrowded. One explanation for this provided by health workers and teachers was that migrants were arriving from other highlands provinces as they escaped tribal conflict in their homes or to pursue economic opportunities.}

This history and the fact that Papua New Guineans continue to retain very strong connections with their home communities means that population mobility in PNG is marked by circular migration which makes it difficult to analyse dynamics of migration and accurately attribute its effects (May and Skeldon 1977\footnote{May and Skeldon (1977) noted that ‘Migration, if determined purely by available opportunities and distance to those opportunities, would not have produced the high rates of immigration and outmigration in the same area. Aspiration levels, which in turn depend on education level and history of contact with western urban society, must be considered in any explanation of migration.’ (10). Further, ‘circular migration involving a return to the home community is an important part of Melanesian mobility patterns.’ (p11).}, Ward 1977). Migration patterns are also influenced by people’s social networks. In the context of the Eastern Highlands and Morobe Provinces, Litau (2009) has highlighted that migration entails complex social relationships and temporal processes that occur over time and involve responses to livelihood needs. Because of this complexity, she also highlights the limitations of using census data to account for migration as a linear process starting from an origin to a destination (op. cit 205).
**Collective Tufi identity in Port Moresby**

By the mid-1990s and 2000s these historical influences still shaped urban life.

A significant number of Tufi lived outside of Tufi and while social relationships between them and those in the village continued to change, strong ties were retained through remittances and other forms of support. Discussions from the perspective of people who live in Tufi can be found in Barker (2008), Farr (1974), Gncchi-Ruscone (1991), Hasselberg (2012), and Hermkens (2013).

Although the city was multicultural, ethnic and provincial identities shaped by historical influences remained a strong feature of urban sociality. For example, many sports clubs, such as the Oro Football Club that I discussed in Chapter 2 and social groups were formed around ethnic or provincial groupings.

The Anglican Church in particular, remained a strong influence on the lives of people from the Oro Province living in the city. In parallel to the growth of the Anglican Church in the Northern district, by 1991 a number of parishes had been established around the city and a few years before the ATS settlement was established. By this time,

99 percent of the congregations of the Anglican Churches in Port Moresby are still from the areas which have been evangelised by the Anglican Church. The few converts who are to be found in our congregations are mostly Anglican as a result of marriage (Titterington 1991: Introduction).

One of the Moresby Anglican parishes is located in the ATS settlement and was referred to as the Christ the King Church\(^{22}\). It is an important institution linking

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\(^{22}\) In some documents it is referred to as Orobada Christ the King Church.
ATS settlement with the church and government network in Moresby (Chapter 7).

By the 2000s Moresby was truly established as the nation’s capital city and the population was predominantly Melanesian. Reflective Memory 1 illustrates my decision to become Anglican.

Reflective Memory 1: Becoming Anglican and being tambu.

This dominance of Oro and Milne Bay Provinces in the congregations of the Anglican church in Moresby still prevailed in the 2000s. In 2007, our children and I were baptised Anglicans at the St Johns Anglican Church where we attended church along with Dudley’s family. Indeed, my decision as an adult was personal but influenced by my relationships with Dudley and his family. During the period covered by this thesis, this history still shaped social life in Moresby and in the settlement. The diocese headquarters is located at Begabari at Waigani. Significant days in the Anglican calendar are commemorated locally at parishes or jointly at any one of the parishes. Usually cultural groups within the congregation are requested to perform at church commemorations. These are exciting days where culture, religion and urban life can be seen alongside each other very visibly. The Oro Province tapa cloth, which is closely associated with the Maisin of Tufi region, is a prominent visual reminder of the common history and culture. Although many Oro attend other denominations, the Anglican Church is a focal institution for everyone. It is also an interesting form of an urban social group. For example, sometimes I found myself frustrated because a few people at the church referred to me as tambu even though they were not related to Dudley and his family. This was because of my ‘outsider’ status both in relation to province as well as a relative newcomer into the Anglican church.

Reflective Memory 1 also illustrates that ethnic and provincial identities are evidenced and maintained through public enactments. Church rituals provide an opportunity for such enactments of ethnicity (see Hermkens 2013: 219 for a discussion). Other occasions include Independence Day, important church
commemoration days\textsuperscript{23}, political campaigns\textsuperscript{24} or performances for a fee at special ceremonies. Within the broader Oro provincial identity, there are smaller formations of urban ethnic groups of Oro Province such as Tufi\textsuperscript{25}. Among Tufi, occasions to dress and dance in the city are fondly referred to as foroga and are an opportunity to catch up with each other on stories in the city or from home, and for displaying their cultural heritage and identity.

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{image3.3.png}
\caption{Preparing for Independence Day celebrations, 2005.}
\end{figure}

Source: Photograph by Dudley Yariyari, 2005.

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{23} See Strathern 1975 and Rew 1974 for detailed anthropological perspectives of life in Moresby for incoming migrants and urban workers before independence. Examples of churches include the Evangelical Church of Manus in Moresby and home based churches connected to the Methodist missions of the Milne Bay Province.
\end{flushright}

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{24} Enactments of cultural identity are also evident during election periods when intending candidates in the Moresby or provincial electorates rally support from those from the same province or ethnicity in the hope that they will endorse their candidature. Provincial and cultural group formations also occur around sporting associations in the form of provincial or ethnic clubs. They also form around the celebrations of provincial days. University students, many of whom are newly migrated from their home provinces are usually instrumental in organising provincial days.
\end{flushright}

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{25} In the index of Rew’s (1974) study of Moresby society he placed all migrant workers from the Northern Division under the general heading ‘Popondetta’, the urban centre of the Northern District (262). This included people from Kokoda, Koro, Managalese, Northern District, Orokaiva and Tufi. Inter alia, he described in detail the network of a group of ‘Popondetta boys’ among whom was a Tufi man. He noted that in colonial town Moresby pre-existing group consciousness was an important factor in the arrival of a new migrant to the city and previous associations with various people in the town enabled him or her to access a network of people and urban spheres (Rew 1974: 221-223).
\end{flushright}

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Reflective Memory 2: Tufi annual soccer tournament in Moresby.

The following sub-section is a Reflective Memory of the central role of the Annual Tufi Soccer Tournament in shaping collective Tufi identity in Moresby over the period 2001 - 2012

**Annual Tufi Soccer Tournament in Moresby**

The annual Tufi Soccer Tournament was held over a six week period in November and December since 2000. It was essential to the maintenance of Tufi identity. Hundreds of Tufi gathered during this period to contest the cup. The soccer tournament saw present and past inter-ethnic rivalries from the home province played out in the urban context. Clubs were formed around extended family clusters that resonated with clans, and membership was
drawn from a wide ambit of social relations, including ‘non-Tufians’.

Traditional clan rivalries, claims of sorcery, land conflicts were often played out in the social dynamics between the clubs. Just as clans once split up, it was common for new clubs to form as family groups became too large to accommodate all who were interested in playing soccer. New clubs also formed if there was a disagreement between members of an existing club. Likewise new clubs could be formed by someone who had attained employment or other means to lead a team. In 2010 the then president of the Tufi Soccer Tournament was reported in the newspaper as saying:

TUFI Cup Soccer Tournament is all set to celebrate its 10th anniversary. Last year they had a wonderful tournament accommodating more than 10 teams. Teams made up of mainly Oro people came from all over the province and participated in the one week tournament and this 10th anniversary is sure to be bigger and better. [...] We did not receive support from any business houses but we are able to sustain it for the good of the people of Oro province as it unites us together as families (Jemejeme 2010b: 37).

The positioning of the Tufi Soccer Tournament within the Oro provincial framework and as being held for the ‘good of Oro Province’ indicates that the tournament was not viewed as a Moresby focussed event but rather one for Oro and Tufi people. Following this logic, teams formed around families and places in the Tufi region (Figure 3.5 and Table 3.3) as opposed to Moresby locations. The annual event binds Tufi and Oro migrants together as an ethnic group from a common area rather than as Moresby residents. Regardless of their socio-economic status in the city and place of residence - be it in the settlement or in a formally designated residential area (Table 3.3) the annual Tufi Soccer Tournament brings Oro people together.
Equally important is the confluence between Tufi of ATS settlement and the broader Tufi community in Moresby that I observed during my initial encounters with Tufi in ATS. For example, Kevin Abotoboni is a prominent leader in the Tufi community as well as within the ATS settlement. He is often cited in the media on matters relating to land in the settlement (Chapter 4, Figure 4.8) and the Tufi Soccer Tournament. At one point he was the president of the Tufi Soccer Tournament. In the following newspaper article he noted that:

*CLUBS taking part in the Tufi Cup tournament have been warned to pay up their affiliation fees in full or miss out on games this weekend. The*
stern warning came after almost 50 percent of clubs failed to meet their K500 affiliation after the competition ended its fifth round last weekend. Vice president [Kevin Abotoboni] said clubs must pay their fee to avoid the game being disrupted this weekend (Omaro 2006: 47).

Within the Tufi migrant group, Abotoboni’s status as the president of the Tufi Soccer Tournament and his seniority as a Tufi leader in Moresby are important. This illustrates how the social lives of Tufi in the settlement transcend the divide between settlements and other spaces in the city. In his capacity as the president of the Tufi Soccer Tournament he addresses, through mainstream PNG media, all the executives of the clubs in the tournament who may or may not reside within ATS settlement, and who occupy a wide variety of positions in Moresby including professionals, public servants, and private sector employees. For example, the following announcement in the media shows the all-encompassing nature of the tournament. The president of the tournament at the time asked all clubs, including those with members in ATS and other settlements to,

Be on time so we can finish on time. Some families are not living close but come from distances like 9 Mile, 8 Mile and ATS so I encourage everyone to come on time (Jemejeme 2010a: 26).

The Tufi Soccer Tournament is also an event that connects Tufi to their homes, to national processes and provides an avenue for Tufi to socialise with each other in ways that reproduce identity and incorporate new members, associations, and alliances. At the same time, the competition creates intense rivalry.
Table 3.3: Moresby Tufi Soccer Tournament teams.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Team</th>
<th>Associated place in Tufi region</th>
<th>Associated language</th>
<th>Link to ATS settlement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bisana (2009)</td>
<td>Afore</td>
<td>Ese</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daya Stars</td>
<td>Spearpoint</td>
<td>Mokoruwa</td>
<td>Not sure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oro Mumbus</td>
<td>Musa</td>
<td>Musa</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Musa</td>
<td>Musa river</td>
<td>Musa</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tufi Marlins</td>
<td>Arifama Berobona mission station</td>
<td>Arifama (Miniafia)</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arifama</td>
<td>Arifama</td>
<td>Miniafia</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saints</td>
<td>Cape Nelson</td>
<td>Korafe</td>
<td>Not sure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yawata</td>
<td>Sefoa ridge Sefoa mission station</td>
<td>Korafe</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forea Bombers</td>
<td>Cape Nelson</td>
<td>Korafe</td>
<td>Not sure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Borimana</td>
<td>Kabuni fjord Tufi station</td>
<td>Korafe</td>
<td>Not</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kabuni</td>
<td>Kabuni fjord Tufi station</td>
<td>Korafe</td>
<td>Not sure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baggas</td>
<td>Baga Baga mission station</td>
<td>Korafe</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tama Rocks</td>
<td>Tarama area</td>
<td>Korafe</td>
<td>Not sure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naniu</td>
<td>Ajoa mission station</td>
<td>Miniafia</td>
<td>Yes; also to 8 mile water pump settlement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kerorowa</td>
<td>Ajoa</td>
<td>Miniafia</td>
<td>Not sure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kariwab</td>
<td>Wanigela Wanigela mission station</td>
<td>Ubir</td>
<td>Not sure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yabat</td>
<td>Wanigela Ubir</td>
<td>Not sure</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sibo</td>
<td>Ganjiga/Uiaku Ulaku mission station</td>
<td>Maisin</td>
<td>Not sure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gorofio</td>
<td>Ganjiga/Uiaku Ulaku mission station</td>
<td>Maisin</td>
<td>Not sure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reggie United</td>
<td>Reaga and Gegerau Kewansasap mission station</td>
<td>Ubir</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robut</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yamowara</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yanewara Saints</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>na</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: (1) Based on newspaper reports; (2) Dudley Yariyari (personal communication, 2015).

Note: The number and composition of teams varied from year to year depending on capacity of individual clubs to register a club in any given year. New teams entered the competition in any year. Existing teams dropped out and re-entered the competition in another year. People also moved affiliations between teams. This list is provides some idea about team affiliations to Tufi, language groups and the ATS settlement.
The tournament and its associated festivities contribute to the regeneration of Tufi and Oro identity in the city. As such it involves corporate behaviour and can be very expensive to host and sponsor a team. A prominent person with significant financial resources may sponsor a team from Tufi to participate in the tournament. This entails flying the team over from Tufi, billeting them, organising uniforms, fundraising to feed them and providing their soccer gear. For players and their relatives in the city it is an opportunity to renew social ties. For example, a young man may visit the city to participate in the tournament (Hasselberg 2012). While the primary financial burden falls on the sponsor, players’ family members in the city also contribute in kind or in cash. Teams brought from Tufi can be stranded in Port Moresby for months whilst awaiting return tickets. Sponsorship of a team attracts political prestige and demonstrates leadership and standing in Moresby and back home.

Eligibility to play in a club was a hotly contested topic. Lively debates were held over who were eligible to play based on their Tufi connections. A club would take issue if they thought a player was not eligible to play. Disputes would most often arise when an ‘outsider’ player’s participation seemed to give his or her team a distinct advantage. Nonetheless counter arguments would place emphasis on the player’s legitimate membership of the group based on long term association with the group as a friend who had assumed the status of brother, sister, child or other family relationship. ‘Outsider’ in-laws who came from other places were considered as Tufi. This incorporation of outsiders into the urban social group was also evident in the local dynamics of ATS settlement (Chapter 4, 5 and 6).
Figure 3.6: Preparing to play soccer after camp.

Figure 3.7: Preparing to go to the soccer field after a camp night.
Informal market stalls belonging to team members operated alongside the tournament. These provided a venue for family members to sell a variety of items. Young men and women interacted and socialised and romantic relationships often formed or dissolved. For example during my fieldwork several couples who had met during earlier Tufi tournaments had established homes in the settlement. Sorcery was often invoked as an explanation of why a team was doing unexpectedly well or dismally.

For many clubs this was a period of ‘camping’. Every week, the members of the club congregated at the home of one of their senior members and spent the weekend there while attending the games. From year to year the leadership of a club or team could pass between people, depending on who was most financially stable at the time. During the tournament people were highly mobile, moving between their usual place of residence and the residence of their team’s leader. I noted that people in the ATS settlement also took up residence at their team’s host’s residence where they ‘camped’ until the tournament was over. Tufi tournament camps brought together Tufi from all over Moresby in ways that reaffirmed collective identity.

3.4 Changing kinship patterns in the urban context

*Urban household demographic patterns*

The long history of migration and the increasingly permanent nature of migration were reflected in the household demographic characteristics of the Tufi households I interviewed. Most of the people I interviewed had migrated from Tufi either alone or with their spouses during the 1970s, 80s and 90s in
pursuit of education and employment opportunities. Many people were the first generation of Tufi men and women who were the initial recruits by the colonial administration to serve in the public service. They had previously been employed in the public service or private sector and either had their own homes, lived in rented property or with relatives before moving into the settlement.

Many of them could not afford to return home or preferred to remain in the city living with their children and grandchildren where access to education and health services is easier than in Tufi. Of the households for which data are available, 62% of the marriage partners in the couples who headed the households were born in the Tufi or another area in Oro Province and of whom the average age was 48.5 years (Table 3.4 and Table 3.5). Within each household there were other couples comprised of marriages between someone who was considered as Tufi and another ethnicity. These were generally younger people (Table 3.5). Among the total of 242 people who lived in the households I interviewed only 67 (27.7%) were born in the Oro Province (Table 3.4 and Table 3.5). Of the 34 adult children who were still living in their parents’ home, only three were born in Oro Province (Table 3.5). Many of the younger generation of household members had never visited Tufi.

On the other hand, out of the 119 (49%) people who were born in Moresby, 80 were children under the age of twenty (Table 3.5). Intergenerational support is important both for the aging migrants and their younger family members (similar to Morauta 1984). Aging migrants provide the cultural and ethnic anchor that underpins their family’s survival in the settlement. They provide
support with child care and in turn receive support in their old age from their children who have grown up in the city and whose social networks extend well beyond the cultural boundary.

**Kinship and identity in the urban context**
The dynamics of the Tufi Soccer Tournament team membership reflect broader conceptualisations of kinship, identity, and group formation in the city. Demographic changes caused by inter-marriage between people from different provinces create new forms of kinship patterns and group identity in urban settings. As Lind (1969) discussed, such inter-ethnic marriages might evolve to shape society. For example, the urban Oro identity is important in connecting people as a group in relation to their home province and for incorporating people into an urban identity based on marriage. In this context, the positioning of an affine as an Oro outsider or insider is an important undercurrent in the urban Oro Province narrative.

Reflecting traditional practices of name taboos between affines (for example Farr 1974; Gnecchi-Ruscone 1991) it is common in the urban setting such as Moresby for affines to refer to each other using the generic term *tambu* (TP: in-law) which is the *Tok Pisin* term for affine or forbidden. Affines who come from different provinces or distinctly different areas are often referred to by the name of the place that they come from.
Table 3.4: Place of birth of household (HH) members by marital status and gender.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place of birth</th>
<th>Tufi region - Oro province</th>
<th>Other region in Oro province</th>
<th>Moresby</th>
<th>PNG - Other province (Not Oro or Moresby)</th>
<th>Not known</th>
<th>Number of people</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Husband householder</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wife householder</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total adult householders (a)</strong></td>
<td><strong>33</strong></td>
<td><strong>5</strong></td>
<td><strong>8</strong></td>
<td><strong>12</strong></td>
<td><strong>3</strong></td>
<td><strong>61</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married son of householder</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married daughter of householder</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wife of married son</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Husband of married daughter</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other adult that are part of couple</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total other married adults in household (b)</strong></td>
<td><strong>6</strong></td>
<td><strong>3</strong></td>
<td><strong>15</strong></td>
<td><strong>10</strong></td>
<td><strong>3</strong></td>
<td><strong>37</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unmarried son of householder</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unmarried daughter of householder</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other adult single</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total unmarried adults in household (c)</strong></td>
<td><strong>6</strong></td>
<td><strong>4</strong></td>
<td><strong>16</strong></td>
<td><strong>11</strong></td>
<td><strong>5</strong></td>
<td><strong>42</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total adults (a+b+c)</strong></td>
<td><strong>45</strong></td>
<td><strong>12</strong></td>
<td><strong>39</strong></td>
<td><strong>33</strong></td>
<td><strong>11</strong></td>
<td><strong>140</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children under 18 years old</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total number of people</strong></td>
<td><strong>48</strong></td>
<td><strong>19</strong></td>
<td><strong>119</strong></td>
<td><strong>41</strong></td>
<td><strong>15</strong></td>
<td><strong>242</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Author’s fieldwork questionnaire, 2013.
Table 3.5: Place of birth of HH members by marital status and average age.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place of birth</th>
<th>Tufi region - <em>Oro</em> province</th>
<th>Other region in <em>Oro</em> province</th>
<th>Moresby</th>
<th>PNG - Other province (Not <em>Oro</em> or Moresby)</th>
<th>Not known</th>
<th>Number of people</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Person is a spouse in the interviewed HH couple</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average age of household</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adult children living in HH</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average age of adult child of HH</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spouse of married child</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average age of spouse</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other adults living in HH</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average age of other adults</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total adults</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Child under 18 years old</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average age of child</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number of people</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>242</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Author’s fieldwork questionnaire, 2013.
With identities strongly associated with language and places, one’s affines may extend well beyond one’s spouse’s immediate family to include anyone who comes from the spouse’s province. Of course many people have pre-existing friendship, familial or professional relationships with people from other provinces and relationships are mediated depending on the context. For example, in Reflective Memory 1, I illustrated how my relationship with members of the church congregation who were predominantly Oro people was established. In this context, being a non-Oro spouse and in relation to other people from Oro, I was sometimes regarded as a *tambu* (TP: in-law) even by people who were not related to Dudley. Likewise, a person often refers to an Oro person who is closely associated with her spouse as a *tambu*, even if the person is not related to her spouse. She, or he, in turn is referred to by name, or as *tambu*, or by the place of her origin or known identity. For example, a *tambu* who comes from Kerema, Manus, Tolai or Aroma, could be referred to by the place name thus emphasising his or her identity as being ‘of a place’ and also his or her status as an affine in relation to Oro Province. For example when someone says, "Aroma went to work" it is understood as: ‘a *tambu* who is a man or woman who comes from a place called Aroma went to work’.

This urban generic kinship terminology - *tambu* or place name at once places people as insiders incorporated through marriage and outsiders who belong to another place. It can be interpreted as a contemporary use of a kinship form that associates people within an urban and national context as kin. One is an affine to a group of people with a common identity, which may extend as far as the provincial category.
At the same time, one is a sibling to all other affines to the group. These contemporary and urban renderings of kinship relationships make visible the critical importance of affine relations in the urban context. While the example provided in Reflective Memory 1 foregrounded my position as an ‘outsider’ tambu, the opposite is also true. Being a tambu automatically makes one an insider. This is evident in the meeting described in Field Notes 1. In this meeting, the notion of kinship as a position in relation to the Oro Province extends into a formal setting thereby entangling the urban with the province, and kinship relationships with peoples’ various formal roles. Many of us in attendance were accompanying our Oro spouses and were therefore regarded as tambus to everyone who was from Oro. While I expressed an ambivalence that at once positioned me as an affine to Oro people, and as a cautious outsider acknowledging the privilege of being attendance at such a meeting, the Governor’s position, from the leader of a province’s perspective, was one of inclusion and affirming a stance of solidarity as a province of the state.

These expressions of group boundaries by village, linguistic group, region, electorate or province and group solidarity are quite common and reflect an ambiguity about one’s claim to Oro. The Tufi community fits within this broader Oro identity which the Governor of the province firmly insisted we belonged. These urban ways of conceptualising kinship also shape the dynamics of the social and political organisation of the ATS settlement (Chapters 4, 5, 6). As McKinnon and Cannell (2013) discuss, these contemporary conceptualisations of kinship illustrate how kinship transcends the divide between the domestic sphere and the public sphere and remains an integral part of modern life.
Field Notes 1: Responding to Oro crisis at home; there are no outsiders here.

Natural disasters in Oro Province reveal how the Oro community in Moresby act corporately to provide support to their families at home or to comfort each other for the loss they feel. The network of Anglican churches usually provides the meeting places to discuss such issues.

In November 2012 a major flood hit Oro Province devastating the lives of thousands of Oro people. Food gardens and houses were destroyed. Sources of drinking water were affected. Around the beginning of my fieldwork in January 2013 the Governor of Oro Province invited the Oro community in Moresby to attend an Oro Crisis Meeting at the St Martins Anglican Church in Boroko. I accompanied Dudley to this meeting. Around 45 members of the Oro community in Moresby attended the meeting. They came from all professions and backgrounds. Meetings like these also provide politicians and senior bureaucrats from a province with a forum to tap into on a wide array of expertise, experiences and networks in government, private sector, church and civil society leaders and NGOs.

Before the meeting started the Governor asked everyone to introduce themselves. I was around the 10th person to introduce myself. Out of respect for the fact that I felt privileged to be there and that I felt it was important that people knew I was undertaking research into migrants, I introduced myself as an outsider to Oro but as an insider married to an Oro man and as a researcher. What surprised me was that quite a few other people after that also introduced themselves in a similar manner – outsiders with an entry in through marriage or other means. One woman said, ‘I might not look Oro but I am Oro’ to which everyone clapped. At the end of the introductions before he could continue the meeting the Governor stated that he had to make it very clear to everyone that, ‘there are no outsiders here. If you are married to us, then you are one of us’.

During 2007 the winds and floods caused by cyclone Guba caused major devastation to villages, roads, bridges. Lives were lost. The Oro community in Moresby had meetings to collect items and cash to distribute home. Efforts were made to secure barges and planes to take the cargo home.
Conclusion

Within academia urban Papua New Guineans are often placed in opposition to their rural counterparts. Elite and middle class are placed in opposition to the grassroots. Although these distinctions are obvious at one level, the situation is more complex and intertwined as evidenced throughout this thesis. Although an increasing number of people who identify as being of Oro and Tufi are born in Moresby and increasingly disconnected from their rural roots, for many people, their social spheres extend in as many directions as their webs of relationships will allow. Social lives are shaped by history and their migration pathways to the city and these interweave people back and forth and into and out of relationships that define their urban identity.
I have sought to foreground this Chapter with the complexity inherent in the many constructions of *Oro* and the notion of Tufi ethnicity in the urban context. *Oro* is not just the name of a province in PNG. Rather, it is about values, kinship and space (Table 3.2). Keith acknowledges that his children and grandchildren will think as Papua New Guineans reflecting their mixed parentage, but for now it is Keith’s *Oro* heritage that enables them to have a shelter in the settlement. *Oro* radiates from the individual and intimate sphere of marriage and family, and extends out to spatial organisation at local and regional levels, and to local political organisation and state processes. It is biological, defining one’s lineage and descent, and it is social, defining ideological, cultural, and moral codes of ethic. Thus *Oro* provides a lens by which I explore issues of urban values, kinship and space in contemporary Melanesia. *Oro* embodies value in genealogical, social, and spatial terms which makes it an interesting lens through which to engage in contemporary debates about kinships that challenge scholars to move beyond the dichotomy between core concepts of kinship studies such as the dichotomy between substance and code, nature and nurture, biological and social (Franklin and Mckinnon 2001; Carsten 2001).

*Oro* encompasses pre-colonial history, colonial encounters and contemporary society. It defines and transverses space, time, people, society, ethics, politics and thus economics. Tufi living in Moresby are collectively identified as part of the Tufi area which is part of the *Oro* sphere. I have provided an overview of the factors that shaped migration from the village to the urban setting and the demographic patterns in urban households. Tufi urban sociality and collective identity sits within this broader *Oro* identity and it transcends socio-economic
differences through performances of key urban events like the Tufi Soccer Tournament.

To see how Oro was deployed by urban Oro people to secure land in Moresby, in Chapter 4 I trace the history of the settlement, its social organisation, and evolving challenges to the collective Oro settlement social group.
CHAPTER 4. SECURING URBAN LAND AS AN ORO SOCIAL GROUP\textsuperscript{27}

4.1 A settlement for Oro people
In the face of increasing urban hardship in the 1990s, a group of Oro leaders living in the city negotiated with customary landowners and elected leaders to access the area of land where the ATS settlement was subsequently established. As agreement was reached,

\textit{The leaders put an announcement in the newspaper (Figure 4.1) for all Oro people within Moresby, NCD, Central or other places. The advertisement said: ‘We have found land and now we want Oro people to enter and settle on this land’. After many meetings and when everything was confirmed we Oro people started pouring into here.}

\textit{Lucas, ATS settlement, 2013.}
\textit{Paraphrased from interview notes and transcript.}

The Oro leaders formed the Oro Community Development Association (OCDA) to manage the new settlement process. In this Chapter, I trace the history of the land on which the ATS settlement is located and the collective strategies that residents use to secure land tenure. While their Oro identity was the initial impetus for the establishment of the settlement, over time residents of ATS settlement found themselves at the centre of the political economy of land in Moresby. Customary Landowners, the State, and Private State lease holders challenged their rights to land. Narratives of land in the settlement reflect a myriad of actors, value systems, and processes that migrant settlers residing

\textsuperscript{27} A version of this Chapter has been published as Rooney (2017).
in ‘informal’ or ‘illegal’ settlements of Moresby must engage with to secure and legitimise their occupancy over land.

The nature and extent to which the land at ATS settlement is contested is discussed in Section 4.2. It is not only the dichotomy between customary and state claims on the land that residents of ATS settlement face, but they must also navigate through the dynamics of customary landowners who are increasingly demanding their share of the developments on their land. In order to contextualise these contemporary challenges over land, I trace the historical geography of land in Moresby in Section 4.3. This history illustrates the multiple claims on the land. I then trace the history of the establishment of the settlement in Section 4.4. The settlement’s establishment involved social relationships between Oro leaders, customary landowners, and Members of Parliament in Moresby. By the time of my fieldwork, depending on the portion of land people were living on, parts of the settlement community were facing eviction notices. This required them to take collective action as citizens in relation to the state. I examine these ‘citizen based’ collective strategies in Section 4.5. I then discuss some of the social relationships that transcend the settlement that shape land matters in Section 4.6. Finally, I conclude with a discussion of the key findings and policy implications.

4.2 Contested urban land
The early success of the Oro leaders to secure land attracted many people into the settlement. Over time, successive leaders within the settlement have recognised that their claims as an Oro people are tenuous without more
secure tenure over land. By 2013 the area of land occupied by the settlement had grown substantially and coincided with several portions of leasehold titled land (Figure 1.3).

Figure 4.1: Newspaper article announcing land for Oro people, 1995.

Source: Photograph by Michelle Rooney of article in the National Newspaper, 28th February 1995.

As one of the major challenges confronting residents of ATS settlement in 2013, land required considerable collective action. In particular, intersecting claims by customary landowners, the state, and title holders of state land challenged ATS settlement’s residents’ occupancy of the land. The OCDA acknowledged the prior claims on the land and sought to secure their own tenure. These challenges are reflected in the following statement,
The land belonged to the customary landowners before the colonial time in Papua New Guinea. But since the colonial time the land was given to the state. The land has portion numbers. The OCDA is applying for the portions. We have the documents and we've written a letter to the lands department and the former Governor of NCD. We expected something from the Government but nothing has been done. It is essential for the improvement of this community that we secure land to settle.

Representative of OCDA and resident of ATS settlement, 2013.
Paraphrased from interview notes and transcript.

However, in the year following my fieldwork, 2014, infrastructural developments in Moresby intensified land debates in the city. The Governor of Moresby, Honourable Powes Parkop, MP, announced that the evictions of settlers would increase to make way for new roads (Martin 2014). The matter of the land at ATS settlement had escalated to a National Parliamentary debate. The Minster for Lands, the Honourable Benny Allen, MP, was reported by the media to have stated on the floor of Parliament that:

Let me give the status of land at ATS [...]. The portions [...] 693 up to 698, all of them have titles to them. Leases have been given from 1964 up to 2008," Mr Allen said.

And our people out there are illegally living on these portions however, looking at time and some of these titles. Some title holders have taken time to develop and we will look at the issuance of these titles (Post Courier 2014a).

On the 25th of November 2014 the Honourable Samuel Basil, MP, a member of the Opposition, shared on his Facebook page a petition that he had presented on the floor of Parliament on behalf of the residents of ATS settlement. The petition asked the government to reconsider granting the titles of the portions of land at ATS to a private company and instead to consider giving the settlers
the opportunity to ‘meet the necessary legal requirements for permanent settlement’ (Basil 2014).

Around this time customary land owners, through the media, challenged ATS settlers,

\[
\text{not to mislead the State on the initial arrangement for their permanent settlement.}
\]

\text{Clan chairman and spokesman William Tokana said the State, especially Lands and Physical Planning Minister Benny Allen and Moresby Northeast MP Labi Amaiu should be properly briefed on the history of ATS and land portion 698.}

\text{He said this portion was handed over by the customary landowners to Oro settlers as a goodwill gesture through intervention by then Prime Minister Bill Skate and then NCD governor Philip Taku (Post Courier 2014b).}

In this statement, the clan spokesman clarified that the original arrangement by which land was allocated to Oro settlers involved only portion 698. However, over time the settlement has extended well beyond the boundary of portion 698 (Figure 1.3) and, the current land contestation involves other parcels of land.

It is evident that the residents of ATS settlement are situated at the frontier of Moresby’s expanding sprawl. Given their physical possession of the land, they are also at the centre of the contestation between the state, private leaseholders and customary landowners. The escalation of the matter to the level of a parliamentary petition and debate, and the associated public discussion through the media illustrates the highly contested commercial and moral values at stake.
4.3 History of Moresby land

Customary landowners
When I asked ATS settlement residents the question, ‘who are the customary landowners of this area?’ the general response was - ‘the Dubara Clan’ of Hanuabada. Indeed the narratives of the establishment of the settlement are imbued with social relationships between representatives of both settlers and customary landowners.

When Moresby was first visited by Europeans in 1873, the largest village located in what is now called the Port Moresby and Fairfax harbours was called Hanuabada which was made up of five villages of two distinct groups of people – the Motu and the Koita (or Koitapu) people (Belshaw 1957: 11-12; Groves 2011: 3-9; Oram 1976: 11). The villages were: Hohodae (Koita), Poreporena (Motu), Tanobada (Motu), Guriu (Koita), and Elevala (Motu) (Belshaw 1957; Gregory 1980; Gregory 1982). While there are variations of the history of these two groups of people there is general consensus that they have cohabited the coastline of Port Moresby for generations. The Motuans originated from the coast while the Koita came from the inland hills. Reflecting this long and shared history, the Motu and Koita people are now known as the Motu Koitabu people of Moresby.

Though culturally distinct, the two groups have similar social organisations (Belshaw 1957: 12; Oram 1976: 4). Each of the villages was divided into Iduhus which were the basic residential and social units derived from a patrilineage. Each Iduhu had several lines of houses built over the sea. Houses on the left side (East) were called Laurina and houses on the right (West) were called Idibana (Belshaw 1957: 13). Each Iduhu was known by a name. For the Hohodae
village the main Iduhus were the Taurama, Geakone, and Dubara (Belshaw 1957: 13). The Dubara clan that the residents of ATS settlement refer to are the descendants of the Dubara Iduhu of Hohodae village.

Iduhu may split for a number of reasons such as conflict or marriage and the affected person or group may move and reside elsewhere (Belshaw 1957: 13; Bramell n.d.; Groves 2011: 24-25). As a result, clans may have several arms residing in different areas but with land claims similar to those held by their Hanuabada based kin (Belshaw 1957; Goddard 2005; Groves 2011; Oram 1976). Although land in Motu Koita tradition is patrilineal, the literature and informants suggest that land may be transferred to women in certain circumstances (Bramell n.d.; Belshaw 1957: 27-30). I return to this below, but first let me continue with the historical description of land tenure systems in Moresby.

**State acquisition and commoditisation of land in Port Moresby**

Europeans started buying land from indigenous people in 1884 when the southern part of the island of New Guinea was declared a British protectorate (Oram 1976: 22). The administration began buying land for Crown purposes and by 1889 land was being bought, surveyed, and divided into quarter acre blocks then further divided into sections and allotments as part of town planning (Oram 1976:25-26). Over the period 1883-1974 increasing tracts of Motu and Koita land were bought. The legal framework evolved to accommodate the administration’s increasing need for land. The initial policy was that Europeans were only allowed to buy ‘waste and vacant’ land provided this did not impede on the access rights of the indigenous population (Oram 1976: 24). By 1906 the
Land Ordinance was enacted giving the administration powers to compulsorily buy land for public purposes (Oram 1976: 25). In 1956 a proposal that all of Moresby land should be purchased did not succeed although the administration insisted that indigenous land holders had a ‘moral obligation to make their land available for development’ (Oram 1976: 175). By 1974 only one fifth of the land within the Port Moresby town boundary remained under customary tenure.

Indigenous land owners increasingly showed resentment and reluctance to sell their land and by the 1960s land shortages were evident. The threat to their subsistence livelihoods as a result of loss of land remains a key issue for indigenous people. As time progressed there was increasing awareness of the long term value of land as a means of earning cash returns (Oram 1976: 177).

By the 1960s the area where the ATS settlement is located had become part of Crown land (Oram 1976: 178) and had been apportioned with state lease titles being issued to private lease holders. By the 1980s all the portions of land covering the area had been purchased by private lease holders (NDLPP 2013a) (Fig 1.3).

**A note on the Incorporated Land Groups (ILG) Act**

This history shows that land in Moresby was gradually alienated from its customary owners, subsumed into a commoditised land market, and transacted under conveyancing laws for over 100 years. However, marginalised customary landowners continue to assert their claims to the land through legal instruments like the ILG Act.
At PNG’s independence the ILG Act was enacted by the PNG house of Assembly (Filer 2007) which legalised the notions of indigenous land management. Despite its noble intentions to incorporate customary groups into formal land tenure regimes in order for them to realise the economic benefits of their land, the ILG Act, as well as other acts of Parliament such as the Land Tenure Conversion Act, is problematic in its application (See Filer 1997; Filer 2006; Filer 2007 for an in-depth analysis of the nuances of customary land tenure and the ILG Act; Jorgensen 2007). These attempts to use formal legal frameworks to integrate customary land into modern economics and legal systems is discussed by McDonnell (2013) in the broader Pacific context as the cultural power of law in redefining cultural and customary identities. In 2009 the ILG Act was amended to enable more stringent requirements on group membership, land boundaries, areas of dispute, management committees, annual general meetings, a minimum quorum for meetings, bank accounts, register of members, and a code of conduct (Tararia and Ogle 2010: 22-23).

In the next sections I examine the historical and legal context in which the ATS settlement was established in the mid-1990s and how this history continues to have a bearing on the way its residents navigate the land challenges that confront them.

4.4  

**Securing land as an Oro group in relation to customary landowners**

Many urban settlements are formed around ethnic or regional groups (Gewertz and Errington 1999; Hall et al. 2011; Koczberski and Curry 2004) involving people who have a shared history that acts as a glue for identifying criteria for
inclusion in the settlement (Barber 2003; Barber 2010; Chand and Yala 2008; Gewertz and Errington 1999; Goddard 2005; Langmore and Oram 1970; Numbasa and Koczberski 2012).

Acknowledging the prior claims of customary landowners on Moresby land, and the fact that during my research I was not able to obtain any written documents pertaining to the original agreement reached to establish the settlement, this section relies on data from interviews, ILG records, National Department of Lands and Physical Planning (NDLPP) records, media reports, court documents, and consultations with a number of key informants. The main purpose of this section is to demonstrate the deployment of Oro Province identity as a collective strategy to secure urban land, and how this has changed over time.

Prominent in people’s recollections of how the settlement land was accessed was the story of friendships between several Oro men living in the city and members of the Dubara clan. In 1995 negotiations between these men and the Dubara clan culminated in an agreement for Oro people to settle on portion 698 (Figures 1.3 and 4.9). Oro leaders also liaised with the then Prime Minister and Governor of the NCD, Bill Skate and Member for North East, Phillip Taku to allow them to settle on this same land. In order to facilitate this process and to manage the settlement of the Oro people on the new settlement, the Oro leaders formed the OCDA and its inaugural executive members included Jerry Asina, Joel Sanata, Lesley Gumagala, and Paul James Orapa28. Jerry Asina and

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28 Joel Sanata (personal communication, April 2016).
Joel Sanata still feature prominently in people’s recollections of the early days of the settlement and in media reports (Figures 4.1 and 4.9).

Another issue relevant for residents of ATS settlement is the influential role of Maso Henao. She was a prominent female member of the Dubara clan, and the mother of William Tokana, the current clan chairman and spokesman who features in most of the media reports (Figure 4.9). Maso Henao, is prominent in the narratives as having granted them permission to settle on portion 698. In the ILG records for the Dubara of Hohodae, Hanuabada, members of the clan question Maso Henao’s role in decisions over land. This is despite the same records also indicating that she had been granted the land area at ATS settlement because of her commitment to pursuing the rights of landowners (NDLPP 2013b). To underscore customary landowners’ connection with the land at ATS settlement, portion 698 contains the burial site of a number of the members of the Dubara clan (Figure 4.2 to Figure 4.5) and indeed many residents of the settlement recall attending Henao’s funeral. People also recollected engaging with customary landowners by contributing funds towards and participating in customary events in similar practices to those described by Allen (2012), Chand and Yala (2008, 2012), Koczberski and Curry (2004, 2005, 2009a, 2009b), Koczberski, Curry and Anjen (2012), Monson (2010), Numbasa and Koczberski (2012).

On the other hand, a few people I interviewed expressed uncertainty towards customary landowners. For example, when I asked another person if they were still in touch with the Dubara clan he responded that the customary landowners used to
come up here and pick up some collection [for customary events]. But not these days. We knew that they were illegally collecting fees for their problems.

Paraphrased from interview notes and transcript.

The statement that customary landowners were illegally collecting fees suggests uncertainty about customary landowners’ claims to the land. As the history of land in Moresby illustrates (Section 4.3), fissions in the customary landowning clan over the years, as well as gradual appropriation of land by colonial administrators, have contributed to this uncertainty about who are the rightful owners of the land.

This is also evident in the multiple number of ILGs registered for Moresby land. A search of the Department of Lands ILG register returned two registered ILGs for the Dubara clan. The land mediation records in the ILG documents indicate that there was a split in the Dubara Iduhu that resulted in one group relocating from Hanuabada village to Kirakira village. The ILG for this group is named the Dubara of Kirakira. The group that remained in Hanuabada is registered as the Dubara of Hohodae, Hanuabada. This situation of multiple customary land claims is part of the cause of the uncertainty among residents of the settlement.

For example, at a 2005 meeting of the Dubara of Kirakira ILG the chairman of the ILG noted that:

*With regard to the land issue with the settlers of ATS settlement, settlers have raised a total of (K25000). As the settlers are unsure as to*

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29 Given the historical notes that Iduhus may segment over a period of time it is highly likely that other ILGs have been registered. The two I refer to here are based on a search of the Dubara clan ILG in the NDLPP ILG section in 2013. I present them here to illustrate the complexities of contemporary urban land claims in Port Moresby.
who is the real owner of the land on which the settlement is located, they have withheld the money and have contacted [representatives of the ILG] to discuss the landownership matter (Summarised from Dubara of Kirakira ILG (NDLPP 2013b).

The ILG records reveal that there was a long-standing dispute between these two groups over land around the ATS area and that land mediation is ongoing (NDLPP 2013b). In addition, there is a long-standing and public attempt by both groups to reclaim land or claim compensation from the state for the use of their land (Figure 4.9). The land area at the centre of this dispute includes the Port Moresby Jacksons international airport which is located near the ATS settlement (Figure 1.2 and 1.3). More recently, the media reported that another clan - the Iarogaha clan of Korobosea - was claiming ownership of the land at the Jacksons airport (EM TV 2014).

Figure 4.2: Cemetery of customary landowners on portion 698 with land being excavated in the background.

Source: Photograph by Michelle Rooney, 2013.
Figure 4.3: The headstone of Maso Henao Tokana on portion 698.

Source: Photograph by Michelle Rooney, 2013.

Figure 4.4: Grave of a member of the customary landowner group on portion 698.

Source: Photograph by Michelle Rooney, 2013.
Figure 4.5: Grave of a member of the customary landowner group on portion 698.

Source: Photograph by Michelle Rooney, 2013.

Oro lineage - inclusion and exclusion

While the ATS settlement has a strong Oro Province identity and history, the situation is far more complicated. This is evident in Field note 2 in which I describe my initial reflections on the organisation of the settlement based on early visits and meetings. Those who primarily associated with the OCDA explained the principles by which land is allocated as based on Oro identity. As a general rule, originally, newcomers into the settlement arrived under the rubric of the OCDA. The OCDA charged an application fee and annual membership fee. In theory, the application fee was stratified, with men from Oro Province paying the lowest fee regardless of where their spouse came from. Higher fees were charged to non-Oro Province people, or outsiders, including Oro Province women married to outsider men. Upon establishing residency in the settlement, an annual membership fee of K30 was charged.
During one of my early visits to the settlement we walked from the *Tufi Last Block* towards the *Pongoro* mixed area then towards the *Arifama Tufi* area. Along the way people pointed out *mixed areas* or clusters of houses that belonged to a particular ethnic group. People were introduced as ‘pioneers’ or as ‘newcomers’. As we arrived back at the *Tufi Last Block* a male youth member was walking from house to house announcing the start of the *Tufi Ethnic Group* meeting. I was introduced to a *Korafe* woman who greeted my in-laws warmly and explained that she was the chairlady, of the *Tufi Ethnic Group* which was one of several ethnic groups committees that come under the OCDA. The ethnic committees, based on areas of the *Oro Province*, included Kokoda, Kaiva, Musa, Sauga, Ese, Ioma, Central Kaiva, Pongoro and Tufi. Each ethnic group committee elects their executives who sit on the OCDA committee. To an extent, the settlement is an urban microcosm of the *Oro Province*. The demarcations between these ethnic land areas within the settlement reflect local ATS understandings, areas and histories in the *Oro Province*. For example, a major block in the ATS settlement is referred to as the Samarai block (Milne Bay Province) and demarcating this block from the main *Oro* part of the settlement is a creek locally referred to as the Dogura creek (Figure 1.3 and Chapter 3 for a history). On formal cadastral maps Dogura creek is referred to as Bomana creek (Figure 1.3). The OCDA also had committees for water, land, youth, law and order and so on. Many people I spoke with acknowledged the historical significance of the OCDA as the founding body of the settlement that was important in managing the settlement process in the early days.

