

Urban life, internal migration and development: the need to re-address internal migration as a positive nexus for growth and development in PNG

Hennah Steven

*School of Arts & Humanities, Pacific Adventist University, PMB, Boroko, Port Moresby National Capital District,
Papua New Guinea*

Nov 3-4, 2016

ABSTRACT

A household study was carried out in 2013 in five peri-urban settlements in Port Moresby to understand how internal migration contributes to development. This paper intends to present the findings of the study.

Succinctly, the study identified sustainable livelihood strategies that migrants employ when they settle into peri-urban locations. These findings have pointed toward the appreciation of the changes and contributions made at micro level, making internal migration a relevant aspect of sustainable growth and development. Furthermore, the study has contributed to the growing body of knowledge on migration as a livelihood adaptation and diversification strategy in PNG. It was also noted from the study that settlements significantly mitigated the rising costs of accommodation as well as housed female migrants disowned by polygamous marriages. Thus, recommendations and implications for proper housing plans, settlement upgrades and effective, realistic relocation plans resulted from this study. Future research to determine if urban poverty is alleviated through migrants' sustainable livelihoods is proposed.

1. INTRODUCTION

Migration is a development process. And in a developing country like Papua New Guinea (PNG), migration within and between peri-urban and urban locations have accelerated in the last few years. The 2000 National Census showed a total of 242 885 urban residents, from which 133 322 were city migrants. From the migrant residents, 99% (132 000) had been born in PNG. Of these, 90% (11 880) had moved to NCD from other

provinces (NSO, 2002, p. 26). The urban population continues to increase. This increase has resulted in related issues including increase in urban poverty (Storey, 2010) and housing problems and livelihood issues.

Studies regarding migration and its positive link to socio-economic development are scarce in Papua New Guinea. Support regarding the positive aspects of internal migration emerges mainly from academics. Several academics have attempted to study how internal migration in PNG has contributed to development and what strategies migrants employ to survive in their new environments. This means that at the policy level, addressing the holistic growth and development of migration is still lacking. Therefore, eviction and demolition of migrant settlements has been on the rise and chaotic, leaving many families and school children homeless in towns and cities of PNG, including Port Moresby in recent years.

The main research question for this study was: **can migration contribute to sustainable socio-economic development in PNG?** To answer this question as well as to understand how internal migrants contribute to sustainable development, a mixed method research approach was used in a study to identify possible sustainable livelihoods in peri-urban settlements in Port Moresby. Established household migration patterns (National Statistics Office, 2002; Litau, 2009) and justifications for continual existence of peri-urban settlements were examined and explored by surveying twenty-eight households, interviewing sixteen individuals as well as conducting two focus groups across five migrant settlements in the city. The findings from this research method contributed to the holistic explanation of internal migration and comprehensively identified livelihood strategies that provide a link to sustainable development in PNG.

1.1 Statement of Problem

Migration to peri-urban settlements is the most challenging aspect of sustainable development in PNG. There are a number of reasons for this. At individual and community levels, informal livelihood activities, as well as criminal activities are daily occurrences in peri-urban settlements. These activities have attracted negative perceptions toward all settlement dwellers. Many of these residents are perceived as desperate and potential criminals.

With this negative view of urban migration, there is limited means of addressing the issues. At the policy and national levels, there is a lack of interest in how to make urban migration a positive outcome. Rather the emphasis is on anti-migration plans and programs, as seen in the PNG Development Strategic Plan (PNG DSP) 2010-2030 and PNG Medium Term Development Plan (PNG MTDP) 2011-2015 (Department of National Planning and Monitoring, DNPM, 2010). The government annually provides district grants, comprising of Rural Local Level Government Grants (RLLGG), Special Support Grants (SSG), District Support Grants (DSG) and District Services Improvement Programs (DSIPs) to develop rural districts and local level governments (LLGs) (PNG District Grants, 2014). The aim is to reduce rural-to-urban migration rather than manage and control increasing urban population growth and increasing number of squatter settlements (Koczberski, Curry & Conell, 2001).

1. 2 Significance of the study

The significance of this study is that it will inform the public and policy makers that internal migration has contributed positively toward development in major towns and cities. It is important because first, it provides a stage for managing migrant activities and makes a positive connection between internal migration and poverty reduction. Secondly, the findings are useful for realistic planning at the national and provincial levels. The underlying lessons drawn from these findings have encouraged social and economic empowerments so that opportunities for livelihoods adaption and diversification are not restricted for the majority of the urbanites. The significance of this study ascertains that migrants will benefit from, and will continue to be actively involved in development and change within an inclusive regulatory structure (levels of government) in the country.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 General Perceptions and Livelihoods Adaptation Strategy

2.1.1 General perception of internal migration.

Migration is usually seen by the public as a 'problem' that needs to be 'solved'. There is the public perception that urban migration is restricting sustainable development. There is also that public perception that rural development and infrastructural programs will reduce urban migration. The solution usually implies a form of

migration management by reducing internal migration (Apostolides, 2006; Start & Johnson 2004; De Haan, 2000; Skeldon, 2008). The current DSIP, and other government grants mentioned in Section 1 are examples of the government's direct intention to reduce rural-urban migration.

There is no consideration and constitutional justification for managing migration in those ways. According to some academic circles and agencies, urban migration in the Pacific is caused by rural poverty (ESCAP/CPR, 2007; Storey, 2010; Kavan, 2013). But analysis of people's movements, not only magnify the actual magnitude of migration, but also seem ungrounded since they arise from an imprecise analysis of the root causes of it, while using unreliable data. Although migration clearly results from the desire to improve one's livelihood, Skeldon (1997) maintained that it is rarely the poorest and most destitute that migrate to the urban areas. Skeldon highlighted that migration involves considerable costs and risks and also requires basic knowledge, strong social networks, and the necessary aspirations (Skeldon, 1997; Ellis, 2003; Litau, 2009; Carney, n.d). Skeldon's insight here contradicts the perception that increased income is the main attraction for migration. Rather, urban migration is due to the lack of available socio-economic development and spatial inequalities in life opportunities.

Migration experiences may be different from place to place, but the processes of socio-economic and human development seem to be, not only nationally, but universally associated with the increasing concentration of economic and social activities in urban areas and hence, increasing internal migration. In many ways, this process of development and urbanisation is conditional to rural to urban migration (De Haan, 2000; Skeldon, 1997 & 2008). In this light, De Haan (2000) maintained that efforts to stop the rural flow of people and to improve the rural communities, will likely fail. The starting point of realigning negative opinions is provided by the livelihoods framework that is adopted, modified and used in this paper (see Section 2.1.2)

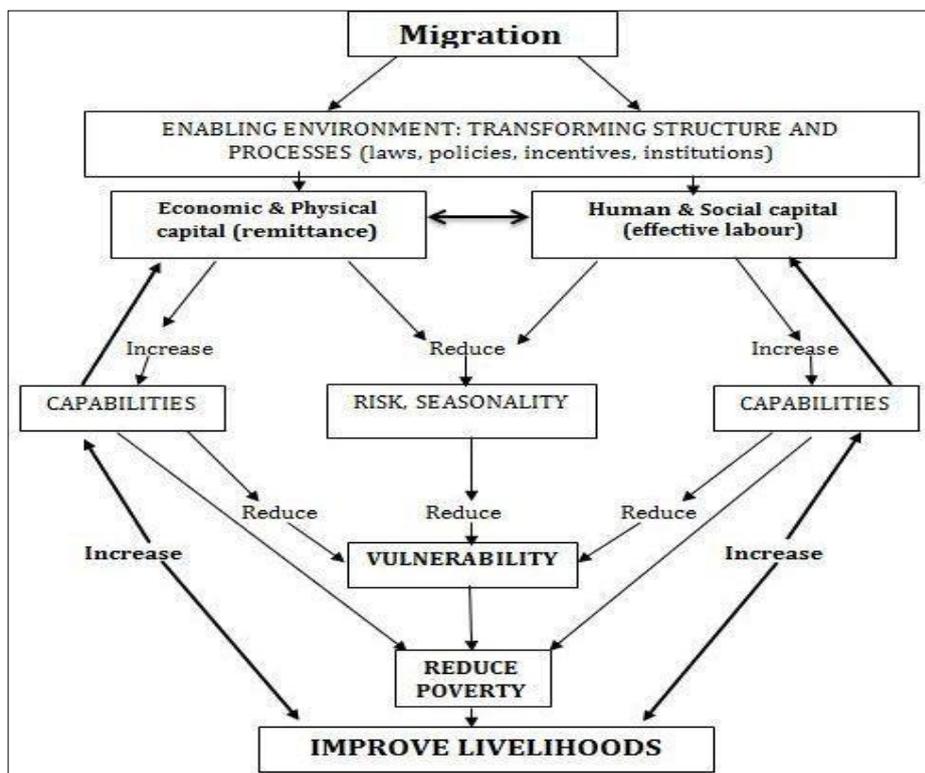
2.1.2 Livelihoods approach to migration.

The livelihoods approach to migration has gained much attention at academic and policy levels (McDowell & De Haan, 1997; Ellis, 1998, 1999, 2003; De Haan, 2000; Siddiqui, 2003; Sundari, 2005). This approach explains migration as a livelihood strategy that is employed by households to access development benefits available in

urban centres. As persons with basic needs and aspirations, migrants plan (strategize) and execute (do) various small to medium-scale activities to satisfy needs, maintain life, fulfil obligations and invest in future developments for their households.

To make migration a nexus for sustainable livelihoods, key links between migration and livelihoods framework have been deduced from previous sustainable livelihoods literature. A primary framework is proposed, making migration-livelihoods the nexus for poverty reduction, leading to sustainable growth and development. The migration-livelihoods framework (MLF) is used as the basis for this research paper. The framework is outlined here in Figure 2.1.

Figure 2.1 Migration-Livelihoods Framework (MLF)



Source: Content analysis (Skeldon, 1997; McDowell & De Haan, 1997; Carney, n.d; Farrington, Carney, Ashley & Turton, 1999; Ellis, 2003; Morse & McNamara, 2013).

In the above framework, links between migration and livelihood assets, particularly economic/physical and human/social capitals are embedded in the livelihoods framework as examples. As migrants move into urban centres, the probability of increasing basic capitals over a long period through, for example, education may result. The key to maintaining livelihoods is the enabling environment, such as the transforming structures

(levels of government e.g. district, provincial and national) and processes (e.g. policies, laws, cultures, institutions) of a country. The risks may be reduced, thus increasing livelihood opportunities. This in turn reduces household poverty and results in further diversification of livelihoods. It is assumed in the framework, that this in turn, will sustain other assets. To note is the weight of the arrows from improved livelihoods back to the capabilities and basic capitals (resources) and between the capitals at the top of the diagram. When livelihoods are created and enhanced, capabilities and capitals are further enhanced and used in diverse ways. In this sense, migration is proposed to be an extension to livelihoods creation and sustainable socio-economic development, although there are negative impacts on development such as informal housing and unregulated, scattered informal urban sector activities. If accessibility and affordability are created and maintained for the migrants by the enabling structures and processes (i.e. inclusive governmental systems), migration can potentially contribute to creating stable livelihood strategies and possibly alleviate poverty for the urban poor.

2.2 Urban Livelihoods in PNG

In this section, brief reviews of internal migration and urban livelihoods in PNG are provided and the concept of peri-urban livelihoods is defined.

In a study on *Informal Sector in Port Moresby and Lae, Papua New Guinea: Activities and Government Response*, Kavan (2013) identified the varied livelihood activities that are executed by migrants as urban informal sector activities. The urban informal sector activities were livelihood activities. They include:

... microenterprises or tiny livelihood activities selling, distributing, producing or manufacturing goods and providing services, either regularly or occasionally or on a needs-basis and being carried out in prescribed or un-prescribed markets or areas, such as streets, roadsides, in front of supermarkets or offices, at bus stops, and in yards of houses (p. iii, Abstract).

