

MALAYSIAN CHINESE MIGRATION TO PAPUA NEW GUINEA AND TRANSNATIONAL NETWORKS

巴布亚新几内亚的
马来西亚华人移民及其跨国关系网

ICHIKAWA Tetsu
(市川哲)

Abstract

This paper examines the nature of transnational networks using Malaysian Chinese migration to Papua New Guinea (PNG) as a case study. The Chinese community in PNG consists of migrants who arrived during the colonial period and the new arrivals who entered after independence. These new-comers originate from East and Southeast Asia, from countries such as Malaysia, Singapore, Indonesia, China and the territories of Hong Kong and Taiwan.

Malaysian Chinese migration to PNG is mainly linked to the overseas activities of Malaysian companies of which those in the timber industry have played a significant role. Malaysians were also recruited by other companies and they have in turn brought in their relatives. Together, these different groups form the Malaysian Chinese community in PNG.

While Chinese from Malaysia establish transnational links between PNG and Malaysia, PNG-born Chinese have their own links within PNG and with Australia. Mutual differences between these two groups mean that their networks of linkages are distinct and do not overlap.

摘要

这篇文章调查跨国关系网，以巴布亚新几内亚的马来西亚华人移民作为研究案例。巴布亚新几内亚的华人社会是由殖民时期的移民及独立以后的新移民所组成。新移民是来自东亚及东南亚，包括马来西亚、新加坡、印度尼西亚、中国、香港及台湾。

马来西亚华人移民至巴布亚新几内亚主要与马来西亚公司的海外活动有关，而木材工业在此扮演着重要的角色。马来西亚华人也被其他公司征募，其家属稍后也一同前往。这些不同行业的群体组成巴布亚新几内亚的马来西亚华人社会。

马来西亚华人形成巴布亚新几内亚及马来西亚之间的跨国关系网，而巴布亚新几内亚的土生华人也有自己与巴布亚新几内亚及澳大利亚的联系。这两个群体的不同点为他们的网络系统是清晰及不重叠的。

Introduction

Since the 1980s Malaysia has received foreign workers from neighbouring countries such as Indonesia, Philippines, Thailand, Bangladesh, and Myanmar. At the same time Malaysians have left for Singapore, the Middle East, Taiwan and Japan in search of work. The inflow and outflow of labour are influenced by economic and social changes within and outside Malaysia. Human migration is accompanied by transnational flows of goods, ideas, information, and investments; it also produces international networks and transnational communities of migrants. International labour mobility broadens the worldview of individual migrants and leads to new ways of life (see Nonini 1997; Lam *et al.* 2002).

The transnational movements and activities of Malaysian Chinese have witnessed the construction of new social networks and spaces spanning across different countries. Transnational activities suggest the need to consider the nature of new networks forged by international movements. Chinese transnational networks are often emphasized by their macro-level unities. But to grasp the nature of these networks, it would be necessary to examine internal diversities arising from the incorporation of local situations into these networks.

This paper is a case study of Malaysian Chinese migration to Papua New Guinea (PNG) in an attempt to examine the nature of transnational networks. Malaysian Chinese migrations to Singapore, Taiwan, Japan and Australia have been the subject of several studies (see Tsay 1992; Martin 1999). Their migration to PNG, a developing country, has hitherto attracted little attention in the study of international migration. Based on Malaysian Chinese migration to PNG, the paper

will discuss the characteristics of the emerging social and economic networks from the perspective of transnational interaction. These Chinese networks are essentially activities that link several places. The "world" of the Malaysian Chinese migrants in PNG cover several countries and their networks tie these places into a meaningful whole.

Overview of Ethnic Chinese in Papua New Guinea

The Chinese community in contemporary PNG is made up of residents who arrived during the colonial period and those who came after independence. Chinese immigration to New Guinea island began during the period of colonization of this area by Germany, Britain and Australia. Germany introduced Chinese as labourers to develop the economy of their colony from the 1890s (Biskup 1970). The defeat of Germany during the First World War saw a transfer of jurisdiction of German New Guinea to Australia and the Chinese came under Australian colonial administration. Upon the end of the Second World War, Australia permitted the Chinese in New Guinea to acquire Australia nationality, and this policy prompted a change in nationality among the large majority of the Chinese. After the independence of Australian-ruled New Guinea to become PNG in 1975, local-born Chinese tended to move into Australia (Wu 1998).