However, in reality both the *Oro Province* and the settlement are considerably more diverse and many people pointed out areas that were name places of *Oro Province* but not named in the narrated formal organisation. Furthermore, while there is a distinct *Oro Province* flavour to the settlement, there is considerable diversity. Apart from the mixed areas in the settlement, adjacent to the main settlement area is the Goroka block (Eastern Highlands Province).

We also encountered another Tufi leader in the settlement who explained that he was part of the *Oro Socio Economic Development Association* (OSEDA) and its various committees. He later explained to me that the OCDA and OSEDA work together when they can and the projects they bring into the community are for all residents. However, there are certain issues that they worked on separately. For example, he explained that the main objective of OSEDA was to secure the title of the land that they were currently occupying (Portion 695) so they can get services and development projects. This land – Portion 695 – was the subject of a longstanding court dispute and it was under threat of eviction by a private leaseholder (see Section 4.5). He also explained that they are working with some NGOs to establish a school and clinic.
This ‘theoretical’ emphasis on patrilineal principles of allocating land resonates with ‘patrilineal ideology’ among Orokaiva (Schwimmer 1973: 95-10; 193-197) and Korafe (Gnecchi-Rusconne 1991).

In practice however, accessing land in the settlement differs from this ‘patrilineal narrative’ and people who have a long association and social standing in the settlement were also evidently accepted as part of the community. Thus the moral and political basis for inclusion in the settlement is the need for accommodation and identification as a member of a patrilineal group as well as ongoing participation in the social, economic and political sphere of the settlement. This is also consistent with traditional patterns of land access and rights which include practices which acknowledge others who have a close association through daily shared lives (Bashkow 2006: 41; Crocombe 1971: 301; Gnecchi-Ruscone 1991: 26; Schwimmer 1973).

People generally described a process whereby a relative would facilitate communication between them and the OCDA or other leaders in the settlement. By facilitating this process a person implicitly provided the recommendation needed by a new applicant and usually allowed newcomers to set up a temporary shelter on their land while waiting for OCDA to allocate land (Chapter 5 and Chapter 6). Many people admitted that once they had accessed land in the settlement and paid an ‘application fee’ they did not usually pay the annual fees. Some people expressed that the reasons for non-payment were due to the misuse of money by previous executives. Many people simply could not afford the K30 per annum. Another challenge for OCDA was the influx of new settlers including ‘outsiders’ who entered the settlement
directly through friends without joining the association. Some newcomers offered amounts far in excess of the established fees which has led to many settlers taking it upon themselves to facilitate land access in order to make money (see Chapter 6).

Figure 4.6: The chairlady of the Tufi Ethnic Group addressing her community.
Source: Photograph by Michelle Rooney, 2013.

4.5 Securing land as occupants of lease-hold land - Portion 695

The Oro identity by which the settlement was established is increasingly being challenged. At the same time it is evident that, by taking their petition to the parliament, residents of ATS settlement are emphasising their position as citizens of the state rather than as a group of people from the Oro Province. The following statement by a pioneer settler suggests that this shift in position from the previously relational arrangement with customary landowners
towards a position of citizenship also came about as they gained more understanding of the status of the land,

*We were told that it was customary land so we all went in blind thinking it was customary land. Eventually I did my own investigation and I started seeing cement markers. It was telling me that this cannot be a customary land. These cement markers mean something else – that the land has been surveyed. So I started going around investigating and I discovered that all this was state land.*

*Ken, ATS settlement, 2013. Paraphrased from interview notes and transcript.*

Given the general lack of access to formal land records it is understandable that residents of ATS settlement would not have known the status of the land at the time the settlement was established. This change in understanding of the status of the land, combined with the difficulties of dealing with fragmented landowners, and increasing pressure to vacate land that is legally owned by private lease holders, requires residents of ATS settlement to legitimise their occupancy over the land by invoking their citizenship status. As citizens they place more emphasis on commoditised land tenure systems in which land is surveyed and portioned into blocks. This was evident during my fieldwork as people talked about the land being surveyed so that blocks of land could be allocated, and transacted formally. A ‘block’ of land in the settlement represented the urban aspiration of material prosperity and some people talked of fencing their blocks. As citizens they must be accorded equal status as their compatriots who live in formal areas of the city. This narrative of citizenship that flows alongside the narrative of the land being legally owned by the State is reflected in the following statement:
In year 2000 the United Nations General Assembly with all the World governments’ representatives agreed that by the year 2015 poverty levels must be decreased to the lowest levels. How do you achieve that with people who cannot afford to make their own living? To equip them to achieve this goal, there is nothing better than land itself. Once you get land and the title they can mortgage it to get loans from the bank and do something to start building their level up.

Representative of OSEDA, ATS settlement, 2013. Paraphrased from interview notes and transcript.

Settlers’ expectations that they will be granted the land titles were also fuelled by announcements by elected members. For example, in 2013 the Governor of the city announced that settlements would be converted into suburbs. He stated that,

The policy under my leadership is as Governor of our City and Chairman of NCDC is to convert settlement into proper suburbs. This requires firstly surveyors to be deployed to properly survey and create portions and allotments so we can award proper legal title to residents (Parkop 2013).

These intersecting narratives between customary land tenure arrangements based on social relations on the one hand, and commoditised land tenure systems based on citizenship on the other hand, are woven with the narratives between their Oro Province identity on the one hand and citizenship on the other hand. Land and citizenship together mean there is the need to ‘secure the title’ as a way of securing ‘loans from the bank’. Herein we see settlers negotiating between two land tenure ideologies and social and political value systems. By invoking the United Nations General Assembly the OSEDA representative also demonstrates local understanding of human rights framework and the state’s obligations.
Portion 695

In contrast to collective action based on Oro identity, the case of residents of the settlement living on Portion 695 demonstrates how they acted collectively based on their common occupancy of titled land and as citizens who have received an eviction notice by a private leaseholder (Field Notes 3). They defended their claims to the land in the formal court system. The case study also illustrates how within the settlement risk to land tenure may be localised and the nature of risk is related to the history of the geography of the area. In this case, cadastral boundaries creating Portion 695 rendered the settlers residing in it the subjects of an eviction notice (Figure 1.3). Reflecting changing institutions in the settlement, this case was led by the OSEDA whose executives resided on Portion 695.

A few days after the eviction notice (Field note 3) was issued at the ATS settlement, a number of reports appeared in the local media (Figure 4.8 and 4.9). In the first article (Figure 4.8) community spokesman, Kevin Abotoboni, outlined that the matter of the eviction notice was in the courts. He also noted that the settlement was the outcome of a political decision involving former members of parliament. In the second news article (Figure 4.9) the customary landowners, through their spokesperson, William Tokana, rebutted the claims of the residents of the ATS settlement. Tokana reportedly noted that the original arrangement only covered Portion 698 (Figure 1.3). This was confirmed by statements of some residents of the settlement that I spoke with. Tokana also highlighted that their parents were buried at Portion 698.
Although the issue of the eviction notice related to Portion 695, its coverage in the media enabled both customary landowners and settlers to reassert their claims to the land. They both noted the ‘dubious’ and ‘suspicious’ nature of the transfer of the title of Portion 695. Both claimants situated themselves within the broader contemporary discourses on land grabs (see: Filer 2011) and turned the public gaze, and questions regarding ‘legality’ back onto the state and the NDLPP which is renowned for corrupt land deals\(^\text{30}\). The immediate problem of a ‘threat of eviction’ is placed in the legal framework as a dispute between settlers and the private leaseholder. It is also placed in its historical and customary context as an issue between the customary landowners and the settlers.

In the Latin American context (van Gelder 2013) describes interactions between settlers’ ‘illegality’ and the legal domain in which settlers use the formal court processes to delay or prevent eviction. The legal framework of universal human rights where natural laws take precedence over other forms of law, such as civil or commercial law, is often the strength of arguments against eviction. In the case of Portion 695 in the ATS settlement, the court process seemed to be successfully delaying eviction. Other settlements have not been as lucky and settlers were eventually forcefully evicted. For example, the MAT settlers were forcefully evicted days before I witnessed the eviction notice in the ATS settlement (Field Notes 3; Figure 4.7). In 2012 the Paga Hill settlement was

\(^{30}\text{The SABL inquiry, the report of which is now public, is the result of on long inquiry into loopholes in the PNG land laws which have resulted in large tracts of customary land being alienated.}\)
demolished while settlers were in the process of seeking legal recourse to stay the eviction orders (Lasslett 2012; Wilson 2012).

Field Notes 3: Portion 695 eviction notice.

I was in the settlement one morning approaching the home of a prominent settlement leader in the Tufi, OSEDA and Portion 695 communities, when my research assistant and I noticed a police vehicle. The police were issuing a notice of an eviction to be applied to people living on Portion 695. The atmosphere at the small betel nut stand where we usually congregated to share betel nut and chat, before commencing with the day’s appointments, was sombre and quiet. The previous day one of the daily newspapers had reported that another Port Moresby settlement located near the Moresby Arts Theatre (MAT) had been evicted violently with bulldozers (Sayama and Wapar 2013) (Figure 3.7). I was shocked by witnessing this interaction with the police first hand and so I made contact with a local newspaper to alert them of another potential settlement demolition in the hope that journalists would cover the matter. As I had recently interviewed the Governor of NCD I had his contact details so I also let him know what was happening. The incident prompted me to write a blog article (Rooney 2013). In the days that followed the eviction notice, I was informed that police drove through the settlement along the boundary of Portion 695 to let other settlers know of the eviction and to identify the exact boundary markers. A number of meetings and protests were held at the settlement market upon any news of police arriving.

Figure 4.7: Newspaper article on the MAT settlement eviction, 2013.

Source: Photograph by Michelle Rooney, The National Newspaper article, Tuesday 12 March 2013.
Police eviction effort shocks Oro settlers

By PAEPE OVASURU

SETTLERS at the ATS Oro settlement in Port Moresby were caught unaware when the police mobile unit from McGregor Police barracks went to evict them yesterday morning.

The policemen turned up with an eviction order from Dunlavin Limited, a Chinese company, ordering the settlers to vacate Portion 1695 at 8-Mile.

The eviction order was signed by assistant police commissioner Francis Tokura. Community spokesperson Kevin Abotoboni said the settlers were never informed of what was happening.

Mr Abotoboni said the community leaders were now taking the matter to court. He also revealed that the title for the Portion 1695 land was given to Dunlavin Limited under dubious circumstances.

"The land is zoned for agriculture but Dunlavin Limited has the title for a 99-year lease and there is no specific business classification," he said.

Mr Abotoboni revealed that according to sources at the Department of Lands, the land title was given to Dunlavin Limited under suspicious circumstances. The land title was previously held by Joseph Robertson and was transferred to Dunlavin Limited in 2008. Mr Abotoboni said Dunlavin Limited currently had two applications before the land board. The applications according to Mr Abotoni were for a relaxation of conventions and a variation of purpose. If these applications are approved, Dunlavin Limited will have the right to operate any type of business on land Portion 1695 despite it being zoned as agriculture.

Oro community leaders are taking the matter to court...

FRANCIS TOKURA
Community Spokesperson

He added that the settlers at the ATS Oro settlement were living there at their own will, having moved there as part of the then NCDC resettlement project in 1994.

He said the people were relocated to this location under a pilot resettlement project carried out by then Moresby East MP Philip Taku and the late Sir William Skate who was then the NCD Governor.

He said the resettlement of the people was a political decision and the leaders of the settlement have documents to prove this claim.

Figure 4.8: Newspaper article regarding the eviction notice for Portion 695, 2013.

Source: Photograph by Michelle Rooney, Post Courier article, Friday 19 April 2013.
Fundraising for legal fees
The threat of eviction united people of different backgrounds and ethnicity to fight the eviction notice. It also meant a reliance on lawyers to argue the legal technicalities in court and therefore legal fees needed to be paid. This had a direct impact on people’s livelihoods. Of the households that I interviewed 13 lived in Portion 695. As one resident pointed out when I asked about what big issues affected the community:

Another thing with this land is that we don’t have the title and sometimes they tell us we have to move from this block. This affects our wellbeing.
The leaders call for meetings and ask the community to contribute money to address land issues in order to pay lawyers to take the case to court. Only last week we met here and each household was told to contribute K100 to meeting legal fees. This is for everyone who is affected by this eviction notice [Portion 695].

Mick, ATS settlement, 2013.
Paraphrased from interview notes and transcript.

Considering the low incomes of residents of ATS settlement (Chapter 8), a K100 contribution per household towards legal fees is a very high amount. Given the long term process and immediate impact on housing and livelihoods the contributions are most likely an ongoing, albeit variable, cost faced by households. Throughout my fieldwork, the residents of Portion 695 also raised funds through barbecues and fundraising dances (Figures 4.10 to 4.12).

Another interesting fact to emerge from Portion 695 is that land tenure risk is highly localised. For example, Lance, who lives in a cluster of households including his brothers and nephew, told me that one of his brothers lives several metres from him but is located within the Portion 695 boundary while he lives in the adjacent Portion 697 (Figure 1.3). Lance’s brother is therefore impacted by the eviction notice while he and his family are currently safe from eviction. The case of Portion 695 and Lance’s story show that while settlement household patterns are usually described in terms of clusters of kin living together (for example: Chand and Yala 2012) the risk to tenure can be highly localised. In this example, Lance’s brother is requested, and is obliged, to make a contribution towards the legal fees to pay for the court case to save Portion 695. Lance sympathised with his brother but he was unable to assist.
Figure 4.10: Sausage sizzle for fundraising for legal fees to fight eviction.

Source: Photograph by Michelle Rooney, 2013.

Figure 4.11: Fundraising for legal fees through sale of drinks.

Source: Photograph by Michelle Rooney, 2013.
The eviction notice forged a shared interest for the residents of Portion 695 whose lives were now interdependent on their joint efforts. However, given their low incomes, residents of Portion 695 had to look for other means to secure legal and financial support. The long term nature of legal battles, their impact on settlers’ meagre resources and the need to tap into social and political networks is also noted by Lasslett (2012) in the Paga Hill settlement case. In some cases residents of settlements seek *pro bono* support from lawyers in their various networks. Residents of settlements in Moresby represent a major political interest group and also seek support for legal fees from elected politicians. On their part, politicians also note the hardship that evictions cause. This is reflected in the following news article citing the Governor of Port Moresby, Hon. Powes Parkop:

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*Figure 4.12: Water collection goes on during fundraising for legal fees.*

Source: Photograph by Michelle Rooney, 2013.
The NCDC as the municipal government of the city was not notified of the eviction which affected over 4000 people including women and children. He stressed that it was not acceptable for a corporate company to evict PNG citizens. Developers and title holders although they have rights of a particular lease, must take into account the fact that people might be residing on their land in which they have come to acquire the title.

The Governor also expressed that ‘people always come back to NCDC to bear the cost [of eviction] which should not be the case but because NCDC is the municipal government of the city it is forced to assist. Also as the Governor, people are coming to me for assistance and I simply cannot turn them away but do my best to help them which I am currently doing.’ The Governor is also seriously considering assisting the people with their legal fees to take court injunction against the developer (summarised from City Sivarai 2013).

4.6 Big people and networks: mutual stakeholders in ATS settlement land

In asserting their rights as citizens, residents of ATS settlement also position themselves as equal to other PNG citizens and big people such as lawyers, engineers, and public servants. From their own life experiences as former residents of formal housing, and as former or current employees they know that the social gap between them and ‘other’ citizens living in formal areas is nominal, negotiable and subject to change (Chapter 5). Land in Port Moresby is scarce and already others in the city, including elites and professionals, are seeking land as their own tenure of employment comes to an end or as they seek to broaden their livelihood and housing options. As one leader pointed out, big people, including former public servants and professionals were also moving into the settlement.

The term big people was used at various times to refer to ‘others’, including a network of kin, wantoks, friends, colleagues, who live and work in formal areas.
of Moresby and who are viewed as wealthy, educated and elite professionals with powerful networks. It reflects the ways residents of the settlement position themselves in relation to ‘others’ who live and work in the formal areas of Port Moresby. *Big people* may be both good – as a network of resources - or bad – as potential powerful actors who use their own networks to gain from their relationships with settlers. As far as possible, settlers engage with *big people* in mutually beneficial ways.

Social and collegial relationships with *big people*, kin, friends and colleagues residing outside of the settlement provide residents of ATS settlement access to otherwise inaccessible institutions and people. *Big people* provide legal services, surveying skills, computing support for document preparation, printing, political influence or other services to gain entry into the settlement. For example, one of the residents of the settlement was employed in a legal firm and was able to access legal advice from his colleagues. At the same time the relationships are not one-way relationships. In the Moresby context, by virtue of their ‘settlement’ identity, settlers know that they are in a position to reciprocate in ways that are valued by their ‘big’ friends, kin and colleagues (see Chapters 5 and 9).

In some ways I was a ‘big person’ when I witnessed the eviction notice being issued at Portion 695 and initiated my contacts with the media and the governor. On the other hand, when I mentioned that I was conducting fieldwork at the ATS settlement to an acquaintance who is a public servant, he responded that he had heard of land being sold there and that he might
accompany me during one of my visits to ascertain his own prospects of buying land.

4.7 Conclusion

Much of the discourse on urban land in Melanesia juxtaposes customary landowners with an array of ‘other’ actors which include other customary landowners, the state, property developers, and migrants. Policy makers have focused on finding ways to negotiate with customary land owners to make their land available for urban development while ensuring that their traditional rights are protected and they benefit equitably from the use of their land (Barter 2002; Chand and Yala 2008; Chand and Yala 2012; Kidu 2002; Koczberski 2002; Nolan and Abani 2002; Numbasa and Koczberski 2012; Pai and Sinne 2002; Office of Urbanisation 2010; Jones 2011: 94).

There is less attention being paid to the ways migrant settlers engage with both customary land owners and state and legal processes. The historical and legal framework presented in this Chapter shows the multiple and competing claims on urban land and the overlapping forms of property rights. Within this context the present day reality is that the settlers occupy the land. Efforts to assert counter claims to the land or alter the status quo, including any policy induced changes, will either involve an eviction process or a revision of the ways that settlers’ claims, obligations, and responsibilities are defined and exercised. As this will have a direct bearing on their livelihoods, settlers will also be at the forefront of dialogue, mediation and negotiations, and therefore their responses are important for understanding urban land discourse.

Residents of informal settlements legitimise their claims to land by invoking both traditional notions of access to land for subsistence as well as the formal international human rights framework that includes citizenship and the right to shelter. Both customary and modern forms of access and maintenance of tenure through exchange and reciprocity are utilised and adapted to allow settlers to negotiate with different actors at different times. By mapping the historical processes that shape contemporary claims on land and by a grounded examination of the ways in which settlers collectively mobilise and adapt to respond to counter claims on land, this Chapter draws out several important considerations for urban land discourse in Melanesia.

The pressure from customary landowners for fees to be paid for the use of the land led ATS residents to raise substantial fees through financial contributions. However, these were withheld when settlers realised that there was a dispute
among customary landowners and requested clarity about to which customary landowning group the fees should be paid. The realisation that land is alienated created an opening to assert an alternative claim as citizens. The shift away from Oro identity as the basis for collective land tenure reflected the changes and external pressures felt in the settlement. The common threat of eviction created a sense of unity among residents of Portion 695 regardless of their ethnicity. In this context people are nestled between land tenure ideologies (customary versus commoditised) and, social and political ideologies (ethnic identity versus citizenship). Migrants living in informal urban settlements will continue to negotiate in ways that harness the best of a myriad of strategies involving actors and systems. Urban land policy needs to be cognizant that any change in the status quo, no matter how well intended, will exclude some people and this will lead to counter responses (Hall 2011). At the very least, policies or proposed developments must include provisions to identify those who will be affected and options for resettlement. In the South East Asia region, Hall et al. (2011) examine the need for contemporary discourse on land to take a more nuanced approach by recognising that any land policy or reform will involve exclusion. Residents of ATS settlement evoked their shared history and identity to collectively secure land. But in the face of threats by prior claimants to dispossess them of the land they occupy, their strategies to legitimate their occupancy of the land involved, by necessity, excluding other claims on and access to the same land. Their strategies demonstrate an inherent capacity to negotiate and create systems of land tenure and access that meet their basic housing needs (Hall et al. 2011: 8).
Although the social and economic gap between residents of informal urban settlements and wealthier Port Moresby residents is deep and widening, it is also malleable. This enables settlers to form social relations with others in ways that are mutually beneficial. In the next Chapter I explore the movements of people living in the city into the settlement to demonstrate that the settlement is also a safety net for elites and wage earners.
CHAPTER 5.  

EM ORAIT! OL ORO LAIN I STAP

5.1  A safety net for Oro people and friends

Em orait! Ol Oro lain i stap. This Tok Pisin phrase, translated as, “It’s alright! Oro people are there”, was a statement by one of my interviewees as he told me about his response to being evicted from his house in the city. It also reflects the view that many Oro people in Moresby hold of the ATS settlement. For many Oro people living in the city the settlement provides a safety net in terms of housing and land. Indeed, many Tufi I interviewed referred to housing problems as the reason why they moved to the settlement. The multiple meanings of the term Oro as house, the lineage, social group, or clan (see Chapter 3) and thus territory, can therefore be interpreted as symbolic of kinship relationships among Oro living in Moresby. Consequently, in Moresby, to exhibit gutpla pasin (morally good behaviour or characteristic) is also to ensure that one’s home is a welcoming place of love, nurture, and inclusion. Thus housing - being excluded from it in the city and seeking inclusion in the settlement - provides a lens for exploring social relationships in Moresby.

In this Chapter I explore how unequal ownership and access rights to formal housing lead to exclusion of some family members which in turn leads them to move to the settlement. This creates tension between kin but also provides opportunities for new housing strategies that enable those in the settlement to reposition themselves on more equal terms with their kin who have access to formal housing. An overview of the historical and contemporary context of
housing in Moresby is provided in Section 5.2. I then examine the housing problems that Tufi face in Moresby and the social connections they invoke to move into ATS settlement in Section 5.3. Some of the gendered dimensions of these processes are also examined. The family strategies used when people access the settlement suggest that social relationships between family members living in the settlement and in the city remain important but can weaken as people become more marginalised. These are discussed in Section 5.4. I conclude the Chapter with a discussion about the need for policy and academic discourse on settlements to take into consideration a grounded understanding of family housing strategies in the city.

5.2 Overview of housing problems in Moresby

Historical context

Up until WWII little attention was given to housing in towns because migrants were actively discouraged from remaining in town by the colonial administration (see Section 3.3). Incoming labourers were mainly single males who resided in employer-provided accommodation. In parallel, the administration and private companies provided bungalows for their expatriate employees at highly subsidised rates (Stretton 1979).

After WWII, the influx of migrants into Moresby created a shortage of housing and by 1955 the administration recognised that housing was a serious issue (Oram 1976: 99). The post-WWII urban housing policies reflected the colonial

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31 Very comprehensive overviews of the historical context of housing in Moresby from which this Section draws can be found in Goddard (2005), Langmore and Oram (1970), Oram (1976), Stretton 1979, and Stuart (1970).
administration’s initial emphasis on ‘conventional’ forms of housing based on western standards of housing. For example, in 1956 the suburb of Hohola was established as a low cost housing suburb to re-house people from settlements into ‘conventional houses’ (Oeser 1969; Stretton 1979: 2). By 1962 the colonial administration attempted to establish a ‘site and service’ scheme whereby people were allocated land and could build their own houses (Oram 1976; Stretton 1979: 3). These schemes failed due to the limited uptake of them by indigenous migrants because the standards set for the conventional houses were too high and hence they were more costly to build. As such they were not affordable to most indigenous migrants in Moresby. Furthermore, the regulatory and bureaucratic requirements were too cumbersome (Stretton 1979; Stuart 1970). The formal housing schemes could not keep pace with the population growth and informal settlements emerged around the city (Langmore and Oram 1970; Stretton 1979; Stuart 1970: 288).

In 1968 the National Housing Commission (NHC) was established to improve housing in the city. However, most people still could not afford the houses that the NHC offered. It was evident that the NHC was having more success in its self-help housing schemes in settlement areas (Oram 1976; Stretton 1979). By 1971 it was also evident that rigid building regulations were not realistic and resulted in the limited success of these previous schemes. The administration then turned to ‘no-covenant housing’ or self-help housing schemes as a way of encouraging migrants to invest in their own homes gradually over time (Langmore and Oram 1970; Oram 1976: 100; Stretton 1979). Given this situation, settlements and self-help housing schemes were tacitly approved as
solutions to the housing problem and policy emphasis shifted from a focus on ‘conventional housing’ divided between high and low cost towards a self-help housing scheme (Stretton 1979; Stuart 1970). In 1973 a Government White Paper was prepared on self-help housing (Langmore and Oram 1970; Stretton 1979).

Several issues emerge that remain important in the contemporary context. Firstly, pre-independence policies and government officials’ views towards migrants greatly influenced housing policies in the city and entrenched the view that those living in settlements were ‘illegal’ and a burden (Oram 1976: 170). Secondly, recognizing its limitation in providing appropriate housing, the government generally adopted a favourable stance on informal settlements as a housing option for the increasing numbers of migrants coming to the city (Goddard 2005; Langmore and Oram 1970; Oram 1976; Stretton 1979). Thirdly, the practice of providing housing to employees at a highly subsidised rate inhibited the growth of a market-based housing market. This meant that the market rate of housing was at odds with the financial capacity of migrants (Goddard 2005: 21-32; Langmore and Oram 1970; Oram 1976; Stretton 1979). The resulting urban housing landscape was stratified around expatriate government administrators, their domestic (national) employees, low cost housing, self-help housing and settlement schemes for incoming migrants (Goddard 2005: 21-32).
Contemporary context

After PNG gained political independence, two parallel ‘conventional’ housing developments had emerged. One development centred on government housing and was administered through the NHC. The other development centred on the emergence of a highly priced housing market led by private companies and statutory authorities with little government regulation (Stretton 1979). The demarcation between formal and informal spaces in Moresby continued to be shaped by the pre-independence policies (Goddard 2005). The NHC took over most of the stock of government housing between 1973 and 1976. The localisation process meant many expatriate administration staff were replaced by national staff who took over the accommodation of houses previously occupied by expatriates (Garnaut et al. 1977; Goddard 2005; Oram 1976; Stretton 1979). However, the NHC struggled to administer its housing stock and increasingly called on tenants to pay rents and formalise their tenancy arrangements or risk being evicted. Those who continue to occupy NHC houses without paying rent or formalising their leases were deemed ‘illegal occupants’ and eviction notices were issued (Goddard 2005).

At the same time, the private sector and statutory bodies built housing estates and developed new suburbs around the city. Reflecting pre-independence housing practice of the provision of subsidised housing, some companies and government departments and statutory bodies provided housing or established housing schemes for their employees (Reflective Memory 3).
Reflective Memory 3: Housing as a condition of employment, 1995.

In 1994 I completed my university studies and I was offered a job with the Bank of PNG. My starting salary of just over K300 per fortnight was not enough to rent accommodation in the city. One of the attractions of this offer was that I was eligible for accommodation in a bedsitter unit in the Bank’s residential compound for employees. In the weeks before the accommodation was available, I lived with a brother in his employer provided accommodation. During those days, the issue of accommodation was a standard consideration in any offer of employment to young graduates.

During the period covered by this thesis (1995 – 2013) formal housing evolved into a high priced formal market stimulated by broader economic activity in the extractive industries sector. A handful of real estate companies mediated the market and targeted middle class well to do Papua New Guineans through advertising in the newspapers and, more recently, through the internet (Figure 5.1). Reflecting changes in the broader economy, real estate prices steadily increased over this period. Despite high inflation after 1995, real prices for residential and investment style property in Moresby increased steeply leading up to 2010 (Table 5.1).

By the mid-2000s Moresby was abuzz with the anticipated wealth to be generated by the new LNG project. The construction phase of the PNG LNG project sustained economic growth over the period 2001-2012 (ADB 2014) and this created a demand for property in the city.
Figure 5.1: Typical commercial real estate advertisement in Moresby.

Source: Screenshot of Century21 website:
Table 5.1: Advertised property sale and rental prices from 1985-2010 (1).  

Figures are in PNG Kina; constant 2010 prices (3).

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(1) Source: Post Courier Newspaper advertisements in month of June.
(2) Downtown, Port Moresby 2005 figures are from August.
(3) Converted to 2010 prices based on urban Port Moresby CPI, Bank of PNG.

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32 This table was first published in Rooney (2015b).
The economic boom as well as the Australian funded Economic Cooperation Programme in the mid-2000s contributed to increased rental prices. The foreign advisors funded under this programme needed to be accommodated in rental properties which were locked up in long-term leases. Fuelled by rising property prices new settlements were established on the outskirts of the city towards 8 Mile, 9 Mile and beyond. New housing estates were also established, including the Malolo estate at 8 Mile (See Figure 1.2). This increase in prices affected all residential suburbs in Moresby, including in the traditionally more affordable suburbs of Hohola, Gerehu, Waigani, Tokarara, June Valley, Ensisi Valley, Morata, and Rainbow Estate (Figure 1.2). In all residential areas in Moresby prices jumped significantly between 2005 and 2010 reflecting the prolonged economic boom (see Table 5.1).

Private companies and higher level government positions continue to offer housing as an incentive to attract the best skilled Papua New Guineans. For most Port Moresby residents, this situation means that housing is unaffordable.

The prolonged economic growth in PNG during this period and the developments in the property and land exchange value in Moresby are consistent with international trends in which a key factor driving urban processes is global capital accumulation. Capital accumulation is also reflected in the increase in urban property values in Moresby and is a key factor that fuels contestation over space in Moresby. Harvey (2008) argues that urbanisation processes play an important role in ‘absorbing the surplus product that capitalists perpetually produce in their search for profits’ (Harvey 2008: 25). This urban process has reached global proportions and in particular, property market booms contribute to capitalist tendencies (p29). These include property market booms and massive construction and infrastructure projects. One of the outcomes is the increasing marginalisation of those who are not able to benefit from these developments. While noting the difficulties of ascertaining values of urban land and property, Piketty (2014: 198-199) notes that it is likely that capital gains in some urban places were offset by losses elsewhere. For example, losses may be made in smaller urban or low income areas that are not as valuable (p198). Piketty (2014) noted that because the rates of return on capital are higher than incomes and outputs, this means that capital is growing faster than output. This, he argues, means that past accumulations of capital will marginalise current and future output gains and this will increase inequality, and undermine social justice and democratic principles (p571). The most vulnerable are those whose only productive resource is their labour (Piketty 2014).
The financial market for housing in the city involves high interest rates and stringent loan conditions which further add to difficulties in obtaining housing loans. Although some cheaper housing is being constructed this has not kept up with the growth of the population. In general most middle and lower income earners are not able to afford any form of formal housing in the city.

5.3 Moving to the settlement

It was not my house

Moresby residents who are fortunate to have formal housing come under immense pressure to accommodate others. To chase people out of one’s home is to commit a very serious social affront to the social unity that holds people together in the city. This offence attracts social sanctions such as gossip, exclusion, or a reprimand from family members. It is also a key trigger for domestic marital disputes and can lead to violence that is sanctioned by broader members of the family if they feel that a family member is not hospitable. Reflective Memories 3 and 4 illustrate how housing strategies vary over time and involve ongoing mutual reliance and tensions between family members. In the mid-1990s while waiting for my employment accommodation to become available, I resided with my brother in his company provided house. Later as a couple, Dudley and I provided for many family members and when we found we had no house in the city Dudley in turn relied on family members.
One day during the early 2000s I arrived home to find one of my relatives enjoying a carton of beer with several of his mates in our backyard. Upset, I asked them to leave stating that it would have been appropriate if they asked for our permission beforehand.

We were among the lucky few in our respective families to afford a mortgage. We had several family members living with us. Maintaining a control over what happened and who came and went was an ongoing challenge. On the one hand, family provided important support such as child care and security. On the other hand, it was very easy for the number of people living with us to keep increasing and it was expensive to look after everyone.

Many of the tensions we experienced related to day-to-day issues such as whether someone had contributed towards a bill, food or chores around the house. Occasionally a disagreement would break out among the people living with us or between us. People came and went and this was a way of maintaining longer term amicable relationships. Ensuring alcohol consumption was kept at reasonable levels to avoid any ‘alcohol-related arguments’ was another challenge. Single men especially were more mobile and able to move easily from house to house. In this way they relieved pressure and space in any given house for some time before they moved back to the house or on to the next house. If things got too tense someone might leave and take up residence in another family member’s home for a few weeks before returning perhaps because of a similar tension in the other home. When an argument between host couples boiled over into the public domain it became the topic of many judgements about how one of them had treated someone in the home. Those of us who held the primary rights to the home had a common position of expecting those who lived with us to make a contribution – financial and in kind by sharing household chores such as cooking, cleaning and supporting with childcare.

When we migrated in 2010 we both left our jobs and sold our home to take up residency in Australia. This meant we lost our ability to provide accommodation and support to others in Moresby. When Dudley returned home to restart his work he depended on his family for accommodation support in the city.
Living with relatives may extend into the long term if both the hosts and the ‘guests’ are happy with the arrangements. It may be a temporary arrangement where people move between their relatives’ homes, taking their entire families with them until they are in a position to secure their own place and start providing accommodation for others. Oeser (1969) also noted how urban women living in a suburb in Hohola expressed disquiet towards having too many long stay visitors in their homes. This mobile residential pattern is a common part of urban sociality in Moresby and was also earlier noted by Strathern (1975) among Hagen Migrants.

Reflective Memory 4 also provides insights into the kinds of tensions that arise over houses in Moresby as shared familial resources in the city. Shared housing is an ongoing process between kin who have unequal access and rights to urban housing and land. The tensions that inevitably arise from overcrowding and financial stress also threaten the traditional ethos of inclusion in social groups based on lineage. In this way neo-liberal forms of urban housing in Moresby such as renting and mortgage payments, come into tension with a moral valuation placed on a welcoming disposition in relation to one’s kin in one’s home.

Strained relationships often trigger the decisions of some families to move to the settlement. Most people I interviewed had previously lived in the formal part of the city and moved into the settlement after experiencing housing problems which included unaffordable rents, being evicted by landlords, defaulting on mortgage payments or being asked to leave a relative’s home. Several people lost their accommodation when they
ceased to work for the government, or when they lost their jobs (Table 5.2). People recognised ATS settlement as a place for *Oro* people in the city and in this way it provided a safety net for people. The following responses by Rowan Nelson and Luke to their housing problems illustrate this;

*I was living as a caretaker in a house in Moresby with my family when the landlord decided to evict me and gave me a day to move out. The next day I said to myself, ‘It’s alright, ATS is there. There are Oro people there. I will go there’. So I hired a car and I took our belongings in three loads and left them near my Aunt’s home in the settlement. She observed me coming and said, ‘this is a true man coming.’ So she went to her brother and told him, ‘See the child has come, see how he has come. He’s a strong man. Let’s give him a block of land’. That is how they allocated me a piece of land near where they were living.*

*Paraphrased from interview notes and transcript.*

*From 1992 up to 1996 Luke and his family faced housing problems and moved between his wantoks’ houses. Then he heard that a settlement had been established for Oro people living in Moresby. He planned to join the many other Oro people who were flocking into the settlement. In 1996 he approached the Tufi Ethnic Group committee that had been established under the Oro Community Development Association and he was allocated some land.*

*Paraphrased from interview notes and transcript.*

The move into the settlement took place after people exhausted various options for accommodation. Like Luke, Joshua who was a guest in his cousin’s home, and Sharon, who was chased out of a relative’s home, both found refuge in the settlement,

*We were thinking of where we would go when the house we were living in became so full. I realised that even if they let us live in the yard it was my cousin’s home and land. It was not my house. I kept thinking where we could go to be free and move around. We heard that these people were selling land to Oro people so...*
we came up here. It was big talk amongst the community and meetings were going on at 5 Mile area.

Joshua, ATS settlement, 2013.
Paraphrased from interview notes and transcript.

My children and I were chased out of the house we were living in. We went to Popondetta and stayed with my in-laws for six months and then to Tufi for another six months. I felt very bad about this and don’t think I will ever live with that family in Moresby again. These experiences drove us to come and live here at ATS. I did not go and ask people for accommodation.

Sharon, ATS settlement, 2013.
Paraphrased from interview notes and transcript.

In another example, Viola, now elderly, moved into the settlement soon after it was established in the mid-1990s.

After my father died in 1992 we stayed with his brother in Gerehu. But then we had a big kros na pait (serious and violent dispute) over some assets in the house and there was a big argument. The dispute lasted for some time and we tried to resolve it but this was not possible so in the end we left and went to live with my tambu meri [TP: female affine] in her home. But I have a big family and she too has a big family so it was difficult to live together. Eventually in 1997 we heard that the Oro community were getting a block here so we left Erima and came up to ATS.

Viola, Tufi woman living at ATS, 2013.
Paraphrased from interview notes and transcript.

**The choice to live simply**
For a few people, living in the settlement was a lifestyle choice. Matthew is a senior public servant whose salary package means he could afford to live in a rented house in Moresby. He and his wife explained their decision to live in the settlement as opposed to living in isolation in a rented house in formal Moresby:

*I like to live simply. This is the way I want to be. I want to be with people. Because living in high covenant places we are isolated*
from people. I want to live among people. I feel more comfortable living among people than isolated. I find that people who live in isolation are greedy, they have a lot of problems and they pretend. It is good for their children’s education. They confine children and educate them so they will be someone one day. We think education is important for the children but then we like living with people. How people will talk about you? How good you are and all those issues? It is when you are always staying with people. So caring and sharing becomes every day thing. And that’s the way you live and you be part of the community or part of the society. We are also more secure here.

Matthew, ATS Settlement, 2013.
Paraphrased from interview notes and transcript.

Matthew and his wife expressed a choice to live a simpler lifestyle than the one on offer in the city. They also express an egalitarian ethos that is already quite common among the Tufi in the city. They also express a prevailing sentiment that living in ‘isolation’ or in an exclusive state is not reflective of real Papua New Guinean ways. It is also a political statement against those who are able to afford the high rental and mortgage prices in Moresby. Although progress is desired it should not come at the expense of one’s own people. It is not good form to flaunt prosperity. This sentiment resonates with other ethnographies of Oro and Tufi society (for example: Barker 2008: 68). Instead, looking after family and others and being seen to do so will determine ‘how people talk about you’ and ‘how good you are’ in the eyes of others. Yet, living simply also made financial sense because among other issues, Matthew’s choice meant that they were able to afford other important things like paying for their daughter’s university fees and sending money home regularly.
Table 5.2: Previous places of residence and reasons for moving into ATS Settlement.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Previous place of residence</th>
<th>Number of interviewees</th>
<th>Main reasons for moving into the settlement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Moresby – renting a flat or house (brothers and sisters share renting)</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Could not afford to rent, Eviction, Chose to live in the settlement rather than rent, Lost job</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moresby – living with relatives</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Overcrowding, Conflict with relatives, Asked to leave house, House unavailable (sold, burnt down etc.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moresby – company or government house</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Stopped working, Lost job, Retrenched or retired</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marriage between resident of settlement (child of pioneer migrant) and non-resident</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Marriage + adult children of pioneer settlers establishing own homes with non-resident spouses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moresby – mortgage on house</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>House repossessed by bank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In another settlement in Moresby – renting housing in another settlement</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Decided to make savings by moving to Oro settlement and establish own home</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Village</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Visiting children in Moresby</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total 32

Source: Author’s fieldwork questionnaire, 2013.

Tufi women moving into the settlement
Despite the stated OCDA criteria for accessing land and inclusion into the settlement which seemingly privileged Oro men, in practice the situation is quite different. Among the thirty two households I interviewed, five of the couples that comprised the householders, involved a Tufi woman married to an ‘outsider’ man where the Tufi woman initiated the move into the settlement (Table 5.3). A further six couples comprising a marriage between a Tufi woman
and an ‘outsider’ man were also living in the households that were interviewed (Table 5.3). In some ways this reflects traditional practices that have enabled women to access customary land through various kinship relationships. Indeed, these urban Tufi women accessed land in the ATS settlement based on their association with Oro and Tufi groups. However, their stories contrast from accounts of women’s access and rights to land in traditional PNG society, in the way that their decisions and responses arose from conflicts over housing in the urban context. They also differ in the way they took a leadership position, as ‘founders’ of the land, in relation to their spouse and other male kin.

To see this contrast, it is important to note that in many traditions of Oro Province, including the Tufi coastline, women generally had access to land via their fathers, husbands or brothers. Among Orokaiva, Schwimmer (1973: 97) and Bashkow (2006: 41) noted the divergence between the theoretical idea of ‘patrilineal ideology’ (Schwimmer 1973: 97) and actual practices relating to land transactions. Schwimmer (1973: 95-106) detailed the multiple ways by which land was transferred from a man to his daughter or sister and through her to her husband’s clan. In the Tufi region, G necchi-Ruscone (1991) among Korafe, and Barker (2008: 48; 82) among Maisin noted that land may be gifted to a woman from her father or brother. Elsewhere in PNG similar practices regarding women’s rights to land exist. For example among Duna, where land tenure is based on patrilineal systems women have always had access rights to land and moreover people can claim land through both parents (Haley 2002). Similarly, among Gende a woman’s children may access her clan land through participation in various exchange rituals (Zimmer 1985: 175). In Manus
Province, a woman may also be gifted land by her father or she may inherit her father’s land if he has no sons. In turn she may transfer that land to others\textsuperscript{34}.

Table 5.3: Marriage partner who initiated the move to secure land at ATS. 
\(n\) = the number of couples based on available data.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Couples heading Household unit</th>
<th>Couples being accommodated by a household living in the settlement</th>
<th>Total number of couples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Both Tufi or Oro</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tufi man married to a ‘outsider’ woman</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tufi woman married to an ‘outsider’ man</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Non-Oro’ kin of a ‘outsider’ wife spouse</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total number of couples</strong></td>
<td><strong>30</strong></td>
<td><strong>19</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single, widowed or divorced</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total respondents</strong></td>
<td><strong>32</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Author’s fieldwork questionnaire, 2013.*

Relatively less is known about how women access land in urban settlements. Zimmer-Tamakoshi (1998: 199-200) describes the important role a woman played in facilitating a number of her kin to move into an urban settlement in Goroka. Oeser (1969) noted that women living in the Hohola suburb in Moresby

\textsuperscript{34} Author’s observations.
in the 1960s retained their rights to traditional land by participating in social obligations. The following three case studies involving Shirley, Bertha and Sally, reveal rather specific insights for women’s experiences of problems with housing and their experiences of securing land and housing in the urban context.

