

NEW GUINEA RESEARCH BULLETIN

Number 23

MIXED-RACE SOCIETY IN PORT MORESBY

B.G. Burton-Bradley

March 1968

Published by the New Guinea Research Unit,  
The Australian National University,  
P.O. Box 4, Canberra, A.C.T.

and

P.O. Box 1238, Port Moresby, New Guinea



THE AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL UNIVERSITY

Research School of Pacific Studies

New Guinea Research Unit Committee

O.H.K. Spate, Chairman, Director of the School

J.W. Davidson, Department of Pacific History

J.A. Barnes, Department of Anthropology and Sociology

H.C. Brookfield, Department of Geography

Ann Chowning, Department of Anthropology and Sociology

E.K. Fisk, Department of Economics

R.G. Crocombe, New Guinea Research Unit

Editor, New Guinea Research Bulletin  
R.G. Crocombe

Editorial assistant  
Susan Reeves

March 1968



## Contents

|   | <u>Page</u> |
|---|-------------|
| Preface                                 | 1           |
| Chapter 1 Introduction                  | 3           |
| Chapter 2 Unifying and divisive factors | 6           |
| Chapter 3 Occupations                   | 12          |
| Chapter 4 The household and children    | 15          |
| Chapter 5 Courtship and marriage        | 20          |
| Chapter 6 Drinking patterns             | 24          |
| Chapter 7 Gambling patterns             | 29          |
| Chapter 8 Contact and avoidance         | 34          |
| Chapter 9 Social marginality            | 41          |
| Chapter 10 Changes since 1963           | 43          |
| Bibliography                            | 45          |



## Preface

This study attempted to examine class and status both within the mixed-race community itself and in relation to the larger society of Port Moresby. Emphasis was placed upon the composition and economy of the households studied, the nature of authority within them, and the patterns of its expression. Consideration was given to the significance of the interpersonal relationships of household members, both within the household and beyond. The study shows that a mixed-race middle class has been formed through the miscegenation of a European upper and a Papuan lower class, and that this middle class has been added to by other ethnic mixtures neither wholly European nor Papuan. This larger pattern of social stratification is reflected within the mixed-race community itself, where the people refer to their own upper, middle and lower classes; and consideration is given to whether a 'mixed-race group' exists. Conclusions are drawn concerning the social character of these people, and consideration is also given to the effects on the individual of the social forces of biculturality, marginality, prejudice, aspiration-restriction and participation-blocking.

I have been a participant-observer of the Port Moresby mixed-race scene since 1959, and unless otherwise stated, the report refers to the situation in 1963. During that period I had daily contact with the people and freely entered their homes and attended their social functions. To obtain background information, I abstracted all references to mixed-race people from a Port Moresby bi-weekly newspaper over a nine-year period (eighty-three items in all) and had interviews with mixed-race people in Goroka, Madang, Wewak, Manus Island, Kavieng, Rabaul, Lae and Samarai during tours of Papua-New Guinea. Forty genealogies were prepared and used. In the study of mixed-race relationships with Europeans and Papuans, I met with all three groups both formally (by interview) and informally.



## Chapter 1

### Introduction

The following definitions refer to the material of this study, and may not necessarily apply in other contexts.

The term 'Port Moresby mixed-race' will refer to a person who thinks of himself as such and is considered as such by others, the emphasis being on sociological rather than biological origins. It normally excludes:

(i) the person of part-aboriginal descent from Australia who does not enter the Port Moresby mixed-race community;

(ii) the mixed-race person of other parts of Papua-New Guinea, for example, Rabaul Euraneseans and Daru mixed-race people;

(iii) the light coloured mixed-race person who passes over into the white community;

(iv) the mixed-race person who prefers to be known as Papuan and eschews mixed-race society; and

(v) the indigenous person whose parents originate from different parts of Papua-New Guinea.

'European mixed-race' will refer to a mixed-race person as herein defined whose non-indigenous genetic component derives from a European country, and 'Asian mixed-race' to one whose non-indigenous genetic component derives from an Asian country.

By 'indigene' will be meant a person born in Papua-New Guinea who is neither European, Asian nor mixed-race, and by 'Papuan' will be meant an indigenous resident of Papua.

Non-indigenous genes have probably been introduced into Papua-New Guinea since the earliest times. Although Indonesian traders have frequented the New Guinea coast for centuries, little is known prior to the mid-nineteenth century. The list of known explorers who have touched the region is formidable. Since the discovery attributed to the Portuguese in 1511, they include the following (Legge 1956:12): De Retes (1546), Torres (1606), Tasman (1643), Dampier (1700), Carteret (1767), Bougainville (1768), Cook (1770), d'Entrecasteaux (1793), d'Urville (1827 and 1840), Blackwood (1842), Yule (1845), Owen Stanley (1846), Miklouho-Maclay (1871), and Moresby (1873).

Mixed-race people relate a story told by their elders concerning the people of Hood Point Peninsula, sixty miles east of Port Moresby: before the Europeans came a Chinese boat was wrecked and two of its crew were allowed to marry two widows. The rest were eaten. Descendants of these people with distinct Mongoloid features can be seen today. Among the people themselves, the list of claimed ancestry is impressive. Stated countries of origin include Australia, Ceylon, China, Fiji, France, Germany, Greece, Guam, India, Indonesia, Ireland, Italy, Loyalty Islands and other South Sea Islands, Malaya, Middle East countries, New Zealand, Philippines, Portugal, Russia, Timor and the United Kingdom.

From the early nineteenth century the region attracted shipwrecked sailors, whalers, traders and escaped convicts, but it was not until white settlers and missionaries came that the sociological group of Port Moresby mixed-race people was begun. A despatch from Deputy Commissioner Romilly to Sir Peter Scratchley in 1884 indicated that he had deported two Europeans whose seduction of Papuan women had caused him concern (Legge 1956:32). According to Lett (1949:78) Sir Hubert Murray had a long acquaintance with a French escapee from the convict settlement of Devil's Island, who married a Kiwai woman. Their daughter went to school in Australia, and ultimately returned to the difficulties associated with mixed-race status in the local society of that day. By the end of 1890, provision had been made for a native constabulary, and two Fijians and twelve Solomon Islanders arrived in Port Moresby as the result of efforts by Sir William MacGregor, who also settled various members of his Fijian boat crew on blocks of land. The missions brought in Samoans and Filipinos. Small ships from Australia brought foreign crews whose members drifted to the goldfields and remained. This lasted from about 1884 until the 1920s. Propinquity, and disparity in the sex ratio encouraged these men to establish liaisons with Papuan women. Later European traders drifted in and the 'European mixed-race' stock was established. During Sir Hubert Murray's administration, class and caste became increasingly important and mothers of mixed-race children preferred to hide and protect them rather than promote their education. Because of poor schooling and their physiognomy, they were employed by planters and traders as 'apprentices'. Their knowledge of English gave them an advantage over Papuans.

Ten years after the second world war the position of mixed-race people underwent visible change which has been quite rapid since. In 1954 six were chosen to meet the Queen at Cairns. The Mixed Race Association was formed in 1955, the Island Social Club for women in 1959 and the Youth Club in 1960. A \$10,000 claim for breach of promise against a European by a young mixed-race woman was made in 1961, and during the same year the first marriage between a European woman and a New Guinean man took place.

Indicative of the change is the way older people speak of four distinct phases of mixed-race drinking, a cardinal feature of their social life:

(i) total prohibition before 1948, in which there was illegal drinking;

(ii) the permit era (1948-56), when selected mixed-race persons were given a permit by the Government Secretary on the basis of an application and character report from the police. Compared with the third era these two periods were characterised by better community activity, more interest in sport, better-run, strife-free dances and picnics, and disapproval of drinking by young people under twenty-one years of age;

(iii) period of complete freedom (1956 onwards) when there was an initial upsurge in drinking, which settled down to an overall increase on previous periods;

(iv) late in 1962, liquor rights were granted to Papuans and New Guineans, thus removing this status-conferring attribute from mixed-race people.

In 1963 there were 1,389 mixed-race people in Port Moresby, sandwiched between 6,000 Europeans and 17,000 Papuans. The size of all groups has increased markedly since. Most Papuans rely on paid employment. Most Europeans work for the Administration, private enterprise and the missions, and most are expatriate-orientated, regarding their stay in Papua-New Guinea as limited.

## Chapter 2

### Unifying and divisive factors

#### Group consciousness

In my notion of what constitutes a group, I have adhered to the three criteria of Merton (1957:286), namely, enduring and morally established forms of social interaction, self-definition as a member of the group, and the same definition by others. To what extent does a 'mixed-race group' exist in Port Moresby, and what is its nature? Enduring interaction in terms of religious affiliation is characteristic of these people. They say, 'We are knitted to the church'. Most are Roman Catholics; a few are apostates. Of those who stray, most are said to return. The Catholic adherence derives from the fact that formerly few indigenous mothers of mixed-race children were supported adequately if at all by the fathers, and the Roman Catholic Church in particular exhibited a charitable and enthusiastic response to their difficulties. With the increasing importance of the European father in the life of the child, the higher standard of education offered by this church provided an additional attraction. Converts to Catholicism arise within the small non-Catholic segment also. Marriages and funerals are well attended. The newly wedded are often embarrassed by gifts from others of mixed-race who are not even acquaintances. There is enduring interaction also in group gambling and drinking situations, dances, sporting activities and fund-raising functions. Physical attacks on individual mixed-race people by those of non-mixed-race bring large numbers to their rescue.

The mixed-race person thinks of himself as such, and knows who is, or is not, eligible for membership of the Mixed Race Association. Of significance was the Asian mixed-race subgroup that existed prior to their gaining equal drinking rights with their European mixed-race brothers. Previously at clubs Asian mixed-race persons sometimes accused European mixed-race persons thus: 'You think you are superior, well come outside and fight!' This no longer happens.

This skill at clear definition is not shared to the same degree by either Europeans or Papuans, but is sufficient to ensure mixed-race peoples' non-acceptance into either society. They claim to be rejected by both, though they would like to be fully accepted into

European society. The pull is greatest in this direction, but because of the claimed rejection by Europeans, they are ambivalent towards Papuans. Some say, 'Let's join the majority!' But others say, 'I'll never go back!' Papuans, however, are not yet fully ready to receive them. Privileges in terms of 'mixed-race pay' and drinking rights did not go unnoticed, particularly by those Papuans who surpassed them in intellectual achievement, and who say that the superior attitudes of the past are not forgotten. In patrilineal areas, those who trace their descent through a 'foreign' male are often landless and ineligible to be assimilated into the local social structure. In short, the mixed-race people constituted a buffer group between two larger groups, rejected by both, and precariously maintaining their intermediate position by means of drinking rights and mixed-race rates of pay, both of which were soon to disappear.

### Class

Port Moresby mixed-race social class divisions are based on the tendency to absorb European values and the capacities of individuals to adapt to pressures deriving from these tendencies. Those with greater capacity show a marked desire to detach themselves from the less happily endowed, with a resultant crystallisation of an upper class group. Certain persons eat, drink, play and interact together in various ways to the exclusion of others. The lower ranks tend to group on the basis of denial or by identification with prevailing Papuan values, except when threatened with classification as Papuans. There is thus an attraction towards both ends of the scale, with a large group remaining in the middle. This triad of upper, middle and lower social classes within the mixed-race community reflects that of the larger social structure, with its Caucasian upper class, mixed-race middle class and Papuan lower class. These subdivisions are not permanent but indicate those who tend to be social and organisational equals. Upper class mixed-race people are either in private enterprise or the professions, middle class people are artisans and those in the lower class are unskilled labourers or unemployed.