Growing and selling fresh food at markets, skilled vending (shoe repair, handicrafts, home-made tailoring); selling other products such as flip-flops, biros, socks, and other small, movable items on the streets, bus-stops, in front of offices or anywhere where there is immediate need or is busy with people, are a common sight in Papua New Guinean urban centres. It is often perceived that these small informal businesses provide a threat

to development. This view supports the predominant public stance toward migration and migrant livelihoods, especially when addressing the nature of informal sector activities in Port Moresby and Lae.

However, although migrant livelihood activities seem unviable in many ways, the returns from these activities provide a means of life sustenance. The earnings generated from these livelihood activities are used to access basic household needs, basic services such as education, health, and transportation. Money earned from these subsistence and urban livelihood activities are not only used for goods and services, but are also used in other income generating incentives, such as providing taxi services, PMVs, trade stores or other investments. Internal migration thus, is currently a household livelihood strategy for accessing services and maintaining life, and migrants should not be marginalised. Litau (2009) explains urban migration in terms of both diversification and adaptation strategies.

Households migrate to urban areas as a livelihood strategy. Arriving at their destination, these migrants employ different livelihood strategies which become sustainable. In two provincial case studies conducted using the concurrent mixed methods, Litau (2009, p.117-118) found that rural and peri-urban in-migrants engaged in subsistence gardening for household consumption and sold surpluses and other goods at the markets, thus earning an income. Barber (2003) established similar findings in an earlier study on Bugiau Community at 8 mile urban settlement in Port Moresby. Residents at this settlement planted a variety of tree crops and food plants in their backyard gardens which supplemented purchased foods. They also obtained cash income through sales of betel nuts, cigarettes, making and selling scones, ice blocks, and other small businesses.

Umezaki and Ohtsuka (2003), who investigated the adaptive strategies used by the Huli-speaking migrants from the Southern Highlands in Port Moresby, also established different livelihood strategies ranging from informal sector activities to formal job employment. Their findings showed that most households depended entirely on the informal sector. Much of the time, this income was equivalent or higher than that of households which included an employee in the formal sector.

Barber (2003), Umezaki and Ohtsuka (2003) and Litau (2009) emphasised the importance of the social networking aspect of migrant livelihood. Migrants depended heavily for support in times of need on these networks. In summarising the livelihood strategies of internal migrants, research has identified access to land, road and transportation systems, social assets and cash earning opportunities as sustainable livelihood strategies for migrants (Litau, 2009, p.292; Barber, 2003, 291-295).

Additionally, adaptive strategies for Huli-migrants were basically economic activities, such as street selling, small-scale retailing, formal job employment as drivers, and public servants (Umezaki & Ohtsuka, 2003). Using these strategies, various livelihood activities were pursued to earn income, secure basic human necessities and maintain social relationships. These researchers have identified factors that encourage rural to urban migration and subsequent urban settlement. These migrants employ livelihood strategies that make migration sustainable in terms of socio-economic development. The sustainable livelihood strategies act as the connective elements to the holistic development in PNG urban centres.

Peri-urban livelihoods are made up of urban livelihoods (informal income generation, job employment and private business) and rural livelihoods based on agricultural and socio-cultural networking (Ellis, 1999 & 2003; de Haan, 2000; Kavan, 2013; Barber, 2003). Together, the two forms of livelihoods provide the means of living for migrants. Peri-urban livelihoods thus imply both farm and non-farm, informal urban livelihood activities. So there is a need to comprehensively explore all sustainable livelihood strategies of internal migrants, specifically in the peri-urban locations. Understanding these sustainable strategies encourages positive involvement and informs people which strategies should be encouraged so the whole society benefits. In doing so, there is recognition of the positive link between sustainable livelihoods and sustainable socio-economic development in PNG.

3. RESEARCH QUESTION AND RESEARCH METHOD

The main research question that guided the entire study was: **can migration contribute to sustainable socio-economic development in PNG?** This central question was answered using the concurrent mixed method research approach (Creswell, 2005; 2008; 2012; Creswell & Plano Clark 2007 and Ivankova, Creswell & Stick,

2006). The question was divided into three specific sub-questions, and was addressed using both quantitative and qualitative studies respectively and/or collectively (Tashakkori, Creswell, 2007).

- RQ1: What important role have migrants had on sustainable development in PNG?
- RQ2: Why do people relocate to urban settlements, in spite of poverty they experience?
- RQ3: What livelihood strategies could be maintained to support migrants in urban settlements in PNG?

The first (RQ1) and third (RQ3) sub-questions, which guided the formulation of the survey (Appendix I), are answered by the quantitative part of the study. In this study, the participants were people who migrated from the rural areas. They are of different ages and had different education levels. These factors also influence the choices of livelihoods that they used to generate different levels of income. This then, determines the level of residence choices and living standards. Moreover, when people move to urban centres, there is an increase in the population levels which impacts the delivery of service and other structural, regulatory dilemmas. This picture explains the quantitative practical issues that revolve around the migration-development phenomenon. Thus, specific quantitative research questions (RQ1 and RQ3) were used to establish migration patterns that influenced developmental growth.

The qualitative element of this research involved undertaking in-depth and group interviews. The qualitative part of this study specifically explored the explanations and justifications for peri-urban migration. This was undertaken after developing guide questions (Appendices II and III) from the following specific research questions:

- RQ2: Why do people relocate to urban settlements in spite of the poverty they experience?
- RQ3: What livelihood strategies could be maintained to support migrants in urban settlements in PNG?

It is important to note that migration is undertaken by people: social beings that have aspirations, goals, dreams (Litau, 2009), needs and wants in life. When they move into urban centres, they draw on available resources to satisfy inherent needs, and reach those goals and aspirations (if the structural, political and social environment is enabling enough). Thus, by answering the above specific questions, the qualitative element of the study

provided the lived experiences, as well as provided explanations to the migration-development, development-migration patterns established by the survey (quantitative).

By addressing research sub-question (RQ3) in the two segments of the mixed methods approach, the integration aspect of this study was achieved. By answering RQ3, a positive nexus for internal migration and sustainable development was established.

3.1 Data Collection and Analysis

Methods of data collection included surveys and interviews (group and individual interviews). These were utilized to get data needed for mixing and extracting details in order to explain the immediate connection between migration and holistic socio-economic development.

3.2 Site selection and sampling

The targeted sites and population in this study were peri-urban/squatter settlements in Port Moresby and the migrants that reside in them. The research focused on migrant heads of household who live and carry out their daily activities in peri-urban locations. The head of household in the study is the person who provides for those living under his/her care. The following conditions were required for migrant head of household to participate):

1. Must be over 18 years;
2. Has relocated from another province;
3. Has resided at the current location for more than twelve months (one year)
4. Must be involved in some form of income generation

The sites selected were picked, depending on previous knowledge and convenience, migrant predominance, presence or absence of migrant livelihood activities and other visible characteristics, such as types of houses as well as presence of different cultural and ethnic groups.

A total of five research sites were selected and prepared. These included Fayantina Block, a newly growing in-migrant area found outside of the old Police Barracks near Gerehu Stage Two. The second site was Garden

Hills Settlement located on the hills across the main road from the Department of Works, around Central Waigani. The third research site was Six Mile Settlement, a location that leads toward the main National Capital District Dump site (at the time of research). The fourth site was the Air Training Squadron (ATS) Block outside the Jackson's Airport. The final research site was Morata Two Settlement which is located toward the back of North Waigani. All of these sites are located in the North-west and North-east electorates of Port Moresby, National Capital District (see Appendix IV, for Map of Research Sites).

The research engaged a mixture of purposive and quota non- random sampling methods to obtain the sample size needed for this study. Purposive non-random sampling refers to the researcher's judgment on who can "provide the best information to achieve the objectives of the study. The researcher goes to people who are likely to have the required information," (Kumar, 2011, pp. 206, 207). Additionally, quota-random sampling refers to a sampling method where the researcher has easy access to the sample, because the location is convenient (Kumar, 2011). Purposive, quota -random sampling was executed when one of the research sites was dropped due to circumstances that were beyond my control.

It was easy to perform non-random sampling because the sites were known to the researcher from previous non-research visits. The intended number of participants for both survey and individual interviews were sampled. A total of 28 completed surveys were returned from 36 survey questionnaires that were given out, and a total of 16 individual and two focus group interviews were conducted. The non-random sampling method that was used to sample the survey and interview respondents and participants was time- friendly. Between December 2012 and February 2013, the final survey was completed. Following the survey between March and April 2013, the interviews were conducted and completed.

3.3 Quantitative data and analysis

A survey of migrant households in five urban settlements was used to generate the quantitative data for this research (Appendix I) using these sub-research questions:

- RQ1: What important role have migrants had on sustainable development in PNG?

- RQ3: What livelihood strategies could be maintained to support migrants in urban settlements in PNG?

The variables measured were age, sex, marital status, income generation, amount of income and level of education of the migrant heads of household. Other open-ended questions sought information on: the reason for coming to Port Moresby; income generating activities; the kinds of support received from friends and families within Port Moresby and the services that are absent or present in their settlements.

The analysis of the quantitative data (survey) took several procedures. Raw data was 'cleaned' and coded with demographic information for each participant thoroughly checked. ID numbers were given to completed survey. Then both closed and open-ended items (questions), together with the responses, were coded which were then entered into Microsoft Excel Windows 2010. After the coded data were entered in Excel, more cleaning was done; numerical values were given to responses according to categories and themes. The coded data were then opened in SPSS for analysis.

The SPSS software, Student Version 1.8, provided simple and quick options for analysing coded data in a short period of time, although it required some time to learn the basic features and interfaces of this software. The simple descriptive statistics in the results chapter (Chapter 4) were generated from SPSS.

3.4 Qualitative data and analysis

In-depth and group interviews were used to collect qualitative data for this study. The interviews were based on the qualitative concepts drawn from the following specific research questions (Chapter 3 introduction):

- RQ2: Why do people relocate to urban settlements in spite of the poverty they experience?
- RQ3: What livelihood strategies could be maintained to support migrants in urban settlements in PNG?

These questions provided the guide to group and individual interview questions (Appendix II & III).

The information gathered from qualitative data were: household and individual migrant experiences; social networks; cultural bonds; capability/ability to access materials; education and practical skills (De Haan, 2000, p. 13) and justification for settlement residence in Port Moresby.

Transcription and coding were used to analyse the qualitative data. The specific data were examined to identify general themes that emerged from the data, which were used to understand the meaning of the data (Creswell, 2005). The first step is to transcribe the interviews. The next step involved reviewing the transcribed data. Re-reading the data several times helped to confirm initial themes that were noted. After editing translations and coding, the data was divided into themes and categories. Then the data was reviewed again under each theme that coincided with the survey results. Sub-themes were also identified and presented under each main theme that also acted as sub-sections. Quotes were selected that best illustrated the meaning of the theme are provided in Appendix V.

3.5 Data storage

Storage of data was important, given the ethical requirements for dealing with participant information. Individual interviews were given the highest importance. Both survey and interview data were kept in a locked drawer in the researcher's office allocated by the research supervisor.

3.6 Data Limitations

Sampling for the survey was restricted to only five settlement sites and interviews were restricted to only four of these five sites. The research findings may be biased as individual migrant experiences at other settlement locations may not be the same. So the findings may reflect experiences of migrants at the research sites only and not the larger population living in the wider peri-urban settlements within Port Moresby.

4. SUMMARY OF QUANTITATIVE & QUALITATIVE RESULTS

The simple descriptive statistics of survey data are presented in tables and graphs and attached here as Appendix V. Accordingly, the interview data were analyzed according to the main themes. Some of the quotes are attached here as Appendix VI under each theme.