Shirley

*Shirley is married to a man from the Central Province. They owned a house in the city but sold it in 2005 in order to return to Tufi because they were concerned for their then teenage sons who appeared to be influenced by criminals near the suburb they lived in. In Tufi they experienced ongoing conflict with her siblings who insisted that her husband pay her bride price in return for land to build a house or to make gardens. This conflict occurred despite the fact that her older brothers in Moresby had supported and encouraged her to return home. Unable to reconcile with her siblings in Tufi she and her family returned to Moresby where they lived in a rented house with her married daughter in another settlement. Realising that they could save some money, Shirley approached her cousin in the ATS settlement and he arranged for her to access a block of land. She gave some money for her tambu to help her clear her allocated block of land. They built a makeshift shelter from canvas and offcut timber. Her brothers contributed K300 and bought some roofing iron.*

Soon after Shirley’s family moved to ATS she arrived home one day to find her brother and his family with their belongings at her canvas shelter. His wife had argued with the friend that they had been living with in a rented flat in Hohola and had called him at work and insisted that they move out of the shared house. With nowhere else to go they borrowed a work truck and brought their belongings to Shirley’s place. Shirley had no choice but to tell them to build a canvas shelter several metres from hers until they found some land. She noted that her husband, who is not from Oro is the head of the household but she is the owner of the block because it was: ‘through me that we came into ATS. If he was himself he won’t come into ATS’.
She also said if her brothers wanted to build a house they must obtain their own block. They were trying to get their own block but they have been advised that they should not buy land as no one owns the land. They should only compensate whoever is offering land for the hard work they did to plant things like banana, fruit, flowers, trees, or build the house.

Shirley, ATS Settlement, 2013. 
Paraphrased from interview notes and transcript.

**Bertha**

Bertha is married to an ‘outside’ man. They used to live in one of the suburbs with some relatives. In 2005 Bertha and her mother decided that they wanted a place of their own to stay so she approached a cousin in ATS settlement who helped to arrange access to a block of land. She moved in and built a canvas shelter before building a small house from off-cut timber. However, after a dispute with her brother’s wife she moved from the area that she initially settled on. She explained:

After the argument, I got permission from my cousin to move to this spot. I initially got three blocks there. One block was for my brother, one for my father and one for me. But when I had a conflict with my tambu (in-law) I decided to leave because my brother told me that he was the founder of the land. But I was the founder of the block and they all came under me. When he slapped me on the face I was so pissed off that I moved away to show him that he will have to look after our parents. But he never did take care of them and he took off back to live in town.

Bertha, ATS settlement, 2013. 
Paraphrased from interview notes and transcript.

**Sally**

Sally is also married to a non-Oro Province man. Her father is a Tufi man and her mother is from Milne Bay. Her parents were divorced. For most of her childhood she grew up among her mother’s people. Prior to moving to ATS settlement they lived with her husband’s parents in Moresby but after many conflicts with his family they decided to try and rent a small room for K150 per fortnight. They sent
their daughter to the village to live with Sally’s mother’s brother and kept their infant son with them. But they could not afford the rent and send money for their daughter’s upkeep. In 2010 Sally decided to ask her father’s brothers at ATS settlement for a place to stay. They were granted permission to build a small house near her uncle’s house. When her husband’s parents discovered that they were living in a settlement, they took their grandson away. Sally talks about the difficulties she faces with her in-laws whenever she tries to access her son.

Sally, Resident, ATS settlement, 2013.
Paraphrased from interview notes and transcript.

The three case studies all exhibit mobility in the housing patterns in the urban context and a response to conflict in various relationships. These situations reflect the kinds of difficulties that many women experience in Moresby. They must support their brothers and parents who still make decisions over traditional matters. They must also support their husbands’ social obligations. At the same time they are expected to display humility, harmony, generosity and affinity to both theirs and their husband’s families while attending to all the chores required of them and if possible contribute what small earnings they make. A similar situation is discussed by Zimmer-Tamakoshi (1998: 204-206) among urban Gende women who, regardless of their educational or employment status, were subjected to ill treatment by in-laws and husbands. Although things are changing many women still face these hardships.

The move by these Tufi women into the settlement also created opportunities for other family members, particularly husbands and brothers, to access land in the settlement. This is a key contrast to traditional PNG society. The land the women accessed was not ‘gifted’ by a male relative, nor were the women positioned as mediating relationships between men; for example between her
son and her brother. Rather, in all these cases, the women were the leaders themselves who initiated the processes to access land and were the primary actors as the ‘founder of the block’. Bertha’s argument with her brother and his wife shows that even though she is the ‘founder’ of the land her authority over it is disputed. By moving so her brother could take the land she insisted that he resume responsibility for their aging parents. When I interviewed her, her brother had moved back into the city and she was still responsible for their parents. This demonstrates her tenacity and leadership at surviving the settlement and not returning to the city (Chapter 6).

In Shirley’s case we see her juggling her brother’s and her husband’s potential interests in the land. Shirley was a relative newcomer and her house still only consisted of a canvas make-shift shelter with roofing iron. Shirley’s distinction between herself as the ‘owner’ of the block and her brothers who must at some point establish their own block again reflected her claim to authority over the land that she won. People’s access to land through kin is not a guaranteed claim to the same land that their kin already occupy. Although people acknowledged and appreciated their mutual kinship ties and collective identity, they also emphasised self-reliance and independence. People were expected to forge their own access to land by negotiating on their own terms with anyone who is willing to part with a piece of land.

This ‘Oro’ identity in which Shirley situates herself as the person who accessed land in the ATS settlement, and hence as the ‘owner’ of the land, relates to the notion that the ATS settlement is viewed as a place that is available to anyone that is from Oro province living in the city. It is an important point for
understanding the Oro formulation of ATS settlement as a social safety net. It is important therefore that ATS settlement be understood within this broader urban Oro narrative. Sally’s case represents the perspective of a younger woman whose parentage is half Tufi. Her strained relationship with her in-laws and her financial constraints led her to invoke her social connection to her father’s family in the settlement even though she has grown up among her mother’s family. In the process, she has further estranged herself from her in-laws who have taken her son away.

5.4 Social relationships with family in the city

People maintained strong relationships even after they have parted ways in terms of shared housing. This is important even if relationships appear to be strained by inequality arising over the exercise of power and control over housing as a resource. Over half of the people I interviewed maintained close social relationships with their kin in the city (Table 5.4). Several families actively straddled the divide between the settlement and the city. For example, during my fieldwork one of the older Tufi men fell very sick. He and a number of his family went to stay with a relative in the city so he could access the hospital for treatment. People also moved into the city during the Tufi Soccer Tournament to ‘camp’ in the home of a club leader. People also commonly stayed over at a haus krai to pay respects to the deceased, only returning to the settlement after the deceased was buried (Chapter 10).

Perhaps the most important reason for maintaining ongoing strong social relationships with kin in the town is the recognition that there is a mutual need for each other in order to survive in the city. Although they are in a poorer
position when they move into the settlement, people also know that in the longer term their currently wealthier family members will need their support. In this way, social inequality in terms of social power within the urban kin network is rebalanced.

Wealthier kin recognise that their current good fortune in affording a house will likely end when they stop working. Given the immense pressures for other social obligations (for example see Chapter 10) it is common for many people not to save for a mortgage. As Matthew’s case study earlier also highlights saving and affording a mortgage is a sign of isolation. So the ongoing relationships between kin in the settlement and in the city reflect this value placed on equality. This relationship dynamic is similar to the way that Orokaiva migrants remain socially close to their village based kin in anticipation of future need (Bashkow 2006: 217-220). From the perspective of some residents of ATS settlement the potential support that they may offer for their relatives living in town is not immediately clear. As one resident points out in relation to a wealthy professional who had approached her for land: *They are ‘big people’. They get land but they don’t come again for ten years. Why would they want land if they don’t want to settle here?’*
### Table 5.4: Social relationships between ATS families and other families in the city n=33, the number of households observed or interviewed.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Extent of relationships with family and friends who live in ‘formal’ Moresby</th>
<th>Number of respondents</th>
<th>Types of interaction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| **Strong** social relationship with one or more households in formal residential zone of Port Moresby | 17 | • Has an immediate relative (parent, sibling or child) living in a ‘formal’ residential zone of Port Moresby  
• Talked about going to relatives and highly paid friends for support on a regularly basis that they consider important in monetary and social terms.  
• Regular and direct interaction. At least fortnightly interactions involving sharing of income, food, accommodation, childcare, social interaction, accommodation to access health care, accommodation for child to attend school, attendance at and financial contributions to haus krai, participation in Tufi soccer tournaments and camps of Tufi tournaments. |
| **Weak** social relationship with one or more households in formal residential zone of Port Moresby | 16 | • Respondent indicated only occasionally approaching a relative to seek help and emphasised local support from neighbours, family and friends within the settlement.  
• Had kin in other settlements or villages accessible by road.  
• Relationships with people in the city are accessed through another person within ATS  
• No longer visited and relied on help within the settlement |
| **Total** | 33 |

*Source: Rooney, 2013, fieldwork household questionnaire, kinship data and observable patterns.*
However, as the following statement from one informant suggests, some residents of ATS settlement were aware of the important position they held in relation to their richer family members:

*Out there in the city there’s no land. You go and apply you won’t get it because all the land is taken up. For this reason many ‘big people’ are now seeing that they will one day walk out of their jobs so they come and help the settlement associations because in this way they may one day access land in ATS and will eventually end up owning something for ourselves.*

*Resident of ATS settlement, 2013.*
*Paraphrased from interview notes and transcript.*

During my fieldwork I also met a few professionals in the city who mentioned that they had a block in the settlement and visited it periodically. Two of the participants I interviewed who lived in the settlement previously held senior positions in the public service while their brothers lived in the settlement. When they stopped working they relocated to the settlement. In this way we see how ‘big people’ hold land in the settlement as a safety net for when they leave their jobs.

These brothers deployed a familial housing strategy that involved the city and the settlement over a period of time. One family member established residence in the settlement, while the other remained in the city for as long as possible. In this way their collective families enjoyed the benefits of access to both the formal city and to the settlement. Eventually, when life in the city became unaffordable the working brother moved into the settlement to join the family members who had already established long term residence. This can be seen in the following example,
In anticipation of moving into the settlement at some point, Simon secured a block with his brother while he was working as a senior public servant. He was able to do this because his brother was one of the first people to move into the settlement and had allocated a piece of land for him. He would visit his block on weekends and move between the block and his house that was provided by the government. When he was retrenched in 2010 the government gave him four months to secure alternative accommodation. His brother, who was already living in the settlement, brought him and his family to the settlement. This was an easier process because they had already been coming and going over many years. Simon notes,

‘I knew I would eventually leave my job and have no accommodation so when my brother settled here we got a block because if you are working and when you retrench or you resign you will be moved out of the government house. So when I did leave my job I knew we had a block here so we just packed our things and came. While you are in a job you have to prepare for these things. Anything can happen at any time.’

Resident of ATS settlement, 2013.
Paraphrased from interview notes and transcript.

Sometimes the relationships are close but show signs of tension as families struggle to help each other. In the following case study, a single mother draws support from both her adult sons but expressed solidarity with her son in the settlement:

Cindy works as a cashier in a shop in the city but her income barely covers the costs of her family over the fortnight period. She is lucky because one of her sons works and lives in an apartment in the city with his family. Whenever he can he provides some support. Every fortnight Cindy calls him to make sure that he buys some food for her and her younger children who live with her. But in the week preceding our interview, he had not returned her call. She told me that she expected him to help her but when he does not call her there was not much she could do. On the other hand if her other adult son who is also working, grumbles that his brother is not helping she tells him not to get upset and reminds him that, ‘How they (her other son and his family) live is their problem. We still have to survive so we have to look after ourselves.’
Cindy was very proud of her both her sons’ successes and although she respected that her son in the city might want some independence from his obligation to support her, she also recognised also that he might one day need a place in the settlement. Anticipating this future likelihood she has reserved some land near her house for him. Despite this particular occasion, Cindy managed very amicable relationships with both her sons while she established herself in her new job and newfound independence. Between hers and their homes she managed to keep her children fed and in school.

Cindy, ATS settlement, 2013.
Paraphrased from interview notes and transcript.

For other people, especially those that were chronically unemployed, elderly or ailing it was harder to retain strong social relationships and this depended how strong the relationships were. Sixteen of the families that I interviewed appeared to have a weaker social relationship with kin or friends living in Moresby (Table 5.4). Some people only occasionally visited relatives in other parts of the city to ask for help. For a few people it was evident that they were no longer able to access family relationships beyond the settlement. This is the case for people like Viola:

By 2013 Viola’s relationships with her Tufi kin living in town had waned; she was elderly and had been unwell for some time. Her husband was in Tufi and unable to return because they did not have the money to buy his tickets. They were among those that were unemployed and totally reliant on their adult children or others in the community for food and day to day care and needs. She only very occasionally visited relatives in town. Her extremely low income meant that she could not afford the bus fare to visit town. She occupied a marginal position within the settlement and in relation to relatives in town.

Viola, ATS settlement, 2013.
Paraphrased from interview notes and transcript.
5.5 Conclusion
Moresby’s shortage of affordable housing is endemic. Reflecting the experiences of many of its residents, the housing problems faced by Tufi living in Moresby occur over a number of years. The primary origin from which interviewees and their spouses moved into the settlement is the city and not directly from their village. Thus, while rural-to-urban migration is certainly a major factor driving the growth of urban settlements, other factors such as expensive housing markets and population growth are important.

While a person’s decision to move to ATS settlement suggests the ‘breakdown’ of kinship relations and ‘social safety nets’, in that they are no longer able to live with relatives in the city, it is an important element in reshaping the social life among Tufi. A person’s move to the settlement provides access to the settlement for the very family that they are no longer able to live with. ATS settlement emerges as a safety net in terms of housing and provides families with renewed independence. This also enables them to re-establish themselves in relation to wealthier kin, and to regenerate an egalitarian ethos. Thus, although the move to ATS settlement means that day to day experiences of residents of ATS are marked by a closer proximity to poverty, vulnerability, and violence, the social dynamic that emerges also binds rich and poor family members together in new power and social dynamics. The stories of women’s decisions and experiences of accessing land in the settlement reveal important gendered dimensions of housing strategies in the city. In particular, women centrally shape, influence and challenge the narrated Tufi and Oro identity, social structure and custom in Moresby in order to achieve their desired family
outcomes. In this context women apply themselves as leaders and founders of land in relation to their male family members.

By opting to reside in informal and low cost land tenure and housing arrangements, and engaging with their intimate network of kinship relations, residents of ATS settlement are able to reposition themselves from a point of being excluded from the prohibitively expensive land and housing market into one of inclusion, albeit contested, in a settlement context.

In the next two Chapters, I turn my attention to the life of residents in a Moresby informal settlement. In Chapter 6 I look at the challenges of holding on to land tenure after people move to the settlement. In Chapter 7 I examine how settlers access water and education services as residents of a settlement.
CHAPTER 6. ACQUIRING, HOLDING AND TRANSACTING LAND

6.1 A changing space
Once people decide to move out of the city and into the settlement, they discover that acquiring and holding onto land in the settlement is fraught with tension. Aspirations of ownership over a plot of land are balanced with the more pressing realities of accessing land in order to build a shelter. Criminals, outsiders, property developers, new kinship relationships and, well to do citizens buying land, contribute to these tensions. Tufi people’s orientation within the dominant Oro flavour of the settlement and in familial relationships that provided the impetus to seek refuge in the settlement is moderated by the need for pragmatic daily interactions with outsiders who come from all over the country. Increasing land values and population growth intensify land pressure in the settlement. As existing residents sell land to make money they unsettle the social dynamics.

Land issues in ATS settlement reflect spatial-temporal processes in Moresby. Reflecting important historical periods in PNG and the responses of my interviewees, this Chapter has three main sections. The decade during which

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35 The formulation of the presentation and arguments of this Chapter draws on a reading of Harvey’s (2006, 2008, 2009) conceptualisation of space-time which builds on inter-alia, Lefebvre (1991). Harvey (2006: 273) notes that ‘Processes do not occur in space but define their own spatial frame. The concept of space is embedded in or internal to processes. This very formulation implies that, as in the case of relative space, it is impossible to disentangle space from time. We must therefore focus on the relationality of space-time rather than of space in isolation.’ He goes further to say ‘there is […] bound to be a liminality about spatiality itself because we are inexorably situated in all three frameworks simultaneously, though not necessarily equally so’. The three frameworks he argues are absolute, relative and relational space.

36 Harvey (2006, 2008, 2009) developed the widely acknowledged argument that space is absolute, relative and relational. Furthermore, these notions of space are inseparable from time and are in constant dialectic relationships with each other.
the settlement was established (mid-1990s to 2002) is examined in Section 6.2. During the following decade (2003-2012), PNG experienced a relatively stable and prosperous period which I examine in Section 6.3. This prosperity translated into increased land values in the city and the settlement. Demographic changes during this decade also changed the Oro identity of the settlement and this influenced the land dynamics. During my fieldwork in 2013 it was evident that the underlying political settlement and moral economy of the settlement was being threatened by the increasing role of money in land transactions. I examine the moral economy of land (Polanyi 2001; Scott 1976; Thompson 1971) in the ATS settlement in 2013 in Section 6.4. The moral economy of land in the settlement is based on the idea that it was established as a safety net for Oro people living in the city. This was underpinned by the collective political settlement reached with customary landowners and members of parliament. I conclude the Chapter in Section 6.5 with a brief discussion about how the key findings contribute to the existing literature on urban settlement land in PNG.

6.2 ‘Pioneer’ space: 1993 to 2002

A turbulent decade
When first established, ATS settlement was located on the fringes of the city and had little commercial value. The formal Defence Force ATS compound was established in 1990 (Figure 6.1 and 6.2). During the 1990s the country faced serious governance, economic management and law and order problems. Up until 1994 it adopted a hard kina policy which buffeted the cash based livelihoods of urban residents by making imported basic goods such as food
relatively cheaper (McGregor and Bourke 2009). In 1994 the Government floated the Kina which led to high inflation. Two years earlier, deregulation of the labour market resulted in the removal of the differential between the rural and urban minimum wage. Both were now set equivalent to the rural minimum wage of K22.96 per week. For urban wage earners this meant their minimum wages dropped from K61.60 per week to K22.96 per week37 (Levantis 2000). These factors meant that between 1995 and 1998 real wages of low skilled and middle level occupations fell by 27.8% and 17.9%, respectively, while real wages of high skilled occupations increased by 7.8% (Levantis 2000: 55)38.

Figure 6.1: Excavation to build the Defence Force ATS compound, 1990.

Source: Photograph by Michelle Rooney of Post Courier newspaper article, Tuesday 12 June 1990.

37 The changes also saw the removal of minimum rates applied to different skill categories to a system in which a national minimum wage applied to all workers and were subject to negotiations between workers and employers. The labour market adjusted slowly to this deregulation and only a few people were being paid less than K40 per week. On average the drop in nominal wages was minimal (Levantis 2000: 55).

38 Levantis (2000) defines low-skilled workers as security guards, waiters, house keepers, domestic helpers, labourers, cleaners and gardeners. Middle level workers are drivers, machine operators, storemen, packers, trades people, sales people, clerks and receptionists. High skilled workers include supervisors, technicians, professionals and managers (Levantis 2000: 55-56).
Air squadron to get world class transport base

By BLAISE NANGOI

WORK is underway to build a world class Air Transport Squadron (ATS) base for the Papua New Guinea Defence Force at Jackson’s Airport, Port Moresby.

In the last few weeks visitors to the airport will have seen large earth moving vehicles, those seen only in large mining operations, moving earth to prepare the site to relocate the air base, currently located at the old Lae airport in Morobe Province.

The project is being managed by a Joint Engineer Project Management TEAM (JEPMT) between engineers from the Australian Defence Forces and the PNGDF.

Funding is also a joint effort under the Defence Corporation Program where the Australian Government is to pump in A$17 million and the PNG Government K2 million.

A construction tender has already been let to Hornbrooks for just over K11.6 million for all the construction works at the site.

This however does not include the building of a Headquarters building for the ATS, a Field Training Centre and a building to house base staff workers, a passengers’ lounge and a cargo handling and storage area.

Source: Photograph by Michelle Rooney, Post Courier article, Tuesday 12 June 1990.

Figure 6.2: Article announcing construction of the Defence Force ATS base, 1990.
PNG politics was regularly disrupted by votes of no confidence. PNG’s Bougainville Province was gripped by civil war caused by landowner dissatisfaction with the benefits distribution, and environmental impacts of the Bougainville Copper Mine. The closure of the Bougainville Copper Mine in 1990 resulted in a loss of 20% of PNG government’s revenue and consumed much of the focus of PNG’s political leadership, including its military and police resources. The devaluation of the Kina and loss of revenue from the closure of the mine presented chronic macroeconomic and fiscal challenges for the government (Dinnen et al. 1997; Dorney 1998; May 2001). It was a time when the government defaulted on many commitments, including salary payments for public servants, causing the business environment and the economy to decline. Services such as education, health and basic transport infrastructure declined rapidly. In 1995, the Parliament passed the Organic Law on Provincial and Local Level Governments. This law was meant to address the decline in service delivery by decentralising powers but in reality the lack of capacity to implement these laws only led to further confusion in administrative processes.

Amendments to various laws governing the National Capital District (NCD) have occurred since 1975. In 2001 the National Capital District Commission (NCDC) Act was passed which established the NCDC as a corporation with government membership comprising the NCDC and the Motu Koitabu Council. This Act established Local Level Governments alongside the existing three open level electorates of Moresby North East, Moresby South, and Moresby North West. It also allowed for a representative of settlements to be a member of the commission (NCDC 2013). Crime was endemic and curfews were a regular and
contentious feature of Moresby life during the 1990’s (May 2001). Media reports of criminal activities in Moresby portrayed the settlements as crime infested and poor places.

**Pioneers and abundant land**
Amidst this turbulence, in 1995 the ATS settlement was established (Chapter 4). In 2013, its residents who moved in during this earlier period were referred to as ‘pioneers’. The hardships faced by ATS settlement’s ‘pioneer’ residents during this earlier period mirrored the city and country’s difficulties, especially in respect to law and order. Raskols, opponents competing for the same land, people moving between the settlement and the safety of town, fighting, and fragile shelters were all the markers of the endurance it took to live at ATS settlement. Nelson’s case illustrates this:

_In the early days when everybody started rushing into the settlement I got a block beyond the current area that is occupied. We settled anywhere and people from different languages just mixed in with each other. This place was all bushes. Raskols (TP: criminals) started attacking and fighting us. Sometimes when we were under attack we found that other settlers who were not wantoks (TP: kin, relative, person who speaks same language) or from the same place would not help us. They were also worried about their families and only guarded their areas. We ended up fighting on our own. That’s why we retreated to settle with wantoks. Now you will see that some blocks are made up of several families living together just so they can stand together and fight. In the end I got scared and left the settlement. When I returned in 2000 I came to my sister who was living among wantoks. They gave me this land which was their garden land. I was like a buffer between my wantoks and others. We tussled over the land - those other people pushed the land boundary, but I pushed back. Now you can see that line of flowers forms a boundary without a doubt. Life is tough here. To live in a block, build a house and stay here you have to be very strong. People take the canvas or the wind blows it away. Many people find it so hard that they go back to live with wantoks who have houses in town where it is safe. They leave the place but then move back. You will face opposition and challenges. Your opponents are also scared so they will run away. It has its good_
sides as well as its bad sides but you have to persevere and stay. That’s how I came to settle here.

Nelson, resident, ATS settlement, 2013.
Paraphrased from interview notes and transcript.

Nelson’s case also shows that people weighed the risks of helping a neighbour or guarding one’s own area. The relative safety of residing in the collective arrangements of the settlement was also weighed against the safety of living in formal areas. In addition to the issues discussed in Section 5.4, another reason why people maintained good relationships with people in town was because if things went wrong in the settlement they had somewhere safe to retreat to until they acquired the necessary resilience and confidence to remain in the settlement.

These were regular decisions as were the traumatic and pragmatic interactions with *raskols*. Jack, and his wife’s, story illustrates how Tufi interacted with *raskols* in a variety of ways:

*We moved into the settlement in 1997 with our children who were then young. Soon after we moved in some boys came and raided the house of another Tufi man who lives up the road. They had home-made guns. We don't know where they came from. They beat his wife and shot him with a gun. At that time our house was just a frame with no roofing iron or walls. We had wrapped canvas around the frame. I heard the gun shot and I came and stood on my veranda and told my wife and children to stay inside. I shouted, ‘Oh God we don’t have money. If someone dies tonight where are we going to get the money to send this body home?’ Then I heard the Tufi man call out to me, ‘Uncle! I'm dying’. I responded to him, ‘You will not die’. At the same time some of the other men in the community ran across to his house and brought him to our house and lay him on the veranda. There was blood spilling. I don’t know how he survived. As they were laying him down, the group of *raskols* surrounded our house. My tambu (TP: in-law) – my wife’s brother, whom I had told to build a shelter nearby, was also shot. They cut up his shelter and shot him in the head as he came outside. Somehow the bullets did not kill him. Both injured men*
lay on the veranda. I tried to shout at the raskols but they told me to shut up and they ran away. I asked one of the men to run up the road to a man who attended our church and ask him to bring his truck down to my house. He drove his truck down and he and some of the men took the two injured men to the hospital. They are raskol boys and men and they do this kind of work. There were many of them that night.

In those days sometimes when we sat here near our fireplace and would see raskols drive fast down this road. This road here belongs to them. When they stole a car they came speeding past up to the hills and back again – going ‘vroom vroom’ past us. They will come and stop over there and see our fire and one of them would walk over and ask us for fire and I would respond, ‘the fire is there’. He would then get a piece of burning firewood and return to the car and he and his friends would light their cigarettes. In those days we used to make gardens up behind the surrounding hills but other people started to move in so we no longer make gardens there. We have many such stories about the issues we have faced and the miracles that have occurred that have kept us alive. It is like that. Those things do not happen so much these days.

Paraphrased from interview notes and transcript.

By 2002 most of the surrounding land was still unoccupied (Figure 6.3). Despite the crime, people embraced the freedom of having access to abundant land and making a living off it through gardening, fishing at the beach a few kilometres away, foraging in the hills for wild yams, and accessing firewood. Like others, Luke and his wife Nelly initially established residency through the rubric of the OCDA and Tufi ethnic committee:

Initially Luke was allocated a piece of land to stay further down where another settlement block is currently located. A lot of people marked the blocks at the back road right up to nine mile and cloudy bay. But then bad people started to attack and chase them and they retreated back to where the rest of the group was. This

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39 In front of Jack and Juliet’s house is a dirt track passable by car that leads to the beach where Jack and other men go fishing. This track would require them passing through other settlements in the Six Mile and Six Mile rubbish dump area, crossing the Magi highway and arriving at coastline (Figure 1.2).
situation went on and on and eventually only those that persisted remained in the settlement.

_Luke and Nelly, ATS settlement, 2013._
_Paraphrased from interview notes and transcript._

Others recollected similar stories and emphasised how they ‘spilt blood’ and fought for the land which gave them a sense of claim in relation to newcomers who may take advantage of the established, relatively peaceful, norms in the settlement. It was they - the ‘pioneers’ - who suffered in order that the settlement now enjoys its current relative peace. While they recognised that newcomers were entering the settlement they were also firm that newcomers had to make the effort to maintain some form of peace. People took pride in letting me know that ATS is one of the better settlements.

![Figure 6.3: Satellite image of ATS showing area covered by settlement, 2000.](image)

Source: Google Earth, DigitalGlobe satellite image.
Figure 6.4: A ‘pioneer’ at the home she shares with seven family members.

Source: Photograph by Michelle Rooney, 2013.
6.3 Valuable land: 2003 – 2012

A decade of stability and service decline

Although governance, law and order problems, and the decline of services were chronic challenges, the decade 2003-2012 was a relatively politically stable period with sustained economic growth. In 2001, the Bougainville Peace Agreement was signed heralding a new chapter in PNG’s political history. The Somare led National Alliance party took over government in the 2002 national elections and remained in power until 2012 marking the first prolonged period of political stability since PNG’s independence in 1975. Members of parliament progressively granted themselves direct control of increasing amounts of electoral funds under the District Services Improvement Program. However, in its second term of government during 2007-2012, growing public concerns about the dominance of the executive government (May 2011) and serious allegations of corruption prompted public calls for Somare to step down. From 2011 to early 2012 PNG faced a Constitutional crisis when Somare and O’Neill concurrently held the position of Prime Minister⁴⁰. Civil protests about corruption and dissatisfaction with the National Alliance government occurred before the 2012 national elections. Peter O’Neil’s party (the People’s National Congress) won the highest number of seats in the national elections and formed a coalition government in 2012. The onset of a major international standard LNG project in the country was an important factor driving economic growth during this period. Development institutions and government officials

⁴⁰ Following months of public calls for Somare to step down in mid-2011 when he was admitted into a Singapore hospital for a serious illness, the parliament elected O’Neill as the Prime Minister. Uncertainty arose as to the legal requirements of the vacancy created by Somare’s prolonged illness and the fact that he did not appoint an acting Prime Minister. See May (2011) for a discussion.
both deliberated about how this project would transform PNG and support progress towards achieving development agendas such as the Millennium Development Goals.

In Moresby, crime remained a serious problem and, as elsewhere in PNG, public services such as education and health declined despite the economic performance (Howes et al. 2014). The sustained economic growth resulted in a boom in the formal property market in the city (Chapter 5). This attracted increased capital investments in the city and correspondingly the value of land in the city increased. Resonant with Harvey (2006, 2008, 2009), the increase in the price and numbers of investment style properties over the same period reflected the capitalisation of urban land and property (Table 5.1 and Figure 6.5)41.

Figure 6.5: Average sale prices and number of investment style properties.

Source: Compiled by Author from Post Courier Newspaper advertisements in the month of June.

41 These figures were earlier published in Rooney (2015b).
**Demographic change**

From Portion 698, during the 2000’s the area covered by the settlement had expanded considerably and covered a number of state land portions (Figure 1.3 and 6.8). This resulted from the influx of new residents but some of the growth of ATS settlement can also be attributed to second generation migrants reaching adulthood. With adulthood - and new marriages - a growing number of adults were either establishing new households or being hosted in existing settlement households (Table 6.1). Six households belonged to adult children of ‘pioneer’ residents who had grown up in the settlement and established their own households. Other adults, including adult children of household heads and their spouses, lived within the households surveyed (Table 6.1). Most of the younger generation of residents were born in Moresby, or in provinces other than Oro Province (Table 3.4 and 3.5)\(^{42}\). Many of the younger couples comprised inter-provincial marriages. This demographic and social change contributed to the acute pressure on land. Jonathan’s family’s experience illustrates this:

*Jonathan was born in Moresby. His father was from Tufi and his mother from elsewhere in the Oro Province. Like many people with Tufi ancestry his is considered from Tufi despite being born in Moresby. He moved into the ATS settlement in 1999 with his parents who were considered among the pioneer settlers. His parents established their home in the area known as ‘Tufi last block’. He has five sisters and two brothers who all grew up in the settlement. After his mother passed away his father returned to Tufi.*

*Jonathan and his siblings still live in ATS Settlement but now have their own families and children. Because of conflicts related to overcrowding*

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\(^{42}\) Contrast this demographic profile to Strathern’s (1975) study of Hagen migrants in Moresby, and Rew’s (1974) study of migrant workers in Moresby. Both studies focus on migration processes during the pre-independence period in which migrants were mainly men who arrived in Moresby seeking employment in the context of labour arrangements during the colonial period.
they had to secure additional land and are now spread out across the settlement. One of Jonathan’s sisters sought, and was granted permission from their maternal uncle to access some land to build a house. Jonathan and another brother moved with her and established their homes nearby. Many of Jonathan’s children and those of his siblings have reached adulthood too and several have established their own households in the settlement as well.

From a single household of nine people of Oro identity established in 1999, there are now nine separate households comprising Jonathan’s siblings and nieces and nephews. They are married to people from all over PNG. Jonathan’s sister, Lila is married to a man from East Sepik Province and has four young children. Another sister is divorced from her Daru husband and she lives with her adult children who have homes in the settlement. The Daru husband has established his own household within the settlement and has brought in his own Daru family. Jonathan’s own household is very crowded with eighteen people. His wife is from Gulf Province which is accessible by road from Moresby. A few of his in-laws and their families also live with them.

Paraphrased from interview notes and transcript.

Even those who had grown up in the settlement needed to negotiate a piece of land to live on. If they were fortunate enough to have a parent or family member who occupied a significant plot of land then this process was somewhat easier. For others the process was more complicated. In any case, available land had to be identified and negotiated with the land committee or with the household head that had a recognised claim on it.

From an outsider perspective, another resident, Rick stated, ‘I am an outsider married to a woman from Kokoda. But I have lived among this community for many years and now I am a trusted and respected leader’.

This resonated with the Governor of Oro’s statement in Chapter 3 (Field Notes 1). This also reflected the traditional practices of land in which affinal relationships formed the basis for accessing land (Chapters 4 and 5).
Table 6.1: Period of HH establishment in ATS settlement and marital status of occupants.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period of HH establishment</th>
<th>Number of households (HH)</th>
<th>Total People</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HH established in or before 2002 ‘Pioneers’</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HH established by an adult child who moved in with parent before 2002</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HH established between 2003 and 2013</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not known</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total HH</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Marital status</th>
<th>Number of households (HH)</th>
<th>Total People</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Husband</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wife</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total adults householders (a)</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married son of householder</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married daughter of householder</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wife of married son</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Husband of married daughter</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other married adult</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total married adults in household (b)</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unmarried son</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unmarried daughter</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other unmarried adult</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total unmarried adults in household (c)</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total adults (a + b + c)</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children under 18 years old</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number of people</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Author’s fieldwork questionnaire, 2013.
‘Big people’ (Chapter 4) buying the best land and building new houses on land with views.

In the past Tufi people enjoyed gardening in the area that is now occupied by newcomers.

Figure 6.6: Land being excavated near ATS settlement.
Source: Photograph by Michelle Rooney, 2013.

Figure 6.7: View from north of ATS settlement.
Source: Photograph by Michelle Rooney, 2013.

Figure 6.8: Aerial view of Moresby showing ATS settlement, 2002 to 2013.
Source: Google Earth satellite imagery.
Figure 6.9: Large gardens at the edge of ATS settlement.

Source: Photograph by Michelle Rooney, 2013.

Figure 6.10: Tufi woman in front of her garden located near her home.

Source: Photograph by Michelle Rooney, 2013.
6.4  Moral economy of frontier land: 2013

In 2013 even though the challenges of the previous decade still remained, Moresby exuded a sense of excitement. Visibly, it was cluttered with scaffolding and construction equipment for new roads and buildings. The new shopping complex, Vision City, completed in 2011 added a modern feel to the city. Moresby was also fast encroaching on ATS Settlement. Nearby hills were being excavated for more property and residential developments (Figure 6.6 and 6.8). As such, ATS Settlement was no longer on the fringes of Moresby. While the mainstream media reported on the contestation around land in this area (Chapter 4), local land dynamics within the settlement also reflected its increasing value. Unlike earlier years when people enjoyed gardening on the land beyond the settlement only a few households had small gardens near their homes (Field Notes 4; Figure 6.9 and 6.10).

**Money talks**
The residents of the ATS Settlement were fully cognizant that the land on which they lived had increased in value. No longer were they focussed upon maintaining relationships with customary landowners but instead many residents had begun directly selling land to make money. The sale of land threatened the established peace as evident in the following case study:

*When someone needs a block of land they might go through family. For example if one of my relatives staying in the city finds that the lifestyle in the city is too much or expensive then she or he might decide to move into the settlement. They might approach me, because I have a large block, and ask me to give them a piece of land or suggest a place for them to settle. I might offer them to come and stay on my block. That would be my decision not the land committee’s decision.*
But I will let the Tufi chairperson know that I have done this. The chairperson will then note that I have brought in another relative and she will then let the OCDA know and they will do some paper work so that the person is settled within the Tufi community. Maybe a fee of K30 or something might be paid. It is a piece of land that I let them live on but because we are not the customary landowners we might say that its state land so people are settling in there just to live and survive. In this way it becomes ‘their’ block.

But today money talks and people are just giving away land for five grand or whatever and these types of deals are bringing trouble. Someone may offer me money so that he or she can settle next to me. They will ask my children and me to consider accepting their offer of ten grand. Today people here are accepting this kind of money offer for land and they are just giving it away.

I am not selling my piece of land away for ten grand because I have several boys who have already secured it. Interested people should go and pay other people and settle. That person could be from another place and after he has settled for few months then the question arises about whether he will remain on good terms with us. In the long run we may bring more people in but this is also creating problems. So it is best to say no at the first place. So many people have offered to come and settle on our block but I just say no.

Informant, ATS settlement, 2013.
Paraphrased from interview notes and transcript.

This informant’s words show the changes that have occurred in the settlement in terms of the importance of money now being the currency to buy and sell land as opposed to the idea that land was available for Oro people facing hardship in the city. She noted the multiple pressures she faced, including outsiders who want to pay for land, her kin living in the city, and her own children.
One afternoon I accompanied Cristel on a walk around the northern periphery of the settlement. As we ventured further afield from her house which is located in the middle of the settlement, Tok Pisin or English replaced her Korafe. I noticed the houses were further apart and there were more and larger food gardens. We kept walking till we reached the top of the hill that marked the northern edge of the settlement. As we stood facing northeast, directly behind me was the settlement. To my left was the growing Malolo housing estate at 8 mile. To my right the hilly lightly forested land extended until it met the sea in the horizon. Below us was a gully where a few houses and gardens scattered the landscape. On the hills on the other side of the gully were a handful of well-built houses. I presumed these were the houses of a few ‘big people’ - senior bureaucrats and professionals who I had been earlier told had ‘bought’ the best land (Figure 6.7). In the horizon, was the Sogeri plateau (Figure 1.2). At this point we were at the ‘cold face’ of the city. In this part of the settlement, gardens were large and well-tended with tapioca, banana, pawpaw trees, yams and other garden produce (Figure 6.9). Cristel explained to me that here people were mixed and came from all over the country not just Oro. She pointed down to the gully and showed me the area where she and her husband previously had a garden. As if to symbolise a hopeful future, that day there was a rainbow in the sky (Figure 6.7) and I recall thinking that beyond where we stood may be the next place that residents of the ATS settlement may have to move if they are evicted. It will be they who will be the ‘outsiders’ moving into other peoples’ spaces.

People also attributed law and order problems to monetised land transactions with outsiders. About two months before commencing my fieldwork, a young Tufi man was murdered. When I commenced fieldwork his body was still in Moresby as police investigated his death and the community raised funds to repatriate his body to Tufi for burial. Although the full details of the murder were not known, and the dynamics I faced during fieldwork meant that it was difficult for me to directly ask about it, there was considerable talk that linked the murder to land. This is evident in this explanation by another informant:

43 The murder of the young Tufi man was a key topic throughout my fieldwork. Events and discussions that related to it were very important in providing me with insights into life for Tufi people in Moresby and the settlement.
It is because of land issues that the young Tufi man was killed recently. They settled some outsiders on land and this created problems. They had a dispute and the outsiders came and they killed him. We don’t know how much money the outsiders gave to them for the land and they settled. Where did that money go? Now they are asking everyone to help raise funds so that they can send his body home. But the community did not benefit from that money they made. This is the reason why many are not helping to send the young man’s body home.

It is not customary land. We are not the principle landowners so we cannot sell land. Whether we are living in other people’s land or whether it is State land we are here just for today. At any time we will be asked to pack and leave. They are wrong in giving the block away and charging ten to twenty thousand and then eating the money by themselves and when death comes they are asking the community to pay some money to help.

Informant, ATS settlement, 2013.
Paraphrased from interview notes and transcript.

By blaming those who were selling land, people were also asserting a moral value on their occupancy of the land that did not belong to them. Rather it was a temporary place of residence from which they could be evicted. People recognised that their access was based on the collective political settlement with customary landowners and politicians. The troubles they began experiencing were explained by a disintegration of the prevailing moral economy of land.

This situation contrasts with traditional debates about the moral economy of land which argue that traditional societies placed a moral value on land such that it was an inalienable part of social, economic and political life and therefore could not be sold (Polanyi 2001; Scott 1976). The moral economy argument is that the introduction of neo-liberal market economies treated land as a commodity that could be sold. This increasingly led to the exclusion and marginalisation of people. As people felt the hardships brought about by land
alienation and increasing marketization of traditional economies, the resulting protests (Thompson 1971; Scott 1976) or counter movements (Polanyi 2001) were evidence of this moral economy.

The establishment of the settlement (Chapter 4) and peoples’ movement into it (Chapter 5) could be interpreted as evidence that supports traditional theories of moral economy of land as argued by Polanyi (2001); Scott (1976) and Thompson (1971). That is, these could be interpreted as societal responses – implicit protests - against the broader marketization of land in the city and the absence of justness in housing prices (Thompson 1971).

More recently, some scholars have engaged with these traditional debates to demonstrate the saliences – and limitations - of these traditional moral economy theories in the complexities of contemporary institutions. For example, Edelman (2005) demonstrated that with increasing globalisation agrarian transnational movements are underpinned by traditional notions of the moral economy. At the same time, the nature of global agriculture requires these movements to engage in complex political and institutional settings. Arguing for greater nuance in theoretical debates on the intersections between moral and profit based economies; Zhang (2016) critiqued moral economy theories of land markets. He argued that both pre-modern and modern land economies had elements of both moral and material profit imperatives. Furthermore, he argued that in pre-modern societies, as the economic, and livelihood importance of land increased, this correspondingly raised the demand for realising its material value. This in turn implied that there was a lower moral imperative over land (Zhang 2016: 3). For example, in the case
where agriculture dominated an economy, there may be certain landholding interest groups with vested material, as opposed to moral, interests in land and will oppose alienation of land simply to protect their material interests (Zhang 2016: 4).

In the PNG context the political economy of land has evolved into contemporary practices, where customary landowners’ claims on their land enable them to bargain with resource developers and the state for compensation and benefits sharing claims. These claims on land are made in the hope that the benefits of resource developments will be realised in the resources areas (see Ballard 2013; Filer 2007; Jorgensen 2007 for discussions).

The case studies from ATS settlement presented above illustrate the case for an urban developing country context where land transactions are taking place outside both the customary land tenure system and the formal land market. They resonate with Zhang’s (2016) argument in that both moral and material values of land are evident in people’s land transactions. Also relevant to the ATS settlement context is another of Zhang’s arguments that an increasing number of households in both developed and developing countries are not dependent on land as the basis for their income. In this urban PNG informal settlement, issues such as waged labour and migration have worked to reinforce the separation between incomes – and therefore livelihoods - and land (Zhang 2016: 22).

ATS settlement illustrates aspects of the moral economy of land that are distinct from the traditional moral economy theories. Rather than being in opposition to the ‘market based economy’, the long held norms of the local
settlement rules and structures, based on Oro identity, entangle with the actual practices to form a local settlement land dynamic (See van Gelder 2013 for a discussion in the Latin American context). The moral economy of land was originally guided by the ‘Oro’ identity but by 2013 it was evident that these local norms contrasted markedly from the contemporary social practices in which money was important. Interestingly, what emerges is a ‘free market’ in the sense of unregulated land transactions taking place devoid of any state regulation. But this also has a damaging effect on the moral norms prevailing on the land as a safety net from the city’s unaffordable housing market.

Local authority
This apparent moral economy of land reflects the historical organisation of the settlement. From the above case studies it is evident that people were beginning to view decisions over land transactions as theirs rather than the OCDA’s. Changes were also afoot in the ways that people accessed and transacted land, diminishing the importance of coming in through the OCDA or other ‘Oro’ based mechanism such as kinship or relationships.

These changes not only challenged the existing political settlement based on a collective negotiation (Chapter 4) but also the local institutions such as OCDA which were established in the early days by the pioneering settlers. The OCDA drew its authority from the Oro Province identity and collective engagement and used to be the main way that people accessed land in the settlement.
Figure 6.11: A disputed plot of land sold by an Oro person to an outsider.

