BRING THEM HOME

... 
They are scattered in disarray. 
Each going his own way. 
Into the wildness of hope, 
Of new desires.

Road of new struggles, 
Of new seasons.

Strange shadows, 
Of strange trees. 
With charming melodies, 
Of unknown promises.

Initiated warriors 
Have thrown weapons 
On the wayside. 
All victims of charming melodies.

Who will lead the next initiation ceremony. 
Who will discuss the next feast? 
Who will wrestle for our village? 
Who will bring them home 
...

Kama Kerpi 1973
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These studies of youth and their communities were initiated while I was on research leave in 1983/84. Some papers were written during this period, others in recent months. Many common themes have emerged, although the collection does not provide a complete overview of the problems and challenges facing young people and their elders in post-independence Papua New Guinea. Rather, it offers a range of perspectives which reflect different traditional and colonial contexts and changing social and economic circumstances. The period considered by some writers covers more than fifty years of out-migration of youth in search of economic benefits, the new knowledge and technology of the strangers who offered them employment, and the challenge and adventure involved in moving from a familiar environment into the unknown world beyond the village. Photographs from the H.A.J. Fryer collection illustrate this period in Papua New Guinea's history.

Some writers focus on specific youth movements or activities at a particular period in the life of a community or the recent phenomenon of youth in conflict with the wider society. The role played by church and government agencies in the development of appropriate policies and programmes for youth and society is a major theme throughout the volume. The last two chapters consider the current problems experienced by urban youth. There is a suggestion that youth have 'lost their way' in today's changing world and that more than anything else their families and communities are searching for solutions which will 'bring them home'.

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INTRODUCTION
Chapter 1

YOUTH HAS MANY FACES: INSIDER AND OUTSIDER PERSPECTIVES
ON YOUTH IN PAPUA NEW GUINEA

Maev O'Collins

Continuity and change, conflict and consensus, community and chaos, are all terms which have at different times been used to describe life in rural and urban societies throughout Papua New Guinea. One observer may be struck by the way in which, despite the upheavals caused by labour migration schemes, formal schooling, and the attraction of urban life, many communities have retained a recognizable pattern of social life which links different generations within a wider kinship network of mutual obligation. Another may focus on the level of dislocation which has taken place and present a picture of dissent and defiance by the younger generation in their relationships with their elders and of suspicion and rejection on the part of older members of a community in their dealings with youth which suggest that things have not only 'fallen apart' but that society is so divided and fragmented that the only solution is to concentrate on each age-group within the society as a separate entity with its own special needs and aspirations.

The papers which make up this collection of studies of 'youth and society' reflect the perspectives of observers who have either grown up in a Papua New Guinean community and have experienced the changes taking place from within the society, or have lived in a particular village or town for a period of time. Each writer brings his or her own experience of youth in a changing world and describes the varying responses by young people and their communities as they search for a new way of life or for a road out of the confusion of the recent past.

A common theme is that the realities of local level social and economic structures need to be recognized by planners and decision-makers and integrated into development strategies and programmes. Another theme is that youth movements are often a manifestation of earlier social change movements and that government and church agencies should understand the forces for change within a community and see the relationship between these forces and the
problems and challenges facing young people in that community. Their experiences are varied so there is no attempt to provide a conclusive statement outlining a 'solution' to the youth crisis and the very existence of such a crisis has been questioned by those who consider that it is not a problem of youth alone but of the political, social and economic problems faced by society as a whole.

In recent years rising expectations of economic and political development have brought many young people into conflict with their own communities and the wider society. Although traditionally without authority and the right to make decisions for the larger group, they often possess knowledge, skills and experience quite different from those of their elders who may, as in the past, have control over the use of land and other community resources. Additionally, while conflicts between young and old reflect changes in the power base of a community, the interplay between internal and external pressures at a particular time and place has its roots in the recent colonial past as well as in the economic and political pressures facing Papua New Guinea in the 1980s.

The temporary or permanent alienation of youth from their families, local communities or the society itself has been a subject engaging the attention of many policy-makers and social planners. In the early 1970s the United Nations Programme of Technical Co-operation and the South Pacific Commission appointed a social welfare adviser who visited most of the South Pacific island nations and dependent territories. In the combined report of his findings he commented that:

The Pacific Islands are experiencing noticeable changes accompanied by social breakdown. While these changes and the conditions they leave in their wake may appear minor in contrast to the magnitude of problems attracting world attention in the larger developing countries and in the industrial nations, the impact of socio-economic change on these relatively small and sometimes fragile cultures can be devastating (Fox 1976:2).

Yet, despite the signs of widespread 'social breakdown', there is also a great deal of evidence of the reintegration of youth back into their communities and of community strength and cohesion in the face of potentially disintegrative forces. In some circumstances the very pressures of urban living and the lack of alternative opportunities have influenced youth to remain at home and seek ways to develop new opportunities within the existing social structure. Others have followed the pattern of earlier generations and have left
the village to return after a few years with new ideas and views on 'development' and sometimes with money and material possessions as tangible evidence of their ability to succeed in the outside world.

Others do not come back as they find that they have become part of another, different way of life in towns or resettlement schemes throughout Papua New Guinea.

One of the difficulties in considering the situation of youth in Papua New Guinea is this diversity of experience and response. Some migrant youth find that they are unable or unwilling to make the journey home to what they perceive to be less satisfying and more limited life styles with fewer opportunities to influence the economic and social life of the community. For others, the road back home may, given a particular mix of family and community responses, be as easy to travel as the few kilometres from Port Moresby to Baruni. Alternately, it may take money, effort and determination to return home and accept the initial difficulties of settling back into the life of the village. Finally, for the large number of young people who remain within their own communities conflicts may arise when they (or those who see themselves as youth 'leaders') seek to play a separate role in social, political or economic development activities. The struggle to gain a share in the resource base of a community may become more bitter and intense if opportunities to seek economic advantages elsewhere are correspondingly limited.

Economic development and social change

A number of studies of inequalities between districts and sub-districts throughout Papua New Guinea have identified less 'developed' areas of the country (for example, Kent Wilson 1975. Lynch and Simpson 1978, Slaughter and French 1984, de Albuquerque and D'Sa 1985). In some less developed areas the reaction has been to export the only resource -- unskilled labour- with the result that the resident population is unable to sustain even the level of subsistence production and social activities which existed in earlier times. Alternately, isolation may mean that communities miss out on economic, political and social development taking place elsewhere, and become disenchanted with external paths to development. The revival of belief in the efficacy of traditional values and ways of managing resources may lead to suspicion and rejection of externally inspired development programmes.

Some of the discussions which follow focus on areas where little or no economic development has taken place. In chapter 2, the struggles of the Bulihan-Lahan community reflect the reality for the whole of Manus that:
...the economic base of the province is extremely weak and the cash sector relies on government expenditures and remittances from absentees (Manus Provincial Government 1984:4).

The Rabaraba District of Milne Bay in which Agaun village is located (chapter 4) has remained one of the least developed districts in the Papuan Region (for ranking of districts in terms of social and economic development indicators see Kent Wilson 1975, and de Albuquerque and D'Sa 1985). Other districts have gained greater access to economic opportunities as roads have opened up but many communities initially experienced increases in out-migration as a result of improved communication networks. For example, the Unggai area of the Eastern Highlands is close to Goroka and the lack of economic activities has been a factor encouraging young people to move down into town (chapter 9). The Baruni experience (chapter 8) illustrates the response of a peri-urban village community whose culture and way of life have been threatened by the growth of Port Moresby. This was also a factor in Nabuapaka (chapter 5), which is now only a few hours drive from Port Moresby, although in recent years the tendency has been for more young people to remain or return home after a brief stay in Port Moresby (this trend is also noted by a number of other discussants).

Although it is possible to identify common themes, each writer also illustrates the mix of historical, ideological and situational factors which have affected the way in which young people relate to their elders and the influence of church, government or international programmes in a particular community. A frequently voiced concern is that development initiatives proposed by government, church or community members alike may not really benefit the community as a whole.

Many new proposals have been put forward in the name of 'development'. During a meeting held in Manus in 1983 to consider a village economic project, I took part in a discussion on 'development'. One older villager commented:

Developenem- emi wanem? Planti tok i kamap long dispela samting. Olsem ating mipela long ples, olgeta i paul long wanem rot tru mipela imas bihainim long painim dispela samting [What does development really mean? Everybody talks about it, but I think that we in the village are all confused and do not know what road we should follow to find this 'development'].

4
Nonetheless, communities throughout Papua New Guinea continue to receive and react to government and church exhortations to 'develop the community' and provide 'development opportunities for youth'. In earlier times this search for improvements in the conditions of life in the community was often initiated by younger men or women who had left their villages in search of economic employment, excitement and new experiences. When they returned home, they were dissatisfied with the old ways and sought to show their elders and age-mates that there were other roads which could be taken to find the answer to their own particular needs for 'development'. The material goods which they had obtained or observed in towns and on plantations were not the exclusive property of the foreigner but were accessible to all if only the right road could be identified. Included in this volume are photographs from the Fryer collection (pp. 28-32). These illustrate how the search for knowledge, adventure and economic betterment led some young men to seek employment as carriers and camp cooks for a geological survey team.

Nahau Rooney and Bryant Allen (chapters 2 and 3) describe how this search for economic development has been a feature of many rural communities since colonial contact. After the Second World War, young men returned home with increased expectations of being able to bring about change. They were, as Allen (1979:12) notes in another discussion of development issues in Dreikikir, 'different from the men who had stayed at home and they saw themselves as being different'. They had new skills and the ability to communicate with strangers in a common language and they were aware that cash crops and business enterprises were the ways by which goods and services could be obtained.

For some communities expectations of rapid economic growth created new problems as the search for a better way of life often brought with it social dislocation. In the Baluan Local Government Council area schools, established as a result of the development aspirations of those who moved from their island or inland homes to join Paliau Maloat, also separated children from earlier age groups whose skills and knowledge had been gained in less formal ways. In a very real way community leaders became aware that in trying to obtain development an important section of their community 'the youth of the village' had gone (for descriptions of the Paliau Movement and the development of the Baluan Local Government Council see Mead 1956, Schwartz 1957 and May 1982a). They began to feel that economic development should also mean overall rural development or it would inevitably weaken family and village social structures. The emergence in recent years of a number of village level organizations in Manus is another aspect of this theme of economic development and social change (see Pokawin 1976 and 1985).
The concern of many communities in recent years has been that young people must be encouraged to become involved in economic projects in their own communities. This has not been without difficulties as a major question has been whether economic activities should involve all sections of the community in common enterprises or whether young people should be able to undertake separate activities using land or other resources belonging to the whole community. Solomon Yowait (chapter 4) describes the problems which predictably arise when economic activities are seen as benefiting only one section or group and how this leads to suspicions and accusations of unfair dealings. Biango Buia (chapter 7) notes that the seasonal programme of subsistence activities in his community was a major factor limiting the effectiveness of separate economic projects for young people. The Eastern Highlands Rehabilitation Committee also found that opposition from older community members has been a major factor in the failure of youth projects (chapter 9).

Does this mean that youth's involvement in economic development will always bring them into conflict with their elders?

One answer may be that, while tension and conflict is almost inevitable, it need not be destructive or prevent new initiatives from being accepted by the majority of the community. Indeed, the Bulihan-Lahan experience suggests that successive generations have built on the experience of their elders. Some options were not available to young people in the past and the involvement of government and church agencies in youth activities may, as Barker notes (p.107), gradually be 'incorporated into the developmental cycles of the social system' (see 'A brief on national youth programmes', for a description of youth projects and programmes sponsored by the National Youth Movement Program, Department of Youth and Development 1985).

It is clear that the search for economic and social development has been a continuous one. The reactions in the Daga in Milne Bay and the Nali area in Manus show that the responses were essentially the same as in the Dreikikir area of the East Sepik: 'the road was blocked so we tried another road' (Allen 1979).

Youth as a social movement

Many writers have described the way in which political and economic development efforts have been linked to social movements. In recent years the focus on youth development has reflected similar characteristics to those of earlier social movements. At first glance, the development of a youth movement in Papua New Guinea appears to be a very different social phenomenon from the 'millenarian movements' described by anthropologists. However, the
way in which the Kulalae Youth Fellowship was initially seen as the solution for all the development needs of young people and the focus by youth leaders on vaguely worded ideological and economic goals for youth have more than a little in common with earlier social movements (pp. 110-113). Again, the Goropi Youth Club leaders 'stressed such things as "development", "leadership", "self-reliance" and "helping the people" without attempting to spell out what these ideals might mean in the village context' (p.102).

In 1983, a government White Paper which set out the national youth policy for Papua New Guinea attempted to spell out some of these ideals but without relating them to economic and social variations throughout the country. Statements regarding the policies and objectives of the National Youth Movement Program reflected a belief that young people could become a radical force for political and economic change (Office of Youth, Women, Religion and Recreation 1983a). More recently, the Youth Production Training Programme was funded under the 1985-88 National Public Expenditure Plan to provide an economic base for young people (see National Planning Office 1984, Department of Youth and Development 1985 and 'Youth budget 1985. K5.7 million for youth and development' You on the Move 1(1) July/August 1985:1-2).

Expectations that large-scale economic projects will now be accessible for youth groups throughout the country may lead to unrealistic notions of the ease with which the 'cargo' will arrive. These unintended consequences of government efforts to provide opportunities for rural youth may reinforce attitudes to development which result from a lack of understanding of the conditions necessary for economic growth. One such example of how magico-religious rituals may be used as a means to achieve economic development was observed recently by a geographer carrying out a survey in the Daga area of Milne Bay. He was told by informants that followers of this movement 'invested' ten kina with the controller of the ritual and confessed their 'sins' to him. By performing certain rituals they believed that they would receive one hundred kina which would mysteriously 'come floating to them' (Stephen Ranck personal communication).

Disillusionment with modern approaches to 'development' may also help to explain the phenomenon which I observed in Manus in December 1984 when a group of Makasol supporters (at times numbering some hundreds), waited at the beach at Lorengau for a dugong which they said was coming with 'riches' from Vanuatu. Many of the supporters were products of the introduced education system and had been or were currently employed in the formal workforce. Others were older villagers or young people who had just left community or high schools and were back in the village waiting for something to turn up.
In an introduction to the study of a millenarian movement in the Bogia area of Madang in the 1950s, it was noted that: 'they want to mould and shape for themselves and their children a new, more satisfying world' (Burridge 1960:xviii). Younger members of a society may be much more ready than their elders 'to grasp the opportunity to become what they think they might be' (ibid.:xix). The links between social movements, labour recruitment schemes and responses to introduced education have suggested to a number of observers that earlier social movements arose from the 'overall effects of European impact' on Melanesian societies and that it would be simplistic to look for any single causative factors (see Worsley 1957, Lawrence 1964, Morauta 1974, May 1982a and 1982b for discussions of social movements in the last thirty years).

The introduction in 1980 of a national youth movement programme differed markedly from other social movements which developed as a result of interactions between introduced ideas or beliefs and traditional social systems. However, it is important to note that the response by many youth groups reflects a search for solutions to frustrating and bewildering situations and a belief that formal structural and organizational rituals will somehow bring economic benefits to the group which 'follows the right procedures'. Where youth groups have been more closely linked to existing social structures within the community (as, for example, the Baruni Youth Fellowship described by Haraka Gaudi in chapter 8), it may be easier to manage the problems that arise as the youth organization is part of the society rather than a force which is seen as antagonistic, or even irrelevant, to existing social institutions and values.

The strong attraction of religious movements for many young people is illustrated by a recent social movement in Baruni which had at its centre a fifteen year old girl who claimed to have gained miraculous powers to heal the sick and physically disabled. During the weeks following her emergence as a faith-healer hundreds visited Baruni every day; some seeking a cure, others curious to see what rituals were being performed (see 'The Baruni miracle girl: 7000 cured says officer' and 'Doctor receives threats after criticism' Post-Courier 21 October 1985:2).

As several writers point out in the studies which follow, the role played by official church agencies has been a major factor in the success or failure of many youth movements. In 1981, a workshop sponsored by the National Youth Movement Program brought together fifty youth workers from different churches to discuss ways in which government and church youth projects and activities could be combined ('Christian declaration on youth and development', Youth on the Move 1(3) June-July 1981:1-4, and O'Collins 1984:80-83). However, while
church leaders have often been the initiators of youth programmes, equally there have been times when they have seen independent youth activities as dangerous and a source of conflict within society.

Youth in conflict with society

Any discussion of youth in conflict with society carries with it a sense of history repeating itself as much of what is said and written in the 1980s is a reiteration of concerns voiced in earlier periods of colonial history. For example, when the South Pacific Commission welfare adviser visited Papua New Guinea in 1972, he noted that:

Another important index of social breakdown is the incidence of juvenile delinquency and adult crime. During the seven years from 1964 to 1971, the population of Port Moresby increased by 20 percent [sic]. During the same period, crime increased nine times. This is a clear and present warning of the trouble that lies ahead.

Those working closely with juvenile delinquents are finding that the usual wayward type of delinquent boy is being replaced by a tough, junior gangster type, modelled after criminal heroes they read about in comic books. There are gangs of youth who admire criminals who can outsmart police (Fox 1976: 98-99).

The concerns voiced by informants in 1972 are echoed by Lynn Giddings in her discussion of the Eastern Highlands Rehabilitation Committee's attempts to address the problems of juvenile delinquency and adult crime in the 1980s (chapter 9). Many of the young people in conflict with society need help to return home to their families and rural communities. However, different problems arise for urban youth who leave school and cannot find wage employment. Some are the children or grandchildren of earlier generations of urban migrants and others are from urban or peri-urban villages where traditional ways of life have been eroded by the growth of the town around them.

The Baruni Youth Fellowship (chapter 8) is an example of the development of a church sponsored youth group as a response to the concern of older members of the community that the youth of the village were at odds with society. Success or failure are relative terms and it is important to stress that community involvement has continued to be the key to the integration of young people into Baruni society. For youth organizers and leaders as well as young people themselves this sense of concern has been a cohesive force in the face of other more disintegrative pressures of modern living.

What happens, however, when conflicts with the established order appear to seriously threaten the security of society?
During the early 1980s, the initial response from government and community was to turn to harsher penalties and the strengthening of law enforcement agencies and structures as the answer to the increase in violent criminal activities, often thought to be carried out by out-of-school unemployed youth. Although the draft Youth Court Service Act drawn up in 1978-79 placed considerable emphasis on probation and rehabilitation and a Probation Act was passed in 1979, real action to implement change did not take place (Office of Home Affairs 1978 and O'Collins and MacPherson 1980). During the early 1980s the Chief Probation Officer was unable to obtain staff and resources to meet the increasing need for contact with juvenile offenders, their families and communities. Assistance from church or community voluntary workers helped to a degree and a major factor in the development of community concern and involvement has been the work of the Eastern Highlands Rehabilitation Committee. In chapter 9 Lynn Giddings describes the hopes and achievements, frustrations and disappointments of this pioneer rehabilitation movement, and the setting up in 1983 of a probation service. In September 1985, after moves had been made to set up similar services in Lae and Madang, the Papua New Guinea Judicial Conference called for the establishment of a nation-wide probation service ('Judges in call for probation' Post-Courier 27 September 1985:2, also 'Morobe probation system under way', Post-Courier 5 November 1985:11).

Although community involvement in probation and preventive work with young people is an important contribution to the search for solutions to current law and order problems experienced in Papua New Guinea, non-government responses by their very nature tend to be fragmented and situational. A fundamental issue is whether official government programmes have tended to target and even scapegoat youth as the cause of the problems facing society. Emphasis on short-term employment or youth projects may be a pragmatic response to political pressures but can at best provide only a partial solution to the marginalization of unemployed out-of-school urban youth.

In 1985 the national government developed a Medium Term Development Strategy which emphasized economic growth, rural development and the encouragement of private sector (including foreign investment) initiatives (Department of National Planning and Development 1985). It is understandable that in this climate the search for alternative strategies for youth development will focus on economic projects on the one hand and social control strategies on the other. My discussion of alternatives (chapter 10) points to the differences in needs and circumstances among urban youth and, as other writers in this collection have also noted, it is clear that no one solution will be satisfactory.
Other perspectives on youth and society

The relationship between youth, their elders and the state is another dimension discussed by observers of current law and order problems in Papua New Guinea. Louise Morauta (1985:19) points out that:

What is not appreciated is that the state is as much to blame as the people for the absence of co-operation. Law and order problems are in some sense created by the state. Legitimacy cannot grow from co-operation with the state, it is a precondition for co-operation. The change has to come in state policies and approaches.

Another writer sees the 'rascal phenomenon' in Port Moresby as reflecting structural changes in the power base of society and a 'relationship both to tradition and modernity' (Schiltz 1985). Youth are seen as confronting and challenging the state rather than the community or elders in a society. Yet, for Papua New Guinea and many other island nations in the South Pacific, the 'state' is a new and fragile entity, still only half-understood by the greater majority of its citizens. As one observer points out, in a discussion of socio-historical factors influencing delinquency among young ethnic Fijians in Suva, the problems confronting youth and their elders can only really be considered in the historical context of colonialism (Monsell-Davis forthcoming).

Finally, the problems and social dislocation of youth have often only been seen in terms of male youth and women have been ignored or even seen as not being involved in the changes taking place in their communities or the nation as a whole. Solomon Yowait (p.47) suggests that one reason may be:

... a strong common assumption by the Daga people that most female school leavers are very unlikely to migrate to the towns in search of educational and employment opportunities like their male counterparts.

While earlier records of labour migration and current rural surveys show that many short-term migrants have been young men, women have been even more affected by the social and economic changes taking place in urban and rural communities. Young women are involved in government and church sponsored youth groups and have been active participants in many social movements but, as Bryant Allen (p.34) comments:
Although the term 'youth' has largely male connotations, I recognize that the problems of young women in Papua New Guinea are considerably greater than those of young men; that they are quieter and less violent is not an excuse to ignore them (p.34).

The H.A.J. Fryer collection contains photographs from Lese in the Gulf Province in 1949 showing that women were employed as carriers and camp cooks (New Guinea Collection, University of Papua New Guinea Library; see Aitsi 1985, Cole et al. 1985, and O'Collins et al. 1985, for discussions of different aspects of the changing roles of women). However, more needs to be done to adequately record their contribution to past and present struggles to achieve 'development' in communities throughout Papua New Guinea.

There are many ways of looking at the responses of young people and their communities to the changes taking place within and outside Papua New Guinea. Just as youth has many faces, so too community, church and government programmes and responses vary and this diversity of approach is reflected in the descriptions which follow of youth working with, in conflict with, and developing with other members of their society.
ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND SOCIAL CHANGE
Chapter 2

GROPING FOR DEVELOPMENT: THE EXPERIENCE OF A SMALL VILLAGE COMMUNITY

Nahau Rooney

Introduction

This is a story about 'Kia-Tou', a village business group of the Bulihan Lahan village in the Nali area of Manus Island. Kia-Tou was incorporated as a business group in 1980, and is located in Lorengau, the provincial centre for Manus Province.

In the Nali language, Kia-Tou means: 'we must move on'. I want to tell the story of Kia-Tou not because it is a successful business group, nor because it is a failure, but because it is a story of 'moving on with life in the village'. It is not sufficient to describe Kia-Tou as merely a business group that provides employment or services and attempts to make profits for the village as it has come about through the vision, leadership, commitment and hard work of many of our village people. Some are dead but many who are old men and women are still participating in some way or other in what goes on in the village today.

This is a story of how one village community is attempting to improve their own life-style. Through Kia-Tou the village hopes to improve basic village services such as water supply, housing, cooking facilities, lighting, health services and education for the children so that life can be more enjoyable for those who remain in the village. But the villagers realize that they need money to provide these services. To wait for the Government to do it, they will be waiting all their lives.