There are other lesser indices which do not relate directly to status, but which are associated with membership of a given class, for example, the so-called 'chee chee' accent is normally absent in upper class mixed-race women but readily returns under stress, when they revert to the language of their childhood which was influenced by French nuns, French missionaries and Papuan non-English-speaking children.

Other features associated with membership of a given class include the following.

(a) Upper class. These people, also known as the 'top class', are referred to by other mixed-race people by such phrases as, 'They are

distinct because they let you know it'; 'Everyone acknowledges it'; 'They wouldn't invite anyone from Gabutu'; 'Nobody would dare invite them to a beer party at Gabutu'; 'Their daughters are waiting for better-type husbands'.

The interiors of their homes resemble those of Europeans, though they are less elaborate. The women insist on curtains in their houses but prefer wood stoves. Most possess table napkins, but they are seldom used except for a 'distinguished visitor', usually the parish priest or a European. Cutlery and kitchenware equal that in Port Moresby European homes. Table cloths are used at all times. Wine is served with dinner when guests are present, and is drunk in moderation.

These people are conscious of fashion, but because of limited incomes some of their clothing is outdated by European standards. A woman might own, for example, one modern and seven old-fashioned dresses, a ratio often reversed for European women of Port Moresby. Permanent-wave hair styles are confined to this class. The women attend church less frequently than those in lower class levels, and do not play 'lucky'. Most men own a tuxedo, and all have a few neckties. In 1956, 'whites' and shark skin clothing were worn by Europeans and upper and middle class mixed-race men, but with Europeans now wearing terylene and the like, mixed-race men are often unable to keep up. Pyjamas and nightgowns are worn.

Upper class mixed-race people may complain of 'too much family', and daughters are urged to maximise their status by marriage with such warnings as, 'You don't want to carry a kiapa bag on your head all your life!' The existence of bride-wealth is stoutly denied.

(b) Middle class. These people, also known as the 'artisan class', do tradesmen's jobs, received wages between \$80 and \$100 per month in 1963, and retained their class position almost solely by virtue of their seniority with the Administration.

In their homes, family portraits are displayed. Wall paint is rare or, if present, unrelated to a colour scheme. Furniture is usually old and purchased second-hand. A wood stove is preferred, but occasionally a primus stove is used. Not everyone owns a bed, and some sleep on a mattress on the floor. The baby hammock is prominent. Tablecloths are rarely used, although they may be for upper class mixed-race visitors. Knives and forks are used in the American way, with food being first cut with a knife and then eaten with a fork or spoon in the right hand. As with the other two classes, the children use spoons only until they reach adulthood, after which they adopt the patterns of the particular class they enter. Crockery is sparse and aluminium ware predominates. Soup plates and sweet dishes are not used. Meals consist of one course only, and food is placed in a bowl on the table from which each person serves himself.

The women wear plain but quite attractive dresses, brassieres and shoes. Most mothers, however, wear shoes only into town. Before the war, with the exception of the upper class, very few wore shoes at all. There is a fashion lag of three or four years with the women's dresses. This class is not fashion conscious, but mothers are proud to point out that their children are sent to school well dressed, and some boast about giving one dollar per week to the teaching sisters at Koke so that their children get a prestige lunch. Pyjamas and nightgowns are not worn and women generally sleep in their petticoats.

These people are somewhat restrained in arrangements for their parties. Invitation cards are printed, and delivered by hand as there is no postal delivery service in Port Moresby. They claim to 'invite everyone', but some upper class mixed-race people insist that they would never dream of attending such parties.

The quasi-matriarch or 'booboo' is most prevalent in this class. She is the oldest woman, and exercises considerable power over her children and grandchildren. Her function is regulatory in that she can readily bring dissident young women into line by such a devastating and oblique reference to legitimacy as, 'You came off the grass!'

(c) Lower class. These people are sometimes referred to as the 'booze parties class' because of their frequent drinking parties. Their homes are simple, often with walls of old corrugated iron. Furniture and shelves are improvised from packing cases. There is normally a table, but they usually eat and sleep on the floor. The ubiquitous baby hammock is permanently tied to the rafters with a piece of rope.

Food is usually taken with the fingers and each person helps himself. Enamel plates and cups, some aluminium dishes, and spoons are used. The typical stove is made from half a forty-four gallon drum with a hole cut in the side, and either holes punched in the top or a wire mesh top. Alternatively, two metal pipes across two wooden blocks may be used for cooking.

The women are not fashion conscious and few possess shoes or brassieres. They make their own clothing, but are not skilled in style or fit. The men may wear lap laps and the women dresses for sleeping.

They are often mistaken for Papuans by Europeans, but never by other mixed-race people. All are conscious of the hazard of being classified as Papuans and fear losing the acquisitions which go with mixed-race status. Some have endeavoured to rectify this by a change of residence, for example, from Hanuabada to Hohola. Sorcery beliefs are common among members of this group who, if sick, will seek out the Papuan babalau as well as the European medical practitioner.

### Mobility

Within the mixed-race community interclass mobility occurs both up and down the social scale. Loss of property is an important source of downward mobility, and a woman effecting a hypergamous marriage can move into a higher class. As indicated, some lower class mixed-race people strive for middle class status because of the hazard of being classified as Papuans.

### Class and residential area

There are mixed-race residents in eleven 'suburbs' within the Port Moresby area, and of these, Koke, Badili and Gabutu are by far the most important. By 'suburbs' is meant regions which have a name associated with them in the minds of mixed-race and other people. Koke contains most of the lower class, some middle class and a very few upper class, all living on freehold properties. Badili contains a larger number of lower class, a few middle class and no upper class, and the properties are also freehold. In Gabutu all three classes are represented along with two indigenous families, all of whom lease land from the Administration. In 1963 there were 200 houses at Hohola occupied predominantly by Papuans but also including twelve mixed-race families who moved away from their relatives in Koke and Badili to avoid congestion, and are purchasing their own properties. Hanuabada contains mostly middle class, some lower class and one family of upper class, all set in the background of a very large, predominantly Papuan village. The mixed-race people in Hanuabada have Hanuabada (i.e. Papuan) relatives. This applies also to the middle and lower class people of Vabukori whose Papuan relatives have allowed them to build on their land. Most upper class mixed-race people live in Boroko, which is a major residential site for Europeans. Most have European fathers. There are seven families of upper class and aspiring middle class at 'Sixmile' and 'Sevenmile' who have leased land from the Administration for twenty-five years. Koke includes one lower class family. Bomana is the site of a number of Administration facilities and contains middle and lower class families working in the area. All the families at 'Seventeenmile' are upper class. They have purchased farming allotments.

### Status

The key to the understanding of status is power, according to Mills (1959:223). The mixed-race person cannot favourably influence status awareness among his own group if he does not have, or is not thought to have, power. This power is relative, and the status which it gives in the present instance is determined largely by occupational and ethnic criteria.<sup>1</sup> The Caucasian component of the

---

<sup>1</sup> Occupational status is indicated in chapter 3.

ethnic mixture is greatest in the upper, and least in the lower class. The whiter the individual, the easier is the expression of the preferred European values.

Notwithstanding that Port Moresby mixed-race people do enjoy certain levels of prestige, it can also be said that this enjoyment is often disturbed and uneasy, that the basis of prestige claims and the manner in which they are honoured are subject to stresses and strains resulting from changing wage patterns, the loss of alcohol privileges and the increasing confidence of the indigenous people.

## Chapter 3

### Occupations

Although the mixed-race woman ultimately determines the level and style of life within the family, by bringing her husband down or up to her level, her social class is determined mainly by residence and her husband's employment. Mixed-race men who have been to Australia, and who may have attained Intermediate standard education, often tend to slide back on marrying a lower class mixed-race woman when they return. In some cases such persons have become 'heavy equipment operators', a name about which they boast, but which does not impress their peers. Lower or middle class men who marry higher in the social scale endeavour to adhere to the new standards, yet sometimes pine for what they refer to as 'the good old days', regretting the loss of former friends though not actively seeking their continued association. The exception to this is the upper class spinster whose occupational status equals her class membership, since she is not usually associated with close family life and lives on her own.

Occupational ratings by the mixed-race people were determined by observation in casual settings and by formal enquiry. There were no great variations in the assessments, although it was clear that heavy equipment operators and casual labourers had a self-image not accorded them by others. Most lower class informants denied interest in this subject, and the refinements of status ascription were provided by upper class people.

Male mixed-race occupational ratings reflect those of European society, as the following status rankings indicate:

|   |   |    |   |
|---|---|----|---|
| 1 | Assistant medical practitioner            | 10 | Electrician   |
| 2 | Businessman (town shop)                   | 11 | Joiner  |
| 3 | Businessman (trade store)                 | 12 | Plumber   |
| 4 | Plantation owner (on periphery of town)   | 13 | Road ganger   |
| 5 | Plantation manager (on periphery of town) | 14 | Department of Posts and Telegraphs linesman trainee |
| 6 | Radio technician                          | 15 | Clerk   |
| 7 | Storeholder                               | 16 | Truck driver  |
| 8 | Fitter                                    | 17 | Stevedore   |
| 9 | Carpenter                                 | 18 | Bricklayer  |
|   |   | 19 | Boot repairer                                       |

|    |              |    |                          |
|----|--------------|----|--------------------------|
| 20 | Mechanic     | 22 | Heavy equipment operator |
| 21 | Meter reader | 23 | Casual labourer          |

There is a heavy incidence of artisans. According to older mixed-race men this is related to their historical development as a group, when during Sir Hubert Murray's administration planters and traders gave them jobs as 'apprentices' on poor pay. They thus had much contact with Europeans, and many became good handymen and mechanics through practical experience. Despite many improvements in their life situation, the tradition of the artisan has persisted.

The highest occupational status is assigned to professional and business men, who possess a certain amount of individual authority. Dislike of discipline is widespread, although not allied to entrepreneurial activity, as few engage in private enterprise. One mixed-race man endeavoured to establish himself as a trade-store operator, but within several years he had lost his money and was described as bad tempered, sullen and surly. Professional men claim in some contexts not to mix with the mixed-race community, but complain in others of 'too much family', and are well versed in their activities and personalities. The two attitudes are not, of course, mutually exclusive. Government employment is highly priced, and most mixed-race men in Port Moresby are employed by the Administration.

Dissatisfaction with pay and conditions, relative to those for Europeans, is widespread. Most claim to be as good as Europeans at their jobs though getting unequal pay.

Heavy equipment operators and casual labourers are the first to be laid off during a recession. Alcohol is related to occupation in this connection. As chapter 6 indicates, the mixed-race man feels that drinking makes him a man, and this may result in the loss of his job. He then drinks more and more whereby, say other mixed-race people, he descends to the level of what they refer to as 'spivvy hunting and crocodile trips', which are not quite honest and may be associated with stealing or procuring.

Female mixed-race occupational status rankings are as follows:

|   |                    |   |                  |
|---|--------------------|---|------------------|
| 1 | Nursing sister     | 6 | Shop assistant   |
| 2 | Nursing trainee    | 7 | Dressmaker       |
| 3 | Nursing aide       | 8 | Bakery assistant |
| 4 | Casual baby sitter | 9 | Housewife        |
| 5 | Telephonist        |   |                  |

Casual baby sitting is much appreciated by upper class mixed-race women, the esteem being related to the status of the European employer. By observing the interior of European homes they can work towards obtaining these appurtenances in their own, as well as gaining data for gossip. Upper class mixed-race women wish to emulate their European counterparts in order to promote their own

status, and often ply their employers with presents, particularly home grown produce. The occupations of nursing and telephonist also bring the aspiring mixed-race woman into contact with facets of European behaviour. Upper class mixed-race women model their homes and families on what they learn through such contacts.