Source: Photograph by Michelle Rooney, 2013.
To reflect the waning authority of the OCDA to enforce the principle of accessing land through membership into the Oro association, many people I interviewed responded:

None of us has paid the fee this year. If the committee members want money they come and ask. If they don’t ask then we don’t pay

Informant, ATS Settlement, 2013.
Paraphrased from interview notes and transcript.

Moreover, it was difficult for the OCDA land committee to keep up with the new changes. One member of the committee explained that there was a waiting list of families who had requested land in the settlement because they were facing housing problems in the city. While some people waited to be allocated land by the land committee, others simply moved in so it was not possible to monitor all newcomers. Many residents allowed their family or friends to build a temporary canvas shelter near their home until land was found. Sometimes this kind of arrangement extended into the longer term if relationships remained on good terms. As one person stated:

my relatives who are just coming into ATS don’t have a block but because they want a place to live I tell them just put something rough nearby for the time until such time when they can move on to a new block

Keith, ATS settlement, 2013.
Paraphrased from interview notes and transcript.

This reflected an ethos of inclusion because people generally recognised that no one had an exclusive claim on land. People’s actions to allow their friends and family to enter the settlement, lends weight to the argument that land is transacted at the individual and the OCDA level through a moral economy
mode that first and foremost foregrounds need (Polanyi 2001; Scott 1976). The moral economy of land is also evident in the OCDA’s position. Although it appeared that the authority of local institutions was waning this was far from the case. The principle of providing a safety net for struggling city dwellers continued to be reflected in the way that the OCDA, OSEDA and other local institutions were called upon regularly to resolve issues in the settlement. It was evident that local associations like OCDA continued to have authority in mediating land and other disputes in the settlement. This is illustrated in the following account told to me by a representative of the OCDA:

A Tufi man sold his land to an outsider and left the settlement. When the outsider came in to settle others in the community did not know what was going on and this caused conflict and there was a fight. According to the OCDA representative, the Tufi man should have given the land back to the OCDA committee and told them that he is trying to dispose of the land. People could then express an interest in it. If the land committee agreed with whoever recommended the outsider to come and settle then he or she will be offered some land. Conditions such as a higher membership fee would be set for outsiders. The OCDA recognised that the risk with such local arrangements was that it did not have any title over the land. Without the land title there was nothing to sell.

The place was initiated for Oro people because of the hardships they were facing living in the city. Whoever is from Oro must not buy or sell the land and get the money. He or she may bring relatives into the settlement because the place is a transit place. People can move between the village and the settlement. Whenever there are problems people turn to the association to help resolve things. The problems created by the Tufi man selling land meant that the OCDA had to intervene and explain to the outsider that the land cannot be sold. Outsiders who don’t understand this were innocent because they did not know what was happening in here. But those that are bringing outsiders in were creating the problems. They were doing it because they are looking for money.

Informant, ATS settlement, 2013.
Paraphrased from interview notes and transcript.
In this case it is evident that not only are people in the settlement breaching the principle of a moral economy for land but also that outsiders who wanted land did not understand this principle and therefore thought they could simply buy land as a commodity and this led to tension with the community.

In another case reflecting the role of the OCDA, a representative of the OCDA explained to me the following:

*The OCDA settled a newcomer on a piece of land. However the man who already occupied the land next to it disagreed with this and forced the newcomer off the land by threatening violence. The OCDA representative had little choice but to let the newcomer build a small canvas shelter near his house until the committee could find alternative land. In the meantime the matter was raised during the local land mediation process. The existing occupant of the land was asked on what basis he acquired the land he occupied and the basis on which he disputed the newcomer’s occupancy of the nearby land. In response, he explained that he had arrived there first and the OCDA had allocated him the land. This raised the questions in the view of the OCDA representative about the man’s morality. In particular, how could he exclude someone in need of shelter from land that he himself had acquired through an OCDA vetted process based on a moral principle of inclusion?*

*OCDA representative, 2013.*
*Paraphrased from interview notes and transcript.*

These case studies show the moral valuation placed on land as a transit or social safety net for Oro people in Moresby. It also draws out the emphasis on moral responsibility that is being breached by Oro themselves.

Nonetheless, compared to the earlier days, as the settlement becomes more populated and as money is more important, it was more difficult to access land even when dealing with family. William’s case illustrates the difficulties that Tufi people who have only recently entered the settlement face:
William lost his middle management job with one of Moresby’s international hotels. His job came with an accommodation allowance which enabled him to rent a small flat for his family comprising his wife and their infant son. He was currently looking for other employment and had managed to pick up some casual work through his networks. However it was not enough to sustain rental payments on a flat so he approached his uncle who was renting some rooms in the settlement and they moved in as tenants renting one of the rooms for K100 per fortnight. Even at this cheap rate William could not afford to continue renting and this led to ongoing conflict with his uncle who eventually evicted him. William and his family moved into the house of a nearby relative while they looked for other alternatives to access a place to stay.

Paraphrased from interview notes and transcript.

The greater importance of money in land and housing transactions in the settlement makes it harder for newcomers like William to secure land and shelter.

**Outsiders and big people**
The increasing emphasis on money also works to further marginalise existing residents of the settlement as wealthier newcomers use their money to secure land from poorer residents of the settlement (Rooney 2015b). During my fieldwork one particular house that was under construction stood out in its size, quality of materials, pace of construction and the security fence that was built around it (Figure 6.12). I was told that it was owned by a Highlander. His entry into the area and the acquisition of land had raised many eyebrows mainly about the way Tufi settlers had sold the land to him. He had clearly established himself well enough to make the bold investment in his house. As this informant explained, it was in the day to day relationships that people in the settlement compromise with outsiders:
Before they settle down we talk to them, we screen them. They are good neighbours so we feel comfortable with each other. Even though we say that they are from Highlands usually only one person does something bad and they are all blamed. Otherwise they are good people. It depends on how you treat people. He's been here and looking after this block and he's among the Tufi people. You can't see any other Highlanders here because they are a bit further up there. He and his family are the only ones settling within this community.

Informant, ATS settlement, 2013.
Paraphrased from interview notes and transcript.

Where successful screening had taken place, a newcomer with obvious wealth and confidence might build a large and permanent house amidst the offcut timber shelters built by poorer residents. Despite the concerns about residents selling land and the associated law and order problems that this created, some people commented that by raising the building standards this would help raise standards and bring about better developments in the settlement.

The acceptance of outsiders into the community is also reflected in the following informant’s statement:

Many outsiders want to become part of the community after they have visited. Some of them manage to obtain land through friends and settle here among us. After living some time in our community they become part of us. When they themselves see new outsiders coming in they say to us, ‘no don’t let them in. They will cause a lot of problems’.

Informant, ATS settlement, 2013.
Paraphrased from interview notes and transcript.

Evident in these statements is the pragmatic approach to outsiders. At one level is the Oro insider, into which outsiders are incorporated through marriage or friendship. At another level is the ATS settlement insider based on contiguous relationships. The increase in the number of wealthier people also had implications for residents who found themselves unable to compete with
newcomers in terms of maintaining their hold on their current place of residence. Linus and Nina’s case provides an illustration:

We used to live on another piece of land. Another Tufi wantok moved in and admired our block because it was close to his wantok. At the time we were planning to return home so we agreed to give him that area and in return he would give us some money to help us to return home. We gave him the land and moved to this area but he never helped and we are still stranded here.

Linus and Nina, ATS Settlement, 2013.
Paraphrased from interview notes and transcript.

Whether it is outsiders or their own kin, granting and transacting land in the settlement involves trust. In Linus and Nina’s case their Tufi relative had breached his commitment to pay them for dispossessing them of their land. In the meantime he had proceeded to build a substantial house on the land clearly demonstrating that he had the money to pay them if he chose to.

Figure 6.12: House of a wealthy outsider.
Source: Photograph by Michelle Rooney, 2013.
6.5 Conclusion

By highlighting the increasing value of land and the changing demographic profile at the ATS settlement, I have demonstrated the importance of both the moral and material economies in local land dynamics. As Moresby grows, and ATS settlement expands, the spaces available to its residents are diminishing. The initial Oro Province identity that drove the impetus to establish the settlement contrasts with the money value of land, growing population and the city’s development. The contemporary dynamics of urban settlement land needs to be understood within the broader city and national developments in which the value of urban land is increasingly driven by its value as a capital investment.

This contrasts with existing literature on urban and migrant land in PNG which focus on adaptive land strategies involving social and exchange relationships between customary land owners and migrant settlers (Chand and Yala 2008, 2012; Koczberski et al. 2012; Koczberski and Curry 2004, 2009a, 2009b; Numbasa and Koczberski 2012). It also contrasts with literature in PNG which examines the contemporary changes in customary land tenure systems in which the political economy of resource developments has led to a shift towards customary ‘ownership’ of land (Ballard 2013; Filer 2007; Jorgensen 2007).

In the ATS settlement context, narratives of settlement land contrast between urban Oro and outsiders, although in reality the land belongs to neither. This reality means that a pragmatic approach to land is called for and people often tone down their identity in order to live side by side. Oro are also resigned to
the fact that the outsider has an equally legitimate claim to the land at ATS. Ironically, it is the Oro who are letting the outsider in and there is a moral valuation on existing settlers to be responsible in their dealings with land. The moral economy of land transactions means that access to land for shelter often over-rides any ownership claims that people may assert.

The complexities of land in the urban settlement that I have examined in the past three Chapters create particular difficulties for policy makers and residents in the provision of and access to public services in the urban context. These difficulties arise because occupants of settlements like the ATS settlement are regarded as illegally occupying state land. I examine how settlers negotiate with city and state actors for education, children’s services and water in the next Chapter.
CHAPTER 7.  ACCESSING SERVICES IN SEGREGATED URBAN SPACES

7.1 Segregated city political economy

People living in the ATS settlement face constraints in accessing services like water and education. These constraints appear to have become normalised in the city such that there is spatial segregation between its citizens that go beyond the aesthetics of urban housing. In this Chapter, I shift the emphasis of the thesis away from people’s reliance on the collective Oro and Tufi identity to access land and housing in the settlement, towards their experiences as citizens aspiring to improve their access to services. Two important theoretical and policy insights are made in this Chapter. First, residents of Moresby’s settlements face a segregated political economy of service delivery that renders them invisible from mainstream development processes. Second, despite this segregation and largely autonomous from the state, residents of the settlement exhibit important forms of citizenship that contribute immensely to the state’s democratic development goals.

Whereas their ‘illegal’ hold on land is increasingly tenuous, and is the basis for their exclusion from state provided services, it is through their aspirations for development that residents assert their rights as citizens with a stake in the city’s development. It is as voters, citizens, and consumers that they exercise political voice despite their illegal and marginal status which undermines their

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44 A revised version of this Chapter was submitted to and won the Association for Political and Legal Anthropology (APLA) 2016 Graduate Student Paper Prize. The paper is currently under revision for submission as a journal article.
claims as citizens. Their exclusion brought about by ‘illegality’ and marginality leads them to respond in ways that enable them to renegotiate their place as citizens in the city (Bayat 1997; Bhan 2014; Holston and Appadurai 1996).

I use the term segregated political economy rather than ‘dual economy’ which is the term that is more commonly used to describe PNG’s economy. The term dual economy draws on social, political and economic distinctions largely framed around traditional ‘gift’ based societies on the one hand, and commodity based economies on the other hand (Gregory 1982; Mauss 1970). Unlike other regions in the world, it is argued that this feature of PNG society enables its urban residents to be ‘resilient to [...] structural developments’ (Goddard 2005: 6). Much of the contemporary segregation evident in the city is a hangover from colonial practices which distinguished between administrators and indigenous migrant workers and labourers (Goddard 2005; Oram 1976). By applying the term segregation I am able to examine the issues that shape the contemporary city in ways that both reinforce and challenge this colonial legacy, while at the same time moving beyond the dichotomy of gifts and commodities. Segregation implies a more deliberate distinction between different sub-sets of citizens and is applied widely in literature examining urban contexts to examine the ways that economic and ethnic differences work to segregate urban citizens and shape residential clustering in cities (for example: de Souza Briggs 2005; Smets and Salman 2016; Varady 2005). I also argue that this segregation and the diminishing of citizenry claims on the state has become normalised so that questions of efficiency are privileged over political questions of injustice (for example see Bhan 2014; Loftus 2009; Robbins 2012).
Residents of settlements negotiate for services with actors such as State Owned Enterprises, NGOs, the church and businesses in ways akin to the notion of ‘deep democracy’ presented by Appadurai (2001). ‘Deep democracy’, Appadurai (2001) argues, occurs when democratic principles of inclusion, participation, transparency, and equity are desired, made visible, and attained through negotiations and networks that fall largely outside of the frame of the state. In these contexts, segregation and the invisibility of marginal citizens from mainstream democratic processes have become normalised (p42) (for example: Anand 2011; Bhan 2014).

While well intentioned, these processes led by non-state actors also involve contestation. As Gandy (2008) cautions, although NGOs and other institutions, such as the private sector in the ATS settlement, can potentially make important development contributions, it is important that that this does not undermine the role of the state. Gandy (2008) argues against equating contributions by non-state institutions with more accountability. Like the state, such institutions also have their own power dynamics but they are not subjected to electoral processes in the event they do not meet their social responsibilities (Gandy 2008: 120). Whether it is competing for advertising space, to brand their name in order to raise more funds, or striving for political publicity, ATS settlement is a place where a number of actors are making important contributions to deliver services. Thus, it is also a site of exchange and contestation between residents in the settlement and political, corporate, business, and development actors.
Local governance mechanisms for managing water in the context of Moresby’s political ecology and political economy of water provision are examined in Section 7.2. Water is a central political issue locally and in the city, and works both to connect and segregate the settlement’s residents from the rest of the city’s citizens. The strategies and networks that residents of ATS settlement utilise to meet the childcare and education needs of their children are examined through two case studies in Section 7.3. The Christ the King Primary School is presented to illustrate how the provision of water, and land tenure work to segregate the city’s political economy of service delivery. The ongoing influence of the Anglican Church (Chapter 3) in enabling residents of ATS settlement to overcome structural challenges is also highlighted in this case study. The Tembari Children’s Care Inc. (TCC), whose engagement contrasts with the Christ the King Primary School, is presented to illustrate the extensive partnership with charitable foundations, NGOs, and private companies to bring early childhood development services into the community. Both these case studies reveal that local actors and their moral valuations of community and children are the catalysts for action and development. The Chapter is concluded in Section 7.4 with a brief discussion of the key findings and their implications for theory and policies aimed at urban service delivery.

7.2 Accessing water in ATS settlement

The political ecology of water in Moresby
Water is ecological, political and corporatized and it has a social life that connects people, systems, and places (Anand 2011; Appadurai 1988; Gandy 2004, 2008; Wagner 2013). The political ecology of water, its connection to city
governance, and its commodification make it a central dividing feature of social, economic and political life in the city (Anand 2011; Gandy 2008; Loftus 2009; Swyngedouw 1997). Its innate ability to move through places, things and people also gives it a social life that, when followed, exposes the divisions, structures, temporal patterns and organisational capacities that it imprints onto human social life (Appadurai 1988, Wagner 2013) to the extent that some have argued that water has agency (Veeravalli 2013). These features make water a particularly compelling lens through which to understand how politics, economics, and ecology all shape urban governance and processes (Swyngedouw 1997).

The centrality of water in urban process is also evident in Moresby where ecological conditions and land owner politics surrounding water makes water a scarce resource throughout the year for all residents of the city. Moresby’s average yearly rainfall is considerably less than the average for the rest of PNG which receives between 2000 and 3500 millilitres annually (McAlpine et al. 1983). It has a rainy season that typically occurs between November and April. For the remainder of the year it experiences extremely dry conditions. Moresby’s entire water supply is sourced from the Sirinumu dam on the Sogeri plateau (Figure 7.1). During the dry season when the dam’s levels reach critically low levels water is rationed. In addition, the landowners of Sirinumu dam regularly demand compensation for the use of their land45 (Salmang 2014) and this sometimes leads to the interruption of Moresby’s water and power supply.

45 Eda Ranu’s website acknowledges the central importance of land owners (Eda Ranu 2015a).
Water, created naturally and harvested by way of Sirinumu dam is syphoned by PNG Power to the Roana water plant where it generates power for the city. From there it flows into pipes managed by Eda Ranu – the State Owned Enterprise responsible for provision of water - into the city. In the process it is transformed into a marketable commodity which makes it amenable to market forces (Strang 2011: 177). Eda Ranu currently pumps between 170 and 176 million litres of water into Moresby daily. Reflecting the rapid increase in the city’s population, the ‘demand’ for water in the city has increased. Over the past few years the volume of water pumped has increased by around 20% - up from 142 and 145 million litres per day.

As it flows through state owned corporate infrastructure that is constitutionally sanctioned, water can also be viewed as a symbol of identity and power (Strang 2011), including as a ‘brutal delineator of social power’ (Gandy 2004: 363, 373). One set of pipes leads to privately owned or leased residences, companies, business entities, and government institutions where water metres are tailored to individual account holders. The other set of pipes leads in varying form to the settlements and villages where water use is measured in bulk and managed collectively. In contrast to the formal sections of the city, throughout the settlements water is piped in black poly pipes that slither visibly and messily along paths, or in roughly dug trenches (Figure 7.2). They are an ever present material reminder of the segregated economy. In
some settlements water pipes and taps symbolise identity and spatial demarcations (Repic 2011).

Figure 7.1: Map showing the Sirinumu dam.

Source: CartoGIS, The Australian National University, based on survey data from the PNG Department of Lands and Physical Planning, and the author’s fieldwork data.

Figure 7.2: Black poly pipes visibly carry water through the settlement.

Source: Photograph by Michelle Rooney, 2013.
Local moral economy of water

In the city, nowhere is the life sustaining and totally encompassing nature of water more evident than in its informal settlements where there is a tension between the moral value of water as a basic human need and the economic efficiency argument of water provision. This tension, which is evident in the scenario I describe in Field Notes 5, is at the heart of settlement narratives of water. Both women in Field Notes 5 expressed the suffering arising from lack of access to water because it is locked or because it may be disconnected by Eda Ranu. Both women emphasised a value on their time – one in waiting to access water – a fundamental basic need and right, the other in having to monitor water usage to ensure that fees are paid and water is used responsibly.

At each of the handful of communal stand pipes in the settlement a caretaker, usually a woman, sits nearby and collects a K2 fee from each person filling their water containers (Figure 7.3 and 7.4).

Field Notes 5: Water as a basic need versus water as a commodity.

Tempers flared one morning in 2013 as we walked past one of the new water stand pipes (Figure 7.3) that had been installed a few months earlier. A woman frustrated to find the tap dismantled shouted angrily demanding to know,

Why is the tap locked? We are all affected by this we need to get water so we can do other things. We need water! We have children and families to look after! We can’t wait here all day for the water to run!

Another woman, the caretaker of the tap, responded, equally angrily,

It’s because people don’t pay, that is why we have to lock the tap. I too have other things to do. I can’t just sit all day watching for people to pay. People need to be honest about paying. The water committee has made it clear that people need to pay so that the Eda Ranu invoice can be paid otherwise water will be disconnected and we will all suffer.
This caretaker is responsible for ensuring payment is collected and receipts are issued. But this is not always an easy task. As one caretaker explained, her conscience sometimes overrode the directives of the water committee:

Being a caretaker is a hard task. Caretakers need to be good communicators. There needs to be cooperation between caretakers and people, so that people feel that there is water available otherwise we see conflict. Sometimes we decide to give some water away for free when someone has no money to pay. When we do this we must be discreet or other people will complain.

Informant, ATS settlement, 2013.
Paraphrased from interview notes and transcript.

The K2 water fee allowed residents to collect as much water as they like.
Typically, people fill a large number of containers every few days. Few in ATS settlement can afford to collect water every day and some people resorted to friends for support as one informant explained:

When we don’t have money for water, we add one or two containers to our friends or family members set of containers. When they fill all the containers they return our filled containers to us.

Informant, ATS settlement, 2013.
Paraphrased from interview notes and transcript.

There are leakages in the collection of water fees and the manner of collecting fees varies in different areas. Some areas pay a weekly or fortnightly lump sum to the caretaker. When funds fall short of the Eda Ranu invoiced amount, house-to-house collections are made, and youth volunteers are appointed to announce the fee collection.
Figure 7.3: Newly installed stand pipe with K2 fee sign.

Source: Photograph by Michelle Rooney, 2013.

Figure 7.4: Waiting to collect water at a communal stand pipe.

Source: Photograph by Michelle Rooney, 2013.
On one occasion during my fieldwork, a fight broke out between an Oro man and an ‘outside’ ethnic group from the highlands region. The young Oro man who had been appointed by the water committee chairperson to notify all residents that water fees were due did so under the influence of alcohol. In the process he offended the group of highlanders who retaliated by mobilising their kinsmen and fronted up to the water chairman’s house threatening to burn his house down if some compensation was not made for the offence caused by the troublesome fee collector. Several days were spent mediating this complaint (see Chapter 9 for compensation exchange and ethnic tension)\textsuperscript{49}.

Despite the local difficulties accessing water, things have improved over the years. Indeed the settlement’s leaders took great pride in recounting the success of their water management. This success was also confirmed by an Eda Ranu\textsuperscript{50} representative, who noted,

\begin{quote}
ATS is one of the most organised settlements in the city. Maybe this is because they are mainly all from one province and they cooperate well to organise themselves.
\end{quote}

\textit{Eda Ranu representative, 2015.}

\textit{Paraphrased from interview notes and transcript.}

When the settlement was established in the 1990s there was no water tap. People walked several kilometres to collect water or visited relatives in the city to fill their water containers. This was problematic as relatives also received water bills and faced financial issues (Gregory 1997).

\textsuperscript{49}The World Bank (2014) notes that domestic violence, and conflicts arising over water, were common problems in settlements in PNG. Gregory (1997) notes that even with considerable sharing of water its scarcity and value leads to conflict over it.

\textsuperscript{50}Manager of Non-Revenue Division, Eda Ranu (personal communication, 13/08/2015).
In the mid-2000s a public/community bulk water meter\textsuperscript{51} was installed at the entrance of the settlement\textsuperscript{52}. Although taps were installed in the settlement they eventually fell into disrepair, and for many years up until the new taps were installed in 2012\textsuperscript{53} there was only two taps at the entrance of the settlement area and a handful of taps located at houses of a few people who were lucky enough to be located closer to the main pipes. During these years those who lived at the far end of the settlement in the Tufi last block bathed and did laundry in the locally named local creek. Drinking and cooking water, by contrast, was harvested using drums or tanks or was collected from one of the two main taps.

In 2013, fees were increased to generate extra money which could be used to buy the pipes that the youth would install\textsuperscript{54}. The water committee was also negotiating with Labi Amaiu, the Member of Parliament for Port Moresby North East, to install more pipes and stand pipes. Every so often, we would walk past contractors digging trenches for new pipes and stand pipes along the main roads. These were most likely to be organised by Eda Ranu who is responsible

\textsuperscript{51} Eda Ranu has three types of meters for billing water usage in the city. These are: (i) Corporate meters which are for companies and businesses; (ii) Residential meters which are for private residences in the formal part of the city; (iii) Institutional meters are for schools, hospitals and other government institutions. In contrast, bulk or community meters are installed in settlements and urban villages (Eda Ranu 2015b; Manager of Non-Revenue Division, Eda Ranu, personal communication, 13/08/2015).

\textsuperscript{52} OCDA President, personal communication, 2013.

\textsuperscript{53} Note that 2012 coincided with the National Election. The installation of new taps was likely part of the election promises in that year.

Another important factor was an increase in funding. The new government prioritised water and sanitation and allocated funding for it under the District Support Improvement Programme (DSIP). In the past Members were not too keen to install water infrastructure. However this changed due to increased funding through the DSIP (Manager of Non-Revenue Division, Eda Ranu, personal communication, 13/08/2015).

\textsuperscript{54} Fees are highly variable and subject to change. This is reflected in World Bank (2014). Furthermore, by 2015 the amount charged per water collection had changed from K2 per collection to around K10 per week (Manager of Non-Revenue Division, Eda Ranu, personal communication, 13/08/2015).
for technical services such as plumbers and engineering. One Saturday during my fieldwork a ceremony was held in the settlement with the Member of Parliament arriving to announce the launch of a water project involving vast amounts of money. Amidst this activity, people also talked about the amounts of money relative to the outcomes and hoped that the negotiations would not be another misuse of election promised funds.

We see from these accounts that the arduous task of providing, managing, monitoring, and collecting fees within the settlement extends from a reliance on people to pay for water, volunteers to help monitor and collect fees, to national level politicians and Eda Ranu. The water committee is one of the most important committees in the settlement and cuts across all settlement ethnic, social and political boundaries. It is the interface between the community, politicians and Eda Ranu. It is responsible for the collection of fees, issuing of receipts and payment of the Eda Ranu invoice. It relies on volunteers to monitor usage of water, and youth, along with all their enthusiasm, and vagaries, to make announcements and enforce fee payments. Under the arrangements prevailing in 2013, a meter reading was taken monthly by Eda Ranu and an invoice was delivered to the water committee who then paid the bill. In ATS, as in other settlements, (for example: Kalo 2014) water is disconnected when the collective invoice is not paid. In 2014 the ATS water bill ran into several tens of thousands of kina and the water service was disconnected until funds were collected from the community to pay the bill.

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55 Manager of Non-Revenue Division, Eda Ranu, personal communication, 13/08/2015.
56 Informant (personal communication, 2014).
The Dogura creek was an important source of water, as were the couple of dug wells located in the settlement. I only came across one family who occasionally paid for their tank to be filled by one of the private companies in Moresby that deliver bulk water (see Gregory 1997 for a discussion). Apart from a handful of houses with taps installed in the vicinity of their yards, the rest of the settlement relied on communal standpipes. During the dry season, when people had no money or when water supply was disconnected for maintenance or due to non-payment of an invoice, the entire settlement suffered. On the other hand, the rainy season provided relief. During the rainy season less fees were collected because many people harvested rainwater from drums (Figure 7.5). Correspondingly, the Eda Ranu invoice was lower. In this way, water - its infrastructure, governance and ecology - has agency in its capacity to engage intimately in daily lifecycles of people (Veeravalli 2013; Wagner 2013).

Figure 7.5: Water is also harvested in drums.
Source: Photograph by Michelle Rooney, 2013.
Nothing is free
The argument between the two women at the water tap described in Field Notes 5 speaks not only to the costs of water provision but to the moral economy of water, and the segregated economy of the city. The tension between moral economy and economic efficiency extends to discursive and policy practice at corporate and national constitutional bodies. To show this, I now examine the highly politicised legal and regulatory framework for water provision in the city.

In 1996, the NCD Water and Sewerage Act 1996 was introduced which brought the management of the NCD water and sewerage system under The Eda Ranu Company (Eda Ranu 2015a). Eda Ranu is also subjected to the PNG Companies Act and the National Capital District Commission (Transfer of Assets, etc.) Act 1996 which transferred the responsibility of supply and management of water in the NCD to the Eda Ranu (Eda Ranu 2015d).

Eda Ranu is an asset belonging to the Independent Public Business Corporation (IPBC) which was established in 2002 and succeeded the Privatisation Commission to provide overall management of State Owned Enterprises (IPBC 2015b). Eda Ranu is required to operate profitably while at the same time meet its Community Services Obligations (CSO) to ensure equitable water provision. Thus, both efficiency and equity, based on moral normative democratic values espoused in PNG’s national Constitution, are required of Eda Ranu.

Politically, Eda Ranu has several heads. In its corporate capacity as an asset of the IPBC, it comes under the Minister for Public Enterprises and State Investments (IPBC 2015b). At the same time it is evident that if it is to meet its
CSO it must work closely with communities and their elected members of Parliament. Settlements and villages, along with illegal connections, leakages, revenue protection all come under a new division called the Non-Revenue Water division\textsuperscript{57}. In principle Eda Ranu seeks to, 

\begin{quote}
Always try to find better approaches to settlements and villages. The current approach in terms of bulk meters is fine in terms of monitoring what is billed. However, in Moresby only 38 of the identified settlements and villages currently come under the Eda Ranu billing system and 46 remain outside the billing system. Of the 46 settlements that are outside of the billing system Eda Ranu has bulk meters installed in them but they are not paying bills\textsuperscript{58}. A key challenge for Eda Ranu is to try and convert these 46 settlements into the billing system. For this to happen, it must work closely with the community. If the MP does not assist the settlement to pay for the installation of standpipes then, under its CSO, Eda Ranu will help.
\end{quote}

Representative of Eda Ranu, 2015.
Paraphrased from interview notes and transcript.

Eda Ranu must make a profit while striking a balance between making sure settlements and villages become viable customers. This tension is reflected in other formal documents where the emphasis leans towards economic efficiency.

\textsuperscript{57} Manager of Non-Revenue Division, Eda Ranu, personal communication, 13/08/2015.
\textsuperscript{58} The number of settlements noted in this interview in 2015 is consistent with other documents. Galgal (2011) and UNHABITAT (2013) report that there are 20 planned and 79 unplanned settlements in the city. The reader should note that estimates of the number of settlements in the city vary as do definitions of what constitutes a formal or informal settlement. The distinction between planned and unplanned settlements is a legacy of the colonial period when some parts of Moresby were designated as self-help or low cost housing areas (See Chapter 5). Over time these areas have become known as settlements although they may have an official history of establishment. In the contemporary Moresby context, a more accurate distinction is between formally zoned residential areas and settlements generally. The situation has changed considerably since the colonial period so that it is difficult to distinguish clearly between planned and unplanned settlements. I use the distinction in this particular quote because of the interview response and because various official documents refer to this distinction.
As an asset of the IPBC Eda Ranu is required to pay dividends to the IPBC who in turn contribute to the Government’s consolidated revenue which is in turn incorporated into the national budget. In 2012, when the IPBC Managing Director congratulated Eda Ranu for making a dividend payment he noted that,

*dividends are required from Public Enterprises for two [...] reasons: they instil commercial disciplines in Public Enterprises The people [citizens] are owners of these organisations and are entitled to a return on their investment (IPBC 2015a).*

As an SOE it is subjected to the Auditor General’s scrutiny both in terms of funds and, constitutional requirements for equitable and quality service delivery to all citizens. In 2012 the Auditor General’s office undertook a Performance Audit on access to safe drinking water in PNG (OAG 2012). The report, presented to the National Parliament recommended that:

*Water PNG\(^{59}\), Eda Ranu and the NDOH\(^{60}\) consult with each other and identify agencies at national, provincial and local government levels and coordinate with these agencies to facilitate access to safe drinking-water to the rural communities, squatter settlements and urban fringe areas in the country (OAG 2012: 49).*

Eda Ranu responded that it:

*does not support the collaboration with Water PNG and NDOH, as it is a local challenge which Eda Ranu has tried to address with politicians, NCDC and the community but without success due to political interest and free handout mentality of receiving free service. CSO is recommended to be developed and implemented. No service should continue to be given free unless someone pays for it (OAG 2012: 49).*

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59 Water PNG is another State Owned Enterprise responsible for the provision, maintenance and upgrading of water throughout PNG. Eda Ranu is the SOE responsible for water solely in the NCD (IPBC 2015b).

60 National Department of Health
The Auditor General also recommended that:

*Eda Ranu and the Water PNG take steps necessary to ensure that informal settlements in the urban and the urban fringe areas have access to safe drinking-water facilities. The steps may include community participation, Provincial Governments, Local Level Governments and political will, commitment and involvement (OAG 2012: 49).*

The Water PNG response was in agreement and noted the importance of a national water policy to be led by a central government agency not a sectoral one (OAG 2012: 50). On the other hand, Eda Ranu responded that:

*Community participation, NCDC and political will is a failure, and unless there is a CSO assistance or funding is provided for infrastructure and sustainability, there will be no further services. However, small improvements are being made now for private vending service in each community (OAG 2012: 50).*

It is evident that the profitability requirement imposed on Eda Ranu is at odds with the expectation that water is provided equitably to all in the city. Past experience has shown that this is not achievable without political will on the part of elected representatives.

*Political will and politician’s money*

Politicians acknowledge the self-help initiatives undertaken by people to reach local agreements with customary landowners to establish settlements but also the service delivery challenges that arise. When settlements are established without consultation with municipal authorities the provision of services and public amenities lag way behind. Once settlements are established residents lobby for basic amenities such as roads, water, electricity and schools. When seeking to respond to these calls municipal authorities sometimes run into
opposition born of local tensions. These invariably affect the implementation of service delivery.61

Mainstream media reports concerning NCD’s water supply suggest that elected officials recognise the political benefits of facilitating water provision to the settlements and urban villages. Launches of water supply projects are commonly reported through carefully tailored media releases to show how Members of Parliament are working with Eda Ranu and communities to provide water (for example: Philip 2014; National Newspaper 2014b). As noted in the case of ATS settlement, it is also evident that politicians are a part of the puzzle of water delivery but their involvement to a great extent relies on each community’s ability to engage with them. The negotiations that I observed taking place in 2013 culminated in the launch of a major water project in 2014 and was reported in the following news article:

*Taps Open in Settlement*

A SETTLEMENT in Port Moresby witnessed the official commissioning of a K4 million water project last week.

Port Moresby North East MP Labi Amaiu, Moresby South MP Justin Tkatchenko and Minister for Finance James Marape with Eda Ranu officially opened water taps to further seal the second phase of a huge water project for the ATS settlement at Eight Mile.

In true traditional Oro style, residents of ATS settlement, which is dominated by Oro people, welcomed water to their door steps.

Mr Amaiu acknowledged Eda Ranu for its partnership in the project and he called on the settlements population for partnership to sustain the project and other services provided by the government to the people.

[...]

Chairperson for Eda Ranu, Mary Karo reminded the people of ATS that water is an important source of life and the ATS project needs to be sustained (Post Courier 2014c).

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61 Hon. Powes Parkop, MP (Interview, 2013).
In 2014, the Eda Ranu also announced a memorandum of understanding (MOU) outlining arrangements between it and the ATS settlement based on recent payments of water bills of K35,000 being for two months’ worth of bills (Figure 7.6). Residents of ATS also know the power they have as citizens and voters of a settlement in Moresby. As one informant explained:

*During previous elections a candidate came and gave his election campaign speech at the first market bus stop. The current member is contributing funding to the installation of water pipes further into the settlement. If this keeps happening perhaps in the next elections the candidate might be able to come further into the settlement to give his campaign speech.*

*Informant, ATS settlement, 2013. Paraphrased from interview notes and transcript.*

My informant was directly linking the candidate’s location for his speech with the extent to which the water had been brought into the settlement. The politician’s limitation at entering any deeper into the settlement to campaign was directly linked to the extent that water had been piped into the settlement. Thus the provision of water was a currency for a member to enter into the settlement.
The foregoing analysis reveals the segregated nature of economic, political and social organisation in the city. These are shaped by what are defined as illegal or informal on the one hand and, legal and formal on the other hand. This segregation is normalised by official discursive practice and is reinforced by the infrastructure of water supply throughout the city. The underground placement of pipes that lead to different parts of the city symbolises the invisibility of this segregation and normalises the idea that settlements are peripheral and marginal invisible spaces (Gandy 2008).

Figure 7.6: Signing ceremony between ATS settlement and Eda Ranu62.

Source: Screenshot of Eda Ranu website (Eda Ranu 2015c).

Invisible city, ‘deep’ democracy

The foregoing analysis reveals the segregated nature of economic, political and social organisation in the city. These are shaped by what are defined as illegal or informal on the one hand and, legal and formal on the other hand. This segregation is normalised by official discursive practice and is reinforced by the infrastructure of water supply throughout the city. The underground placement of pipes that lead to different parts of the city symbolises the invisibility of this segregation and normalises the idea that settlements are peripheral and marginal invisible spaces (Gandy 2008).

62 Source: (Eda Ranu 2015c).
The moral economy of water provision is also evident. Within the settlement, water is managed collectively and the community collectively deals with the tensions between the moral imperative to allow a person to have some water without paying and the economic imperative to pay or collectively suffer the hardship of water being disconnected. The ingenious efforts of residents in settlements and urban villages to set up local governance mechanisms and social organisation to enable access to water are often rendered invisible (Appadurai 2001; Bhan 2014; Gandy 2004, 2008; Loftus 2009). These efforts resonate with the notion of ‘deep democracy’ (Appadurai 2001). The extent to which water provision makes visible the segregation in the city extends to other services like education.

7.3 Education

State of education and children in ATS
Families in ATS settlement tap into a variety of strategies to meet their children’s care and education needs. Some arrangements involved children living between multiple households spanning the settlement, the city and other provinces. For example, one couple were sending money fortnightly to their two children – one of whom was living with his paternal grandparents in the city and the other was living with a maternal relative in another province. In some cases, children were mobile and moving between households depending on the needs and ability of households to provide care. In other cases, when parents attempted to take their children back from relatives who were providing care for their children, they were faced with resistance or claims for recompense by the caregiver and this delayed or prevented the return of the child to their parents.
One couple had recently given up their newborn child for adoption by a relative. Another couple had sent their son to the village many years ago. Now an adult and unable to return to the city, he lived in the village and they counted on his support if they returned home. Another family’s son who had been adopted by relatives in the village returned to them after many years due to conflict with the adoptive parents. He was now attending school in the city. Several children were being taken care of by grandparents because their parents had divorced or passed away.

Many of ATS’ poorer families cannot afford the bus fare to send the kids to school in town (Chapter 8). As a consequence many school aged children were either not in school or were starting school at an older age. This was clearly reflected in the household data collected (Table 7.1). For children who were enrolled in school and for whom data was available, those who came from households with lower fortnightly per capita incomes tended to be older than the usual age for the grade they were enrolled in (Figure 7.7). Two examples of the way the ATS settlement community has responded to address these hardships related to providing care and education for children in their community are provided in the following two case studies.
Table 7.1: Status of school enrollment for school aged children in interviewed HHs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age of child</th>
<th>NDOE recommended grade for age</th>
<th>Number children enrolled in NDOE recommended grade for age</th>
<th>Number of children who are not enrolled in school</th>
<th>Number of children attending school who are older than recommended age</th>
<th>Grand total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>elementary prep</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>elementary grade 1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>elementary grade 2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>grade 3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>grade 4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>grade 5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
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<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>grade 6</td>
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<td>0</td>
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<td>0</td>
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<td>grade 7</td>
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<td>0</td>
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<td>0</td>
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<td>14</td>
<td>grade 8</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>grade 9 (Secondary School or technical training)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>grade 10 (Secondary or technical training)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Upper secondary, technical or left school</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Upper secondary, technical or left school</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Author’s fieldwork questionnaire, 2013.
The ‘enrolment age gap’ in this figure is defined as the difference between age of child and the NDOE recommended age for grade. An ‘enrolment age gap’ of one means that the child is one year older than the recommended age for the grade they are enrolled in. The number of observations (n=50) is based on the data that was available.
Case study: Christ the King Primary School

Christ the King Primary School was established in 2008 by the councillors of the Christ the King Church of the Anglican Church Moresby Diocese. At the time of my fieldwork, the school was not formally recognised by the Department of Education even though classes were modelled on the national curriculum and the headmaster and teachers were all government trained teachers who had left their public service positions. Most teachers lived in the settlement having moved there over the years. The centrality of water and land in shaping the segregated nature of the political economy of education services in the city is evident in this case study. Also evident is the collective value placed on children by the congregation and the role of the church’s network to draw in NGOs to support the project.

Throughout my fieldwork it was clear that the community placed a very high value on this project and were steadfast in their support. I was often pointed to the ‘new school’ to find someone I was looking for because various meetings were taking place there (Figure 7.8). There are many people in the community, and beyond, who are involved in it, and this Chapter focuses on interviews with a few of these people. It is important, however, that I highlight the leadership role of a few women who were clearly important actors during my fieldwork and in the years following. They have also provided important insights and support in the writing of this Chapter and more broadly for the thesis. These include remarkable women such as the chairlady of the church’s councillors, Ms. Girika Sanata; the deputy chairlady of the church, Ms. Cella Gunisa; and the chairlady of the Tufi Ethnic Group, Ms. Margaret Jarigi.
When the Christ the King Primary School was established in 2008 it faced chronic financial shortages to pay for the handful of teachers who had responded to an announcement made during a church service for teachers to serve in the school. Initially, the school operated intermittently with funds raised by parents and church members\(^\text{64}\) for teachers’ allowances. When it started, the school had a principal, three teachers and two prep classes. The school started charging a fee of K50 per year but soon found that parents were not able to pay the fees\(^\text{65}\).

In 2010 the school headmaster passed away and the church councillors approached Bernard Karad, a former school headmaster, and asked him to help run and develop the school. By then the school had around 100 students although attrition was high. When funds ran out, the teachers continued to work on a volunteer basis. Faced with ongoing financial shortages in 2011 the school closed. At this point the bishop for the Moresby diocese stepped in providing much needed support. He sourced funds from the Anglican Board of Mission in Australia to cover teachers’ allowances, and then secured funds from the O’Connor Foundation\(^\text{66}\) to pay teachers’ salaries for the 2012, 2013 and 2014 school years. The funding was managed by the Moresby Diocese office where teachers go fortnightly to collect their pay\(^\text{67}\). The foundation also

\(^{64}\) Bernard Karad, Headmaster, Christ the King Primary School, (interview, 2013).

\(^{65}\) Bernard Karad, Headmaster, Christ the King Primary School, (interview, 2013).

\(^{66}\) The O’Connor Foundation is named after Peter O’Connor, a former member of the St John’s parish in Down Town Moresby who had died and bequeathed funds into a foundation for educational purposes (Peter O’Connor Foundation 2015).

\(^{67}\) Fr. Bishop Ramsden, former Bishop of the Anglican Diocese of Moresby (interview, 15 August 2015).
provided some funding to build a new classroom, while the Rotary Club of Moresby supplied benches and desks for the classrooms (Figure 7.8-7.10)\textsuperscript{68}.

At the point at which the Bishop stepped in the school comprised one classroom built from sago palm. It had a thatched roof. Although the 2012 year started with around 75 students in attendance, at the end of the year only 30 students remained. A fee of K100 per child was charged but many parents did not have the capacity to pay. It had prep, elementary one and elementary two classes. At the end of 2012 the school graduated the grade two class.

In 2013 additional classrooms were built and classes to grade four were offered. The start of the year saw around 140 students enrolled. Fees of K120 per student were charged although only 12 students had paid part of or all of the fees. Church support means the school applied a non-exclusion policy. No child is excluded because of non-payment of fees. Families are given time to pay fees.

By 2013 there were eight teachers on salary. Four were on the Anglican diocese payroll while four were on the payroll of a local NGO, Mother and Child Support project (MCS) that received funding from the Anglican Church partnership with the Australian Aid programme\textsuperscript{69}.

In principle, under the government’s Tuition Fee Free education policy that prevailed at the time of my fieldwork, education in PNG is free. In 2012 schools received K270 for each enrolled student (Howes et al. 2014). Christ the King Primary School did not receive government support, as the government does

\textsuperscript{68} Fr. Bishop Ramsden, former Bishop of the Anglican Diocese of Moresby (interview, 15 August 2015).

\textsuperscript{69} MCS representatives (focus group meeting, 2013).
not provide funding to unregistered schools. The school has applied to be registered, but is yet to meet the criteria for formal registration. The headmaster explained the situation:

_We do not qualify for the free education money that the government is now talking about. We need to be registered as a primary school and recognised by the NCD and the National Department of Education boards before we can attain the status of a primary school. We have made an application and we were given conditions to meet before they will come and register the school. One of them is this classroom which we built and completed in March. Our total requirements are two classrooms and an enrolment of 100 or more students. We have 140 students. We also need two pit toilets which we have. We also need a water tank or a running water tap. This we don’t have._

_Headmaster, Christ the King Primary School, ATS settlement, 2013. Paraphrased from interview notes and transcript._

Very importantly, schools seeking formal registration also need to establish clear ownership of the land on which they are located to have access to Government funding. This precludes many settlement schools from being registered and denies them access to government funding. Without land and water, schools cannot be registered.

