Making a Community out of Two or More Languages: The Process of Integration of Simbu and Enga Migrant Groups in the Western Highlands Province

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Abstract

In the context of conflict between local and immigrant groups in the Pacific and in Papua New Guinea, the authors argue that there are certain relational skills and attitudes that can reduce the risk of such conflict. They analyse processes of immigration into the fertile Waghi valley of the Western Highlands Province. They present a series of strategies that immigrant communities have employed in order to enjoy harmonious relations with the locals, eventually leading to integration.

Introduction

If Papua New Guinea is to survive it must find a way in which different ethnic groups can live together in harmony and peace. Recent events in Fiji and the Solomon Islands are a clear indication of the relevance and great importance of this issue. At the risk of oversimplifying a complex matter, we believe that it is possible to argue that, in both these places, migrants failed to establish a good and lasting relationship with original inhabitants.

In Fiji, Indians brought in by the British as labourers on sugar plantations, settled and developed a community of their own alongside the native Fijians, with very limited interaction. In recent years there have been three coups led by native Fijians complaining that Fijian Indians, already enjoying economic dominance, were becoming politically dominant as well. The truth of all these assertions can be argued, but the underlying fact remains that after 100 years, and in spite of numerous examples to the contrary, native Fijians and Fijian Indians have not achieved the sort of harmonious relationships which would make such political rhetoric incomprehensible.

Similarly, Malaitan settlers on Guadalcanal were likewise unable to establish the kind of lasting relationships that would make calls for their expulsion fall on deaf ears. The result of this failure has been the protracted civil disturbance in the Solomon Islands that has wrecked the economy, set back development in the Solomons many years, destabilised the region, and set the stage for grievances and payback for many years to come.

There are many studies of migration in the Pacific and in Papua New Guinea (Strathern and Stürzenhofecker 1994; Curry and Koczberski 1999). These studies describe the push and pull factors leading to migration, the types of stress experienced by the home community, the migrants, and the host community, the tensions and even conflict between them, and the dynamics of the return 'home', circular migration. However, we are not aware of any studies that have explored and evaluated the strategies used by migrants to make themselves welcome, nor the strategies used by the 'indigenous' people or local landowners to turn the presence of migrants into valuable social and economic capital for themselves. In this paper we will explore the relationship of immigrants in the Western Highlands Province (WHP) in order to learn lessons that can prevent a crisis situation there, and also offer suggestions for the avoidance of these problems elsewhere.

The WHP, with its fertile Waghi Valley, home to farmers for 9,000 years and with substantial swampy land suitable for reclamation, has long been a drawcard to immigrants who are looking for good agricultural land close to transport and markets. According to the 1990 census, there were 49,646 residents of WHP born outside the Province (16%). (The same number or even more would be the children of persons born outside the Province.) The great majority of these are from Southern Highlands (13,788), from Simbu (17,008), and from Enga (9,734). The fairly even spread across genders and age groups (peaking between ages 20-29) indicates that these are families rather than seasonal workers.

Western Highlands Province immigrants

There are several types of immigrants in the Western Highlands: traditional, modern (colonial and postcolonial) and those with a high level of integration.

A. Traditional

Intraprovincial migration is quite common in the Highlands. For example, Andrew Lakau's (1994) study of Enga land tenure suggests that the average number of migrations in a lifetime for each member of the clans he studied was 2.5, with a range of 0-5. From a total of 400 members of three sub-clans, 191 (48%) had moved at least once, and 273 (72%) anticipated moving in the future. We do not have comparable figures for WHP but, from observation of WHP communities, believe that similar figures would apply. There would be few sub-clans without at least one male member residing elsewhere.

Women residing in their husband's clan territory

Women residing in their husband's clan territory is so much the norm in a patrilocal society, it hardly bears mentioning. However, women have been 'migrating' for centuries and have acquired specific skills to win acceptance and to make the ideology of total transition a reality. We believe these strategies are transferable, at least analogously to the situation of other migrants.

Women's strategies to be accepted into their husband's clan include:

- Bearing children to enhance the numerical strength of the husband's clan[1]
- Contributing generous labour to the husband's household
- Supporting the husband and his clan in the production and distribution of pigs
- Demonstrating emotional attachment to the husband's clan by enthusiastic expressions of grief at funerals. Crying is a generally accepted indicator of deep feeling.