Kia-Tou is made up of the entire village: men and women, young and old, the educated and those who have no formal schooling, village traditions and new ways. It is shared ideas, knowledge, skills and talents plus hard work and commitment from all members of the village community. But it is also an attempt to accommodate the modern economic system within traditional Manus society in order to obtain the best result.
The process of 'groping for development' is simply the sum total of the experiences, decisions and consequences thereof for this one community.

Bulihan Lahan Village: the setting

Bulihan Lahan is a small village with a population of no more than 300 people. It is located in the inland of Manus Island, the largest of the group of islands (also known as the Admiralty Islands), that make up Manus Province, which has a population of thirty thousand people spread sparsely over many smaller islands and along the coast of Manus Island.

The islands' main products are copra, cocoa, trochus shells and rubber. But within Papua New Guinea the province is best known for exporting manpower. About a quarter of its population live outside the province. There is no major economic industry to employ the hundreds of educated Manus men and women and the government can only employ a small number of people. Consequently, most of the educated people have to seek jobs outside the province.

The islands have a rich culture. Marriage ceremonies, funerals and child birth are main occasions for basic socio-economic activities among the people. But Manus is best known throughout the country for the famous 'tam-mana' dancing to the tune of Manus garamuts, comprised of six large but different sized hollow logs which provide a booming dramatic rhythm.

Life in the village

In any given community there exist people of different generations - children, youth, the middle-aged and the elders. The Nali people refer to four main stages in a person's life.

M'bunah - a child - all of us begin life as a child. One is a child until he or she reaches the age of twelve or thirteen. The same word can also be used as an adjective to describe an immature adult.

As soon as the child begins to participate in household work, helping the parents in the gardens, fishing or house building, he or she stops being called m'bunah and becomes wihou or pihindrahin, a young man or woman.

Wihou and pihindrahin are what contemporary Papua New Guinea society calls 'youth'. In Nali, and I believe this also applies to Manus society in general, we all want to see that there are many young men and women in the village. They are the most energetic,
resourceful and industrious unit of labour in any society. They make gardens, go out fishing, help build houses, pull canoes, clean the village, perform dances and participate in feasting. The society needs these young men and women. They are the strength and the future of the community. It is also true that if they are not well cared for and their energy is not guided and channelled into productive means they can become very destructive.

Kia-Tou could not survive without these young men and women of Bulihan. They have been the ones and will be the ones that do the jobs. They are the ones that make the leaders' dreams come true.

From this stage one graduates to become tasou, the age category which begins at twenty-five and upwards. These are the married couples who are often too busy taking care of their own young families.

And finally, we have the older folks.

A community without the presence of any one of these four categories of people is often referred to as a community without the fullness of life. The presence of children gives one the feeling of life forever in the future. Youth yield abundant energy and growth. Married couples and families provide stability and progress and the village elders offer wisdom and experience. The society is made up of these different categories of people and any authority wishing to discuss the problems of the children, youth, married couples or the elders cannot do it in isolation from the community. Young men and women, like the elders, are part of the society and their needs and problems must be seen from the community point of view and not with a focus on the youth alone.

Bulihan Lahan is basically an agricultural community. The people live by gardening, hunting, making sago, catching fresh water prawns, and fishing. The main income of the village is obtained from garden produce sold at the market in Lorengau. It is only recently that the people have begun growing rubber and cocoa but this is not sufficient to make any significant economic contribution.

The only communication with the village is by a one hour walk from the main road across the Lawes River, making regular access very difficult. Because of the geographical isolation and the minute status of the village, it does not get any attention from the government and there is no school or aid post in the village. The nearest school and aid post are a two hour walk from the village. The only people who go in and out of village are the villagers themselves as there is no reason for other people to go there.
This is a typical description of many small villages in Manus and throughout Papua New Guinea. Like other communities, Bulihan has had more than its fair share of outside influences. First the churches, then the Second World War, then the colonial administrators, and now our very own Papua New Guinea government.

Changes in the village

Youth leaving the village is no new thing. Prior to the Second World War, the young men of the village went away working as manki mastas or labourers on plantations. Some went as far as Rabaul, Salamaua, Bulolo or Wau in the Morobe Province, Madang, New Ireland or Bougainville.

Many of these men are now old men but they still tell of their experience with great pride and honour. As one of the older folks recalled during one of our village meetings:

You see Nakimat (the name everyone calls me in the village), you and your brothers go away and leave our village for a good reason - you leave to receive education and to train for a job that gives you a worthwhile income - but as for us, your uncle Thomas N'drakuh, Peter Tapo, Kaulei and your father N'drapwanah, it was not for the money that we went away.

Two shillings a month, that was what we got for our pay. But it was for the adventure that we went away. We went to see other places. We went and made many new friends with people from other parts of Manus. and if three or four of us found ourselves in places outside Manus we became just like real brothers.

And even in these early days your aunty Nakimat, who is your namesake, accompanied her husband to Bulolo and Wau.

The Second World War, however, made everyone return home, and by 1946 most of those men who were young and energetic and had had that outside experience took an active role in village leadership.

These experiences were not limited to Bulihan village alone. Many villages on the southeast coast of Manus were effected. Other Manus people who had experienced lives as labourers on the foreign owned plantations or as carriers or as domestic servants concluded that there was a difference in the life style of the white men they served as opposed to their own life style in the village. One thing they concluded was that the key to the white men's world of knowledge
and wealth was through education, and once you had education, you could get a paid job. This became the driving force which unexpectedly split the village in 1946 when more than half the village left Bulihan in search of an improved village life and education.

Under the leadership of Kambuou N'drole, Peter Tapo, Lukas Pombuai and Thomas N'drakuh, and influenced by Paliau Maloat, they led men, women and children to settle in a new environment on the south coast of Manus. The Bulihan people were joined by other Nali people and by 1949 a completely new village, known as M'Bunai had been established made up of people from six villages.

Many new villages like M'Bunai were established along the coast and the islands in the southeastern part of Manus. These villages became the centres of the Paliau Movement area which formed the Baluan Local Government Council, one of the first local government councils established in Papua New Guinea in the early 1950s (the others were at Rabaul in East New Britain and Hanuabada in Port Moresby). It established schools, aid posts, and a forum where councillors met once every two months to discuss matters concerning the welfare of their communities.

The most significant fact was that the people made the decision to leave their land and property, gardens and fruit trees, houses and traditions for something completely new. This required strong conviction and faith to be able to make a sudden cut from one's tradition. This was a very dramatic scene and it was also a very traumatic experience. At M'Bunai our people, who are land cultivators, hunters and gatherers, suddenly found themselves in an environment where they had to learn new skills such as building and sailing canoes which were the main form of transport.

Our people learned to fish and acquired a whole new set of skills related to the use of marine water and to living near the sea. Our people were surprised to see the many resources of the sea but they soon became accustomed to living on the coast.

Kambuou N'drole, a traditional leader who spear-headed the move to M'Bunai, continued to be the village leader. He was elected a councillor and remained a councillor until he resigned in 1966. After twenty years of living at M'Bunai the first generation of Bulihan/M'Bunai children were beginning to leave Manus to get jobs and receive further training in other provinces. Kambuou saw it was time to return to Bulihan.
In terms of acquiring education, the children of those people who went to M'Bunai were able to have access to education. However, the parents did not envisage that education would physically isolate the children from them. They suddenly saw that they were having less influence on the upbringing of their children. And as the children left primary school for secondary boarding school the parents became more concerned at their lack of control of their own children, but there was nothing they could do about it. They still wanted their children to be educated and get a job and earn money so that they could live a better life than the parents. Education eventually drained the entire group of young men and women from the village leaving a whole generation gap.

There were children, parents and older people but wihou and pihindrahain, the youth of the village, had gone.

The education and the training they received did not make them come back to the village, and this made the people very angry. As one of the village men stated:

I have five children, and had it not been for this new school system, I would have been a happy man. Now, this new school made them not want to stay in the village anymore.

Now they changed their mind about school and education. They saw that they had no one to help them with community work any more. Kambuou N'drole realized that at least this generation was not going to return home like his own generation did in 1946. They would be satisfied working for a salary and return to the village only once or twice a year when permitted by their employers.

Not all the children left home. Those who did not make it past primary school came back home, and soon started to produce children at a very early age. This population increase among those who were not originally from the M'Bunai area suddenly prompted the landowners to be cautious about their land. They issued statements to the effect that all residents could continue to make gardens for home consumption only but they could not do anything for monetary gain. In other words, they could use the land for food only but not for cash crops.

Consequently, our people saw no future in this, so in December 1966 they decided, after twenty years of living at M'Bunai, that they had no option but they must go back to the land at Bulihan. They wanted their grandchildren to know that they belonged to Bulihan.
where they owned abundant land, rivers and trees waiting to be tilled and converted to cash to be used to improve village life. Another meeting was called and Kambuou put this proposal before them:

Our children are now big and have gone away. It is now twenty years since we have left our village. The landowners are becoming too strict on the use of their land.

We have been very lucky to feed our children from the use of their land for the last twenty years. I do not believe they will be generous to our children's children. The Government is talking about building a road through to our village. There is a school nearby now for our children to go to.

We have a responsibility to our future children. We will be failing our duty if we have no place for our children if they decide to come back home. I am asking all of you to consider going back to Bulihan.

The decision to move back was not an easy one. It was left up to individual families to decide. During the last twenty years intermarriage had built up new relationships with people of M'Bunai and, although Kambuou was right to say that as a village Lahan people had no claim to traditional land at M'Bunai, individual families through marriage and clan links have no problems with land as long as it is cultivated in the traditional manner.

The news that the Lahan people were returning to Bulihan was received with mixed reactions by those who had stayed behind. Some were happy to see them back but others saw that the return would increase leadership competition and the increased population would place high demand on the use of land. Kambuou, followed by Popat, Pangai and Yawa returned and built their houses back at N'Drayongai. Kambuou died in 1975, just five months before Papua New Guinea gained its national independence - on 16 September 1975. He would have been very proud to celebrate the Independence Day of Papua New Guinea.

These 'changes in the village' tell what our father's generations did. They worked as labourers and domestic servants. They received no formal education but they were anxious that their children, who happened to be of my generation, and the children of future generations must have education.

The youth of my generation owed a lot to our parents for having the foresight and commitment and determination to do what they did so that we could receive formal education. The challenge and the need
of the community during their time was to ensure that the young men and women and the children of the community had an opportunity to start education. They saw it as a duty to provide this opportunity and, when they realized it could not be done in the village, they moved the village to where their children could have access to education. But, when the times changed, some also saw they must return home as access to land was now the important need.

From a community garden to a business group

By the mid 1970s the needs of the community had shifted from education to employment of young people who had completed grade 6. Now we have a number of young people who have not continued at school after grade 6 or grade 8 and who have come back to the village.

These young people have had a different experience to my generation. The formal education they received did not prepare them for the village life. On the other hand, the time they spent at school meant that they missed out on normal village activities, and so missed training that would have prepared them for village life. We have ended up with a generation of people who could not go on with their education even if they wished to continue yet they are too young and lack the necessary skills to be involved in many physical tasks in the village.

However, they are still our children and regardless of whose fault it is, the community has a responsibility to prepare them to be better future citizens. We have a different need and problem now. The community has to come up with a programme that will assist these young people to make better judgements for themselves.

David Drayeu, another village leader of my generation, spearheaded an adult education centre based at Bulihan to cater for the school leavers in the Nali area. The school concentrated on practical skills such as crafts, agriculture, carvings, and on training in aspects of health care, Christianity and leadership. The school lasted for some years but, although it is still in existence in name, its activities have now been scaled down to agricultural production with the ultimate goal of permanent vegetable growing for cash crops.

Making of community gardens and selling the garden produce to establish a village fund became one way of keeping the youth occupied for a short time and our only means of raising the village income. We spent the first eight hundred kina which was earned from these activities to open up a village canteen. The canteen operated very well and was a useful project for a short while but a lack of proper
management, and the failure of village members to pay their credit, caused the canteen to close down. We continued to make gardens and by 1980 we had two thousand kina in the bank.

The work in the garden was being done voluntarily by all the members of the community. While the villagers made gardens and sold garden produce to make money for the village fund, the Bulihan/Lahan wage earners working in Lorengau or outside Manus had to pay ten kina a year towards the village fund. This meant that the entire population contributed to the village fund and had some say in how to spend the money.

In May 1980, a special meeting was held in Lae among the working Bulihan Lahan people. A village leader was represented. At this meeting it was resolved that we would start a business group.

On 8 June 1980, at Bulihan Village, the people formally endorsed in principle the formation of the Bulihan Lahan Business Group. It was also resolved that the village take out a loan of one thousand kina from the village fund to enable the leaders to prepare the registration and other necessary paper work. On the question of membership and membership fees, it was agreed that all members must pay a fee of fifty kina. Anyone, child, woman or man could be a member as long as they observed the customs and values of the Bulihan Lahan village community. Children whose parents or grandparents were from Bulihan Lahan could also become members of the business group.

Later in 1980 the Bulihan Lahan Business Group was incorporated and registered in accordance with the Papua New Guinea Business Groups Act. At the start of our business we had K1,000 from community contributions, K1,500 collected from Membership fees and a Papua New Guinea Development Bank loan of K15,680 - a total of K17,730. We began with two projects:

1. a trade store and general trading;
2. the making of water tanks and village water supplies.

The objectives of the business group are as follows:

(a) to improve our village water supplies;
(b) to improve our housing;
(c) to build a feeder road from the village to the main road;
(d) to provide training and learning skills for our youth who have left school at grade 6 and grade 8 and are now living in the village;

(e) to provide employment for our youth;

(f) to participate and contribute to the economic development of Manus and Papua New Guinea.

The constitution of the business group is guided by village rules and regulations and the traditional customs of the Bulihan Lahan village. We have called the business group Kia-Tou, as our aims are to move to meet development needs now and in the future. The employees of Kia-Tou are restricted to members and descendants of the Bulihan Lahan community so as to avoid any conflict in dispute settlement.

The business group employs a general manager to run the business on behalf of the board of directors whose main task is to formulate policy and to decide on any new business ventures for the group. The board's prime role is to look after the business and make money on behalf of Kia-Tou. In addition, its role includes settling of disputes and attending to complaints between members and the business group, the general manager and employees or members and employees.

A major aim, as noted above, is to provide employment for youth from the village, who usually have no previous skills or experience in the formal work situation. Experience has demonstrated that most of the complaints and disputes arise between the manager and employees and reflect normal employee-employer tensions related to terms and conditions of employees and discipline in the work situation. As a result we have set up a sub-committee known as the management advisory committee comprised of the general manager as ex-officio chairman; two members of the board of directors and representatives of the employees. This committee meets regularly and attends to any internal work related disputes. Minutes of management advisory committee meetings and all documents concerning matters handled by the committee are made available to the directors whenever the board meets.

The board of directors is made up of financial members and senior members of the community. To ensure continuing interest in our village activities we have allocated three positions of the eight member board of directors of Kia-Tou to Bulihan Lahan people who live outside Manus. In dealing with outside business matters they are the
village's representatives, and can speak with authority, and they also have the knowledge and skills necessary to assist the business group.

**Kia-Tou as an extension of the village**

Although we are part of the community and provincial government system these authorities have very little relevance for what happens in the village. Representatives go to the various meetings, come back and inform the village of what is happening, but the decisions of the village are still being made and influenced by the senior village elders, although ideas are often put forward by younger educated people.

There are three significant groups in the village. First the village elders, men and women who are usually concerned with the continuation of customs and traditional obligations connected with birth, marriage or death. The marriage exchange or the bride price ceremony is the main socio-economic activity involving all members of the bride and groom's network of relatives. Basically it is a system where the groom's relatives provide the cash and the bride's relatives provide the food, which includes pigs, sago and garden produce. Today it also includes imported foodstuff such as rice, sugar, flour, tinned fish and meat. The burden and responsibilities of family relatives in terms of cash contribution to either the groom or the bride's party has increased enormously.

Thus the situation has placed great demands and expectations on the younger educated villagers who are expected to help meet these traditional obligations. However, the younger people who have received some education and are either living in the village or working in town may be more concerned about village improvement.

The last group of people are the youths and the children who are dependent on their parents. They have a lot of energy. They are restless and it is important that the community use their energy positively.

Kia-Tou has to operate not only as a viable business but it must also take into account all the customs and traditional obligations of its members which include these three groups. In other words Kia-Tou is merely an extension of the Bulihan Lahan village. Being a village business group it is not surprising to see that Kia-Tou cannot operate fully as a commercial enterprise. One reason why the village business group cannot follow strict business management and control of employees is because if it did no one would turn up to work!
Secondly, in a true commercial enterprise sense, Kia-Tou actually should not operate because its profits are very marginal compared to the problems it has to go through to survive.

But it is not because of any monetary gains that Kia-Tou continues to exist.

**Achievements and problems**

In monetary terms we have no more than two thousand kina in the village fund passbook with just as much in the bank now as when we started the business group in 1980.

But on the other hand Kia-Tou has provided a system of employment for our young people. It has a workforce of twelve but sometimes, depending on the demand, it can employ up to twenty people. Except for one or two senior workers, most of the employees of Kia-Tou are young men and women whose ages range from fourteen or fifteen to nineteen or twenty years. The business group is providing an opportunity to learn skills such as welding, soldering, carpentry, purchasing, accounting and costing for these young people who have none of these skills when they first come to work for Kia-Tou.

Although it is sometimes hard to see the evidence of village improvement, Kia-Tou has paid over K30,000 in wages, and this money has gone directly back to the village. At this stage it is too early to make an assessment but eventually the advantage of this income will pay off as those who are employed will get married and use some of their earnings to improve their own house or family. This income also means that these young men can meet their traditional obligations.

Two years ago Kia-Tou installed ten water tanks in the village. This is more than any authority, government or private, has done for any village in Manus. The villagers are very proud of the fact that it is their own business group that has done this for them.

Kia-Tou is not all that blessed. While I can happily count the advantages of the business group I must also highlight some of the problems that we have had to face. Because Kia-Tou is located in the township of Lorengau, the provincial headquarters, the employees are not living in the village. The business must inevitably provide accommodation and food for the workers. This has meant that we have brought our young people out of the village environment and have placed them in an urban centre away from the care of their parents. We try to compensate for this by sending them home at the weekend, but we cannot really force them to go back to the village.
Like all young people with abundant energy this may not always be used productively and the Kia-Tou boys are no exception. They are involved in sporting and other activities around the town, and sometimes this includes fighting with other youth groups. And once they are involved in activities that could land them in court there is nothing the board of directors can do about it. The Board can only control the business side and if any Kia-Tou employees break the law they have to be tried by the court of law like any other urban resident. So this is another factor to be considered when employing school leavers from the village who have little or no experience of town life.

Kia-Tou employs more men than women. This is because the parents do not want to see their daughters coming to work and living in town. Another problem is the training aspect as Kia-Tou lacks the personnel to do more than help each new employee to learn on the job, mainly from other more experienced workers.

So this is the story of Kia-Tou. Today the villagers see it as something that they have created by themselves to help give employment and some kind of training to our young people. They see it as an alternative to government because Kia-Tou is beginning to provide some essential services that have not been provided by the government, although it is not the only answer to village development.

In search of education our fathers' generation went to M'Bunai so that their children could receive some form of education. Today our need is different. We want cash, because we need money to improve basic village living standards so that the people can spend their time on other matters such as learning or reading about other people and other ways of doing things. Tomorrow's needs and challenges may be different and all Kia-Tou is doing is preparing yet another generation of the Bulihan Lahhan people to be better leaders of tomorrow; for they too will become men and women, fathers and mothers and the task of building and improving village services is an on-going effort by all as we: 'move on with life in the village'.
Oil Search Limited labourers, Fryer's house, Aitape. c. 1934. (H.A.J. Fryer collection)

Lapua, Wepo, Iala and Andoli; field cooks for O.S.L. c. 1934. (H.A.J. Fryer collection)
Lapua and friend sailing a boat. c. 1934. (H.A.J. Fryer collection)

Lapua learning to write. c. 1935.
(H.A.J. Fryer collection)
Mapina, Lapua, Werwe with hunting dogs, 1938.
(H.A.J. Fryer collection)

Field staff packing a camp table, 1938.
(H.A.J. Fryer collection)
Crossing the river near Nigira, 1938. (H.A.J. Fryer collection)

Taking supplies from a canoe near Sumor, 1938. (H.A.J. Fryer collection)
Making camp at Nigre August 1943. (H.A.J. Fryer collection)

Number 3 'soccer team', Yilui, September 1943.
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Number 3 'soccer team', Yilui, September 1943. (H.A.J. Fryer collection)
Chapter 3

FIVE GENERATIONS OF YOUTH AT DREIKIKIR

Bryant Allen

One characteristic of modern Papua New Guinea is an extremely short institutional memory. Foreigners with valuable experience elsewhere in the world arrive in Papua New Guinea to work in a bureaucracy which cannot inform them of the evolution of present policy, or the reasons why present policy is seemingly not working. Outside of the bureaucracy, the history of much of the country is not published except in the broadest terms, and then often as a form of colonial history. This is understandable in a country where the majority of people are not literate and the writing of oral history is not given great national significance, despite the efforts of some individuals and institutions. Another problem facing the new arrival is the extreme cultural and physical diversity of the country which is either so inhibiting that newcomers have great difficulty in moving outside of major urban areas, or they are forced to ignore the diversity and develop broad programmes at a national level. These factors go some way in explaining why some government policies in Papua New Guinea seem to be 'reinventing the wheel'.

While it cannot be said that a youth programme is reinventing the wheel, because there has not been a youth programme previously, it can be argued that 'youth' have always existed and village communities, which have the longest memories of any institutions in the country, have been coping with the 'problems' of youth for some time. In the last fifty years they have been coping during a period of extremely rapid change. For that reason alone, it behoves us to try and examine how these communities have fared before we attempt to impose, if ever so gently, a solution of our own. But for many other reasons, such an exercise is also useful. It may give us some important insights into the 'problem' and to how it has developed.

This chapter examines the 'problem' of youth in villages in the Dreikikir area of the East Sepik Province. I was first fortunate enough to live in this area in 1971 when, with my family, I spent eighteen months in a village there. Since then I have returned many times. I have for some time been collecting oral and documentary material upon which to base a history of the area, and will use this to examine the situation of youth in these village communities during
the last fifty years. Since it is now almost fifteen years since I first visited the area, many of those who were then children have grown up to become 'youths'. I will use some of their experiences, in the village and beyond, to look at the contemporary situation. I am not going to pretend that this is either an exhaustive examination of the 'youth problem', or that this case applies in areas beyond these particular villages. But it does suggest that the 'youth problem' has always existed in Papua New Guinea and that, at least in some places, it is being replaced by a 'rural people problem'. If that is so then a youth programme as such may be misplaced. I must also apologize for concentrating almost entirely upon male youth. Although the term 'youth' has largely male connotations, I recognize that the problems of young women in Papua New Guinea are considerably greater than those of young men; that they are quieter and less violent is not an excuse to ignore them.

The world of the village

In the Dreikikir area, approximately five generations have passed since the first foreigners crossed the coastal ranges and appeared in the foothills villages. In the north it is a little longer, in the south a little less. In those times, around Dreikikir people rarely moved more than ten kilometres away from their place of birth during their whole lives. An eighteen year old male might have been sent back to his mother's village in exchange for her moving to her husband's village, or he might have fled the village of his birth to relatives in another village to escape punishment for being caught stealing, but he would still have been residing in a village very near to one in which he was born. He would probably be living in a house with a number of other young unmarried men of his clan. If his father were still alive, he would be expected to help him, and his brothers, in gardening and in the frequent exchanges of food which occurred throughout the year. He would almost certainly have been through at least one initiation ceremony, possibly as a child as young as eight years old.