PNG’s Universal Basic Education Policy (NDOE 2009: 45) places the responsibility for building classrooms and for water, and sanitation squarely on the shoulders of communities and districts (NDOE 2009: 29; 45). Without such infrastructure the retention of students is difficult (Paraide et al. 2010; Walton 2013; World Bank 2004). This was not possible because, unlike customary land in rural areas, the land at the ATS settlement did not belong to its residents. They were therefore unable to qualify for government funding to build infrastructure.
The case of Christ the King elementary school is a paradox for government and developmental policies aimed at universal basic education in urban areas. It demonstrates how communities living in settlements, by virtue of their ‘illegal’ status on land and their lack of access to water, are not able to meet the government conditions for registration and accessing funds. This is despite their clear valuation on education as demonstrated in their efforts to establish a school which contributes to enabling the government to achieve universal basic education. It is this paradox that leads me to use the term ‘segregated’ political economies. The difficulties faced by settlement communities in accessing government funding, relative to schools in formal areas, is reinforced by the government’s own policy that requires them to meet water and land conditions.

In order to address the barriers to registration in respect to water, the school and the Anglican Diocese through Anglicare entered into a partnership with WaterAid, PNG who provided two 9000 litre water tanks, one shower block for female students, one wash station, and six pit toilets. The work commenced in 2013 and was completed in early 2014. As part of the agreement the church agreed to share the water harvested from the church roof. Both the Anglican Church and WaterAid have international reach and access to donor funding. Both organisations are deeply enmeshed in the communities they work in.

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70 WaterAid PNG and Anglicare WASH programme collaborate to deliver water services to communities, including the Christ the King Primary School. This information comes from the Anglicare website.

71 Samuel Cleary, WaterAid, Wewak, PNG (interview, 03/07/2015).
The task of liaising with the Government regarding formal registration of the school was being undertaken by the Anglican Church education officer\(^{72}\). Should attempts to register the school prove successful, all the teaching positions would be advertised as public service positions and responsibility for paying teachers will fall to the government. For the community, fee and funding relief comes at a cost as it takes the control of the school out of the hands of the community that established it. In many respects the conditions the state places on communities establishing schools like Christ the King Primary School undermine and mitigate against the communities development aspirations. This case study also provides an illustration of relationship between the Anglican Church and the Oro community in Moresby (Chapter 3).

As classrooms were built, and teachers were paid regularly, there was growing interest amongst parents to send their children to the school. The headmaster anticipated that the school would be officially registered by 2016 and when this happened, most parents living in ATS settlement would send their children to it\(^{73}\). For the time being the school offered an important lifeline for those families who could not afford to send their children to the schools in the city.

The headmaster of the Christ the King Primary School hoped that in the future the ages for each cohort would more closely align with national standards. With schools in the city already overcrowded, even better off families found that

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\(^{72}\) Bernard Karad, Headmaster, Christ the King Primary School, (interview, 2013); Fr. Bishop Ramsden, former Bishop of the Anglican Diocese of Moresby (interview, 15/08/2015); Girika Sanata and Cella Gunisa, Christ the King Church (interview, 19/08/2016).

\(^{73}\) In 2013 when I interviewed the headmaster of Christ the King Primary School, the matter of land and water were not resolved and he was relying on the diocese office to negotiate with the NCDC Division for Education to find a solution. When I returned to the community in 2016 these issues were still unresolved and the church executives with the Diocese office had taken the matter to the Governor of NCDC, Hon. Powes Parkop to seek a resolution.
their children were facing difficulties in the city’s schools. They were bringing their children to the school and asking if they can repeat a year. Thus there was an increasing recognition of the need for a local school. As the headmaster explained,

*Those who can afford it send their children off to school in the city. Many middle level and grass roots people are sending their children to the Christ the King Primary School although a few are still sending their children to school in the city. When they find that they cannot afford to meet their children’s bus fares to attend school every day they withdraw them from city schools and they just stay at home.*

*Headmaster, Christ the King Primary School, ATS settlement, 2013. Paraphrased from interview notes and transcript.*

**Figure 7.8:** Parents regularly met at the Christ the King Primary School, 2013.

*Source: Photograph by Michelle Rooney, 2013.*
Figure 7.9: Class at Christ the King Primary School, 2013.

Source: Photograph by Michelle Rooney, 2013.

Figure 7.10: Staff next to new classroom, Christ the King Primary School, 2013.

Source: Photograph by Michelle Rooney, 2013.
**Case study: Tembari Children’s Care Inc.**

The Tembari Children’s Care Inc. (TCC) provides another example of the ways people engage with the city to meet their household and collective needs. The story of TCC also has its roots in the Christ the King Church. During the mid-to-early 2000s, members of the congregation began to observe an increasing number of children attending the church who were in need of support. Children from broken homes or poor families attending the church often had no clothes, food, and shelter, or were affected by violence in their homes. In response, members of the congregation started sharing food with the children during Sunday school and made efforts to formally establish a local organisation to address the needs of children. Two members of the congregation, Penny and Hayward Sage-Embo, registered the centre with the Investment Promotion Authority. They built the centre on land where Penny’s father had originally settled as a pioneer resident of the settlement on Portion 698\(^4\). As one member of the community pointed out the TCC is an important safety net for many families,

*When parents are not working or one of them dies this is one of the local organisations they turn to for help. In the afternoon the kids come and eat here and they go home to sleep. I managed to get my children to school and fed during the time my husband and I were not working. When he passed away I enrolled my last child here. The centre also helps to facilitate enrolment of older children in schools in the city. They are doing something that we parents cannot afford to do it.*

Paraphrased from interview notes and transcript.*

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\(^{74}\) Penny Sage-Embo, Founder and Project Coordinator, TCC, (interview, 2013).
By 2009 the TCC was attracting media publicity and attention from businesses in the city. In 2010 a foreign journalist covering a story on street children in the city for a local newspaper became actively involved\(^7\) and set up the TCC website (TCC n.d.) as a platform for publicising the centre and raising funds. From this point the story of Tembari Children’s Care Inc. took on another trajectory. One narrative of the TCC is the locally grounded one from the perspective of ATS settlement locals. The other narrative which is evident on the TCC website reveals the efforts and successes of the centre and its benefactors through the media, social media and websites. The TCC blog on the website asks its readers: ‘Are you a benefactor?’ (TCC n.d.). It lists down the many entities that have donated support. These include four foundations, thirty seven corporate entities and the eight ‘other’ entities. Benefactors are many and include well known and large entities in the city, some of which publicise their support on their own websites (for example: Digicel Foundation 2009; Malaysian Association of PNG 2014; Ribunan Hijau Hypermarket 2013). Cash and in-kind donations were substantial (Figure 7.11 to 7.14).

![Figure 7.11: Donation by the Ribunan Hijau Group of companies\(^6\).](image)

Source: Screenshot of TCC website (TCC n.d.).

\(^7\) TCC (n.d.).
\(^6\) Source: (TCC n.d.).
Figure 7.12: A private company delivers a refurbished container to TCC.

Source: Photograph by Michelle Rooney, 2013.

Figure 7.13: Excited children watch as the new container is positioned in place.

Source: Photograph by Michelle Rooney, 2013.
Figure 7.14: Flour donated to TCC by a private company in Moresby.

Source: Photograph by Michelle Rooney, 2013.

Figure 7.15: TCC cooking area.

Source: Photograph by Michelle Rooney, 2013.
Figure 7.16: Cleaning up after the Saturday feeding programme.

Source: Photograph by Michelle Rooney, 2013.

Figure 7.17: Weekend feeding programme.

Source: Photograph by Michelle Rooney, 2013.
The local site of the TCC reflected its partnership with the private sector. Donated food supplies could be seen in storage (Figure 7.14). One Saturday morning during a field visit I observed, amidst much excitement, a refitted shipping container being delivered by a major Moresby company (Figure 7.12 and 7.13). It was a new classroom addition to the existing classrooms which were also constructed from donated shipping containers. The three classrooms housed over 100 children. An outside cooking station was located next to the main office where the cooks prepared meals for the afternoon feeding programme (Figure 7.15 and 7.16).

The centre supported a number of programmes including a preschool programme and a daily feeding programme which ran each afternoon from 3pm for children who have been identified as unfortunate, abandoned, orphaned or disadvantaged. Assessing which children were eligible was a challenge, but staff at the centre knew the community intimately and counselled those who they thought could make a living to try their best before they sought support. On Saturday the Centre provided lunch (Figure 7.17).

When the centre needed something its partners made an announcement on their website or through their networks to source support. For example, one of the services the TCC provided to the community was support in placing children in the city schools. But they realised that many children have difficulties attending school. For example,

> kids tell us that they don’t have bus fare to go to school or they don’t have food. We provide food at the centre but bus fare is another thing. We

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77 Penny Sage-Embo, Founder and Project Coordinator, TCC, (interview, 2013).
looked around and one sponsor provided K1000 at the end of each month so we paid for a bus to drop off and pick up children to and from school.

Penny Sage-Embo, ATS settlement, 2013. Paraphrased from interview notes and transcript.

The Ribunan Hijau Foundation and the Boroko Rotary Club, with support from the Australian based Rotary Club, assisted the TCC with water tanks. Another company - Pure Water Co – provided a hot and cold water dispenser, while yet another company ensured that bulk water was delivered to fill the tanks, because water is unable to be pumped from the communal standpipes\(^78\) (TCC n.d.).

TCC’s success comes at a cost. As the number of partner’s increases so too did the administrative burden placed on the TCC to meet the accountability requirements of benefactors and funds needed to be carefully managed to last through the year\(^79\).

The founders had to wrestle back some control over their creation as benefactors, middlemen and supporters increased their involvement in – and claims to - the centre. The TCC’s blog page appeared to be solely operated by the journalist who described the centre as ‘MY charity’ (TCC n.d.). In 2013, the blogsite had Penny and Hayward as co-founders and co-president, and co-founder and director, respectively. In a blog entry in 2012 the blogger notes that he had improved financial accountability,

*Because this is the only way to attract funding donors and assure them of transparency in the use of the money they provided.*

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\(^{78}\) Penny Sage-Embo, Founder and Project Coordinator, TCC, (interview, 2013).

\(^{79}\) Penny Sage-Embo, Founder and Project Coordinator, TCC, (interview, 2013).
For instance, I have done away with cheque signatories who are related – husband and wife. This is the case of Penny Sage-embo and Hayward Sagembo (TCC n.d.).

Some partners sought to claim as much in return for their support as they could. When the Digicel foundation donated containers for classrooms in 2009 it also installed large billboard advertising on the school grounds. The community and children started to call it the ‘Digicel School’\(^\text{80}\). The TCC founders convened a meeting with Digicel representatives and the community to create awareness that the school was still a locally owned and driven community initiative. They subsequently negotiated with Digicel on the boundaries of its advertising. To its partners, the Centre provides access to valuable land and to the settlement community. One relationship turned sour after some disagreement over land\(^\text{81}\). On the other hand some community members allege that those involved in the Centre are enriching themselves from the donations received.

To make ends meet, Penny also picks up work as a counsellor with a number of NGOs and juggles this with coordinating the centre. Teachers and cooks are paid out of the Malaysian fund of K40,000. Benefactors are reluctant to put her on salary because she is considered to be a founder. Annually on the 3rd of March the centre celebrates ‘Funders Day’. In 2013 the Centre planned to award each of the supporting companies and individuals a certificate of appreciation. In order to do so the founders needed to borrow a laptop to

\(^{80}\) When Digicel entered the PNG mobile phone market in 2007 it pursued an aggressive advertising strategy which saw a proliferation of very large and visible advertising methods deployed. These included large bill boards throughout the city, entire fences, bus stops, buses painted in the characteristic bright red and white logo. Where private property such as fence or bus was used, Digicel and the owner reached an agreement on pricing arrangements.

\(^{81}\) Penny Sage-Embo, Founder and Project Coordinator, TCC, (interview, 2013).
prepare the programme and certificates for over 100 funders, and to members of the community who have helped the TCC.

Penny’s work earned her deep respect within the community and in the wider city community. In 2014 she was nominated for the Westpac Outstanding Women’s award. She won the 2014 Contribution to Community Award (Westpac Banking Corporation 2015). As a member of the community noted:

*Penny started the centre from scratch. My children are pioneer students of Tembari. She is the founder and my children are pioneers. Nobody gave her money to start this place.*

Paraphrased from interview notes and transcript.*

7.4 Conclusion
The segregated political economy of water and education services was made visible in this Chapter. In terms of education service delivery, this segregation is brought about by the neutrality of education policy with respect to the urban political economy of land and water in the city. This has rendered a subset of Moresby’s citizens ineligible for education funding from the government. Residents of ATS settlement have responded by exercising new forms of citizenship in the city. Together, water, land, education policy, and early childhood services provide a lens for examining the regulatory, legal and socio-economic contours that citizens living in Moresby’s informal settlements must navigate to meet their needs for services. By juxtaposing local narratives of accessing services against official policies and discursive accounts relating to water and education delivery (Appadurai 2001) I demonstrated the segregated, rather than dual, political economy of service delivery in Moresby.
The case of water also makes visible the local forms of governance and the collective valuation placed on community organisation that are often invisible in media narratives and official accounts of informal settlements. The example of education shows the extent of the segregated political economy and the reach of settlement community to international networks, and the private sector, for support. It also makes visible the community’s valuation on education and children.

In the Christ the King Primary School example, the school community, void of direct state support, have exercised substantive citizenship even though they have been denied access, by law and policy, to funding that they are entitled to under their formal status as citizens (Holston and Appadurai 1996: 190). Their exclusion has been brought about by the particular context of urban land and water governance. These have created conditions for forms of citizenship engagement that resonate with other urban settings in the global south (for example, Anand 2011). The Christ the King Primary School case study also demonstrates, as Bhan (2014) argues, how urban poverty and inequality are also created through processes that diminish the importance of words like ‘poverty’ and ‘poor’ as legitimate reasons for urban citizens to claim basic rights. By letting citizen’s status as illegal residents override their status as poor and marginal, and by making the provision of education conditional on access and rights to water and land, government policies like the Universal Basic Education policy undermine their own emphasis on eradicating poverty and inequality. This gives rise to conditions in which residents of illegal settlements
must renegotiate their existence in and claims as citizens of the city (Bhan 2014: 549).

As Gandy (2008) noted, while the role of non-state actors is important, they too are subject to their own power and structural dynamics. However, unlike the state, they are not subject to electoral processes to hold them accountable. The example of TCC and its engagement with non-state private sector actors shows the engagement by the ATS community with the city’s private sector. It is evident that ATS settlement is a space of contestation and exchange between these private entities and residents in the settlement. Other NGOs are present in the community including World Vision, Buk Bilong Pikinini, and, Mother and Child Support project (MCS). I counted at least three other substantial church buildings in the settlement, and I observed that many people went outside the settlement to attend churches in other parts of the city.

Central to these contours between local actions, regulatory regimes and policy rhetoric is the position of urban land in policy and scholarly discourse in PNG. The increasing body of scholarly work on urban land (Chapter 4 and 6) focuses on the ways migrant settlers engage with customary landowners. This Chapter contributes new insights into the ways urban land and water politics extends into development policies. By neutralizing urban space and its attendance to neoliberal values of commoditized water and land, universal development and democratic projects of inclusion and access, are blind to the influences of ecology and legality on urban processes of democratic citizenship.

For residents of this settlement, it is through their aspirations for services, their local actions, and values that they assert their rights as citizens with a stake in
the city’s development. With increasing activity by internationally funded non-state actors promoting poverty reduction, and by private enterprise seeking to be charitable or to invest in goodwill for their own interests in the city, citizens also know the place they occupy in this development framework. Their deployment of networks and identities as consumers, voters, and clients enable them to make progress with their individual and collective agenda, whilst retaining a position of marginality and informality in policy discourse. Asef Bayat discusses these forms of substantive citizenship action from a position of informality in terms of the “quiet encroachment” (1997: 58).

While the outcomes for the community are consistent with democratic universal development principles the constraints placed on them by official policies reveal contradictions which undermine the state’s efforts to attain the same goals. The schools offer an important lifeline for those families who cannot afford to send their children to the registered city schools or who face basic difficulties such as feeding their young. Local actors’ moral valuations on community and children are in fact the greatest catalysts for action and development to provide this lifeline.

Finally, even with the free education policy in urban areas, low money incomes are important in determining school enrolment. Even the costs of transport to and from school meant that children often did not attend school. In the households I interviewed children’s delayed enrolment in school appeared to be related to their household’s income (Figure 7.7). I examine the income strategies of the Tufi Ethnic Group families that I interviewed in the next Chapter.
CHAPTER 8.  

NOGAT MANI

8.1 Domestic moral dilemmas
The collective Tufi and Oro identity that formed the basis for their social safety net in the city requires adherence to cultural norms. It is through sharing and contributing when corporate behaviour is required that folk living in the ATS Settlement maintain their collective identity. However, contributing and sharing present them with moral dilemmas and they have to make difficult choices. This Chapter examines peoples’ income strategies and the moral logics that shape their decisions to share food and money with needy neighbours.

Not having enough money (TP: nogat mani) is a common trope regularly employed by Tufi living in the ATS Settlement. It is expressed in various ways. A lack of access to money through waged employment is expressed as, ‘Planti blo mipla nogat wok’ (TP: ‘many of us don’t have employment’). Nogat mani is also reflected in day to day dilemmas in choosing between basic needs such as ‘wanem mani bai mipla kaikai na wanem mani bai mipla baim bas fe lo pikinini lo go skul?’ (TP: ‘what money will we eat and what money will we use to pay bus fare for children to go to school?’). Expressions such as ‘nogat mani bilong salim bodi i go long ples’ (TP: ‘no money to repatriate the body of a deceased relative home to Tufi’) reveal concerns about the inability to meet social obligations that are important for retaining connections with Tufi. Low incomes combined with the interplay between waged labour sold in the external labour
market and an insular local mutual economy create an environment in which social value arises.\textsuperscript{82}

The following statements sum up the struggles and moral dilemmas that Tufi living in the ATS settlement faced in earning incomes and in distributing their incomes which often comes at the expense of their own household needs during 2013. Indigo described her family’s typical income cycle:

\textit{When you have a wife and husband alone with children then your pay can last for a whole fortnight. But I have five children and other people to look after in and near our home. I am living with my in-laws so I have to share and provide for others. I have three children going to school so I have to give them bus fares and lunch money. My husband’s pay covers that. If we don’t have sugar in the house then I have to get money out from my profit from my haus maket (TP: house market) to buy it. Most people cannot survive through a fortnight. When you are down on cash and there is still two or three days to go before you get paid then you have to go and credit a K50 from maket mani (TP: market money) and then you pay it with interest. That’s normally the life that goes on here.}

\textit{Indigo, ATS settlement, 2013.}
\textit{Paraphrased from interview notes and transcript.}

Bill, a security guard, expressed his anxiety about not meeting customary expectations of sharing because he did not have enough money:

\textit{We know that we should be helping each other, this is our custom. But it is hard. If we help someone our own children will have nothing to eat.}

\textit{Bill, ATS settlement, 2013.}
\textit{Paraphrased from interview notes and transcript.}

\textsuperscript{82} Strathern’s (1975) formulation of urban ideologies of Hagen migrants to Moresby uses the Hagen idiom at the time ‘No Money on our skins’ to unpack Hagen migrant’s expressions of both reasons for migrating out of the village as well as for staying on in the urban setting. Money is both an ‘operator’ and a ‘trickster’ (Strathern 1975).
Indigo and Bill’s statements also point to a tension between the public ethos of what custom says people should do and the private realm of personal morality that guides individual choices and actions (Barker 2007; Gregory 2009). I realised the importance of this private realm when earlier on in my fieldwork I was told that people would not speak openly about their daily cash or food shortages. This was evident during one of my early public meetings when one woman proposed that I should go to each home to interview people rather than in an open forum. In this context, women like Indigo who generated family income through their engagement in local trading at their small markets – *haus maket* - comprising makeshift stalls or tables that are brought out daily, play an important role in mediating between the public and private, and monetary and social value. Following Gell’s (1999: Ch3) argument, this Chapter foregrounds the interactions between vendors and clients of *haus maket* in order to illuminate the ATS settlement socio-economy and value systems that operate within it.

I examine the main forms of economic engagement among the households that I interviewed in Section 8.2. I also establish *haus maket* stalls as a central economic institution in the livelihoods of Tufi living in the ATS settlement. Income inequality is outlined in Section 8.3 in order to provide the context for discussing the complexities of people’s social safety networks in relation to food or cash shortages which I discuss in Section 8.4. The centrality of *haus maket* stalls as sites for moral action that shape forms of value in the settlement is elaborated in Section 8.5. Drawing together the threads of the Chapter, the morality of sharing in the ATS Settlement context is explored in Section 8.6. The
Chapter is concluded in Section 8.7 with a discussion about the theoretical implications for notions of value. I suggest that, in the Graeber (2001) sense of value, women vendors of *haus maket* - are value makers and distributors in the community and their actions embody value (Otto and Willerslev 2013; Widlok 2013).

8.2 *Haus maket* and income generation
The settlement economy comprises a number of interconnected spheres. The external sphere is the broader city economy and involves income earned from wage labour, city markets, fresh food gardens in locations outside the settlement, and the running of small businesses such as Public Motor Vehicles (PMV). The settlement is home to many PMV owners and wage earners and commuters travel in and out of the settlement with ease. Locally, the settlement has one large main market located near its entrance (Field Notes 6) and another two smaller public markets along its main road.

![Figure 8.1: First bus stop and main market.](image)

*Source:* Photograph by Michelle Rooney, 2013.
The main vehicular route into the settlement from the city turns right from the Hubert Murray highway and runs south east parallel to the Jackson airport airstrip where it forks roughly half way along the airstrip. The left fork leads into the settlement’s main public market on its left hand side. This public market is locally referred to as the first bus stop, first roundabout or simply market. There is a large rain tree with a huge permanent pile of rubbish at its base where buses stop to pick up and drop off passengers (Figure 8.1). The road continues along the southern side of the settlement towards the second and third bus stops where two relatively smaller market areas are located.

At these larger markets, market vendors’ display their goods for sale on makeshift tables or on the ground with old rice bags, hessian bags, plastic sheets or card board. Vendors, customers and people play bingo while selling, buying and interacting (Figure 8.2). The produce sold at the main market includes fresh vegetables and significant amounts of betel nut. Many vendors leave their mats or heavy items such as firewood through the day and return in the afternoon when commuters are returning from work (Figure 8.3).

Around the periphery of the market are several trade stores made from shipping containers and corrugated iron. In front of the first of these stores a group of men call out the bingo numbers throughout the day. Beer is bought and consumed at the front of the shops or next to cars parked along the road or parked near the market. Some stores are open regularly while others are closed. Daily and weekly market activity fluctuates with commuters leaving and returning to the settlement each day and the city’s weekly pay cycles. The end of each day is busy with returning commuters and the end of the week is busier as workers spend their wages at the market and stores. The cycle of ‘more money at the end of each week’ reflects the government and private sector fortnightly pay cycles which alternate with each other.

The First Bus Stop market is also a public space that forms the interface between the local Oro narrative of the settlement and outsiders. It is also the space where the external economy meets the local economy. It is widely acknowledged that outsiders now dominate the market’s traders and clientele. It is at the same time a social and volatile area. On one of our first visits to the settlement, a fight had broken out between two men associated with two of the trade stores. The place was tense, people had dispersed and those who remained were mainly focussed on trying to antagonise or mediate the conflict. On any day it may flare up into a site of intense ethnic or social conflict fuelled by alcohol, emotions tested by an extra marital affair, an argument over betel nut, a vehicle hijacking or an armed hold up at one of the canteens. The market is also a gathering place for larger community meetings such as conflict mediation ceremonies (see Chapter 9). Other local economic activities were local gardening services, black market beer sales, selling firewood, raising live animals, and money lending. This local sphere depends on money circulating within the settlement, on money entering the settlement from waged income, and mutual reciprocal exchange.
Figure 8.2: Women sell betel nut while playing bingo at the main market.

Source: Photograph by Michelle Rooney, 2013.

Figure 8.3: Main market vendors leave their mats during the day.

Source: Photograph by Michelle Rooney, 2013.
Despite the accessibility of the main bus stop market many people traded from smaller market stalls or tables near their homes. This is understandable as the larger open markets in the city are difficult spaces for women to trade in because of the violence they encounter and the lack of public facilities (Jimenez et al. 2012; Wang 2014). It is this economic and social sphere that is the focus of this Chapter. Even though many residents of ATS settlement were familiar with the main bus stop market, their family circumstances, especially with young children, made it difficult for them to access the market. Also, as the settlement’s demographic profile has changed the ethnic make-up of patrons of the main bus stop market has changed with it. In 2013, many residents acknowledged it as a space dominated by outsiders. In this context, markets and the social interactions between actors within them can reveal how a society or a local community is organised. They can also shed light on the intersections between local and broader economic, social and political processes (Gell 1999; Hansen et al. 2013). Moreover, PNG markets entail social relations as much as they do market transactions (see Sharp 2016 for a discussion). Given the centrality of haus maket in peoples’ livelihoods and social relationships, and their visible and widespread presence in the settlement, this Chapter examines what they reveal about the local economy.

Haus maket were usually referred to by various local names such as buai maket (betel nut market), reflecting the main item sold, or haus maket (house market), reflecting their location near the vendor’s house. For consistency, I use the term haus maket to cover all such small markets. They varied in size and structure. Some were small but fixed makeshift structures built from off-cut
timber. Others comprised off-cut timber tables that were brought out each day and set up along the roadside that runs past vendors’ houses. Items offered for sale varied depending on the size of the market. By far the most prevalent good was betel nut. Other popular items included cracker biscuits, lollies, coffee sachets, and, cigarette packets opened and sold individually. Larger markets stocked rice packets, diapers, matches, noodles, scones, sugar, soap, detergent, and kerosene in small affordable packets (Figures 8.4 to 8.10). Two women I interviewed had *maket mani* and lent money to people within the community.

![Figure 8.4: Vendor closes her *haus maket* to pick her children from school.](image)

Source: Photograph by Michelle Rooney, 2013.
Figure 8.5: Basic household needs on sale at a larger *haus maket*.

Source: Photograph by Michelle Rooney, 2013.

Figure 8.6: *Haus maket* are sites of social interaction.

Source: Photograph by Michelle Rooney, 2013.
Figure 8.7: The owner of this closed *haus maket* was attending a *haus krai*.

Source: Photograph by Michelle Rooney, 2013.

Figure 8.8: A smaller *haus maket*.

Source: Photograph by Michelle Rooney, 2013.
Figure 8.9: *Haus maket* is a place for social interactions.

Source: Photograph by Michelle Rooney, 2013.

Figure 8.10: *Haus maket* at Tufi last block.

Source: Photograph by Michelle Rooney, 2013.
Haus maket stalls link the city economy with the local economy and involve a gendered pattern in household income generation and forms of economic engagement. This was evident in the fieldwork data I collected on household incomes (Figures 8.11 to 8.13). It also reflects a common pattern in the city (Barber 2003; Barber 2010; Galgal 2011; Gibson 2013; Umezaki and Ohtsuka 2003) and internationally (Hansen et al. 2013). Out of the thirty three households that I was able to obtain data on, seventeen (over 50%) combined external wage labour income with local income generating activities (Table 8.1). Fourteen of these households had a wife who operated a haus maket while her husband earned a waged income outside the settlement. Other adults living in the households also contributed to household incomes through waged earnings or engaging in haus maket or other activities. Six households relied solely on informal incomes and of these three had a haus maket. Only one couple jointly ran a haus maket (Table 8.1).

Figure 8.11: Types of income earning activity by gender.
Source: Michelle Rooney, Survey data. 2013.

Figures 8.11 to 8.13 were earlier published in Rooney (2015a, 2016a, and 2016b).
Figure 8.12: Type of wage employment by gender.

Source: Michelle Rooney, Survey data. 2013.

Figure 8.13: Type of informal sector activity by gender.

Source: Michelle Rooney, Survey data. 2013.
The security and familiarity of *haus maket* gave many women the flexibility to attend to children or household chores and draw on the support of their friends and family to mind their markets if they needed to leave them for a while. Chores in the settlement households can be time consuming. For example fetching water involves queuing at one of the communal water stands. Looking for firewood involves a walk into the hills surrounding the settlement. *Haus maket* are an important complement to the wage income in that wages generally do not last the full fortnight and when cash is short the household borrows from the *haus maket* and in turn repays or replenishes stocks at pay day (Rooney 2015a, 2016a). By buying from, lending to, and borrowing from the *haus maket* stall members of the household, wage earner’s incomes regenerate household income and keep the money within their household (Sharp 2016: 86-87 discusses a similar dynamic in the betel nut trade) while at

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### Table 8.1: Distribution of households by income source.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Has a <em>haus maket</em> stall</th>
<th>No <em>haus maket</em> stall</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Households with only informal non-wage income</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Households with only wage income</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Households combining informal non-wage and wage income</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Households with informal non-wage, wage and pension income</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Author’s fieldwork questionnaire, 2013.*
the same time connect the public formal labour force with the intimate local economy. This is illustrated in Delilah’s case:

Delilah runs a haus maket in front of her home. Her husband, Cedric works in a waged job. They have three children. Her sister, Jane and brother-in-law Jack and their daughter also live with them. Jane has waged employment. Delilah and Jack run their haus maket stalls from a shelter near the house. Although located at the same spot they run their stalls separately. She sells drinks and other food items and he sells biscuits. Cedric gets paid during the government’s pay day cycle and during his lus wik (non-pay week) Jackie gets paid in the private sector fortnightly pay cycle. In this way the house has weekly income. When Cedric gets paid they shop for food.

This shopping will last just over a week provided they don’t give any away. Around the time it runs out Jane gets paid and she buys some food. This will last about half a week. When they run out of food, they dinau (borrow) from Delilah or Jack’s haus maket profits. The wok lain (waged workers) will bekim dinau (repay the debt) when their pay day comes.

Delilah, ATS settlement, 2013.
Paraphrased from interview notes and transcript.

This relationship is not without tension. For example, a common cause of breakdown in haus maket is the result of the waged earner not honouring commitments to repay or replenish stocks that the household has borrowed. It is common for a vendor to cease trading for days or weeks until they have mustered up enough cash to buy stocks. This cash is usually sourced from their wage earning partner. In this way haus maket stalls also reflect the tension between the different sectors of the economy (Gudeman 2008). They occupy a place at the apex of interplays between formal and informal income generation and economic and social value. They served the community by selling household items nearby to others who were also not able to access other markets (for a discussion see Hansen et al. 2013).
8.3 Income inequality

I have used per capita household fortnightly money earned as an approximation for a household’s ability to provide its members basic subsistence needs\(^{84}\) (Figure 8.15). This measure takes into account all earned income reported by the interviewee divided by everyone living in it including children, non-economically engaged adults, the elderly and the ill. It is a better reflection of the immediate pressures that households face in terms of housing or feeding their members. Other measures, for instance, the number of sources of incomes (Figure 8.16) or the household total fortnightly income (Figure 8.17) mask the actual situation within a household in terms of how many people depend on that income and how it is distributed. Moreover, households that combine formal waged and informal sector income, such as *haus maket* stalls, tend to have a higher per capita income (Figure 8.18). This quantitative measure of the value of money income does not include money or items that are given to or received from other households, including households living outside the settlement in the city and remittances sent to and received from the village. The household data indicate that there is a very high level of inequality in the settlement with 67% of households earning less than K100 per

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\(^{84}\) Two households in my survey group had a member who was on a government pension. I omitted one from the data analysis because the reported pension was very high and I was not able to validate it before leaving the field. My follow up queries suggest that the reported amount was significantly overstated. The other reported pension was far more moderate and is included in the analysis. It is clear that, even when this particular household with a pension income is included in the analysis, per capita fortnight income is very low. This household’s strategies differed in that the pensioner had bought a block of land in the Central province where he was last posted for work and this gave the family some leverage in a similar manner to those households who had member coming from a village in one of the adjacent provinces. An exploration of pensions is beyond the scope of this study. However, I have included it in the data because in urban PNG this is an area that little research has been conducted and it is important to note that two families in this study group relied on a pensioner’s income.
person per fortnight. Household’s whose only source of incomes is from the informal sector are in this low income group (Figure 8.15).

Figure 8.14: Tufi woman wage earner relaxing in front of her home after work.

Source: Photograph by Michelle Rooney, 2013.

Figure 8.15: HH per capita fortnightly income in PNG Kina by type of income.

Source: Michelle Rooney, Survey data. 2013.
Figure 8.16: HH per capita fortnightly income by number of income sources.

Source: Michelle Rooney, Survey data. 2013.

Figure 8.17: Fortnightly HH income.

Source: Michelle Rooney, Survey data. 2013.
8.4 Complexities of food and money social safety nets

With low incomes and high inequality, many peoples’ incomes do not last the full fortnight cycle. For most people, the only social safety net available is their family and social network (Mawuli and Guy 2007). From a development angle, these transfers are often subsumed under the general rubric of PNG’s gift exchange culture or they are treated as a homogenous form that are counted as part of a household’s or person’s money income and called, ‘transfers’, ‘remittances’, or ‘gifts’ (see for example: Gibson 2006; Gibson et al. 1998). Such homogenisation of gift exchange masks complex intimate and morally valued social relationships (for a discussion see Gregory 2012).

In reality gift exchange reflects myriads of value regimes, moral logics, or spheres of exchange (Akin and Robbins 1999; Appadurai 1988; Gregory 2012)
which are foundational to social, economic and political life in PNG (Mauss 1970; Malinowski 1972; Sahlins 1972; Schwimmer 1973) and Melanesian personhood (Strathern 1988). The introduction of money into PNG society has only enriched and complicated the preponderance of social exchanges in the contemporary lives of Melanesians (Gregory 1982; Akin and Robbins 1999).

Social relationships and money flow between people and households within the settlement, and between it, the city, the village and other places (see, for example, Morauta 1984; Strathern 1975). Even when exchange relates to the provision of basic social safety nets there are other economic, moral and social issues to consider in the past, present or the future. This is evident in the following case studies. Raymond’s case illustrates how livelihoods involve ever changing strategies:

*I used to work as a security guard for K300 per fortnight. That is not enough money for the family so when we are short we buk (borrow money or food) K100 and have to repay with another K50 on top of that. In a fortnight if we repay K150 we are left with K150 and it is not enough for us. What money will we buy food and what money will we give our two girls for bus fare to go to school? When we lived further down in the settlement we used to have a haus maket to help us with kids’ bus fare to go to school and other things. But once we moved to this end it became harder to market because there is more competition. So now we have no market here. My wife finally decided to go to her village which is located along the Magi highway. Her brother allowed us to make a house and a garden there. I decided to leave work and follow her to make gardens so we can sell fresh food. I thought we can sell food and visit our two other children who stay in our house in the settlement. Our older son works and our daughter attends high school in the city and lives with him. He helps with her bus fare and food. Our neighbours also help with meals and keep an eye on them for us when we are in the village.*

*Raymond, ATS settlement, 2013. Paraphrased from interview notes and transcript.*
Raymond’s story shows the daily dilemmas that people face in prioritising the income between things as basic as food and sending children to school. It also shows the ways people access all available options. Raymond’s family survive between his wife’s village and the settlement and combine income from selling their garden produce and their son’s wage earnings.

Family members living outside the settlement were important sources of support. In the following case study, Keith illustrates that he not only considers those who are living around him, but his daughter’s family’s situation and the burden he is placing on her:

> Everyone does their own thing and they look after themselves. Sometimes if I have nothing to get me through the day other people help me. They can observe me and say, maybe he needs support. I do the same too. If I see that they don’t have something for the day and I have a bit extra I step in. We kind of support each other. My daughter and her husband who live overseas help about twice a month or whenever they think they should do it. They feel obliged to help us because my wife and I are no longer working. We also understand that they live overseas so we cannot pressure them. It doesn’t scare me to say that even now my wife has gone to the post office to collect some money that was sent to us today. We have family and every family has someone who helps them.

Keith, ATS settlement, 2013.
> Paraphrased from interview notes and transcript.

Geoff, like Keith, is a senior Tufi man and considers his current household as comprising his absent wife and his adult son, who is working, and his son’s wife. This is despite the fact that his niece and her family live under his house while waiting for their own house to be built nearby. Geoff also relies on support from his family inside and outside the settlement to support him:
Geoff is trying to sell his house so that he can join his wife in Popondetta. His wife accompanied their daughter there some months ago when their daughter’s husband passed away. They did not have the money for her to return. If he sells the house he hopes they can return to Tufi. Geoff’s son and daughter-in-law live with him. His son works in a waged job. His niece has put some canvas around the bottom posts of his house and is living there while waiting for her house which is being built nearby to be completed. Another daughter, Sharon, lives with her husband in another ethnic area of the settlement. Sharon’s husband works and she runs a haus maket when they have money. Another daughter lives in the suburb of Gordons with her in-laws. Geoff’s older sister lives in the suburb of Boroko. His youngest son, aged 16, lives with a cousin in the suburb of Tokarara. He has another daughter living in Lae and other relatives living in various suburbs in Moresby. He visits his sister several times a week and she and her children help him out a lot.

Geoff says: If I don’t have anything I go to my daughter Sharon or my other niece Viola (see case study below). But I don’t go all the time. Sometimes they observe that I am stap nating (TP: stay and do nothing) and they will give me some food or money. I give them rice when they have nothing. My sister and her children in the city are very smart. They really help like they are my real children. When I visit them they might give me K10 or K20. Between everyone giving me two kina, five kina or ten kina I think I must receive over K100. That’s plenty for my phone credits and sugar. Last fortnight I received from my daughter, my son, my daughter-in-law, my sister and her husband, my nephew’s wife, and his daughter. My niece’s husband gave me around thirty kina. I gave money too. I gave two kina each to my daughters. I gave more than five kina to my son for his bus fare. Viola asked me for bus fare so I gave her two kina. I gave some rice to my daughter. She is running her haus maket now but the other fortnight they had nothing so I told her to go to my house and get three cups of rice. I do that until her husband gets paid. Now that she is marketing again I go to her for help.

Geoff, ATS Settlement, 2013.
Paraphrased from interview notes and transcript.

Geoff was preoccupied with trying to reunite with his wife so they could return to live in Tufi. While this was his longer term strategy, for now he relied on his children and extended family to recognise that he needed support. He also redistributed what little he received knowing that it would be reciprocated. In the next case study, Nick and Linda’s story illustrated how being chronically
unemployed placed them in a position of disempowerment in their own home which was now used to host distant relatives. Although their guests evidently had enough waged earnings to visit Tufi for other cultural obligations, Nick and Linda had no control over the allocation of resources within the house:

It is hard for me to express how we survive. The little bit of money we had in our account in the past years we kept on withdrawing it to stock our haus maket. But we ran out and stopped. We now rely on our friends and relatives to give us a bit of money. For example, last night I bumped into my nephew, Alex, on the road and I said, ‘we are without a kitchen’. He took me to one of his friend’s haus maket. He gave us two packets of rice and a packet of 500g sugar. We had one in the morning and one last night. This morning we did not eat until we are now having lunch with you [making reference to the eggs, biscuits and canned meet I had bought at one of the haus maket stalls on the way to meet them]. Since the weekend Linda is doing a little bit of marketing where they play cards. Whatever she gets tonight we will have our packet of rice. We used to have a haus maket but it broke down. When we have no money for example to get water, Linda follows her friends and puts our containers with theirs and we fill water. We also have living in our house Mary and her two brothers. They are related to my Alex’s wife. They were living in the city with their relatives but due to problems there they came to Alex and his wife for help. Because his house was already full of people he brought them to us. We don’t know where she works or how much she earns. Occasionally she buys some rice for the house. Last month she flew back to the village because her father was sick.

Nick and Linda, ATS settlement, 2013.
Paraphrased from interview notes and transcript.

Even those on relatively high incomes redistributed their money in various ways:

Matthew is a senior public servant who comes from Oro province. His wife, Nicki, is a Tufi woman who also runs a haus maket. They are one of the very few households with a high income. Their income is K2,300 per fortnight (fortnightly household per capita income of K460). But they were not always this well off. A few years ago when neither of them was working, he would go to a brother who is an engineer living in the suburb of Korobosea and
another brother who occupies a senior public position and ask for help. He was comfortable to ask these two brothers for help.

In the past fortnight Matthew gave K500 to a colleague, K600 (300 each) to two brothers visiting from the village, K400 to their daughter at the university for her course materials. They sent K300 to Nicki’s older sister who came to Popondetta from Tufi to seek health care for complications in her pregnancy. Within the ATS community they gave K70 to a friend. Matthew gave K50 to their neighbour who is unemployed and Nicki gave the same neighbour another K20. They gave K10 each to their two school aged children. They were left with around K330 for food and other expenses. They noted that:

‘Within the community people don’t ask us for help. In the last fortnight nobody asked us for help but we know who needs help and we give because we do that regularly. We know who is who and what is what and their situation. We never ask how they are but we give. For example our friend who we gave K70 to is a leader in the community. He is not working and his wife has been sick for a year so every fortnight we give them a bit. Our pay packet is like this every fortnight.

Matthew, ATS settlement, 2013.
Paraphrased from interview notes and transcript.

Households that depended entirely on waged income had to carefully budget their incomes over the fortnight while still supporting their families and others. This was the case for Sonia and her husband Sam who moved into the settlement after facing ongoing conflicts with their family in the city. Despite feeling estranged from their family, and even though they had a relatively high household income within the settlement, they also had to meet their obligations to financially support their families who were caring for their two young children, as well as share with their neighbours and contribute to other collective needs in the settlement:

When they first moved into the settlement, Sonia found it very hard emotionally and would take her frustrations out on Sam by scolding him loudly. Her uncle who lived nearby counselled her
and gave her the following advice: ‘when there is nothing, you must not make it look like there is nothing’. They now both have jobs and are among the higher income earners in the study group with a per capita fortnightly income of K380. Last fortnight they sent K150 to their daughter in Alotau through the postal service. This incurred a fee of K12.50. They also contributed K100 towards the legal fees for the community to fight the eviction notice (Chapter 4). They also gave K50 to her parents-in-law in the city to help with taking care of her son. They also provide help to others in the settlement.

They also send K20 or K50 when her uncle asks for money. They don’t run out of food but do run short of cash for bus fares. When this happens they borrow from money lenders. They note that people generally don’t ask them for food but they can recognise when people don’t have food by the looks on their faces, the fact that they have not commenced cooking around the usual time or if there is no smoke coming from their houses. If an elderly person is sitting alone all day or someone who usually smokes or chews betel nut is not smoking or chewing then they give a K2 note to them.

Sonia and Sam, ATS settlement, 2013.
Paraphrased from interview notes and transcript.

People also experienced days when they had no one they could turn to for support. On these days people spoke about sleeping on empty stomachs or, as Geoff in the above case study noted, they *stap nating*, (TP: stay and do nothing), and hoped that someone would recognise that they had no food. Raymond whom I introduced earlier in this Chapter explained the kind of dilemma he and his family experience when they have no food:

*When we have no food we sleep with hunger. Those of us that might have a small garden here or there might find a bit of cassava, greens or spend twenty toea on greens to cook with whatever garden food we find. But otherwise we just sleep. If someone is your turuturu* [85] *(TP: real kin) then you can ask them and they will give you food. But they too are in shortage so they may say no. You just come back home and taitim bel na silip*(TP:*

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[85] The Tok Pisin terms tru and trupla mean true, real, genuine. Turuturu is an intensifier - very true, very real or very genuine.
Literal: tighten you stomach and sleep; metaphor for brace oneself. Then you think some more and go look for another brata (TP: brother). With some people whom I am close to I can just openly ask, ‘hey I am hungry can you give me some food or money’, something like that and they will give me something. They won’t say go away or go and work. They just give me food.