The departure of the local-born Chinese to Australia saw the arrival of Chinese immigrants from elsewhere especially from the 1980s. There are distinctive differences between the old residents and the new-comers. The local Chinese who had originally arrived during the colonial period were mostly Cantonese, especially from Siyi (四邑) and the Hakka people (刘渭平 2000). On the other hand, the recent arrivals are from countries of East and Southeast Asia such as Malaysia and China (Inglis 1997). Arrivals from China include not only those from Guangdong (the Cantonese) but also other parts of China including Fujian, Beijing and Shanghai. New arrivals from various countries and territories bring with them their own social habits the net effect of which is to diversify the internal structure of the ethnic Chinese community in PNG.

The migration pattern of the recent arrivals also differs from that of the old residents. The latter had arrived in a "chain migration" initiated by the original immigrants and the subsequent arrival of their relatives and acquaintances. The new-comers, on the other hand, have few kinship or territorial ties with the old-established residents. Moreover, a distinctive feature of the new-comers is their status as employees of companies which operate in PNG and they are

unaccompanied by their families. Effectively, they would stay in PNG until their employment contract expires. Some have remained behind to start their own businesses.

Many companies from East and Southeast Asia invest in PNG to take advantage of the economic peculiarities of the country. Traditionally, Melanesian societies, including those in PNG, do not have a market economy and cities were non-existent before the arrival of the Europeans (Levine and Levine 1979). Germany and Australia monopolized the economy in this region during the colonial period and commerce was dominated by Westerners. The post-independence period witnessed a decline in the Australian population in PNG and caused in part by the departure of Australian administrative officers. The resultant shortage of administrative and clerical staff opened the way for the recruitment of foreign workers and many of these were recent immigrants from Southeast Asia including the Chinese (Connell 1997).

Foreign companies exert a strong influence on the PNG economy in the post-independence period. Many companies enter PNG to exploit its rich natural resources such as copper, gold, timber, and marine products. Among these companies are those from Malaysia and run by the Chinese and employing Chinese migrant labour. The Chinese community now consists of ethnic Chinese from such countries as Malaysia, Singapore, Indonesia, China, and the territories of Hong Kong and Taiwan. ¹

Malaysian Chinese Arrivals in Papua New Guinea

Timber is a major source of income in Malaysia particularly in the states of Sabah and Sarawak. The timber companies are largely managed and worked by the Chinese who supply a large pool of labour skilled in tree felling, sawing, and transporting wood and logs. The town of Sibu in Sarawak is one of the logging centres of the country. Its Chinese inhabitants of largely Fuzhou Chinese are the mainstay of the timber industry (Chew 2000).

Forestry has brought about deforestation and serious environmental degradation and social problems in Malaysia. In the 1990s, the decline in log export from Sabah and Sarawak led to an increase in the price of timber. Environmental problems added hidden costs in operation and production, making it increasingly difficult for the timber companies to depend on their earnings in Malaysia. In their search for alternative production sites, many of the Malaysian logging companies won timber concessions in a number of Southeast Asian countries and Oceania (Connell 1997).

Some are also operating in Africa and South America (Table 1).

PNG has become one of the main destinations for Malaysian timber companies operating abroad. With almost four-fifths of its area under forest cover, PNG is rich in timber resources. Forestry development in PNG dates back to the colonial period. After the Second World War, the Australian authority undertook a forest inventory and Australian companies began logging operations (Saulei 1997). After independence, companies from Malaysia, Japan and Korea undertake logging on a large-scale (Connell 1997). Malaysian companies soon account for the greater part of the log exports from PNG (Filer 1997).

Table 1: Major Malaysian Timber Companies Operating Abroad, 1990–97

Companies	The place of operation
Associated Kaolin Industries Bhd	The Gabonese Republic
Atlantic Industries Ltd	Belize
Damansara Realty Bhd	Papua New Guinea
General Lumber Fabricators and Builders Bhd	Papua New Guinea
Hipa Heavy Machinery Suppliers Sdn Bhd	The Lao People's Democratic Republic
Idris Hydraulic Bhd	The Gabonese Republic
Innovest Bhd	The People's Republic of the Congo
Kumpulan Emas Bhd	Solomon islands
Land & General Bhd	Cameroon, Papua New Guinea
Lien Hoe Corporation	Indonesia, The Republic of Liberia
Long Huat Group Bhd	Papua New Guinea
Nila Wood Industries Sdn Bhd/Maving Brothers Ltd	Solomon Islands
Parklane	Vanuatu
Primegroup Holdings Ltd	Guiana, Papua New Guinea
Rimbunan Hijau Group	New Zealand, Papua New Guinea, Cameroon Equatorial Guinea, the Gabonese Republic, Vanuatu, Brazil, Russia
Samling Corporation	The Cooperative Republic of Guyana, Cambodia, New Zealand
Solid Timber Sdn Bhd	Papua New Guinea
Syuen Corporation Sdn Bhd	The Lao People's Democratic Republic
WTK Group	Brazil, Papua New Guinea
ZimMal Holdings	The Republic of Zimbabwe