4.1 Justification for entrance and residence in peri-urban settlement

First, access to financial benefits and basic services were the most important reasons for coming to peri-urban Moresby. Secondly, negative, as well as, positive social factors, especially dysfunctional marital relations, encouraged movements to peri-urban settlements. Thirdly, and the most interesting of the findings was that the peri-urban settlements provided the cheapest and most affordable accommodation to public servants, private firm and NGO workers (those who had employment and earned wages). It was interesting because settlements were publically generalized as havens for criminals and desperate citizens. If the employed people are basically found in the settlements, then rural to peri-urban migrants only follow what the others are doing: that is migrating to the peri-urban settlements. This research revealed that many formal job holders and respectable office workers also resided in the settlements and travelled to their work places. The implication is for proper land mobilization for formal government employees (housing) and give chance to rural to peri-urban migrants to access land. Finally, settlements provided the closest distance for people to access funds and entitlements.

4.2 Livelihood activities and strategies

There were six main household livelihood strategies that were analyzed and presented. First gardening and marketing were the main strategy executed by migrant households. Secondly, formal as well as informal non-regular job employments were identified as another main strategy for income earning for settlers. Thirdly, living within a settlement dominated by people from common/same culture and language was beneficial. But it was also noted that those who had no cultural/family connections found it hard to gain support in times of need. Fourthly, it was noted that within the household, the responsibilities of financial income were shared among members. Finally, it was analyzed that informal household loans were a strategy for obtaining income during the 'lose week', when 'earned' money was not available.

4.3 Contribution to urban development

Interview findings outlined what contributions migrants made to the development of the city. It was shown that migrants perceived that they contributed highly in the beautification and outlook of the city. General cleaning and physical maintenance of the city, both inside the offices and outside the building and physical road construction was done by contract workers and employees residing in settlements. This was presented as a major contribution to development in the city. Another finding that revealed settlers' contribution to urban development in the capital was with the provision of fresh produces that help meet the food demand of the general urban population.

4.4 Benefits

The analysis of an open-ended question demonstrated that benefits were identified to be present in Port Moresby and easily accessed. The majority of the respondents benefited from these basic services such as health, education, efficiency to law and order, road infrastructure and transportation, water supply and electricity, banking services and easy access to telecommunications. These benefits were the main reasons why people moved to the peri urban areas in the first place. However, many stated that proper housing schemes should be developed and established in all peri-urban locations in Port Moresby, as part of the most needed services.

4.5 Problems

Interview findings showed that most of the problems were financial and basic services issues: lack of a reliable income and available finance; absences of proper road networks; housing problems; people's uneducated attitudes and issues regarding the unemployed youths.

4.6 Perceptions and expectations

It was observed that all participants desired an improvement in basic service delivery in their settlements. An analysis of interview findings showed that there were opposing perceptions. One set of migrants blamed the government for the absence of basic services. Another group of migrants

blamed other migrants for being negative, disorganized and for not being pro-active in organizing the provisions of basic services. The blame on the government was justified by the deteriorating state of basic infrastructures such as degraded state of the road networks into settlements; the lack of proper water supplies, sewerage system and electricity in the settlements; and the scattered transactions points, such as markets. Significant majority of the migrants blamed the government for the lack of proper housing schemes and house allotments in formal settlements, as a means of discouraging overcrowding and sanitation problems.

5. DISCUSSION

From the summary of the main findings, several points have arisen and are important for noting and discussion. Entrance and residence at peri-urban settlements is often justified by migration, reflecting Litau's (2009) explanation of internal migration in PNG as "multifaceted and nonlinear" (p.282). Migration occurs from rural to peri-urban, peri-urban to peri-urban, urban to urban or peri-urban to rural locations. The justifications are mostly economic and social. Employment, education, economic opportunities, positive or negative family relationships and access to basic services motivated peri-urban relocations in this study. Migration is completed, and settlement is sometimes permanent when stable livelihoods are accessed and established by a household. Building a house, producing food from gardens for household consumption, accessing markets for selling surpluses (Litau, 2009) and other mobile goods, employment (formal or informal), money lending (informal loan) and living in a community of shared culture and language make livelihoods stable, thus prolonging migrants' stay in the settlements. These complete the process of relocation and sometimes result in permanent residence.

The quantitative data shows that easy access to proper education and health services; access to loan and banking services; access to water supply and electricity; access to telecommunications and

efforts to create space and maintain sanitation in the settlements further cement residences in peri-urban settlements which are sustainable livelihoods for migrants (Litau, 2009). The descriptions and explanations of residence in settlements should be holistically provided and not generalized as eyesores and places for breeding criminals and havens for desperate people. Accessibility to sustainable livelihood strategies, which are made possible by enabling environments (effective laws and realistic plans and policies), should be created and maintained for sustaining capabilities and capitals as seen in the MLF framework (Section 2.1.2, Figure 2.1). Some qualitative findings suggest that proper housing schemes and allotments should be provided to assist settlers to have full access to development benefits and also take part in the development processes within the urban locations. These have a reciprocal effect of minimizing urban poverty experienced in the settlements and are potential links to achieving sustainable socio-economic development not only at the household levels but in Papua New Guinean cities and towns.

Internal migration toward peri-urban locations, as experienced in Port Moresby, is due to socio-cultural expectations, responsibilities and obligations for relationship building and strengthening (Lee, 1966 & Litau, 2009) referred to as social capital in the MLF framework. In the MLF social capital is one of the key assets that people use in diversifying their livelihood pursuits livelihood opportunities. Embracing suitable livelihood adaptation strategies (McDowell & De Haan, 199; De Haan, 2000; Ellis, 2003) can assist people in staying in the peri urban areas. Findings from individual migrants, mostly females who have escaped rejection from family members, found they can survive in the urban settlements if they employ livelihood adaptive strategies (employment, networking and marketing) and contribute back to sustain social relationships in both their peri-urban residences and home villages. The outcome of this is one, it gives personal freedom for livelihood choices and two it transmits finance, material goods, information, etc. to the origin household and back. At the community level, this transmission may create or maintain for example, transportation network for

easy access to these goods. When accessibility is made easier, then provincial and national goals of transferring services to the local regions are achieved through sustained networks. Thus, migration to peri-urban areas not only strengthens other aspects of a migrant's life and his/her household (at current residence and origin) but also contributes to and sustains development in the community, province and the country.

Realization of dreams and aspirations, and anticipation of a better life that is offered in the city motivate households to migrate to peri-urban locations. The dreams and aspirations maybe for their own or for their origin's household. Quantitative findings confirmed that individuals and households perform various livelihood activities (Ellis, 2003) including gardening, selling or employment, networking and education to achieve both theirs and origin household's dreams and aspirations. Further, the qualitative findings established that migrants move into peri-urban locations to satisfy their social, economic and physical needs for upward mobility (Ravenstein, 1885; Lee, 1966).

This is where household stability is achieved when they engage in different socio- economic livelihoods other than maintaining social relationships only. Both quantitative and qualitative findings have shown that peri-urban settlements are more affordable proximal places than other urban locations in the city. Both employed and unemployed migrants in Port Moresby choose to live in these settlement areas due to affordable accommodation. These locations also have access to a wide range of benefits (Litau, 2009). Thus, migration itself is a household livelihood strategy (De Haan, 2000; Ellis, 2003) in PNG for accessing benefits and contributing to development in urban centres.

Both quantitative and qualitative findings have confirmed that migrant households engage in a variety of livelihood activities that contribute largely to the urban informal sector growth (Kavan,

2013). The immediate demands of the urban population are met with fresh food production, and mobile goods and services. Fresh food sold in regulated and unregulated markets; sales of newspapers, bikes, footwear, etc., although unviable, reduce time and distance coverage for commuters. They also mitigate high prices of fresh foods in major supermarkets which are not affordable to average wage earners. Additionally, qualitative findings confirmed that informal loans or moneylending (known as '*dinau*' in PNG) established by Umezaki & Ohtsuka (2003) are a source of income for settlers. The loan of money is consistent if a household's source of income is stable but it is inconsistent when household income sources are exhausted or limited.

Additionally, settlements are potential urban spaces that mitigate several macro-level issues. First, qualitative explanations present the view that the labour needed for construction, landscaping and beautification of Port Moresby is dependent on the labour of the migrants from the settlements. Contract labourers and informal employees are sourced from peri-urban settlements. This implies that while being a livelihood strategy for rural households at a micro level, migration to peri-urban locations contributes to the macro outlook or physical transformation of urban centres and meets the economic needs of households.

Second, creation of settlements in PNG urban centres, as explained today, is a post-contact phenomenon that began in the 1800s and is not a new concept. Historically, migration for economic opportunity was introduced to Papua New Guineans through contract labour and settlement creation evolved as a result of colonial administration (Levine & Levine, 1979; Coiffier, 1992; Waiko, 1993). Thus, settlements are here to stay and will be the only link between rural regions and the urban centre.

Third, peri-urban settlements provide cheaper housing provision for the urban poor and average wage earners. Settlements provide the most cost-effective means of alleviating the high cost of

housing and rental accommodations in the city. Living expenses have been on the rise in the urban centres and have become a major burden on households, thus encouraging high levels of poverty in urban Port Moresby, confirming what Storey (2010) and ESCAP/CPR (2007) extrapolated and explained. To emphasize how expensive it is for average wage earners to pay rental bills and other expenses, part of an interview quote is suggesting settlements to be cheaper accommodation sites:

[...Sampla taim, mi save wok ovataim na kisim K360 or K370. Mi sai baim kaikai wantaim wanpla K100, baim rent wantaim K200 na givim K40 lo papa na mama lo baim hatwok blo tupla...]

...Sometimes, I would work overtime to get K360-K370. I used to buy our food with K100, pay our rent with K200 and give K40 or so to my parents as reward...

Moreover, the need to look for cheaper accommodation is met by 'wantoks' (clansmen or people of the same origin, culture or language) living in a settlement (Barber, 2003). Wage earners who have wantoks living in the settlements often benefit because they receive support through cheaper accommodation. When the need for housing is met by a wantok, the wage earner wantok is able to contribute more to household living expenses. This reiterates the conventional explanation of migration as necessary for social progress (Ravenstein, 1885; Lee, 1966) where social networks are present. It is advantageous for wage earners to have access to cheaper accommodation in peri-urban settlements, thus relieving the strain of the high cost of accommodations in formal residences in Port Moresby. Provision of cheap accommodation to wage earners itself is a stable livelihood strategy for the settlers as a source of income.

Finally, a noteworthy theme that emerged from the quantitative data (see Appendix V, Tables 4.7, 4.8 & 4.9) shows an unexpected picture about non-remittance and lack of network assistance. **This result has demonstrated the strain that the highly monetized lifestyle is having on household incomes and its effect on average wage earning families living in the city. This trend is likely**

to grow with the increasing monetized and commoditized nature of city life, affecting immediate support networks that Papua New Guineans have been heavily relying on for a long time.

In summary, the discussions of the findings point to migration in and between peri-urban and urban locations as a livelihood adaptation strategy in PNG for many reasons including those social and economic reasons. Migration to peri-urban areas is an outcome of individuals attempting to access more services. In doing so, they utilize household livelihood strategies to obtain some form of social and economic security.

6. CONCLUSION

There are important conclusions that can be made from the discussion of the findings. The main conclusions that are made in this section are presented according to the three sub-questions that guided the research findings.

Firstly, **what important role have migrants had on sustainable development in PNG?** From the discussion of the findings in Section 5.1, it can be concluded that peri-urban migrant role is mainly the creation and maintenance of sustainable livelihood through economic transactions such as marketing and employment or social networking such as supporting/helping that raises social capital but through economic reasons. Migrants provide sustainable human resource that is highly sourced for continual transformation and physical development of urban centres. The sustained beautification and outlook of the urban centres are dependent on sustainable physical labour. The cheaper means of fresh food production and provision of it to the general urban population has been sustained largely by migrants for a long time. Although unviable, peri-urban settlements have had a long-standing record of housing many urban families since European contact (1800s) and will continue to do so.