## Chapter 4

### The household and children

The mixed-race household is an important unit of the social system, but interaction between its so-called 'individualist' members is effected on a scale not seen outside: on leaving the house each goes his own way, resisting all forms of interference or direction, except in times of crisis, such as marriage, death and race disturbances. When intra-household solidarity extends to wider group situations, it is usually associated with kinship. Religion, the Mixed Race Association, and non-acceptance by European and Papuan groups modify this trend toward less interaction outside the household. Mixed-race people are forced into group formation by consciousness of what they refer to as 'the way we are treated'. Such households have arisen as the result of some relatively enduring conjugal relationship, or rarely they may be established by a 'spinster' for her own exclusive use.

The design of the houses varies considerably, the best being modest by European standards. At the one extreme is a galvanised-iron shed, twelve feet by fourteen feet, and containing upwards of ten people. The best houses consist of brick, concrete and timber, cost the Administration about \$2,000 when they were built in 1959, and may house from two to four people. Members of each social class tend to live close to one another, and to occupy houses appropriate to their status rating. Nevertheless, there is a considerable overlap with respect to suburbs, although each social class tends to segregate within the suburb.

When the population of a household expands an additional bedroom may be created by erecting a partition inside the house if it is large enough. Before the war, and before building controls, additions were often made in quasi long-house fashion. There is at least one remaining example. The more usual method is for curtains to be used to separate people. Alternatively, somebody moves out.

Usually only relatives live in these homes. Occasionally a 'stranger' is taken in, but he is known from school or work. Disputes in relation to houses apply chiefly to freehold property. Most old people die intestate, and the family still occupy the property. Verbal agreements are often made but written ones are

rare. There are often arguments concerning the ownership of a property and there may be bad feeling between families, but it rarely leads to litigation.

Where a head of the household exists, it is usually the oldest man. In lower class households his control is often tenuous, as there are no common tasks in which he can exercise his leadership. This may be further undermined by his inadequacy as an economic provider and he may have to reassert his authority by periodic hysterical outbursts.

### Children and teenagers

The least fortunate children in Port Moresby are those of mixed-race, most of whose parents have little cultural patterning and few mores to govern their behaviour. From their earliest years they have incomplete access to the broader culture of the area. Social instability and a comparatively poor economic position are transmitted to the offspring. Families are often split on the basis of skin colouration and darker children remain in the background when Europeans visit. There is also a great difference between children and teenagers. Prepubertal social life is not greatly directed by internal physiological drives, but chiefly by environmental stimuli, and the children reproduce the activities of their elders as far as possible.

During the first five years the child appears completely happy. There is no discipline and little routine. He is happy because of the companionship of many people. He goes to bed (usually on a mat on the floor) only when he wants to. After that age he is at a disadvantage because of his father's frequent absences and his mother's lack of foresight. For example, mothers may not give their children money, or prepare their lunches, or may have no food in the house. Gabutu children going for a school examination one afternoon had had neither breakfast nor lunch, according to one teacher.

The child first tends to become conscious of himself as a mixed-race person when he goes to school. He becomes quiet, and this accounts for the so-called 'good behaviour' of mixed-race children. He soon recognises his intermediate position in the social structure by minor acts of discrimination by his elders such as, for example, being made by the teacher to give up his seat in a bus for a European child. Those with European fathers are noticeably more lively, but the darker ones tend to hold back. Parents do not seem to use punishment as much as European parents, indifference being more marked among the middle and lower classes. Another important conditioning experience is provided where the father comes home from work and tells his wife of some difficulty with a European: this atmosphere is readily absorbed by the child.

Much of the attention given by mothers to their children is practical. Many spend a large amount of time gambling, but this is rarely acknowledged as such, and the rest of the time they spend washing, nursing and in domestic chores. Only a few of the upper class spend any time playing with, reading stories or talking to their children.

Women's social club meetings are carried on regardless of the presence of children, who always outnumber the mothers. The mother's attitude is permissive. The children are well dressed, but none wear shoes. They crawl on the floor and quietly play with each other, and their presence can be readily forgotten. There is no 'showing off' or noisy behaviour so often a feature of comparable European gatherings.

Upper class parents say that their children learn more quickly than Papuan and less quickly than European children. Most consider this a result of the environment out of school. They point out that whereas six years ago, mixed-race children were in the sixth grade at 16 years of age, today they are in the same grade at 13. They anticipate that the same standard will soon be achieved at 11 to 12 years of age. Educating and caring for mixed-race children has been undertaken mainly by the Roman Catholic missions, and to a lesser extent by other missions. Nowadays there is no segregation and the framework exists for equality of opportunity in this field, at least in theory. Formerly the Roman Catholic mission conducted two schools at Port Moresby in the villages of Hanuabada and Bomana. The latter has recently been closed. Mixed-race children made up half the pupil population at these schools, the other half being Papuan. The education received at these schools is equivalent to that offered in Papuan schools, and compared unfavourably with that gained by mixed-race teenagers in Australia. (Financial assistance for secondary schooling in Australia was arranged in 1956, pending the introduction of secondary schools in Papua-New Guinea for all races.)

School attendance is irregular. The smallest difficulty will result in mixed-race children staying away. Illness is sometimes responsible, although in general they are notoriously healthy. Children may not have enough changes of clothes, especially in the wet season, or they may not have been ironed. Parents will keep children at home rather than send them to school ill-clad. Clothes as a status symbol take precedence over the long-range values of education. Cases are known where parents have kept children away from school for months following minor accidents to promote their chances of obtaining legal damages.

Lower class women usually have their children in their arms whenever they are not in the house. The child is held in all positions, including astride the hip, and is lifted out of a vehicle by holding the wrist only, rather than in the safer fashion under the shoulders

with both hands. The child accepts this without demur. These women suckle their children in the street without embarrassment.

As with their parents, these children hate discipline. They commonly run away from school. Very few have joined the boy scouts, cubs or brownies. Some join, but they soon withdraw. Many do not like mixing with Papuans if they can avoid it, particularly if they might be surpassed.

Religion plays a large part in their upbringing, and they are baptised at an early age. Most parents are strong Roman Catholics, and make their children say their prayers as soon as they can talk. Even before this they are shown the sign of the Cross and religious pictures on the wall. Their religious education begins earlier than for European children. Much of what they do is related to religion. Commonly heard are such phrases as, 'You mustn't do so and so, it is a sin', and 'You must do so and so for the souls in purgatory'. This practice is much stronger among the lower than the middle and upper classes.

As the child grows up, supervision falls away. From 12 to 14 years the parent has no control whatsoever. As boys grow older, they develop a wider appreciation of their parents and the environment in which they live. These changes begin at 8 to 9 years of age in boys and a little later with girls. Parental loss of control then continues and explodes at puberty. Because children are being better educated than their parents, they resent being told what to do. One often hears such phrases as, 'Shut up, you old bitch!' and 'Take no notice of him, he's an old bastard!' Older mixed-race people refer nostalgically to pre-war days, when this was just not done, they say. Nowadays adolescents will exchange blows with their parents. They also insist that parents continue to look after them when they have grown up. Very few pay board. Some say that they occasionally 'toss Mum a dollar'. Very few parents chase the dissident children out of the home.

Younger children like going to the cinema. Matinees are popular and there are no restrictions by the parents. There are five cinemas in Port Moresby, one of which is a 'drive-in'. The lower class and middle class go to cinema no.3, the upper class and middle class to cinemas no.1 and no.2. Mixed-race people have always been hesitant in relation to cinema no.1, due to what they describe as acts of discrimination; some enter this theatre after the lights have gone out. Cinema no.4 is mainly patronised by Papuans. Cinema no.5 is a drive-in theatre, and mixed-race people are at ease in this situation, as painful interactions are avoided. Mixed-race children tend to group together within the theatres.

Mixed-race teenagers go to the cinema in groups rather than in pairs, as do many European teenagers. The groups are arranged by the girls' parents who distrust the boys' intentions, not without

reason, as virtually all mixed-race boys on reaching puberty are notably free of inhibitions in relation to sex. Girls from neighbouring mixed-race families go together and a smaller brother is sent as a 'spy', to relate to the parents an account of events on his return home. These young brothers seem completely lacking in esprit de corps. The older brothers of the girls go with them, and are joined by other mixed-race people on the way. Inside they pair off, although within a given area. It is very rare for a mixed-race boy to ask the parents of a mixed-race girl for permission to take her to the theatre.

Chastisement of the young by their parents is not unknown, despite the tendency to permissiveness. It is more common among the upper class. With prolonged stubbornness, father is called in and brings the belt. Mixed-race parents tend not to explain why they are punishing their children, and often respond rather directly to frustration caused by children.

The children are allotted jobs in the home. The older girls help with the washing, making beds, cooking breakfast, setting the table (or putting plates on the mat on the floor, when there is no table), washing up, and preparing cut lunches. When the girls come home, it is their job to bathe the younger ones. They have a bigger burden of responsibility than the boys. However, the latter sometimes set the table and wash up. There is no great class difference in the arrangement of these tasks.

'Rebellion' in the boys starts at an earlier age than the girls. Boys 'rebel' at 8 to 9 years of age, girls at 12 to 13 years. The girls spend more time at home than the boys, who play football, for example, but always return for 'supper'. This is the term used for the evening meal by the middle and lower classes; the corresponding term for the upper class is usually 'tea'.

Before the war mothers were much stricter with their daughters, and braid cutting as an institutionalised and standard form of sadism was used as a symbolic punishment for these, their sexual rivals, according to older mixed-race men. Though less frequent today, this form of punishment has not entirely disappeared. The daughter might be forbidden to wear certain attractive dresses, which also risk being deliberately damaged by cigarette burns during a period of tension. Such a girl might also be given the 'baggiest' dresses. She might not be allowed to wear 'form-fitting' brassieres, and a special home-made flat one might be provided instead. Not all, however, are treated in this fashion.

## Chapter 5

### Courtship and marriage

Girls and youths meet at milk bars, parties and dances. The explorative 'getting acquainted' situation par excellence, however, is 'after the dance'. A boy rarely asks the father of the girl if he can take her out. The young people meet surreptitiously until their association is public knowledge. If the girl's father then approves, it will continue more openly. If not, he will temporarily stop it by forbidding his daughter to go out, but he is usually worn down by persistence. Formal engagement varies with social class. When present, as it is among the upper class, the boy usually provides the girl with an engagement ring, costing about \$2 to \$4. There is usually a celebration, at the home of the more prosperous parents. It is a big affair with pig, chicken, deer and wallabies. Members of both families go hunting prior to the party, and vie with one another for the biggest catch. As in other mixed-race social contexts, the party lasts all day, all night and the next day. There is also much drinking.

Duration of courtship. Mixed-race people state that pre-war courtships usually lasted around six months. In the case of a girl in a convent and the boy outside, the courtship may last up to eighteen months (in one instance, four years) since they do not get together as often as they would like. The girls are learning either domestic science or nursing and are permitted only one or two nights out per week. Normally the girl has to finish her course, and the older ones say that courting was actively discouraged for this reason. Courtships outside convents are shorter; most girls marry within six months of first acquaintance because they become pregnant.

