

NEW MIGRANT SETTLEMENT IN LAE

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Purpose and method

This study aims to examine the characteristics of, and changes in Papua New Guinean society by grasping the recent migration patterns from rural district to urban areas. In my former papers (TAJIMA 1990a, 1990b), I have reported on the migration processes in two urban settlements, the Papuan Compound Area and the Buko Settlement, which were formed in the 1960's and 1970's. This time, I selected four settlements formed in 1980's as our sample areas, and interviewed householders with questionnaires. The name of the settlements used in our samples are : Tensiti Station 1, Mouth Markham, West Taraka, and Boundary Road.

Tensiti Station 1 is situated in the northern part of the city and was first formed by people from Menyamya, Morobe Province in 1983. Now this settlement is composed of 30 households from Menyamya, 17 households from the Highlands areas, and 11 households from the Sepik areas. People live on government land and many of them work as wage earners. Examples of their occupations include a provincial officer, an employee of a private company, and a teacher. In addition, some of them are farmers in the city.

Mouth Markham is situated at the mouth of the River Markham, in the south-western part of the city. Mouth Markham with a population of 300, is a mixed settlement and had its first residents in the early 1980's. However, most people have settled there since 1989. They rent the land from the Rabu and Butu people who have lived near there since early times, and pay ground rent to them. The residents work as wage earner in the city, but some are jobless.

West Taraka is situated in the north-western part of the city, and Boundary Road is situated in the mid-western part of the city. Both have grown rapidly in the 1970's and 1980's by people coming mainly from the Highlands areas. I tried to interview at least ten householders in the former two settlements, and I entrusted my investigation to the leaders of the settlements in the latter two cases.

In this paper, I will discuss the results of my survey in terms of first, the attributes of the respondents; second, their migration processes; third, their life situation; fourth, the relationships to their home villages, and fifth, their hopes for the future. Finally, I would like to sort out the communal and other elements which weaken the unity of the communities in the results of my survey.

Results

1. Attributes and former migration experience

When aggregated into tenyearage groups (Table 1), more than three-fourths of the respondents were in their twenties (36.4%) or thirties (39.4%). Morobe Province (24.2%), East Sepik Province (36.4%), and the provinces in the Highlands (27.3%) were the main places of birth of the respondents (Table 2). 39.4 percent of the informants had worked as

subsistence farmers in their home villages (Table 3). The second largest category included students and children (27.3%). However, we can also notice self-employed people and wage earners in various categories as well. 57.6 percent of the informants answered that they had no migration experience before they came to Lae (Table 4). Those who had former migration experience answered that they had migrated to the main cities for work.

Table 1 Ages of informants

Ages	T	M	W	B	No.	%
16-20		1			1	3.0
21-25	4	5		1	10	30.3
26-30	1			1	2	6.1
31-35	1	2	2	1	6	18.2
36-40	3	3	1		7	21.2
41-45						
46-50	1	1	3	1	6	18.2
51-55			1		1	3.0
Total	10	12	7	4	33	100.0

Note: T stands for "Tensiti Station 1", M stands for "Mouth Markham", W stands for "West Taraka" and B stands for "Boundary Road"

Table 2 Birth place

Province	T	M	W	B	No.	%
Morobe	6	1	1		8	24.2
Menyamy	6				6	18.2
Gori			1		1	3.0
unknown		1			1	3.0
E. Sepik	3	8	1		12	36.4
Wewak		2			2	6.1
Maprik	2	3			5	15.2
Yangoru	1	1			2	6.1
Angorum		2			2	6.1
Ama			1		1	3.0
W. Sepik	1				1	3.0
Northern		1	1		2	6.1
Central		1			1	3.0
Chimbu		1	4		5	15.2
E. Highland				4	5	12.1
Total	10	12	7	4	33	100.0

Table 3 Occupations in home villages

Occupation	T	M	W	B	No.	%
Farmer	4	3	5	1	13	39.4
Self-employed	2			2	4	12.1
Coffee grower	2				2	6.1
Carpenter				1	1	3.0
Driver				1	1	3.0
Wage earner	1	2			3	9.1
Cowboy		1			1	3.0
Sawmiller		1			1	3.0
Shop worker	1				1	3.0
Missionary	2		1		3	9.1
Student, child	1	7		1	9	27.3
Unknown			1		1	3.0
Total	10	12	7	4	33	100.0