Migrants' employment and participation in social programs such as church activities contribute to

their growth as worthwhile citizens. Thus, contribution to sustainable development in PNG is mediated through peri-urban migration when stable livelihoods are created and maintained at the household, community and provincial levels.

In conclusion to the second question, **why do people relocate to urban settlements, in spite of poverty they experience?** Several factors can be deduced from the themes as the main motivation for migration despite urban poverty. Economic pursuits especially employment remain the main motivation for internal migration. Access to basic services such as education, health, telecommunication, etc. and stable livelihoods (formal or informal) attract people to migrate to peri-urban locations. The laws of pull factors in migration (Ravenstein, 1885) are seen in operation here where positive things in the city draw people to migrate toward urban centres. On the other hand, negative family relationships have emerged as the key issue for female-headed households to migrate which are recognised as push factors. Further, social-cultural bonding remains the conventional motivation for migration. The push-pull model in migration displayed here does complete the process of relocation and result in prolonged residence in the peri-urban locations.

Finally, in answer and conclusion to the third question, **what livelihood strategies could be maintained to support migrants in urban settlements in PNG?** Several livelihood strategies have been identified from literature and research findings. These include access to employment; access to proper education and health services; access to socio-cultural networks; access to loan and banking services; access to water supply and electricity; access to telecommunications and efforts to create space and maintain sanitation in the settlements further cement residences in peri-urban settlements. The above are easily accessed in the urban locations than in the rural locations and so, using their constitutional freedom, people move to the urban centres for a chance to benefit from these services. Thus, these become sustainable livelihoods for them (Barber, 2003; Litau, 2009; Kavan, 2013). Many migrants have expressed that easy access to these services has given them more opportunities to upgrade their educational levels or increase income opportunities, which are not possible in the rural

locations. These are genuine justifications for internal migration given the fact that accessibility to basic services in the rural locations is absent or minimal despite government allocation for rural development.

However, at the national level internal migration has been a political contestation since independence. Development policies are against migration which has resulted in unpopular demolition and eviction of peri-urban settlement residences. But despite its different forms and nature, internal migration is encouraged by the National Constitution which dictates citizens' movements anywhere to participate in any form of economic activity. Migration to peri-urban locations has resulted in livelihood creation through employment, income generation, access to basic services and enhanced social networks between the peri-urban and rural locations. Therefore, these outcomes have fulfilled the intentions of the constitution and criminalizing rural to peri-urban migration itself is highly contestable as well. So there is an outstanding need to realign policies and positive livelihood experiences of migrants and constitutional rights that guide migration.

Further, the key to maintaining migrant livelihoods is the enabling environment. In the MLF framework (Section 2.1.2, Figure 2.1), the enabling environment includes the transforming structures such as relevant public and private stakeholders - at district, provincial and national levels - and the processes such as effective policies, laws and institutions that guide migrant activities and development processes within the urban centres. Effective policies and laws may help to reduce risks posed by poverty issues referred to as vulnerabilities in the MLF framework. In turn, this may provide economic security and increase livelihood opportunities for people in the peri-urban locations to further diversify their livelihoods. This may lead to sustainability of assets and capabilities which is referred to as improved livelihoods in the MLF framework.

Having considered the discussion, this paper concludes that creating and maintaining stable

livelihood strategies at the household level, provides the starting point to address poverty issues experienced in the peri-urban communities. And instead of regarding residences at peri-urban settlements as negative, they should be regarded as a positive link to urban development given that settlement lands are legally accessed. Directing finances, infrastructure and planning into these areas, such as improving sewerage, sanitation, water and electricity, improves all areas of urban existence. When that is achieved, communities are developed, households are empowered and individual capabilities may be fully utilized and sustained which could lead to a holistic development in the country. Thus, this paper maintains that internal migration is a household livelihood strategy in PNG that provides an avenue for people to contribute to and access development benefits in the absence of basic services and employment opportunities in the rural districts.

7. LIMITATIONS

There were several limitations encountered in this study. Firstly, the study was limited to only five peri-urban sites in Port Moresby with less than thirty-five households participating. Thus, the result may not be generalized to the wider migrant population. Secondly, the concurrent mixed method research approach was not fully exhausted, due to time limitations. Extended household observations and in-depth study of household livelihoods may have provided more insight and information. Finally, it was difficult, at times, to collaborate with contact persons at each research site, as they were employed or engaged in daily personal activities, such as marketing. Thus, full participation to assist the researcher with data collection did not eventuate.

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List of Appendices

APPENDIX I: SURVEY INSTRUMENT

(A) Detail(s) of Participant:

Please, tick (√) the appropriate box and provide necessary information below:

1. Sex: [Yu Man/Meri?] Male[Man] Female[Meri]
2. Marital status[Yu marit?]: Single [Singe] Married [Marit] Divorced[Lo brukim marit] Separated [Lusim man/meri] Widowed [Man/meri dai pinis]
3. Age [Krismas]: _____
4. Province of origin [Ples/provins yu kam lo en] : _____
5. Highest Education Level [Levol blo yu bin kisim] : _____
6. Your length of stay here? [Hamas pela mun or krismas yu stap lo hia?]: _____

(B) Survey Questions [Ol Askim]

There are **16** survey questions. Please, read the questions carefully and put a tick (√) where there are boxes for your answers. Where there are blank spaces, please write your answers. Please provide honest answers to the best of your ability. [Plis putim tik (√) long rait pela bokis olsem ansa bilong yu. Na raitim ol narapela ansa long ol spes tamblo lo ol askim].

1. Why did you come to Port Moresby? [Bilong women na yu bin kam stap long dispela ples?]
 - Employment/economic opp. [Wok]
 - Study [Skul]
 - Visit family/friends [Lukim famili/frens]
 - Raised here [Bon long hia]
 - Others. Please specify: [Narapela as tinting] _____

2. Why are you still living here? [*Bilong wonem nay u stap yet long hia?*]

3. What is your main source of income while here in Port Moresby? [*Yu save mekim/kisim moni lo wonem rot long hia long Mosbi?*]

- Employed
- Self-employed
- Market
- Skilled vending
- Trade store
- Others.

4. How much do you make in each fortnight? [*Yu save wokim/kisim hamas long wanpela fotnait?*]

- K151- K250 K251- K350 K351- K450 K451- K550 K551 >

5. (a) What do you spend most of your income on? List four important expenditures. [*Yu save usim moni blo yu long wonem samting? Plis raitim 4 pela samting long spes tamblo.*]

(b) Who do you share your money to here in Port Moresby apart from relatives? [*Husait narapela lain ino famili bilong yu tasol yu save sore na givim moni bilong yu*]

6. How often do you send money home? [*Yu save salim money hamaspela taim long wanpela iar?*]

- Yearly Quarterly Monthly On request Do not

7. (a) How many people have you made friends with in Port Moresby? [*Yu gat hamas pela gutpela frens blo yu hia long Mosbi*]

- 0-5 6-10 11-15 16-20 21-25 26-30 31-35 36-40 41>

(b) List 3 important kinds of support you get from them.

8. (a) How many relatives do you have, who are also living here in Port Moresby? [*Hamas pela ol famili or wantok bilong yu stap hia long Mosbi?*]

6-10 11-15 16-20 21-25 26-30 31-35 36-40 41>

(b) How often do you get support from these relatives?

Always Sometimes Never

(c) If you get support from relatives, list 3 important kinds of support you get. [*Sapos yu save kisim sapot/halavim long ol famili or wantok hia long Mosbi, raitim 3 pela impoten support yu save kisim*].

9. What do you do to keep the environment clean around your area?

10. Did you know the physical condition of the place that you would live in before you moved in?

Yes No not sure

11. Are there any activities that people in your community do to keep your area clean?

Yes. List the activities. [*Yes. Wonem samting ol i save mekim*]

No. Why? [*Nogat. Bilong wonem?*]

12. List the most important services that you benefit from while living here in Port Moresby
[Long spes tamblo,raitim ol impoten sevis yu save kisim taim yu stap hia lo Mosbi].

13. If you were the governor of N.C.D, what would be the first priority in your list of development in this settlement? [Sapos yu gavana bilong Mosbi, wonem fespela samting bai yu karim i kam insait lo dispel community/setolmen?]

14. What do you think is the most important factor that is causing people from rural areas to move into Port Moresby? Tick (✓) the most appropriate box according to your experience. [Yu ting wonem samting stret save mekim ol man/meri lo ples kam istap lo Mosbi? Put dispela mak (✓) long raitpela ansa bilong yu].

- Employment or Economic opportunities (opportunities for money)
- Education opportunities
- Entertainment opportunities

15. List at least 2 human activities that affect the community and the natural environment in this settlement. [Wonem kain ol bagarap ol man i save mekim insait long dispela setolmen we i save barapim community na gutpela lukluk bilong dispel setolmen?]

16. Suggest two (2) ways through which you and others can contribute positively to development in Port Moresby [Raitim 2 pela rot we yu na ol narapela insait long hia i ken wokim long helpim lo development bilong Mosbi]

THE END OF SURVEY QUESTIONS [PINIS BILONG OL ASKIM]

Please refer to the note to participant

[Lukim toksave]