Reasons for failure of a woman to be accepted into her husband's clan include

- Failure to bear children
- Laziness and unconcern for the prosperity of the household
- Unwillingness to transfer loyalty completely to the husband's clan, especially by persisting in draining wealth from the husband back to the wife's natal clan; Although there is always some element of this, especially in the early stages of a marriage, it should not become excessive
- Uncooperative parents on both sides can make it impossible for the woman to reside permanently in her husband's clan territory.

Men residing in their wives clan territory (and their sons)

Lakau's survey showed a rough equivalence of 'agnatic members'2 (151 or 38%) and 'matrifilial members'3 (145 or 36%), with 56 (14%) adopted members and 48 (12%) persons attached to a resident's household without claiming affiliation. These latter are predominantly 'affines'4, especially men residing with their wives' natal clan.

Dornstreich reports that, already in 1968 he found 30-40 Enga style houses among the Nete, a remote group on the border of Enga and the East Sepik Province. These houses were occupied by 'Central Enga people' who had made use of affinal ties to move to the area (1973, p. 485). By contrast, Dornstreich also noted that the 'Intermediate' Enga region was losing its people and its distinctive cultural characteristics through co-residence with other 'Enga' groups, 'either by actually moving out of their own territory or through local co-residence' (1973, p. 487).

An important characteristic of these men who are residing in their wife's clan territory, is that they often rise to great prominence and influence in their adopted clan.

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[1] There are cases where a woman will take the place of her deceased sister to take care of her deceased sister's children and to maintain the relationships established through the original marriage. There are other cases where a woman will take the place of her sister if the sister withdraws from a marriage at the last minute. She may marry the prospective husband or his brother. This behaviour earns great respect from the husband and the husband's clan.

2 Related as brothers, sons of men of the clan

3 related through mothers, daughters of men of the clan

4 related through marriage

This is because:

- They often have a good family background that facilitates trade and other relations. He becomes the medium through which his adopted clan can create new relationships.
- They possess special skills, e.g. military, conflict resolving, and educational.
- His commitment to the clan, being in some sense 'voluntary' rather than by obligation, is especially respected. In order to keep him in the clan, for his fertility and his use of otherwise unused land, he is given positions of leadership.

Men residing in other areas where they can exercise land rights (e.g. mother's clan territory)

In Lakau's survey, about 46 men of agnatic descent were exercising matrifilial or affinal land rights elsewhere.

Men and families adopted to enrich the clan in some way (labour, gene pool)

There are many reasons why a clan would adopt new male members who are not husbands of women from the clan. Lakau's survey indicated that 56 (14%) were adopted members.

Refugees of natural disaster

Wohlt describes a pattern of migration (in Enga) for victims of frost, with 56 family groups (31 whole, 25 in part) finding hosts in 24 localities, with about six persons staying with each host. Hosts were relatives with whom there was some ongoing exchange relationship (Wohlt 1989, pp. 229-230). One of the most famous of these refugees was Sir Tei Abal, Leader of the Opposition in the first post-Independence House of Assembly. Sir Tei is a good example of the prominence to which such local immigrants can rise if they contribute to the prosperity of their host clan.

Refugees displaced by tribal fighting

In precolonial times many migrations from populated areas were the result of violent clashes with neighbours. However, in some clan oral histories migration is represented as a non-violent means of responding to insult. It resulted from an awareness that the spirit of cooperation had broken down and that separation and migration to sparsely inhabited areas was the best solution. Individual or household war refugees are dispersed among those groups with which they have the strongest reciprocal ties. They might select their refuge on the basis of the potential to activate land rights there. This system usually prevents a massive and unmanageable flow of refugees to one group (Lakau 1994:95-97, 324). In Lakau's survey, of 246 persons who had changed their residence or affiliation, 86 (35%) did so as refugees of war, and 46 (19%) in order to activate land rights in other clans.

Other reasons for migration include disputes, economic advantage, sickness, invitation, and 'matter of choice.'[5] In many of these cases, there is a combination of reasons.

The flexibility of the system that can allow for people to exercise a variety of rights to land in different locations has a negative consequence. It can be a source of conflict, since it is possible for more than one person to claim rights to the same piece of land. As long as no one takes the risk of attempting to exercise an exclusive right, the land may be used by all claimants for foraging and pig grazing. When someone does attempt to exercise an exclusive right, there is likely to be a dispute about it. Increased mobility also creates the situation in which people return to activate rights after long absences. In the meantime, non-agnates may have assumed practical control over the land of the absentees (Lakau 1994, p. 310).