Intra-mixed-race courtship. Many Roman Catholics have their courtships promoted by their elders, both within the church and among their relatives. This form of matchmaking is later regarded with ambivalence: some blame it for marriages that 'go on the rocks', others aver that wisdom was introduced where it had previously been lacking. Others meet at parties and many become pregnant. Upper class people say that this is caused by a lack of sex education. Partners in these courtships are variously described as going in 'batches' and 'bunches' to the cinema and having group 'necking parties'.

Mixed-race - European courtship. The majority of Europeans in this connection are New Australian men. Eligible European spinsters are much fewer than bachelors and many are known to have come to Papua-New Guinea with a view to maximising their status through marriage. Men in the lowest social class of Europeans, and this includes the New Australians, are thus at a disadvantage in seeking mates within their own racial group. Elderly mixed-race people report that New Australians ask them, 'Can I go out with a mixed-race girl?' and 'Will I get into trouble with the authorities?'

Mixed-race - Papuan courtship. Although many courtships result in more or less permanent liaisons, most are not validated by legal marriage. Until recently, very few Papuans came to mixed-race parties. Mixed-race people now also go to Papuan parties. Courting between mixed-race girls and Papuan youths is rare, however. Mixed-race youths meet Papuan girls at native functions, for example, a dance at Hanuabada or Kaugere, where there are string bands and European-type dances. Most pairs usually elope, since the youth wishes to avoid paying a bride price. Very few mixed-race boys are married to Hanuabadan girls because of the high bride price, which may be \$1,000 or more, and in some cases reaches \$4,000. A mixed-race - Papuan courtship more usually results in marriage when the boy meets the girl out of town, for example, in a coastal village, and brings her back to Port Moresby. In all such cases known to me they have eloped. The District Office will ask the youth whether he wants to marry by European or Papuan custom. He is usually in a poorly paid position and if he marries by Papuan custom, he might never stop paying bride price. The mixed-race youth who wishes to marry a Papuan is usually unable to attract a mixed-race girl.

In other cases propinquity is important. A mixed-race man may wish to marry a Papuan girl who went to the same mission school. She is acceptable in mixed-race society because the couple have educational standards, religion and other interests in common. Such courtships may be fostered, and subsequent marriage considered highly successful. In many marriages between mixed-race men and indigenous women, the social customs of the woman prevail. If such practices as eating on the floor are adopted, upper class mixed-race relatives and friends express distaste.

Bride price. This practice, designed primarily to stabilise marital unions in non-literate societies, is surprisingly widespread among mixed-race people, although the compensatory function (for loss of a valued asset) seems more prominent here. Bride price is found in all three social classes although there is a tendency to deny its existence. Negotiations are described as being conducted 'under the hat', as few wish to be identified with Papuans. In Gabutu, prices of \$400 and \$800 are known to have been paid in this fashion. One Australian married to a mixed-race girl received many indirect

hints which he successfully resisted as he was already supporting some of his wife's relatives. The concept of bride price is sometimes easier for New Australians to absorb and one continental European married to a middle class mixed-race woman said that as the 'dowry' system operated in his country, he did not find the idea of bride price unusual, and readily paid it. A lower class mixed-race man who had paid \$160 bride price, and who passed all the tests for mixed-race status as herein defined, found himself classified by a magistrate as a 'native' under the Liquor Ordinance because he had paid bride price and lived in Hanuabada village without a permit, although he knew this to be necessary for non-indigenes. An upper class mixed-race girl, whose bride price was known to be \$2,000, attempted to elope with a Papuan to the consternation of her kinsfolk. She was retrieved and confined to the house.

Intra-mixed-race marriage. There were no divorces, and only two separations. One was a marriage arranged by the mission and there was gross disparity in intelligence and personal tastes, aggravated by poor housing. Where the homes are inadequate, some of the women do not care to clean them. There may be no food available when the husband comes home, so he may go off to drink. There seem to be few special problems with the younger children of these marriages, but the teenagers drink, gamble and have sex experience at an early age. The pattern is modelled on that of the parents, for example, one teenage party lasted for three days. By and large, however, marriage is stable.

Mixed-race - European marriage. Most are stable in the sense that they persist. Disharmony, however, is common. Interests and intellectual standards are not the same except in the case of the few better-educated mixed-race girls recently returned from Australia. The first six months are reasonably harmonious, then the man may realise that he and his wife do not have the same interests. An important reintegrating factor is rejection by European society. Also, most of these European husbands are in an anomic position in relation to their own culture, and many readily admit to religious agnosticism. Nevertheless, married couples under these circumstances lack common ground for discussion. They cannot discuss Australian politics or horses which interest many such men, or the local issues which interest the women. Some men who bring their friends home dislike their wives bringing theirs.

Mixed-race - Papuan customary marriage. Most are between mixed-race men and Papuan women, although in seven cases mixed-race women had married Papuan men. The former fall into two groups, those that break up and those where the mores of the Papuan partner are adopted. The mixed-race men concerned have minimal standards of living and would not readily attract mixed-race girls. In marriages of mixed-race women to Papuan men the man makes every effort to maintain the

standard of living to which his wife has been accustomed. He is usually proud of his high-class marriage. In both instances the woman is an important determinant of standards.

## Chapter 6

### Drinking patterns

'Where there's a "half" there's a bottle!'

- Local folk expression

Virtually all mixed-race males on reaching puberty begin consuming alcoholic beverages, establish drinking patterns peculiar to their particular personalities and social status, and with minor modifications persist in this fashion throughout life. The teetotaler is a rarity occasioning surprise and has great difficulty maintaining his position. The drinking is done mostly in hotels after work, quite a lot is consumed at parties in the home, and a lesser extent at picnics and cricket matches.

Mixed-race people used to avoid one hotel, saying that the management was snobbish, and demanded to see liquor permits even when the mixed-race customer was known in order to imply that he was not wanted. Some lighter-skinned mixed-race persons went there, they say, not because they preferred it, but because it was more convenient. A second hotel was patronised freely, but one could not walk into it wearing overalls comfortably and there was a tendency to segregate European and mixed-race people. Most use was made of the section of a third hotel which was formerly an old copra shed. One had to pass down some steps to reach it. It had an atmosphere of basement exclusiveness and mixed-race persons expressed a feeling of security and identity there, saying that they felt themselves to be intruders in the bars patronised mainly by Europeans. It was frequented principally by mixed-race people and working class Europeans, with a small percentage of upper class Europeans. The latter, according to the mixed-race people, considered themselves 'tough' by patronising this bar.

The second most important context of drinking was the party. A few years ago a number of Europeans attended mixed-race drinking parties, but by 1962 they were almost exclusively confined to mixed-race people. One meets another in the street and says, 'We're having a party' or 'We're putting on a show'. A 'reason' or 'purpose' is always given, for example, wife's birthday or child's birthday. Guests are offered a drink on arrival, but will also

have had something to drink before then. Parties start at about 8 p.m. with music and dancing. There may be something to eat, but this is secondary: the emphasis is on drinking, which goes on all night, and often all the next day as well. There is usually a fight. Mixed-race men say, 'There must be a fight or it is not a party' or 'It is more or less expected and accepted'. Methods of precipitating a fight take the following forms. A man may make a nuisance of himself by singing too much, another might talk too much, or slap too heartily the back of one he normally dislikes. Many are described as having a 'chip on the shoulder', and requiring very little to set them off. Not infrequently a man is riled by the thought that another may be better than he in some particular way, and may go to the party deliberately seeking a fight. One man at a party informed me that he was challenged at almost every one he attended. After the party they may all be good friends again. Informants frequently reiterate that they have been brought up to think they belong to a class of people who are 'in the background'. They indicate that this has constantly been made clear to them through the behaviour-patterning agencies of parents, peers, teachers and social structure. Their own comments include, 'The only time a mixed-race person feels superior is when he has a few beers in him' and 'He wants to prove that he is equal to the next'. Hence, as with gambling, and in this instance through the medium of the drunken fight, fate is asked to speak in favour of the individual.

Drinking is less prominent and less frequent at picnics and cricket matches. Teenagers, however, are often seen piling bottles into battered old second-hand cars and utilities and tearing off into the night. In the eyes of mixed-race youths, drinking is manly. 'It's great!' Solitary drinkers and 'secret' drinkers of the type existing in Australian communities are not found, although men sometimes drink in short-term solitude when having a 'hate session' against another member of the group.

After-work hotel drinking and drinking parties can be looked upon as social rituals, performed because they both symbolise social solidarity and promote interpersonal relationships, even if sometimes only in a negative or hostile sense. The tensions and anxieties almost always present in a mixed-race person's sober state are often resolved under the influence of alcohol in these situations. Normally painful interactions are then handled with comfort. Drinking promotes interpersonal performance in all directions, including interactions across caste barriers. The latter are not always favourable, however, for it is in just such a situation that a mixed-race person's resentment of Europeans finds overt expression in the presence of Europeans. Aggression and violence in some instances take precedence over mellowness.

Drinking and drunkenness are highly prized among the men. To most, particularly in the lower and middle classes, it is considered

as a sine qua non to any joy in life, and to have health-giving properties. The majority of mixed-race women, however, do not drink. They are chiefly concerned with the financial side of the men's drinking, which may take up to two-thirds or three-quarters of their salary. The women castigate their husbands frequently but not always with circumspection, as evidenced by the regular appearance of female 'black eyes'. Prudence dictates caution in an explosive situation, and subtle methods are employed indirectly through the children who are guided to side with the mother. A husband may stay away for several days on a 'grogging spree' and the children may say, 'Daddy, you drink too much' or 'I know where you're going'. It is common to hear children talking this way, but quite useless, as father 'carries on, regardless'.

Alcohol is readily available at any store and the mixed-race community has had drinking rights since 1956. The most popular drinks, in order, are beer, port wine, rum and gin. Little direct pressure is applied to young people to follow this pattern, but they readily do so in imitation of their elders.

In his sober state, the mixed-race person is generally shy and retiring in the company of Europeans; many say they are afflicted with an 'inferiority complex', which hounds them from birth and ceases only with death. He is constantly preoccupied with what others think of him, and with 'the way we are treated'. He has great sensitivity to 'hurt', and is skilled in preserving the feelings of others, because he dislikes being hurt himself. He does not always exercise this skill, however.

On becoming drunk, this withdrawn state disappears, and he becomes loquacious, noisy, repetitious and aggressive, and actively seeks someone to fight. This is not difficult as many others become the same way. With the return of sobriety, the withdrawn attitude in the presence of Europeans reappears, and friendliness is resumed with other mixed-race people.

In hotels, the odd member who feels that he has had enough is subjected to such phrases as: 'Can't you take it?', 'You're weak', 'Frightened of your missus?' and 'Man or mouse?' At parties too it is difficult to refuse a drink. It is perhaps the most important drinking rule. Soft drinks are frowned upon. All must bring their share of alcohol to a party. Anyone seen transgressing the drinking rule by pouring a drink out the window will have his glass filled up, and he will be stood over until it is empty.

Some Europeans think that the mixed-race people drink too much, and ask, 'How can they afford to drink?' In their view if a person earns less he should drink less, but there is little active malice on the part of Europeans. Such prejudice and discrimination as there is confines itself largely to expressions of dislike of mixed-race drinking or behaviour while drunk.