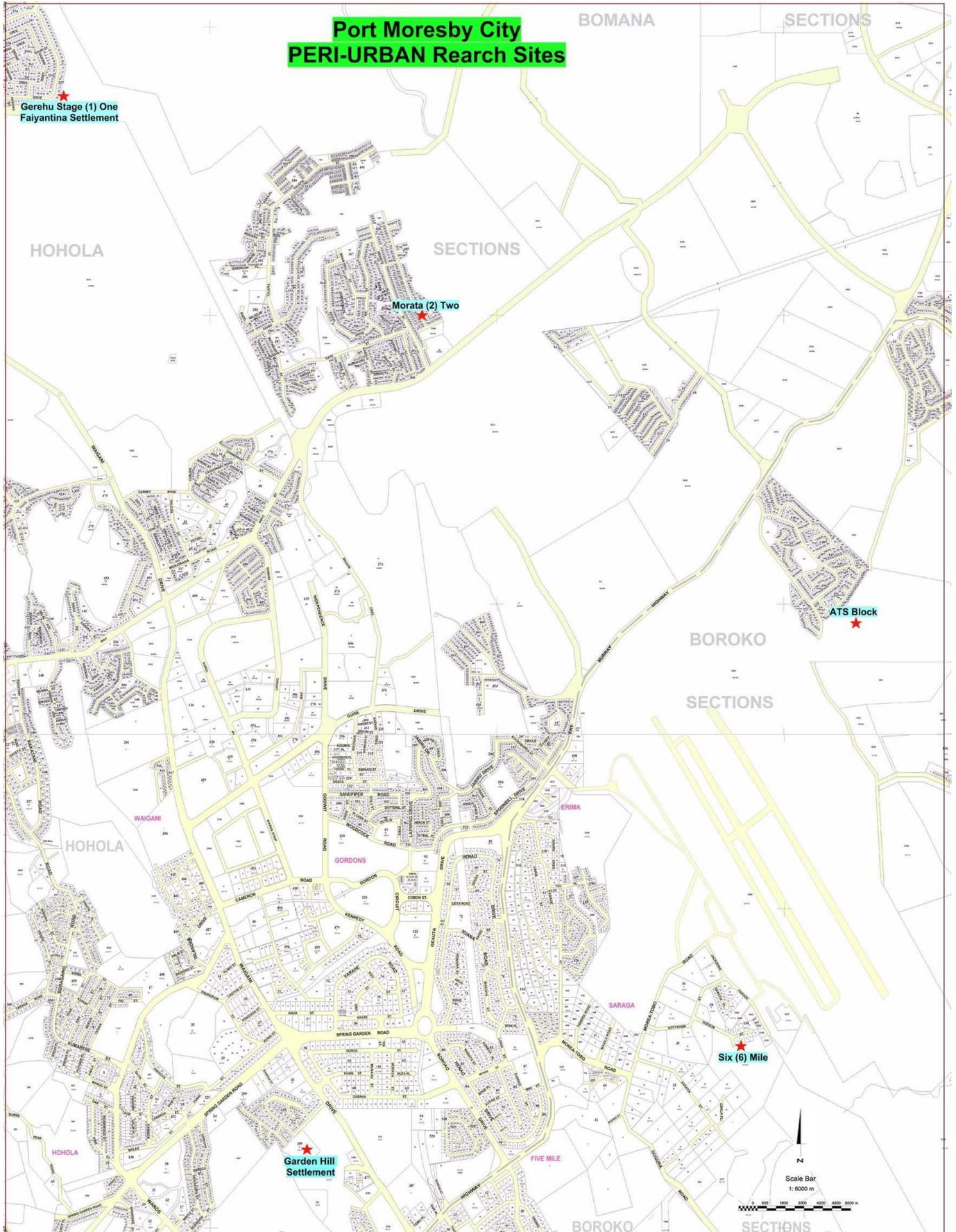
APPENDIX II: FOCUS GROUP INTERVIEW GUIDE

1. Describe some activities that support people who are living in this settlement. [*Stori lo sampela rot/wok we ol man i save mekim lo sapotim sindaun bilong yupela lo hia*].
2. What are some things that people do and spoil the community and the natural environment? [*Stori lo sampela ol samting ol man/meri save mekim we bagarapim gutpela lukluk bilong community na environment lo hia*].
3. What can be done to provide a good place for you all to live in?
[*Wonem ols ampela samting yupela ting i mas kamap long helpim gutpela sindaun bilong ol man/meri long dispela settlement?*]
4. Describe some ways through which you as settlers have contributed to the positive development of Port Moresby. [*Yupela ting olsem wonem, ol man/meri kam long narapela provins i helpim long developim Mosbi? Stori long sampela rot we ol helpim long gutpela developmen long Mosbi.*]
5. What are the biggest problems experienced in this settlement?
[*Wonem ol sampela bikpela hevi i save stap lo ol setolmen we planti ol manmeri lo narapela provins i stap lo em?*]

APPENDIX III: INDIVIDUAL INTERVIEW GUIDE

1. Please tell me briefly about yourself and why you come to live in this settlement. For how long have you been staying here? [*Inap yu stori liklik long yu yet? Bilong wanem na yu bin kam hia? Yu bin kam stap hamas pela mun or krismas long hia nau?*]
2. Describe the things you do to support your spouse and your children (if any). What major problems do you encounter as the head of household? Where do you mostly get your support from? [*Stori long sampela wok or samting we yu save mekim long kisim moni or halvim lo sapatim man/meri na pikinini bilong yu long taim yu stap long dispela setolmen? Wanem ol sampela bikpela hevi we yu save bungim olsem het bilong femili? Yu save kisim bikpela sapat long we/husat?*]
3. Describe some things that you like about living here in this part of Port Moresby. Describe some things that you do not like about your living here in Port Moresby. [*Stori long sampela samting we yu laikim stret istap long Mosbi we i helpim yu long stap moa yet. Stori long sampela samting we yui no laikim stret we nau yu lukim or istap long Mosbi we i mekim yu les long stap long yet.*]
4. Could you tell me why you are still living here? Describe some things that you would like to change in the area you are living now. Who do you think is responsible for those changes? [*Inap yu tokim me, wonem as tingting bilong yu stap yet long hia? Wanem sampela samting yu ting mas gat gutpela senis i kamap long hap we nau yu stap long em? Yu ting em wok bilong husat long kamapim ol dispel senis?*]

APPENDIX IV: MAP OF RESEARCH SITES



APPENDIX V: DEMOGRAPHICS AND SURVEY RESULTS

DEMOGRAPHICS

Table 4.1 Migrant head of households by sex and marital status.

Sex	Frequency	Percent (%)
Male	17	60.7
Female	11	39.3
Total	28	100.0

Marital status	Frequency	Percent
Single	6	21.4
Married	21	75.0
Widowed	1	3.6
Divorced	0	0
Separated	0	0
Total	28	100.0

Mean age: 34

Source: Primary analysis, 2013; N=28

Table 4.2 Head of households by highest level of education.

Level of education	Frequency	Percent (%)
No education	1	3.6
Primary	6	21.4
Secondary	13	46.4
Vocational	2	7.1
Tertiary	6	21.4
Total	28	100.0

Source: Primary analysis, 2013; N=28

Table 4.3 Migrant head of households by province.

Province of origin	Frequency	Percent (%)
A.R.O.B	1	3.6
Central	1	3.6
E.H.P	9	32.1
E.N.B.P	1	3.6
E.S.P	2	7.1
Gulf	1	3.6
Madang	3	10.7
Morobe	2	7.1
Oro	3	10.7
Chimbu	1	3.6
W.H.P	1	3.6
W.N.B.P	1	3.6
W.P	1	3.6
W.S.P	1	3.6
Total	28	100.0

Source: Primary analysis, 2013; N=28

Table 4.4 Years in Port Moresby.

Years	Frequency	Percent (%)
00-04	8	28.6
05-09	6	21.4
10-14	5	17.9
15-19	1	3.6
20-24	3	10.7
30-34	2	7.1
35-39	3	10.7
Total	28	100.0

Source: Primary analysis, 2013; N=28

SURBEY RESULTS

Table 4.5 Motivation for coming to Port Moresby.

Indicators	Frequency	Percent (%)
Economic opportunity	17	60.7
Education	5	17.9
Visit family/friends	3	10.7
Raised here	2	7.1
Other	1	3.6
Total	28	100.0

Source: Primary analysis, 2013; N = 28

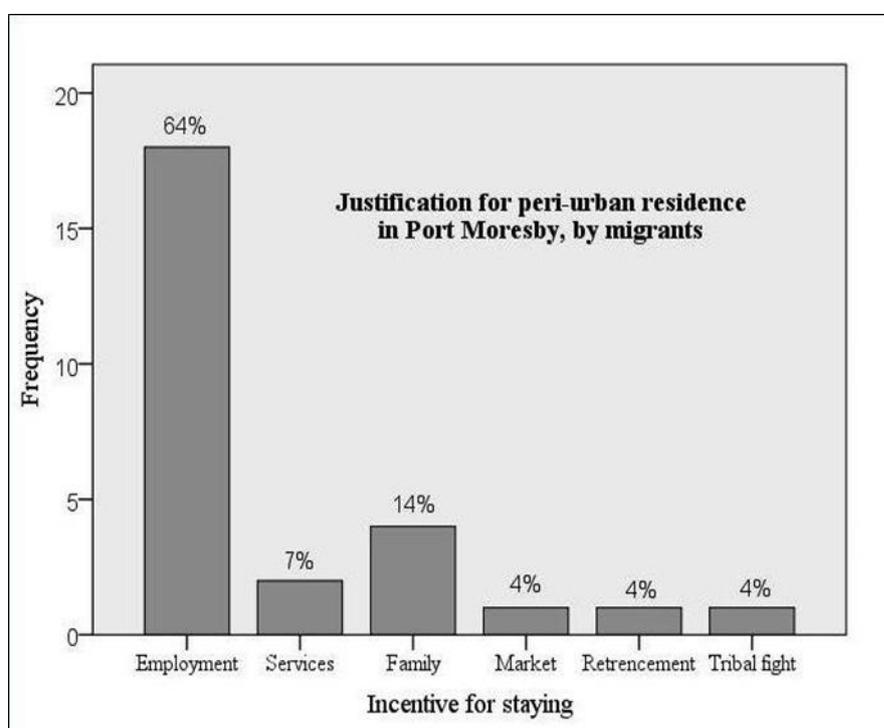


Figure 4.1 Reason for residence at peri-urban Port Moresby. Source: Primary analysis, 2013; N=28

Table 4.6 Income generation and cash made fortnightly

Income generation	Cash made fortnightly (Kina)					Total
	151-250	251-350	351-450	451-550	>551	
Market	62.5% (n=5)	-	25% (n=1)	25% (n=1)	50% (n=3)	38.5% (n=10)
Skilled vending	12.5% (n=1)	25% (n=1)	-	-	16.7% (n=1)	11.5% (n=3)
Trade store	-	25% (n=1)	-	25.0% (n=1)	-	7.7% (n=2)
Self-employed	25% (n=2)	25% (n=1)	-	-	-	11.5% (n=3)
Employed	-	25% (n=1)	75% (n=3)	50% (n=2)	33.3% (n=2)	30.8% (n=8)
Total	100% (n=8)	100% (n=4)	100% (n=4)	100% (n=4)	100% (n=6)	100% (n=26)

Source: Primary analysis, 2013; N=26; Missing = 2

Table 4.7 Categories of expenditure by migrant head of household.

Basic expenses	Frequency	Percent (%)
Basic needs, fees & bills	21	75.0
Social obligation (parents & student siblings, bride price, death)	4	14.3
Leisure activities (socialisation & gambling)	2	7.1
No response	1	3.6
Total	28	100.0
Non-relatives who shared household income		
Friends	21	75.0
Unfortunate & disabled	3	10.7
None	4	14.3
Total	28	100.0

Source: Primary analysis, 2013; N=28

Table 4.8 Categories of expenditure by migrant head of household.

Basic expenses	Frequency	Percent (%)
Basic needs, fees & bills	21	75.0
Social obligation (parents & student siblings, bride price, death)	4	14.3
Leisure activities (socialisation & gambling)	2	7.1
No response	1	3.6
Total	28	100.0

Non-relatives who shared household income		
Friends	21	75.0
Unfortunate & disabled	3	10.7
None	4	14.3
Total	28	100.0

Source: Primary analysis, 2013; N=28

Table 4.9 Intervals of household remittance to origin.

Intervals	Frequency	Percent (%)
Yearly	1	3.6
Quarterly	1	3.6
Monthly	5	17.9
On request (indefinite)	20	71.4
Do not	1	3.6
Total	28	100.0

Source: Primary analysis, 2013; N=28

Table 4.10 Number of friends and relatives of migrant households.

Number of relatives by migrant household, Port Moresby			Number of friends by migrant household, Port Moresby		
Scale	Frequency	Percent (%)	Scale	Frequency	Percent (%)
5-10	13	46.4	5-10	14	50.0
11-20	2	7.1	11-20	2	7.1
21-30	7	25.0	21-30	2	7.1
31-40	5	17.9	31-40	9	32.1
No response	1	3.6	No response	1	3.6

Total	28	100.0	Total	28	100.0
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Source: Primary analysis, 2013; N=28; Missing= 1

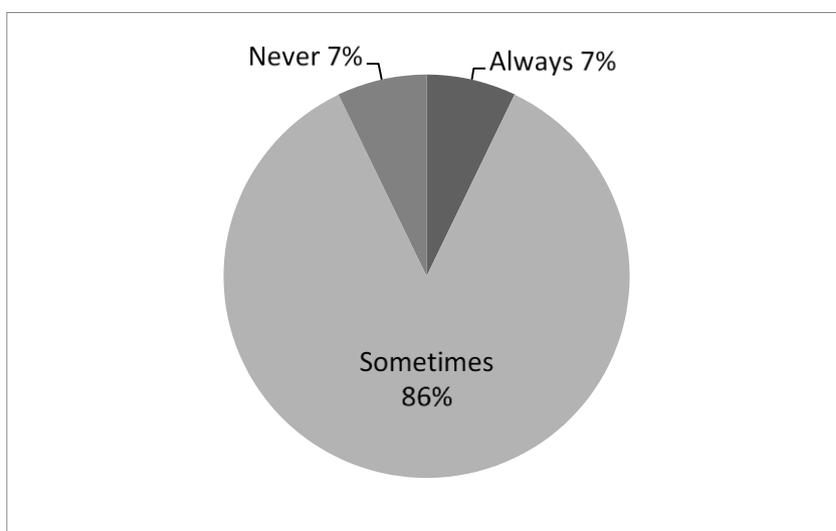


Figure 4.2 Times support received from friends

Source: Primary analysis, 2013; N=28

Table 4.12 Migrant efforts for sanitation benefit.