Raymond, ATS settlement, 2013.
Paraphrased from interview notes and transcript.

These case studies reveal the complexities in social relationship that underpin social support. It is not always easy to ask for help and sometimes dependency places people in compromising or difficult situations. Nick and Linda depend on Nick’s nephew for support and in return he asks them to share their home with people he cannot house and who are only distantly related to them. Matthew as well as Sonia and Sam, must meet their obligations to remit money to other provinces while at the same time meet the expectations to share within the settlement.

8.5 The value of haus maket stalls as a local social safety net

These case studies illustrate the intersection between making money and sharing or distributing it in ways that entangle the nominal value of money with socially and morally valued actions associated with its distribution (Otto and Willerslev 2013; Widlok 2013). The levels of inequality in this context means that those with relatively higher incomes feel compelled to share even though this means diminishing their own family’s incomes.

In this context vendors’ of haus maket occupied a place in their community that were both private and public. Nearby or within their homes and interacting intimately with family members they were in a private space. Yet they were in
a public space on the road side, visibly seen and available to the general public in the vicinity. This position in the heart of their communities provided them with a view to observe and be accessible to others around them. The following key case studies show the spectrum of interactions and dynamics that take place among local actors at the haus maket.

At one end of the spectrum, vendors of haus maket observed and shared their valuable goods even when they themselves were struggling. Bertha and her husband were one of the three families that I observed who owned a car\textsuperscript{86}. Bertha had only recently returned to paid employment after being out of work for some time. Her husband had also been out of work for some time. They usually ran a small haus maket stall at the track that runs past their house. Bertha noted that:

\begin{quote}
When I need help I do buking (borrow). It depends on my basic daily needs. Sometimes I buk (borrow) fortnightly. Sometimes I don’t need to borrow for two months. We have a car loan and because we have been out of work for the past three months we are behind on our repayments so it has been hard. There are plenty people who go without food. Sometimes people sleep with hungry stomachs. I realised this when I was doing some sales. I notice that some people eat scone only and sleep. I can tell when I observe that a regular customer comes to the market very late and only buys two scones. From this I know that they need food. For example I know how many children live in that house and if the mother comes and buys only two scones then I think how they will share that scone. I might add whatever is left on my market table I add onto the two scones they have bought. I pay for it out of my earnings.

Bertha, ATS settlement, 2013.
Paraphrased from interview notes and transcript.
\end{quote}
At the other end of the spectrum lies the less visible maket mani (TP: money market) that most people would at some point resort to for cash. Maket mani is an income earning activity for a handful of people and an accessible source of cash for many people. It was one of the few things people openly discussed as a first and last resort to access cash. As Sarah explained, from the perspective of money lenders in the settlement, the emphasis was on making sure borrowers were trustworthy and could repay their money:

Usually when people look for maket mani (TP: market money) they ask around and someone will tell them ‘aunty salim mani’ (TP: aunty is selling money). Then they’ll come and ask me, ‘Aunty yu salim mani? (TP: Aunty, are you selling money)? Depending on who it is I may respond, ‘yes but it is all finished’, or I may respond, ‘yes there’s a bit here’. I tell them my terms. For example I say, ‘make sure you budget your fortnight earnings for me. If I give you one hundred kina then you will pay me one hundred and fifty kina. If I give you fifty kina you will give me seventy five kina’. If they are ok with this then they take it. I have to assess people properly before giving them money. We are a mix here with all kinds of people. I only give to our Tufi people and some save pes (TP: known face) people. I don’t give to people if I don’t know them well.

I do feel sorry for people when they can’t repay. But I say to them, ‘You came to my house door and asked for money. So you must return to my house door to repay my money’. If they don’t do this I go to them and say, ‘you promised me and you took it so why have you not come and given it back?’ If they give excuses or say they don’t have any money then I say ‘no you had the means that is why you asked. But in case it is true that you can’t please just forget the profit and give me my mama mani (TP: mother money or principle) back. Sometimes when some don’t have money and I speak strongly they respond with ‘aunty or sister please gives me a bit more time and I’ll repay’. So I leave and when they get some money they come and pay the profit plus my mama mani.

When some, like my brothers, ask for one, two or three hundred kina I just give it. When they repay it they also buy me food. But I insist that they should only repay my money and not worry about buying food. The money they give me I will buy food for my family and whatever is left I will buy what my children need’. I tell them this but still they buy food.

Sarah, ATS settlement, 2013.
Paraphrased from interview notes and transcript.
Despite Sarah’s efforts to ensure her customers repaid her money and to separate her *maket mani* from her social relationships, her brother, still bought extra food for her when he repaid his loan.

Somewhere in between the *haus maket* vendor gifting food and the more stringent *maket mani* is the *haus maket* vendors as a place to source food on credit. Viola, and her family’s, case illustrates how they tended to *buk* only from a *haus maket* rather than resort to borrowing from *maket moni*:

Viola moved into ATS with her husband in 1997. She had been ill for some time and was living between her house and her oldest son’s house. In her home lived her daughter, Ethel, and son-in-law, Wayne, and their two daughters aged 10 and 8. Her two sons Ray and Mitch and her granddaughter, aged 12, also lived in the house. Ray worked as a car cleaner at one of the car yards and Wayne was a kitchen hand at a food bar. Ethel usually had a haus maket but had been attending a haus krai for the past few weeks at one of her in-laws houses in the city.

Her older son with whom she currently resided did not work but was involved in the community as a youth leader. The two households shared meals and she, her sons and granddaughter moved between the two houses to share meals. Although Ray and Wayne bought food every fortnight it ran out before the next payday. Her son also gave her some coins to buy betel nut. When food ran out they usually buk from Ethel’s haus maket or from one of the other haus maket and paid it back when Ray and Wayne got paid. Viola told me that, ‘we do buking (borrow or credit) from those people who market but we only get food that we need for a meal now. We don’t borrow money. That’s all we get and when the boys get paid they pay it back’. When they had a lot of outstanding credit they bought less food in order to repay their food debt. Viola’s brother who lived in the city also occasionally gave her a bit of money. She used to visit another cousin sister in the city but that sister had returned to Tufi to care for her ill mother. She also called another cousin in the city every three or four fortnights to ask for some money.

Viola, ATS settlement, 2013.
Paraphrased from interview notes and transcript.
It is evident that the *haus maket* stall which includes *maket mani* is a central institution in local social safety nets for food and cash. It is also evident in all the case studies that *haus maket* vendors are flexible and subject to risks of their market breaking down. This means they can find themselves needing to draw on other’s support.

### 8.6 Morality of sharing

As discussed in Chapters 4, 5, and 6, within this urban context their *Oro* identity which drew them to the settlement can be regarded as Tufi peoples’ base identity that forms the ‘essential good on whose existence a community relies’ (Gudeman 2008: 35). Having secured shelter through this collective identity people in the settlement find that high levels of unemployment and low incomes mean that basic survival needs like food and water are hard to come by. Sharing, and in particular sharing food, is an essential part of survival but it also increasingly difficult to do because of low incomes – *nogat mani*. In this context sharing is a morally valued act. Gell (1999) argued that sharing in Melanesia constitutes a ‘transactional mode in its own right’ (Gell 1999: 77) that should be distinguished from gift exchange that usually dominates theoretical discussions of Melanesian society. Arguing that sharing is a complicated social practice that is context specific, Widlok (2013) views the act of sharing food as having an intrinsic value that overrides any expectation of reciprocity or obligation on the part of the giver.

Of particular importance to the ATS settlement context is Widlok’s (2013) demonstration that relatedness between people, ways of communicating, and physical proximity define the local contexts in which actors interact through
sharing. Relatedness and kinship are constituted in a variety of ways and various terms or acts may bring people closer or create social distance and this is particularly important for sharing, although kinship alone does not guarantee sharing (Widlok 2013). At the same time acts of sharing, especially those involving food, are core to mutuality between people and therefore form the base for kinship (Sahlins 2014). Sharing involves a variety of forms of communication that Widlok (2013) refers to as ‘kin talk’ (p20), which may include silence or expressions of having nothing (Widlok 2013). Finally, Widlok (2013) suggests that kin talk associated with acts of sharing relies on the actors being in close proximity to each other (Widlok 2013: 20). Rasmussen (2015: 55-76) discusses the important role that action based on seeing play in making social relationships visible.

In all the cases presented in this Chapter it is evident that people are giving, receiving, and exchanging food and money as commodities and as gifts between each other, and within and beyond the settlement. A common pattern in the above case studies is the tendency among those who are in a position to give food or cash to recognise that a person nearby needs support. The ability to give or offer help without being asked is a highly valued skill and a person with this skill is said to have pasin luksave - the Tok Pisin term which means to recognise, to know or to acknowledge. The following example illustrates how this skill is valued, and creates mutual kinship relationships between distant relatives, from the perspective of a family who needed support in the community:

*My wife is always happy with my brothers because whenever we need help they are there. She isn’t someone to ask for help or talk much but when she arrives and is hungry they can see it in her face and think ‘this*
women i mas nogat (TP: must be without) or she must be hungry’, and they will give her food. So my brothers have luksave blong ol man (TP: the ability to recognise things about people) in the way they arrive or walk. They study people. So I place all my trust in them for my well-being. I am happy that I am wanpla blut mipla bon na stap (TP: I am of one blood, we are born and living together). But my brother’s children are different. When they first came to ATS they came and stayed with me. I helped arrange for them to get a block here. I helped them to build their houses and to move to their own houses. But I will not ask them for help. They should know that I am their father’s brother. They are actually closer to me. Whenever they are hungry, or have an urgent need for help they still come and ask for help even if they have not visited me for a while. I don’t get upset. Whatever I have on hand I just give it to them. Even though I do this for them, when I feel I need help I don’t go to them because they won’t give or recognise me. I am worried they might think that I am trying to get a share of their incomes despite the fact that I did not educate them.

Raymond, ATS settlement, 2013.
Paraphrased from interview notes and transcript.

The brothers that Raymond is referring to are his maternal relatives who took him into live in their cluster of houses after he had a dispute with his neighbours – another Tufi group. Because of their recognition and responses during his times of need he regards them as his biological kin – one blood. He contrasts his close kinship relationship to them with his brother’s children who are closely related by blood and who would be in a direct parent-child relationship with him according to custom. Sharing food and money thus constitutes ‘real’ kinship. In an earlier case study, Raymond also discussed how he was only comfortable to ask for food and money from his turuturu lain (TP: real kin). Likewise, in another earlier case study, Geoff likened his extended family who shared money with him to being like his ‘real children’. Thus sharing food, and money to buy food, constitutes the mutuality that binds people as kin (Sahlins 2014).
Those who *luksave* and offer help can tell that help is needed by the look on people’s faces, their behaviour at meal times or other signs. If a fire had not been lit, there was no smoke coming from a house or there was a quiet demeanour about the people’s movement around meal times these were signs that the house was without food. If children did not go to school, this was a sign that they had no bus fare to go to school. Raymond’s admiration of his brother’s *luksave* skill and his apprehension about asking his brother’s children for help because they should know better but won’t recognise him, as well as Geoff’s praise of his relatives’ ‘smartness’ when they give him money infers a moral valuation on acts of giving based on *luksave*\(^{87}\). Similarly, Poser (2013) writing about Ramu River society, in PNG notes the personal trait of ‘looking after others and helping them if they are in need [...] without asking them’ (Poser 2013: 6). She describes an ethic in which one must not ask but rather observe another person’s demeanour, and ask oneself questions like: is the fire in use?, is there food in the place? If one reaches the conclusion that their neighbour has nothing then one shares a plate of food (Poser 2013: 110). She refers to this ethic or characteristic as *‘pasin blong ai’* (TP: ways of observation) (p111 and p219).

Although people place a moral value on *luksave*, they also note that this kind of sharing is becoming harder. This is evident in Stella’s statement below where she makes a distinction between good neighbourly behaviour which is based

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\(^{87}\) Contrast these qualities of a good person with an example from the Maisin area by Barker (2008) who notes: ‘[…] the good person is generous, giving freely to others, and they don’t try to show off as a “big head”. Above all else, they meet their obligation to reciprocate for what they receive.’ (p60).
on the ethos of *luksave* and the fact that neighbours are now less inclined to share:

> If my next door neighbour or her husband has their fortnight pay and she observes that I am just sitting down doing nothing she will know that maybe today is my son's lus wik (TP: loss or non-pay week in the fortnight). She will wonder what my children and I will eat and sleep. If she is a good neighbour and has concern for her next door friend then maybe she will cook a bit of rice and offer us some. Even if she does not have enough she might just offer one plate of rice for my children. Good relatives and neighbours will do this. This hardly happens these days but that is the life we should be living.

_Stella, ATS settlement, 2013._

Paraphrased from interview notes and transcript.

This acknowledgement that sharing that is based on *luksave* is in decline points to a corresponding moral value that guides the actions of those who need help.

When I asked people what they did or who they went to when they ran out of food or money to buy food a common responses was ‘*Mpla save stap nating*’ (TP: We just stay and do nothing). The term *stap nating* is the Tok Pisin term for do nothing, have nothing, being without or hanging out. These responses suggest that people tended to refrain from asking for help. Sonia’s uncle advised her that, ‘*when there is nothing, you must not make it look like there is nothing*’. In Geoff’s case he relied on his neighbours and family to recognise that he was without - *stap nating* - and share with him. Likewise Raymond and his family chose to *stap nating* and sleep on empty stomachs rather than ask for food. In all these different transactions those people who recognised need – *luksave* and those who refrained from asking for help – *stap nating* - were in close proximity to each other and *stap nating* was the trigger for sharing to occur (Widlok 2013). *Stap nating* was conveyed through concrete context specific signals such as the lack of smoke or stillness at mealtimes conveying...
that the household had no food to prepare. These suggest that non-action – *stap nating* - at critical points of shortage – such as having no food to cook – is a mode of conveying crisis – or a request for sharing. The duty is on the giver to offer support and in doing so have *luksave* – and be a good neighbour or family member.

If good neighbourliness is the moral valuation that guides *luksave*, the corresponding question is: What is the moral valuation that guides the tendency to refrain from asking for help - *stap nating*? To answer this question, I revisit the foregoing case studies. For example, one of Raymond’s concerns about asking for help was that he would be told to go and work and earn his own money, or that others were just in the same situation as him and therefore would not be prepared to share. He was also anxious that his brother’s children might think he did not deserve a share of their incomes because he did not educate them. Keith admitted that he was not scared if people knew that he was receiving support from his daughter. Fear of being refused, blamed for self-inflicted hardship, and the mere fact that people know that everyone else is going through similar difficulties means people will opt to *stap nating*. They would rather wait for someone to have *luksave* than face moral judgements of failure, laziness, and appropriation of others’ hard work. It is difficult it is to ask for help:

> Sometimes even if people have food in their house and if you go and ask for some, they will say ‘sorry we have nothing’. That’s the habit inside the community. When we are really down and have nothing it is very hard to go and ask our neighbours. If those we are very close to such as our daughters also have nothing to give then we just stay (stap
nating). If we are lucky and there is tapioca in the garden near the house we’ll eat that.

Mandy, ATS settlement, 2013. Paraphrased from interview notes and transcript.

These suggest that the underlying moral value that dissuades those without cash or food from asking in the first instance is fear and shame of being blamed as well as the acknowledgement that everyone is struggling. This moral logic placed on not asking is so compelling that some people are prepared to contradict the moral teachings of the bible that they have been taught:

When we are short we ask family but most of the times we wait for my wife to return from the PMV run she helps to manage. She gives us a fifty kina so we can buy a bag of rice. We don’t ask our neighbours. The bible says that you ask and you shall receive but we believe the blessings will still come. My wife and I believe in this so we are patient and stay. If there is only a small amount of food then children get to eat first and we might drink a cup of tea and wait. Somehow during the night food comes in its own way. Unexpectedly someone, for example my daughter or son, will turn up with food and our hunger ends. When people ask us we give. In the last fortnight we gave to my brother. Like us, he only occasionally asks for help. There’s another brother on mum’s side that we help. Last fortnight we gave him some banana twice. We also serve food in a dish for the old lady who lives nearby.

Jonathan, ATS settlement, 2013. Paraphrased from interview notes and transcript.

The following comment by a relatively well-off person suggests that the fear of being judged as failures is not unfounded:

No one causes people to be poor. If people don’t manage a K2 properly then they will be poor. If they want to make this K2 grow and look and dress like a human being\(^{88}\), then they

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\(^{88}\) Scolding and reprimanding others particularly children as ‘not human’ or likening to an animal such as pig or dog is quite common and usually harmless. But this valuation of a person’s inability to make money grow and therefore be like a ‘human being’ – which emphasises the value of money and its ability to buy clothing can be contrasted with a Tufi village perspective of morality that emphasises sharing and exchange wherein ‘[...] the job of turning a child into a social person requires incorporating them into exchange networks and
can make money out of what coins they have to live. But people make themselves look poor.

Informant, ATS settlement, 2013.
Paraphrased from interview notes and transcript.

Thus the relationships that arise out of the household economy, including sharing, are like the ‘base’ of the community which symbolises the local ‘shared material and nonmaterial interests and values that mediate relationships’ (Gudeman 2008: 22, 28). In turn this connects the meaning of Oro as house, kinship, and welcome (Chapter 3) to the collective Oro identity.

8.7 Conclusion

I started this Chapter by highlighting the tension between the public ethos of what people should do according to custom and what people actually do based on their private and personal morality of choices and actions (Gregory 2009; Sykes 2009). This dilemma is especially important given that the customary tradition of food sharing is a core part of Tufi and Oro sociality and daily meal routines (Newton 1985; Barker 2008; Hermkens 2013; Gneecchi-Ruscone 1991).89

89 Barker (2008) notes about Maisin that: ‘Most of the time, there is no practical requirement that compels people to share beyond their own household. Yet each day, villagers give produce, betelnut, tobacco, and other gifts to their kin and neighbours. Most evenings after the evening meal has been cooked, young children can be seen bearing small plates or pots of cooked food from house to house. More often than not, a household receives back from one or more neighbours exactly the same kinds of food as they sent out (p53). Further, Barker notes that: ‘There is no hunger in Maisin communities; the need to share, to support others is too compelling’ (Barker 2008: 69). The social and moral values of food sharing that are based on this kind of recognition is also part of village life (Hermkens 2013: 225).
In this urban settlement context, where money is a basic need in terms of acquiring food, I established the *haus maket* as a central institution in the community because of its prevalence and the role that vendors play in mediating between food as commodity to be sold and as a basic need that they share even when this involves a sacrifice on their own household’s ability to survive. Moreover the economic activity generated from the *haus maket* links the external economy with the local socially embedded economy (Polanyi 2001). They are a central institution in the local settlement economy. By far the most common form of local economic engagement, and dominated by women, they form the point of intersection between the formal waged economy and the local economy that is based on local moral norms of mutuality. The local economy is therefore part of the city economy. It is where people make money from both market labour income and the local mutual economy which interplay and stand in tension with each other (Gudeman 2008).

In this context, where sharing is an important social safety net, I suggest that the value that arises in acts of sharing has to be understood in its totality. *Haus maket* are at the apex of social safety nets in terms of food and cash. The items being transferred between people have economic, moral and context specific value (Graeber 2001: ch1; Widlok 2013). The morality of sharing, and the redistribution of value in response to day to day food and money shortages, draws on a dual moral logic. On the one hand, when there is no food to cook *stap nating* is a way of communicating scarcity in a person or household. While this creates social distance, it is the mode of communication that elicits sharing.

I also observed this in a Korafe village in 2007 when we visited Dudley’s family. Every night food was shared between households.
(Widlok 2013: 20) on the part of those with luksave, who are in a position to give (for example, Poser 2013). This creates mutuality between actors (Gell 1999; Gudeman 2008; Sahlins 2014; Widlok 2013).

Reflecting the increasing hardship people are facing, this moral base is moderated by a moral logic that ascribes judgements of failure and shame when people ask for food and a positive moral valuation of goodness when people give without being asked. The form of sharing that takes place resonates with asymmetric reciprocity or demand sharing which in indigenous Australia contributes to relational personhood (Peterson 1993, 2013: 167; Peterson and Taylor 2003; Sahlins 1972). Rasmussen (2015) also argues that forms of demand sharing, involving less ceremonial gifts, between migrants and their home communities are important in shaping relational personhood. In the ATS settlement context, in the same way that having money lubricates relationships (Strathern 1975), nogat mani (TP: no money) is seen to foster social relations between people based on mutual presence and values.

As I discussed in previous Chapters, collective identity involved costs such as financial contributions to collective efforts to secure land tenure. Their collective identity also attracted Oro people into the settlement. In this Chapter I have established that sharing and interactions between household economies are the basic values that bind the community. However, these moral norms are under threat because of increasing financial hardship. In the next two Chapters I examine two other major challenges that required collective action. These are crime and violence (Chapter 9), and contributions for the burial of deceased family members (Chapter 10). In both Chapters, it is evident that collective
identity and action is necessary for survival and regenerating the collective identity. However, this comes at a financial and social cost.
CHAPTER 9. ‘OUR BOYS’; ENGENDERING SECURITY THROUGH \textit{ORO} COLLECTIVE ACTION

9.1 We all stand together and fight

Social and ethnic networks in the city provide an important safety net for navigating the pervasiveness of crime and violence across the city for those living in the formal areas and residents in ATS settlement. Paradoxically, within the settlement, the meaning of the term \textit{Oro} as house, men’s house, and welcome, and an underlying ethos of inclusion, is also important in addressing violent transgressions of young male members of the community. To see this paradox first consider how \textit{Oro} might be used to signal both patrilineral and masculine domains and domestic nurture. When Waiko (1982) described his childhood growing up in a Binandere society he noted:

\begin{quote}
I left my \textit{mando}, my mother’s house, to join my father and my elder brother in the \textit{oro}, the men’s house, dado Waiko invited me to his village Ainsi to bestow \textit{kotopu} on me. Loosely translated \textit{kotopu} is respect: I was now to be honoured in the community as something more than an infant. […] The kotopu ceremony and the shift to the men’s house meant the end of my naked, carefree boyhood (Waiko 1982: xiii).
\end{quote}

After his kotopu initiation, Waiko recalled his parent’s decision:

\begin{quote}
One evening I made a fire in front of the \textit{oro} and my mother came and placed her \textit{tero}, a mat woven from coconut palm, and sat on it. She told me of a decision that she and my father had made, and her words were like fish bones in my throat; I was to go to school at Tabara. I felt uneasy because this was the beginning of leaving my parents’ protection (Waiko 1982: xvi).
\end{quote}
Thus in the traditional context *Oro* is the site of the adult male where a young boy experiences his rite of passage for him to enter the domain of manhood. At the same time it is a site of parental nurture where guidance and care is provided. The warmth of the fire and his mother is ever present in front of the *Oro*.

In the ATS settlement in Moresby, the paradox arises because of all the unlikely categories of people and their behaviour in which we might see these traditional *Oro* values exhibited in public performance, it is young men’s misdemeanours that reveal their great capacity to invoke a collective public performance of *Oro* identity in contestation with others. Here the inclusive and nurturing domain of *Oro* is only made visible in the opposing acts of exclusion and defiance that arise out of violence. Their actions, which lead to group insecurity, generate collective actions to secure the group under the frame of ethnic identity.

Within the settlement, the spectre of violence and crime cuts deep – into already precarious levels of livelihoods. In particular, I noted throughout my fieldwork that the same youth would at one time be a resourceful member of the community and at another the cause of much angst after causing trouble which could extend from rowdy behaviour in the community to armed theft. The phrase *our boys* was used commonly and often in reference to the ethnic narrated identity of *Oro* or Tufi and reflects people’s emphasis on the collective obligation to attend to the actions of young men. On the one hand, ‘boys’ are regarded as ‘ours’ and with whom we are safe, and on the other hand unpredictable, unknown and potentially dangerous. This concern is reflected in
the following comments of a long term resident of the settlement, who grew up there and is now a grandfather,

*If we look after law and order well, if youth in the community and leaders work together, we will make a very good community. Then the place will be safe for our children. Drugs and alcohol cause a lot of problems. Youth who are intoxicated harass and beat people. It is not just us Oro people living here. Now there are others too and the behaviour of our boys can cause ethnic differences and fights between people - like tribal fights. Usually when we have an ethnic fight the entire community stands together and fights. If one man brings his tribe in we all stand together and fight back. That's the way we are living.*

Jason, ATS Settlement, 2013.
*Paraphrased from interview notes and transcript.*

In being ‘ours’ and belonging to the community, ‘boys’ forays into realms of crime and violence creates a rupture in social balance that implicates the entire community. This leads to collective responses and performances of contestation over space, identities and power. People are convened, social relationships are renewed and social, economic and political power is invoked. Value, money and power are redistributed as order is restored. But collective actions also come with tensions at the intimate household level. These tensions arise because the same ‘boys’ who are relationally constituted members of families, communities and ethnic identities, are also the ‘boys’ who commit criminal and ethnic violence.

The intersections between collective responses to crime and violence are examined in this Chapter. The method used to formulate this Chapter is outlined in Section 9.2. The ways that family and friends in the city interact with each other to address crime or violence are analysed in Section 9.3. In Section 9.4 I examine the local responses to crime and violence. Public renderings of
masculine and collective forms of violence can be likened to performances that reinforce collective security (Goldstein 2004). In contrast to the logic applied by the state and actors residing in non-settlement areas of the city, within the settlement, emphasis is placed on collective responses to their ‘boys’ behaviour. This reveals insights into the point of view of families living in the settlement which is not necessarily consistent with formal perspectives of law enforcement and justice. However, as I demonstrate in Section 9.5, this collective action which restores security and regenerates the collective identity comes at great cost to already poor families and also at the expense of remedial responses to individual and gendered forms of violence. I conclude the Chapter in Section 9.6 with a discussion about the theoretical and policy implications. A key conclusion is that by focussing on public narratives and performances of violence we risk reinforcing the silence of those whose experiences of violence are hidden from discussion and action. By overly emphasising the binary between victims and perpetrators of violence we may also miss local nuances where there may be opportunities to engage with people’s world view of violence in their particular settings.

9.2 A note on method: Reflexive autoethnography

The method used in this Chapter departs considerably from the rest of the thesis as I use reflexive autoethnography to illustrate the dynamics of crime and violence in the settlement (Ellis et al. 2011; Reed-Danahay 2001; Etherington 2007). There are important ethical, personal and practical reasons for this approach. My research questions did not explicitly involve an interrogation of crime and violence. Therefore my fieldwork plan did not incorporate
appropriate methods to enable me to pursue this line of inquiry. As fieldwork progressed however, this issue emerged as a common challenge in the settlement and as a result I needed to consider how people addressed these challenges.

As I mentioned in my introduction, in order to manage my own security during my fieldwork I steered away from discussing crime in an explicit way. Publically, many ATS Settlement residents take pride in the fact that it is one of the safest places in Moresby and on one level my experiences confirm this. Fear was not something that people openly expressed or acknowledged. My own apprehensions related to security were often brushed aside with responses for me not to be scared or that this is the safest settlement. Yet, many people outside the settlement asked with concern how I was getting along, how did I deal with the potential for violence and how did I manage my safety. Unlike others, my ability to confidently move into and around the settlement on a sustained basis over the six months of my fieldwork was primarily related to my connection to Dudley’s family. In order to avoid further compromising these social relationships I could not explicitly probe crime and violence without further burdening those who had kindly agreed to help me. For example, I would have had to seek support from people to mediate and facilitate interviews and interactions with people who were directly involved in crimes or violence. I was not prepared nor equipped to do this. Moreover, given my status as tambu meri it was more appropriate for me to speak to women and older men or in family or group settings.
Violence was so engrained into people’s lives (Jolly 2012) that the many emotions or conflicts, including between people I was interviewing were ongoing and some were being mediated during my fieldwork. Related to the foregoing, I was also not equipped professionally to respond to any issues arising out of previous violence or trauma experienced by interviewees. Indeed, I was informed and knew there was history of violence in many stories but I found that people were very cautious about how they recounted incidents or what they said. Many insisted on anonymity or only spoke in private.

However, despite these significant constraints, given that Moresby is often portrayed as one of the most violent cities in the world and its settlement population receive the worst media portrayals, I felt that it was important to illuminate that ways violence and crime in the city mediate relationships across the city. I therefore chose to make visible these dynamics through the technique of autoethnography. By interrogating a personal story from the perspective of an insider/outsider (Port Moresby born/non-ATS resident) I delineate the kinds of webs of networks, social relations and power dynamics that people rely on for long term survival in the city. As a relatively well off and educated woman living in the city, my own survival and that of those around me requires my family and I to engage with non-formal systems of justice and law and order. These can also work to undermine formal efforts.

I could not have fully grasped the significance of the stories my informants were telling had I not had the long term experience and the insider/outsider’s perspective on crime in Moresby. My own fears, anxieties and survival were important foundations in enabling me to empathise with and gain insights
when it was difficult to discuss or ask explicitly about violence. Reflexive autoethnography thus placed me as another resident in the city. It also allowed me to fill the gaps that my method was not able to.

The way people spoke of ‘our boys’ in particular drew me to one of my earlier reflections (Rooney 2012) about a personal experience in the city in 2005 when Dudley had to call on a childhood friend Tom90 - another Tufi and Oro man, and a brother of his - to retrieve a stolen vehicle. I juxtapose this story, recounted by Dudley during my early reflections, and my own Reflective Memories, against the fieldwork data. In doing so, I seek to draw out some of the key issues that I felt that both my research participants and I were not able to talk about during interviews. By reflecting on both data sets I seek to illustrate the kinds of sequences of exchange that occur to restore social harmony when social balance is ruptured by violent acts in a Moresby settlement91.

Reflective Memory 5: Encounters with boys in the settlement.

Section 9.3 is based on a Reflective Memory of life in Moresby.

9.3 Raskol economies and value exchange in Moresby

In 2005 I returned home to Moresby for maternity leave from my position in the United Nations Development Programme in New York. During this period the rental market in Moresby was already showing strong growth and we were renovating our back yard house for renting. One Friday, towards the end of this process, I borrowed a friend’s vehicle and asked my brother, Poyap, if he would help me to drive the car to drop rubbish off at the Six Mile rubbish dump. He

90 Not his real name.
91 Although the settlement that is used in this story is not ATS, the issues are the same and, had the crime occurred in ATS, the same processes most likely would have been followed.
agreed and set off with several other young men to offload the rubbish. One of
the men lived at the Erima Gordons ridge settlement and subsequently moved
to the ATS settlement. Soon after they left I received a call that the vehicle had
been stolen at the dump. I called Dudley immediately to let him know our
predicament. He asked me some questions. Where was the car? Where were
all the boys? Was everyone alright? What time had it happened? Where had
the incident happened? I answered as best I could in the shaken up state I was
in. I did not hear from Dudley again till later that afternoon.

The matter of retrieving the stolen vehicle could have unfolded in myriad ways.
For example, had we been from another ethnic group we could have rounded
up our tribesmen and demanded the return of the car. We could have pursued
the police report and engaged with the police to get the car. Whatever our
strategy, it would have required some local knowledge of the context of Six
Mile settlement in order to access the notorious area.

Making contact with brothers

Knowing that the car had been hijacked at the Six Mile dump Dudley took
steps to make contact with two of his Oro brothers, Doug and Tom92 who
live at the Six Mile settlement. Like Dudley’s parents, their family had also
tried to establish residency in the early days of the ATS settlement but for
various reasons had returned to live at Six Mile. Tom, the younger of the
two brothers, was Dudley’s class mate at the Anglican run St Francis
Primary School at Koki during the 1980s (Chapter 3). I had met a couple of
their schoolmates in the ATS settlement. Tom’s older brother, Doug, had
attained notoriety in the criminal world in Moresby and was known among
his peers as Lapun (TP: elder or don). Tom himself was also a criminal.

Dudley drove to the Six Mile dump settlement, where Doug and Tom’s
family home was located. There he found Tom, Tom’s mother, Tom’s wife,
children and some other family members. Dudley asked to see Doug and
explained to Tom what had happened. Tom asked Dudley about the type
of car; the time it was taken; the location it was taken; and any particulars

92 Not their real names.
about the ethnicity of the boys that had taken the vehicle. Tom explained that cars get taken all the time by different groups so they had to identify the car and the group that hijacked it. After some consultation with people in the area Tom established that the car had been taken by a Goilala\textsuperscript{93} group.

From the family home Tom took Dudley to seek out Lapun, who had been on the run from the police and had taken refuge in a hideout in the nearby hills. However, when they approached this area there was a barricade manned by a group of boys who explained that Lapun was not well and could not see anyone. It was highly likely that this was a security measure for Lapun. They returned to the family home where Dudley remained while Tom returned to seek a private audience with Lapun. Sometime later he returned with a senior Goilala man – the lieutenant\textsuperscript{94} who had been assigned by Lapun to assist in the matter.

Tom explained to the Goilala lieutenant that Dudley was his brother whose car had been stolen some hours earlier that day in the Six Mile dump. The lieutenant’s response was apologetic and noted that had the boys been aware of this they would not have taken the car. He told them to ‘leave the matter with him’ and return in the morning. The understanding was to return with some cash to exchange for the car\textsuperscript{95}.

Paraphrased from conversations and interview notes.

**Finding money, tempering aspirations**

It would have been soon after Tom and Dudley’s conversation with the Goilala lieutenant, now nearing dusk, that I received a call from Dudley to tell me to find around K2,000. I knew I was in trouble for creating this mess, especially with my enthusiasm and ambition to progress, make money and get ahead with life. This incident was another burdensome challenge. Dudley’s recollection of the day was that he specifically told me not to send the boys to the dump without him for now very obvious reasons. My recollection was totally

\textsuperscript{93} Goilala district is located in Central Province.

\textsuperscript{94} Goddard (2005: 77-94) discusses the leadership hierarchy of gangs in Moresby which are led by gang leaders and their lieutenants.

\textsuperscript{95} During this time, our friend whose car we had borrowed, heard about the incident and came to the house. I told him that Dudley had not called me yet. Our friend had gone to the settlement with another friend of his and had been told by someone that Dudley was also looking for the car.
different. He was very busy with work and I needed to get the house sorted out and put on the rental market with my imminent return to New York.

This tension between personal aspiration and a more pragmatic approach to life in Moresby is one of the key contradictions about life in the ever present challenges of life in the city. Be it choice of housing, source of water supply, sharing of food and money or negotiating crime, the dialectic relationships between space, value and kinship relations is often manifested as intimate tensions between family members. While our aspirations pulled us into a different formal spatial and value regime - preparing a titled house for the property rental market and making money to secure material life - the reality of life in Moresby required us to maintain a connection to real life spaces. I drove with the kids to one of Moresby’s international hotels and withdrew K2,000. Between us we mustered up K3,000 in cash. When Dudley returned home he explained that the car was safe:

*Exchanging at the carpark*

We needed the money so that Tom could negotiate the return of the car. Structures of the boys in the settlement are such that the ‘small boys’ will steal a car but will take it to the big boys like Tom, Doug and others, who then dismantle it and sell the parts, or act as interlocutors to retrieve the car - for money - for the owners. In this way the proceeds of the stolen car were distributed among everyone in network (For a discussion of such redistributive dynamics see Goddard 2005; Dinnen 2001 and Nibbrig 1992). The police at that time were not on the scene. If we wanted the car back it had to be done this way.

The next morning Dudley left the house very early and headed out to meet Tom. On the way he picked up a nephew, Graham, who wanted to go for the drive. His early departure was also because he was worried that the

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96 Goddard (2005: 77-94) discusses the resonance of gang leaders with archetypal portrayals of ‘big-man’ in PNG society. The wealth of a big man is redistributed in order to create indebtedness towards him among his group which in turn sustains his power and status. Goddard (2005: 89) also describes the need to redistribute stolen goods because of the risks of attracting police attention. See also Nibbrig (1992).
police would now also be looking around Six Mile to recover the vehicle. This could potentially jeopardise his efforts to retrieve the car before it got stripped. Given the poor track record of police to retrieve stolen cars as well as the equally complex negotiations that would have to take place with them, Dudley focussed instead on this chance at retrieving the car.

At Six Mile they left Graham at Tom’s family home while Dudley, Tom and the Goilala lieutenant headed off to what Dudley was told was the ‘carpark’ - a term used for the place in the bush land where stolen vehicles are parked and concealed by shrubs and branches. On the way Dudley handed over K1000 to Tom.

This particular ‘carpark’ was located along a road from the Six Mile dump towards Taurama. The Goilala boys were already there waiting and handed the keys to Tom who transacted with them on his terms using the K1,000. Dudley did not do the transactions because that would have inflated the ‘amount’ to recover the car. After the transaction, they towed the car out of the carpark then drove it to Tom’s home.

Meanwhile during their absence, in the settlement where Graham was waiting, the police had conducted a raid by driving through the settlement and fired some gun shots. Much to Graham’s horror, he found himself ducking for cover with everyone else.

Paraphrased from conversations and interview notes.

Field Notes 7: Stolen cars in ATS Settlement.

This scene at Six Mile settlement resonates with narratives of ATS settlement residents. As one informant told me:

In the past we encountered many incidents with raskols raiding us. My brother was shot with a gun and nearly died. They can steal whatever they like from you - your money or even drag girls down and assault them. They stole cars in the city and came here to hide them. They drove the stolen cars along this road. When they came they told us to hide because they had stolen a car. They told us the police were chasing them and might shoot gun shots. They urged us to hide in case one of us innocent people would get shot. They don’t do this so much anymore. They told us that they realised we don’t have any money. So they said now we can live together with them. They told us they will only target those bigshots with money.

Informant, ATS settlement, 2013.
Paraphrased from interview notes and transcript.
I waited very anxiously hoping that this would work. The US dollar and lawyers salaries were great but we could not afford to repay the full cost of a near new vehicle. Around mid-afternoon there was a honk at the gate. To my great relief, two vehicles drove in. Dudley was driving the battered and muddied stolen vehicle because he was in a better position to explain to the police why he was driving it. Tom, who was already on the police radar for a variety of misdemeanours, drove Dudley’s car with the Goilala lieutenant on his offside.

Relieved as I was, the process was not over. Dudley introduced Tom as a brother. I was very apprehensive about meeting these men. They all smelt of alcohol and were social but sombre. I offered water as they made themselves comfortable on the timber platform under the mango tree. I was notorious among Dudley’s and my friends and family for my strict stance on alcohol consumption in our home. This was our house and, perhaps a bit arrogantly, depending on whose perspective one took, I had immense say over it (Chapter 5). These times often resulted in bitter arguments between Dudley and I. But today I was sobered knowing I was indebted to all these men. The day had resulted in my brother, nephews and friends being put in grave danger and we were very lucky no one had been hurt. I had inconvenienced Dudley from work, possibly exposed him to unnecessary danger and had placed him in a position of indebtedness. I knew they were in a process of de-briefing – needing to hang out, let the adrenalin settle and enjoy the relief of recovering the vehicle intact, without any serious encounters with the police or other complications.
It became apparent to me that Dudley and Tom were renewing a close relationship after many years during which their lives had drifted apart. Tom easily referred to me as tambu (in-law) and was very amicable. They joked, reminisced and talked heavy stuff. I prepared some food and we chatted while I quietly hoped no one would suggest going to buy another carton of beer at one of the regular black markets.

Tom spoke freely about some of his and Dudley’s childhood adventures. As primary school children they roamed the streets of Moresby together. He knew that he was destined for the streets. Dudley spent many weekends with Tom’s family at the Six Mile settlement. On weekends they bought five toea deep fried scones and walked to Boroko and climbed the trees outside the fenced rugby oval to a match. One day, Tom stole two bikes and gave one to Dudley. They rode excitedly to Dudley’s home at Six Mile where he left Dudley and rode home to the Six Mile settlement. Upon learning how Dudley had acquired his new bike, Dudley’s father gave him a good hiding, and made him return the bike.

Tom also reflected on his life as a criminal in Moresby and how they got judged in the settlement. They were not all bad people all the time. He mentioned that he and his brothers were helping the community build a church. I imagined some of the money they stole was part of this community help. He talked about his mother, his siblings and his wife and children.

I knew the significance of the moment. This was not a light drink up and there was still potential for the conversations to swing either way - an amicable conclusion or further negotiation for payments. They were addressing any
unfinished business in the transaction to prevent complications down the line such as a demand for further payments from the Goilala group to Dudley. It was important that the Goilala lieutenant saw this interaction between Tom and Dudley as it would translate into the local mediation that would unfold between Tom’s group and the Goilala lieutenant’s group. Tom was clearly the senior man and he would handle matters in a way to bring it to conclusion. Although I was hospitable I was glad after a few hours when Dudley subtly indicated that they would move on without buying more beer.

A gift of a rope of fish
In this story, we see a process of social mediation and the rebalancing of social relationships both at the local settlement level and the city level between two Tufi Oro men and between Tufi men and Goilala men.

About a week after the car incident, Tom went to visit Dudley at his office. Dudley told him that the kids and I would be returning to New York. Tom expressed that he wanted to come and say goodbye before we left and that he would bring us some fish. Dudley responded that he should not go out of his way and in any case fish was very expensive. Tom’s responded that he did not have to buy fish. He would go fishing at the nearby beach as he always does. By the time he got around to dropping by the house with a rope of fish, we had rented the house and returned to New York. The tenants informed him that the kids and I had left for New York. He took the fish to Dudley’s parents.

Paraphrased from conversations and interview notes.97

When I returned to Moresby in 2006 I was told about Tom’s gift of fish. I asked Dudley to help arrange for Tom and his family to come for dinner but sadly

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97 The Goilala lieutenant also appeared at Dudley’s office during the week. He had been apprehended by police and needed some money to sort out his family because he was anticipating going to jail.
Dudley informed me that he had heard from his family that Tom had passed away.

Reflecting back over this time, I believe Tom’s gesture of gifting me with fish was more than an act of kindness. By bringing me the fish he was reframing our relationship. The matter of the stolen car was to be put behind us. No matter how divergent our lives were, we were kin. He was accepting me as one of Dudley’s kin and therefore one if his. From the moment I met Tom and during the few hours we interacted we were equals. In fact as a brother of Dudley’s his status was higher than mine as a tambu98. Furthermore, in the context of Moresby and his status as a well-established criminal he had immense power. He had established this when he helped us retrieve our friend’s car. We mutually needed each other and we were ‘kinfolk [...] members of one another, intrinsic to each other’s identity and existence’ (Sahlins 2014: 62).

If there was to be anything more than a social relationship we had equal negotiating powers. Dudley was a lawyer and this meant access to legal support if and when Tom needed it. Dudley and I were also able to help with cash, printing, or food, if he ever needed. On this occasion we had invoked our need

98 I say this with authority because in PNG a woman’s role, apart from being a wife and mother, is to provide labour to the wider family. For a professional woman in Moresby this includes sharing money earned, cooking and entertaining, and not displaying anger when fatigued. Her value and esteem in front of her in-laws is often directly related to her kindness and generosity. Although it is not as common as violence inflicted by husbands on women, in-laws – both men and women do physically harm the wives of male relatives. For example, I know of a case about a woman who was beaten up by her brother-in-law. Her husband was a senior professional in Moresby while her brother-in-law was connected to the criminal world. She was beaten by her brother-in-law for ‘not being a good woman’. If a woman, often reflecting her own husband’s position, is not forthcoming with her support or generosity she can face quite severe social sanctions by in-laws. These can be severe in terms of being socially ostracized or encouraging her husband to discipline her with violence. In this case it was highly likely the brother-in-law with his criminal connections was able to assert control and power over the family and the wife was the easiest scapegoat if the family did not comply with his demands for support.
of him. We were in his debt but although he knew this and knew we knew this he never once emphasised this. It did not need to be said. The transactions of money and value – car, fish, food, cash, relationships, power - that took place in this story were not a simple exchange of money for a car. The transactions illustrate how the car theft transformed the car from being our symbol of power into a symbol of power for Tom and his Goilala friends. At the same time the interactions arising out of the car theft mediated the social relationship between Dudley and Tom and those of us around them. At the same time, Tom - a criminal living in a settlement with scarce money - was equally capable of helping us - with all our wealth, education and professional status - to retrieve a valuable car and offering a gift of fish. He did both with an equal aura of respect. The exchanges were relational and ‘total’ and in this way the car had acquired social life (Appadurai 1988). All our social, economic and political relationships were invoked to reach a mutually acceptable conclusion. Furthermore, old relationships were cemented, new ones forged and future exchanges tacitly agreed upon (Gregory 1982; Malinowski 1972; Mauss 1970; Sahlins 1972). Importantly, the starting point of the exchanges was negative reciprocity (Sahlins 1972) or a rupture in social relations (Schwimmer 1973) in which theft led to forms of asymmetric reciprocity which in turn gave rise to the forms of ‘relational personhood’ (Peterson 1993, 2013: 167; Peterson and Taylor 2003) or ‘mutuality of being’ (Sahlins 2014: 62).