The exchanges and initiations impressed upon him that he belonged to a lineage section and to a moiety, and that his personal security and all his ambitions to make his name known throughout the villages which spoke the same language as his and perhaps a few beyond, would depend on this social group. There were very, very few alternatives, and all of those carried a high risk. His clan and moiety 'fathers' and 'brothers' would protect him from his enemies, support him in public exchanges and help him to arrange a marriage, for without a wife he would be unlikely to come to much. He had to accept their authority until he was strong enough to challenge it and this would certainly not be possible until he was at least around twenty-eight years old and married. He would participate in
skirmishes with enemy groups and might even distinguish himself in battle, although older men were not particularly impressed by foolhardiness and bravado. They distrusted young men who boasted and talked too much and would only be impressed by solid achievements in 'fighting with food', garden production, organizational ability and cool headedness under pressure in exchanges and negotiations.

His relationships with village girls were heavily influenced by what older men told him about the dangers of close contact with sexually active females, and by the institution of the 'girls house' in which young women invited young men to join a group of young people to sit, cuddle, whisper, and perhaps make love. But the girls had been warned by older women that to go beyond 'heavy petting' was to risk an unwanted pregnancy. Marriage was out of the question until he was older. Like most young men of his age, he was finding youth a frustrating time, in which he was neither child nor man.

There are few surviving first hand accounts of what the life of 'youth' was like in these villages but one, recorded in 1936, suggests that young men were only too pleased to take advantage of a situation to cause everyone a certain amount of discomfort. J.K. McCarthy, then a patrol officer, had persuaded some men from Tauhimbiet village to accompany him to Tauhundor, to try and patch up a scrap between the two villages. However:

... their appearance put the erstwhile Taunhundoa [sic] people into a frenzy. The lulului and many older (and more sensible) men of the place tried to pacify the angry mob which now came yelling around the camp...The younger men were the worst... In the noise it was impossible to do anything. At last the older men made themselves heard and an elderly lulului showed great courage in rushing in and soundly beating some of the youths who were armed with axes and spears (McCarthy 1936-37).

Boredom and frustration with everyday village life must have also contributed to the propensity for young men to leave their villages and accompany the first foreigners into the area. It is true the first few were taken by force, but as soon as they returned and told what they had seen, a stream of young men left their villages, frequently against the wishes of their parents, and some against the wishes of the labour recruiter. Akolasa of Kuyor village describes what drew him to follow recruiter Diwai Wood:

When Wood came to Wesor, he had a man from Kubriwat with him. He was the interpreter. Wood gave steel knives to our fathers. I was fascinated by this man, this white man. I followed him. He said I was too young to go with
him, but I followed him anyway...(until) I was too far from home to go back alone. I was frightened, but I wanted to go with him, to see where he came from (Akolasa's narrative in Allen 1976:393-396).

Beyond the village

Here was the first evidence that a world existed beyond the village, where despite hardships and danger, it was possible to live without the restrictions of the village. And on returning to the village, the experiences and the wealth acquired in the outside world raised the prestige of the young man. Young men had few village responsibilities and could easily avoid the restrictions of their parents and elders to follow the foreigners. During the 1930s teams of geologists exploring for oil in the district were accompanied by a host of young boys between twelve and sixteen years old, whom they called 'mankis' or 'rats'. The boys helped hold umbrellas, kept flies off plane tables, lit fires, boiled billys and did washing. In return they were fed and their sores were treated. As the parties moved through the area new boys appeared and others dropped off, returning home. Some were employed temporarily as personal servants (see photographs from the Fryer collection pp. 28-32). For many it was the precursor to longer periods of employment as indentured labourers.

Three years on a plantation became a new sort of initiation, to the extent that almost all youths indentured themselves between 1920 and 1960. Some spent only three years away, while others served three or four indentures, sometimes returning home briefly between them. Those men who stayed for long periods contrast the restrictions of the village, including the isolation, with the excitement of life on the Gazelle Peninsula. The first indenture was the hardest. After that youths became 'plantation-wise' and could find themselves better conditions, and joined other youths from their home areas. Young men also began to identify with affiliations, broader than the village, that they had not known before. As the late Kokomo Ulia, a former member of the House of Assembly, explained:

When we were here in the village we said, we are one village, they are another, they are another village, and so on. When we were outside we changed our names and called ourselves Sepiks. First we called ourselves Aitapes, then we called ourselves Sepiks (Kokomo Ulia's narrative in Allen 1976:340-351).
The plantations also forced young Papua New Guineans to recognize their ethnicity. The social structure of Rabaul of the 1930s has been described as a 'caste' system in which the indentured labourer was at the bottom (Reed 1943). The hardship and the racism were bearable because they were shared and because of the excitement of being close to the centre of foreign enterprise. The plantations removed hundreds of youths from their villages and gave them experiences which would have almost certainly resulted in rapid changes, even if the Pacific War had not intervened.

During the 1930s older village men had been appointed as government representatives. The village luluai was appointed by the colonial administration and could not be removed from his position by village based coups. So young men returning from the plantations were often unable to achieve the rapid changes in village conditions which they wished. Conflicts were not uncommon and the luluais were supported by patrol officers, who had no time for 'stirrers' and 'smart arses'. This may explain why many signed new contracts and returned to the plantations, rather than settle down at home.

The Pacific War

Just as the plantations drew young men to them, despite the hardship experienced, so the war impressed itself most deeply on the country's youth, but at the same time fascinated and excited them. It was largely the youth of Papua New Guinea who became carriers, policemen and soldiers during the Pacific War. Many died in service to all participants, but others experienced the exhilaration of killing with modern weapons and the awe of participating in a monstrous enterprise with people from all parts of the world. Young Dreikikir men served and worked all over Papua New Guinea and other writers have described their experiences (for example, Nelson 1980). An incident which occurred in the area between Dreikikir and Lumi serves to illustrate one dimension of the 'youth problem' as it existed in the 1940s.

Numerous young Sepik men, police and carriers, were involved in an abortive operation to infiltrate Australian troops into the Upper Sepik above Ambunti to threaten Japanese lines of communication to the west. Known as Moss Troops, the operation failed when it was attacked by Japanese forces. During the withdrawal a number of carriers and policemen were left behind. Armed and equipped with supplies from abandoned dumps, they avoided capture and made their way north to the foothills where they lived by terrorizing villagers whom they accused, correctly, of being pro-Japanese. An inquiry into allegations that this group had raped a number of women, shot and wounded at least one older village male, and burned houses lists the ages of the party: there were sixteen involved, the oldest
twenty-five and the youngest sixteen, with an average age of nineteen years. Due to the conditions at the time they were only lightly punished (Stanley 1944).

Post-war years

In 1946, thousands of similar 'youths' were compulsorily returned to their villages. They refused to settle down under the old authority of traditional leaders and administration appointed officials and caused 'trouble' throughout the country. The unprecedented rise in radical social change movements which occurred in the period 1945 to 1965 was spearheaded by men between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five who were led by men in their thirties. In the Dreikikir area the leaders of a cash cropping movement deliberately chose young men as their village representatives. These same young men supported the cash crop leaders in their conflicts with older traditional leaders and with Australian patrol officers. When these movements failed in the 1950s, many of the young men involved again turned to the plantations to avoid the restrictions of the villages and reports of the time note a high level of absenteeism. By the 1960s, however, the youth of the 1950s had asserted themselves, become leaders in the co-operative movement and had established coffee as a successful cash crop in the area.

Their children, growing up in the 1960s, experienced the penetration of the Dreikikir area by roads, the construction of schools, aid posts and missions. Many of them attended school, at least to the end of primary school. By this time, the Highlands Labour Scheme was in full swing and Sepik labour was no longer in demand, so many of these young men found their way to Lae where a Dreikikir section of a Maprik District community became established near Butibum. They found employment as drivers and labourers with the administration, worked as malaria spray teams and, when they returned home, the rapid changes which were linking their villages with the rest of the country and providing access to services previously unobtainable, created feelings of hope and rising expectations.

Young men returned home, married and became involved in cash cropping. Village leaders were now the men who had led the radical movements in the 1950s and they had built up great reserves of admiration and respect from younger people. They became local government councillors and members of parliament.

The youth of today are the children of this generation. More than any previous generation they have been formally educated, and more than any previous generation, the hopes of the village community have rested upon them. In the early 1970s, they were the small
children I watched scurrying off to school through the early morning mists. Their parents told me they wanted them to become doctors and nurses, kiaps and didimen, to work for the 'government' and learn about the European's secret of the generation of wealth. Their dreams were so unrealistic that both parents and children were bound to be disappointed.

It was not long before parents and children realized that the education system was sifting out the majority of children and returning them home, and only a minority were going on to further schooling and employment in the towns. Those who returned to the village, did so with a deep sense of failure. They shrugged it off with a certain bravado, but they were confused, because they never learned why they had failed and why others had succeeded.

In the 1970s, these school drop-outs stayed in the village only briefly before they left for Lae, Rabaul, Wewak or the Hoskins oil palm blocks, seeking work, adventure, or both. This was the then well established tradition; youth left the village to seek their fortune in the outside world. Sometimes letters would arrive reporting employment, and sooner or later, most young men seemed to find a niche, some never to return.

In the early 1980s this situation changed relatively suddenly. News of the recession reached the villages. A number of young men who had what they assumed was permanent employment returned home rather than face poverty in the town, their fares paid by the town dwelling community or from the last pay they received before their sacking. Few of them planned to stay permanently. They were 'waiting', they said, for things in the towns to improve. Numbers of other school leavers, chastened by the experiences of their slightly older brothers, have stayed in the village, the first generation of youth to do this since the 1930s. When questioned about the possibilities of village enterprise they complain of being unable to obtain land, or prevent the community appropriating the produce of their labours. But as they wait, their girlfriends are becoming pregnant, marriages are being arranged, gardens cleared and new houses built. This generation of youth is being integrated into the villages at a younger age and with less difficulty than preceding generations.

Precursors

Three events of particular interest to the 'youth' situation have occurred in this area since the early 1970s. A regional millenarian-political movement, the Peli Association, was widely accepted throughout the district (May 1982b:31-62). This movement promised the overthrow of the established order, including urban
based and employed Papua New Guineans. It directly involved large numbers of school 'drop-outs', both male and female. They worked long hours attempting to produce money in special houses, and marched and drilled enthusiastically under the leadership of much older men. Just as the community had placed (or misplaced) its faith in youth in the formal education system, it now placed its faith in youth in the rituals of the Peli Association. When the movement slowly faded away, people did not blame the youthful members (although they were upset at the high pregnancy rate among the females); they blamed the older leaders, whom they said had made promises they could not keep.

After the failure of Peli, there occurred a revival of traditional initiation and exchanges in the Dreikikir area. These ceremonies had been largely in abeyance since the 1960s. This revival was led by the very men, who as 'youths' had argued for their abandonment as 'useless' because they did not produce 'money'. They expressed a number of motives, but one was to show the cult secrets to the young men before the increasing deaths of older men caused them to be lost for ever. The most interesting reason given for the revival, however, is that they are the only people who know how to stage these ceremonies; nobody else in the world knows the secret paintings and songs and therefore nobody can legitimately direct them in this area. The young men involved point out that those youths who have left the village for higher education and the towns will not have this opportunity. The manner in which the young men were placed into the 'holes of their ancestors', or the places formerly occupied by their parents and grandparents in the ceremonial organization, drew together this latest generation with past generations.

The third event involved the only major outbreak of social disorder in the area for almost fifty years (if the continual accusations of sorcery are put aside). In the late 1970s a rash of breaking-and-entering of houses and trade stores occurred in the area. These crimes were committed by 'youths', who had been taken into seclusion by older men and taught the secrets of sanguma sorcery. Using this they could render themselves invisible (a sure way of escaping detection), and they could also attack people who attempted to prevent the robberies. People were very frightened at this turn of events, but it was brought to a stop by firm action by the local member of parliament and the police. Local opinion exonerated the youths, however, as they blamed the older men who had led them into evil. This situation has some parallels to the 1950s, when sanguma first spread into this area and villages paid for 'youths' to undertake training, in order to defend their own communities from the dangers of ritual attacks.
Conclusions

The separation and alienation of youth from the village has been presented as a serious problem in Papua New Guinea, but at Dreikikir, in the long view of fifty years, it is less of a problem today than it was between 1930 and 1950. Today young people seem to have fewer conflicts with older people or with the community in general, than was the case in the past.

Prior to the 1970s the towns were seen by villagers as European enclaves into which Papua New Guineans had restricted entry to seek employment. After self-government, urban based Papua New Guineans became more prominent and, for a short time, people in rural areas believed their children would be able to participate in the urban economy through the medium of education. But, as it became clear that only a minority of village children would make it into permanent urban employment, both older village people and village youth who had remained behind, began to identify themselves as 'bush' people, in contrast to 'town' people. In this situation, generational differences become less important, although they do not entirely disappear.

The abilities of youth to read and write and do simple arithmetic are becoming more important to the village as a whole, and lead to older people giving greater respect to the young. Their participation in the revived ceremonies is also important. For their part, young people are becoming increasingly aware that their right to land in the village is their most valuable asset and that their future probably lies in the village and not outside it.

Finally, I suggest the youth problem in the villages of Dreikikir is not more serious than the normal differences which occur between generations everywhere, and the normal difficulties confronted by all adolescents. The return of young people to the villages, in the face of the economic recession in the towns, has reduced the youth problem of the nation. If this is true then the villages of Dreikikir do not require a 'youth programme' to solve the problems of youth. they require a 'rural development programme' to reduce the effects of rural poverty, which endanger the whole community, young and old. This is not to argue that in some parts of the country a youth problem does not exist. But it does suggest that the youth problem of the nation is as diverse as the nation, and will not be solved by a programme which cannot take account of this diversity.
FIGURE 2.1

Source: Department of Natural Resources, 1977 Open Electoral Boundaries.
Chapter 4

THE AGAUN CATTLE FARMERS: YOUTH MOVING TOWARDS THE CASH ECONOMY

Solomon B. Yowait

The major research on which this paper is based was carried out from November 1983 to January 1984 in Agaun village in the Milne Bay Province of Papua New Guinea. Agaun is my own home village and information was obtained from mission, government, and village officials as well as from participant observation. I would like to express my appreciation of the help given to me by community and church leaders during the period of my research.

Introduction

Increasingly in Papua New Guinea, as in many countries of the Third World, concerned parents and community leaders complain about the numerous problems which are caused by youth in towns and villages. This group consists of both young people who have had some formal education at the primary and secondary levels and those who have not attended any school at all.

Some of the youth tend to cause problems because they are dissatisfied with, or have a declining interest in, traditional village organization concerned with decision-making about agricultural activities, marriage arrangements, feast giving and other forms of exchange and reciprocity. These traditional forms of organization are based on leadership systems, work habits, norms, values, agricultural practices and cultural beliefs which have been carried on from one generation to another. Youth are expected to carry on the practices involved to ensure the continuation of the traditional culture of their particular society. However, problems arise when modern forms of organization with distinct sets of concepts and values are introduced into the traditional societies. This causes conflicts between existing traditional practices and beliefs and introduced concepts and types of modern organization. The basic problem is adaptation to the modern ways which means that the old ways are affected and changes are made to the social, political and economic life of the people.
Educated youth are the agents of these changes to the traditional forms of organization. They are caught between the existing traditional and the introduced modern organizations. Therefore their conflicts and frustrations directly affect the sort of activities they engage in, particularly those which are against the rules and regulations of the communities involved. The level of education one has attained has a positive relationship to the motives and desires for modern urban wage employment, so that the higher educated have less to do with village based activities and aspire to modern ways of life. Traditional village communities have less opportunities to offer for the fulfilment of the demands and aspirations of this group of youth. As a result, educated youth migrate to the towns where opportunities may be available to fulfil their needs (see Conroy 1972:355-373).

On the other hand, youth have a great potential contribution to make for rural community development, if this is initiated from within their communities. They have the knowledge and skills which could lead them to be engaged in various village based developmental activities for the benefit of those communities as a whole. Youth are ready for new changes and developments but often have a declining interest in traditional ways of life. Ambition as well as knowledge and skills have been developed during their years of schooling. These educated youth cannot be seen in isolation but are part of the community. Their involvement in, or rejection of, village activities has a considerable influence on the community as a whole.

This paper analyses the activities of the Agaun Cattle Farmers, a youth group which is involved in giving basic training in modern agricultural techniques, carpentry, the building of small hydro-power stations and other technical skills and activities. It discusses the types of activities youth are engaged in at the village level and how these contribute to the total cash economy of the area or, more importantly, how engagement in these activities for a cash income helps to prevent youth from migrating to the towns seeking employment or further education.

Background details of the Agaun Cattle Farmers Youth Group

The Daga area is located in the Rabaraba district of the Milne Bay Province. It covers an approximate land area of 724 square kilometres and consists of mountains, hills and ridges towards the eastern end of the Owen Stanley Ranges. There are several high mountains in this area - Mount Thompson 1,798 metres to the south, Mount Dayman 2,800 metres and Mount Maneyao 2,460 metres high to the north. Below these are smaller mountains and ridges which contribute to the rugged topography of the area (see figures 2.1 and 2.2).
Agau is a small administrative centre (figure 2.3) located about 1000 metres above sea level and 150 kilometres to the northwest of Alotau, the provincial capital. It is situated in a narrow basin between two mountain ranges running east and west. The mountain ridges in the area which determine the course of the rivers that flow towards Cape Vogel also affect the general settlement patterns. As a result, most of the villages in the Daga area are strung out along the rivers in a lined pattern and villagers cultivate the hills and mountain sides for subsistence agricultural crops.

There is no recorded history or archaeological evidence of the early migration and settlement of the Daga area. However, large areas have been deforested and are now covered in grass. Other evidence of human activities and oral history suggest that the period of human occupation of this area has been continuous over several hundred years to the present day. Until the early 1920s, the rugged nature of the area had isolated the people from European contacts and influence. It was not until after the Second World War that the society began to encounter Western influences and thus some changes took effect in the Daga area. Since then changes have gained momentum through introduced organizations. The many ways by which the society has been affected will be discussed in the various sections of this case study.

Demographic features

The Provincial Data System Rural Community Register for Milne Bay Province shows the Daga census division as having a resident population of 4,205 and an absentee population of 515, with a population density of 5.7 persons per square kilometre (National Statistical Office 1981). The resident sex ratio was calculated to be 101 males to every 100 females and the total of 515 absentee consists of 400 males and 115 females of all age groups.
TABLE 4.1: DAGA CENSUS DIVISION COHORTS
Percentages of total population

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age group (Years)</th>
<th>Absentees 6 months or more</th>
<th>Resident Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M  %</td>
<td>F  %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0 - 5</td>
<td>10  0.2</td>
<td>8  0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 - 17</td>
<td>37  0.8</td>
<td>35  0.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 - 45</td>
<td>341 7.2</td>
<td>67 1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46+</td>
<td>12  0.3</td>
<td>5  0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>400 8.5</td>
<td>115 2.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


As the table shows, there are more adult males absent than females among the 18-45 age group. Thus more females are resident than males for this particular age group. In general, males dominate age groups 0-5 and 6-17, while there are more females than males in the age group 46+. High school students and a few in tertiary institutions account for many of the younger absentees in the 6-17 and 18-45 age groups while the majority of the older group are workers in the towns and rural non-villages. Most of the females above the age of eighteen have accompanied their husbands; and children, if they were born in the Daga census division, are also included as absentees.

Most of the young people in the area are involved in youth activities on a village group basis but the data on this is very limited, so that it is difficult to show the real numbers involved. However, there are thirteen young men in the Agaun Cattle Farmers' group and the following table shows their age distribution.

TABLE 4.2: AGAUN CATTLE FARMERS GROUP: AGE DISTRIBUTION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>18 - 22</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23 - 27</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28+</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Agaun Cattle Farmers Group Members.
The age distribution varies among the members of the group with the youngest age groups being the new recruits while a few above twenty-seven years are previous trainees who are now assistants in the organization of the group's various activities. It is clear from this distribution that young men did not join the group straight after the completion of their primary education. They stayed away for a few years before joining up with the group, so that those who are in the group now are eighteen years and older.

There are no females in the group because, first, there is no finance to organize female type activities such as sewing, working, cooking and other home economic activities; secondly, there is no one who could supervise those activities which are relevant for females. Furthermore there is a strong common assumption by the Daga people that most female school leavers are very unlikely to migrate to the towns in search of educational and employment opportunities like their male counterparts. This is true unless they are accompanied by their parents and other relatives. Traditional cultural factors also bind the females more strongly than the males to their families and villages. Therefore, apart from high school students, most female primary school leavers rarely migrate to towns. So the type of activities which are organized by the Agaun Cattle Farmers group are only for the young males of the area and serve as a measure to prevent their rural-urban migration.

The Agaun Cattle Farmers group consists of nine single young men and four married men whose ages range from 26-32 years. Since 1981 only seven young men have joined the group while six are older members who have continued to be involved in the organization and the supervision of the group's various activities. During the first few years after its establishment, the group consisted of only single young men until they completed their three year term of training. Then out of the six who remained in the group, four married and two still remain single. The group provides accommodation for both the single and married members and only one or two sleep in their villages and attend the activities on a daily basis.

Social and economic characteristics of the Daga area

The Daga was not contacted and influenced by Western civilization until around 1914 and since then, particularly after the Second World War, many changes have taken place.

One of the many organizations responsible for the changes which have occurred in the area is the Anglican Mission. It established the church there following government patrols from Baniara, then the district headquarters for the Baniara district (this is now the
Rabaraba district with headquarters at Agaun). This particular church set up primary schools and aid posts, and built several airstrips which still serve the population. The central points of change and modernization for the Dagans were through the persuasion and hard work of the Anglican church. In addition to other modern influences provided by government, the church still controls many of the primary schools, aid posts and airstrips in the area.

There are various economic activities carried out on a small scale and subsistence agriculture is the dominant practice in the Daga area (as it is elsewhere in Papua New Guinea and throughout Melanesia). The system involves slash and burn with woody fallow systems, which are cultivated with a variety of crops. The main types are different species of sweet potato, taro, yam, banana and other minor supplementary crops and vegetables. Other newly introduced types are tried and often adopted but the staples are of vital importance (see Brookfield and Hart 1971:88).

Hunting and fishing constitute only a minor part of the activities and are carried out both on an individual and a group basis. It is important to mention here that the type of activities which are organized on a group basis are particularly for giving big feasts and other traditional ceremonies. These may properly be called 'long term hunting and fishing' activities since they involve being away from the villages for two or three weeks in the traditional hunting grounds and river fishing areas.

These activities serve two purposes: first, they are sources of protein; secondly, they are forms of traditional culture. The activities are organized and carried out in the traditional form and are directed towards fulfilling certain significant roles in the society. What is produced from gardening, fishing, hunting and pig breeding (all of which involve magic rituals) are distributed directly and indirectly through feasts, marriage and exchange ceremonies and other forms of reciprocity among the members of the village communities. These ceremonies are carried out occasionally in order to maintain one's position and social links in the community. Thus the major aspects of traditional social and economic systems are oriented towards the achievement of 'prestige and a big name', rather than just as a means of providing wealth.