Cleaning & sanitation	Frequency	Percent (%)
Home & general cleanliness	22	78.6
Do not (not concerned, no time, shy)	5	17.9
No response	1	3.6
Total	28	100.0

Source: Primary analysis, 2013; N=28; Missing=1

Table 4.13 Initial knowledge of living conditions of current residence.

Answer	Frequency	Percent (%)
Yes	10	35.7
No	10	35.7
Not sure	8	28.6
Total	28	100.0

Source: Primary analysis, 2013; N=28

APPENDIX VI: INTERVIEW QUOTES: GROUP AND INDIVIDUAL INTERVIEWS

1. JUSTIFICATION FOR RESIDENCE IN PERI-URBAN PORT MORESBY

[Mipla lusim ples na kam ya, mipla laikim moni. Mipla sai laik wok wok wok na wok lo gaden blo mipla lo painim moni. Mipla sai wokim traiplo hatwok lo mekim moni]

We left home and come because we want money. Our only concern is to work hard: work, work, work and work in our gardens to make money. We do a lot of hard work to create money (Focus group).

[Mipla kam long ples ya, mipla karim ol yut na pikinini blo mipla tu kam long developim ol long ol skul insait lo siti. Planti blo ol skul lo ples ino gat gutpla building na ol tisa ino save stap long klasrum. Skul blo ol pikikini em bikpla samting we i mekim ol papa mama karim ol ikam lo siti. Olsem na ol save panim rot lo mekim moni na sapotim ol pikinini blo ol long go skul na kisim save.]

We came from the villages, bringing with us our youths and children so that they can be developed through education provided in the city. Most of the schools in the rural villages are run-down and often, teachers are not there in the classrooms. Children's education was the important reason why parents brought them to the city. And so they look for ways to create money to support their education (Focus group).

Some individuals said:

[Mi laik stap lo Mosbi ya. Blo wonem, lo hia mi ken wokim na gat planti moni. Mi nid lo askim ol frens na wantok na kisim sampla aidia lo sampla rot blo wokim moni].

I want to stay here because Port Moresby is a place where I can easily create and have money. I just need to seek advice from friends or relatives to get some ideas on some creative ways to earn money (Male, individual interview).

[Mi kam long Mosbi long 2009 na mi stap yet. Taim mi kam pastaem, man blong mi na mitupla save stap raun lo rentol rums long ol sampla hap nabaut. Tasol brada blong mi tokim mitupla long kam na stap wantaem em long hia. Mi nonap go long ples bikos man blo mi wok na mi save salim moni. Mi save kisim planti profit lo fotnait taim. Mi no ting bai mi wokim planti moni lo sotpla taim lo ples.]

I came to Port Moresby in 2009 and have been living here since. When I first came, my husband and I lived in rental rooms at several locations until my brother told us to come and live with him here. I cannot go to the village because my husband is working

and I am also 'selling money' (giving money out on loan [informal] for interest) from which I get a lot of profit, especially during fortnights. I do not think I will make lots of money in a short time in the village (Female, individual interview).

[Nau mi gat tupla liklik bois ol go long skul. Mi laikim tupla boi blo mi lo kisim gutpla save. Sapos mi karim tupla go bek lo peles, em bai mi mekim karangi lo tupla boi blo mi ia. Taim tupla gro bikpla na kamap man, bai tupla koros pait wantaim mi long mi no givim tupla sans lo kisim gutpla save, na tupla inonap bai luk save lo mi taim mi lapun.

Olsem na mi mas stap na painim rot long sapotim tupla boi blo mi long go skul na kisim save. Ino displa tasol. Meri blo mi tu wok long Gerehu Sain Jon Klinik. Olsem na mipla save stap long displa setolment.]

Now, I have two small boys who are going to school. I want my boys to have a decent education. If I have to take them back to the village, I will disadvantage my sons.

When they grow up and become men, they will fight with me for not giving them opportunity for better education and they might abandon me in my old age. So I have to stay here and look for ways to support my sons in their education. Not only that, but my wife too is working at the Gerehu St John's Clinic so we are residing here (Male, individual interview).

The good thing that encouraged me to stay here is the ease of access to government services. It's more convenient in the city than in the village. I came here and saw the health services that are efficient for my disabled son. In the village, my son fainted often and fell sick every now and then. It was difficult for me to obtain medication for him. If I had kept him in the village, he would have been dead by now. I came here and saw that I could just go to a nearby clinic and get served because nurses and doctors are always on call unlike in the village. The other reason why I stay here in the vicinity of the city is because of the presence of advanced technology in the city. It sustains and makes life easier but it is absent in the village. That's why I want to stay in the settlement in the city (Female, individual interview).

[Mi kam hia long Mosbi taim mi singol man yet. Mi lainim pinis hao long stap long siti. Mi fittim mi yet insait long siti laif so em bai had long mi long go bek long ples blong mi. Sapos mi go, em bai teikim mi longpla iar long fittim mi yet go bek long ples laif ia mi lusim long taim igo pinis.]

I came here to Port Moresby when I was single. I have learnt how to live in the city.

I have fitted into the city lifestyle so it will be hard for me to go back to my home village. If I have to go, it will take me years to adapt to the rural lifestyle that I abandoned some years ago (Male, individual interview).

[Mi no tingting long stap long hia tasol mi lukim olsem mi no fit long mekim gaden long ples olsem ol meri long ples ia.]

I am not thinking of staying here but I see that I am not fit to make gardens in the village in comparison to the women folk back there (Female, individual interview).

I came here to complete my tertiary education at UPNG in 2000. When I finished my studies in 2004, I have been working and living here since then. I live and work in the city because life is more competitive than at home. Work related challenges are absent at home and most of the companies are located here in Port Moresby which makes it easier for me to get assistance with work. My specialty is Information Technology and so this is the place where my IT knowledge and skills are put in highly challenging work environment and are enhanced. Even though life at home is less expensive with freely grown food, there is no access to some things that challenge my thinking capacity at the level of my education (Male, individual interview).

[Mi laik stap long displa setolment bikos long hia inogat nois. Pastaim mi save stap long em setolment ya, planti nois, ol spakman save fait na planti koros, kain olsem na mipla ino save silip gut. Long hia, nogat nois na fait. Yu bai silip gut long nait. Em olse na mi laik stap yet long hia.]

I like to live in this settlement because it is new and quiet. In my previous settlement, there was a lot of noise, drunkards fighting, constant arguments, etc. and we would hardly sleep. But in here, it is very quiet although people drink beer. There is minimum noise and fights. You get to sleep well at night. That is why I like staying here (Female, individual interview).

In-depth Interview I

My dad came and started work here with Bishop Brothers in 1997. After 3 years, he purchased tickets for the family so mum and all of us joined him here in 2000. We came

and were residing at Gerehu. But due to long distances to school and work place, my dad decided that we should come to this block (ATS). We came up and stayed at the residence of one of my uncles. Initially, we put up a tent and lived in it. My dad built a permanent house which is the family house now.

I was working at a nightclub while living here. I met Obert (husband) here in 2011. We got married even though my parents disagreed. I had pity on him because he came from a broken home. His dad left him and his mother. At that time my husband was not working so I provided for everything. I rented a room in one of the houses just down the block and we used to live in there. When my parents here heard that I was living with Obert, they asked me to come over so I came up and they talked with me and released me to live my own life. So Obert and I lived as a couple on our own.

Just after few a days, his mum came over and we stayed together because Obert's dad got married to another woman. When my mother-in-law came over, I found it very difficult to provide for everything. I paid our rent and bought our food. One day, while I was at work, an old boyfriend came and started an argument with me which resulted in my loss of job. After a few days, our food ran out so I started thinking of where to get help.

I came and cried in front of my mother and father. They scolded me for my stupid decision. Then they gave me K300. With the money, I came and bought some food with a K100 and paid our rent of K200. During that week, I cried and prayed that I would find a job. That week, I went to Erima and met a good friend of mine who told me that they needed a cashier at the shop she was working in. So when I went and saw their boss, I was given the job.

While working there, I met all our needs. Sometimes, I would work overtime to get K360-K370 fortnight. I used to buy our food with K100; pay our rent with K200 and give K40 or so to make my parents happy. Sometimes I used to 'dinau' (get loan from someone who was selling money) K30 or K40 to buy our food. My mother used to help me get money on loan (from someone in the block) and repay it. I could not save up some money in a month. It was difficult taking care of my husband, my mother-in-law and me. I could not even assist my parents as they expected me to.

So I came and cried again to my parents and lied that Obert's father does not help us, when in fact we never lived on Obert's father's expenses. But I explained that he is living with another woman, which was the truth. We do not have anybody to assist us. I asked my parents if they can give us a space to come and build a house for ourselves. But my dad did not consent. When I went back to my rental room, I earnestly prayed to God to work on my parents' hearts to allow us a little space to build our house. I went again to talk to my parents. This time, I cried really hard. They told me to come in the morning but I went to work and came in the afternoon. When we went to my parents' house, they said it was okay; we can come and live with them in my small sister's room. So we came and stayed here again with my parents. I saved up some money to put up a house for us. My cousins from home came so I gave some money to Obert to buy pieces of unwanted timbers from town. Within a few days, my cousin brothers completed building the frame and the flooring. The walls were up. In the next few days, I could not buy the roofing iron. I asked Obert and his mum to help but they could not. I could not keep asking my parents for everything, either. So I started doing overtime work again and saved K300. I went to one of the Asian shops and asked for discount. But luckily there were some boys there who assisted and gave extra roofing iron sheets for only K50. That was a blessing for me. I got 20 iron sheets which fitted the roof of our new house. My parents helped us with 3 short roofing irons that were used to cover the veranda. When the house was completed, (although rooms were not completed) we moved into our new house. Now, I am pregnant and I ceased working. Sometimes when we need food, my parents assist us. That's how I have come and I am living here (Female, individual interview).

In-depth interview II

There were many reasons that affected my decision to come and reside in this settlement. I came here because my family at home as well as in the city pushed me out. They hated me because I had failed marriages. And the 'kastom' (culture) said if you get married, your husband must give benefits back to parents and relatives, in this case bride price (money and food/goods). That was not fulfilled. So when I gave birth to my child, my family expected the father of the child to meet customary obligations. He left me for another woman and removed me. When that happened and he was not able to meet the customary requirements, I was the subject of hate

and rejection. I was a subject of physical abuse. So when my family threw me out like that, I could not stand it. I am a human being and I've got feelings. So I decided that the only way to help myself is to get out. I had only a Grade ten certificate which was enough to get me at least one decent, odd job. So I got that certificate and my child, and moved away from my family and came to Port Moresby. My family here in Port Moresby too rejected me so I said fine; I will look for a job and reside in the settlement. And so I chose to come and live in this settlement. If I go back home, where will I stay and who will help me? I have nowhere else to go. I will stay and die here in Port Moresby (Female, individual interview).

In-depth interview III

We were at home and my husband left me for another woman when our child was just 12 years old. He left us for about 14 years now. My sister-in-law felt sorry for us so she helped me to come here. She had a baby and wanted me to come and babysit so she paid my airfare. That is why I came here.

Back at home, it's very challenging. I survived by working really hard. I made my garden, grew my food, did marketing and lived like that. But when my husband removed me, I found it hard to live. My sister-in-law felt sorry for me and asked me to come and babysit for her son.