Most Papuans contacted expressed no views on mixed-race drinking, though the more sophisticated resented it. They said, 'What's so special about him, he's no different from us'. Some made a distinction in this connection between what they called 'proper half-caste' (i.e. having some European ancestry) whom they didn't mind drinking, and those with no European ancestry (e.g. a person of Samoan-Papuan ancestry) whom they said should not have been allowed to drink.

Drinking is a social matter in Port Moresby mixed-race society, and plays an important part in the functioning of the group, whose members are made up of 'individualists'. Although it serves personal needs, the primary purpose is to meet the expectations of the group. This is illustrated by the absence of pathological drinking as opposed to 'hard drinking'. The mixed-race person's desire for social participation was also shown by the circumstances under which many illegally 'supplied liquor to natives'. The socio-economic basis of this widespread activity was made clear by the fact that I became aware of only three mixed-race people who did it solely for economic reasons. The majority bought and supplied liquor without a profit to share with Papuan relatives or friends. Some have gone to gaol for this offence, and have returned and done it again. One mixed-race man went to gaol three times for six months on each occasion for the same offence. A further illustration is provided by the act of simulating drunkenness. A sober man who has had nothing to drink will often stagger about and pretend to be drunk on entering the group situation. Should a fight develop the 'drunkenness' is instantly abandoned.

Alcoholic addiction and alcoholic mental disorders are unknown among these people. General and mental hospital records do not provide any account of such cases, unlike the other drinking group, the Europeans, despite the fact that the latter claim that they drink with circumspection, and that mixed-race people do not. As has been indicated above, drinking by the latter is largely confined to social contexts, and only secondarily to the handling of individual interpersonal problems.

The small upper class show considerable restraint in drinking which is chiefly with meals. They keep good wines, whisky and creme de menthe for their visitors. Sherry is offered before dinner.

The middle class are more likely to invite all who will come and bring alcohol with them to their parties, and openly remind guests 'You must bring some grog'. They are still somewhat restrained in that invitation cards are often sent, parties occur only about twice a year for each family, and a special occasion is used as a pretext, for example, a daughter may have just started (or just finished) school. At the beginning of these parties, the convener asks everyone to behave themselves, saying that they don't want the police to visit. Nevertheless, they frequently end in fights and broken furniture.

Members of the lower class exhibit no restraint. In their own phrase they put on a drinking party 'at the drop of a hat', or as soon as they 'have a few quid'. They invite everyone, and say, 'Bring your own grog'. Almost every night there is one going on somewhere, most frequently in Gabutu.

## Chapter 7

### Gambling patterns

Many forms of gambling occupy much of the leisure time of these people. The women are more persistent than the men, who concentrate chiefly on the big games played during pay week-ends. As soon as her husband goes off to work, a wife will go and 'organise' a game with other women. Even the children readily gamble with marbles.

A few, mostly those with European fathers, favour starting price betting. In hotels and clubs mixed-race people gamble on darts, and will even bet on two flies crawling up a beer glass. Coon Can was introduced by the small Chinese group, and is played by Asian mixed-race people but not by Papuans who say that it is 'too long' for them. Some European mixed-race people play poker among themselves or with Europeans, but not otherwise. Pontoon, said to have been introduced by troops during the second world war, is played by a few - the same group who play poker. Queensland's Golden Casket, New South Wales' State Lottery, and Tasmania's Tattersalls all have their patrons. At the raffling of a bottle of whisky at a social function younger mixed-race people bought entire books of raffle tickets at a time. Mah Jong, however, is conspicuous by its absence among mixed-race people and its presence among Europeans and a few Chinese residents. It is said to be too slow and the stakes are rather small. The big game and the one most played is 'lucky'.

'Lucky' was introduced into Port Moresby during the second world war, according to the older mixed-race people, before which the principal game was called 'In and Out', now extinct. 'Lucky' is illegal and there are police raids occasionally. Somebody initiates a game which is then held regularly at his or her place for several months until it becomes well known and is raided by the police. Then the site is shifted. The householder has no special powers relevant to the game. He is responsible for the venue only. A 'cockatoo' is assigned the task of announcing the approach of the police to ensure rapid dispersal. The big games commence on pay night, and may last three days. It may be played on a lawn, a verandah, under a tree or on a beach, but mostly it is on the floor of a house, on a mat or blanket. The players smoke and chew betel nut but only a few drink alcohol during the game as it is necessary to remain alert. The players eat and sleep there; meals are brought

along by their families. Not much is eaten during the game, but there may be a pause for food. Sometimes whole families will play.

The continuity of the game is ensured by the institutionalised system of borrowing. If a person loses he will borrow from within one circle, and the game will go on and on. Most borrowing is done during the game. Sometimes a person may bet on credit. This is not liked but may be tolerated for two or three rounds. When the borrower wins again, he has to pay back what he owes. In the process of borrowing, the borrower does not usually ask; he just takes the money and says, 'I'll owe you that!' The lender may protest, but not greatly. This type of borrowing keeps the game going for days. If one wants to leave the game earlier, one will be taunted as a 'piker' or a coward or as wanting something for nothing. He is regarded as one who is not doing his share and is running away from his group obligations. Port Moresby mixed-race gamblers, qua gamblers, are 'good cobbors' in the borrowing context, not in the sense of bosom pals, but because they understand each other's needs. Such empathic interactions have a functional purpose. Lenders may grumble but do not usually refuse. On rare occasions, a gambler may borrow from relatives after a game, but this cannot persist, as the relatives 'get browned off'. Sometimes credit can be obtained from trade stores for maintenance during a losing period, but this too has its limitations, and cannot persist. In short, survival of the pool as a group is dependent upon borrowing within the gambling group.

In big pay week-end games of 'lucky', amounts of \$600 or \$800 may be circulating at any one time. Sometimes Papuans join these mixed-race sponsored games, but it is rare for Europeans to be associated. When it is an exclusively mixed-race game, the total present may not exceed 16 or 17. When others are invited, there may be as many as 40 people. As there are only fifty-two cards in the pack, and each person has three cards, the inner ring of actual players consists of 16 or 17 people (except in the very rare instance when two packs of cards are used). The average number is 10 to 15. The outer ring has about 23 or 24 non-players who bet on individual inner ring players' cards.

The inner ring players are said to be the real gamblers. They bet on their own cards, and take side bets with the person beside them. The outer ring players are bettors and watchers. They may not put money in the centre unless they become inner ring players. They are mobile and bet on anyone's cards with anyone. Dealing is clockwise, as is the order of who deals. Each player is dealt three cards, and the pack is 'cut' by the person who dealt before. The highest number over ten or better (for example, the highest of three of a kind) wins. The bet is made before the player sees his cards. The dealer deals himself first, the cards go round and everyone looks. The bets may be, for example, 50c each and it is

all placed in the centre. The winner takes the lot. There are side bets by mutual arrangement. Anyone can 'call the tune' (that is, the size of the bet). He says, for example, 'Two dollars centre', and another not yet prepared to go as far may say, 'Make it a dollar'. A majority decision determines the amount in the centre, and others have to be satisfied with a side bet if they cannot meet it. The size of the bet in this case is by mutual arrangement. When his luck is going well, a player will extend his operations, and may have three or four side bets as well. A side bet in the outer ring can sometimes amount to more than that of the individual bet in the inner ring; the amount of money in the centre is more, however. The individual member of the inner ring will not as a rule bet on cards other than his own. He will, of course, have side bets in this connection.

The game becomes heated when individuals start losing. Each hopes to win money quickly, and if he or she does not, goes home to an inevitable row with the spouse. It is possible to lose a fortnight's wages within a couple of hours. This is a source of much domestic disharmony particularly where the spouse is a non-gambler. Usually about one-third of the players in these week-end games are women and they are fairly equally distributed between the inner and outer ring groups. They also play every day. There is an average of ten regulars in this female pool. Fighting breaks out among the women on occasions associated with real or assumed transgressions by individuals.

Though 'lucky' involves no skill, most of the other gambling games do. It seems then, that where the aleatory element is greatest, there would the mixed-race person be, buffered as he is on both sides by two larger groups to neither of which is he acceptable. As with other areas of his social life, magical beliefs play a prominent part in his thinking. In an attempt to control the chance element, he may believe that a pregnant woman has more luck, and she is sent out to gamble while her husband stays at home to 'mind the kids'. He may believe that certain foods are unlucky when gambling, that the evil thoughts of others are unlucky, and that it is necessary to carry lucky charms to introduce an element of control. Examples of the latter include a diseased tooth, the supposed teeth of an American airman named Taylor who crashed during the war. (the gambler would say, 'Come on, Taylor!'), the bark of a special tree, and an ordinary hair comb. When he thinks he is losing at 'lucky', he will have an exclusive side bet because he thinks this is associated with more luck.

The community attitude towards gambling is that it is 'a bad thing'. Most mixed-race people say they are against it, but most participate in it. Ex post facto justifications take the form of, 'It's better than drinking' and 'It's the lesser of two evils'. Women particularly say it is better than drinking. This, of course,

has to be considered against a background in which many of the women drink much less than the men, but gamble more.

The mixed-race gambler is ostracised by the mixed-race non-gambler, not because of any intrinsic distaste for gambling as this activity fits well the needs of these people, but rather because of its effect on his efficiency as an economic provider. Mixed-race women who do not gamble (and they are few) say that their husband's gambling is the cause of all their troubles. Mixed-race men who do not gamble (and they are almost exclusively confined to the upper class) and Europeans say, 'How can they afford it?' Some sophisticated Papuans claim that they are not in favour of gambling, but most are not greatly concerned, as they have full access, and gambling had no status-conferring attributes as did drinking rights.

Gambling rules exist and there are definite sanctions to deal with transgressions. Gambling debts must be paid on the spot, whatever the circumstances. One meets the situation if necessary by borrowing within the gambling group. Many forms of dishonesty may be indulged in without too great a loss of face, but the payment of gambling debts is sacred. The structure of the gambling school is based on the premise that the loser will pay his debts.

When one considers that at times \$600 to \$800 might change hands in the biggest games, it is not surprising that the atmosphere becomes heated and arguments ensue. One or two might try to 'pull swifties', for example, by not putting their dollar in the centre, or those who bet on prearranged credit may deny that they owe anything. Some are said to know all the 'tricks of the trade' and, for example, may hide a card up a sleeve. To avoid this, the cards are often counted, and individuals searched. Fist fights sometimes occur as the result of these real or assumed transgressions. Those concerned are pulled apart by the others. Cheats are ideally chased out, but for women particularly there is a certain institutionalised evasion of an institutional norm. Women are said to 'get up to tricks' more often than the men. For example, if a woman is losing at 'lucky' when both sexes are present, she may lean over and surreptitiously take her 50c back, and the men will pretend to ignore it. No man may do this. There is thus a higher threshold of tolerance of the woman's behaviour by the men in this particular context.

Gambling appears to have existed at all times and in most societies. As a normal feature of social life it produces few damaging effects on the individual or the group, and among the mixed-race people it has important social and recreational functions in an otherwise colourless and spiritless existence. There is a vain hope for status which is expected from large winnings, and the attractiveness of the unpredictable and the precarious. For women, the interest is chiefly in the money and the gossip. On 'lucky' gambling occasions, middle and lower class mixed-race people fuse.

Some of the participants would not normally meet each other were it not for the gambling. In this sense it is a 'social event', like going to a party or a dance. Their distinctions are momentarily forgotten. They do not 'dress up'. Men may wear a pair of shorts, shirt, singlet and scuffs. They sit on the hard floor, without cushions. They smoke heavily, stub their cigarettes on the floor, or throw them out the window. They do not worry about ash trays; occasionally they may use the lid of a tobacco tin. It is too exciting a business to allow the display of distinctions. They have a chat beforehand, but once the game has started, everything is serious and the common emotional interest takes over.