Table 4 Past experiences of migration

Place (Work)	T	M	W	B	No.	%
Bougainville (Copra)	2				2	6.1
(Mine)		1			1	3.0
Popondetta (Copra)	1	1			2	6.1
Rabaul	1				1	3.0
Port Moresby		1	2		3	9.1
Mount Hagen (Shop)			2		2	6.1
Goroka				1	1	3.0
Lae				1	1	3.0
Main cities (Misson)	1				1	3.0
"None"	5	9	3	2	19	57.6
Total	10	12	7	4	33	100.0

2. The process of migration to Lae

Almost half of the informants (48.5%) came to Lae in the 1980's. The figure is much higher in Mouth Markham (66.7%, Table 5). East Sepik Province (30.3%) and the provinces in the Highlands (30.3%) stand out as places where the informants lived before they came to Lae. This tendency corresponds to the fact that most respondents were born in the Sepik and Highlands areas and less than half of them have had former migration experiences. The people from East Sepik tend to live in Mouth Markham, and those from the Highlands tend to concentrate in the West Taraka and Boundary Road settlements respectively (Table 6).

57.6 percent of respondents came to Lae for employment (Table 7). However, it is also true that their relatives (60.6%), especially brothers and sisters (18.1% and 12.1%), were staying in Lae before the respondents moved to Lae (Table 8). Most respondents (63.6%) stayed in their relatives' homes when they first came to Lae (Table 9). After the informants had secured a place to stay, their most important concern was job-hunting. 48.5 percent of the informants visited companies directly and 9.1 percent wrote letters to the companies. More than half of the informants did not depend on relatives or "Wantok" (people from the

Table 5 Year of immigration to Lae

Year	T	M	W	B	No.	%
1961-65		2	2		4	12.1
66-70	1			2	3	9.1
71-75	1	1	3		5	15.2
76-80	4	1			5	15.2
81-85	1	1	2	2	6	18.2
86-90	3	7			10	30.3
Total	10	12	7	4	33	100.0

Table 6 Living place before coming to Lae

Province	T	M	W	B	No.	%
Morobe	6 ¹⁾	1	1		8	24.2
E. Sepik	3 ²⁾	7 ³⁾			10	30.3
W. Sepik	1				1	3.0
Central		2			2	6.1
Northern		1	1		2	6.1
Chimbu		1	3		4	12.1
E. Highlands			1	4	5	15.2
W. Highlands			1		1	3.0
Total	10	12	7	4	33	100.0

Note 1) Menyamy 6, 2) Yangoru 2, Wewak 1,
3) Wewak 3, Maprik 2, Yangoru 1, Marienberg 1,

Table 7 Reasons coming to Lae

Reasons	T	M	W	B	No.	%
Job	4	7	6	2	19	57.6
School	1	2			3	9.1
Marriage		2			2	6.1
Mission	2				2	6.1
To live in the city	1			1	2	6.1
Other	2	1	1	1	5 ¹⁾	15.2
Total	10	12	7	4	33	100.0

Note 1) "to grow crops" "to live in a new settlement"
"to meet my brother who was sick" "to meet
my father" etc.

Table 8 Relatives living in Lae

Relatives	T	M	W	B	No.	%
Relatives	7	10	1	2	20	60.6
Father & mother	3			1	4	12.1
Brother	1	5			6	18.2
Sister	2	1	1		4	12.1
Uncle	1	2			3	9.1
Cousin		2			2	6.1
Brother in law				1	1	3.0
"Wan tok"			3		3	9.1
None	3	2			5	15.2
Unknown			3	2	5	15.2
Total	10	12	7	4	33	100.0

Table 9 Dwelling place in Lae

Dwelling place	T	M	W	B	No.	%
Relative's house	7	7	3	4	21	63.6
Father(mother)'s house	2			1	3	9.1
Brother(sister)'s house	4	4	3	1	12	36.4
Other relative's house	1	3		2	6	18.2
"Wan tok"s house	1	3	1		5	15.2
In the place of work	1	1			2	6.1
Dormitory			1		1	3.0
Selfbuilt	1				1	3.0
Rely on the settlement			3		3	9.1
Total	10	12	7	4	33	100.0

Table 10 Way of looking for job

Looking for job	T	M	W	B	No.	%
Go to co. alone	4	8	1	3	16 ¹⁾	48.5
Write a letter		2	1		3 ¹⁾	9.1
Rely on the relatives	1	1	1	1	4	12.1
Rely on the settlement			3		3	9.1
Respond to a request	1				1	3.0
Have a job already	3				3 ²⁾	9.1
Student	1	1			2	6.1
Unknown			1		1	3.0
Total	10	12	7	4	33	100.0