After babysitting for six months, the father of the baby came and took it away so I was just living with my sister-in-law. Someone told me about this cleaning job at the bank. I showed interest and that's how I started my cleaning job at the BSP bank.

My husband came down in 2010 and took me back. But he got involved with someone else again and removed me from his house. So I am here living with my daughter-in-law and her family. They have been good to me and my son.

At home in Pangia (S.H.P), our Prime Minister has sealed the road right into our village, brought water supply and electricity. Transport is easy and people are now living under lights. I can go home but I used to think that life will be the same. I can make money if I do markets at home just like I work and earn money here. But I am not thinking of going home. I know I will struggle and survive so I don't want

to go home.

Also, I do not have a house. If my husband is with me, gives me land and helps me make my garden, builds me a house and looks after me, then I will be happy to go back home. But now, he left me so I can't go home. I work and earn to survive so I want to live in the city even though I get little money.

Sometimes, when my husband meets and beats me up, I used to think of taking him to the police but I used to have pity again and leave it to God to deal with him. I went to child welfare and started processing documents but I left it. I work and earn a living to support my son and myself. I see God's blessing every day too so I stopped processing those papers and the papers are at home. I don't want to go through the long processes of fixing papers. I am not an educated mother. And going to court and all that stuff is stressful too.

I think the government should help support single mothers whose husbands have died or are removed by their husbands. I have no idea about women associations or whatever that other women know about it. There are lots of mothers like me who are living here with four to five children. Their husbands left them for other women. It's a city; they struggle and survive (Female, individual interview).

In-depth interview IV

There are a lot of ways to make my life easier if I leave this block. That is if he removes me as his wife. That would be better. I would be happy to leave. But I cannot get away. Because whenever arguments arise and I go away to my parents at Morata (another peri-urban location in Port Moresby), he usually brings his 'wantoks' (clansmen, friends, people having the same origin, culture and language) in the middle of the night and make loud noises at my parent's residence. He will keep on disturbing and threatening every night until I consent and come with him. That's what he does so we get tired, scared and just stay here.

I take care of the trade store and feed all of us: the two wives of my husband and their children and myself and my children. There are lots of ways to generate income but the problem is our husband is very strict.

He has money (gets royalty payments) but is not educated. He fears that we might abandon him if we get ourselves involved in money generating activities. He does not let us do other things to earn money. He stops and tells us to stay at home all the time. So I have nowhere to go (Female, individual interview).

People come here to work for money but they cannot afford to meet high rental costs at formal residences. They have no choice but to look for cheap accommodation that is cheapest and get into low rental rooms/houses in the settlements. I am working but I do not have an accommodation of my own or cannot afford high rentals in formal residences. Many of us who are working and reside here are in the same boat. The only accommodations we can afford are rental rooms/houses in the settlement or we 'hang around' with relatives in the city (Focus group).

[Mi kam stap lo displa setolment bikos tambu man blo mi singautim kam lo daunim bikpla rentol mi save peim lo pastem haus.]

I am living here in this settlement because I was asked to come and live with my brother-in-law to minimise high rentals that I was paying at the previous residence (Male, individual interview).

[Mi ol lain kam long Central, mipla lusim papa na mama long ples na kam, tasol mipla no save go long ol anti, ankol na ol wanlain blong mipla. Setolment em wanpla ples tasol em mipla ken isi long peim rent na stap.]

Those of us from Central here, we left our parents at home and came but we do not go to our aunties, uncles and all our relatives. The only place we can afford is the settlement (Focus group).

In-depth interview V

I came after some money. I was to be paid some big money with the National Development Bank. It was for a project back in the village. I was supporting the sitting MP back home and I have a company that I registered. I was building roads to connect the villages. And when I was building the roads, I exhausted everything I had. You know, getting assets and all these things. And then the funding for the roads was not forthcoming. So I had to come after those funds. When I came, the political impasse occurred. The member I was supporting was

with the old Somare government. The government fund that was earmarked to be received was in the process with Somare's regime. And then, when the political impasse took place, those who were with Somare's regime were neglected what they were supposed to get. That's why I could not get the funds. Because the opponents that took over from Somare, O'Neil and his team were like political enemies to my political cronies. So they were trying all their best to make sure that we do not get the service, or we could not get access to those things that we were supposed to.

Because I had reports and everything ready in place, the government was satisfied and they were just about to release the money into the company account. But all of a sudden, the political impasse took place. So that forced me to stay.

If I could not take what I came here to take with me, then I'd rather live here for some time and maybe find some gaps or opportunities to access the funds because those funds were already earmarked for that project. By the way, things did not work out so, it's okay. I have already bought some "little things" (a car for taxi services and built a house in the settlement for rent) to help me live in the city. I find that living close to the city, to the offices, would be wiser for me to pursue those funds than to go home (Male, individual interview).

In-depth interview VI

I came here last year (2011). My father was an ex-provincial member of Gembolg (Chimbu Province). He died while he was sorting out his entitlement through the court. His lawyers came out winning the case.

They were supposed to have been paid K109 million but only K30 million was paid. My father was working to get the other K79 million when he died.

Our minister from Chimbu (named) told us that he is now the Minister for solicitor general (Minister for Law and Justice?). He said he will sign the papers and we came. He said he will sign the certificate of judgement and deed of release. So we are still waiting for him to sign the papers. When he signs it, we will get our money and go back. You know, it's a normal thing for the government officers to tell us 'kam tomoro'.

When we turn up, they say 'kam tomoro' again. Their continual 'kam tomoro, kam tomoro' is keeping us waiting.

My husband, my daughter and I are here, living with my elder sister. We are just waiting for this entitlement payment. While waiting, we help my big sister to do marketing to buy food, eat and stay. Once we get our money, we will go back together with the old guys (other ex-provincial members) from Chimbu, Western Highlands and Madang. At the moment, I am helping my sister to do marketing at Gordon's market to support us while we stay with her here (Female, individual interview).

In-depth interview VIII

When I was in Wewak, I was working with Dekenai Construction. While working with the company, I had an accident on my right arm (this individual is without the other arm).

I came to Port Moresby on the 13th of September, 2011. So I am here about one year and six months now. I registered my case with the Public Solicitor Lawyers. I wanted to sue the company for underpayment as compensation for my arm. They did not pay me well with any other benefits for being disabled.

I took this case to the Public Solicitor lawyers but they failed me and time elapsed. You know the government workers. They do not care whether they help you to pursue your case or explain things to you. I was not made aware when the time for my case would elapse and so forth.

I do not know but somehow, my case was dropped. I engaged a private lawyer again to investigate and my lawyer found that the Public Solicitor lawyers were at fault by ceasing this case.

So I told my lawyer to write a statement to the attorney general to give Section 5 notice. Now, I am waiting to get through with court.

See, if I was told by the Public Solicitor lawyer when law of sight or effective time period and when time of elapse would be, my case would have been solved. The state lawyer who handled my case failed me big time.

This is one thing that I saw. The officers of the government and public servants are failing their duties. They do not provide good advice or assist us as they should. Instead, they expect something under the table and if we do not give that, they fail us. Anyway, so now I am here to get my case through.

But when I came here and could not get my case on progress, I found it hard to survive. I was not on the payroll of the company. I have been using my own expense money which has run out.

Even though I have a wife and daughter back at home, I found this lady (current partner) and we are living together in this settlement. She supports me in everything I need. She is supporting me financially, socially and morally. So we help support each other and stay while I am waiting for my claim. If I get my money, I will travel home, visit the family at home and come back here because of her (Male, individual interview).

2. LIVELIHOOD ACTIVITIES AND STRATEGIES

[Lo hamaspla ia go pinis, mi lukim olsem ol lain lo hia, ol save wokim gaden na maket lo sapotim ol yet. Displa rot tasol save helpim ol lo stap. Ol liklik lain tasol lo displa setolmen iwok lo ofis].

In the last how many years that I have been here, I have observed that people live by gardening and marketing. These are the only means through which people earn their living. Only a few people from this settlement have jobs (Focus group).

The good thing about living here is that I can sell cooked food. And when I sell, I have money. So when children cry for food, I get the little money I have made and buy biscuits or stuff like that for them. Our father does not support me so I sell cooked food and hide away the little money I make. I see that market is very good here. When you sell, you make good money in a short period of time (Female, individual interview).

[Long displa kominiti, mipla save kontribiut na helpim taim igat dai i kamap. Mi save tokim olgeta lain lo kam wantaim mak blo moni mi givim lo wanwan manmeri. Olsem

so olgeta lain save kam lo displa moni mak lo taim blo contribution. Long displa wei, mipla sai helpim lo peim airfare na transportation blo dai man lo go planim lo ples.]

In this community, we contribute money to assist when there is a death in a family. I tell everyone the exact amount that each person or family should bring. So everyone comes with that amount on the day of collection. All the money that is collected is given to the family of the deceased. In that way, we help to pay for the airfare and transportation of the deceased to be buried at their homeland.

[Mipla hia lo Central, wonem mipla wokim, mipla save acceptim sapot blong ol long hia. Olsem lo lukaut.]

Those of us from Central here, whatever we do in here we accept support from them especially on security measures (Focus group).

[Mi mekim wantok na mi save stap wantaim ol displa femili. Ol save kolim mi brata blo ol na meri blo mi olsem tambu blo ol. Olsem na lo taim mi sot lo kaikai, mi save kam lo displa femili blo mi na askim ol lo helpim mi. Ol save givim kain olsem K10 or K20 lo baim kaikai blo displa avinun. Mi save baim kaikai na go lo haus.]

I make friends and live with this family. They call me brother and my wife: 'tambu'. So on the days that I run short of food, I come to this family of mine and ask them for their assistance to buy me some food. They usually give me K10 or K20 to buy food for that afternoon. I used to buy our food and go home (Male, individual interview).

I do not get much help. I do not have someone who speaks the same language as me. Who is going to help me? I struggle on my own. But I am thankful that I have a job. I cannot get the support I need but I can 'dinau' (get an informal loan to pay it later with an interest) if they are willing to give me just to buy food. So I live out of this 'dinau' until my next fortnight. In this settlement, I am finding it a bit difficult to survive because I come from a different province, culture and 'tokples' (mother tongue, language, vernacular). I find it difficult to depend on others (Female, individual interview).

I do not get support from anyone in this settlement. Only my children's father feeds us. He shares his fortnight pay with me but when he has 'dinau' (informal

loan to repay) he only gives me K30, K40 or K50 to feed all my six children. I do not get support from anyone else. I don't have a clue on how I should get help from other sources. When I ask for school fees, the children's father tells me to go and look for school somewhere else. He says that he can only pay for the boy's school fees, but for the two girls' fees, he tells me to go and look for it. I have a problem in this place where our father (husband) does not support us with clothing and school fees. My two girls have left school last year because of school fee problems. The little that he gives, we spend for food and so it is very difficult to save up for school fees (Female, individual interview).

[Pastaim mi save stap long em setolment ya, mi gat bikpla femli stap. Mi no save sot long ol samting. Ol anti na ankol save helpim. Nau mi stap long hia ya, mi nogat femili. Mi yet mi stap long hia. Taim mi sot long kaikai, mi no save kaikai. Nogat wanpla save helpim mi. Mi no save go askim lo helpim.]

Where I previously lived, I had my big family (relatives) living around. I have never run short of things I needed. My aunts and uncles helped. Now that I am here, I have no family. I am the only one here. When I run short of food, I go without it. No body helps me. I don't go asking for help (Female, individual interview).

[Mi no save kisim helpim lo ol lain olsem singol mama. Wonem liklik moni mi kisim, mi save badgetim gut na usim gut. Mi no save sumuk o kaikai buai o drink bia. So disla save helpim mi lo saivim na gat moni taim em lus wik. Fait blo mi lo God tu save helpim mi. Mi save askim God long helpim mi lo olgeta samtin na Em save gutpla lo mi. Ol tsets famli save sapotim mi, givim mi gutpla tintin na prei wantaim mi.]