For Tom, Dudley and I collectively the exchanges were a necessary, albeit truly unsettling, part of maintaining a necessary balance of mutual dependency and power required for surviving our lot in - our Moresby - lives. This incident was
another of those important a turning points in my life similar to the night I
describe in the prologue to this thesis. It was a reminder of just how precarious
life in Moresby was and how subtle and yet cruelly blatant the contours of
power sprung from crime and violence crept into life and in doing so totally
blurred distinctions between notions of morality or theoretical concepts of
commodities, gifts or value. Instead, it highlighted the ways crime, through the
movement of things like cars, mediates relationships between different realms
of value (Appadurai 1988).

Moreover, the relationships between us and the social and physical spaces we
straddled raise questions about theoretical distinctions between modern and
traditional societies, and between formal and informal spaces and institutions.
It is assumed that in modern society there is a clear distinction between various
fields of society which involve different orders of relationships and power
structures (McKinnon and Cannell 2013: 15). In particular, ‘kinship, economics,
politics, and religion’ are regarded as entirely separate spheres (McKinnon and
Cannell 2013: 15). The foregoing account of the retrieval of a stolen vehicle in
Moresby provides an illustration of the potential insights that can emerge when
society, kinship, and social relationships are analysed across these spheres
(McKinnon and Cannell 2013: 15). To illustrate, many people condemn the
bribing of police in Moresby as a routine act to secure police action on matters
such as the retrieval of stolen vehicles. This is often done without also
examining the possibility that in order for police to function in Moresby, they
are also subjected to similar dynamics of power and hierarchy. When we use
the term ‘bribe’ we are assuming that police are able to conduct their work
totally void of being subjected to the kinds of negotiations I have described above. In their formal ‘state sanctioned’ roles, police may face limitations in retrieving a stolen car. But when they act ‘relationally’ it may be easier to negotiate with their networks of criminals, friends, colleagues – kin – to do their work. This relationality involves forms of exchange which from an outsider, or a formal law and order, perspective may be considered as a ‘bribe’. The outcome in terms of the need to address a criminal matter – the retrieval of a stolen car – is the same.

**Making our boys happy: restoring local settlement social order**

Dudley’s appearance on Tom’s home turned the theft of the car from a simple matter of redistributing its value at the local level, into a social rupture between the Tufi and the Goilala ethnic groups. Tom was called upon by Dudley to negotiate as a Tufi man in relation to his Goilala friends. It was important for Tom to exhibit solidarity with his Tufi/Oro brother in relation to his Goilala friends. But he had to simultaneously attend to addressing any tension that he may have caused by using his local position and authority to retrieve the car. After all, he had to remain living alongside the Goilala boys in the settlement, while Dudley would return to his distant formal world. As we chatted during that afternoon in 2005, Tom explained,

*Tambu the car was ok. But you know we have to just give the boys some money to make them happy. They will not do anything to the car now that they know it is my brother’s car but we need to do the right thing.*

*Michelle Rooney.*
*Reflective Memories.*
That is, he needed the money to sort out his social relationships and maintain balance while he asserted his local authority to negotiate the return of the car. By taking the car from the boys he was not only asserting his authority, and his connection to the powerful world of formal laws and wealth, but may also be seen to be undermining their local power or betraying them.

The social and political power between Dudley and Tom and between Tom and his local friends was mediated in a way to achieve balance. This resonates with Waiko’s (1982: 110-140) account of warfare among Binandere in which he demonstrates the importance of keeping balance when power is exercised. This principle recognises that power is collective and that in a dispute both parties have power. It places importance on the need to maintain balance of power between people and between clans (p111-112). Moreover, Waiko (1982: 113) noted that care was taken to ensure that relationships between men were maintained. This social balancing is an important element of the production of security for families in the settlement space where the arm of the formal police structures is generally absent.

When formal policing does reach the settlement, it is usually forceful and involves serving eviction notices, conducting raids or criminal investigations (Dinnen 2001) that do not consider longer term social issues that are necessary for daily life to prevail. While crime is an immoral act which breaches formal law, Tom’s explanation about making his boys happy suggests a local dynamic based on keeping social order that prevails in the settlement.
9.4 Maintaining local social balance in the ATS settlement

While helping Dudley to get the car back, Tom was negotiating and mediating social and power relations in his local setting. It was not until nine years later when I conducted formal fieldwork in the ATS settlement that I got a deeper appreciation of the dynamics that Tom and the Goilala lieutenant would have been dealing with. I have told this story in depth because formal narratives of crime in PNG often start with the weakness of the police. In contrast, the foregoing story foregrounds the social relationships that were ruptured, renewed, created, mediated, and mended by the stolen car. Throughout this experience the police did not feature strongly.

The social balance that Tom needed to re-establish in his community as well as the weak presence of the formal police was also evident in the narratives of violence and crime in the ATS settlement. The dilemma many people faced was that while they identified crime and ethnic violence as serious challenges they also acknowledged the role that the young men in the community had in causing trouble. Many emphasised their concerns about the need to guide, love, care for, and protect their boys to stay out of trouble. The balancing act between restoring social order and collective action are enmeshed in the narratives of the Tufi Ethnic Group of the ATS settlement as the following case study illustrates:

In 2007 we had a clash with a group of Highlanders who own one of the stores at the front market. Oro boys usually cause problems at the main bus stop market area when they are drinking alcohol or taking drugs. They pick pocket or hold up people on the road or they
hold up the store and steal things. On one occasion, a group of Oro boys combined and held up the store at the main market. Most of them managed to escape. One of them was caught and he gave the names of the others when they threatened to burn him. We all gathered together and fronted up to the market area and fought with them and burnt the store.

In another example, our Tufi boys went and held up a Highlander taxi driver in front of one of the stores and took all his things. They all ran away except for one boy. This was his first ever hold up so he was inexperienced. Instead of escaping into the settlement he ran along the road and got caught. He admitted that it was the Tufi boys at the corner who had done the hold up. So the boys brought the trouble in the community. When these things happen we all have to get involved to solve the problem.

Informant, ATS Settlement, 2013.
Paraphrased from interview notes and transcript.

These multiple collective responses triggered by boys’ incursions on other’s security, have ramifications at the household level as the following story illustrates:

Viola’s son and his friends, also Tufi boys, held up a man with a home-made gun and stole his mobile phone and K800 from him. They beat him up and ran away into hiding. The victim, who was a man from another non-Oro ethnic group, reported the matter to his wantoks. The victim’s kin angrily came with bush knives to Viola’s house. They slapped her and demanded that her son be turned over to them or they would burn down her house. But he had run away into hiding. It became a matter between the Tufi Ethnic Group and the other ethnic group. They demanded K3000 in compensation and the return of the phone. They gave a week for their demands to be met. As usual the leaders of the Tufi Ethnic Group had to ask everyone in the community to contribute some money to meet this demand. One option was to take the boy to the police but he was in hiding. The matter dragged on and on. One Sunday the two groups met again and the offended group gave the Tufi Ethnic Group a three month deadline to pay them K3,000. Everyone contributed money and the Tufi Ethnic Group raised K700 and bought a similar phone and gave it to them. This cooled their tempers and they stopped their demands. Whatever happens to a Tufi person everyone comes together to help to sort it out.

Informant, ATS settlement, 2013.
Paraphrased from interview notes and transcript.
When Viola got assaulted by the victim’s kin she in turn became a victim and her community responds collectively. The issue is resolved locally rather than taken to the police.

**Oro, ethnic clashes and restoring social order: role of police?**

In some cases, when conflicts cannot be contained within a particular ethnic group level they escalate to become a fight between the Oro people and other ethnic groups. Such conflicts, as in the example Jason provides above, tend to involve incidents that occur at the first roundabout market which is now dominated by outsiders and has become a site for contestation between the dominant Oro narrative of the settlement and the increasing numbers of outsiders taking up residency in the area. Ethnic clashes that occur at the first roundabout market also occur between outside groups. For example, a fight occurred between two highlands men on the morning of my first visit to the settlement. One of the men was stabbed and hospitalised and the matter escalated to a conflict between the ethnic groups of the two men. The main bus stop market, where the fight took place, was deserted and tense as we drove past it to the Tufi last block. To underscore the prevalence of localised conflict, upon our arrival at the Tufi last block we met a tense community. Earlier, a fight

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99 As my thesis seeks to present the point of view of my participant group, I have made a point in this Chapter and throughout the thesis to focus on the words used by my informants such as ‘boys’ or ‘youth’ which emphasise the relational belonging of young men in families and communities. From an external perspective others may describe such activities by groups of boys as by ‘gangs’. For example Goddard (2005: 77-94) and Dinnen (2001: ch 4) discuss the social organisation of ‘gangs’ in Moresby and note the micro-ethnic dynamic of gangs which are situated within major gangs in Moresby. In the context of my research, the Tufi boys may be viewed as micro-ethnic gang situated within a larger multi-ethnic formation with the Oro identity as the common binding. I emphasise however, that the narratives I seek to foreground are local and in particular how communities and families go about re-establishing social harmony. This approach is a direct outcome of the responses from my research participants.
had erupted between boys from the neighbouring highland ethnic group and the Tufi boys.

Throughout my fieldwork the mediation process for the dispute between the two highlands group at the main bus stop market was ongoing and held at the main bus stop market (Chapter 8). One day we were in the settlement when a mediation meeting for this particular dispute was taking place and were able to observe some of the dynamics (Figure 9.1). Because of the large numbers of people, police presence was heavy but it was obvious that they were peripheral to the mediation process and their role was not clear. I sensed that the police were aware of their limitations in terms of resolving the conflict and were mainly there to contain any potential unrest while relying on local leaders to resolve issues.

Figure 9.1: The market place is also the site for mediation ceremonies.

Source: Photograph by Michelle Rooney, 2013.
The following newspaper article illustrates the kind of dynamic that occurs when ethnic disputes occur at the main market and the weak ability of the police to handle such local matters:

**Police officers injured in city ethnic clash**

An ethnic clash between Oro and Simbu people in the Air Transport Squadron (ATS) settlement outside Port Moresby has left a police vehicle windscreen smashed and two officers with head injuries.

The incident which occurred on Sunday morning has been confirmed by the NCD metropolitan Superintendent Andy Bawa. He said the fight had also resulted in a trade store being set on fire.

The police ran into a tense brawl with the aim to calm the situation down but were met with objects flying towards them, leaving them with a smashed windscreen and two injured officers.

“I am very disappointed with the members of the community living in this settlement for the attack on my officers,” said Mr. Bawa. “My officers are there to bring peace and order.”

Five suspects, all believed to be from the Simbu side, were taken into custody for questioning.

The owner of the trade store that got burnt down has also been asked to provide a statement.

The Oro community has been urged to surrender all who were involved in the fight.

Supt. Bawa has appealed to the people living in the settlements and the larger community to cooperate with the police when such disagreements arise and not to take the law into their own hands.

“My officers come into the community to bring peace and order and not to challenge the society,” Mr Bawa said. […]

According to police, the fight erupted after a couple of Oro youths, on their way to purchase food items at a local shop, were assaulted by a group of drunk Simbu youths. […]

Meanwhile the Oro community have taken ownership and responsibility of the police windscreen incident and have agreed to pay for the damages (Willie 2014).
9.5 Beneath the record: subjugated tension

Troubled solidarity
Collective efforts to resolve issues are not without tension. For example, as discussed in Chapter 6 some people questioned the OCDA’s authority and capacity to collect land fees. When I discussed the issue of authority and capacity with an OCDA representative his response was,

People might scoff at our efforts to collect fees but whenever they have problems they count on us to step in. The other day there was a big fight between the Tufi boys and another group, and it nearly ended up with the other group retaliating. We had to gather everyone and meet to discuss a solution and finally the other party agreed to accept the compensation we gave them.

Informant, ATS settlement, 2013.
Paraphrased from interview notes and transcript.

Here, we see a tension between people’s individual attitudes towards the organisation of the settlement and their reliance on collective action to maintain security. Despite the collective efforts of the community to support their boys, tensions arise because people feel the pressures on their incomes and livelihoods, as this informant explains further,

We scold young people and advise them that such bad behaviour is not good. We tell them that they are bringing a burden to all of us. Our lives are already hard because none of us is working. If we all behave in an orderly manner we will have peace to go about surviving. But even though we guide them after a few weeks we face problems again.

Informant, ATS settlement, 2013.
Paraphrased from interview notes and transcript.

On the one hand, this cyclical pattern in conflict and exchange resonates with the kind of exchange described by Schwimmer (1973: 47-65). On the other
hand, the active collective efforts to mediate conflicts created by their boys and the sentiments of frustration expressed by family members contrasts with Goddard (2005: 92) who suggests some complicity on the part of families. Field Notes 9 sheds some light on the frustrations felt by members of the community.

Field Notes 9: State of Origin excitement and frustration.

At the Tufi last block, a group of drunken boys asked someone if they could watch the State of Origin game on his TV but he refused their request. They stoned his house and caused a ruckus outside his home. He retaliated by beating one of the boys. He is now upset and wants compensation for the damage done to his home. The process of contributing funds to compensate people for the wrong doing of boys is a tiresome burden. The informant who told me about this incident expressed frustration about how people who have nothing whatsoever to do with the wrongdoings become implicated in solving problems because of the actions of a few boys. People don’t have a choice but if they don’t contribute things will get worse.

On the same night, at the other side of the settlement, another scenario unfolded where drunken boys caused disturbance. A Tufi leader reprimanded his sons and reminded them of the recent murder of the young Tufi man by men of another ethnic group who were retaliating for some transgression by the Tufi man and his other Oro mates. The community had just suffered the loss of his life and could not afford, emotionally or financially, to lose another son.

Silences: voices of women and domestic violence
Thus collective actions to secure the community come at great cost to individual and family security. These tensions also reflect forms of coercion felt by the community to help. They also suggest that these forms of violence

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100 Goddard (2005: 92) suggests a level of tolerance on the part of families towards their kin who are involved in crime.
performed by ‘boys’ are visible and given attention as collective issues while other forms of violence, such as retaliation by aggrieved parties on family members and the coerced nature of the contributions of money, are not accorded the same public action. People’s subjugation of intimate violence is illustrated in the following story by Larry, a leader in his clan and in the community.

Larry had an argument with his nephew’s wife during which he beat her and cut her with a knife. His Tufi friend who lived in the city and helped him substantially with money stopped supporting him because of this. Even when he was put in the jail none of his kin helped to bail him out. However, he noted that his nephew’s wife is a good woman because she dropped court proceedings. Instead she demanded that Larry pay her K2000. He went to another Tufi brother who lives in the city to ask for help and was given K1000 and he paid his nephew’s wife K560. Larry explained that she dropped the charges because he is an uncle and a leader on things like land. The family thought that if he goes to jail there will be no one to lead the family on these issues.

Informant, ATS settlement, 2013.
Paraphrased from interview notes and transcript.

This story was not told as a result of me asking about violence in homes, but was a response to a question about who helped Larry and his wife during times of need. Ironically, because of collective peace Larry’s in-law was not able to seek justice for the harm he had inflicted on her and settled instead on a payment of K560.

I realised during fieldwork that people were more open to discussing ethnic violence or collective responses to violence than they were about domestic and other intimate forms of violence. This suggests that the role of collective action and collective violence to counter threats of violence from outsiders is
privileged while domestic and intimate violence is silenced and rendered invisible. Another possible explanation for this could be that people fear the repercussions of intervening on domestic violence which is much closer to home and less likely to trigger a collective response. In this way domestic violence is normalised because of fear, rather than because it is accepted as a social norm. The scenario I describe in Field Notes 10 illustrates this.

In the situation described in Field Notes 10, my fear and guilt also gave me some insights into why people seem to have normalised such intimate household violence and rendered them invisible and silent in narratives of violence in the settlement. I suggest that, to survive in this context, people’s resilience draws on forms of moral reasoning in response to violence. What is wrong and right, and what should be done or not done, is linked to their resilience and survival strategies (Sykes 2009; Gregory 2009). Collective responses to the violence committed by young men on others draws action because it is safer to respond to collective threats collectively than to respond individually to such individualised incidents. Collective actions reinforce the ethnic ‘safety net’ within which people’s lives are cocooned. These case studies reveal that family and sexual violence such as domestic violence or rape are serious issues but are subsumed into the narrative of collective action and other forms of violence (Scheper-Hughes and Bourgois 2004: 22).
During one of my interviews with a couple at their haus maket at the Tufi last block their neighbour started beating his daughter. She called out in pain pleading for him to stop. We kept discussing my questions and others joined seemingly oblivious to the noise nearby. We paused intermittently and shifted uncomfortably. I fought off every impulse to get up and ask the man to stop beating her. I felt a sense of deep guilt and complicity. Was I a coward?

I have often reflected on my non-action that day and what I ought to have done. What would happen if I asked the man to stop? Despite building relationships with people who helped me during my visits I realised that I knew very little about the relationships and conflicts within the community. I cannot say why no one responded and I cannot say how they would have responded had I not been there. Nor do I know how they would have reacted to me making a fuss.

I did know, however, that the police presence out at the settlement was non-existent. As a student, I had no access to the kind of resources that would send me a vehicle immediately if I needed to get out of the settlement. Police intervention in the settlement occurred generally in the most serious of circumstances or where there was a risk of many people being affected - such as a large ethnic clash. My instinct told me that neither the community nor the police would view this situation as serious enough to intervene. As guilty as I feel, my non-action and my reasoning on this day was an important part of my survival strategy during my fieldwork in this particular location.

Policing with ‘our boys’
The stories in this Chapter foreground social relationships and local logics of security. Formal institutions of law are present but tenuous and highly problematic. For the most part local leaders resolve problems. Local processes to re-establish peace tend to foreground the actions of ‘boys’. Youth or ‘boys’ play an important role, even if this role is shaky and problematic, in supporting local leadership to maintain order. They are enforcers of locally instituted rules
and practices - even if it is their order that is privileged. To illustrate, during the Christmas and New Year’s period of 2012, the local leaders, in response to law and order issues, established a curfew in the settlement. One local leader described the dynamics arising out of the curfew:

_Boys take part in enforcing the curfew. The youth set up stations throughout the entire community. Every afternoon they pick up their tea or coffee from the main centre and then sit down at their centres and keep watch. They are given clear instructions to tell people that it is the leaders who have introduced the curfew. The youth are told that the curfew is not imposed by the government but rather it is a community initiative. Therefore they must be careful in the way they communicate with people. Unfortunately, some of the boys become a bit out of control. The leaders recognise if they introduce this initiative again they will have to learn from past lessons._

*Informant, ATS settlement, 2013.*
*Paraphrased from interview notes and transcript.*

There is tension between relying on youth - or ‘our boys’ - for their enforcement of the curfew and their tendencies to get ‘out of control’. This was also seen in Chapter 7 where I described how community leaders appoint boys or youth in the community to collect water fees. This use of the youth by local leaders to convene meetings on behalf of leaders, to collect water and other fees, or to enforce locally instated curfews reveals the use of boys as immensely powerful forces in the social, economic and political dynamics of this settlement. It also suggests the recognition of ‘boys’ as resources in need of meaningful engagement and guidance.

9.6 **Conclusion**
The tendencies of young men in the community to cause trouble present a paradox for the Oro and Tufi collective security. While young men’s criminal or
violent actions are morally wrong they do stimulate collective responses which work to reinforce the Oro collective security and identity. However, these collective responses to violence also come at a great cost. They work to undermine people’s livelihoods by requiring them to make financial contributions to resolve conflicts. They also work to suppress other forms of violence such as domestic violence. In doing so, they undermine the values of inclusion, home, and family that are intrinsic in the Oro identity that drew people to the settlement. It is the behaviour of young men in particular - ‘our boys’ - that causes this paradox. It contrasts to Waiko’s (1982) description of the coming of age of a young man in the Oro.

Violence is woven through so much of daily life in PNG (Dinnen and Ley 2000; Jolly et al. 2012). My approach in this Chapter, therefore, has been to rely on narratives of everyday violence that transverse an ethnic group living in the city. Of particular note are the perspectives of families of men in settlements which reveal the entangled narrative of ‘boys’ - young men and men - as family members prone to anti-social behaviour. They are instigators and performers of violent acts which are translated into performances of collective ethnic action. They are troublemakers and appropriators, mediators and interlocutors of symbols of power through their acts such as car thefts in the city. The car - a symbol of power for the affluent elite in PNG - is in turn a symbol of power for the raskols who redistribute its value according to their own logic and whose power is instrumental in retrieving it. Boys are also important actors in the enforcement of local rules and practices through their role as supporters of leaders’ decisions.
But these narratives of crime and violence in the settlement render other forms of violence such as gendered based violence silent and invisible. As Jolly (2012), Zimmer-Tamakoshi (2012), and McIntyre (2012) argue, it is important to understand violence within its broader context. Because of the overwhelming presence of men involved in violent crimes and forms of ethnic violence (Dinnen 2001: 58), formal discourses on crime and security tend to associate broader accounts of violence, crime, and ethnic violence with masculinity. I found that such narratives of violence in the settlement tended to foreground masculine forms of violence. This Chapter has demonstrated that such accounts work to neutralise deeper and localised gendered dynamics of their behaviour.

One of the things that most puzzled and disturbed me was that responses to formal interviews were silent on matters relating to violence against women and other vulnerable people and also the guilt I felt about my own complicity in violence in the city. This was despite its obvious prevalence witnessed in events and off the record narrations. Although formal police and institutions of law and justice exist in the settlement (Goddard 2005), they were peripheral in people’s narratives. Local values, norms and authorities that maintain social order and security often do not complement formal narratives of policing. People and communities apply a logic that accords with their day to day experiences of violence and crime.

By juxtaposing the public narratives of violence with observations and off the record accounts of violence, I hope that I have shown how performances of collective ethnic action which form part of community security are deeply imbued with contours of gendered violence (Schepé-Hughes and Bourgois
I suggest that masculine forms of violence - inflicted and resolved by men and among men, and its public rendering in narratives of violence is a performance of relationships that reinforce ethnic - masculine - order. The established social order and the required collective responses come at the cost of addressing other forms of violence such as domestic and sexual violence. These other forms of violence are rendered silent and invisible because of fear, insecurity and the knowledge that long term survival requires maintaining resilience within the security of collective ethnic narrative.

The stories in this Chapter show how people in communities take on dual roles through the course of life. Families guide and manage their youth and at the same time may fall victim to youth’s actions. The same ‘boys’ are rogues one day and helpful community actors the next day. As researchers, when we overly focus on binary narratives of violence, in which perpetrators are mainly male and victims are mainly female, we neutralise the relational place of men in families and communities. We thereby run the risk of disenfranchising community actors as potential resourceful actors to be engaged in their own efforts to address violence. Macintyre (2012) discusses how such over simplistic understandings of gendered violence can undermine development strategies aimed at addressing gender violence. Given the weak presence of formal processes of law and justice, and policing in these narratives, efforts to strengthen policing should be complemented by local level efforts to support families and communities with a two-fold effort at the local level. The first is to further understand and support families and communities in their own efforts to engage young men. The second is to further understand and support young
men as potential catalysts of positive change in their communities. At the same time attention must be given to communities in supporting counselling and mental health issues arising out of such prevalent and ongoing management of security.

Experiences of crime and violence in the settlement and the city shed important insights into the entanglements, tensions and relationality between space, value and kinship systems in the settlement and the city. We see how asymmetric relationships create the spatial divide between the city and the settlement. The next Chapter examines another paradox in the collective identity.
CHAPTER 10.  **KARIM BODI I GO LONG PLES:**
**REGENERATING TUFI AND ORO IDENTITY**

10.1 Introduction

*Karim bodi i go long ples* - the Tok Pisin phrase meaning, ‘Carry the body home’ - refers to the repatriation of a deceased relative, friend or kin to their homeland for burial. It is one of the important cultural activities among migrant communities in Moresby and is also true for Tufi living in ATS settlement. For the deceased it is the final return journey home after sojourns away. For the living, it is the passage of farewelling a loved one and returning him or her to family, land, and their spiritual and ancestral home. For everyone in the urban setting it is a time of sadness, but also a time of renewal, when people gather at the *haus krai* - the Tok Pisin term which refers to the venue where mourning and funeral arrangements take place. It encompasses the entire contemporary process of mourning, paying respects, funeral and burial. Such is the significance of the ritual of *haus krai*, and the repatriation of a deceased person home for burial, that it plays a central role in the regeneration of urban Tufi identity as well as in connecting people to home. It therefore raises important questions about what constitutes migrant remittances, and what are its implications for Tufi in the ATS settlement.

This Chapter focuses on unpacking the notion of migrant remittances in this context, and the implications for livelihoods and social safety nets of urban residents. The notion of migrants and migrant remittances is problematic, because it tends to reduce lives of people who are mobile for different reasons, or who are identified with a particular area or ethnicity, down to a linear
relationship between them as a category, and their presumed places of ethnic identity or ‘home’ as another category. Such notions forget that people’s lives are organic and fluid and once they move, their lives take on trajectories that respond to and influence their new and previous local settings.

Having said this, people in the Tufi Ethnic Group in the ATS settlement narrate their lived urban experiences in ways that inscribes their self-identity within place and ethnicity. The very category of a ‘Tufi Ethnic Group’ that resides within another category - the ‘ATS settlement’ - is a case in point. As I have discussed in previous Chapters such identities that are constructed by histories are of great influence and necessity in the establishment and social organisation of the settlement. It also provides a frame for incorporating newcomers within the social fabric of the settlement. But these categories also beg the question: How actually do these self-defined identities reflect how people living in the settlement, or in the city for that matter, relate to the places with which they identify - whether they came from there or not and whether they intend to return or not. In this Chapter, therefore, I ask the question: How do people living in the Tufi Ethnic Group of the ATS settlement in Moresby maintain their relationships with their kin in Tufi.

Tufi living in the ATS settlement maintain strong and diverse relationships with their kin in the village and in other parts of PNG. People visit home for holidays, political reasons, and land mediation meetings (see Barber 2010 and Morauta 1984 for discussion of the town-village relationships). Important reasons for returning to Tufi also include, visiting sick parents or family members, attending funerals or taking deceased family members home for burial. They also send
money and items like clothing and food packages home. Money is sent home for a wide variety of reasons – gifts, business, fuel to facilitate travel, medical expenses, funerals, school fees, and so on (Dalsgaard 2013). Over time, however, as people grow older or find themselves in situations of chronic unemployment, they send less and focus their efforts on maintaining the relationships closest to them in the city and on which they depend daily to survive. In this Chapter I examine the questions that I posed to people regarding their important relationships with their families in the village. I asked: When was the last time you visited your village and why? When was the last time you remitted any money or items, and what was it used for? Do you have a house in the village? Where do you intend to live when you grow old and finally do you think you will face any problems with accessing land if you return to the village?

Amidst all the various responses people gave me, two issues stood out. The first is the sheer paradox involved in the importance that people placed on the repatriation of deceased bodies for burial in Tufi. With such low levels of earned money income (Chapter 8) and all the other costs that people, for the most part, find hard to meet, such as, housing, schooling, water and security, they are still able to bear the high costs of repatriating the bodies of their deceased relatives for burial in Tufi. Despite peoples’ narratives of hardship, when a death occurs, somehow magically and mysteriously there is money to attend to the processes of mourning; hosting people who arrive to pay their respects; embalming the body; funeral costs; repatriation of the body via air transport; and burial in the village. Even the poorest families who no longer remit funds
are able to make contributions or travel home as part of the repatriation party of a family member.

Such immense importance is placed on the processes of attending to the dead that it is not just a relevant current theme but it is a key factor underlying the narratives of why some people end up living in the settlement. For those who are responsible for burying the dead, it is a financially debilitating exercise. But death is also a connector, and an opportunity to renew relationships and reaffirm one’s place and access to the collective urban Tufi, Oro, and beyond context. By participating in processes of repatriating a body to the home place for burial one is able to consolidate their limited ability to send money home directly with their position within the urban group of Tufi. The person can thus meet obligations and reaffirm contiguous relationships in the urban setting while indirectly abiding, within the urban group, to an enduring relational position with respect to ‘home’. What does this tell us about urban life and the relationships that migrants have with their homes and with each other?

The second issue that stood out in the responses people gave me relates to the problems associated with the notion of trying to examine an ethnic group in the city. Day to day lived experiences with urban kin, in-laws, education, friendships, employment, neighbours, colleagues and modern communication through mobile phones and social media networks disperse ethnicity, language, and cultures across the nation. The ethnic frame is important, as are the many other networks that people draw on. ‘Migrants’ are first and foremost people whose lives in the city are dynamic and fluid. Therefore, I have placed the emphasis in this Chapter on people’s ‘relationships with home’ of which
remittances can provide some insights. Are financial remittances related to people’s incomes and how? Who are the people sending money or things to their kin, and why? Where are they sending money to and why? Where are they receiving money from and why?

I examine the processes of sending a body home for burial in Section 10.2 of this Chapter. This is a collective effort by all members of the person’s urban community. The actual taking of the body home is the responsibility of the core family group and closest friends. The processes involved in these events provide insights into how urban Tufi organise themselves with respect to home. They also bring urban Tufi into confluence with each other regardless of their residential status - a recurring theme in this thesis. The decision making processes involved in making remittances are examined in Section 10.3 and the reasons why some people decide to remain in Moresby are discussed in Section 10.4. I conclude this Chapter with a discussion of the implications of the findings of this Chapter for theory and policy in Section 10.5.

10.2 Repatriating deceased family members – collective action

Haus krai: Salim bodi i go long ples (Sending a body home)

Field Notes 11: Haus krai, salim bodi.

Section 10.2 is based on Field Notes relating to the death of a young Tufi man. I have elaborated this case study at some length because it connects in important ways to previous Chapters while at the same time drawing attention to the significance of the relationships with home. It is a story that epitomises the thesis.

A young Tufi man had died a brutal death in early November 2012. Hit with a piece of timber on his head and with no vehicle readily available to rush him to the hospital for treatment he died from loss of blood. He and his mates had caused trouble some months ago in 2012 when during a
drunken fight they beat up a group of boys from a highlands ethnic group. The law and order committee had deemed that they should pay the offended group money and in order to raise his portion he was doing odd bits of fundraising. His main form of fundraising was selling barbecued lamb flaps in front of his father’s house. On the day in early November when the group of offended men came to avenge their beating he had been tending to his fundraising barbecue. Before he could run away or call for help he was hit and bled to death.

When I commenced fieldwork two months after his death his body still lay in the funeral home awaiting the outcome of a police investigation and family decisions to be made on where and when he was to be buried. His death had both united and polarised the community. Some people speculated over the reasons for his death blaming the selling of land to outsiders who were bringing in trouble (Chapter 6). Others blamed young men for causing trouble in the community and making everyone pay and carry the burden of their actions (Chapter 9). People who had previously avoided each other because of arguments were obliged to turn up to the haus krai and interact.

The most contentious narrative, perhaps because of the manner of his death, was that everyone in the community was expected to contribute funds to send his body home. Apart from the ongoing police investigations people speculated about the time it was taking to bury the young man and expressed concerns about the mounting costs. Each night at the funeral home costs K120 and after three months the costs had certainly exceeded K10,000. Perhaps he should be buried at the Moresby 9 mile cemetery rather than flown home at greater cost, some people reasoned.

Back in Tufi, I was told, the 2012 floods had caused extensive damage and the young man’s village was one of the worst hit villages in the Oro province this year (Chapter 3, Field Notes 1). Food gardens and houses had been destroyed making it harder for those in the village to receive a deceased relative. In the meantime people coming to the haus krai to pay their respects had to be hosted, offered a cup of tea and food.

Despite the controversial and tragic circumstances surrounding his death, the stories and events in the months that followed epitomised everything about what it is to be a Tufi person living in Moresby. Death is tragic regardless of how it happens and it happens all the time and the processes surrounding death are a common part of life in the urban setting. It was really no different for this young man, except that his murder only accentuated the precarious life in the settlement and the impact of young men’s behaviour on the rest of their community and family. Like most Tufi living in Moresby, his death involved a negotiation of where one must be buried and the raising of funds to ensure a dignified burial. This process is time consuming and costly.
Over five months after his murder things fell into place for him to be buried. On Sunday 24 March, Dudley, the children and I made plans to visit the settlement in order for me to conduct some interviews. When I called to let one of the women I worked with know that we were going to the settlement, she informed me that she was on her way up to the Christ the King Church (Chapter 7) to attend the funeral service for him. His body was to be flown back to Tufi the next morning.

When I told Dudley that the funeral was taking place and his body would be overnighting at the family home, we both agreed that it would not be appropriate for me to continue with my fieldwork. Instead we asked the taxi we were in to turn back and return to the Erima shopping Centre where we withdrew K600. He called his father and brothers and advised them about the funeral service and arrangements. They all agreed to meet up to collectively go to the settlement to pay their respects and make a contribution.

Dudley and I left the children at his sister’s house and went ahead by taxi to the settlement. When we arrived at the main market a very large crowd was gathered and there were lots of police vehicles. We were told that this was the peace mediation ceremony between the two highlands groups concerning the fight that had taken place a few months earlier (Chapter 9 and Figure 9.1).

After observing for a few minutes, we kept on walking another five minutes to the cluster of homes comprising the young Tufi man’s immediate family which now formed the site of his haus krai. This venue had become a familiar place for me. The clearing in the area where I usually hung around with people at the road house front markets had been cleaned and swept. Several banana trees were cut and placed standing forming two rows in the ground and decorated with palm fronds and flowers. Between them was a pathway that the coffin must have been driven in through. A shelter with iron roofing had been built in front of his father’s canvas shelter and his coffin lay on a bed under it while his family and friends gathered around to pay their last respects. People sat around nearby. His aunt sat in front of the coffin lamenting in their language.

We walked past the haus krai towards Dudley’s brother’s rented rooms in the settlement to wait for the others to arrive so we could return as a family group. This is a process that is undertaken collectively as part of the wider family. As it got darker someone turned on a led torch. The other brothers arrived in a car around 8:00pm. We had a meal, chewed some betel nut and drove the short way back to the haus krai. As we walked in, people recognized the family and called out gently in the traditional Oro greeting – “Oro, Oro, Oro, Oro”. We all walked to the verandah where the elders were seated under the lights. Just beyond where everyone was...
sitting was the spot where the young man had been killed and around it were some wreaths of flowers.

Dudley’s father gave a short talk and handed over the money that had been collected to the young man’s father who responded by acknowledging the help from Dudley’s family. In the background a church group was singing hymns. The coffin was now resting inside the house. We left around 9:30pm - driving out of the settlement using the back road between the new suburb, Malolo Estate, and behind the new development site back onto the ATS road.

Michelle Rooney, 2013.
Fieldnotes.

_Haus Krai_ take place amidst everything else that people are doing - including PhD fieldwork - and people regularly change their plans to attend a _haus krai_ or to respond to a call from family to make contributions to go to a _haus krai_.

Family groupings gather in various clusters depending on who the deceased is. A group may centre on a key senior member of the group or the descendants of a particular grandparent or great grandparent. Colleagues, sports teams, friends, church groups, school mates and so on may also gather as a group and arrive together to pay their respects and make their contributions.

Within the Tufi Ethnic Group in the settlement, many people talked about the contributions they made to deaths. For example, one couple noted the expenses related to contributing when someone dies:

_Here where we are when someone dies ol save salim bodi i go long ples (TP: they send the body home). You know a charter can costs K10,000 and it is very hard to find this kind of money. We really struggle now to send people home for burial. We all have to contribute. Depending on one’s situation we can give K100, K50, K150, K20 or some people give up to K200. Some families who have people who are working or extended family who are working are able to help out. If this amount cannot be reached then the person is just buried at 9 mile. This is a big problem we are now facing._
Recently one of my cousin’s sons was buried at 9 mile because we could not afford to send his body home.

Joe and Edna, ATS settlement, 2013.
Paraphrased from interview notes and transcript.

The last time Joe and Edna had visited Tufi was in 1983 and neither of them had sent any money home for a long time. Both were elderly and lived on a meagre income with support from family. However, they still felt compelled to contribute to *haus krai* costs of sending deceased members of the community home. They engaged with Tufi through their contributions to the costs of sending deceased people home. They also noted that increasing numbers of people who are deciding to bury people at Moresby’s cemetery at 9 Mile.

![Figure 10.1: Haus Krai for a young Tufi man who was murdered.](image)

Source: Photograph by Michelle Rooney, 2013.
As the young Tufi man’s case also shows, death connects people in the settlement with their kin in the city in various ways. This is also illustrated in the connection between Ivy and me. Ivy was one of my key collaborators and was instrumental in setting up my meetings and accompanying me during my field visits and providing me with so many insights into life in the settlement where she has grown up. During one of my first visits when she introduced herself to me she told me that we had already met. I was not too surprised as, like many in the Tufi community in Moresby, we would have most likely encountered each other during the annual Tufi Soccer Tournament (Chapter 3). But she reminded me that we had met at the haus krai of Dudley’s mother’s brother’s daughter’s son, who had died in Moresby in 2001 after coming from the village to seek medical treatment. Her husband’s brother is married to Dudley’s sister, the deceased boy’s mother. The young boy’s family had stayed with both Dudley’s and Ivy’s husband’s family. Upon his passing, his haus krai was hosted by Ivy’s brother-in-law where the families converged to pay their respects and to make financial contributions towards the arrangements to repatriate his deceased body. This was the very first time I had attended a haus krai on the Tufi side of our family.

There are countless examples of such interactions between residents of ATS settlement and their family living in the city. For example, one man had a daughter who lived with her in-laws in the city. When her husband passed away during my fieldwork he had to find funds to make a contribution to the haus krai that was in the city.
Attending *haus krai* also means dismantling day to day plans and sometimes staying whole days, nights or several days at the *haus krai*. In another example, one woman’s daughter who usually ran a *haus maket* stall had left her market and gone to the city to attend the *haus krai* of one of her in-laws who came from a different province (Figure 8.7). This left the family without the additional money that she made from her betel nut sales. In another example, Sarah, who I introduced in Chapter 8 with her *maket mani*, cancelled our meeting because her small father - her father’s younger brother - passed away and she had to visit her cousins in one of the city suburbs to *soim pes* [TP: show face] at the *haus krai*. This had an impact on her plans and life as the following shows:

Sarah is a money lender. During the past fortnight she collected K425 from people who had borrowed money from her. Because she had a dispute with her family in the village she no longer remits any funds to her family in Tufi. She was doing well with her money lending activity but in the last week her small father died so she had been going and coming to the *haus krai* which was being held at a relative’s house in one of the new suburbs near the settlement. She contributed a total of K300 to the *haus krai*. Of this, K200 was a cash contribution which went towards the costs of hosting the *haus krai* and the coffin. She spent K100 to buy some sugar, bread and tea to send to Tufi with the repatriation party so the family in the village can offer refreshments to people coming to pay their respects to the deceased man.

She explained that when her time comes people will come and help her as a way of repaying her help. If she does not attend the *haus krai* her cousins will say that she did not help them when their father – her father – died. If anything should happen to Sarah in the future some of the cousins might say she did not go and *soim pes* (TP: show her face) during their hard times and therefore they will not help her. But in any case he was her father so she had to go and help.

She contributed to this important duty while at the same time she budgeted some of her money for her children’s school stationary and saved a little to buy air tickets for her two daughters to return to her in Moresby. They had been living in Popondetta with their father’s brother for the past two years. They were asking to return to her and she dearly missed them and desperately wanted them home. But even if she did manage to save up for their tickets her husband’s brother’s wife - her sister - was insisting that Sarah and her husband pay her for all the hard work she had put into
caring for the girls. Sarah and her sister had had an ongoing dispute with 
Sarah emphasising that the girls were with their father so this should not 
require any compensation to her sister for taking care of them. 
Furthermore, they were nearly teenagers when she left them with her 
sister to take care of. She had left them with their father’s brother because 
she could not afford to buy their tickets when the family decided to come 
back to Moresby after the problems they faced with the family in the 
village when she had tried to return home to live.

Sarah, ATS settlement, 2013.
Paraphrased from interview notes and transcript.

Sarah’s story highlights the obligatory nature of contributing to *haus krai* even 
when people have other very important considerations to think about and 
when they actually no longer retain a close relationship with home. It also 
highlights the complexities of ‘migrants’ relationships with ‘home’ and varying 
pathways of relationships that are often multi-sited and involve family in other 
parts of the country.

**Karim bodi i go long ples (Taking a body home)**
The repatriation of a deceased relative home for burial is one of the most 
important and common reasons for visiting the village (Table 10.1 and Figure 
10.2). The reasons people give for the last visit they made to Tufi reflect the 
emphasis placed on repatriating deceased family members to Tufi for burial 
(Table 10.1 and Figure 10.2). The importance of repatriating the deceased for 
burial also causes people anxiety. People worry over the costs involved in 
repatriating deceased family members. They also worry about the possibility 
that they may not be repatriated. In Chapter 6 I introduced Jack who recounted 
a rather distressing story of *raskols* invading his and several other homes in the 
settlement. In all his distress Jack’s narrative emphasised his anxiety about 
repatriating anyone who died. He recalled thinking:
‘Oh God we don’t have money. If someone dies tonight where are we going to get the money to send this body home?’ (See Chapter 6).

Paraphrased from interview notes and transcript.

Another elder Tufi man stated that: I want to go home - yes. If I stay and I get killed or I die who will send me home to be buried? Both these men express a sentiment of anxiety about the costs, ability and willingness to repatriate a deceased person. They are from the older generation of Tufi living in the settlement. They were born in Tufi and migrated before PNG became independent and were among the first new Moresby residents who established themselves in the city in the 1970s.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 10.1: Year of last visit to Tufi and purpose of visit.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Has not returned to Tufi since they left</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holiday visit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Repatriation of deceased body</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visit sick parent or other relative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attempt at return or migrate to Tufi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To attend funeral</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To attend political issue at home (land, elections etc)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visiting the city and returning to Tufi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Author’s fieldwork questionnaire, 2013.
Figure 10.2: Visits to Tufi for karim bodi.
(Number and % of people per decade period).
Source: Michelle Rooney, Survey data. 2013.

Spending savings on taking the body
While the process of salim bodi - sending a body home - is a collective effort of the community and wider networks, the task of karim bodi or carrying the body home for burial rests with the immediate family and friends of the deceased\textsuperscript{101}. But it is in the process of karim bodi (TP: carrying a deceased body home) where the greatest financial and emotional drain is felt by members of the immediate and extended family who are compelled to shoulder the bulk of the burden of physically transporting the body for burial (Field Notes 12). Family members, especially men, who are working come under immense pressure to contribute

\textsuperscript{101} Strathern (1975: 336 - 345) describes the activities of Hagen mainly male migrants in the 1970s, as ‘joint enterprise’ (p336) as a ‘modified form of traditional practice’ (p336). She distinguishes between chief mourners (principals) and the helpers which resonate with ‘home’ practices but are less profound in Moresby.
support to the repatriation process. I introduced Geoff in Chapter 8 as a man who depended on his family for food and income. When I interviewed him, his wife had gone to Popondetta to accompany the repatriation party of their deceased son-in-law. They did not have money for her return.