It is believed that the police need no warrant to enter the house of a Papuan, but do need one in the case of a mixed-race home, and hence the flourishing of 'lucky' in their residences. Because their gambling at present is both intensive and extensive, it is not without its disorganising effects. Mixed-race people say that the inner ring at 'lucky' is made up largely of people who have 'got the bug', and cannot do without it, like alcohol. One woman regular of the inner ring is said never to lose as she supplements her earnings by the exercise of an older profession, and the meeting is a source of recruitment. A few men, who are not themselves great indulgers, have left home because of their wives' gambling. Time lost from work is not inconsiderable, particularly on the Monday after the pay week-end. In short, intensive preoccupation with gambling leads in some instances to serious neglect of primary obligations to family, job and community.

In the larger Port Moresby society, a high value is placed on economic activity. The European has brought with him the Protestant Ethic whose ideal is the self-reliant person of enterprise and initiative. This pattern is reflected to some extent in the upper class segment of mixed-race society, none of whom play 'lucky' under any circumstances, though poker and starting price betting are permissible. The more overt forms of magical beliefs in relation to gambling, such as the effectiveness of talismanic charms, omens, and sorcery beliefs are to be found almost exclusively in the lower class.

## Chapter 8

### Contact and avoidance

#### Patterns of prejudice and discrimination

The mixed-race people of Port Moresby are a marginal group in unstable equilibrium between the alien and indigenous cultures. They are a people without a culture, except in nascent form. The Europeans disown them as half-castes and treat them with indifference and sometimes with disdain. With few exceptions they are not admitted to membership in European clubs. From the Papuan point of view there is no place in their cultural system for a person of mixed-race. They resent the mixed-race man's superior attitude when he visits the village of his mother, and his wage and his former drinking privileges. They also have contempt for anybody who does not own property in land, and who is not rooted in his own land and people. Originally the mixed-race people were a group of picturesque interest, but with the coming of white women and the creation of a more stable white society, they were soon confronted with rejection by a privileged class attempting to maintain its solidarity. In due course, also, they were to be excluded from indigenous benefits (as is indicated later) as the result of official preoccupation with the indigenous majority.

Upper class mixed-race people are aware of the recent improvements in race relations. They say that formerly in shops, paper cups or pink-bottomed drinking glasses were reserved for Papuan and mixed-race people, although it might be different if the latter were known. Europeans were served with plain glasses reserved for them. Such differential treatment no longer exists. Ten years ago segregation was the main mechanism of racial discrimination and in most instances was buttressed by the law. Apart from social discrimination in schools, clubs, hotels and cinemas, there was legal discrimination in respect to alien registration, wages and national status. Improvement in these connections is obvious, and some say that progress is so fast that at times it is confusing. Physical segregation, however, persists. Separate mixed-race communities exist in fairly well-defined areas of Gabutu, Hohola, Koke, Badili, Vabukori, 'Sixmile', and Bomana. They tend to seek acceptance among their own, rather than live in isolated family groups among the European population, except in the more recent case of Boroko.

The status accorded to living in Australia is high. Upper class mixed-race people explain it thus. There is no discrimination in Australia, they say, unlike Port Moresby, although it is not as bad there as before. Acts of discrimination, however mild, seem to have more significance for women than men; they react more, and may become furious.

Upper class mixed-race people are often entertained by Europeans at official functions, but rarely in their own homes. They also say that this discrimination is learnt. They have noticed Europeans who, when they first came to Papua-New Guinea were friendly toward those of mixed-race, but shortly altered their approach to a polite nod only. They believe that this is due to the newcomers being sensitised to such behaviour patterns by the older European residents. On the other hand, Europeans who have felt a responsibility to correct this deficiency have reported rebuffs and vacillating responses to their overtures.

Papuans resented the two major privileges of the mixed-race community which they did not formerly enjoy. They are 'drinking rights' (accorded to Papuans and New Guineans in the latter part of 1962) and 'mixed-race rates of pay' (now disappearing with the general development of skills). Mixed-race people retort that Papuans have advantages in respect to rent, water, electricity, sanitation, fuel for cooking, financial aid for education or to start a business or build a house, and land.

Most cinemas now admit people of all races. Several years ago, however, active discrimination against mixed-race people was the rule, they claim. They were sometimes refused admission. Apologies were given if subsequent complaints were made. Late in 1962 the final row of seats in one theatre was always kept empty, and on occasion mixed-race and Papuan people were shepherded to these seats. One mixed-race cinema fan told me that he did not enter the theatre until the lights went out.

Upper and middle class mixed-race people are highly sensitive to manifestations of prejudice and discrimination, however mild. They have a 'third ear' in this connection, a feature closely allied to their genuine consideration for the feelings of others.<sup>1</sup> For many of the lower class, discrimination does not constitute an important feature in their lives, and those who live like Papuans only respond as mixed-race persons when threatened with classification as 'natives'. In this situation only are they really conscious of differential treatment.

---

<sup>1</sup> See chapter 9.

### Avoidance

Permanent avoidance of discriminatory situations by passing for white appears to be extremely rare. Port Moresby is too small and individuals too well known. This surreptitious activity is done more effectively by going to live in another town, for example, Rabaul, or by migrating to Sydney, where one's former status can more readily be hidden. This is characteristic of some upper class women who have married European men. Their good education, fair complexion, and minimum of identifying characteristics help to promote their passing under these circumstances. One mixed-race single girl who passed for white in Australia after receiving her education there, complained on returning to Port Moresby that she was not getting the same wages as European girls. She stated that in Australia she was treated the same as anybody else, but that in Port Moresby her wages were at mixed-race rates (\$19.50 per week) and that European girls doing exactly the same work were receiving \$24.00 per week. She was determined to return to Australia.

Temporary avoidance of discriminatory situations by Papuans passing as mixed-race is more common. Hula girls with straight hair, and fair Aroma and Hanuabadan girls readily attempt to pass as mixed-race in order to get mixed-race wages. A tolerant attitude to this activity is adopted by mixed-race and Papuan people alike; it is looked upon as gaining a justifiable advantage at the European's expense. Papuan men attempted to pass as mixed-race to obtain drinking rights, in particular the prestige which could be gained by illegally (in some instances) supplying liquor to Papuan relatives and friends.

Another adaptive, though less common, device is for a mixed-race person to claim status as a Papuan, for example, the upper class mixed-race person whose dark skin colour reduces the advantages available to him in mixed-race society. He attempts to avoid the penalties of his status by joining the majority, who also show possibilities in the future of becoming the dominant group.

### Hospitalisation

There are four hospitals in Port Moresby. The main hospital has two wings, one of 64 beds for paying patients and one of 318 beds for non-paying patients, which correspond roughly with the European-indigenous population ratio. The other hospitals are concerned with leprosy, tuberculosis, mental ill-health, and obstetrics, and none are patronised by mixed-race people except for the maternity hospital run by the Roman Catholic mission, which is very popular. Although officially all sections of the community have access to either wing of the main hospital, Papuans almost always patronise the non-paying section and Europeans the paying section. Papuan women married to European men emphasise their newly acquired status by electing to enter the paying wing. The notion of the paying and non-paying

sections as 'European' and 'Native' hospitals respectively dies hard, and taxi-drivers, for example, recognise no other labels.

The mixed-race person approaches the problem with ambivalence. His social class position within mixed-race society will have a large bearing on his choice. If upper class, he will enter the paying section, regardless of cost. Middle and lower class people express dissatisfaction with the non-paying hospital, but are seldom prepared to pay for the other. One who was admitted to the paying wing following an accident was at first pleased, but later complained that he had been wrongly placed, saying that it was too expensive and the visiting hours too short.

Relationships between indigenous nurses and mixed-race patients are highly formal and characterised by expressions of mutual distaste when apart. In general, Europeans do not overtly object to sharing the same hospital facilities with mixed-race people and Papuans. A few, however, refer to non-Europeans who wish to use the paying hospital as 'bigheads'. Some mixed-race people visiting European friends or mixed-race relatives wait until the steps are clear of Europeans before entering. As with Papuans, bandages are highly prized by lower class mixed-race people. They evoke expressions of concern among kinsfolk. In one instance, after assisting some accident victims, the helper was contaminated with blood although not sustaining any injury himself. He insisted on having a bandage applied, which he exhibited subsequently with pride at a mixed-race party.

### Sport

Attendance at and participation in organised sport are persistent features of Port Moresby mixed-race social life. Cricket is most popular, a mixed-race hockey team is one of the best, and rugby league, tennis, basketball and baseball are also played. Since their earliest years, hockey and basketball have received special attention, and at school these games were often played with an improvised ball fashioned from the shell of a coconut. Tennis is confined to the upper class, rugby league to the middle class, while the lower class, in so far as they are interested, are mainly spectators.

Baseball and football are regarded as great racial levellers, and this is supported by the existence of integrated teams. However, subgroup formations appear among spectators at football matches, and mixed-race people say when they go to a match: 'We head for our own crowd.' Mixing at matches with officials, they say, has increased since the war, but one man told me that his wife 'would be ashamed to mix with the Europeans', and therefore she would not accompany him on the official stand. They readily concede what they refer to as the virtue of sport as it applies to race relations, but resent any contention from Europeans that sport

per se is an answer to their problems. They consider that such a view deflects attention from their grievances concerning their position in society.

The mixed-race hockey team is considered by European coaches to have excellent potential, and to have developed more team spirit than formerly, though still not enough. They are more likely to obey their captain than formerly, but remain 'individualists' and do not always exhibit 'manners' in a fashion expected in sporting circles, for example, they do not fetch the ball when it is polite to do so. They are considered to have more star players than non-mixed-race teams, but some European coaches consider this inadequate to counteract their lack of team spirit, and aver that a mixed-race player might hang on to the ball to the detriment of the team to get the glory for himself.

#### Mixed-race - European relationships

In the view of older mixed-race people, there was greater mixing and goodwill between European and mixed-race people before the second world war than there is now. There were fewer people and wages for all were low. After the war, in the decade 1945-55, relationships had reached their nadir, and informants refer to the period with distaste.

The mixed-race person has what some refer to as a 'natural caution'. He does not wish to embarrass Europeans if he can avoid it. He will go out of his way (and act to his own disadvantage) to avoid such situations, because, he says, he does not like being embarrassed himself. On the other hand, some Papuans will deliberately embarrass Europeans.

In general it would not embarrass a mixed-race person for it to be known in his community that he associated with Europeans, but if one overdoes it or boasts about it, he is disliked. In general there is no great ingroup pressure to confine interaction to those of mixed race and exclude either Europeans or Papuans.

The ability to 'pass' has a great influence in the promotion of mixed-race - European interpersonal relationships. Mixed-race people whose physical and cultural attributes allow them to 'pass' are disliked by others of mixed-race, who regard them as snobbish. One married mixed-race couple of light skin colour whose first child was also light experienced a reduction in the frequency of their interactions with European acquaintances after a second, dark, child was born. A member of the upper class has pointed out differences between mixed-race - European relationships in Lae and Port Moresby, due in his view to the more favourable housing situation in Lae. The forming of subgroups along ethnic lines in hotel bars has also been observed in Port Moresby though not in Lae.