Source: Forest Monitor and World Rainforest Movement 2002

Malaysian logging companies are the principal employers of Chinese workers from Malaysia. Other companies have also contributed to efforts to bring in

Malaysian Chinese. A notable example is the print media, in which Malaysian capital has a significant influence (Robie 1995; Wood 1999). A daily newspaper called *National* has been published in PNG since 1993 and owned by Rimbunan Hijau, a famous Malaysian logging company operating in PNG, and whose editors were from the Singapore-based *Straits Times*. With the increase in the number of Malaysian companies in PNG, a Malaysian Business Council was established at the capital city, Port Moresby, in 1992 and supported by about 500 Malaysian companies, including banks (Inglis 1997; Hara 1998). These Malaysian companies thus play a leading role to bring in Chinese workers and help to establish a Malaysian Chinese community in PNG.

These new Malaysian Chinese arrivals are very different from the local-born Chinese. They tend to be confined to logging sites in the forests whereas the local born are found in the towns or plantations, mainly in the northern coast such as Rabaul and Kavieng, and have established Chinatowns of their own (Cahill 1996). Some Malaysian Chinese are found in provinces such as Western and Sandaun where Chinese have not lived before. The impact of the Malaysians is thus seen in the dispersal of the Chinese population in PNG.

Besides working in logging camps, many have started their own business on the expiry of their contracts. Some of them have brought in their relatives or friends from Malaysia to help them in their business. The practice is beginning to cause a form of chain migration of its own and contributes directly to the growth of the Malaysian Chinese community in PNG.

Economic Activities

Economic activities of the Malaysian Chinese illustrate the distinctiveness of their life in PNG. Malaysian immigration into PNG is first and foremost induced by economic considerations. These immigrants whether in their capacity as workers in logging companies or as individual entrepreneurs are learning to adapt themselves to the new socio-economic milieu of PNG.

Malaysian entrepreneurs have successfully established themselves in commerce and trade in PNG. Some begin by taking over the business of the local Chinese and to take advantage of the business "goodwill" established by their predecessors. However, the typical business of Malaysian Chinese in PNG is inseparable from the restaurant service. Most of the local-born Chinese were engaged in such activities as plantation management, shop-keeping, mechanical repairs and the shipping trade, while some operated restaurants (Wu 1982). The Chinese restaurant in the colonial

period did not thrive well because of the small Chinese population and the sale of "acculturated" rather than genuine Chinese food.² It is the Malaysian Chinese who have made the restaurant trade as one of their main economic lifelines in PNG. Malaysian arrivals have found it easy to begin restaurants and hawker stores by serving food with genuine Malaysian flavour. Additionally, the socio-economic character of towns in PNG in which the food-service and general commercial industries are poorly developed, offers opportunities to meet the potential demand. Urbanization following independence increases the demand for services related to restaurants and the sale of food. To take advantage of new opportunities, Malaysian Chinese have started different types of restaurants and methods of operation. Some engage in small take-away shops serving both local and Chinese foods. These small outlets are patronized mainly by the indigenous inhabitants. Others run relatively large restaurants to cater to Chinese, Australians and other foreigners as well as indigenous customers in the upper income bracket.

The Malaysian Chinese restaurants offer not only typical Chinese cuisine, including Cantonese dishes, but also Malaysian cuisine. They have popularized such typically Malaysian dishes as *satay*, *rendang*, *nasi lemak* and *laksa*. Similarly, Chinese dishes such as Hainan chicken rice (海南鸡饭), *bak kuh teh* (肉骨茶), and *yong tau fu* (酿豆腐) have been introduced. Besides enriching the culinary culture of PNG, these restaurants have inspired Chinese from other countries to follow their footsteps in diversifying their menu.