Note 1) 4 people among 19 couldn't get jobs

2) mission 2, farmer 1

Table 11 Companions of the immigrants

Companion	T	M	W	B	No.	%
Alone	7	7	3	1	18	54.5
Wife & children	3	3			6	18.2
Brother		2	1		3	9.1
Cousin				1	1	3.0
Friend			3	2	5	15.2
Total	10	12	7	4	33	100.0

Table 12 Problems in Lae at their arrival time

Problems	T	M	W	B	No.	%
Hungry		1		2	3	9.1
No friends		1			1	3.0
Sick	1				1	3.0
Living in a crowded room		1			1	3.0
"Yes" (unknown)			1	1	2	6.1
"No problems"	9	9	6	1	25	75.8
Total	10	12	7	4	33	100.0

same language group) when they tried to find a job (Table 10). Many of them visited companies again and again, until they finally found a job. 54.5 percent of the respondents came to Lae alone (Table 11). However, some informants were accompanied by their relatives, family members, and friends.

75.8 percent of the informants answered that they did not have any serious problems after they moved to Lae. Some of the problems respondents experienced included hunger, loneliness, and crowded living conditions (Table 12).

3. Current life situation

In grasping their current life situation, I paid attention to their occupations and family situations, especially the differences in the origins of husbands and wives. Concerning the present occupations of the respondents, the wage earner (33.3%), and the self-employed person (24.2%) stand out as two major categories (Table 13). However, there are differences in the distribution of wage earners and self-employed persons among the settlements. Wage earners are most numerous in Mouth Markham, while self-employed persons are most numerous in Tensiti Station 1. It should be noted that the percentage of those who are unemployed is also relatively large (18.2%). In terms of working hours per week, 24.2 percent of the informants work less than eight hours a week (Table 14). If we consider those

Table 13 Present occupation

Occupation	T	M	W	B	No.	%
Self employed	6		1	1	8	24.2
Subsistence farmer	4				4	12.1
Breeding chickens	2				2	6.1
Carpenter			1	1	2	6.1
Wage earner	3	7		1	11	33.3
Security service Co.	1	2			3	9.1
Waiter in hotel	1				1	3.0
Bakery worker	1				1	3.0
Driver of Cola Co.		1			1	3.0
Allied electronics Co.		1			1	3.0
Furniture Co. worker		1			1	3.0
Supermarket worker		1			1	3.0
Motor Co. worker		1			1	3.0
Salesman				1	1	3.0
Missionary	1		1	2	4	12.1
Community leader			2		2	6.1
Student		1			1	3.0
No occupation		4	2		6	18.2
Unknown			1		1	3.0
Total	10	12	7	4	33	100.0

Table 14 Working hours per week

Hours	T	M	W	B	No.	%
0-8	1	5	2		8	24.2
8-16				1	1	3.0
16-24						
24-32	1			1	2	6.1
32-40	1	1		1	3	9.1
40-	7	6	5	1	19	57.6
Total	10	12	7	4	33	100.0

Table 15 Number of children per household

Number	T	M	W	B	No.	%
7		1			1	3.0
6						
5		1			1	3.0
4	1	3	2	2	8	24.2
3	2		2		4	12.1
2	2	1	1	1	5	15.2
1	2	3	1	1	7	21.2
0	3	3	1		7	21.2
Total	10	12	7	4	33	100.0

Table 16 Year of marriage

Year	T	M	W	B	No.	%
1961-65			1		1	3.0
66-70						
71-75	1	2	1		4	12.1
76-80	4	3	1		8	24.2
81-85	1	2			3	9.1
86-90	3	2		2	7	21.2
91-		2			2	6.1
Alone	1	1			2	6.1
Unknown			4	2	6	18.2
Total	10	12	7	4	33	100.0

Table 17 Place of Marriage

Place	T	M	W	B	No.	%
Home village	6	4	4	2	16	48.5
Lae	3	4	1	1	9	27.3
Others		3		1	4	12.1
Unmarried	1	1			2	6.1
Unknown			2		2	6.1
Total	10	12	7	4	33	100.0

who work more than forty hours a week as full-time workers, then only 57.6 percent of the respondents are employed full-time.