Cash crops were recently introduced into the Daga area for the purpose of earning a cash income and also for improving the nutrition of the people. Some fruits and vegetables were introduced but Arabica coffee has had the most profound impact on the society. It is the major cash earning crop for the people since its introduction in the early 1960s. The cultivation, production and marketing of this particular crop has enabled the people to earn a cash income and
thus obtain access to modern goods and services. The following table shows the amount of coffee produced between 1978 and 1983:

**TABLE 4.3: AGAUN COFFEE PRODUCE 1978-1983**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Weight (kgs)</th>
<th>Income (Kina)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>76,740</td>
<td>57,917</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>105,120</td>
<td>119,878</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>129,720</td>
<td>133,849</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>94,620</td>
<td>50,158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>14,340</td>
<td>14,220</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td>122,340</td>
<td>97,527</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>142,880</strong></td>
<td><strong>K147,549</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Daga Coffee Producers Society Records.

The Daga Coffee Producers Society is a local association which consists of the growers themselves and has a membership of 800 people. These are shareholders whose produce is sold through this organization to the Department of Primary Industry at Alotau. A farmer produces an average of about ninety-two kilograms and receives an average income of about one hundred kina but this varies due to changes in coffee prices on the world market (details obtained from an official of the Daga Coffee Society, Agaun 1983).

Another cash crop which has been recently introduced into the area is cardamon. This crop is currently cultivated on a pilot project basis by the Department of Primary Industry, but has spread very quickly to the village farmers. Small scale individual cultivation is very intensive and, if the current favourable price trend continues, the producers will respond with increased production within the next few years.

Beef cattle were introduced in the early 1970s by the Agaun Cattle Farmers and since then the Department of Primary Industry has emphasized the need for small scale individual or group cattle farming. Many individuals and interested groups set up small projects through the assistance of the Primary Industry field extension staff. A few of the farmers obtained Development Bank loans to start off their projects. The quota given by the Primary Industry Division for the area was fifteen smallholder cattle projects but only ten were established and since then many of them have proved unsuccessful.
There are several reasons for the unsuccessful operation of those projects: lack of proper pasture management, improper care and treatment of the animals and, most importantly, the lack of stimulating factors such as appropriate business motives and incentives in a community which is traditionally oriented towards prestige reasons for these activities rather than modern economic benefits. Unless these attitudes are changed or done away with such activities will not be economically viable.

English potato was also introduced in the middle of 1960s and has been adopted into the subsistence cultivation system. The crop is mostly suitable for the environmental conditions and grows well. It is mostly consumed locally since the cost of air freighting the produce to the nearest marketing centre is very high. Because of this, previous attempts to airfreight the produce to the market at Aotau proved uneconomic. Other fruits and vegetables were introduced into the area and these are grown and consumed locally, except for a small amount which is sold at the local market at Agaun, mainly to government and mission staff.

Of all the modern agricultural activities carried out in the Daga area, coffee, cattle and, more recently, cardamom, are the major cash earning products with local beef yielding between K400 and K500 per head. The demand for such local produce is very high since the area lacks sources of animal protein. However, problems arise from the need to comply with the health regulations imposed for animal slaughtering. Land use has had to be intensified, particularly as coffee plots and cattle occupy good flat and viable land owned by various traditional clans. This may in the long run create problems of land shortage as the population increases and in turn creates pressure on the limited available land.

Commercial activities, particularly retail trading, are mostly carried on through small family and group stores. In 1979, there was a total of fifty-two licensed trade stores in the Daga Census Division (Daga Local Government Council records).

The data on the present situation is limited but from personal observation it is obvious that many small trade stores have closed and new ones have been established. Kinder, in a survey of commerce in the Daga, found that there was a general lack of perception of profit making as a business motive. The problem was further intensified by the absence of basic managerial skills, financial controls, or a desire to economically improve the situation (Kinder 1979:56).
Again the motives behind the operation of a trade store are perhaps less for profit and more the desire for esteem and recognition within the village community. Of course other factors such as lack of education account for the poor performance in commerce, but the non-economic motives which lead people to more actively participate in traditional activities are the basic reasons for ultimate economic failure. In my opinion, the following are the major reasons for the constraints on, and eventual failure of, retail trading activities in the Daga area.

1. Many owners do not have enough education to maintain a book keeping system and the basic knowledge as to how a retail trade store should be run.

2. The owners need to have the appropriate economic motives and incentives for operating a retail trade store.

3. The costs of moving the store items from the nearest wholesale point is very high. This along with other factors greatly inflates the selling price and customers refuse to buy expensive goods.

4. Relatives and friends who have no regular source of income are allowed to obtain store items on credit and long delays and eventual failure to pay create problems when ordering new stock.

Commercial activities are very complicated and expensive operations in the Daga area as a whole. This is because there is only one mode of transport into and out of the area, which is air transport. Therefore, it would be better for small trade store owners to invest their money in the banks and wait for the highway to link the area, then they could start their business operations. This is possible because there is a bank agency at Agaun in which most of the members of the coffee society, including some small retail store owners, have their passbook accounts. If this happened the larger stores which are financially capable could serve the population quite competitively and more economically.

The four reasons above are significant indicators that most of the small trade stores located in the villages will not be economically viable until such time as the various constraints have lessened and a road transport system has been established.

Nevertheless, the potential for successful business ventures is quite good in the entire area since people earn a considerable amount of income from cash cropping and other activities but have an inadequate supply of store goods and other services for which the
demand is usually very high. There are also abundant forest resources which could be surveyed and exploited. This development would provide employment opportunities and access to other goods and services for the population of the area. In addition, such an industry could prevent rural-urban migration, particularly by those who seek employment opportunities in the towns and rural non-villages.

The history of the Agaun Cattle Farmer's Group

The Agaun Cattle Farmer's group was first formed in 1973 by two local men, Simeon Dodi and Reuben Benben. They were from two separate villages in the Daga area but were both working for the Anglican Mission at the Agaun station. Initially the concept of a youth group organization was learned and experienced in Popondetta, where the two men were attending the Saint Francis College. At the same time the two men worked on the mission's Dennis Taylor Cattle Project as farm assistants.

It was there that the experience of having worked on a cattle farm gave impetus to Simeon Dodi's interest in forming a cattle farmers group back at home. It was also at the college that he met an Australian member of the order of Saint Francis from whom he learnt basic literacy and improved his skills in a number of areas. Apart from this Simeon gradually learnt from his new teacher the basics of cattle farming and management and the mechanics of building small hydro-power stations. These were to become part of his programme for teaching the youth after the formation of the group as Simeon had the interest, confidence and willingness to learn the basic elements and skills which were involved. Then gradually through time he observed, learned and acquired the knowledge and skills which enabled him to carry out those activities on his own (Father Simeon Dodi, 1983 personal communication).

Therefore, before his return home in 1973, he had thought out well in advance the sort of group he was going to form. On his return he assisted the priest in charge at Agaun for the Daga parish and at the same time he gathered young men, mostly from his clan and others who were closely related, and formed the 'Agaun Cattle Farmers' Group'.

During the early years after its formation, the group was sponsored and controlled by the church. The members of the group, including Simeon Dodi as co-ordinator, were paid a small amount every month. Many of the group's activities were sponsored and organized under the church's financial support and authority. For example, in 1974 the group needed financial support to purchase barbed wire for cattle fencing and this was obtained through the financial support of
the parish church. Therefore it is important to note that initially it was the church which gave the impetus to the formation, sponsoring and organization of the group's activities. The church being the overall authority had an obligation and a responsibility to do something for the youth who were being dropped out of its own primary schools. Therefore it clearly foresaw that the establishment of this group would help both the church as a source of income and the youth as well through group activities.

However, according to church authorities now in the Daga, two problems arose. First, the Australian Anglican priest who was now in Sydney was allowed, at his request, to come back and join the group and was welcomed particularly by Simeon's own clan. Secondly, a new co-ordinator and a member the clan took over from Simeon as he was about to undertake his church ministry course back in Popondetta. These were two crucial events which led to the re-orientation of the group's functions away from the authority of the church and its eventual separation. The Daga Anglican parish had thought that the priest had come to be a mission worker to help carry out the work of the church in the area. However, it soon became clear that this was not the case and that he had come to join the Amania clan.

These factors were coupled with the common belief held by the church authorities that the priest was operating a business with the Amania clan to meet their own needs. That was the beginning of tension between the church and the Agaun Cattle Farmers' Group. As a result, the group has moved to three separate locations away from the church's land area until it eventually settled on a piece of land which belongs to the Amania clan. The movement away from the authority and the control of the church also initiated changes away from the initial aims and objectives of the group. Although the main church building is about 500 metres away, the group has built its own chapel where minor religious gatherings are held. Since 1975, the group has functioned on its own and does very little with the church and its authorities (Father R. Orori 1983 personal communication).

The founder of the group, now Father Simeon Dodi, initially had two aims in his mind when forming the group. The first was to train the youth in cattle farming and management for a cash income; secondly, he wanted to create some means to prevent school leavers from migrating to towns in search of employment and educational opportunities. The goals and objectives of the group were:

1. to give the school leavers and other youth some basic training in modern agriculture, especially cattle farming and management, cash cropping and other activities;
2. to assist the youth to return to their villages and establish small business activities for a cash income;

3. to engage the youth in various cash earning activities as a means to prevent them from migrating to urban areas for work;

4. to enable the youth to be aware of the problems of urbanization and turn their eyes towards their land and village life;

5. to be able to advise and assist other individuals and groups on cattle farm management and other activities.

Youth enrolments and group activities

After the group's formation in 1973, a total of twenty-six youth (all males) were enrolled. Most of whom were grade 6 school leavers with several from grade 8 and some who had no formal education. During the period from 1973 to 1980, about fifty young men attended and received basic training in agriculture and other fields. From 1981 to 1983, only seven enrolled and are currently undertaking their three year training programme. The following table shows the level of education attained by the present members of the group.

TABLE 4.4: AGAUN CATTLE FARMER'S GROUP IN 1983:
EDUCATIONAL LEVELS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grades Completed</th>
<th>Number of Members</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No Schooling</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 - 5</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vocational Training</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 - 10</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Agaun Cattle Farmer's Group Members (personal communication).

There are no specific requirements or qualities for youth to affiliate with the Agaun Cattle Farmer's Group. School leavers from any level of education and those without any formal education can join the group according to their own interests. One does not have to be a member of the Amania clan or closely related in order to join the group; anybody who is willing to learn and acquire some basic knowledge and practical skills is usually welcomed.
However, those interested in joining should have some specific background or set of goals and objectives so that what they learn and acquire from the group's programme is useful for them after completion of their training. That is, they should have a plan of some activity to establish with sufficient financial backing after being through the programme. Those who have already established the basis of an activity such as a small cattle project, or trade store, or any other people without sufficient basic knowledge and skills could consult or join the group.

The group has not been affiliated with any other organization. During the first year after its formation, its activities were controlled by the church with some financial support but, since the conflict mentioned above, the group has been functioning on its own. Overall there is no support from any government or non-government agency such as the Provincial Youth Movement Program, or church and community groups.

How is the group financed then? In the first place the Daga parish church sponsored its various activities which were a small trade store, a cattle farm, a chicken farm and other small activities. Also the Australian priest may have brought some money to support the group when he decided to affiliate with the group in the first place. But otherwise the group started with only a little help from the church, worked its way and was then able to secure its own financial base. At the present time some of its business activities are quite large by rural standards and therefore it is able to be self-reliant in financing its various activities. However, this does not imply that because it is self reliant it does not need any financial assistance or links with other organizations. The group does need some financial support from government agencies to organize and carry out some of its larger activities such as the bigger hydro-power station it has planned for the whole of Agaun station. It also needs to affiliate with other organizations, particularly the Provincial Youth Movement Program, for clear guidelines and assistance to help the youth in the area.

Activities of the Group

a) Type of Training.

This organization, 'the Agaun Cattle Farmers Group', gives basic training to the youth who enrol on a voluntary basis. The training programme is run over three years and the structure is as follows:

1. cattle farming
2. poultry farming
3. saw milling
4. hydro-power station
5. bullock cart pulling
6. store management
7. carpentry and cementing
8. welding
9. religious instruction.

These courses are taught both in the classroom and through practical work carried out in the field to enable the youth to have first hand experience of the skills involved. The group also organizes working parties which assist various individuals and groups from the nearby villages. This work is done for payment on a daily basis for the group as a whole. The whole structure of the programme is oriented towards rural or village based activities such as small scale projects which are relevant and beneficial for an individual, a group, or the village community as a whole.

Towards the end of the training programme, the trainees are tested on their understanding, knowledge, skills and the ability they have acquired to be able to carry out the activities on their own. Special consideration is given to those without formal education. In this case only their practical skills and abilities are tested. The manager awards them a certificate of attainment.

b) Achievements: contribution towards cash economy.

In this section some of the activities which have been established by the previous members of the organization will be considered in detail. This is in order to show that what has been taught is put into practice and contributes towards the cash economy and, more importantly, to see if some of the association's vital aims and objectives are being achieved.

First, the association has a small scheme by which it gives some financial assistance to those who have their own financial base and wish to start a small business activity. The fund for this scheme is a constant deduction and accumulation from each individual member's fortnightly pocket allowance and is placed in a general account. This is then used in a form of loan (for example, for calves from the cows or cargo from the stores) to those who wish to establish and engage in a particular activity. Later on a certain amount has to be repaid to the general fund, so that the system works like a bank credit guarantee scheme. This system has enabled several former members to engage in small scale business activities in and around the Agaun area. There are about five smallholder cattle projects located in a few villages around the area. In one case, the owner has slaughtered three of the animals from which he derived an average
income of about K250. It was marketed locally since there is a high
demand for meat among the local population.

Secondly, there is a number of small trade stores located in the
villages which are operated by former members of this association.
Most of these deal with food items while one sells second hand
clothes which are ordered from Port Moresby. Although it is very
difficult to give an estimation of the annual income from this
activity, they seem to operate quite well in spite of the high costs
of airfreight and a 2 per cent government sales tax.

Thirdly, some of the members are engaged in cash cropping,
particularly coffee, which is produced on small plots and sold
through the Daga Coffee Producer's Society and then to the Department
of Primary Industry.

Fourthly, the advice and practical assistance given to various
individuals and groups regarding their projects has been of some
importance for improvements. Those activities have increased in
proportion and are thus a worthwhile contribution towards the total
cash economy. These are indicators that the Agaun Cattle Farmers
Group has contributed an increasing proportion towards the total cash
economy of the area during the last ten years (A. Mamuni, 1983
personal communication).

c) The present situation and sources of income.

The Agaun Cattle Farmer's Group consists of thirteen young men
plus the co-ordinator and the Australian priest. The current
situation of the group stands as follows.

The group keeps five horses which it purchased from Bereina in
the Central Province. It has made some plans to use the horses for
pulling carts loaded with cargo between Agaun and Magarida, a small
government station located on the coast to the south. This station
is about 45 kilometres from Agaun and would serve as a market outlet
for the agricultural produce from the Daga area. The foot track was
surveyed and cut several years ago but now it needs manpower to
improve it and some people with sufficient training to use the
horses.

This particular plan is good but there are several problems
associated with it. Topographic factors hinder the progress of such
an exercise and political problems may complicate the project since
it will cross the Milne Bay provincial boundary into the Central
Province. In addition, a major provincial highway for which funds
have already been approved will, when constructed, link Bonenau
village with Rabaraba and be more satisfactory than using horses (see
Secondly, the group built a small hydro-power station at a nearby creek. This was used for lighting for some years but has since broken down and in 1983 spare parts were being awaited from Port Moresby. The machine for this purpose was an old one which the group obtained from Dogura and repaired, but the group also has plans for a bigger hydro-power station to be built at the cost of about K20,000 and requests for funds have been made through the member for Alotau Open in the National Parliament.

Thirdly, the group operates a small diesel generator which used to belong to the church, but the group has taken it over and maintains it. This small generator is used both for lighting and saw-milling and produces sawn timber sold to individuals and groups for building purposes.

Fourthly, there are two small trade stores owned and run by the group which are major sources of income for the association.

Fifthly, the group also owns and manages two small cattle farms both for the purpose of training the youth and as a source of income for the group.

On the whole, the group's activities are being run well. This is in spite of the recent decline in the number of members affiliated to the group (A. Mamuni, 1983 personal communication).

The group's relationship with other organizations

The Agaun Cattle Farmers Group has had some tensions in its relationship with other organizations within and around the Agaun community. These problems in relationship were a result of problems described earlier and the eventual separation from the Daga parish church authority. As a consequence, there is a lack of social and organizational acceptability of this particular association by other groups in Agaun and its surrounding villages. In essence this means that, although the people purchase trade store goods and other items from the group, their views and opinions about the general activities of the association remain negative.

Therefore the group's general relationship, particularly with the church authorities, the Daga Local Government Council, and other business groups in the area is not harmonious.

According to the former council president, the conflict which initiated the bad relationship with the council was that the group was operating a certain business activity without a license. The
council found this out and urged that proper procedures should be followed for the issue of licenses by the local government council. This was met with negative responses from the group. The problem was intensified by the earlier church ties and has never been resolved up to the present. The existence of this barrier between these two organizations and the group has influenced other business groups who comply with the council regulations. An unfavourable relationships still exists and various groups have been generally un-cooperative with the group (O. Gunat, 1983 personal communication).

Conclusion: analysis of the group and its functions

The analysis of the main objectives and functions of this association has shown that it is generally concerned with youth, both school-leavers and those without formal education. It has been trying to assist them by organizing and conducting basic training programmes in modern agriculture, store management skills, carpentry and other fields. The general orientation of the basic programmes is towards rural village-based activities for the purpose of earning a cash income. This was quite intentional as a preventive measure to stop the youth from migrating to urban areas for employment and other opportunities.

Since the group was formed in 1973, it has developed a structure of various activities which are quite relevant for rural village communities. These are appropriate functions and activities which play a role in village communities to enable the population to have access to modern goods and services that would otherwise be out of reach.

The basic procedure is to train the interested youth who will then be assisted by means of finance, goods or direct help in carrying out activities to establish a base from which they can develop. The group is an informal organization so it does not officially invite most of the youth in the area to affiliate but functions on a voluntary basis. This means that the training programme is there and those who are interested with a future plan or who already have an established activity can affiliate of their own accord. In this way the programme helps them to acquire the basic knowledge and skills to go back and engage in the various activities in which they are interested. This is the basis on which the youth are involved in cash earning activities for themselves and their activities help village communities as a whole.

As indicated above, the group functions like a voluntary organization and although its aims and objectives are to help youth and their participation in business activities, it is difficult to
say that it keeps young people in their communities. This is because during the past ten years the fifty young people who participated in this organization are not a representative proportion of the entire youth in the Daga Census Division. There were 2,473 persons under eighteen years resident in the area in 1980 and this is 52.4 per cent of the population (National Statistical Office 1981). The important point is that only a small fraction of the young people have gone through the training programme of the Agaun Cattle Farmers Group. From the 1980 census, it is clear that most of the young people were resident in their communities since the proportion of absentees among this group was very low, not as a result of the efforts exerted by the Agaun Cattle Farmers Group, but for other reasons beyond the scope of this paper.

The group and its activities have no organizational support either from within the area or from outside. During the past ten years it has supported itself and developed its base from the little amount it received from the Daga Anglican parish in the early stages of its operation. However, a youth movement funding programme has been recently established in the Milne Bay Province so arrangements have been made to get the group registered and then submit applications for funds through the Provincial Youth Office in Alotau.

The Agaun Cattle Farmers Group is involved and operates various business activities for the purpose of earning an income to run its activities and uses them as venues for training the youth. It is not owned by any particular family or clan group from the area but it has located many of its activities on land which belongs to a particular clan. This is because it could not locate on any other land as the group was initially formed by a member of that clan and is still controlled by one of its members. The clan on the whole does not benefit as it has its own business activities which are run quite separately by several previous members of the group and are not controlled by the group (A. Mamuni 1983 personal communication).

The present members which make up the group come from different clan groups and villages in and around the immediate Agaun area itself. Nevertheless, it is not representative of the whole area because many of the people, particularly youth, are not aware of the importance of this organization. This is because of the mistaken view of many people that it is a clan business group and they are not aware of its major aims and objectives. Furthermore the group's general image was damaged by the conflicts which it encountered with the church authorities, the local government council and the business groups in the area.
One factor which will affect its continuance in the future is if the local community accepts its existence as a useful organization and its relationship with other organizations improves so that people will be aware of its importance and what it can do to assist youth. As time passes changes will be taking place in the Daga and the whole society will be facing many problems with its young people. The role of this group is to serve as a venue to assist youth with these problems and help them become good members of society through participation in individual businesses and other activities for the welfare of their village communities as a whole.

The future of this group depends very much on how effective the organization of its programmes will be and the nature of its goals and objectives. It needs financial support from other organizations, such as the Provincial Youth Movement Program to be able to carry out these activities. During the past years the group has gradually established and consolidated its financial base and if assistance is given by the Provincial Youth Movement Program then the group will continue to function in the future. It has made plans to establish other activities and to recruit more young people to attend the training programme. This will be possible only if society accepts the group's activities and if the youth realize that its aims and objectives are for their benefit and that of the village communities as a whole.

Whatever the outcome, in my view there is no doubt that the group will continue to function in the future and provide training for some of the youth of Agaun as it has done in the past.
About three hours drive (150 kilometres) along the Hiritano Highway from Port Moresby, lies the village of Nabuapaka, set on a sandy beach that breaks the long line of coastal mangroves. The thirty houses vary in quality, but all are built with flat-iron or fibro walls and corrugated iron roofs.

There are nearly 200 people living permanently in the community (including about twelve who are away at school), with perhaps another 200 living in various parts of the nation, but returning at weekends or during holidays to participate in village life. Villagers make their living primarily from subsistence gardening and fishing. Every fortnight there is a market at nearby Poukama village. Mekeo people bring bananas, yams, betel nuts and other garden produce which they exchange for coastal villagers' smoked fish, crabs, crayfish and shellfish. Sometimes Nabua people catch and smoke fish and then, hiring a utility, take the fish direct to Mekeo to sell, rather than wait for the fortnightly markets. Other people take betel nut, coconuts, fish, and seasonal crops such as watermelon to the markets in Port Moresby.

Other sources of cash are remittances from children and siblings working in Port Moresby and elsewhere, and the sale of crayfish between about January and April (though the annual run of crays is extremely variable).

Politically, the village is divided into four subclans, each of which should have a properly installed, hereditary chief if it is to function fully in community affairs. Other hereditary officials who traditionally operated in the community in the past were war chiefs, sorcerers who protected chiefs and ensured that decisions were carried out, and specialist magicians responsible for various areas of village social and economic life. There were, for example, hunting magicians, garden specialists, weather controllers, fishing experts and men who controlled the magic of dance and display. (The Roro and their neighbours, the Mekeo and Kuni, possess a strong
In the early 1970s Nabuapaka was a quiet little community whose only regular access to Yule Island, Port Moresby or Bereina was by sea and river transport. Muddy bush tracks linked neighbouring villages, and in the dry season it was possible to get to Bereina or Moresby by 4-wheel drive vehicles; but only the government possessed such vehicles in those days.

Many houses were still built of bush materials, the traditional political structure was still largely intact, and the population consisted mainly of the middle-aged and elderly, and of very young children. The majority of young people in their teens, twenties and early thirties were living out of the village - at school, at work for the missions or in various parts of the country, or just living with relatives outside the village. The time of year in which Nabuapaka really came alive was the Christmas holidays when children were home from school, and workers took a few weeks leave.

Today (mid-1985), the visitor to Nabuapaka at almost any time of the year will observe a wide range of people of all ages in the village, including many in their teens and twenties, who would have been missing fifteen years earlier. Significantly, these young people are fully active in community affairs, both in work and leisure, and appear to be finding enjoyment and fulfillment in the village. To my knowledge there are no youths from this community hanging around unoccupied in Port Moresby, and certainly none with the reputation of 'rascal'. The few who do live in Moresby without formal employment for long periods of time, are generally occupied - one, for example, is a rugby referee, and another plays in one of the teams during the rugby season.