B. Modern (colonial and postcolonial)

Expatriates and their descendants

Modern, colonial and postcolonial, immigrants are comprised of the following groups:

- *Explorers, administrators (kiaps) and their descendants.* The Leahy family in particular have had a marked impact on the Western Highlands Province (WHP)
- *Missionaries*. Some missionaries married and remained in WHP. Others have been here for a lifetime, and many died and were buried in WHP.
- *Plantation Owners.* The Leahy's and others took advantage of the fertility of the Waghi Valley to establish plantations. Several married local people and settled down to stay.
- *Commercial sector workers*. Similarly many businessmen and women found that Mount Hagen was a good place to do business.

Papua New Guineans and their descendants

- *Public servants (police, health workers, teachers), mission workers (carpenters, catechists).* Men and women from other parts of PNG came to WHP as young people. They met and married their spouses and settled down to raise children here. Others brought spouses, mainly wives, from their home or other places to reside in WHP.
- *Plantation labourers.* In most cases, these men come for temporary work with the intention of raising money and returning home. In some cases they remain a long time, sometimes too long to successfully exercise land rights at home. And so they become established in WHP.
- *A special case: Agricultural workers on their own block.* Mervyn Meggitt, moving out of his role as detached anthropologist/social historian and into one as social engineer, suggested that tribal fighting could be reduced by

5 There are also rare but actual cases of children being kidnapped and growing to maturity in their 'host' clan.

> reducing land pressure. This could be achieved primarily by making available otherwise unused land within Enga Province and in other parts of the Highlands (Meggitt 1977, p. 187).

This same argument was taken up by the member of the national parliament for Kompiam-Baiyer in 1973.

> *The people from Wabag who are so crowded in their area are moving now, family by family, to this new settlement [Watagenga]. Now this idea is in the minds of people who are short of land. In my particular area, Baiyer Kompiam, we do not have enough land now, and there are the same problems in other areas. There are land disputes in my area because of the people being business-minded or because the tribes are increasing in numbers and want to take over more land. I think that within the next ten years even some of my people will have to be resettled somewhere else.*
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> (Kambipi 1974, p. 133)

Migrants from within Enga began settling in the Paus Blocks in the southeast corner of the Kompiam District but found the remote location and the hot climate of these low altitude exposed plains inhospitable. There was no infrastructure development, no good roads, to accompany this resettlement scheme.

Migrants from Simbu, Enga, and Southern Highlands Provinces began settling in the rich and more accessible Waghi valley near Mt Hagen in the 1960s. Most of these settlements or *bloks* ('block' set aside for agricultural use) were on land purchased from traditional landowners for this purpose, but some were on unofficially leased or traded customary land. This practice, although having modern aspects, was built on the customary practice of granting land rights in return for one-off or periodic usufructuary payments.

Table 1. Extra-provincial migration

Place[6]	No.
Kondapina (WHP)	31
Mt Hagen town (WHP)	9
Talasea (WNB)	9
Lae (Morobe Province)	4
Kudjip (WHP)	2
Kundiawa (Simbu Province)	2
Tambul (WHP)	1
Tari (SHP)	1

Andrew Lakau's survey of two Enga clans, Piyau and Kaina, shows that extra-provincial migration is not as significant for the Enga as for the Simbu. Although it happens, it is generally (but not always) temporary (Lakau

[6] Talasea (W.N.B.), Kondapina, and Kudjip (W.H.P.) are agricultural resettlement blocks.

1994:86, 90). Young's census of another Enga clan confirms this, as only 59 persons (4.2% of living members) had migrated outside the province, only one of them to Port Moresby.

Photos 1 and 2: In 1985 Council Joe Tip from Kuli brought in some Simbus (Gorr) from Kerowagi, a fighting area and resettled them on his land. He says that he wanted them to have a new and peaceful life and also he wanted to increase the numerical strength of his own clan. Two couples with their children came in first. Now the number is 18. They regard themselves as being part of Joe Tip's clan.