Malaysian Chinese restaurants have given rise to the emergence of a network of supplies among the Malaysian community. Malaysian-run supermarkets are common in PNG and they provide a variety of basic and luxury ingredients to meet the demand of Chinese restaurants as well as the general public. Most of the items are imported from Malaysia or other Southeast Asian countries and distributed via a nationwide network to the restaurants and customers. In this manner, restaurants in the small towns easily acquire the necessary ingredients through importers in the larger cities.

The restaurant and import trades are not the only domain of Malaysian Chinese business in PNG. Many examples may be used to illustrate the distinctiveness of their business. Malaysian and other newly-arrived Chinese in PNG tend to enter businesses that are often regarded as "high risks with high returns" by the local-born Chinese community. That this is so is due to the fact that the late arrivals have to face the competition of existing well-established businesses of the old Chinese residents and the Australians. Being new is a distinct disadvantage in the business sense and would justify bolder business practices. As many PNG-born Chinese are

Christians and are educated in Australia, their business practices are influenced by the Australian business style. Most of the shops and companies in PNG open only during the day from 9 a.m. to 5 or 6 p.m. and remain closed in the weekend. In contrast, Malaysian Chinese keep their shops open till late at night as well as during weekends. Problems of law and order in PNG are serious and keeping the shops open late into the night runs the risk of robbery. This potential risk, however, would still justify the high returns. Keeping long hours of work is not only a strategy to overcome the disadvantage of a late start, it also reflects the industry of the new immigrants.

The business practices and lifestyle of the Malaysian Chinese also reflect their position in which they find themselves in PNG. Unlike the locally born Chinese, they do not enjoy the status the latter received during Australian colonial rule. Moreover, the Malaysian Chinese as new-comers are in fact repeating the business practices in their country of origin as an effective strategy to adapt themselves to the new environment.

Besides the social condition, the value of the kina, the PNG currency, also influences the economic activities of Malaysian Chinese. Up to 1993, the government fixed a high exchange rate of the kina against foreign currencies, one kina being equivalent to about one US dollar.³ Many Malaysian Chinese felt that the high exchange rate of the kina was good for their business operation. Indeed, some Malaysian Chinese were originally enticed to work in PNG by the favourable exchange rate.

While economic reasons attract some Malaysian Chinese to migrate to PNG, they have also compelled others to leave. The influx of Malaysian Chinese into PNG does not necessarily lead to permanent settlement. The devaluation of the kina in 1994 and subsequent economic depression (Duncan and Xu 2000) has reduced much of the original economic incentives for migrating to the country and many Chinese have left or decided to leave PNG. In 2003, one kina was worth only about 30 US cents and the devalued currency has dented the bottom line of business previously underpinned by the artificially strong exchange rate.

The economic depression was aggravated by social instability and weakened the incentive to remain in the country. Social instability has become a serious law and order issue in the towns not only for the Chinese but for all the inhabitants. Malaysian Chinese have been assaulted by local gangs and many are forced to take specific measures to safeguard their life and properties. Hence the desire for permanent residence has been severely reduced and the viability of the Malaysian Chinese community put in question.

Religious Practices

Religion does not necessarily feature prominently in the daily life of the Chinese. Yet a distinction is clearly discernible between the religious practices among Malaysian Chinese and the old-established residents. About 90 per cent of the PNG population are Christians. The local Chinese were converted to Christianity during the colonial period, and most of them practise Christianity to this day. In contrast, the Malaysian Chinese profess a diversity of religion.

The majority of Malaysian Chinese are believers of religions such as Buddhism, Daoism, Confucianism and traditional folk religions, with the majority adhering to Buddhism. Malaysian Chinese maintain a Buddhist temple in Port Moresby and as a branch of the Taiwanese *Fo Guang Shan* (佛光山) Buddha's Light International Association. The temple was built mainly by Malaysian Buddhists in Port Moresby in 1994 and installed with the statue of Buddha. Other supporters of the temple include Sri Lankan and Myanmar Buddhists now living in PNG. It is financially sustained by the donations of believers in PNG. In 1996, *Fo Guang Shan* in Taiwan delegated a nun of Malaysian Chinese origin to serve and take care of the temple. The headquarters in Taiwan provides religious instruments including Buddhist scriptures, textbooks and ornaments from Taiwan.

Major ceremonies are held every Sunday morning and the first and fifteenth days of the lunar month. The ceremony consists of *sutra* recitation, lectures on Buddhism by the nun, followed by a vegetarian meal. Special rites are held on particular days of the lunar calendar, including prayers to ancestors. These special rites are often sponsored by Malaysian companies in Port Moresby.