Field Notes 12: Karim bodi i go long ples.

Monday 25 March 2013

On the day after his funeral service at the Christ the King church and his overnight resting at his father’s house in the settlement, Marcus’ body was repatriated to his home in Tuﬁ. A few of his family in the settlement accompanied him.

The estimated costs\(^{102}\) incurred since his death would have easily been in the range of K20,000 to K30,000 depending on the actual costs and numbers of people involved. These can be roughly broken up as follows: funeral home expenses, K120 per night for 5 months; K1,200 for embalming his body; K1,300 for freight costs for his coffin; K900 for return tickets for each accompanying person. On the Tuﬁ side additional costs would have been incurred to attend to his haus krai and burial which would have included hosting visitors, pigs, garden produce and so forth. Even if the death was not as complex as Marcus’, and the body of the deceased could have been sent home earlier, deceased bodies are usually kept in Moresby for a couple of weeks to enable friends and colleagues to pay their respects and for families to raise the funds to pay for the expenses involved. The longer a body stays in the Moresby the higher the costs associated with haus krai become and these must be weighed against the contributions that are being made. For families who can afford it the costs of chartering a plane range from K10,000 to K25,000 depending on the make of the plane.

This ongoing pattern of repatriation of deceased family members was a major factor influencing Geoff’s and his family’s move into ATS settlement:

Geoff had a good job with one of Moresby’s big private companies. He owned a house that he had bought through pay deductions through the company’s housing scheme. He resigned from the company in the early 2000s. After around 3 years he sold his house and bought a bus to run a PMV business while he lived with a relative. In 2003 his wife’s brother, who

\(^{102}\) Dudley Yariyari (personal communication, 2015).
is a Tufi man, passed away. The family was very sad and wanted to ‘karim bodi blong brata i go long ples’ (TP: take the brother’s body home). Geoff chartered a plane using the last of his savings and took his tambu’s (TP: in-law) body home for burial. When they returned to Moresby they had no place to live so Geoff decided to move into the ATS settlement in 2003. With the last remaining funds he had left he built a house in the settlement. Geoff would have returned home to live in Tufi but because his children were still in school he decided to settle in Moresby for a while. Geoff no longer remits anything to Tufi and as discussed in Chapter 8 he now depends on his children who live in the settlement and his relatives in the city to help him buy food and items like phone credits.

Geoff, ATS settlement, 2013.
Paraphrased from interview notes and transcript.

Larry’s story below also illustrates the crippling impact of the obligation to support family to repatriate the deceased, or attend to death in the village, by senior employed men. Larry’s story, along with his brothers, is also another illustration of the footing that families have in the settlement, the city, and other cities, and the village over long periods of time. We also see how the settlement provides a safety net when people leave formal employment:

When Larry was still in the workforce he did not envisage ever going to live in the settlement. He had a house in the city that he bought through a housing scheme with his first employer. He lost that house after a dispute with another man who claimed that the house was his. He did not pursue the dispute as he was concerned for his family’s safety in case the other man retaliated. His next job was with the government as a public servant. The job came with a three bedroom house in the city.

While Larry was working his brother recognised that the family would one day need an alternative place to stay in the city and joined all the pioneers who moved into ATS settlement when it was established in the mid-1990s. Larry and his other brother, who was living with him, visited their brother in the settlement on weekends to clean up and return to his home in the city. Larry considered putting up a permanent house at the settlement but was not able to for a number of reasons. The timber he bought got used for other purposes; also he was reluctant to invest in a house because the title of the land was not held by them.

However, most significantly, his duty to meet family obligations like deaths drained him financially over a few years. His sister died in Lae in 2003. He
borrowed K25,000 from a financial company and used that to repatriate her body to Tufi for burial. She had taken care of them all while they were growing up and was an important figure in their families even after they all reached adulthood. So he felt obliged to take her body home in a dignified way. He travelled to Lae and chartered a boat to ‘karim bodi blong em go long ples’ (TP: carry her body home). Some relatives from Lae joined the party and he bought a couple of thousands worth of store food to take to the village. In the village, because she was the eldest sister many relatives came from all sides of the family. They had to buy several pigs from different villages in order to balance the store goods that he brought. From Moresby, because his two brothers and nephew were not employed, he also bought three return tickets for them to fly from Moresby to Tufi and return. That cost around K1,000 each. Larry flew to Lae and accompanied his sister’s body on the boat from Lae. After her burial he had to accompany her husband and children on the boat back to Lae. After spending one week in Lae he flew back to Moresby and accessed some more money then returned to Tufi by plane to attend to final customary obligations in the village.

He lost his job soon after his sister died and was left with a K20,000 debt that he used his part of his finish pay entitlements to repay. Another two deaths occurred – his younger brother and another relative – for which he used the remaining funds from his entitlements to repatriate their bodies. For his brother he chartered a plane for K12,000. On top of these when another of his sisters died in the village he had to pay for tickets for several Moresby based relatives to Tufi to attend the funeral. He says that if it were not for these expenses he would not be suffering as he is now. After all his money was spent he and his wife moved into the settlement in 2004. He has no savings from the ten years he was employed in the government because it was all spent to repatriate his deceased relatives. That’s how he was not able to build a more substantial house and now lives at the settlement without any money.

However, because of his profession, his seniority in the family, his leadership on land matters in the village, and because he had a wide network of friends, he received considerable support. For example, although he was one of the households with a very low earned income, he had received several hundred Kina in the past month from different friends. His son who lived in the city with his wife’s family also ‘makes it his business’ to give his parents K100 every fortnight. His son sometimes also did a bit of shopping on top of the money he gave Larry and his wife. His son also visited them every Sunday.

Larry, ATS settlement, 2013.
Paraphrased from interview notes and transcript.
Larry’s and Geoff’s stories are not unfamiliar. Most working men in Moresby who consider themselves part of a group, clan or family will come under pressure to make such contributions. The higher paid one is the more one must be seen to be contributing.

*Tufi with and without tickets to return*
Not only rich people go home to bury the dead. Even among those people who said that they no longer remitted funds because of low incomes, five had visited Tufi in the past couple of years to repatriate a deceased relative (Table 10.2). Of these, two were in their thirties, one woman and one man. They were both born in Moresby to parents who had migrated from Tufi and now lived in Moresby. Both of them accompanied repatriation parties of deceased relatives. These two people had relatively higher incomes. They also had immediate family members working in relatively senior public service positions who lived in the formal part of the city. The repatriation of bodies also plays a role in introducing people of the ethnic group in Moresby to their kin in the village and as representatives of the Moresby group.

| Table 10.2: Year and purpose of last visit for those non remitters. (Includes those who remitted in or prior to 2011). |
|---------------------------------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|
| Has not returned                | 1      | 1      | 0      | 0      | 2      |
| Holiday visit                   | 5      | 0      | 1      | 0      | 6      |
| Repatriation of deceased relative| 0      | 1      | 2      | 2      | 5      |
| Attempted child return migrant  | 0      | 0      | 1      | 0      | 1      |
| Attend funeral                  | 0      | 0      | 0      | 1      | 1      |
| Return for political reason such as land mediation or elections | 0      | 0      | 0      | 1      | 1      |
| Not known                       |        |        |        |        | 1      |
| **TOTAL**                       | **6**  | **2**  | **4**  | **4**  | **17** |

*Source: Author’s fieldwork questionnaire, 2013.*
The other three people include Geoff and Larry, whose case studies are presented above. The other is Viola, an elderly woman who last went to Tufi as part of a group repatriating her father-in-law in 1992. These people were elders in the community who were all born in Tufi. All three, however, came from very low income households.

It is also common for someone accompanying the repatriation party of a deceased family member to be stranded in Tufi because there is no money to pay for a return ticket. The period in Tufi waiting for a family member to provide funds for a ticket can last up to several months. Geoff’s case illustrates this:

*The last time Geoff visited Tufi was in 2010 to accompany the body of a relative who was being repatriated for burial. During this trip he was stranded in Tufi for 18 months because he did not have a ticket to return home to Moresby. During his stay in Tufi, his sister living in the formal part of Moresby regularly sent him a bit of money and food items. He managed to find his way to Popondetta where he remained for another six months before his niece helped him to buy a ticket to return to Moresby. She used the money she got as her payout when she resigned from her job as a cashier in one of the supermarkets in Popondetta.*

*Geoff, ATS settlement, 2013.
Paraphrased from interview notes and transcript.*

In Geoff’s case we see the trails that his journey creates for additional money transfers. His sister in Moresby was instrumental in sending him money to support him during his period in the village and his niece gave up some of her finish pay to help him buy a ticket. His wife, who accompanied their daughter to bury their daughter’s deceased husband, was now stranded in Popondetta.

Viola’s family also illustrates how families become separated with some being stranded in Tufi:
At the time I interviewed Viola, her husband had been in Tufi for over six months. He went to repatriate the body of his brother. Both Viola and her husband were elderly and came from a very low household income family in the settlement and had little hope of purchasing a ticket for him to return unless someone offered to help.

Viola, ATS settlement, 2013.
Paraphrased from interview notes and transcript.

In another example,

Beatrice’s mother went to Tufi in 2010 to accompany the body of a deceased family member for burial at home. Beatrice could not afford to pay for a ticket for her mother to return to Moresby. Beatrice last sent her mother K300 in 2012 to help with her upkeep. She was trying to save up funds to buy her mother’s ticket to return to Moresby.

Beatrice, ATS settlement, 2013.
Paraphrased from interview notes and transcript.

10.3 Salim mani: Other remittances and visits

Urban collective remittances versus urban-rural individual remittances

Salim bodi is a wider urban collective effort and karim bodi is the collective responsibility of those closest to the deceased person.

Salim mani – or sending money, however, involves more individual or familial considerations. Remittance behaviour also sheds some insights into the relationships between those in the city and those in the village. Some people remit to parents or to people who are providing care for their children. Other people remit to family members to operate canteens, build houses, and seek health care or other services in Popondetta.
About half of the people for whom I was able to collect data on financial remittances responded that they no longer or very seldom remitted funds or items to Tufi or elsewhere (Figure 10.3). Although this can be interpreted as zero remittances it soon became clear that not remitting money is an entirely different matter to not visiting the village and maintaining a Tufi identity both in the city and in the village - that is maintaining some form of relationship with people in the village. Of the people who said they no longer or seldom remitted funds to Tufi, nine had visited Tufi in the 2000s and 2010s and of these, five had gone to Tufi to repatriate the body of deceased relatives (Table 10.1).

Figure 10.3: Duration since people remitted to Tufi or elsewhere.
Source: Michelle Rooney, Survey data. 2013.

This suggests that people’s relationships with Tufi are also shaped by their collective identity within the city in that they contribute to and act as part of the urban collective in relation to their village kin. (for a discussion on similar
urban collective efforts to repatriate deceased community members see Strathern 1975: 336-345). In many respects this way of relating to Tufi in the context of an urban collective effort to repatriate the deceased as opposed to sending direct remittances is logical, given the issues raised in previous Chapters in terms of finding refuge within the collective settlement sphere in order to survive in the city.

I suggest that financial and in-kind remittances tell us about familial relationships between people in the city and their kin at home, while other forms of remittances which are social - bodies, people, mobile phone messages and visits - also provide insights into urban and rural connections and how urban based ethnic groups organise themselves in relation to their rural homes. Among Peri-urban migrants, Litau (2009) also discusses the importance of remittances to address problems in home areas.

**To remit or not to remit? Where to remit?**

There is a relationship between the last time people remitted and their incomes (Figure 10.4 and 10.5). Those with higher incomes remitted funds more recently. However when household per person earned income is taken into consideration those who remitted during 2013 - the year of my fieldwork - have much higher household per capita earned income than those who had remitted in the previous year or earlier (Figure 10.5). This suggests that people’s decisions about when or if they should remit funds to various places take place in the context of household commitments.
There is a positive relationship between the amounts people said they remitted during 2013 and 2012, and their incomes (Figure 10.6). People with higher earned incomes remitted more funds to other places. However, when we look at their reported remittances in relation to their household per capita earned income the relationship is less strong, that is, we see a flatter trend line (Figure 10.7). Again, this suggests that the amount that people remitted depended on their individual incomes but was not separate from their household income and household decision making processes in the urban setting.

Figure 10.4: Relationship between individual income and last remittances.

Source: Michelle Rooney, Survey data. 2013.
Figure 10.5: Relationship between individual’s HH income and remittances.
Source: Michelle Rooney, Survey data. 2013.

Figure 10.6: Relationship between recent remittances and individual income.
Source: Michelle Rooney, Survey data. 2013.
Figure 10.7: Relationship between recent remittances and HH per capita income.

Source: Michelle Rooney, Survey data. 2013.

Figure 10.8: Places that people have remitted to since 2011.

Source: Michelle Rooney, Survey data. 2013.
An important part of household income decision making processes involved the consideration of contributions to *haus krai*. As we saw in Sarah’s story, involvement in *haus krai*, in turn, reflected an indirect relationship with people’s family in Tufi through the collective urban group. Sarah had tried to return home a few years ago but had run into a serious dispute with her kin in the village and returned to Moresby and decided not to remit and never to return. This fact did not preclude her from participating in the repatriation of a deceased family member which included remitting funds home.

Of those that do not or seldom remit, three had incomes but did not remit anything to Tufi. Two of these people were born in Moresby and their parents and siblings live in Moresby. The others were on very low incomes. One Tufi woman came from a relatively high income household but had not remitted for a very long time although her husband responded that he had recently remitted some funds. Thus the concept of an ethnic group living in an urban setting needs to be understood in the context and nuances of individual life stories.

Popondetta, as the urban centre for *Oro* Province, is an important place for how people engage with their family in the province. It was therefore a main destination for remittances. Many people sent money to Popondetta to relatives who had come to the town for various reasons such as health care or other family reasons. Popondetta has banking and postal facilities which makes it easier to send cash directly to or through other family member’s bank accounts (Figure 10.8).
**Intimarrages and remittances to elsewhere**

Although people invoked their association with Tufi and Oro identity in order to move into the settlement their unique life pathways were important in the decisions they made about remittances. This meant that not all remittances were sent to Tufi. Intermarriages between provinces meant that spousal partners are in constant negotiation over where to remit. Out of those who said they remitted, seven were part of a couple that comprised one spouse who is not from Tufi. Inter-provincial marriages pose interesting challenges for discussions of migrants and migrant remittances. This is evident in the case studies presented in earlier Chapters. An example of these complexities can be seen in Sonia’s story in Chapter 8. She and her husband remitted funds to Milne Bay province for their daughter’s upkeep and they also gave some money to her in-laws in the city to support their son. Similarly, Matthew and Nicki’s case (Chapter 8) shows how they sent money to Popondetta where their family members reside. Both couples also provided substantial help to their neighbours, family and friends living in the settlement.

I was not able to collect data on the places that all spouses were remitting to although I am certain that they were remitting to their own kin as well and that this was a matter of high contention in household decision making processes. As one woman pointed out about her husband; ‘I don’t know Sepik’s money’. She was implying that his financial decisions were not only separate from hers but belonged to him and his ‘Sepik’ people.

In another example:

*Marjorie is from Gulf province and is married to Walter who is a Tufi man. He lost his job in 2012 and they moved into the settlement at the end of*
2012 with their young baby. They no longer had an income and obtained daily meals by providing child care to a neighbour living in a house near where they were staying with his relatives. They both reported that they had sent money to their respective home in 2012 when he was still working. Marjorie sent K295 to her family in Gulf province and her husband sent K550 to his family in Tufi. Recently, Marjorie had requested and received funds from her brother who is working on the Lihir mine. She also requested support and received some money from a relative in the city. She budgeted the amounts she received very carefully to complement whatever other support they received while her husband kept searching for employment.

Marjorie and Walter, ATS settlement, 2013.  
Paraphrased from interview notes and transcript.

These stories, which only reflect a very partial picture of the webs of relationships and nuances in decisions people make, underscore the need to understand remittances as multidirectional and multi-local processes. Money transfers move within, into and out of the settlement following people’s webs of relationships.

Like Marjorie, many people who had very low incomes were receiving support from their family members or friends who lived in the city, in the settlement or in other parts of the country (See Chapter 8). These people were not in a position to send any remittances and many received support (for example, Keith and his wife in Chapter 8).

In the foregoing discussion I have suggested that the process of sending and carrying a deceased person home for burial reflects collective action on the part of urban Tufi in relation to their kin at home. On the other hand financial and in-kind remittances reflect more individual and familial relationships between close kin.
Although people identify as being part of the Tufi Ethnic Group as part of their livelihood strategy in the city, their own individual remittance decisions are uniquely determined by their own historical trajectories. As an ‘urban group’ they definitely participated in and were incorporated into the urban corporate social group - Tufi Ethnic Group living in the ATS settlement. As life became more precarious and people were further marginalised they deployed multi-pronged strategies to maximise their footholds in a variety of sources of support. Contributing to the repatriation of deceased bodies enabled people to anchor themselves within an urban safety net within which they navigated daily life, while at the same time related to home. Compare this situation with migrants in Zambia (Cliggett 2003) who make ‘gift remittances’ which are smaller items like food or cash. These are sent irregularly rather than large amounts of cash, in order to “hedge their bets” in a volatile and rapidly changing socioeconomic terrain (Cliggett 2003: 543; Cliggett 2005)\textsuperscript{103}. In PNG, Rasmussen (2015) also examines smaller less ceremonial remittances as important for maintaining social relationships for both migrants and home communities.

The foregoing discussion highlights the need for more nuanced discussions of the links between migration and remittances, which are often framed around monetary remittances and focus on growth of remittances as a contribution to development in the origin places of migrants (see Cliggett 2003; Dalsgaard

\textsuperscript{103} Cliggett (2003) argues that ‘Gift remitting is one method for migrants with extremely limited incomes to establish an insurance policy in the event that migrants need to return home to their village. In this way gift remitting becomes one solution for coping with the uncertainty that characterises modern African life.’ (Cliggett 2003: 544).
2013; Gregory 2012 for a discussion of the need for more nuanced readings of migration and remittances).

10.4 Reasons for not returning to Tufi

People remain in the city for many reasons and the village is often viewed as an ideal place to return. However, many people recognised the great limitations that they faced in returning to the village. As this person pointed out:

"For some people, their parents worked here and they have lived a long time in the city. When their parents die their parent’s brothers and sisters forget them so they stay here. If they go home whom will they stay with? Because of this they stay here. Others are stuck here without the funds to meet the expenses to return home. How will they pay airfares, boat fares and move all their belongings? That is why they stay here. Carelessly they stay here and they suffer a lot. At home they would go to the river for water and make gardens and get food."

Informant, ATS settlement, 2013.
Paraphrased from interview notes and transcript.

Others were reluctant to take their families home as they viewed the city as a place to educate and raise their children. They were unable to return until they had achieved their goal of raising their children. The settlement provided one option to realise this goal as this person pointed out:

"We want to visit home but there is no money to do this. Also, when we grow old we want to return to Tufi but the reason why we stay here is because of our children. Our children are born here. If we succeed in getting blocks here in this settlement it is for our children. If they happen to get employed then they might live here and work because houses down in town are very expensive and they need somewhere cheap to stay. Our children are born here and they have to be employable to take care of themselves. We cannot return home and leave them here and let someone else carry the burden. We have to stay here until they are employed and capable of caring for themselves. Only then will it be ok for us to return. We prefer life in the village. It’s a simpler life there than in the city. In the city you need money. Children that are born here in the"
city will find it hard to return. But for us we grew up at home and we attended schooled at home so it is easier for us to return. Our children here would take time to adapt themselves to the village life.

Informant, ATS settlement, 2013.
Paraphrased from interview notes and transcript.

Although almost everyone I asked were confident that they would be able to access land when they returned Tufi, some acknowledged that land was highly contested and sensitive to talk about. Sorcery and magic were quietly alluded to as potential dangers of talking too much about land. This was another reason why people hesitated to return home. Others, like Shirley (Chapter 5) decided not to return home because of conflict. Reflecting this permanence of life in the city, everyone I asked had not built a house in the village despite many having worked in the city for many years. Most people had some plans to visit Tufi in the near future although these plans were very vague.

10.5 Conclusion
Migration is part of the pre-colonial historical narrative of people from the Tufi region, Oro Province, Papua New Guinea. With colonial and mission processes, migration extended beyond traditional geographic areas and over time diasporic communities have grown. Moresby has attracted many migrants from the broader Tufi region who are also part of a broader diasporic community of people who come from the Oro Province. In this Chapter I have shown the ways that people in the Tufi Ethnic Group in the settlement relate to their families in the kin. I have tried to problematize the notion of financial remittances and migrants. I suggest that as researchers and policy makers when we overly focus on financial remittances and migrants we may overlook the complexities that
families face (see Gregory 2012 for a discussion) and the role that remittances and other relationships between migrants their kin play in regenerating cultural and social relationships in both migrant and home communities (see Dalsgaard 2013 for a discussion). The cases presented in this Chapter suggest that people migrate for different reasons and this explains the different reasons and patterns in their remittance behaviour (for example, see Litau 2009). That is, migration and migrant remittances should not be regarded narrowly as a means for channelling development in ‘home’ communities. Although people remit funds, their remittances will depend on their current employment, income and income decision making status.

Policies targeting migration as a way to stimulate rural development in terms of relying on migrant remittances must be dynamic and take a long term intergenerational view of social remittances. They must also be flexible enough to accommodate the fluidity of life once a migrant reaches their destination. As I showed in this Chapter, over time as people age and are absent from their homes for longer periods, their lives tend to respond in the face of the precarious nature of life in the city. The stories in this Chapter highlight residence in the city as a permanent concept for an increasing number of people who reconcile the challenges they face in surviving the city in a variety of ways, including moving into the settlement to escape high accommodation costs. With low incomes, for many people engaging with ‘home’ is most viably done through small contributions to collective urban efforts in relation to home. In this context, haus krai and contributions to salim bodi are legitimate
ways to retain a foothold in both the urban collective safety net and the far-to-reach ‘home’.

I have also highlighted the need to consider inter provincial, ethnic or national marriages and the ways these influence a migrant’s remittance choices. If we gloss over these nuances in relationships we run the risk of marginalising the voices within relationships that are important to migrants’ decisions. These voices may actually have a real bearing on the decisions that determine the kinds of remittance that we wish to observe and understand. In this context, we have seen how the Tufi narrative is strong in terms of pulling people into the settlement and nestling them within an ethnic frame. Yet the individual patterns of remittances or relationships with homes are very much highly personal and involve myriad negotiations with an array of actors and networks.

The Tufi Soccer Tournament which was held annually between 2001 and 2012, which I discuss in Chapter 3, is another important avenue by which urban Tufi engage in the urban collective while maintaining strong relationships with their Tufi families.

The stories in this Chapter suggest that as researchers we need to consider what we mean by the kinds of ‘value’ that people place on their relationships with their families in the village. While financial remittances are undoubtedly an important form of value, other forms of value which are embodied in persons - for example child care and deceased bodies - are obviously immensely important in framing how people relate to their family at home. A better understanding of these may provide important insights into the world view of urban Tufi and their self-identified relationships with their families wherever
they may be. This is important because it may shed some light on policies aimed at migration and remittances as a solution to rural development. In the light of the situation of the people who shared their stories in this thesis, it may shed some light on the processes of urban poverty and strategies for coping in rapidly changing urban settings.
CHAPTER 11. CONCLUSION

In the introduction to this thesis I asserted that household relationships in the current PNG context are a mesh of distinct groups of communities and people that are clearly distinguished by differences in socio-economic, demographic and geographic characteristics who are interwoven together by their common history, genealogy, and ethnic and cultural identity. This connects the urban with the rural, the formally employed with the agricultural smallholder, the home owner with the customary landowner, cash-earners with subsistence farmers, migrants with non-migrants, and the employed with the unemployed. Traditional systems of exchange continue to operate in this transformed setting and are interwoven with other modern day effects such as friendships, professional relationships, and inter-provincial marriages. People, and families, transfer income between each other and participate in an array of exchange relationships. Informal safety nets are context specific. That they exist in traditional systems can be attributed to traditional forms of access to land that enables people to sustain subsistence livelihoods. Ancestral land regimes and traditional social structures are inalienable parts of traditional socio-economic protection mechanisms. Transformations in land regimes and/or in social structures that involve a change in this principle will necessarily lead to societal responses to negotiate and shape new social protection mechanisms (summarised from Rooney 2012).

My research questions asked: How does the redistribution of personal income between social actors impact on socio-economic security in contemporary PNG society? What are the moral, personal, and political influences determining
how people participate in these social practices and how do they value the outcomes? In order to address these questions my fieldwork method drew on definitions of social protection used by international development agencies and centred on asking people about their livelihood strategies, and how they individually or collectively overcame the challenges or risks that threatened their livelihoods. These questions were explored in the ATS Settlement in Moresby among people who identified as Tufi migrants. Housing problems, lack of tenure of land, poor access to water and education, unemployment and low incomes, food shortages and availability, insecurity, and financial contributions to collective issues all emerged as common key concerns. Each chapter examined the main social and monetary exchanges and interactions that people engage in to address these issues and the moral and political influences that shape their social practices.

The thesis combines fieldwork data, and reflexive autoethnographic data with secondary sources of data to trace people’s movement into and life in the ATS settlement over the period mid-1990s to 2013. Their social safety strategies involve complex and sometimes paradoxical interactions and movements between members of the diasporic community in the settlement, their kin living in the city, and their home communities. I suggest that mainstream scholarly and policy approaches that rely on categories of urban spaces, such as urban settlements do not adequately reflect the lives of many urban residents in PNG.

The notion of value in its fullest sense as all of a quantifiable thing, a moral norm, and a phenomenon that is context specific (Graeber 2001) is examined in a context of high inequality, low incomes, unemployment and marginality.
As much as money is important for securing survival in the city, nogat mani - or not having enough money - is the reality of life for most people and this leads them to draw on the values of their collective provincial and cultural identity to survive. Prior to my research I knew that the term Oro carried significant meaning as a greeting, the name of a province, and identity. I also knew that to prove my assertion my thesis argument needed to be grounded in the context of people’s history of migration from the Oro Province. The indigenous moral and political meaning of the term Oro only became evident after I asked a few people from the province what the term meant. Their responses were:

* Oro means welcome

* Oro means a people, a tribe

* Oro means house

* Oro means men’s house, it’s the clan house, the lineage

These were explained in anthropological literature (Chapter 3) but hearing them from people of the Oro Province confirmed the significance of the term in the contemporary context. I proceeded to frame the thesis around the concept of Oro as a moral, political, social and economic anchor for people who come from the province and who now live in the ATS settlement. These meanings of Oro - welcome, tribe, house and lineage, all connote value, kinship and space (Chapter 3) and are imbued in lived experiences of people in this thesis. Combined with colonial and contemporary usage of the space to refer to a province and a mission sphere the term relates to western and colonial value and spatial organisation - an administrative and electoral bounded
geographic space. It is also a term closely associated with the Anglican Church’s history in the country.

It should have been obvious from the beginning but perhaps a key conclusion of this thesis is my - and I hope the reader’s - realisation that the process of weaving the meanings of *Oro* into research participant’s narratives about social safety nets has made visible the fact that the ATS settlement is an indigenously established and organically evolving social safety net for all *Oro* people living in the city. Underpinning this social safety net is a moral and political economy that has *Oro* identity and all its meanings at its base (Gudeman 2008). It is under threat by an ever changing city where population growth, demographic changes and the increasing importance of money bring new influences to bear on this moral and political economy. The thesis examines how this social safety net is being transformed in the social, economic, and political context of Moresby city during this period.

The term *Oro* and its meanings in relation to value, kinship and space are woven throughout the thesis. *Oro* identity was deployed in reaching a political settlement with customary land owners and members of parliament in the mid-1990s. It symbolises the paradox of urban kinship where houses are sites of contestation between kin who have housing and those who don’t. *Oro* identity draws those who are excluded from their wealthier relatives’ houses into the inclusive zone of the settlement. *Oro Province* is the historical home of the Anglican Church and people still draw on this history to access networks to provide local services. It is the house from which income earned in the formal sphere is harnessed and augmented through *haus maket* and redistributed.
through sharing. It is the basis for addressing violence. Finally it is the reason why people are willing to expend vast financial resources towards repatriating their deceased family member home for burial. Thus, whether it is tension between neoliberal forms of housing and informal housing in the settlement, or sharing of food when food is a scarce commodity that can also be sold for money, these meanings of Oro and what people value, and the paradoxes that arise, are given meaning in the particular context of ATS settlement.

We also see that value is given meaning because people mutually value each other. To examine notions of kinship in the urban PNG context, I drew on Sahlins’ (2014: 62) notion of mutuality of being. I also drew on McKinnon and Cannell (2013) and, Franklin and McKinnon (2001) who argue for a more nuanced examination of kinship in modern society and its institutions. By examining the role that provincial and ethnic identity play in urban social life and how this brings people together to make value in order to survive, I suggest that it is people’s mutuality and connection with each other that makes kinship, rather than biological lineage that seem to dominate accounts of PNG traditional society. The story of the ATS settlement also suggests that we may reimagine how such concepts of kinship and mutuality of being extend from the domestic sphere, such as seeking affordable housing, into the more political arena such as accessing land and services in the urban setting. While Tufi are a distinct, but varied, group within Oro Province, in the urban context their survival depends on their association with their Oro Province identity. The Tufi Soccer Tournament and the processes of repatriation of deceased bodies are two important ways of regenerating collective identity in the urban context.
The thesis shows how different forms of exchange and income transfers between people and households affect their social security. Throughout the thesis it is evident that the redistribution of money and items of value between people and families - including access to each other’s housing and land - is of critical importance in people’s livelihoods and social safety net strategies.

The key challenges they identified all illustrate the complexity of the kinds of income transfers and exchange the people have to engage with every day. In turn, each important challenge involves some tension between neo-liberal forms of value and the value system that enables them to survive. Commoditised land comes into contestation with their collective and moral economic values placed on land. They must contribute money to collective efforts to secure land either through payments to customary land owners or to lawyers to fight their legal case to secure land tenure. Even their tenure once in the settlement is subject to offers of money from outsiders. Collectively, they must ensure they raise the funds to pay for water bills. At the core of these financial transactions is their income earning strategies which rely on a combination of the formal wages earning sphere and the local mutual economy. At this level they must share food. Violence and crime on the part of their boys leads to exchange between ethnic groups that serve to regenerate group identity. But regeneration of group identity also undermines their livelihoods and silences other forms of violence. The processes of repatriating deceased members of their migrant community serve to regenerate their urban collective identity and their connection with home. Even though it is costly to make financial contributions to the burial of deceased community members, it
also serves to reinforce the collective base of social safety in the urban setting. On the other hand, financial and in-kind remittances are highly personal and are related to an individual’s own circumstances. It is also evident that relationships and exchange occur within the settlement, and beyond the settlement - into the city, to the village, and elsewhere. These are all integral to daily survival.

Apart from the attention given in the thesis to the repatriation of deceased family members, readers familiar with PNG might wonder why the thesis has not given attention to ceremonial exchanges such as bride wealth ceremonies. This is not an omission. The thesis explicitly sought to understand social safety nets and the methods deployed illustrate this. The data generated following this approach suggests, like Rasmussen (2015), that less ceremonial and day to day sharing of small items and basic needs are an integral part of social relationships. Furthermore, as is evident in all the chapters these exchanges cannot be homogenised into a singular form (Gregory 2012). For example, to highlight this complexity in Chapter 8, I separated earned income from all kinds of other exchange and the case studies in Chapter 8, 9, and 10 all show the myriad reasons and directions for exchange.

In seeking to understand urban space in PNG, I drew on David Harvey’s (2006, 2008, 2009) and Henri Lefebvre’s (1991 and 1996) ideas of the right to the city and of space as an absolute, relative, and relational thing. By situating ATS settlement and the social lives of its residents within the broader and historical context of the city I have sought to understand the ATS space not only as an absolute space, but also as a space that is relative and relational. From being a
space that was originally on the fringes of the city it is now a space at the frontier of the city’s expansion and its value has increased both to its residents and to other actors in the city. The interactions and the social relationships and movements that occur over time between actors within ATS settlement, and between them and actors in the city make it a relational space that at the same time influences the character of the city as much as its character is influenced by the city.

Oro as an indigenous value system has enabled the residents of ATS settlement to survive neo-liberal systems of value that dominate how basic needs are acquired in the urban space. Historically, housing was a challenge in the city and this remained the case during the period covered by this research. Housing policies in the city need to be cognizant of the historical lessons. These lessons tell us that even with the best resourcing it is highly unlikely that the stock of formal western style housing will ever meet the demand for housing in the city. Their costs and design mean that most residents will opt out of this housing option (Chapter 5). Understanding the contemporary housing strategies of families in the city will be important. For example, the ATS Settlement case study shows that families are deploying a dual strategy that combines access to the formal housing sphere with access to the settlement as part of their longer term risk management strategy. Acknowledging this will enable polices to be designed in a flexible and culturally grounded manner. Of immense importance is an urgent need to review all urban land regulatory and legal frameworks to accommodate this reality. This means accepting that new property and city developments should incorporate eviction and resettlement provisions which
include engagements with customary landowners to secure land for resettlement.

Land in Moresby has become highly valued and customary landowners, the state and companies all have prior claims on the settlement land. By highlighting the increasing value of land and the changing demographic profile at the ATS settlement, I have demonstrated how both moral and material economic considerations influence land dynamics in the settlement. As Moresby grows, and ATS settlement expands, the spaces available to its residents are diminishing. The initial Oro Province identity that drove the impetus to establish the settlement contrasts with the money value of land, growing population and the city’s development. The contemporary dynamics of urban settlement land needs to be understood within the broader city and national developments in which the value of urban land is increasingly driven by its value to capital investment.

As land value increases, the underlying moral and political economy of the settlement is threatened by the increasing power of money offered by wealthier city residents who are increasingly seeking to purchase land in the settlement. This also has the effect of further marginalising or dispossessing existing poorer residents. This resonates with Harvey (2008, 2009) and Piketty (2014).

Holston and Appadurai (1996) argue for attention to cities because as centres of culture, society, politics, and the economy they offer us multiple lenses for examining notions of citizenship. Examples of this are evident in the ATS settlement where people use cultural identity to secure land; engage
collectively with the water authority; work with their church networks to establish a local school; and negotiate with private companies for donations. Like other parts of the developing world, residents of ATS settlement face conditions of structural inequality that render them invisible from policy processes. Despite these difficult conditions, their creativity enables them to exercise new forms of citizenship. These issues are influencing global scholarship on urbanization and citizenship in cities in the global south. This thesis makes a contribution to this international scholarship from a Melanesian perspective.

This is important because another unexpected but extremely important conclusion of this thesis is that it makes visible the segregated nature of the political economy of service delivery in Moresby. This segregation arises out of the particular history and contemporary regulatory and legal land tenure regimes. The city’s water governance and the nature of urban land tenure systems work to reinforce this segregation. Despite their best efforts to establish a school and aspire towards the development goals that are part of the country’s development agenda, their difficulties in accessing water, and their ‘illegal’ occupancy of land disqualifies them from accessing government funding. In response, residents of the ATS settlement negotiate and engage with development actors, the church and the city’s business sector to achieve the same democratically ascribed development outcomes that the rest of the city’s citizens take for granted.

The case studies in Chapter 7 show the difference between the settlement spaces and other parts of the city in terms of water provision, education...
services, and social services. By tracing the movement of water from its source to the settlement I showed how both political ecology and political economy factors shape and influence service delivery in urban areas (Anand 2011; Gandy 2008; Loftus 2009; Swyngedouw 1997). Their illegal occupancy of land also means their water governance differs to the rest of the city. Residents of the ATS settlement demonstrate collective action and local governance that enable them to access water and meet their obligations as customers paying for commodified water. For policy makers this means that the delivery of water and sanitation infrastructure should include attention to water governance and its ecological setting. Given the Moresby ecological context and population growth rate, reviewing the current water supply system should be an important priority for policy makers. An appropriately designed water supply system that takes into consideration the ecology of the city is an urgent need.

Partnerships with private companies and charitable wealthy people provide another avenue for the residents of ATS settlement to meet the needs of their children. The dynamics created by external organisations vying to make well-intended contributions in spaces like the ATS settlement create settlements as sites of contestation between organisations and actors within and beyond the settlement. These ways of finding solutions to realise their development aspirations reveal new forms of citizenship referred to as ‘deep democracy’ by Appadurai (2001) in which democratic and universal development outcomes are achieved with limited intervention by the state.

At the heart of social protection in this urban context is money. Money is the food garden and the city is the land from which money is generated. With high
unemployment rates and very low incomes, *haus maket* are a central institution in the community for generating money locally and for redistributing value within the community. The value created by their predominantly women vendors make *haus maket* the centre of the community where economic and social value are created. Moreover, acts of sharing from *haus maket* and between households act to constitute the core value of the community (Gudeman 2008; Otto and Willersev 2013: Widlok 2013). This and the overall political economy of the settlement lend weight to the argument that economies are socially embedded (Polanyi 2001).

The thesis also provides evidence of Polanyi’s (2001) double movement argument where economic, social and political transformation involving increasing importance of money and commodification of land, labour and money, progress alongside parallel societal calls for social security that is based on moral economy arguments. A social safety mechanism reflects the underlying value system of the actors taking part in it as providers and beneficiaries. In terms of Polanyi’s (2001) double movement argument the establishment of the settlement, and the subsequent flow of people moving into it, can be interpreted as an implicit resistance against neo-liberal capitalist forms of land and housing tenure. Although their movement to the settlement is not an overt protest and is occurring over a long term, this ‘implicit resistance’ resonates with the moral economy arguments by Thompson (1971) and Scott (1976). The hardships related to housing led people to think of new ways to survive the city (Narotzky and Besnier 2014). From a position of marginality residents of ATS settlement still subscribe to universal democratic notions of
inclusion and access to services (Holston and Appadurai 1996; Bayat 1997; Bhan 2014).

From a policy perspective, any social protection mechanism - be it locally and organically grown or introduced by the state or the development agencies - will be guided and shaped by the underlying system of its actors. Any state or development agency intervention will depend on the availability and sustainability of funding. Financial constraints - *nogat mani* - will still be a consideration. The thesis reflects on the aspirations and efforts of residents of ATS settlement to attain development outcomes like shelter, water and education, income generation and security. It has demonstrated that people draw on different value systems (Appadurai 1988; Narotzky and Besnier 2014).

*Oro* provides a frame for examining how different forms of value, kinship and notions of space can be brought to bear in the lives of the residents of ATS settlement. For example, their indigenous values form their underlying collective identity while they exercise emerging local forms of citizenship, leadership and governance to secure water and education. As a longitudinal snapshot of a group of *Oro* people - ‘a people’ - living in Moresby during this post-independence period, the thesis provides insights to the potential direction that Moresby may take in the future. As a deep examination of settlement life the thesis sheds light on people’s resourceful and creative responses to the hardships faced in urban PNG.
Acronyms

ADB  Asian Development Bank
ATS  Air Transport Squadron
CSO  Community Services Obligation
HH  Household
ILG  Incorporated Land Group
IPBC Independent Public Business Corporation
LNG  Liquefied Natural Gas
MCS  Mother and Child Support
MP  Member of Parliament
NCD  National Capital District
NCDC National Capital District Commission
NDLPP National Department for Lands and Physical Planning
NDOE National Department of Education
NDOH National Department of Health
NGO Non-Government Organization
NHC National Housing Commission
NRI National Research Institute
NSO National Statistics Office
OCDA *Oro* Community Development Program
OSEDA *Oro* Socio-Economic Development Association
PMV Public Motor Vehicle
PNG Papua New Guinea
<table>
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<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
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<tr>
<td>SOE</td>
<td>State Owned Enterprise</td>
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<tr>
<td>TCC</td>
<td>Tembari Children’s’ Care</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TP</td>
<td>Tok Pisin</td>
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<td>WWII</td>
<td>World War II</td>
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Glossary

**bas fe**  bus fare

**brata**  brother

A man who is married to the family or people to whom one is married. A woman or man will call another man married to the same family or group of people as his or her brother.

**bekim dinau**  repay debt

**buai**  betel nut

**buai maket**  betel nut market (market place or small stall located near home or at road side)

**buk**  borrow

**buking**  borrow

**dinau**  borrow

**Eda Ranu (Motu term)**  Our Water. Official name of the state owned enterprise responsible for water provision in Moresby

**em orait! ol Oro lain i stap.**  it's alright! Oro people are there

**ethnic group**  term used within the settlement to refer to a group of people living in the ATS settlement loosely defined by a cultural, linguistic and or regional boundary associated with the province of origin (see Tufi Ethnic Group)

**foroga (Korafe term)**  traditional song and dance

**gutplas pasin**  morally good behaviour or characteristic

**haus krai**  a venue or house where the gathering for mourning for a deceased person takes place

**haus maket**  a small market stall located in front of a house or nearby.

**i mas nogat**  might be without; might not have
karim bodi
accompany the repatriation party of a body of a deceased person

karim bodi blong brata i go long ples
take brother’s body home

karim bodi blong em go long ples
carry her or his body home

kotopu (Binandere term)
loosely translated kotopu is respect (Waiko 1982: xiii)

Kros
cross, upset, dispute,

kros na pait
serious and violent dispute

Lapun
elder, don, old

luk save
recognise, accept or acknowledge

luksave blong ol man
the ability to recognise things about people

lus wik
non pay week in the fortnight

maket
market place (noun); trade (v)

maket mani
lending money; money that is available for lending

mama mani
principle of money lent by money lender

mando (Binandere term)
‘women’s house’ (Waiko 1982: 459)

mipla save stap nating
we just stay and do nothing

mani
money

nogat mani
no money; not enough money

nogat mani bilong salim bodi i go long ples
no money to repatriate the body of a deceased relative home

ol save salim bodi i go long ples
they send the body home

oro (Binandere group of languages)
Binandere group of languages: various see Table 2.1
pasin  behaviour, characteristics, ways, ethos, attitude
planti blo mipla nogat wok  many of us don’t have employment
PNG kina  PNG currency
raskol  criminal
salim bodi  repatriate the body of a deceased person for burial at home
salim mani  sell money; lend money, money lending
salim mani  send money; remit money
save  know; knowledge; intelligence; known
save kar  recognised car, known car, accepted car
save mangi  recognised, known or accepted boy or young man
save pes  recognised, known, or accepted person
sista  sister

a woman who is married to the family or people to whom one is married. a woman or man will call another woman married to the same family or group of people as his or her brother
soim pes  show ones face, to turn up, to attend an event or occasion
stap nating  stay and do nothing
taitim bel na silip  brace oneself to sleep on an empty stomach. (literally: tighten you stomach and sleep)
tambu  In-law; forbidden
tambu meri  female in-law (mother, sister, daughter, or any woman related to one’s spouse)
tero (Binandere term)  ‘mat woven from coconut leaves’ (Waiko 1982: 463)
tinpis  canned fish
**tok pisin**  
language spoke in Papua New Guinea

**Tufi Ethnic Group**  
the group of people living in the ATS settlement who commonly and loosely identify as being from the region along the coastline of Oro province (see Figure 1.2)

**turuturu**  
intensifier for tru or trupela  
true, real, genuine

**turuturu lain**  
real, genuine kin

**wanem mani bai mipla**  
what money will we eat and what money will we use to pay bus fare for children to go to school?

**kaikai na wanem mani bai**  
waipai baim bas fe lo pikinini lo go skul?’

**wanpla blut mipla bon na stap**  
i am of one blood, we are born and living together

**wantok**  
kin, speaker of same language group, same cultural or ethnic group

**wok lain**  
waged workers

**yu salim mani?**  
are you selling money?
References


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