The question that must be asked, then, is what has happened in the fifteen years between 1970 and 1985 to bring young people back to the village? The answer lies in at least three areas: the opening of the Hiritano Highway in 1973, significant changes in certain customary practices in the village; and general economic conditions that have made it difficult to find regular paid employment and brought problematic social conditions to urban centres, including the rise in violent crime.

The opening of the original (coastal) route of the Hiritano Highway in mid-1973 (see figure 3.1), for the first time gave the village almost all year access by road to both Port Moresby and Bereina. Prior to the opening of the road, travel between Port Moresby and Nabuapaka took a minimum of nine hours by motorized canoe.
or coastal cargo vessel. And in Port Moresby itself, people had to find additional transport between Koki Point or the main wharf and their houses in the suburbs. The new road reduced travelling time to about three hours, and village-owned PMVs (passenger motor vehicles) delivered passengers directly to their doorsteps.

For the first time, therefore, Port Moresby-based people could travel home for the weekend — going down on Friday night and returning to town on Sunday night — taking with them money, food, building materials, newspapers and new ideas. Conversely, village-based people could travel easily to urban markets with perishable foodstuffs, sell their produce, and return quickly to the village. They no longer had to remain in town for weeks at a time.

With the opening of the road, then, there was an immediate noticeable change in the relationship between the village and its sons and daughters in Port Moresby. In the early enthusiasm, some people began visiting home almost every fortnight with food and money for their parents. The village thus took on a whole new significance in urban people's lives. This can be illustrated in one way, perhaps, by the experience of the Nabua Brothers - a group of youths in Port Moresby who had, over several years, established a popular and successful string band that was regularly invited to play at parties for various ethnic groups, and was contracted to play every weekend at two taverns in the Port Moresby area. With the opening of the road, the band members abandoned their contracts to travel home as often as possible, with the result that the band effectively broke up - but the members' links with their homes and families were considerably strengthened.

In another example, urban dwellers sometimes supplement their income by visiting the village at the weekend, and returning to town with a copra bag of betelnut gathered from their own palms. Over the following few days the wife or daughters sell the betel in the market while the husband continues his normal work.

The second category of changes to affect the village over the last decade and a half has been in the area of customary practices. The changes of immediate relevance for this discussion concern mourning customs and those associated with the behaviour expected of young people.

Traditional mourning customs among the Roro were at times very severe. When a person died, his or her relatives might imprison the surviving spouse in the house for as long as two years. The diet of the widow or widower might be restricted to a few roasted bananas each day, and he or she would be allowed out of the house only at night, and only to go to the beach, not to socialize. At the same
time, the relatives of the deceased might impose mourning restrictions on the whole community. Normally these restrictions would last from about two to six weeks following the burial, and would be lifted at a feast called iruba ba'ao ('to put the fire out'). During this time the village was silent. There was no dancing, no guitar playing, no loud noise. Even children had to play quietly. There was no work on canoes or house-building, and people slipped unobtrusively to their gardens to collect only the minimum produce for day-to-day living. The village was 'cold'.

The feast to extinguish the fire on the grave permitted the community to return to normal, except for close kin of the deceased who might mourn for two years or more. If the dead person had been especially influential, or had possessed particular talents, the iruba ba'ao might be followed by a lengthy taboo imposed on the whole community. In 1971, for example, the death of a highly skilled dancer led his relatives to restrict that style of dancing for the whole village. The ban was not lifted until 1978 (death and mourning customs are discussed more fully in Monsell-Davis 1981:136-148).

Similarly, the death of a talented canoe builder and racer led to a lengthy ban on canoe racing.

During the early 1970s, villagers became aware that one effect of prolonged mourning taboos was to keep young people out of the village. The community like having their youth around as often as possible, but the youth was not keen on visiting a 'cold' village in which they had to walk quietly, and sneak off down the beach, out of sight and sound, before they could play their guitars. The result has been a considerable easing of mourning restrictions. For example, a few days before the Catholic Mission's (Missionaries of the Sacred Heart) centenary celebrations on Yule Island during the first week of July 1985, an extremely popular man aged about fifty died. He was a man who had participated fully and with constant good humour in every aspect of village life, traditional and modern, and his death was genuinely mourned by young and old alike.

The community had been preparing for a major canoe race and other events in connection with the centenary, and people were concerned about the effect of the death. The dead man's kin, however, imposed no restrictions, and Nabuapaka was able to participate in the celebrations.

I am sure that in some cases there is an economic element in the easing of restrictions. If, for example, a deceased man's relatives incarcerate his widow in her house for a long period, someone else must take responsibility for her children which is less easy now that money is becoming more important in everyday village life.
The changes associated with the behaviour of young people have also had the effect of easing restrictions. Fifteen years ago, young bachelors (hibito'í: young men between puberty and marriage) were not permitted to cross the centre of the village during the day. If they wanted to visit a house on the other side of the street, they had to go right around the outside of the village. Similarly, bachelors normally were not supposed to be seen eating—especially by eligible girls. They had to eat at night, or where they could not be seen (but even these, and similar restrictions, represented considerable freedom compared to some of the taboos on their fathers and grandfathers in earlier years).

Today these rules are largely ignored, and while we can argue that their loss removes a part of customary methods of discipline and self-discipline, at the same time they can no longer be used as repressive measures by an elderly or conservative ruling group. All these changes, along with others such as the shift from arrangement to elopement as the preferred form of marriage, have meant an opening up of village life for young people. The youth could have responded by becoming increasingly irresponsible and undisciplined. Instead, they seem to have immersed themselves fully in community affairs.

This may be the result in part of the third important area of change over the last fifteen years: that is the changing economic conditions that make it more and more difficult to obtain regular paid employment outside the village, and the problematic social conditions that have made urban centres like Port Moresby less and less pleasant to live in.

The youth in the village (both young men and women) are fully aware of the difficulties of living in Port Moresby. They constantly hear stories about the city, and these help to shape their attitudes favourably towards the village. Two youths, both currently in high school, are frankly terrified of Port Moresby. One, aged sixteen has never spent much time in the city. When he does visit, he completes his business as fast as he can and flees back to the village. In town, he is most reluctant to go anywhere by himself because of the tales he has heard of rascal attacks. The other, aged seventeen, has been largely brought up in Moresby, but has been away at school in Bereina for the last few years. He too has no wish to visit Moresby more often than is absolutely necessary.

Two other seventeen year olds are presently studying for grade 10 through the College of External Studies course at Saint Peter's Vocational Centre on Yule Island. One hopes to join his cousin on a
commercial fishing trawler next year. If not, then he will return to the village. The other has not decided what to attempt in 1986, but insists he will not stay in the city without a job.

Slightly older youths, in their early twenties, consistently share the same kinds of attitudes to Port Moresby: Heneaha, about twenty-two (a grade 6 leaver with two years vocational training) said:

In the village everything is fine. We can eat and enjoy ourselves. Moresby is a hard life. You need money for everything. I'd like to go to Moresby, but only if I've got a job. I've asked my brother (working in town) to help me find a job. But if he finds one for me, he'll have to come to the village because someone must help our mother and look after the little ones.

Miria, about twenty-one, completed grade 8, then had two and a half years work experience in Port Moresby before resigning to return to the village. He enjoys the freedom of the village, and made the same remarks as Heneha about the 'hard life' in Port Moresby and needing money for everything. Another, aged twenty-three, who completed grade 9 at a city high school and then had four years work experience, lost his job and returned to the village. Again, he asserts that he enjoys village life and finds it much preferable to the difficulties of living in Port Moresby.

Yet another, about twenty-five with two years vocational training, has not had work experience outside the village, and although he is obviously enjoying life as a 'home scholar', he expresses his frustrations on occasion:

Mike, I get fed up with the village sometimes. Always the same faces and the same jobs. I'd like to get some work in Moresby for a while - but I won't live in Moresby without a job.

The final comment comes from a twenty-three year old who was born and brought up in Port Moresby. He completed grade 8 at a city high school and then had several years work experience as a clerk. His parents rarely visit the village, and his own experience of village life was limited to the odd week or so once every two or three years. He lost his job and decided to visit the village. He has been there almost a year now and has become thoroughly absorbed into the rhythm of village life. He lives in his father's brother's house and says he is happy to be a village man:
Mike, Moresby is a very boring place. If you are not working or in school, you just hang around all day. So boring. Really get fed up. That's how some boys get mixed up with rascals.

Older people appreciate having the younger ones around. One man, in his fifties, remarked:

I really admire our young Nabua people. They don't big-head around. They're quiet and helpful. Not like boys in other villages who are too full of pride, and answer back all the time.

Of course these youths are high spirited, they get up to mischief at times. They might steal a chicken or watermelon on occasion; they may borrow a fishing net without permission; they play their guitars too loudly some nights; they return to the village at two or three in the morning after fishing or an assignation, imitate a rooster crowing - and start all the roosters and dogs in the village, waking everyone; they get drunk and fight sometimes, and anger fathers by sneaking off down the beach with their daughters. All this constitutes normal and acceptable levels of misbehaviour by youths. I have not heard, in Nabuapaka, the complaints of Roro and Mekeo villagers closer to Bereina, concerning the breaking and entering of village stores. or the wholesale theft of betelnut. (Ten years ago, one Nabua youth, then aged about fifteen, was implicated in several cases of theft, including breaking and entering the village store. He was censured primarily by gossip, and had a poor reputation in the community for several years. Today he is married, with children, and people comment on his law-abiding and helpful behaviour as a leader of youth.)

So how do these young people occupy themselves in the community? First, they are concerned in the everyday rhythm of village life. They work alongside their parents and older siblings in gardening, building canoes, going fishing, repairing houses and pig-fences, hunting and in 'government work' on Tuesdays. Secondly, they have formed themselves into two youth groups. The smaller, known as 'Y.C.' (Young Christians), is composed only of Catholics and has the backing of the Catholic Church. The larger, known simply as 'Youth', is built around a core of United Church members, but also has a number of Catholic members.

The two groups complement, rather than rival each other, and members commonly work alongside each other in various activities. There have been attempts to unite them - one initiative by the Y.C. was apparently thwarted by negative attitudes on the part of one or two elderly members of the church.
People from Nabuapaka arriving in Biotou village for a bride-price ceremony, 1975. (M. Monsell-Davis)

Launching racing canoes, Nabuapaka, 1976. (M. Monsell-Davis)
Oi Aiaba working on the outrigger of his canoe. (M. Monsell-Davis)

Hau Ani, Aihi Naime and Aisi Kare with their clamshell and crayfish catch. (M. Monsell-Davis)

Imo Aihi, Doncey Aihi and Aihi Imo from Nabuapaka (left), visiting friends in Bereina: John Miria, Don, Aitsi Kaipa and Arua Kaipa, 1985. (M. Monsell-Davis)
Oi Aiaba working on the outrigger of his canoe. (M. Monsell-Davis)

Hau Ani, Aihi Naime and Aisi Kare with their clamshell and crayfish catch. (M. Monsell-Davis)

Imo Aihi, Doncey Aihi and Aihi Imo from Nabuapaka (left), visiting friends in Bereina: John Miria, Don, Aitsi Kaipa and Arua Kaipa, 1985. (M. Monsell-Davis)
Isaac Pawa with elders of his clan, dressed for dancing at Uiaku, December 1982. (J. Barker)

Gertrude Seyo and Prisca Rairiya of Ganjiga Village painting tapa cloth, 1982. (J. Barker)
Actual membership of these groups is not easy to determine quickly. The President of the Youth, for example, showed me a membership list of twenty-five, whose ages ranged from fourteen to over forty. But he told me, and others confirmed it, that the list was far from complete, and active members included men and women in their fifties. In other words, they are not youth groups in the Western sense, as they include people of all generations. The organizing executive of the Youth (president, chairman, secretary, treasurer and committee) are all aged between about twenty-three and twenty-seven, and it may well be that in the face of considerable social change, the community is finding the youth groups a useful means of organizing some village affairs, and a viable way of starting to hand responsibility to the new generation of young married men and women.

One change that seems to have taken place with startling rapidity since the road was opened concerns the position of hereditary chiefs — traditionally the organizers of almost all aspects of village affairs. Ten years ago the chiefs of the four subclans were still central to community life. One has since died, and not been replaced, and the other three live outside the immediate boundaries of the village. The community may perhaps be fumbling towards new forms of leadership. This is impressionistic only, and needs to be examined in more detail.

A further change in customary practices that can be observed concerns the clearing and digging of gardens in the latter part of the year, prior to the start of the wet season. Ten years ago most garden labour was organized on the basis of reciprocal kinship obligations. A man who wanted his garden dug requested labour from his own kin, his sister's husband's people, and his affines — his wife's people. He paid for the labour by providing betelnuts and other refreshments during the digging, and a full meal back in the village after work.

Today, I am told, most heavy garden labour is handled by the youth groups, irrespective of members' relationships to the garden owner. The Youth normally charge five kina per garden, although they do not charge the poorer widows or elderly without access to cash. One man asserted that clearing and digging of gardens is now organized solely by employing the youth groups and 'it is much faster than the old method of using relatives'. Garden owners pay their five kina, but are not expected to provide food as well — although it is willingly accepted if they do. The Youth organize food for themselves.
Other labour which the Youth will undertake for households, when requested, is grass cutting, for which they charge members five kina and non-members seven kina; the building of pig fences (ten kina upwards, depending on the size of the fence); firewood gathering (three kina, but free for poor households); and water collecting ('always free, because water is life').

The Y.C., apart from engaging in the same village labour, has also acquired five sewing machines with funds obtained through the Catholic Church. The girls make dresses and lavalavas which they sell at the fortnightly market at Poukama. In addition, the months of May and October are dedicated to praise of Our Lady, and each evening in these months the Y.C. gather at a different house to pray and sing hymns.

During my hurried visits to Nabua between July and October 1985, usually at weekends, I was conscious that the youth were occupied in numerous activities. Apart from the regular village work already described, at different times during the middle period of the year they joined with youth from other communities to walk to different villages on different days, carrying a cross from Yule Island to hold special services of dedication in celebration of the Catholic Centenary. In July also, the Centenary itself took place on Yule Island, and in the weeks before, the youth helped collect food, went hunting, cut bamboo and helped build platforms etc for the visitors. They also built or repaired their racing canoes, and practised for the Centenary races.

Also during July, when the popular middle-aged man passed away, the Youth were asked to sing hymns during the crying, prior to his burial. It was a particularly sad funeral altogether - after the youth sang hymns, the elderly men brought out their drums and sang traditional songs, and in the early hours of the morning the youth produced their guitars and sang modern songs. All these reflecting areas in which the deceased had regularly participated.

During August the Youth went to Kivori village and performed some drama they had created at a United Church function. In September came the school holiday and party time. Papua New Guinea also celebrated its tenth anniversary of independence, and there were more canoe races with neighbouring villages.

In October the Youth visited Hanuabada for three days to sing and dance perobeta (prophet songs) at a United Church function; the Nabuapaka United Church building had its tenth birthday, and people from Delena and Poukama came to join Nabua in an all night session singing and dancing perobeta; and on my most recent visit the Youth were preparing a party for a retiring committee member, and for a
visit to Waima for centenary celebrations. Late in the evening some members sat together on a platform near the beach with their guitars, practising new songs obtained from Hanuabada. When the tide began to fall, soon after midnight, they went fishing.

The money that the youth groups obtain from digging and other activities, and from donations, they use to buy such things as sports equipment (basketballs, volleyballs, soccer balls, nets, cricket bats etc), and to pay for their trips to places such as Kivori and Hanuabada.

In my account of youth involvement in church activities, I do not want to give the impression that these young people are totally centred on the church. They are not. The churches, however, play a very important part in village life, and the youth become involved in singing and dancing the prophet songs and hymns because they are fun to perform together; they travel with the group to other villages because it is an opportunity to visit another place in an enjoyable group together, and there is always the chance of making a new girlfriend or boyfriend.

When the Christmas season arrives, they will be travelling to other villages for guitar parties etc, and themselves playing host to youth from neighbouring communities, and sometime next year they will host a reciprocal visit from Hanuabada.

Conclusions

At this time in Papua New Guinea, just as in many other parts of the world, when much of the attention given to youth focuses on the potential of this group for trouble-making and criminal behaviour, it is timely to look at some areas where positive things are happening. This is what this chapter attempts to do, although I do not want to pretend that the youth of Nabuapaka are a group of saints deserving haloes. They are not. They can be as mischievous, quarrelsome and irritating as any other group of young people. But the reality is that they are participating fully in village affairs; they are working alongside the churches and the older generation in a way that blurs distinctions between the generations, and indicates their common membership of the one community; they are enjoying village life and are able to absorb young men and women who have spent many years, their whole lives even, in centres like Port Moresby, and make such returnees feel they too are a part of the community.

There is an attitude among some sections of the public in Papua New Guinea, that young people who grow up in the city, or spend many years out of the village, find it almost impossible to readjust to
village life. I first heard this when doing teacher training in Rabaul in 1964. I was sceptical then, and the years since have shown me that my scepticism was broadly correct.

There will, of course, always be some who cannot resettle in the village for a whole variety of reasons, from basic personality difficulties, through offences against the community by themselves or family members, or because their families left so long ago they are no longer able to lay claim to land. Similarly, there will always be some communities that cannot absorb people back because of population, environmental or other problems.

One issue commonly asserted as a reason preventing absent villagers from returning is fear of sorcery and poisoning. I am presently working with a group of youths from Karama in the Gulf Province. In their mid-teens, they have spent most of their lives in Port Moresby. Although they have left school, and are without jobs, they are most reluctant to spend any length of time in their parent's village, giving as their reason fear of sorcery.

The peoples of the Bereina area are notorious for their practice of sorcery, and undoubtedly this influences the attitude of many Mekeo and Roro people to their villages. But there are many hundreds of people from this area who have spent years away from the village and then successfully returned and re-established themselves in their home communities. This chapter does not discuss fear of sorcery in Nabuapaka as affecting youth behaviour and attitudes because it does not appear to significantly influence whether they should or should not return to the village. Fear of sorcery in Nabuapaka is a major hindrance to the development of small scale entrepreneurial ventures, but not to day-to-day living (see my discussion of sorcery and entrepreneurial activity 1981:283-334).

It must be quite clear that I am not suggesting that all youth should stay in the village - to demand that would be to demand uninterested and unadventurous youth. Nor do I advocate that all unemployed urban youth should be returned to their villages. This is plainly impossible. What can be maintained, however, is that it is possible to encourage many urban youths to return successfully to the village. This requires a two-pronged policy of rural development on the one hand, and support for youths in their transition back to the village. In 1973 one youth from Nabuapaka, aged eighteen, was hanging around Port Moresby and engaged in what were then classed as 'rascal' activities. I took him with me to the village and after three weeks or so he was restlessly demanding to know when we would return to the city as he was 'fed up with this bloody village'. Three months later his response to the suggestion that we go to town was: 'what for? I'll only get into trouble if I go to Moresby. No,
I'm staying here'. The three months, and the support of family and other members of the community were enough to help him readjust to the rhythm of village life, and to discover that he actually enjoyed it. Twelve years later he is still in the village, married with two children aged about eight and six, and an active member of the Youth.

The success of Nabuapaka in making its youth feel a part of the community undoubtedly stems in part from the opening of the road, permitting people to travel easily between the village and the city, so that nobody feels permanently trapped in the village. But it also stems from the easing of traditional taboos, the observed problems of the city, and initiatives taken by the youths to occupy themselves.

There are no major problems today, but in coming decades increasing population is likely to place additional pressure on land for gardening, on fresh water, on the resources of the sea and on existing methods of waste disposal. It is in these areas that clear policies on rural development and rural technology are needed, if the community, and in particular the young people who are at the most energetic and adventurous period of their lives, are to continue to find satisfaction at home in the village.
YOUTH AS A SOCIAL MOVEMENT
Isaac Pawa with elders of his clan, dressed for dancing at Uiaiku, December 1982. (J. Barker)

Gertrude Seyo and Prisca Rairiya of Ganjiga Village painting tapa cloth, 1982. (J. Barker)
Isaac Pawa with elders of his clan, dressed for dancing at Uiaku, December 1982. (J. Barker)

Gertrude Seyo and Prisca Rairiya of Ganjiga Village painting tapa cloth, 1982. (J. Barker)
Chapter 6

FROM BACHELOR HOUSE TO YOUTH CLUB: A CASE STUDY OF THE YOUTH MOVEMENT IN UIAKU AND GANJIGA VILLAGES, ORO PROVINCE

John Barker

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Introduction

I conducted fieldwork in Uiaku and Ganjiga villages for twenty months in 1981-83, some six years after the first youth club was formed in the area. The club was portrayed by its sponsors as a recreational outlet for the young people in the village and as a means for channelling energy into community projects and preparing youth for adult responsibilities. The youth club has been most successful in the areas of organized sports and parties for the young people. But the larger aims have not been met. For the most part, the youth club remains a name only. Towards the end of the fieldwork, a newly arrived priest established a youth fellowship group with much more limited aims than the youth club, but which appeared to be receiving more consistent support.

The aims of this paper are, first, to explore the social circumstances into which the youth club organization was introduced in Uiaku in the late 1970s. I shall describe the traditional form of adolescence in Maisin social structure and show how this has been
altered in ninety years of contact with outsiders. In my view, conditions were favourable to an experiment with youth clubs in the mid-1970s. By the early 1980s, however, the Uiaku-Ganjiga club was undergoing a number of severe trials and tribulations. A second task, then, is to ask the question:

Why is it that, with so much evident local good will, the youth club in Uiaku has so far failed to 'take'?

Part of the answer is that the youth club seems to promise much more to the Maisin than it can possibly deliver. It draws attention to the young people of the village as at once the solution to and the cause of larger economic and moral problems. My research suggests that the youth club will be successful only when the Maisin can reformulate the organization within the routines, requirements and aspirations of village society as a whole. The beginnings of such a process of local innovation may be taking place through the medium of the village church.

Before embarking on these larger tasks, it is first necessary to give a brief description of the Maisin people and to outline the activities of the youth club in Uiaku and Ganjiga villages.

Setting

The Maisin people live in a series of beach villages along the southern shores of Collingwood Bay in Oro Province, Papua New Guinea. One of several small socio-linguistic groups living in Tufi District, the Maisin today have a rural population of about 1,200. About 500 more former villagers live away in urban centres. The Maisin are hunters, fishermen, gatherers and gardeners who for some time now have supplemented these traditional subsistence activities with cash and commodities earned from sales of tapa cloth designed by village women, and remittances sent home by working relatives.

The first recorded outside contacts with the Maisin took place in the 1890s when government officers, missionaries, prospectors and traders began to make their way up the northeast coast of New Guinea. In 1898, the New Guinea Mission of the Anglican Church of Australia established its district headquarters at Wanigela, a village a few miles to the north of the Maisin. Two years later the administration district station was built some twenty-five miles further to the north at Tufi, near the tip of Cape Nelson. The Maisin were forcibly 'pacified' in 1901 by the irrepressible C.A.W. Monckton. A few months later, the Anglicans built a church and school in the largest village of Uiaku. Regular baptisms began in 1911. Today virtually all adult Maisin have been baptized, and most are second and third generation Christians.
For almost eighty years, the Maisin villages have been well-integrated into the colonial and post-colonial economic and political order. Leaving the villages to take up work elsewhere has long been a normal experience of Maisin men and, more recently, women. Such introduced institutions as village churches, community schools, councils, church councils, mothers' unions, co-operatives, and youth clubs have become accepted and important components of the local social order. Many of the changes usually associated with 'westernization', however, are absent from Maisin villages. Dwellings are still built entirely of bush materials, most women continue to cook in clay pots, and reciprocity forms the main mode of commerce. In part this has to do with the isolation of Collingwood Bay from urban centres, roads and major air and water routes. The rural Maisin today live in an economic backwater in which, with the exception of tapa cloth, almost no cash crops are produced. But the pristine charm and tidy freshness of the villages owe at least as much to the pride Maisin have in their cultural traditions and concern for the quality of life of their communities.