Propagation of Buddhism does not feature as part of the temple's functions. Indeed the temple is a form of community centre where followers meet and to socialize. In this manner, it fulfills a useful social function and as a venue through which recent immigrants would meet their fellow countrymen. This social function takes on significance on Sunday when government offices, companies and shops are closed and where the Chinese have few places to spend their time.

The believers in this temple are Chinese from Malaysia and Mainland China rather than local-born Chinese. The recent arrivals are bonded by a common language, Mandarin, which is used to conduct temple rituals. This linguistic bridge helps to extend relationship among ethnic Chinese from different countries but tends to act as a barrier to those who are ignorant of Mandarin.

The activities of the temple may be interpreted as a reflection of transnational activities of Malaysian Chinese in PNG that allow meaningful contacts and

communications with other Chinese immigrants from East and Southeast Asia. Hence, more so than in Malaysia itself, in PNG the temple plays an important social role in the life of Malaysian Chinese community.

It is common knowledge that some Malaysian Chinese Christians are found in the logging camps in PNG, and particularly those from Sibuh. Sibuh was established by Wong Nai Siong (黄乃裳) who came to Sarawak from Fuzhou (福州) in Fujian province in the late nineteenth century. It was with the help of Christian missions in Sarawak that Wong brought in Fuzhou people to reclaim the swamps and to settle down. These early immigrants were mostly Christians or became converts later on (刘子政 1998). The presence of the Christian Malaysians in PNG is therefore linked to Chinese migration to Sibuh and subsequently to PNG.

Malaysian Chinese have also introduced a new feature in the religious life of PNG in their belief in the *Datuk Kong* (拿督公) as a common deity in their life. Belief in the deity is widespread among the Chinese in parts of Southeast Asia but it is not the case in China. *Datuk Kong* is in fact a syncretic deity that combines the Chinese god of the earth and Malay spirits called *Datuk Keramat* (Cheu 1998). The belief in this deity was brought to PNG by Malaysian Chinese immigrants and statues or altars devoted to it are common in their shops and restaurants. A Chinese restaurant in Port Moresby incorporates a *Datuk Kong* temple in its premises as a convenient place of worship for its workers from Malaysia and Mainland China. Migrants from Malaysia has popularized belief in this deity and has raised its status among the Chinese in PNG. Statues of the *Datuk Kong* and other religious items such as paper money, candles, and incenses may be purchased in some Malaysian shops and in a supermarket in Port Moresby.

Ethnic Relations

The socio-economic characteristics of the Malaysian Chinese in PNG have a bearing on their transnational social space. This social space is conditioned by human mobility, flow of goods and the practice of religious beliefs. Despite their physical presence in PNG, their social space is located both in Malaysia and PNG.

Malaysian Chinese migrants naturally come into contact with other ethnic groups in PNG. Some have learned to use Pidgin English to communicate with the local people.⁴ Nevertheless, relationships with other ethnic groups are different from those with other Chinese. The distinctive religious practices and bondage through the use of Mandarin not only create inclusive relationships but also exclusive ones. Similar ethnic origin alone has not worked in favour of bringing

together Malaysian Chinese and local-born Chinese. Although their basic relations are good, their spheres of social activities are demarcated by mutual differences rather than overlap through strong commonalities. Hence to understand the nature of the Malaysian Chinese transnational networks in PNG, it is useful to examine their relationship with PNG-born Chinese.

The local-born Chinese have close connections with Australia. These are the descendants of labourers brought into German New Guinea from Canton (Guangzhou). Despite maintenance of their ethnic identity and contact with their original village, they acquired Australian nationality in the late 1950s when a government policy made it possible to do so (Willson 1989). Naturalization opened the doors for the Chinese to migrate to Australia. After the Second World War, the Chinese were able to send their children to Australia for higher education, whereas the earlier practice was to send them to China or Hong Kong. After the War, contact with China was also severely reduced by political changes in China.

The close contact with Australia has transformed the lifestyle and orientation of PNG Chinese in favour of Australia. Although most of the Chinese have a strong sense of ethnic identity as "Chinese", they nevertheless identify themselves as Australian citizens. Their education and living experience in Australia have led the PNG Chinese to establish a transnational social space that extends to Australia. They use English in addition to their Cantonese or Hakka dialects to communicate with each other. Their Christian religion also tends to widen the social distance between PNG Chinese and newly-arrived Chinese.