Escape from tribal fighting, as refugee or fugitive, is a strong motive for migration from South Simbu. However, this motive has many layers. It includes those who fear that their enterprise will be destroyed by fighting, those who are tired of the stress and threat of war, and those who are blamed for starting a fight and/or have evaded large compensation claims. These latter remain very unsettled, always hoping to return but unable to do so. Others are escaping from accusations of *sanguma* (witchcraft). In many of these latter cases their land is, conveniently, taken over by their accusers. In any case, the departure of migrants does free up land.

Photo 3: These Golin people of Gumine District, Simbu, who had lived and worked as laborers in plantations in the Western Highlands since the early 1980s have now returned to Simbu because of the bad experiences and relationships they had.

Now, the migrants who live in WHP are mostly second-generation. They have seldom or never been to their own ancestral lands and they feel that it would be too difficult to settle in their parent's original places. These places are often disadvantaged in many ways, especially relative infertility. Their 'stay-at-home' relatives are already using the best part of the land.

Traditional landowners frequently reassert their rights to these blocks, a practice which generates a sense of insecurity among the residents who know quite well what *they* would do if the roles were reversed. There is evidence of exploitation of the residents by traditional land owners (Ward 1981, p. 257, p. 261). On the other hand, there is also a trend towards greater integration of these immigrants with their host communities.

In 1994, for example, a car driven by a man from Kuli in Western Highlands was involved in an accident that killed himself and a Simbu passenger. Both of these men resided in an agricultural settlement near Angalimp, among the Kuli clan. After a dispute about threatened payback brought an underlying intergroup conflict to the surface, both were buried together on Kuli land. The traditional landowners described the immigrants as 'Kuli *nambatu*,' ('second Kulis'), i.e. possessing second-generation rights (*Post-Courier*, 28 June 1994). In the case of this Simbu man in particular, people said that he was 'as a brother' to the Kuli man, and his Simbu relatives should not seek compensation for his death as he was no longer theirs.

Photo 4: The joint grave of a Simbu and a Kuli who died together in a car accident and were buried 'as brothers'.

During the ethnic conflict of the early 70s, also involving the Kuli, many Engans returned home but their land was not in fact occupied by the landowners[7]. It seems that the landowners were actually ashamed to move in to land that had been so successfully developed from nothing to prosperity.

Migrants on agricultural blocks can be very powerful. Some of them are from WHP itself, able to call on more localised political forces. Certain families have a reputation for aggression. In many cases the immigrants outnumber the traditional landowners. In Kindeng all government services such as schools, health centers, police stations, churches, Department of Primary Industry stations and others are inside the block area. Coffee and tea factory managers find it easier to employ migrants as they live close by and do not require accommodation. They have a reputation as hard workers.

Not many of the landowners reach a high level of education. Most of them are primary and high school leavers, while the children of the migrants have been well educated with university degrees and college diplomas. By contrast, most migrants are successful business people in the blocks. In many cases they know the local language and any plans by the landowners are quickly overheard.

Migrants who bought land directly from the landowners are actually very loyal friends of the landowners. Even in fights the Engans who bought land straight from the landowners could be an ally of the landowners to fight against the Engan block holders. These landowners trust these migrants.

[7] This conflict was precipitated by an accident when an Engan in a PMV received massive head injuries from a passing Land Cruiser driven by a Kuli. Engans retaliated killing a Kuli. Kulis attacked Engans at Avi Block destroying property and animals, and killing five Engans. The final toll was 15 (10 Engans and 5 Kulis). This dispute was 'settled' by police threats to imprison leaders, not by any compensation payments.

'Shortage of land' is not a strong reason for taking up an agricultural block. Apart from refugees (or fugitives) those who migrated to these settlements are regarded as simply more adventurous, with an above-average desire to join the cash economy by raising cash crops for market. Table 1 above shows the number of persons from the Sane clan (including dependants) who had migrated to agricultural blocks in Kondapina (31), Talasea (9), and Kudjip (2) by 1990.

C. Integration procedures

Immigrants become more or less successfully integrated with traditional landowners through employing certain strategies.

Intermarriage (using the traditional strategies described)

Although there were intermarriages between landowners and migrants in the early years of settlement[8] there have been fewer—in some places, no—intermarriages for some years. Today, the migrant's daughters can marry men from the landowner group but the landowners do not usually give their daughters to the migrants. Bride payments are raised if a block man wants to marry a local woman. This trend has to be addressed.