As in most parts of Melanesia, relations along the lines of kinship and exchanges are of central importance to the rural Maisin in their daily lives. Relatives work together, share food freely with each other and, at times of formal exchanges pitch in to help participants with money, food or traditional wealth items. The Maisin stress the requirement of respecting and listening to the elders. Generally speaking, however, they prize egalitarian values. Those men who become leaders in the community do so not simply by inheriting a position or because of educational advantage, but because they prove themselves to be at once generous, co-operative and articulate: embodiments of the chief Maisin virtues.

The Goropi Youth Club

The Goropi Youth Club of Uiaku and Ganjiga villages was formed on 4 June 1975 (Goropi is the original name of the Uiaku neighbourhood). The immediate spur to the creation of the club was an announcement over Radio Northern that the then Northern Province (now Oro Province) would soon be introducing youth clubs. A teacher in Uiaku, Neville Tarawa, asked some village boys and girls if they would like to have such a club. The idea turned out to be a popular one. A meeting was called to decide on the form the club should take. A married high school graduate in his twenties was elected the first chairman and spokesman for the club and two single young women were nominated treasurer and secretary. A committee composed of youths representing different parts of the two villages was elected. The youth club was underway. In early 1977, the founding chairman's half-brother returned to Uiaku after several years working in Port
Moresby and took over the position of leader. He was still responsible for the youth club at the time of my fieldwork, although he had turned thirty and had a growing family of his own to care for. A second club for village youths, the Goropi Sports Club, was formed on 22 August 1981. The village councillor for Uiaku was asked to be patron and chairman of the new organization, but the details of youth activities of both groups were left mostly in the hands of the youth club leader and another educated married man of about the same age.

Responsibilities in the clubs are formally shared between the secretary-treasurer (now one office) and the committee, with the two young married men acting as advisors. In practice, however, the 'advisors' initiate and direct most activities and take charge of club funds. I was told that this is a matter of necessity as few office-bearers are willing to put much energy into organizational duties.

The youth clubs in Uiaku and Ganjiga, then, have consistently been the responsibility of high school educated, married men in their late twenties and early thirties. These men, like the present councillor in Uiaku, spent several years outside of the village in schools and employment before returning. To a limited extent, their education and experience separates them from other villagers. They form the youngest members of an educated clique which generally is entrusted by less educated villagers with managing village-level 'corporations' such as the church, the school and the co-operative store.

At the time of my arrival in Uiaku, the Goropi Youth Club had been in existence for more than six years. During this period clubs had also been formed in the Maisin villages of Sinapa, Airara and Yuyayu, effectively embracing the entire population. I have only a passing acquaintance with these other clubs so I will confine my discussion to the two clubs in Uiaku and Ganjiga.

The youth and sports clubs differ in a few respects. The formal membership of the youth club includes all of the unmarried 'school leavers' while sports club membership is limited to those who sign up and pay one kina each year in dues. Further, the youth club possesses no constitution, unlike the sports club. Finally, there is the obvious specialized function of the sports club. Club members have access to soccer uniforms and relatively new equipment, purchased from the dues and donations. The differences, however, are greater on paper than in reality. The youth club and the sports club contain the same leaders and virtually the same active members so it seems appropriate to treat them as the same organization.
The Goropi youth clubs are formally part of a District Youth Council in Tufi District (zone 1) with an overall chairman and co-ordinator. Beyond the district level, it is linked to provincial and national organizations. I was told that these higher level organizations require certain small dues and that these were paid up. Over the years, leaders and some office holders in the Goropi club have attended a few district and provincial meetings and workshops. However, beyond the co-ordination of district sports events, the larger organizations appear to have had little direct influence on the Goropi clubs and I know of no direct inputs from the outside in the forms of suggestions for projects, rules or funds that have affected the local organizations.

**Activities and aspirations**

Many criticisms were directed at the youth club during the time of my fieldwork, but no one ever suggested that the club be disbanded. The villagers agreed that the club was a good idea and potentially an asset to the community, but most people said that the club was not working as it should. There were sometimes sharp disagreements over why this was the case. Some people blamed the old people for not allowing their children to participate fully in the club; some questioned the sincerity of the leaders of the youth club; were they really trying to help the youths or only enjoying a rare chance to exercise power? Finally, some villagers blamed the youths themselves for having abandoned the values of the past, for having become 'lazy' and 'big heads'.

I found that few Maisin, even the leaders and the loyal members of the club themselves, had very clear ideas of what the youth club was actually supposed to do. The youth club had no constitution, or written mandate and it conducted its business separately from other village organizations. The village council committees, church council, mothers' union, and other organizations, held periodic meetings that were open to and heavily attended by all of the community. But the youth club leaders and committee tended to organize the youth activities outside of the community's gaze. This fuelled the suspicions of adult villagers that the two young married men leading the youth club were using the young people to their own advantage. Most of the villagers were unaware of the activities and the goals of the club and this retarded the formation of a village consensus on the youth club and the young people in general.

Despite such ambiguities, it can be said that the Maisin as a whole have three common expectations of the youth club. These are as follows: first, they expect the club to provide a recreational outlet for the young men and women of the village, in the forms of organized sports and parties; secondly, they expect the club to
direct youthful energies into useful work that benefits the community; thirdly, they expect the experience of being involved in club activities to inculcate desirable moral values among the youth.

The youth club has had its clearest success in meeting the first goal. As one of the managers pointed out to me, the youth club provides 'a good way of getting the boys and girls together'. Indeed, the youth club provides almost the only venue in the village in which large numbers of youths may get together.

Sports are the most regular of the youth activities. Most of the money the youth have collected through donations and earnings has gone into sports equipment and soccer uniforms. Sunday afternoon is a time reserved for youth sports. A net is strung between coconut trees on the mission station for several hours of volleyball. This is followed by a soccer game in the unrelentingly hot sun on the grass field before the school buildings. Organized relays and games among the youths are a major component of village church and national holidays. But the most exciting events by far are the infrequent sports competitions between different villages. Preparations often begin weeks beforehand. Young people and their parents alike gather food to take or give to guests and the lucky youths who have been selected for the teams exercise and practice each morning. These events are well-attended by all villagers and are followed in the evening with a feast shared by villagers and their guests and a stringband party, often lasting all night, with its opportunities for romance.

Adult villagers fully support these recreational activities. They form the main audience at the games, they prepare food and often accompany their sons and daughters when they travel to another village to participate in a match and they provide shelter and food for the guests who come to Uiaku. Yet the adults' participation in these various activities is peripheral. The organization of events, coaching and refereeing are left in their entirety to the leaders of the youth club. With the exception of canoe racing, a sport now rarely practised, the contests are entirely Western to the point that they are even conducted in English. For the most part, adult villagers are only the audience for these activities. In no other area has the youth club been so successful at establishing itself as a specialized organization.

Mention should also be made here of youth activities in the village church. A fellowship group of young people was organized in March 1983 by a newly arrived priest who had had experience with youth groups in New Britain. The fellowship group was not part of the youth club and did not possess a formal committee organization, but simply gathered at the wish of the priest. At first participants
met once or twice a week at his house to sing gospel songs accompanied by guitars. Later he began to involve them in church services as servers and a hymn group. During the same period he encouraged the election of two single young men to the church council. The priest also told me of his plans to involve the young people in projects to raise money in support of the work of the village church. He was anxious to give the young people a high priority in his ministry but at the same time was concerned that he not usurp the place of the youth club.

It seems curious that the Maisin tend to take the recreational and church activities of the youth (the areas of greatest success in organizing youth activities) largely for granted. Young people, youth club leaders, parents and village leaders all emphasized to me the real or potential importance of the club in community work. According to a former secretary-treasurer of the club:

> When the boys and girls finished grade 6 they just stayed in the village not doing anything; so they came up with the idea of forming this club to help the people (personal communication).

The club resolved to lend its help to the people in three ways: first, by hiring itself out at fifty toea an hour for tasks such as building houses and hauling canoe logs from the jungle; secondly, by fetching water and firewood for the old and infirm in the village; and thirdly, by forming a separate work team on community work days when villagers engage in shared labour on collective projects such as caring for cash crops, cutting the grass on the mission station, repairing school buildings, and so forth. One of the youth club leaders told me that the club had had a decided impact on community work habits. The adults also formed work teams, but they organized themselves according to their place of residence in the village. In contrast, the youth work team embraced the entire community, thus eliminating the possibility of rivalries between village factions.

Yet the contribution of the youth club to community activities remains more a promise than a reality. Villagers give various reasons for this, some of which I listed above: the youths are lazy, their leaders inefficient, and so on. But disagreements within the club itself would appear to be the immediate cause. Resentment soon paralyses the club when the more conscientious members notice that several of the individuals who regularly show up for sports and parties are conspicuously absent when it comes time for work. There have also been differences over the management of club money by the leaders. On several occasions during my fieldwork club members and their parents privately and publicly accused the leaders of using these funds for their own purposes (the combined savings of the youth
and sports club in June 1983 was approximately 280 kina and I was told that 200 kina of this money had been given to the club by wantoks from Port Moresby). In addition, the concern with money may have poisoned the relationship of the youth club with part of the community. A retired teacher in Uiaku said of the youth:

Individually they do not help the community. When we say we will hire the youth to do the work, they do help. They help on community work days. But if they see a person working, they do not join in.

The expectation that the youth club should implant the moral values of the community in the young people is the source of the most heartfelt disagreements between villagers. This debate results not so much from what the youth and their club do or do not do, but more from differences in opinion as to what the youth today are and what they should be. These differences of opinion, in turn, point to more general concerns among the Maisin about the present economic difficulties they face and their future as a community. I will deal with this dimension of the reception of the youth club in the latter part of this paper.

The community and the youth club

The Maisin universally recognize the potential value of organized youth activities as contributions to the quality of life in the villages: providing recreational activities, supporting the church, contributing to community projects, and instilling the values that make the settlements pleasant and supportive places in which to live. Yet the youth club and its leaders have, from time to time, been the subjects of acrimonious debate. The club has so far failed to make a significant contribution to community projects and has been torn apart by internal quarrelling, usually over money.

The most disturbing difficulties have been those instances, fortunately rare, in which the youth as a group and the community have found themselves locked on a collision course. Such a situation developed in the late months of 1982. In October, at the end of Sunday service, a time usually reserved in the church for announcements, a retired teacher blasted the children and teachers of the community school for not exercising more restraint and discipline. Then he invited the congregation to consider the results of such early slackness among the school-leavers:
You youth! You do nothing! You don't come to church properly or do the work properly; you just go place to place. Like the flying fox, you hang around all day and go around at night.

The young people were stung by this and other intemperate remarks. Within a few days the leader of the youth club let it be known that the young people were considering a 'boycott' or 'strike' of an upcoming church festival as retaliation. This threat provoked another outburst in church the following Sunday and the Uiaku village councillor hastily called a meeting to discuss the matter. He was successful at cooling tempers. He pointedly told the young people that there was no room for 'boycotts' in the village: they would soon be married and what would happen to their families if they decided to go on a strike because of some argument? He did not want to hear these words again. Then he harangued the villagers for being out of touch with the youth and urged that regular meetings, such as this one, be held to discuss problems. Although the immediate outcome of this dispute was happy one, it seemed to take out what little steam there was left in the youth club at the time. The club became moribund for several months. Its dispirited leader told me several times that he wanted to be released from his responsibility but could find no replacement.

Given the general wish of the Maisin that the youth club be successful, why has it had so many problems? I have touched upon many of the immediate reasons in this section. But when removed from their historical and social contexts, such reasons tell us little about the underlying problems and prospects of the youth club.

Having outlined the aims, activities and problems of the Goropi Club, we must now turn to larger questions: what do the Maisin expect of their young people? Can the youth movement as it is presently organized in Uiaku and Ganjiga be reasonably expected to meet these aspirations?

A history of Maisin adolescence

(This analysis is based upon informant testimonies and government and mission archival materials. A fuller analysis with detailed documentation can be found in Barker 1985a.)

We can better understand the Maisin's response to the youth club by first considering the sociology of adolescence. In Maisin society, as in all varieties of human cultures, the period of maturation falling between puberty and marriage is socially conditioned. From the perspective of individuals, the movement is one from childhood and dependence on adults to adulthood with its
attendant responsibilities. From the perspective of the overall society, adolescence marks the point at which older family units begin to divide into new units, or to transform into more complex wholes, or to disintegrate and be replaced by new units. As Fortes (1958:1) says, 'a society is a social system, that particular social system, only so long as its elements and components are maintained and adequately replaced'. The biological events of birth, puberty and death are of crucial importance to any society for they force transitions in the makeup of actual human groups. The study of the social conditioning of birth, puberty and death reveals to social scientists processes of social reproduction (see Weiner 1976).

The experience of adolescence in Maisin society has been complicated over the past eighty years by many introduced forces: schools, migrant labour, and Western commodities, to name three important ones. But the basic experience of the young people who stay in the villages today is remarkably similar to what it was in the past. This is because the processes of social reproduction in Maisin culture continue to be based upon ties of kinship, exchange obligations and subsistence activities. Each child is born a member of a resident patri-clan; he or she is soon acquainted with a dense and often overlapping network of nearby cognatic kin to whom they can turn for help and to whom, in turn, they are encouraged to be helpful. Toddlers learn the importance of reciprocity as they carry plates of cooked food between the houses of relatives in the evening; later they become involved in the formal exchanges that mark their own and others' life transitions and which signal moral status. Finally, every child observes and imitates the basic tasks that support the domestic unit and, ultimately, life itself: gardening, fishing, cooking, weaving mats, hollowing canoes, and so forth (Tietjen 1984). Social adolescence is the time when a person first begins to assert his or her presence as a kinsman and potential affine, as someone who meets the moral obligation to exchange, and as a man or woman who is capable of working hard to support their own family.

In this section I will first describe the lives of youths in the period before the Second World War, as this is remembered today by the old people. I will then analyse how the basic pattern of transition through adolescence has been complicated and transformed by colonial and post-colonial forces.

The Maisin distinguish three large stages of maturation. A boy is known as teiti at birth, ififfi from puberty and tamati when he marries. A little girl, morobi, becomes a susuki at the onset of menstruation or when her face is tattooed, and marries as a sauki. These terms describe statuses as much as biological states. It is not uncommon to hear a man of around sixty refer to males under forty
as 'little boys'. Nor is it improper; for full social adulthood comes only after a man and woman have raised a family and proven their ability to work hard and meet exchange obligations. Typically they reach this stage when their own children start into adolescence.

Most Maisin adults would appreciate the sentiment expressed by the English poet, John Gay:

Youth's the season made for joys,  
Love is then our duty.

Tales of the beauty and adventures of young men and women are the stuff of many Maisin myths and legends. Delightful reminiscences of youth's excitement fill the evening chatter as villagers visit each other after a day's work. Not infrequently, middle-aged or older informants would interrupt some plodding interview I was conducting on kinship or a similarly dull subject to tell me of the real fascination of their early years. 'When it was the time of moonlight, we would dance', one elder said to me:

You have just come and so you think Uiaku is like this.  
But if you had come before I don't think that you would stay in your house. You would watch us dancing until day break!

Traditionally, and still today, the period between puberty and marriage (usually occurring in an individual's early to mid twenties) was the time of the greatest freedom in the life-cycle. Old enough to be free of full dependence upon parents but too young to take on the diverse responsibilities of marriage, boys and girls were allowed a few years to develop and explore their newly found strength and erotic urges. As in many coastal Melanesian societies, adolescent boys usually left the houses of their parents to live together in a bachelor house. Premarital sex was expected and at least tolerated, if not always approved of by parents. Decorating themselves in their most beautiful ornaments and feathers, the young men and women joined in dances on moonlit beaches, engaging together in mangu via (beach play). That night or the next day some of the boys and girls might arrange liaisons, often employing a younger brother or sister as a go-between.

The tryst usually took place in the girl's house. This always involved a touch of adventure, for her parents would be sleeping nearby. One elderly man shared some recollections:
Some parents were kind when you climbed up to the
girl or she pulled you up [into the house]. Others would
talk until you came down from the house and
stopped......When you go into the house, you must be
careful not to make noise so that they don't know you are
there. You should wait through the first, next, next and
next rooster [crowing] and then you can go. It is
morning. But if they know you are there, it is no good.
They will talk or they will chase you and you won't
sleep with the girl. They may not chase you, only make a fire
and walk around. This is frightful and so you come down.

One of the narrator's former girlfriends, now in her sixties,
was listening and chuckling during this account. She told
everyone's delight: 'when you were young you used to jump down and
they would chase you from the house'!

Maisin remember their youth as a time in which they developed
strong, joyful friendships, uncomplicated by kinship standing and
exchange obligations. Individuals found in their youth the greatest
opportunity in their lives to push and develop their abilities, to
explore the limits of the physically possible and socially
acceptable, to begin establishing a reputation as an artful hunter, a
smart dancer, a skilful gardener, or a consummate trickster.

This period of life, however, must not be characterized as a
'busting loose' - a last fling before taking up the responsibilities
of adulthood. The whole system of child rearing and maturation into
adulthood was directed, as Dorothy Lee (1959:29) puts it in a
description of Tikopia, 'toward increasing interdependence and
socialization, instead of toward personal self-reliance and
individuation'. Many, perhaps most, of the activities of young
people in the traditional society were imbued with cultural and
social significance. Part of the reason for the initial move of the
boys into a bachelor house, for example, was to separate them from
the polluting effects of their mothers and sisters. The need to
protect one's strength from the weakening effects of the other sex,
and of sex itself, was a lesson the Maisin brought from the past when
young men had to be prepared at any time to defend their village from
enemies. The chief occupations of youths also reflected their
integration into the larger social system. They worked hard: making
gardens, beating sago, manufacturing tapa cloth, fishing and hunting.
And today it is such moments of routine hard work in the pleasant
company of a close friend that most adults recall first when asked to
describe their youth.
The care and socialization of young children was largely the responsibility of their parents and close kin. When a boy or girl entered puberty, however, his or her proper socialization into the customs and organization of the society became the concern of a wider range of adults. The start of adolescence was marked by puberty rites and exchanges. These were most elaborate in the case of first-born children, involving the preparation of huge quantities of food and the exchange of traditional wealth items between the 'mother's side' and the 'father's side' of the child. The wealth was placed on or beside the decorated youth, perhaps symbolizing the unity of the two sets of kin in his or her person. Other puberty ceremonies were simpler. On an appointed day, boys were quietly decorated in insignia owned by their patri-clan in the privacy of their own hamlet. Girls underwent a period of seclusion to have their faces decorated in elaborate tattoos. They would proudly emerge four to six weeks later, dressed in their clan insignia for a small feast in their honour. Thus made beautiful and enclad in the markers of their elders' wealth and power, the youths were now considered ready to participate in the 'beach play' and to sleep together.

A wide circle of kin and potential affines took an interest in the courting behaviour of young men and women. The Maisin traditionally practiced 'sister exchanges' in which one group would engage an unmarried daughter or sister to another group with the promise that sometime in the future they would receive back a woman for one of their unmarried boys. Adults scrutinized the work habits of their prospective sons and daughters-in-law before entering into such arrangements. Once engaged, the boy and girl were then expected to work for their respective in-laws for several months to a few years before the actual marriage was recognized. Even unengaged youths were drawn into exchange obligations. It used to be the custom that when a boy wished for a long term relationship with a girl he would give her father an article of wealth (usually a shell valuable) in exchange for the right to sleep with her. This was often a prelude to marriage. After marriage, such shell valuables formed the heart of the bride price. Through social mechanisms such as these, young men and women were gradually drawn into the social networks and responsibilities that would frame their adult experience (This is not to say that the young people always obliged their parents. Several celebrated battles took place in the past when an engaged girl eloped and her enraged kin tried to take her back from her in-laws).

Adolescence was the time of greatest personal independence in the traditional life-cycle. The experiences of adolescence, however, tended towards increasing social interdependence, leading young people towards full adulthood. This was a gradual process. Early
Marriages were frequently unstable. Many of the men and women I interviewed for a village census in 1982 had gone through three or more unions before settling down with one partner. After the stable marriage came years of hard work in the garden and increasing involvement in formal exchanges. Usually it was around the time that their own first-born sons and daughter were entering adolescence that a man and woman became adults in a full social and political sense, exercising a degree of influence in the collective activities of the village.

Changes in the experiences of adolescence

The biblical author of Proverbs 22 says: 'train up a child in the way he should go: and when he is old, he will not depart from it'. This well describes one of the prevailing assumptions in colonial attempts to reform Melanesian societies. By transforming the education, aspirations, loyalties, and experience of the children and young people of the indigenous societies, government officers and missionaries sought to inculcate, through a gradual evolution, major changes in Papuan values and ways of life.

One of the first of the administration's actions in Collingwood Bay was the ending of tribal warfare. Raiding and warfare had provided some of the main proving grounds for young Maisin men. The colonial administration had new purposes for them. Only a few years after establishing the new regional peace, the officers were strongly urging single Maisin men to sign on as indentured plantation and mine labourers to work mostly at the eastern end of Papua. At first the villagers were not interested; but by 1920 it had become the norm for young men to spend from eighteen months to several years away at work as labourers before returning home to their villages to marry and raise families. My census in 1982 showed that all of the men of Uiaku and Gnjiga over fifty years of age had worked outside of their village for periods of their bachelorship, usually as plantation workers.

One further government initiative especially affected the village youths. In 1926 the then Resident Magistrate, W.R. Humphries, introduced the game of soccer throughout Collingwood Bay and arranged for an annual series of competitions between different villages. Humphries held the view, common at that time, that the suppression of warfare had induced a dangerous state of lethargy in Melanesian males that threatened their physical health (see Wetherell 1977:205-215 for an interesting description of colonial ideas on the relationship between sports, warfare and depopulation in Melanesian societies). And so soccer was introduced with 'the object of providing the natives with some new interest in life' (Humphries 1927-28). Whether because it provided them with a martial outlet or
it was simply enjoyable, soccer proved immensely popular among the local people and is still the favourite sport in Tufi District. Greybeards in Uiaku relate with much pride the details of their victories in the 1930s when their team consistently won the district pennant. These early soccer teams were the direct ancestors of today's youth club.

The mission's early influence on the young people was more direct and ambitious than that of the government. The leaders of the Anglican mission held relatively liberal attitudes (for their time) towards the indigenous culture. They wished the Papuans to convert to Christianity and recognized that this would entail the abandonment of several ancient customs; but they wanted conversion to proceed in a way that would not cause schisms in the villages between Christians and pagans nor would encourage the people to abandon the positive aspects of their village life for some version of European living. In this case philosophy merged with necessity, for the missionaries had neither the staff nor the resources to enforce their version of Christianity upon the people. The strategy they chose was to work through the children: to concentrate on schooling, ensuring that the young people grew up accustomed to the routines of Christian worship, the outlines of Christian belief and the regulations of Christian living (Wetherell 1977 examines these themes at length; see Barker 1985a for a detailed analysis of missionary activities among the Maisin).

The village schools gave the mission and government authorities a base on which to further their influence in local communities. Around 1920, some of the young Christian men in Uiaku were organized by white missionaries into a church council and charged with the task of regulating the conduct of new Christians. Ten years later, the administration formed its own village councils, drawing on the same group of men, and gave them the responsibility of announcing and defending government policies to less-educated villagers.