94 percent of the informants' households have less than four children (Table 15). This might be due to the newness of the settlements which were built in the 1980's. About 90% of the respondents except "alone" and "unknown" were married in the 1970's and 1980's (Table 16). 48.5 percent of the informants married in their home villages, while 27.3 percent and 12.1 percent married in Lae and places other than their home villages respectively (Table 17).

Table 18 Difference of native place between husband and wife

Native place	T	M	W	B	No.	%
Same village	7	4	4	2	17	51.5
Different village ⁵⁾		2	1		3	9.1
Different province	2 ¹⁾	5 ²⁾	2 ³⁾	2 ⁴⁾	11	33.3
Unmarried	1	1			2	6.1
Total	10	12	7	4	33	100.0

Note1) E. Sepik (Wewak) -Madan 3) Northern -Morobe
 W. Sepik -Chimbu E. Sepik -E. Highland
 2) E. Sepik (Wewak) -Chimbu 4) E. Highland -Morobe
 E. Sepik (Maprik) -Chimbu E. Highland -Chimbu
 E. Sepik (Angoram) -Gulf 5) in same province
 E. Sepik (Yangoru) -Morobe (Boana)
 Morobe (Salamaua) -Central

Marriages to fellow villagers occurred with 51.5 percent of the respondents (Table 18). However, it is remarkable that 42.4 percent of the respondents were married to women who were born in different villages from them. These marriage patterns may indicate the informants' widening contacts to the "outer" world through immigration to urban areas.

4. Relationship to the home village

I asked the respondents about temporal visits, letterwriting, and the remittance of money and goods to their homes in order to assess the strength of their relationship to the home village. Among the relatives in their home village, the informants regard parents and siblings as the most important (33.3% and 30.3% respectively in Table 19). 69.7 percent of the informants have returned to their home villages more than once a year (Table 20). This

Table 19 The most important person living in home village

Family relationship	T	M	W	B	No.	%
Father, mother	3	6	1	1	11	33.3
Brother, sister	5	4		1	10	30.3
Uncle	2	1	2	1	6	18.2
Other relatives			1		1	3.0
No one		1			1	3.0
Unknown			3	1	4	12.1
Total	10	12	7	4	33	100.0

Table 20 Frequency of returning to their home village

Frequency	T	M	W	B	No.	%
Over 4 times a year			3	1	4	12.1
2-3 times a year	1		3	1	5	15.2
Once a year	5	6	1	2	14	42.4
Once in 2-4 years		2			2	6.1
Once in 5-10 years	2				2	6.1
Not yet returned	2	4			6	18.2
Total	10	12	7	4	33	100.0

Table 21 Frequency of sending money or goods to the home village

Frequency	T	M	W	B	No.	%
Over 12 times a year	2	1		1	4	12.1
6-11 times a year			2		2	6.1
3-5 times a year		1	2	1	4	12.1
1-2 times a year	6	2	1		9	27.3
Once in 2-3 years		2	1		3	9.1
Give to them in Lae			1	1	2	6.1
Bring by themselves				1	1	3.0
Do not send	2	6			8	24.2
Total	10	12	7	4	33	100.0

Table 22 Frequency of sending letters to the home village

Frequency	T	M	W	B	No.	%
Over 12 times a year	2	3	3	4 ¹⁾	12	36.4
6-11 times a year	2	2	1		5	15.2
3-5 times a year	2	3			5	15.2
1-2 times a year			1		1	3.0
Once in 2-3 years			1		1	3.0
Do not write a letter	4	4			8	24.2
Unknown			1		1	3.0
Total	10	12	7	4	33	100.0

Not 1) contains the message which someone brings

means that the informants have kept a strong commitment to their home village. The informants in West Taraka returned most frequently. This might be because 71.4 percent of the informants in West Taraka are from the Highlands areas which are connected to Lae by the Highland Highway (Table 6). 57.6 percent of the informants sent money or goods to their home villages more than once a year (Table 21), and 69.8 percent of them wrote letters even more frequently (Table 22). The remittance and the letters also indicate the informants' strong relationship with their home villages.