The character of the European employer - mixed-race employee relationship has a bearing on the success of the enterprise and the contributions made by both parties. One unsuccessful European employer who has struggled for 15 years, and who had twenty-three mixed-race employees at various times considered them reliable 'in front of your face, no good behind', irregular in attendance and erratic in performance, irresponsible and at times dishonest. On the other hand, a company director with 30 years' experience in employing mixed-race people considered them good foremen or supervisors whose so-called unreliability resulted from having nothing to bind them to the society, nothing to aspire to, and always having been in poor circumstances. They always request separate accommodation, each preferring his own cottage. He had found them adaptable, being the first of the local people to learn to drive cars and be motor mechanics. He pointed out the higher frequency of European - mixed-race interaction in Samarai where officials, business people and those of mixed race are seen together at social functions, and noted that the limited mixing in Port Moresby was due to lack of common interests. No company functions were attended by mixed-race people in Port Moresby.

In reviewing his early life, one upper class man reported that some missionaries, nuns and teachers regarded mixed-race people as natives, that is, of equal low status in the total society. Some wished them to remain in lap laps (waist cloths) and one said, 'You are no better than natives!' He claims that he was told at school, 'Take off your shoes and socks, you can't wear them here!' At that period it was an advantage to have had a European father. Such children received preferential treatment from both Papuan school children and European teachers.

At present Europeans are not spontaneously invited into mixed-race homes. They may be met with, 'Don't come in, this is a funny old place!' An upper class mixed-race person who was transported home on many occasions by a European friend failed to invite him in until a request was made.

In April 1961, in what is believed to be the first case of its kind in the country, a mixed-race woman was awarded \$1,000 damages for breach of promise to marry against a European in the Port Moresby Supreme Court. She claimed overall damages of \$10,000, including loss of wages at \$75 per month. The Judge found that the defendant had promised to marry her in December 1959 and had been a constant visitor to her home from December 1959 to February 1960.

#### Mixed-race - Papuan relationships

Papuans show little overt hostility to those of mixed race. A broad spectrum of relationships is to be observed. The unsophisticated and uneducated Papuan has little interest in or awareness of mixed-race society. In interview he tends to classify mixed-race

people as being of his own kind (as different from Europeans or Chinese), and usually interacts fairly freely with them. On the other hand, educated Papuans have given the matter more thought. The few who have travelled widely within the country have commented on the varying character of mixed-race - Papuans interrelationships in the different towns. Some say that the mixed-race people in New Britain are much disliked by the Tolais, toward whom they adopt superior attitudes, and they feel that circumstances are better in Port Moresby. Others say that mixed-race people and Papuans in Port Moresby show mutual distaste as in the nurse-patient relationship in the hospital setting. Still others say that they are content for those of mixed-race to stay when self-determination comes, provided they pay their taxes and cause no trouble. In the Koke-Badili area, where there are all shades of skin colour from jet black to cafe au lait, mixed-race - indigenous tensions are not conspicuous.

Among the Papuan relatives of mixed-race people, two groups stand out, those who accept the mixed-race people as themselves, and those who attach considerable significance to non-Papuan ancestry and thereby concede a status superiority. Whereas a Papuan feels no such superordinate-subordinate relationship with his own relatives, he would not walk into a mixed-race house without asking permission. Papuan relatives of mixed-race people are mostly very affectionate toward them. On meeting after some time they may be overdemonstrative, apply cheek to cheek and breathe in deeply, and the mixed-race person may feel embarrassed should a European be present. One exception to this is the acculturated Hanuabadan whose relationship to his mixed-race relatives and friends is more formal. Where, however, it is a matter of exchange of indigenous goods, there is noticeable generosity on both sides.

## Chapter 9

### Social marginality

The personality implications of being of mixed ancestry vary widely within the Port Moresby mixed-race society. This is because of the diversity of the parent cultures and personal circumstances so that individuals are marginal to different situations. Also the concept of marginal personality has not had a very happy history since the classical description of Everett Stonequist (1937), and one needs to treat the propositions so far advanced with caution. There are individuals in the marginal situation who lack the marginal personality, and characteristic marginal personalities exist in individuals never subject to marginal situations. In some instances peculiarities in the group situation may not give rise to a characteristic marginal personality at all, but may rather exaggerate in some degree, and in differential proportion, individual responses common to all. Notions of 'instability', 'untrustworthiness' and 'unreliability', commonly employed to describe mixed-race persons, also seem to be tainted with the values of the observer. Not unimportant are the vast differences between individuals both mentally and physically as the result of their genetic endowment and disease history, whose response to the social mould of marginality is thus liable to vary. In rare instances the marginal situation may even assist certain personality types.

Be this as it may, constant association with these people reveals a character structure common to a large proportion of them which is not a characteristic of either European or indigenous society. The following personality traits are widespread. In the presence of Europeans mixed-race people are often extremely self-conscious, withdrawn when sober, but hostile when drunk. Many admit to what they refer to as an 'inferiority complex' which dates from their first awareness of their caste position. The paranoid state is not uncommon, and when fused with physical deformity,<sup>1</sup> is magnified out

---

<sup>1</sup> Marginality-illness fusion often produces an effect not unlike that described in modern crisis theory. The twin events may sometimes result in a crisis of major proportions. Recognition of this possibility could well be of great assistance to those within the social field of the individual concerned.

of proportion. Ambivalence is the cardinal trait, and applies to both persons and things. There is excessive pride in minor achievement, and easy discouragement in the face of difficulty. They are easily provoked, and, except in times of crisis, they are 'individualists', there being little coincidence of interests.

Stonequist originally developed the idea that where a person was on the margin of two cultures he was prone to develop characteristic features of personality. He laid great stress on ambivalence to the two cultures to which the individual was marginal. Kerckhoff and McCormick (1955:48) list twenty different characteristics which they believe arose out of the marginal situation, including anxiety, suspicion, aggression, uncertainty, victimisation-rejection and lack of solidarity. In addition, Tumin (1945:261) believes that pain in the presence of his fellows is characteristic of marginal man, and Lewin (1952) suggests that he has an aversion to the less privileged people of his own group. All these features are readily observed among members of Port Moresby mixed-race society. Not greatly stressed as such by these authors, however, and widely present is what might be termed 'visibility skill' and 'empathy'. The former refers to the capacity to recognise readily who is who in the caste situation, and to immediately place a person in his group whether it be European, mixed-race or Papuan. In his mind the borders are well defined, and he seldom makes mistakes in this connection. He has a warm capacity for projecting himself into the situations of others. Not liking to be 'hurt' himself, he is acutely aware of and considerate towards the feelings of others, and will readily anticipate their needs in this regard. This marked characteristic seems to derive from the marginal situation.

The marginal woman does not seem to have received much consideration in sociological literature. The Port Moresby mixed-race woman exhibits most of the characteristics mentioned with the following modifications. She is much more sensitive to discrimination, and receives a larger dose of it from her white sister. She is much more concerned with maximising her status, for example, by marrying a European or upper class mixed-race man. The latter, however, are not enthusiastic for the ties of marriage. The size and extent of her activities in gambling seem to be clearly related to the hazards of the marginal situation.

That component of the personality of the Port Moresby mixed-race person which derives from the marginal situation can be understood only in relation to his setting of social and economic insecurity and group disorganisation. In most instances his aspiration to belong to the European society with which he is in constant contact, and for membership of which he is mostly ineligible, is liable to frustration. In most instances, also, he is unwilling to be identified with the Papuan culture. He is thus in a state of constant tension, having no culture of his own, and an unsatisfactory group status within the larger society.

## Chapter 10

### Changes since 1963<sup>1</sup>

Over-preoccupation with biological considerations in the past has led to neglect of sociological and psychological factors in the lives of mixed-race peoples in many countries. Nowadays these matters receive greater attention. The manner in which personality and behaviour are moulded by these factors is perhaps nowhere better illustrated than among the Port Moresby mixed-race community as it has developed since 1963.

The children are becoming aware of the home life of European people as social mixing among teenagers of all races continues to increase. More often nowadays there are curtains and gardens where they did not exist before. Some mixed-race parents are said to grumble about these pressures which are clearly having their effect. Better-type houses (with telephones in six instances) are replacing the former self-constructed houses and some women say that their husbands now have 'a real place to come home to' and drink less than before. All classes claim that the amount of drinking that took place four years ago is now considerably diminished. Certainly, if brawls at parties are an index, they are now much less evident. Gambling, however, remains substantially unchanged. Despite new gambling laws, the playing of 'lucky' is still widespread. Playing on mini-pool machines and starting price betting following the European pattern are stated by mixed-race people to be on the increase.

The former friction between mixed-race and Papuan female nursing trainees is no longer detectable. Formerly there was need of a self-imposed segregation with privately stated expressions of mutual distaste. Nowadays with Papuans catching up with the mixed-race people in education, and the improved economic condition of both, there is more levelling and they all eat together, go out together and share facilities of all kinds.

The social change has been rapid, and there are indications that the future may well show the formation of groups based on criteria

---

<sup>1</sup> This chapter outlines the situation in late 1967.

other than those adduced in this study. What form these may ultimately take is not yet clear. Group boundaries are at present changing in response to new situational contexts. Already lower class mixed-race people are much less in evidence. The vast majority have left Hanuabada for Hohola, where they are joining the former middle class. The latter also are now faced with new influences deriving from the better educational standards of their children, their own improved economic situation, and their greater mixing with upper class mixed-race people which is subjecting them to the same pressures for conformity, despite their 'individualist' reputation.

## Bibliography

- Allport, G.W., 1954. The Nature of Prejudice, New York.
- Amacher, A.W., 1956. 'The Genteel Primitivist and the Semi-tragic Octoroon', New England Quarterly, Vol.29, pp.216-27.
- Annual Reports of the Territory of New Guinea, Port Moresby.
- Annual Reports of the Territory of Papua, Port Moresby.
- Antonovsky, A., 1956. 'Toward a Refinement of the "Marginal Man" Concept', Social Forces, Vol.35, No.1, pp.57-62.
- Australian School of Pacific Administration, The. 'No.5 Course for Senior Officers of the Territory of Papua and New Guinea.'
- Barron, M.L., 1946. People Who Intermarry, Syracuse University Press.
- Barwick, D.E., 1962. 'Economic Absorption Without Assimilation?', Oceania, Vol.33, No.1, pp.18-23.
- Beaglehole, E., 1949. 'The Mixed Blood in Polynesia', Journal of the Polynesian Society, Vol.58, No.2, pp.51-7.
- Becker, G.S., 1957. The Economics of Discrimination, Chicago.
- Beckett, J., 1958. 'Marginal Men: a Study of Two Half Caste Aborigines', Oceania, Vol.29, No.2, pp.91-108.
- Bell, J.H., 1956. 'The Economic Life of Mixed-blood Aborigines of the South Coast of N.S.W.', Oceania, Vol.26, No.3, pp.181-99.
- Benedict, R., 1942. Race and Racism, London.
- Berndt, R. and C., 1951. From Black to White in South Australia, Melbourne.
- Berry, B., 1957. Race and Ethnic Relations, Boston.
- Bloch, H.A., 1951. 'Sociology of Gambling', The American Journal of Sociology, Vol.57, No.3, pp.215-21.
- Burton-Bradley, B.G., 1967. 'Papua and New Guinea Transcultural Psychiatry: Some Hazards of the Mixed-blood Marginal Situation', The Australian and New Zealand Journal of Psychiatry, Vol.1, No.1, pp.40-3.
- Calley, M., 1956. 'Economic Life of Mixed-blood Communities in Northern New South Wales', Oceania, Vol.26, No.3, pp.200-13.