Prior to 1942, these and related changes appear to have combined to lessen the power of traditional leaders and the importance of the patri-clans in Maisin society. Large-scale feasts and dances became rarer and the initiations of boys other than first-borns came to an end. Some of the young men gained a new influence through their acquisition of European goods and money by means of plantation labour and their sponsorship by the mission and the government on village councils. Important as these changes were, however, they appear to have been absorbed into the development cycles of the society. The movements to and from the plantations became a regular feature of a young man's growing up. This often meant that marriage had to be delayed, but the old marriage customs continued to be observed. The young leaders were granted general authority in those areas of life
that were of direct concern for the mission and the government, but all young people continued to respect the ultimate authority of village elders in matters affecting the clans, such as marriages, divorces, disputes over land, and death rites (Barker 1985b).

The changes that followed the end of the Second World War have been of much greater import. Because of their long association with the Anglican Church and access to relatively good schools, the Maisin were in an excellent position to benefit from the expansion of education and employment opportunities that took place in the 1950s and 1960s. The process of out-migration that began with the enrolment of four Uiaku boys in Martyrs' High School in the early 1950s had its own momentum. The first generation of high school graduates went on to gain government and business jobs and started to send remittances home.

The Maisin workforce of today could accurately be described as 'elite'. It includes doctors, dentists, nurses, teachers, businessmen, priests, and some highly placed civil servants (see Carrier 1981 for a comparative discussion of an 'elite' workforce). Remittances helped pay the school fees of later generations of siblings and other relatives when it was their turn to begin high school. Those who did not achieve grades high enough to qualify for high school went to vocational schools or were helped by their wantoks in town to find employment. Girls did not have as early an entrance into the high schools as boys, but many of those who did not themselves gain higher education and employment married Maisin men who had and so also moved out of the villages.

The outflow of young from the Collingwood Bay area was sudden and massive. Out of a total population of 481 in Uiaku and Ganjiga in 1982, only seven men and sixteen women were between the ages of thirty-one and forty (5 per cent of the total), and many of these had only recently returned to the villages, usually to care for aging parents. Uiaku experienced the greatest exodus of the Maisin villages. Somewhat fewer young people left Ganjiga and the smaller communities in southern Collingwood Bay (see table 6.1)
### Table 6.1: Age Distribution in Uiaku and Ganjiga, 1982

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Group</th>
<th>Males Uiaku</th>
<th>Females Uiaku</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Males Ganjiga</th>
<th>Females Ganjiga</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>70+</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61-70</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'51-60</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41-50</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31-40</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21-30</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11-20</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0-10</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals:</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>147</td>
<td>271</td>
<td>147</td>
<td>147</td>
<td>294</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Census conducted by the Author.

In a report on labour migration among the Yega of Oro Bay in the mid 1960s, Dakeyne (1977:157-158) summarizes the pressures and inducements experienced by villagers which led them to favour the economic strategy of a semi-permanent export of labour:

First, there is a desire to conform to an already established pattern. The desire for money and what it can buy and for experience of life outside the village are strongly reinforced by friends who come home for holidays smartly dressed, bringing presents for all their relatives and friends, telling exciting tales of their doings in the outside world and having cash to spend in the local trade stores. Secondly, there is the influence of older relatives whose unskilled labour now yields so small a return that they no longer reckon it worth while to go away to work; instead, these older villagers live, at least in respect of imported commodities, on the gifts of money and goods sent to them by the younger men working for cash wages away from the village.

The combined effect of all this on Maisin society was to profoundly transform the cultural institutions of adolescence. Many customs simply disappeared and other became rare, all the victims of a lack of participants. Some of these customs had been opposed for years by the mission. That the Maisin would persist with them for so
many years in the face of opposition speaks to their importance and popularity. At the time the customs were abandoned, ironically, the missionary opposition had almost completely died away.

The last reported mangu via 'beach play', took place around 1963; the custom of sister exchanges had been abandoned a few years before this; the puberty ceremonies for first-born children and girls' facial tattooing were postponed and often never done. The result was that the villages became much duller places for the few young people who stayed behind. But even when moonlit dances along the beach and puberty ceremonies were still common, they must have appeared dull in the eyes of the young people bedazzled by the towns, and they must have held less weight than the promise of increasing access to money and commodities for those adult Maisin who encouraged their children to leave the villages. Today many Maisin express regrets about the passing of these customs but there has been no move to restore them.

Perhaps the most important of the changes affecting young people in the 1960s and 1970s was a transformation in their elders' expectations of them. Children had always been important economic assets for their parents: a child could be given in adoption to affines in lieu of brideprice; marriages of children helped to forge politically important exchange links; and children provided support when parents reached old age. But now these expectations were overlain with another: one's child should go to high school and acquire a good job so as to support his parents with money and store goods. I was curious to know how strong this attitude was, so in 1983 I asked about sixty parents in Uiaku and Ganjiga if they wanted their children to go to high school and, if so, why? Everyone I spoke to hoped that their children would have secondary education. With only a few exceptions, people told me that this would be good because then the children could 'send money to the village' (see Carrier 1981 for a cogent analysis of a similar situation of labour export on Ponam Island in Manus Province).

Not all of the young people left Uiaku and Ganjiga during these years and, as time passed, some of those who had gone out returned, usually to care for their aging parents. In its essentials, life in the villages carried on much as it always had: people made their gardens, fished, and hunted. They could now afford nylon fishing nets, better tools and new clothes; and this made their lives a little easier while not greatly changing things. But there were at the same time more subtle changes occurring in village society. After the Second World War the number of years children spent in school increased and the quality of the education they received improved (see table 6.2). A good education, of course, provided a major basis for the entry of the Maisin into the elite job market.
The Maisin naturally thought that knowledge gained in school could also indicate how the local economy might be improved, and so villagers increasingly turned to the high school graduates living in the community for guidance in the management of village corporate activities: cash crop projects, the tapa cloth business, the school, and so on. The new managers, in turn, tended to speak in favourable terms about the various changes that had allowed them to enter high school in the first place. And so the new economic situation began.

TABLE 6.2: MEAN EDUCATION OF VILLAGERS IN UIAKU AND GANJIGA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Birth Decade</th>
<th>Age in 1982</th>
<th>Men (N)</th>
<th>Women (N)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-1911</td>
<td>71+</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1912-1921</td>
<td>61-70</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1922-1931</td>
<td>51-60</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1932-1941</td>
<td>41-50</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1942-1951</td>
<td>31-40</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1952-1961</td>
<td>21-30</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Working Children:*  
10.1  59  8.1  53

* This category also includes non-working children married to working individuals. It was not possible to secure accurate figures on the ages of individuals.

Source: Village Census by the Author.

As we shall see in the next section, villagers have discovered that 'education' has more than one aspect. Those who spend years absorbing school lessons learn correspondingly less about the ways of their fathers and mothers. Moreover, they may come to look down on the conventions and necessities of village life. Thus the basis was lain in this period for tension between 'ordinary' villagers and those with more schooling. This tension began to erupt into open disagreements when the national economy began its downturn in the mid to late 1970s.

Dakeyne (1977:161) warned in 1967 of a danger of 'creating an over-supply of well-educated but unemployable young people'. This is what has been happening in Maisin communities through the late 1970s and early 1980s. The quality of community school education has improved immensely in the last twenty years. But today there are far fewer places in the high schools available to the Maisin than there were a decade ago, and those who graduate from high schools have no guarantee of finding employment. The decline of Maisin enrolments in
the high schools is the result of improved education elsewhere in Oro Province and attempts on the part of education officials to balance regional access to the schools. There is no evidence that Maisin scholars have become any less competent through the years. The job possibilities for grade 6 'school leavers' are even bleaker. As a result, the number of youths remaining in the villages or returning after a stint in high school and looking for work has increased considerably in the past decade. In my 1982 census of Ganjiga and Uiaku I found that 109 people, or 25 per cent of the population, were between the ages of eleven and twenty (see table 6.1).

The Goropi youth Club was formed at the historical point where the flow of young people to the high schools and urban jobs began to perceptibly slow down.

Attitudes towards the youth and the youth club

The creation of the Goropi Youth Club in Uiaku and Ganjiga occurred simultaneously with several other crucial changes in the circumstances of the Maisin. The challenge faced by the club is not simply to establish a new community organization catering to the young people, but also to address the concerns Maisin villagers feel about the youth and the future of their society in the light of recent changes in the economy.

Let me first stress again that the youth club has been very successful in providing for the recreational needs of young Maisin villagers. Sports, stringband parties, and gospel sing-alongs are popular activities in the villages, as fully accepted today as the mangu via was in the past. If the youth club activities were confined to only these areas, there would be little to write about. But the sponsors of the club have larger ambitions for the organization and ordinary villagers also express greater hopes from time to time.

These ambitions and expectations have been enormously complicated by the economic reversal the Maisin have experienced in recent years, in common with many Papua New Guineans. Remittances and returns from the sale of cash crops and tapa cloth seem to be getting smaller even as the prices for store goods rise. Villagers frequently complain that they can no longer meet the costs of supporting the local priest and paying government taxes. The Maisin feel that someone must be at fault for this troublesome situation and so, in turn, they criticize allegedly indifferent government and church officials, unresponsive politicians, and selfish local leaders. But the most obvious and easily available target for blame is the last generation of young people to graduate from the community school - those who did not get into high school.
The disappointment many villagers express about today's young people frequently merges with ambiguous feelings about some of the characteristics adopted by those who have been successful in the towns. Adults encourage their children to do well in the classroom and, indeed, transfer some of the blame for a child's inability to achieve high enough grades to get into high school upon his or her parents (the reasoning is that the parents were not 'strict' enough). Yet many villagers express dismay about what they consider to be typical attitudes held by those who have attained a superior education. One of my informants, herself a former teacher and women's welfare officer, told me:

"Education is growing and the young people go out into town. When they come back they don't listen to their parents. They learn good things but also bad things from other boys and girls from town. So they don't do or teach the good things to their parents. So they don't respect their parents. In the old days, they would scorn a boy or girl who does rotten work (and) point out a boy or girl who respects the parents and are learning to do the work well. Everyone was here. But now they go out and the example is gone. That's why I say they are bad."

Younger people as a whole are frequently lumped in with those who have been to high school, together receiving casual abuse. They are blamed for letting down their relatives by not working hard enough to get into high school; they are sometimes accused of being 'big heads' who are 'too proud' to listen to their elders; they are said to be 'lazy' and unwilling to contribute to village projects (which then fall apart). In sum, they easily become scapegoats for the various troubles that afflict the community. The anger that flashed when the youth club threatened to boycott a church festival was itself the product of countless small slights of the youths by their elders.

"It may be that the young people of today are less hard-working and co-operative than their parents were. I cannot say. They impressed me, however, as pleasant, respectful and industrious individuals, especially compared to Western adolescents. The real problem, in my opinion, is this: Maisin are looking for tangible reasons for the economic reversal of the past few years and youth are the most obvious target. But the fact is that Papua New Guinea could not sustain the rate of growth it enjoyed in the 1960s and 1970s; there is little or nothing that the youth or any other Maisin could do to stop and reverse a trend that has been affecting the entire country and, indeed, the entire Third World. The older villagers"
criticize the youth for being too much like villagers and therefore unable to land jobs in the towns but, at the same time, for being 'too educated' and therefore out of touch with village moral values.

The youth club itself provides an even more convenient target for this type of contradictory reasoning. Much of the allure of the club, for both rural youth and their parents, comes from its association with the National Youth Movement, particularly youth activities in the towns. The urban elite provides the role models for the leaders and the membership. In my conversation with the club leaders and thoughtful members I was continually struck by their use of phrases indicating very high, if vague, goals for the local association. They stressed such things as 'development', 'leadership', 'self-reliance' and 'helping the people' without attempting to spell out what these ideals might mean in the village context. There is, of course, nothing wrong with such ideals in and of themselves, but they seem to promise much more than the youth club can reasonably deliver. This leads to disappointments. Without clear targets for 'development' and 'self-reliance', spurts of youth club energy have been easily stymied by quarrels arising over what is to be done with money so raised or about the members who do not work. It is a situation that inevitably leads adults and the youth to question the sincerity of their leaders.

The irony is that these same villagers who criticize the club and its leaders are also the ones who insist that the educated young married men in the village take responsibility for youth activities. While there is little doubt that the leaders contribute to the difficulty of their situation, it must be remembered that their situation is a difficult one to start with.

If the youth club fails to live up to the hopes of the villagers, it also occasionally offends the moral values that Maisin most stress. The devaluation of the traditional way of life is not a matter of deliberate action on the part of the youth club, but rather a by-product of the tendency to model youth activities on urban counterparts. Kinship relations, reciprocity, and subsistence tasks are largely irrelevant to the youth programme, a point that was made clear to me when one leader attempted to explain why the club was formed in the first place:

The young people leave school and do nothing but garden with their parents all the time. They don't try to extend their knowledge. We thought that with the youth club they could retain the knowledge they gained in school.
The aim here is unquestionably a legitimate one. But in the context of a small village society it places the youth club in a tricky position.

The first problem is that several of the youth activities take place outside of contexts familiar to older Maisin or accessible to them. Parents naturally feel anxious when they do not have a clear idea of what their children are up to. This anxiety is demonstrated most clearly in prevalent ideas about premarital sex and pregnancy. I was told by older folk that in the past unwanted pregnancies rarely occurred because a boy always gave the father of his sweetheart a shell valuable before he slept with her. The assumption here would appear to be that the situation was approved and controlled by the adults. Today, on the other hand, this custom has lapsed and boys and girls arrange their own liaisons privately, often at stringband parties. The result has been, in the popular view, an epidemic of pregnancies among single girls.

Half a dozen young women I knew of in Uiaku and Ganjiga had given birth out of wedlock. Their children were accepted and loved, but they were not allowed to move with their mothers when they married. The babies 'belong' to her patri-clan when no husband comes forward to pay brideprice. There is no way of knowing whether unplanned pregnancies really have become a modern epidemic or represent a case of historical amnesia. One of the youth leaders that I interviewed was keenly aware of this problem. He told me that:

> When [the club] started the older people thought that it was a waste of time. But it was not explained to the parents. Parents grumbled because sometimes children were working too hard. They were also worried because the club gave boys and girls too many chances to get married (i.e., have unplanned pregnancies).

He said that most parents now approved of the youth club, but he admitted that there were still some people who did not understand its aims and activities.

The second problem is that youth leaders and their followers sometimes display a disrespect towards village society that annoys older people. The main difficulty is that the Maisin traditionally have stressed the deference that is due to elders. They find the claims made by the club leaders on behalf of village youths awkward to accept. The duty of young people, I was told again and again, often by adolescents themselves, is to obey and help their parents and relatives. When the club strikes an independent course the parents may be affronted (as in the case of the proposed boycott)
for this goes against a long tradition of respect. Again, it is easiest to criticize the leaders. 'The boys and girls want to work,' one village woman told me, 'but their leaders are not good'.

But there is a real edge of arrogance to some of the attitudes youth leaders reveal to the villagers. They speak of 'helping the people', but do not consider how the full involvement of older villagers might improve youth activities. They concern themselves with developing the disciplines and skills young people learn in school, but do not appear to believe that there is much of use the young people can learn from ordinary village people. The main nurturing base of the youth movement in Uiaku and Ganjiga must be the local community, yet the club leadership seems unable to recognize and to act upon this reality.

The Goropi Youth Club of Uiaku and Ganjiga, therefore, faces considerable obstacles in moving beyond the organization of recreational activities for village young people. I do not want to leave the impression that a permanent state of animosity exists between the youth and villagers or that the club leaders are enemies of the traditional social system. Far from it. As one of the youth leaders said to me in a different context, 'In Uiaku every man must work hard in the garden to feed his family'. The young people and the club leaders, like other villagers, spend the bulk of their time and energies engaged in subsistence activities, meeting exchange obligations and caring for their kin. Youth club activities form a minor part of their lives. The tensions I have analysed here might best be described as tendencies that rarely burst into open disputes but, at the same time, undermine attempts to form a viable youth organization in the community.

The tensions that become visible in villagers' responses to the youth club are also apparent in the context of other village corporate activities. The young people today face pressures and problems unknown to their parents when they were of the same age. But these pressures and problems are not something unique to the young people. Ultimately they must be related to the most intractable difficulty of Maisin society: resolving the contradictions between the inherited values of a small-scale subsistence existence and the requirements of participation in the nation state and the world economic system.
Conclusions: problems and prospects

My main interest in this case study of the Goropi Youth Club has been to explore the reasons why the club has not yet been able to become fully established in the community. I reached the following specific conclusions.

First, the club has been very successful in arranging recreational activities for the young people and this probably is the main basis of its continued support in the villages. Secondly, the sponsors of the club along with villagers have harboured larger ambitions and hopes for the club. These are vaguely formulated but mostly tied to the aim of increasing the economic prosperity of the society by emulating the urban elite. Not only have such goals not been attained, they have contributed from time to time to tensions between village youths, adults and the club leaders. Thirdly, the failures of the youth club are related to specific weaknesses of the organization itself: the setting of goals that are exceedingly vague and, upon closer examination largely irrelevant to village realities, and the autonomy of the youth organization from village corporate activities. Finally, the weaknesses of the youth movement in Uiaku and Ganjiga generally reflect the ambiguous position of young people in Maisin society today. There are far fewer opportunities open to young people outside of their own villages than there were even a short time ago. Remaining in the community, somewhat stigmatized as 'school leavers', they are caught in a double-bind between their parents' desire that they go to high school and gain jobs (requiring them to leave the area and to abandon the way of life, and many of the values, of village society) and their parents' suspicion that the very education that might allow them to migrate alienates youth from the values that make village life successful and pleasant.

This analysis of the youth movement in Uiaku and Ganjiga contains two themes which, when given in the forms of propositions, suggest ways the movement might develop in the future. The first proposition is that from the time of first contact with Europeans, succeeding generations of young people have been at the spear point of change in village society. The generations of the first pupils to attend village schools, the founders of the village councils, the educated urban elite, and the present-day youth club members have successively faced each other in the village context as elders and young people. This brings us to the second proposition: the local changes that have occurred in Maisin society have been gradual and cumulative. The mode of change is one which has allowed for the continuity of the basic social forms and values of
the past (kinship, exchange and subsistence activities) while responding to and incorporating the opportunities and demands of the present.

What do these propositions suggest for the future of the youth movement in Uiaku and Ganjiga? I think that they first of all caution us not to be too quick to dismiss the movement because of its present-day weaknesses. According to archival records, the mission and government councils introduced into Uiaku in the 1920s and 1930s were also initially of small consequence for the community. But they set the stage for the acceptance and great expansion in influence of village corporations in the years following the Second World War. The stumbling movements of the youth organization today may be preparing the way for more important changes, as yet unknown, in the future.

Yet the outlook for the youth club in its present form does seem unpromising in some ways when compared to the innovations of the past. For example, the youth club does not have the considerable amount of outside encouragement, supervision, instruction and resources that the councils enjoyed in the past. Given the economic difficulties Papua New Guinea faces today, this situation seems unlikely to change in the near future. Secondly, whereas the earlier initiatives undertaken by young members of the community aimed at specific reforms in the entire society, the youth club for the time being supports a vague rhetoric and caters for the most part to the needs of the young people. Finally, the club takes urban counterparts as its model and this, along with the narrowness of its membership base, makes it somewhat marginal in what is still essentially a subsistence society in an economically isolated part of the country. Should a large-scale development project start in the Collingwood Bay area, the youth club might soon find an important niche in mediating the adjustment of the rural society to the sudden influx of money, goods and jobs - changes that would have the greatest immediate impact on youths. But in the present circumstances, the youth club seems destined to remain in stunted growth.

The internal reform of the local youth movement is an important option. There are indications that such reform may be underway. In the incident of the threatened boycott described earlier in the paper, the village councillor urged that the young people and villagers meet together at regular intervals. This was also proposed at several other village meetings, although at the time of my departure it had not been acted upon. A more promising development would seem to be the creation of a youth fellowship group under the village priest. An older man and neutral in village politics, the priest is able to avoid many of the
suspicions that have made life difficult for the young married men leading the youth club. The young people are able to remain involved with the community while forming a separate group by coming together under the umbrella of the village church. And the church, which is very respected in Maisin villages, gives the youth fellowship group a respectability and legitimacy that the youth club cannot easily provide. The fellowship group was receiving strong and consistent support from the young people in the village during the last months of my field research, in contrast to the uneven response to the youth club.

If the present trends continue it appears that the Goropi youth and sports clubs will continue to provide a welcome recreational outlet for the village young people. But the youth of Uiaku and Ganjiga will also be drawn into the church fellowship group and, through it, to a larger corporate role in the community. The goals of the youth movement will accordingly be more modest, but also more attainable: organizing sports and parties, helping in church services, and helping in church fund-raising projects and village celebrations. Most importantly, should such reforms continue, the activities of youth associations will be gradually incorporated into the developmental cycles of the social system, thus ending the alienation young people have experienced in recent years.

Given the importance of the church in mediating the relation between the Maisin and Europeans in the past, it seems entirely appropriate that it provide a place within which Maisin young people and their parents can come to terms with the problems of the 1980s.
Chapter 7

THE KULALAE YOUTH FELLOWSHIP: COMMUNITY REACTIONS TO A GOVERNMENT SPONSORED YOUTH MOVEMENT

Biango Buia

The problems experienced by this youth group in the Western Province reflect youth activities without adequate and appropriate training, support and co-ordination. I am grateful to the people of my village, especially Anoal Birug and Kose Wake who helped me in this study and without whose help this paper would not have been written.

Introduction

Kulalae, the home village of the Kulalae Youth Fellowship, is about eighty kilometres west of Daru, the provincial headquarters of the Western Province. Kulalae is one of the three Gizra speaking villages in the area. The other two are Kupere and Waidoro. It is located in the Oriomo-Bituri census division and was previously known as Togo village. It has a population of nearly 300 people and by Western Province standards is a big village. More than half of the population are youth and children (National Statistical Office 1982).

Because of Kulalae's closeness to Daru, her people have relatively easy access to the town, using outboard motors and canoes. Village (mostly clan or family) trips are made to Daru, particularly on government pay weekends, to sell garden produce and fresh meat. The earnings are spent on modern goods and services or saved for future use.

Since Kulalae was opened up to Western influence during the early 1900s she and her people have been changing rapidly. Traditional methods of appointment or election of leaders have been weakened, or have almost disappeared. New alien forms of social organization and structures have changed the old ones (for example, local government councils, youth groups, women's fellowships). Traditional methods of education which would be appropriate for those outside the Western education system are no longer practised. Initiation ceremonies for youth have given way to the monotonous
repetition of basic English words at community schools. These are often pronounced incorrectly and not understood. Similarly there is a lack of real understanding of introduced ideas about youth organization and the different technological and management skills needed to establish an effective youth group.

The discussion in this paper will centre around the problems of Kulalae youth taking on leadership roles at the village level, using modern forms of social organization. The main problems for youth organizations are that:

i. the youth leaders do not receive adequate training, to function effectively in these organizations;

ii. there is a lack of adequate co-ordination, motivation and support from those in the planning offices in Daru and Port Moresby;

iii. the programmes or projects (having being designed in urban centres) do not have regard for the customary or traditional practices of the people for whom they have been planned.

The emphasis in this discussion will be on youth groups in rural areas and reflects my experiences as a young man in today's continually changing society; my observations of the operation of the Kulalae Youth Fellowship, from the inside as a Kulalae villager and also as an outsider; information given by youth group members and parents on the expected and actual benefits gained from the youth organization, and answers to an information guide prepared by Maev O'Collins for a study of youth groups in Papua New Guinea (1984: 141-143). The discussion covers the operation of the Kulalae Youth Fellowship from 1980 (the founding year of the group) to February 1984.