5. Future hopes

Lastly, I asked the respondents about their wishes of returning home and their hope in the future as a measure to assess the strength of the relationship to their home villages and the direction of courses of social changes. As shown in table 23, 66.7 percent of the informants reported that they hope to return to their home villages in the future. This is

Table 23 The place people want to live in the future

Place	T	M	W	B	No.	%
Lae	6		4		10	30.3
Home village	4	11	3	4	22	66.7
Other		1			1	3.0
Total	10	12	7	4	33	100.0

Table 24 The reasons for selecting the place they want to live in the future

Reason	T	M	W	B	No.	%
Reasons for wanting to live in Lae	7		1		8	32.0
To be able to get a job	3				3	12.0
No relatives in home village	2				2	8.0
Like this settlement	1				1	4.0
Lae is in same province	1				1	4.0
Easy to return to village			1		1	4.0
Reason for wanting to return	4	12			16	64.0
Urban life requires much money	1	2			3	12.0
Not able to get a job	1	2			3	12.0
Cannot own a house		2			2	8.0
Urban life is hard	1	1			2	8.0
No farmland to cultivate		1			1	4.0
Cannot own land		1			1	4.0
Attacked by another person (rascal)		1			1	4.0
Feel uneasy about the future	1				1	4.0
Live in the village where I was born		1			1	4.0
I like village life		1			1	4.0
Others		1			1	4.0
In Port Moresby I have a house		1			1	4.0
Total	11	13	1	0	25	100.0

Table 25 Hope for work and life in the future

Hope	T	M	W	B	No.	%
Business	5	4	4	2	15	45.5
Manage a store	2	2	1	2	7	21.2
Do some business		2	1		3	9.1
Breed chickens	2		1		3	9.1
Manage PMV ¹⁾	1				1	3.0
Manage passenger ship			1		1	3.0
Other active hopes	1	1	1		3	9.1
Politician	1				1	3.0
Metallurgist		1			1	3.0
Leader of community			1		1	3.0
Rather passive hope	2	4	1	2	9	27.3
Collect sand gold	1				1	3.0
Do my life in village		3	1	1	5	15.2
Respectable man				1	1	3.0
Make child independent		1			1	3.0
No hope	1				1	3.0
"I don't know"	2	3			5	15.2
Unknown			1		1	3.0
Total	10	12	7	4	33	100.0

Note 1) I could not collect enough answers in West Taraka and Boundary Road because I didn't interview them by myself in these settlements.

2) One householder does not always give only one answer.

Note 1) PMV stands for "Public Motor Vehicle"

especially strong in Mouth Markham and Boundary Road (91.7% and 100% respectively). This is another indication of the strong commitment to their home villages. The stated reasons for wishing to return to their home villages are as follows: "Urban life requires too much money.", "Urban life is too hard.", "We haven't got our own land or houses.", and finally, "We like village life." (Table 24). In contrast, 30.3 percent of the informants hope to stay in Lae (Table 23). The stated reasons are as follows: "We can get more money by working in the city." and "I have no relatives in my home village." (Table 24).

This evidence indicates that even in urban life, the respondents maintain the customs and ideas of their rural life. Furthermore they have strong ties to their home villages. However, many of them (45.5 percent) hope to do some business in the future (Table 25). This might indicate that the influence of commercialism or capitalism considerably affects their consciousness.

Discussion

A. Communal elements among the above results are as follows.

- 1) The newcomers stayed in their relatives' houses in the city.
- 2) Immigrants had a strong connection to their home villages, as many of them returned to their villages at least once a year.
- 3) Many of them hoped to return to their home villages in the future.
- 4) They had strong attachment to their land and houses, which table 24 shows us.
- 5) Some of them regarded urban life as difficult. Instead they preferred village life.

B. The following shows the elements which weaken the unity of the communities.

- 1) About 40% of the responding immigrants had previous experiences of migration. This is a relatively large percentage.
- 2) Many of them changed their jobs from subsistence farmers to wage earners.
- 3) Over 40% of the men were married to women who were born in different villates from them. This means that there is a widening in the range of their marriages.
- 4) Some of the responding immigrants, especially in Tensiti Station 1 and West Taraka, hoped to stay in Lae from now on, though many of them hoped to return to their home villages in the future.
- 5) About half of them hoped to manage some kind of business in the future.

These five points described in B result mainly from the effects of urbanization. Both 1) and 2) in B indicate the experiences of the wage earners, i. e. the most monetary economic and capitalistic experiences. After their experiences, they hope to manage a business in the future. The reason for wanting to stay in Lae in 4) was the existence of jobs, giving them opportunity to make money. This also means the accumulation of the experience of monetary economy.

Concluding Remarks

The society of PNG strongly maintains the elements of community. However, the advance of a monetary economy is affecting urbanization as we saw with the growth of wage earners, and capitalistic or managerial spirit is growing as well.

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