Migrants may have to sacrifice high expectations regarding a suitable husband for their daughters and overcome the unwillingness to pay high bride prices. The first such marriage may be difficult to arrange, but subsequent marriages become easier to negotiate. There has always been a small proportion of marriages to remote clans. Even today there are always some interprovincial marriages in each clan. This is something to build on. When the children of intermarriages reach maturity they begin to contribute naturally to the 'host' clan as their 'own' clan.

Sharing of food and labour

In the early 60s it was not uncommon for migrants to exchange food items with landowners. Engans would give pandanus nuts from home in exchange for bananas and *marata* (red pandanus). This practice, more acts of generosity than exchange, died out as the migrants became more prosperous and established. Landowners appreciate migrants who *wok bung wantaim* ('work together with') landowners on communal tasks such as clearing bush for gardens or house building.

Contributing towards bride price, compensations, funeral payments and other 'parties' or social gatherings

This is a special fruit of intermarriage, creating reciprocal ties. In the case where a host clan woman marries a migrant clan man (analogous to the

[8] Intermarriage is cited as one of the reasons the ethnic conflict of the early 70s did not escalate further and was finally resolved.

traditional arrangement of a man living in his wife's clan territory), the children are aware that the host clan (mother's relatives) should not falsely accuse his own (father's) 'clan'. Valuable items will flow to the mother's relatives (host clan) making them 'debtors' to the immigrant clan (father's). Immigrant men who have acquired wealth and status must contribute to the exchange activities of the host clan. This indicates a willingness to take on the burdens of the landowners as one's own. This practice is admired and reflects positively on the host community if the person uses it well (otherwise it can generate destructive jealousy). Wealthy migrants should not flaunt their wealth.

Making use of one church, school, health centre, sports field, market, bus stop, and cemetery unites landowner and migrant communities.

As use of institutions were shared, they were not damaged in the ethnic war of the early 70s. Relationships established in these environments enable people, especially young people, to establish personal friendships which can develop into exchange partnerships.

Careful indications of respect, especially acknowledgement of the prior rights of the traditional landowners

These indications would include invitations to important social functions, deference in speechmaking, and careful choice of language to describe the relationship. Little is achieved by stressing legal entitlements to land except in cases where this is challenged. It is more important to assert traditional residence rights based on the migrants contribution to the life and prosperity of the host community. Boundaries can be established through subtle but clear methods such as the planting of casuarina, pandanus, pine trees and gum trees along borders.

Land with such boundaries is difficult to dispute. Highlanders say, 'the man who plants trees claims the land where they stand'. Joint court sittings (with magistrates from several communities) also bind people together, avoiding accusations of favouritism, and enabling new 'customs' to emerge to replace sometimes conflicting ones. Frequent meetings and discussion create a firm relationship with the host clan. Migrants living on the land of a benefactor such as a counsellor, businessman or leader, remain secure as long they acknowledge and support their patron.

Learning the local language, at least to the extent of following speeches and meetings

In fact, this knowledge is often disguised in order to delude landowners into intemperate revelations. Children who know the local language are advised not to let on to their friends and neighbours the extent of their knowledge, but to report what they hear to their own group. The use of Tok Pisin as lingua franca, especially in church services seems also to foster unity.

A unified approach by groups of immigrants

Though the migrants are from different parts of the country, they remain a relatively united group, sharing their sorrows and joys. In fact there is now a greater degree of intermarriage among migrant communities than between migrants and landowners. The migrants displayed their unified strength in the big ethnic war that took place in the 1970s.[9] They have strong common leaders in village courts and the joint court sitting. They promote a self-understanding of themselves as '*blocklain*', one unified group irrespective of origin.

Migrants are capable of unified defensive action against landowners and in favour of maintaining law and order within the immigrant communities, by creating and following the by-laws of the community and by using the Village and District Courts to resolve internal disputes. They maintain mutual respect between representatives of the immigrant communities. They share resources and cooperate among themselves.

All of the factors cited, if continued for a period of time, can establish a group as 'long term residents' with rights (even traditional rights) associated with this status.

Photo 5: a mixed group of Tari, Wabag, and Hagen Central immigrants. Some have married local women.

[9] In fact, despite the disparity in numbers killed, they feel they 'won' this war, by inflicting more material damage on the host clans.