It is obvious then that the PNG Chinese do not share the same cultural background with the recent Chinese immigrants. The latter comprises Chinese who do not necessarily speak Cantonese, and Mandarin often serves as the common language among the new comers. The language barrier effectively bars most local Chinese from the networks of relations among the Mandarin-speaking Chinese. The majority of the new arrivals from Mainland China do not come from Guangdong and have little in common with the PNG Chinese, instead they may identify more closely with Malaysian Chinese most of whom are conversant in Mandarin.

Social and cultural diversities of the Chinese community are also manifested in other areas. Religious affiliations, for example, are an obstacle to social interaction. The Chinese New Year (春节) is to the new arrivals as Christmas is to the local Chinese. This cultural distinction is complemented by social separation in their lifestyles and reflected in residential segregation and economic specialization. Whereas the PNG Chinese are apt to live in the towns, some of the Malaysian Chinese stay in remote logging camps. This spatial segregation effectively restricts

daily contacts to some extent.

These differences and segregation exist not only in domestic situations but also in their transnational networks. The PNG Chinese "life space" straddles both PNG and Australia and cemented by their Australian education, English as a medium of communication, their Australian citizenship and easy access to Australia. Prior to PNG independence, many local Chinese moved some of their family members and properties to Australia as a precaution of unexpected anti-Chinese sentiments in PNG. In their transnational networks that straddle these countries, the PNG Chinese community in Australia is in fact larger than that in PNG itself. These two components maintain close social contact as well as through religious and local associations.

Both PNG and Malaysian Chinese have evolved their respective transnational networks that do not connect with each other. The internal structure of the Chinese society in PNG today has become more diverse as a result of the arrival of Chinese from various parts of East and Southeast Asia. Although the diversity of the Chinese community in PNG is a fact, the indigenous Papua New Guineans are ignorant of it. There were mixed marriages between Chinese and local people during the colonial period and the children of mixed descent are identified with the local populace. Inter-marriage involving Malaysian Chinese is extremely rare. The lack of inter-ethnic contact has often given the local people a negative image of the Chinese. One of the most unfavourable images is that the operation of Malaysian companies poses a threat to the PNG economy (Filer 1997; Wood 1999).

Conclusion

The Malaysian Chinese in PNG today are sojourners rather than immigrants intent on permanent settlement.⁵ Their transnational networks are articulated by their way of life which is dissimilar to the local Chinese who have settled in PNG during the colonial era. The Malaysian Chinese establish transnational networks covering Malaysia and PNG to maintain their lifestyles in PNG. Despite the extension of their social spaces and transplanting their Malaysian lifestyles to PNG, the transnational social networks do not extend over those of the local Chinese.

The transnational networks of Malaysian Chinese are influenced not only by regional economic activities but also local identities. Besides the traditional bonds of loyalty such as surnames, dialects and ancestral village origins, the attributes of alien places of residence play a significant role in these networks. The diversity of these affinities in turn give rise to sub-networks (cf. Tan 1998; Luk 2001). Discussions

about Chinese transnational networks often emphasize their homogeneous and inclusive nature. The Malaysian Chinese case in PNG, however, reveals the diverse nature of these networks and the strong bias based on localities.

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Notes

- 1 The exact number of Chinese population in PNG is unknown. It was estimated that there were about 3,000 Chinese in the eve of independence (Wu 1982). The office of the embassy of Malaysia in Port Moresby estimates that there are about 5,000 Malaysians in the country and that most of them are ethnic Chinese. The Internet provides various other estimates of the Chinese population in this area ranging from 5,000 to 10,000 persons (<http://www.hsm.com.cn/node2/node116/node119/node158/index.html>).
- 2 It is reported that even in the colonial period, the Chinese in PNG cooked and ate local food and did not use chopsticks (Wu 1982).
- 3 The PNG government adopted a "hard kina policy" and controlled the exchange rate after independence. The aim of the policy was to protect their country from inflation (Asafu-Adjaye 1998).
- 4 Pidgin English (Melanesian Pidgin) is one of the common languages in PNG and other Melanesian countries. Although Pidgin was established under the colonial period and borrowed many words from English, it is considered a local language and sometime represents the local identity of PNG.
- 5 Studies have also discussed the local Chinese as sojourners (Inglis 1997) and as the Chinese diaspora (Wu 1998).

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