I do not get support from any one as a single mother. Whatever money I earn, I budget it properly and use it wisely. I don't smoke, chew betel nut or take alcohol. So it helps me to save and have money when it is not my fortnight week. My faith in God also keeps me going. I depend on God for everything and He has been good to me. I have been living on His blessings. My church family support, encourage and pray with me (Female, individual interview).

Those of us living here in this settlement provide assistance to our mothers and wives. After they have done the hard work of gardening and harvesting, our male children and fathers load the fresh produce onto wheelbarrows, load them in bags or carry them by hand and sell them around the streets. We do that until we sell all the 'kumu' (greens) and return the money to the mothers. The other assistance is

from our female children who go to school. When they return after school, they come and sit at the market and relieve their mothers until the produce is sold out. The money is given to the mothers. This is then budgeted for school children's lunch and other household needs. That is how we try to help each other in the settlement to make money (Focus group).

3. CONTRIBUTION TO DEVELOPMENT

Many of us here help NCDC. The cleanliness/neatness of the city and whatever dirty jobs that 'hai klas' (those people who work in offices using computers, papers and pens) people cannot do, people from the settlement here do them. This contributes to the beauty of the city. It is the people from the settlement who do the dirty jobs. The Yaka task force (employees of NCD whose main task is to regulate betel nut sales at unregulated spots within Port Moresby city) is a dirty job that people working in the offices will not come down and do. Construction work or fencing or whatever physical work that contractor companies want done, they come to the settlements and hire contract workers to do them. So, I can say that the physical, heavy work that is needed for the development of the State and our city is physically done by the people living in the blocks and settlements (Focus group).

[Insait lo sita ya, mipla 'lead' lo groim na salim fres gaden kaikai lo maket. Na ol lain lo ples lo Central tu save kam maketim gaden kaikai. Ol wantaim mipla, mipla sai 'assistim' ol Papua Nu Gini husait stap insait lo siti wantaim fres kaikai lo maket.]

In the city here, we lead in providing fresh produces at the markets. And rural people from Central come also to sell their garden produce. Together, we assist Papua New Guineans living in the city through our fresh produce markets (Focus group).

[Hevi blo dinau em bikpla lo displa setolmen. Taim ol lain husait boroim moni no peim bek lo taim ol nap lo peim, ol mama papa blo moni sai kam singaut lo moni blo ol. Tasol sapos husait dinau no peim hariap, em nau fait save kirap. Orait bihain taim husait ino bin peim dinau blo em quick, em ino save kisim dinau gen.]

The problem with 'dinau' is huge in this settlement. When those who borrowed money do not pay up on the given date, the lenders come and demand for it. If the loan payment is prolonged, it results in fights. In the future, the person who prolonged his/her loan payment never gets to borrow again from lender (Male, individual interview).

4. PROBLEMS IN THE SETTLEMENTS

[Taim mipla wok lo ol kontrak, sampla taim ol pei blo mipla sai delay. Taim delay lo pei kamap lo displa wik nau, mi no save lo ol narapla femli, tasol lo haus blo mi, meri blo mi wantaim mitupla save koros. Em sai expectim mi lo karim kaikai blo nex wik kam lo haus na taim mi ino karim kam, em sai akim mi lo pei. Em nau mitupla sai stat koros. Displa sai kamap planti taim taim mi wok lo kontrak basis.]

When we work for contractors, sometimes our pays are delayed. When they delay in paying us in that week, I do not know about the others, but at home, my wife and I get into arguments. Because she expects me to provide the food for next week, and when I do not, she asks about the contract payment and that is when we start arguing. It happens a lot of times when I work on contract basis (Focus group).

[Planti ol lain lo hia ino pinisim skul. Ol liklik tasol ol pinisim skul na ol ken andasten. Hevi lo hia ya, em olsem 'pride' ya. Ol displa we no go pinis skul na kisim save tasol ol sai wok lo gaden ya, ol sai 'classifaim' ol yet olsem ol 'survivor' ya. Na mipla we skul na gat save ya, mipla ino sapos lo tokim ol wonem samting lo wokim. Taim mipla tokim ol, ol sai tok : "Yu nonap kam na fidim femili blo mi. Larim mi wokim wonem mi ting mi ken wokim.]

The majority of the people in this settlement are not educated. Only a handful is educated and can understand. There is a problem of pride in this settlement. Those uneducated who work in the garden and produce food classify themselves as survivors. And those of us who are educated and are working are not supposed to tell them what to do. When we want to tell them some good ways of living and earning money, they will say: "You won't come and feed my family. Let me do what I think I am able to" (Focus group).

I hate seeing unemployed youths roaming the streets doing nothing. I do not like seeing young boys saying 'aunty, wanpla 10 toia kam' or 'aunty wanpla K1.00' (meaning, "aunty, give me one 10 toea coin -10 cents or one K1.00 coin - 1 dollar?) This is bad. They just hang around doing nothing. When they are helpless and hopeless, they turn to crime. Some of them do not mean to do it but because they have no money and they cannot be fed properly at home, they steal to survive or maybe steal to sell for money. Youth unemployment is a big problem that has contributed to poverty in the settlement. Sometimes children sit at risky places like the traffic points and beg for money. It's a bad sight and that's a sore in the eye.

And people talk too much about Papua New Guinea being a rich nation and a Christian nation... (Female, individual interview)

[Wonem mi save les long displa setolment ia em olsem: ol yangpla meri save go salim ol yet. Ol save go long klab na hotel na drink na dens. Ol save mekim olsem na stap long siti. Mi harim planti kain samting ol yangpla gels save wokim. Pastaim mi save stap long Sabama. Mi harim olsem ol meri long X taun save wokim disla kain pasin. Narapla samting mi save les long lukim em kaikai buai na spet nabaut nabaut long olgeta hap.]

What I hate here is that many young girls who are not married go out and 'salim ol yet' (get paid for sex). They go drinking and dancing in clubs and hotels. That is how they benefit in this city. I have heard a lot of such things that girls do.

Previously, I used to live in Sabama. I have heard that mostly (named a provincial town) girls do that. The other thing I hate is the chewing and spitting of betel nut everywhere (Female, individual interview).

[Mi tin lo hia lo setolmen, em had tru lo kisim wara. Olgeta dei, mi save karim kontena na wokabout go lo longwe na kisim wara. Mi save lukim ol meri karim traippla traippla kontena lo go kisim wara. Sampla taim mi save ting mipla stap lo Africa we nogat wara lo em. Tasol lo ples, mipla save go tasol na kisim gutpla wara lo wara ron. Displa blok ino olsem ol narapla setolment. igat wara na pawa.]

I think in the settlement, it's hard to get water. Every day I carry containers and walk for some distance to collect water. I see ladies carrying big containers to collect their water. Sometimes I used think we are in Africa where there is no water. But at home, we can just go and get it from our fresh creeks. There is no power and water in this block (Female, individual interview).

I call my people at home to assist me with a K100 or K50 for bus fare. This is Port Moresby, we live by money. We spend money for everything that we need and want. Nothing costs less than 50 toea but they cost K1.00 or more. I see life in Port Moresby is tougher than at home. Only those strong men and women who can create money can survive in this place. As for me, I can survive here as well as at home. I can go home and I can come back to Port Moresby because there are some things like access to services are easier to have here than at home. When I have money, I see that life in the city is very easy. But when I do not have money, life becomes really tough for me. One thing I do not like in here is that the government does not have any special consideration for disable people who are working. They

should exempt us from paying tax (Male, individual interview).

5. EXPECTATIONS AND PERCEPTIONS

In comparison to the other highlands provinces, women from Eastern Highlands in the settlements are very hard workers in the gardens. They are like bulldozers or machines. They dig up mountains and grow peanuts, kumu (greens), corn, tapioca, banana, etc. Whether in good or bad season, they harvest and sell. Where do the majority of the city's population get their kumu (greens) from? I am asking this question to make you see what development really is. The way mothers are working is very tiring and difficult. That shows that we are still living in Stone Age even though we talk about advancement and development. There are ways that the government can assist. It can set up a system where funding can be put for backhoes and tractors that can be used to dig up gardens and make work easier for these mothers. At least support mothers in the settlement by providing such to help them and they can be happy suppliers. The government should also consider providing market places for them so that they do not have to carry their fresh produce and go looking for markets that are far from their settlements. They do not have to carry their fresh produce and go looking for markets that require 'several changes of buses' (which is to mean that women who go to sell their food, stop at several bus stops and change buses to different routes until they get to the market place of their choice). When they go looking for spaces to sell at far off locations, they encounter problems. For some their fresh food is not sold and they get spoilt. As a result, they make less money, their school children do not go to school in the following day or even a week. For them, this is the only means of earning money in the city (Female, individual interview)

The governor and NCDC should put aside funds for formal settlements and provide machines to develop our settlements. We do not want those types of houses that are built in settlements. The community here lacks assistance. What we want is that developers must be provided to assist develop our settlement. Our most important concern is that we should be provided the services (proper housing and market locations etc.) we need. Others include water supply, electricity and proper sewerage systems. Machines must be provided to upgrade our settlement so that our development

plans can be fulfilled. Our houses can be built and arranged properly. That is what this community lacks. In the city here, Eastern Highlanders lead in providing fresh produces at the markets together with rural people from Central Province who also come and sell their garden produces. Together, we assist Papua New Guineans living in the city through our fresh produce sales. That should be taken into consideration and our needs mentioned above should be taken care of (Focus group interview).

As you can see, many of our youths and children do not go to school. Our essential need now is to build a school in our location. Or the government should set aside funds for those very bright but unfortunate children from the settlements so that they too can continue and complete their education. That is one of the services that we also want in this settlement. If the government assists to improve the settlement conditions and bring in the necessary services, parents would be satisfied with their living conditions and spend much time to teach their children to do what is right in the community. The government does not address our needs for proper development and services, which results in our children doing the wrong things (Focus group).

In contrast to the above opinions, others discussed that a good settlement with a good government supply of basic services, depended upon individuals and the community, as a whole.

It is important to remember that the government is not run by fools. The government will not just bring services to our community if we have not done our part. Government will not bring services to communities that entertain fighting, disorganisation, etc. We must do our part, get ourselves organised, and do away with corrupt activities. In doing so, we will win the favour of the government. And the services that we want will be given to us. Firstly, we must paint a good picture of the community we are living in. We must stop fighting, criminal activities, disunity among ourselves, etc. That is how we will set a good image for ourselves in the community which is going to attract the government services. Secondly, we must get ourselves organised, form an association and register it with our plans, aims and objectives. In that way, the government will take notice and assist in bringing the services that we lack.

An organised community will eventuate if there is effective leadership role in the community. From my observation, currently, there is no effective leadership. For example, there are law and order issues that are needed to be addressed in the community but leaders are not doing that. They only address an issue when they are reported and only when they feel like to. The unreported issues are not addressed and if there is an illegal activity that has occurred, they do not enforce law and order on those who are involved. Our leaders are too weak. They do not call community meetings to address issues. We are talking about having an organised community where the leader should lead and guide us. You can be educated but having a leadership quality is another thing. You must be able to lead the people, at your level, to assist develop them so that they can contribute positively in the community. Get the community organised and the government services can be delivered.

All mothers here only know how to do gardening and marketing and nothing else. There are women here who can get our views and lead us in doing something different but women here have poor understanding of such things. So I think we will live like this in the bush forever. Some mothers can lead others in some creative ways to make money, but many mothers here say: 'That is yours to eat'. So they only concentrate on gardening and marketing. We will just stay like this doing the normal things (i.e. gardening and marketing). These are personal thoughts (Focus group).