- Cameron, N., 1943. 'The Paranoid Pseudo-community', The American Journal of Sociology, Vol.49, No.1, pp.32-8.
- Cheng, G.K. and Yamamura, D.S., 1957. 'Interracial Marriage and Divorce in Hawaii', Social Forces, Vol.36, No.1, pp.77-84.
- Collins, S.F., 1951. 'The Social Position of White and Half-caste Women in Coloured Groupings in Britain', American Sociological Review, Vol.16, No.6, pp.796-802.
- Colson, E., 1953. The Makah Indians, Manchester.
- Conant, M., 1955. Race Issues on the World Scene, Hawaii.
- Crabb, C.H., 1960. Malaya's Eurasians - an Opinion, Singapore.
- Cressy, P.F., 1935. 'The Anglo-Indians: a Disorganised Marginal Group', Social Forces, Vol.14, No.2, pp.263-8.
- Davidson, J.W., 1967. Samoa mo Samoa, Melbourne.
- Dickie-Clark, H.F., 1966. The Marginal Situation, London.
- Dollard, J., 1957. Caste and Class in a Southern Town, New York.
- Dover, C., 1937. Half Caste, London.
- Drake, St. C. and Cayton, H., 1946. Black Metropolis, New York.
- Elkin, A.P., 1949. 'Position and Problems of Aboriginal Mixed Bloods in Australia', Proceedings of the Seventh Pacific Science Congress, New Zealand, Vol.VII, pp.629-37.
- Freeman, L., 1955. 'Homogamy and Interethnic Mate Selection', Sociology and Social Research, Vol.39, No.6, pp.369-77.
- Freyre, G., 1956. The Masters and the Slaves, New York.
- Gilbert, W.H., Jr., 1946. 'Memorandum Concerning the Characteristics of the Larger Mixed-blood Racial Islands of the Eastern United States', Social Forces, Vol.24, No.4, pp.438-47.
- Haring, D. (ed.), 1956. Personal Character and Cultural Milieu, Syracuse University Press.
- Hay, Lady D., 1928. 'The Eurasian Problem', The Sphere, p.166.
- Henriques, F., 1949. 'West Indian Family Organisation', The American Journal of Sociology, Vol.55, No.1, pp.30-7.
- 1951. 'Colour Values in Jamaican Society', British Journal of Sociology, Vol.2, No.2, pp.115-21.
- Hunt, C.L. and Collier, R.W., 1957. 'Intermarriage and Cultural Change: a Study of Philippine-American Marriages', Social Forces, Vol.35, pp.223-30.
- Inglis, J., 1961. 'Aborigines in Adelaide', Journal of the Polynesian Society, Vol.70, No.2, pp.200-18.

- Johnson, G.B., 1939. 'Personality in a White-Indian-Negro Community', American Sociological Review, Vol.4, No.4, pp.516-23.
- Kerckhoff, A.C. and McCormick, T.C., 1955. 'Marginal Status and Marginal Personality', Social Forces, Vol.34, No.1, pp.48-55.
- Lam, M., 1932. 'Intermarriage in Hawaii', Sociology and Social Research, Vol.17, No.2, pp.159-66.
- Lamont, A.M., 1951. 'Affective Types of Psychotic Reaction in Cape Coloured Persons', South African Medical Journal, Vol.25, pp.40-2.
- Lamson, H.D., 1936. 'The Eurasian in Shanghai', The American Journal of Sociology, Vol.41, No.4, pp.642-8.
- Lasker, G.W., 1953. 'Ethnic Identification in an Indian Mestizo Community', Phylon, Vol.14, No.2, pp.189-90.
- Lawrie, J., 1960. The Marriage of Gor, London.
- Legge, J.D., 1956. Australian Colonial Policy - a Survey of Native Administration and European Development in Papua, Sydney.
- Lett, L., 1949. Sir Hubert Murray of Papua, London.
- Lewin, K., 1952. Field Theory in Social Science, ed. D. Cartwright, London.
- Lind, A.W., 1954. 'Changing Race Relations in Hawaii', Social Process in Hawaii, Vol.18, pp.1-9.
- MacCrone, I.D., 1947. 'Reaction to Domination in a Colour-caste Society: a Preliminary Study of Race Attitudes of a Dominated Group', The Journal of Social Psychology, Vol.26, pp.69-98.
- Mann, J.W., 1958. 'Group Relations and the Marginal Personality', Human Relations, Vol.11, No.1, pp.77-92.
- Masters, J., 1960. Bhowani Junction, London.
- Mayer, M., 1959. 'The Issue is Miscegenation', The Progressive, Vol.23, No.9, pp.8-18.
- Merton, R.K., 1941. 'Intermarriage and the Social Structure - Fact and Theory', Psychiatry, Vol.4, No.3, pp.361-74.
- 1957. Social Theory and Social Structure (revised and enlarged edition), New York.
- Meston, A.L., 1947. 'The Half-castes of the Furneaux Group', Records Queen Victoria Museum, Launceston, Vol.II, No.1, pp.47-52.
- Mills, C.W., 1959. The Power Elite, New York.
- Munch, P.A., 1947. 'Cultural Contacts in an Isolated Community - Tristan da Cunha', The American Journal of Sociology, Vol.53, No.1, pp.1-8.

- Myrdal, G., 1944. An American Dilemma, New York.
- Neville, A.O., 1951. 'The Half-caste in Australia', Mankind, Vol.4, No.7, pp.274-90.
- Pareto, V., 1935. The Mind and Society, Vols I-IV, New York.
- Reay, M., 1945. 'A Half-caste Aboriginal Community in North-western New South Wales', Oceania, Vol.15, No.4, pp.296-323.
- 1949. 'Native Thought in Rural New South Wales', Oceania, Vol.20, No.2, pp.89-118.
- 1951. 'Mixed-blood Marriage in North-western New South Wales', Oceania, Vol.22, No.2, pp.116-29.
- Reay, M. and Sitlington, G., 1948. 'Class and Status in a Mixed-blood Community (Moree, New South Wales)', Oceania, Vol.18, No.3, pp.179-207.
- Roberts, S.H., 1927. Population Problems of the Pacific, London.
- Shapiro, H.L., 1953. Race Mixture, UNESCO, Paris.
- Simmons, O.G., 1959. 'Drinking Patterns and Interpersonal Performance in a Peruvian Mestizo Community', Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol, Vol.20, No.1, pp.103-11.
- Simmons, R.D.G. Ph., 1961. 'The Colour of the Skin in Human Relations', Elsevier Monographs, Amsterdam.
- Simpson, G.E. and Yinger, J.M., 1958. Racial and Cultural Minorities (Revised Edition), New York.
- Smith, R.T., 1956. The Negro Family in British Guiana: Family Structure and Social Status in the Villages, London.
- Smythe, H.H., 1958. 'Intermarriage in West Africa', Sociology and Social Research, Vol.42, No.3, pp.353-7.
- 1961. 'The Mixed-blood in Modern Africa', Sociology and Social Research, Vol.45, No.2, pp.140-4.
- Snell, G.D., 1951. 'Hybrids and History', The Quarterly Review of Biology, Vol.26, No.4, pp.331-47.
- Souter, G., 1963. New Guinea. The Last Unknown, Sydney.
- Stonequist, E., 1937. The Marginal Man, New York.
- Thomson, R., 1952-58. Reports on Mixed-race Society in New Guinea.
- Tindale, N.B., 1941. 'A Survey of the Half-caste Problem in South Australia', Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society. South Australian Branch - Session 1940-41, Vol.42, pp.66-161.
- 1953. 'Growth of a People: Formation and Development of a Hybrid Aboriginal and White Stock on the Islands of Bass Strait, Tasmania, 1815-1949', Records Queen Victoria Museum, Launceston (New Series), No.2.

Tumin, M., 1945. 'Some Fragments from the Life History of a Marginal Man', Character and Personality, Vol.13, No.3, pp.261-96.

UNESCO, 1953. The Race Concept - Results of an Inquiry.

Van den Berghe, P.L., 1960. 'Hypergamy, Hypergenation and Miscegenation', Human Relations, Vol.13, No.1, pp.83-91.

-- 'Miscegenation in South Africa', pamphlet (typescript), 12 pages.

### New Guinea Research Bulletins

- Bulletin No. 1      The Erap Mechanical Farming Project by  
R.G. Crocombe and G.R. Hogbin, April 1963.
- Bulletin No. 2      Land, Work and Productivity at Inonda by  
R.G. Crocombe and G.R. Hogbin, August 1963.
- Bulletin No. 3      Social Accounts of the Monetary Sector of the  
Territory of Papua and New Guinea, 1956/57 to  
1960/61 by R.C. White, January 1964.
- Bulletin No. 4      Communal Cash Cropping Among the Orokaiva by  
R.G. Crocombe, May 1964.
- Bulletin No. 5      A Survey of Indigenous Rubber Producers in the  
Kerema Bay Area by G.R. Hogbin, October 1964.
- Bulletin No. 6      The European Land Settlement Scheme at Popondetta  
by D.R. Howlett, April 1965.
- Bulletin No. 7      The M'buke Co-operative Plantation by R.G. Crocombe,  
August 1965.
- Bulletin No. 8      Cattle, Coffee and Land Among the Wain by  
Graham Jackson, December 1965.
- Bulletin No. 9      An Integrated Approach to Nutrition and Society:  
the Case of the Chimbu, ed. E. Hipsley, January  
1966.
- Bulletin No.10      The Silanga Resettlement Project by Olga van  
Rijswijck, February 1966.
- Bulletin No.11      Land Tenure and Land Use Among the Mount Lamington  
Orokaiva by Max Rimoldi, April 1966.
- Bulletin No.12      Education Through the Eyes of an Indigenous Urban  
Elite by Karol van der Veur and Penelope Richardson,  
August 1966.
- Bulletin No.13      Orokaiva Papers: Miscellaneous Papers on the  
Orokaiva of North East Papua, November 1966.
- Bulletin No.14      Rabia Camp: a Port Moresby Migrant Settlement by  
Nancy E. Hitchcock and N.D. Oram, January 1967.
- Bulletin No.15      Bulolo: a History of the Development of the Bulolo  
Region, New Guinea by Allan Healy, February 1967.

- Bulletin No.16      Papuan Entrepreneurs: Papers by R.G. Crocombe, W.J. Oostermeyer and Joanne Gray, J.V. Langmore, April 1967.
- Bulletin No.17      Land Tenure Conversion in the Northern District of Papua by David Morawetz, May 1967.
- Bulletin No.18      Social and Economic Relationships in a Port Moresby Canoe Settlement by N.D. Oram, July 1967.
- Bulletin No.19      A Benefit Cost Analysis of Resettlement in the Gazelle Peninsula by S. Singh, September 1967.
- Bulletin No.20      New Guinea People in Business and Industry: Papers from the First Waigani Seminar, December 1967.
- Bulletin No.21      Teachers in the Urban Community by Penelope Richardson and Karol van der Veur, January 1968.
- Bulletin No.22      Papers on the Papua-New Guinea House of Assembly by Norman Meller, January 1968.
- Bulletin No.23      Mixed-race Society in Port Moresby by B.G. Burton-Bradley, March 1968.

---

The above are available at a cost of \$1.00 each from the A.N.U. Press, The Australian National University, P.O. Box 4, Canberra, A.C.T., Australia.

An annual payment of \$5.00 entitles the subscriber to all bulletins issued in the year.