D. If things went wrong, it was usually a result of the following factors.

The sort of conflict that can happen anywhere between neighbours

Both sides commit the ordinary crimes like rape, robbery, brawling in bars, stealing, break and enter, murder, stopping markets and destroying property. Gambling and drinking cause as much, if not more, trouble in mixed communities than they do in a monocultural setting. Both sides are equal in causing trouble and no side does more than the other. However, the landowners are often the first to show aggression but it is retaliated by the same kind of crime by the migrants. Fights do erupt from little conflicts but those are settled by the local court officials. The difference is that the two groups often settle their disputes faster than any other clans could do.

Failure to meet the expectations and needs of the traditional landowners

What are these expectations?

- Acknowledgment of and respect for the prior rights of traditional landowners, never treating them as second class in their own land. In fact, the migrants do not have full equal rights on all issues, and are not (yet) the owners of the land on which they reside.
- A spirit of give and take/exchange, not being recipients all the time.
- Fairness in decision-making, not using their superior numbers against the landowners.
- Maintaining a spirit of open dialogue about problems.
- Sharing the burdens, including political and sporting struggles of the host clans.

Landowner's jealousy of the wealth and status of the immigrants

Some local landowners have tried several times to take their land back but they have failed because the migrants often refer the case to the national lands department. The local landowners know that the fault is with the government so they have gradually stopped talking about it. They do not have any children who had reached university level but only the smaller colleges like teachers and nursing colleges.

At the moment, the local landowners and even those young clansmen in schools have constantly been told by the local leaders that they have to fight with foreign companies who had taken most of the fertile lands for plantations. They may be challenging those migrants or companies who are in fear rather than those who are able to counter-attack.

The break up of a 'mixed' marriage

Even in 'back home', this situation is fraught with tension as each side blames the other, demanding and refusing return of bride price. If this friction occurs between immigrant and landowner communities, where residence on disputed

land is part of the mix, it can be doubly difficult. Both sides can take advantage of the unique situation, whereby the migrant spouse may seek another spouse from the host community, and the host community may seek another spouse to occupy the land. The case of infertility is also doubly difficult in this situation as the immigrants' contribution to the numerical strength of the host community is questioned.

Landowner's attempts to take back land that has increased in value

This is largely a result of the growing influence of money, the cash economy and a new understanding of economic development. The landowners often initiate the challenge because they feel that the land on which they reside is losing its fertility and the blocks which were bought by the government, now occupied by the migrants, have to be taken back because they are still fertile. It is a threat that the landowners make against the immigrants. The migrants understand it as a threat to take their land back but the numerical strengths do not match. The migrants can be up to seven times more than the landowners. However, if the landowners target weaker families with fewer children and with limited support, they are often successful in intimidating them, especially by encroachment, to the point of returning home. Gardens, especially pumpkins, often cross borderlines by several metres.

Population pressures leading to landowners feeling they are short of land.

As landowners look for more land to plant coffee and gardens, they find this land already occupied by others. This seems to be especially true around Kindeng. There are too many migrants for the landowners to evict, but W. R. Carpenters, for example, occupies a considerable amount of land for plantations. It is easier to take this one body to court for the return of land than to tackle all the migrants. Carpenters' land is also more attractive than that occupied by migrants.

Political conflicts, especially the immigrants supporting another candidate than that proposed by landowners

This issue is less serious if the person proposed is not actually a landowner, but if he is, the migrants have little choice other than to support him.

Formation of exclusive churches and groups, especially along ethnic lines

When certain denominations discourage exchange and courtship, and promote the concept of an exclusive 'local' church, they inhibit the type of broader relationships that are needed for coexistence. Similarly, if sports teams are composed of one ethnic group only, this can lead to conflict.

Conclusion

The process of social integration between immigrants and host landowner communities is ongoing and continuous for as long as they are seen as separate communities. It is the task of both groups to foster a relationship that is mutually beneficial and to avoid, even prevent, situations that are known to cause dissension. There are skills and strategies for coexistence that can be employed, practiced, and developed. The primary skill that anyone living among another ethnic group must use is to live, work, and relate in such a way as to fulfil, at least partly, the expectations of the host community. In most cases this means engaging actively with the host community and contributing in a variety of ways to the prosperity and status of the host community. On their side the host community promotes its own prosperity by developing constructive relationships of mutual benefit with the migrant community. It is unlikely that their interests will be met by the eviction of migrants. These skills of coexistence might well be used by other immigrant/landowner communities in PNG and overseas.

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