The history of the Kulalae Youth Fellowship

The Kulalae Youth Fellowship, was formed officially during mid-1980, through the efforts of the Reverend Touta Gauga (later chairman of the National Youth Council), as part of the United Church youth mobilization and Christian ministry. During 1981, the Fellowship registered as a member of the National Youth Movement Program, the government of Papua New Guinea's youth mobilization programme. The objectives or dreams of the National Youth Movement Program were also embraced by the Fellowship. At present it is a registered member of both the United Church youth ministry and the National Youth Movement Program (see O'Collins 1984: 34-46 for a general description of the
At the beginning of the formation of the Fellowship membership of the group was high. In fact all single villagers from 12 to 25 years of age, enlisted as members, and those between 20 and 26 years who were married with one or two children, also enlisted as occasional members. That is, they participated in selected activities of the group, especially community service and cultural activities. Two young married adults (one a grade 6 and the other a grade 10 leaver) volunteered to be the guardians of the group and the spokesmen of the group at village meetings. A church deacon and deaconess couple volunteered to be Christian guardians of the group, in order to support and encourage Christian devotions and activities.

Parents encouraged their children to participate in the activities of the group and, what was more unusual, parents also allowed their daughters to participate in activities that would have their daughters out of their sight and control for a day or more. Activities included building or repairing garden fences of widows and the aged, collecting timber and roofing material for villagers' housing and attending gatherings when invited by youth groups from other villages. Some men and women gave up other commitments to supervise cultural activities, such as dance practices and rehearsals. As one member and leader of the group from its beginning to the present stated:

...our Youth Fellowship started with great enthusiasm and support from the youth and our parents and the village as a whole. All the boys and girls joined the group and some men and women acted as guardians to our group.

From 1980-1982 the group was active in community service and Christian and cultural activities, the peak being from mid to late 1982. As a symbol of unity and identity group members wore a uniform consisting of brown laplaps and yellow T shirts. During this time the Kulalae Youth Fellowship was noted for its cultural dances or performances. The highlights of these performances were the 'Dances of Honour' on the occasion of the official opening of the Masingara Youth Library in 1982 and the performance of traditional dancing at the United Church annual Mei festival (Masingara is a village in the same constituency as Kulalae. The Mei festival is a United Church festival, during which various United churches in the Daru Circuit give money to the Daru Circuit headquarters for the next year's operation. The same festival is called Boubou in and around Port Moresby).
Why was the Kulalae Youth Fellowship so active from 1980-1982?

During 1980-1982 the community youth coordinator responsible for the Fellowship appeared to have been active. We could therefore assume that there had been a positive correlation between his level of involvement and that of the Fellowship. But whether the Fellowship had been active because of the work of the community youth coordinator and the supportive village community or whether he had been active because of the involvement and enthusiasm of Fellowship members or whether the three had supported each other is unclear. It should be noted that community youth coordinators (CYCs) are appointed by the National Youth Movement Program headquarters in Port Moresby and receive a small allowance to assist in their part-time work of advising youth groups (Office of Youth, Religion, Women and Recreation, 1982).

This is how I see the question, knowing that the involvement of the Fellowship refers only to cultural, church and community service activities. First, the CYC and the group had been active because of the supportive village community (the parents, the volunteer guardians, and cultural dance teachers). This support depended on whether the activities of the group and the CYC were favourably viewed by the village community as a whole. Secondly, Christian activities, cultural activities and community service activities fit quite neatly with the customary or traditional practices of the Gizra people.

Decline in the Kulalae Youth Fellowship membership and activities

The youth leader whom I interviewed in 1983 stated that: 'During this year our youth group had not been very active, due to decline in community interest and support, membership, and support from the CYC'. The membership of the group declined from about one hundred and eighty in 1980 to forty-one in 1983, twelve males and twenty-nine females. This group was made up of out-of-school, unmarried youth from twelve to twenty-five years of age. There were no young-married occasional members (numbers for the initial membership are approximate as no written records were available).

The two young adult guardians and the CYC did not function well as they did during the 1980-82 period, nor did the deacon and deaconess. The parents, after observing the activities of the youth from 1980-82, labelled the youth group as 'mad youth' and they too withdrew their support. This was because they had experienced an imbalance between benefits and costs. The costs had been too high. Sexual promiscuity among the youth, a few cases of children born out of wedlock, and other sex related problems in Kulalae caused a lot of
bitter arguments and fights. The loss of two or three days of youth labour that should have been used in the family homes or gardens were some of the additional costs which seem to have 'cancelled out' all the benefits the youth activities brought to Kulalae, such as the pride of the Youth Fellowship's success in the Mei festival in Daru, and at Masingara.

This 'decline experience' has inevitably become and will probably continue to be a frame of reference which will hinder the growth and future success of the group. For example, during mid-1983 a poultry project was initiated by an ex-University of Technology student from Kulalae. Day old chickens were purchased and air-freighted to Daru where the group members collected them. This was with the help from the increasingly popular *niu zelan ed* (New Zealand aid programme). The CYC later described the effort by the student as 'getting help through the wrong channels', but did not explain what he meant by 'wrong channels' and he had in any case been living in Kulalae as the church pastor during the initiation and development of the project. The chickens were to be raised in a chicken house built by the youth and fed on a roster basis, but after they arrived in Kulalae, the older they became the more neglected they were. A villager offered to buy out the chicken project if the Fellowship continued to run the project in this manner. At the time I left in January 1984 the future of the project was in doubt and the CYC was also preparing to leave for further pastoral training.

There could be many reasons for the decline in the activities of the Fellowship but I will mention only a few.

First, as noted earlier, there was a withdrawal of support and interest by the village community, including the parents. The success of the youth group depended on support, interest and encouragement from members of the village community but they withdrew their support because of disapproval of the 'side-activities', and the cost of letting children (especially daughters) participate in the activities of the Fellowship. This could also be attributed to differences in expectations by the youth and the village community, and how the youth group saw the reason for its existence. Whatever the reasons, the village community was very important to the development, growth and initial success of the Fellowship. At this point in time I believe its future is in the hands of the Kulalae village community and the parents and it will remain stagnant until members of the village community reverse their present attitude towards the youth group.
Secondly, and quite importantly, the lack of adequate formal training of some sort for the CYC and the executive committee (chairperson, secretary, and treasurer) of the Fellowship has been a problem. There is no training on how to organize, co-ordinate, motivate, keep records, and evaluate the youth group and its activities. The Kulalae villagers had also not been prepared for the type of youth organization promoted by the National Youth Movement Program. Why they supported the organizing of youth in such a manner at first is not clear, but it could have been due to their ignorance that the organizing and operating of the Youth Fellowship was going to be quite new and different from their traditional methods, or due to unrealistic expectations of the youth group. On realizing the differences, they stopped supporting the youth group.

When the group was first established the National Youth Movement Program and the United Church Youth Ministry, with the help of the non-formal education officer with the Division of Education at Daru, should have trained the CYC's, Christian youth workers, youth leaders and village leaders in the methods and skills needed to work in this new form of organization. The youth group leader mentioned that:

... our secretary cannot write the minutes of our meetings and other activities very well because of difficulty in hearing Gizra, translating to English in the mind, then writing in English on paper ... our treasurer cannot keep proper records, so most times we use our money, and when we count once in a while our money, we sometimes have more or less than our memories balance.

Thirdly, this new form of organizing youth is too formal. Youth and villagers are not used to formally run groups, with constitutions, a chairperson, secretary, treasurer, a work day (Thursday of each week for the youth group), and so on and so forth. In January 1981, because of the requirements laid down by the National Youth Movement Program, the youth group drew up a constitution but it has never been used to date. Having simply written aims and objectives is better than a constitution which, though written and agreed upon by its makers and members, is regarded by the villagers as dictatorial and limiting. In Kulalae, agreements are reached by majority consensus (not majority vote). Meetings are when the need arises, not on a set day and time. Youth are used to this form of flexible organization and the National Youth Movement Program should utilize it (with variations) if it wants to be successful, although it must be noted that economic projects planned according to such traditional practices are less likely to be successful.
Fourthly, (although this is not shown as clearly within the Kulalae Youth Fellowship) some youth groups reflect the impact of capitalism directly and indirectly on the village. Most youth groups believe they have to have money to operate. In 1981 the National Youth Movement Program distributed about K366.00 to each of a number of youth groups in the Western Province, particularly in the Daru District. The Kulalae Youth Fellowship was one of the recipients and this was a motivating factor for its level of activities during the 1981-82 period. Grants were not given to the group in 1982/83, although they paid their membership renewal fee and no further grants were received after the initial amount in 1981 (see Office of Youth and Recreation 1982 for a description of the grants scheme).

The result of this apparent emphasis on grants is that, if the National Youth Movement Program temporarily freezes the granting of cash to youth groups, or if projects take one or two years to return economic benefits or make a profit, most economic projects are abandoned or enthusiasm and support for the project declines (this decline may also be affected by lack of markets for products and transportation problems). The youth groups do not seem to want to use their own resources to develop their communities. This is partly due to lack of education, partly due to over expectations and partly due to the conservative attitudes of the older population. They have been drawn into and affected by capitalism. Self-reliance for many youth groups means obtaining grants from the National Youth Movement Program. For the politicians self-reliance means extra money from funds under their responsibility to be given for more projects and there is less emphasis on the use of resources within the community.

Fifthly, the mobilizing and operating of the youth group in this new manner interferes with the traditional or customary practices of the Gizra people.

One of the most important customary practices which occurs amongst the Gizra and also amongst other groups of people in the Western Province is that of transhumance (regular or seasonal migrations over short distances as a result of ecological or climatic conditions). During the dry season, people (in families or clans) move to family or clan hamlets in the forests and savannah, where the whole or most of the season is spent. The people return to the village when the wet season begins. The dry season generally lasts from August/September to November/December.

During transhumance, all economic projects, youth work days, and youth programmes for the year are stopped. Between 1980 and 1981, the Kulalae Youth Fellowship realized this, and it really was a problem. Parents did not send their children for meetings or on
youth work days to the village during this period. This problem has been a real killer of enthusiasm and interest. Youth programmes for a particular year may take into account such activities, but with economic projects it is still a problem.

A final explanation for the decline in the level of activities is related to the functioning of the Social Development office in Daru which manages the National Youth Movement Program in the Western Province. This office has problems of staff shortages and limitations in training for existing staff and there is little support from administrative supervisors and local politicians.

Conclusion

During 1984 some changes took place and a new CYC was appointed. One of the group members attended a project management workshop, conducted by the National Youth Movement Program through the Youth Office in Daru in February 1984, and an acting provincial youth officer took over. However, positive changes still depend on the attitudes of the village community and the parents, and full support has not yet been given to the youth group.

There are lessons from the Kulalae Youth Fellowship experience for provincial and national youth planners and implementors at the community and youth group level. The experience of being unable to operate formally and the interference by the formal youth programmes with the customary practices of the Gizra people, are due to the lack of awareness of the need to re-plan youth programmes to suit customary practices. Planners and implementors of the National Youth Movement Program should work out an organizational structure which emphasizes informality and the fitting of the programmes into the customary practices of community groups in Papua New Guinea, especially in rural areas. We know that there are many groups and their different customary practices cannot result in a standard programme. If this means many different youth programmes for the many tribes, why not?

For example, cultural and Christian activities of the Kulalae Youth Fellowship have been more successful than economic projects. This is because cultural and Christian activities are informally organized and these activities interfere very little with the customary practices of the Gizra people. So, there is already a model which could be used by the National Youth Movement Program to build a more appropriate network of youth groups.
Introduction

The 1980s have been a time of increased government, societal and community concern with problems relating to youth. Youth unemployment, school drop-outs, youth in conflict with the law, all contributed to collective concern and efforts to combat these social ills. Youth have been identified as the most troublesome sector of society. They have been seen as economically unproductive and dependent on the adult population and yet they are often involved in productive and useful community activities.

When I returned from studies in the Philippines, the church leaders of Baruni village considered that my social work education and background was relevant to youth welfare and related problems so in 1983 I was appointed by the church to be the youth co-ordinator. Prior to this appointment, I had been involved in youth activities both as a member and organizer of youth in Baruni.

With this background, the aim of this paper is to see how the problem of youth in Baruni village - an urban community, has been tackled in the recent past and the present and how it may be dealt with in the future. The role of the church will also be analyzed as, despite the failures of a number of church-sponsored attempts to combat the problems of youth. I hope to show that the Baruni experience is a success story. My thanks go to all those in Baruni who provided information for this paper, particularly my parents Gabutu Gaudi and Mabata Maino Gaudi.

A brief history of Baruni Village

Baruni people are members of the Koita tribe who live along the coast extending from Kila Kila in the National Capital District to Gorohu in the Central Province west of Port Moresby. As Belshaw (1957:11) notes, traditions state that:
...they came from the hills behind Port Moresby several generations before the arrival of Europeans, and are the original landowners. Despite some Motu [their immediate neighbours] denials of the legend, the Koita claim predominant land rights even today, though their social structure and language are not at all close to those of the inland Koiai people from whom they are said to be descended.

Earlier in their history the Baruni people were known to have resided in other locations away from the present village site. They settled in different hamlets on a seasonal basis (Gabutu Gaudi. 1985 personal communication). When it was the planting season (November to February or March), each clan or iduhu would live in hamlets in their gardening areas. During the hunting season from June to September they would live in hunting hamlets. There was no concept of a permanent village before missionary contact in the 1870s. The livelihood of the people involved hunting, gardening, gathering food and traditional exchange systems with the Motuans, especially hanuabadans. The commodities for exchange were wallaby meat, wild boar meat and garden produce which were exchanged for sago and fish (Belshaw 1957:104-106. also Oram 1976 and Langmore 1974).

There was and still is no chief in the Koita tribal hierarchy. There are clan or iduhu leaders with warriors and hunters as their support system.

The basis of the iduhu is the patrilineage (descendants of a common ancestor, plus unmarried females). Women normally joined the iduhu of their husband, living with his group. A couple may, however, live with the wife's iduhu temporarily and during their residence are identified with it. A matrilineal element enters when an immigrant male marries into the iduhu, or when a widow or female divorcee returns to the iduhu instead of remaining in that of her late husband (Belshaw 1957:13).

There are altogether seven iduhus in Baruni. These are Arutu, Baruni, Dabunari No.1, Dabunari No.2, Kaevaga No.1, and No.2 and Ura ranu. The bigger clans are the Dabunari and Kaevaga clans which have been divided into two whilst the smaller clans are Arutu and Ura ranu. Baruni, who is said to be the original landowner of the village site is the smallest iduhu. The near neighbours were Motuans from Hanuabada and Tatana. It must be noted that although the Koita tribe spoke the Koita language, each village had its own dialect. This was so with the Motu also.
The Baruni people moved to the old village site which was on the hill between the present village site and Kanudi (the Fisheries section of the Department of Primary Industry) during the period of early missionary contact. It was the missionaries who introduced the village type settlement pattern so as to get the people to live permanently in one location. The other village site at that time was on a hill now close to the road leading from Baruni towards the University of Papua New Guinea.

However, the Second World War forced people to abandon their villages and seek refuge past what is now known as Gerehu. After the war the people returned to settle in the present site which is a unification of the two Barunis which existed prior to the war. At that time the population was very small, about 200, while the population in 1980 was 873 (National Statistical Office 1982). The religion in Baruni is predominantly United Church with a minority Catholic group which is a recent innovation.

Background of the Baruni Youth Fellowship Group

Before discussing the background of the Baruni Youth Group, it is important to define what or whom is meant by youth. Youth can be defined by a time frame, that is from childhood to when one is married, from childhood to when one is initiated into adulthood or until one acquires traditional wealth even after one is married.

The United Nations defines youth as 'those between 15 and 24 years but recognizes that in some circumstances older or younger individuals will need to be taken into account' (1977:1-3). The National Youth Movement Program in Papua New Guinea considers youth to be those between 12 and 25 years. It is clear that no single definition of youth is satisfactory for all situations. However, for the purpose of this discussion:

The term youth will include those between 12 and 25, recognizing many 12-14 years old are regarded as children in their own societies, that some 23 or 24 year olds have achieved full adult status, and that others of 30-35 are sometimes still considered as youth (O'Collins 1984:10).

Establishment of Torch Bearers, Girl Guides and Boy Scouts

The Torch Bearers, under the auspices of the London Missionary Society was established in Baruni in 1943. The main objective of this movement was to involve youth, who were not yet baptized as full Christians, in community service projects. These projects included cleaning the area around the church and pastor's residence as well as
helping clear land for shifting cultivation. This help was extended to village people who needed greater assistance; such as childless adults and older couples.

By 1955, the Girl Guides and Boy Scouts associations had extended their activities into Baruni from Hanuabada. At that time Hanuabada was the pace-setter for any innovation introduced either by the church or colonial administration. The individuals who started the Girl Guides movement were Lady Cleland (the wife of the then Governor Sir Donald Cleland), Mrs Price, Miss Campbell and Miss Archer (Mabata Gaudi 1985 personal communication).

The projects of the Girl Guides included cooking, sewing and making of handicrafts. Miss Campbell was in charge of cooking while the other activities were run by Miss Archer. Apart from these, the Guides and Boy Scouts were taught rules that they had to memorize by heart. They were taught how to survive in the jungle, to be good citizens, to love their neighbours and, the most difficult to absorb, to be friendly to animals. The latter was difficult in light of the fact that Koita people were renowned for being great hunters (my informant and mother Mabata Maino Gaudi was one of the first recruits to the Girl Guides in 1951).

These movements were identified by the church and the colonial administration as a means to change the values and beliefs of the village people. Seeing that the adult population were stubborn and resistant to change, these outside agencies felt that the only way to bring about social change was to work through the younger generation. If educated and brainwashed at an early age, these youths would in turn influence their elders to accept change in the best interest of the outsiders. As a result many children from all over Papua New Guinea were taken away from their parents and schooled in mission headquarters away from their village environments. These children became the agents of social change.

The Baruni experience of organized youth movements was not a success story. The Girl Guides and Boy Scouts were revived on numerous occasions but died a natural death in the early 1960s. The Torch Bearers movement also followed the same fate a few years later.

Birth of the Baruni Youth Fellowship

From the late 1960s until about 1974 there was no formal group representing the youth of Baruni. This was the period when rascal gangs became a headache to the citizens of Port Moresby and surrounding local villages (Po'o 1975). Youth unemployment, school drop-outs, feelings of uselessness, and a lack of activities led
youth to the streets of Port Moresby. They resorted to gang warfare as a means of keeping themselves occupied. At that time the Baruni boys also had their own gangs in operation.

In 1976, I was in my second year of studies at the University of Papua New Guinea and felt that there was a need to engage these youth in something more productive. A meeting was held with some village boys at which the idea of starting up a soccer competition was discussed. There was unanimous agreement to the proposal. As a result teams were made up randomly and a competition got underway in November 1975, taking place every Saturday afternoon. This competition really solved the gang warfare problem because the boys had to return home by lunch time in order to prepare for the games. This was the time when they had previously left their drinking bars to engage in fights in down-town Port Moresby.

Since the village is run predominantly by church officials who in most cases are clan and iduhu leaders, this move was seen as an opportunity to regain social control over the youth. At that time the concept of 'youth' was also becoming a fashion with the political hierarchy. Leaders were increasingly aware of youth unrest in the urban centres of Papua New Guinea. Development programmes for youth were popping up everywhere, sponsored either by the government or by non-government agencies like the church groups. The church leaders of Baruni used sports (soccer for boys and men and netball for women and girls) as a point of entry into organizing youth into groups. As a result the Baruni Youth Fellowship Group was established at the beginning of 1976. Spiritual growth was seen by church leaders as part and parcel of integral human development. Being quite religious themselves, village elders felt that engaging the youth in spiritual activities would help the youth refrain from socially undesirable acts and become productive members of society and this would also bring spiritual blessings to the group and the whole community.

According to the 1980 National Census, the total population of Baruni was 873. Of this, 466 or 53.4 per cent were male and 407 or 44.6 per cent female; 39.9 per cent of the male population were eleven years and under while 33.0 per cent were between twelve and twenty-five years. Among the female population 42.0 per cent were eleven years and under, while a further 35.9 per cent were between twelve and twenty-five years (National Statistical Office 1982).

These figures indicate that the population of Baruni is predominantly young, with over 75 per cent of the total population below twenty-six years. Although the figure is higher than the national average of around 62 per cent, the possible explanation could be related to the proximity of the village to Port Moresby.
Improved maternal and child health, the break down of traditional taboos on sexual intercourse between spouses, and improved living standards have all contributed to the rapid population growth.

When the youth programme started in the 1970s, the membership was quite small. There were at times only about twenty regular members in attendance with an equal number of bystanders hanging around outside the church. The bystanders would occasionally wander in and out but their main role was that of curious onlookers. As they became interested in the activities of the youth the number gradually increased. At that time also the attendance of girls was only about five to ten at the most. This was because parents were suspicious of youth nights as courtship nights for boys and girls. However, this changed over time when the value of youth work became apparent and the number of regular members increased as the years went by. In 1985, the membership was as follows:

**TABLE 7.1: BARUNI YOUTH GROUP MEMBERSHIP 1985**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Former chairman of the youth group personal communication.

The education levels of the members ranged from grade 5 in primary schools to high school graduates with an additional two to five national high school graduates in attendance. A large proportion of the members were grade 6 'drop-outs'.

Occupations ranged from unemployed villagers to security workers, clerical assistants and clerks in the private as well as public sectors. However, it must be noted that unemployment was not permanent. As in Louise Morauta's study of youth (1981), some individuals had obtained jobs such as security workers after being unemployed for a number of years. In the case of Baruni youth, it has also been proven correct that with increasing maturity the chances of getting a job increase.
Links with other organizations and community activities

The Youth Fellowship Group is part of the whole Baruni village community and therefore should not be seen in isolation from the rest of community life. Because it is a fellowship group, it comes directly under the dominant Baruni United Church. In fact, all the activities of the youth group are sanctioned by the church. The four groups within the Youth Fellowship pay their share of the boubou (annual offering to the church) every year. This year each group was earmarked to pay K125 to the church. In return the church gives out a minimal grant to sections of the church membership - women's fellowship, deacons, leaders, etc.

The relationship of the group to schools is limited although members come from grades 5 and 6 of the Baruni Community School and grades 7 to 10 at Badihagwa High School. The Baruni Youth Group has never had financial assistance from either the Motu-Koita Assembly or the National Government. The reasons for this could be historical as the previous lack of continuity in the provision of government welfare services to the village people made them hesitant to ask for any form of assistance. The other reason is their feeling of independence. The youth group felt that grants from outside agencies might mean that the self-help quality would be undermined as the group would have to satisfy the objectives of the donor agency, and their own objectives would not be achieved. Therefore, the group has relied on its own efforts for fund raising activities.

The patrons or youth co-ordinators who oversee the smooth running of the group have always come from the church congregation as was the case when I was appointed to be the co-ordinator in 1983. The main objective of this appointment was for me as a university teacher and someone with the knowledge to work with individuals and groups, to assess the youth situation in Baruni. This was amidst conflicts and misunderstandings between my predecessor and the youth group. My role was to do a fact finding exercise and report to the congregation.

Youth Group activities

The youth group is engaged in a number of religious and community development activities. The programme they follow is known as the 'four square programme'. This consists of devotion, recreation, education and service. Devotion includes spiritual well-being; recreation involves sports and concerts; education includes better understanding of the bible; whilst service means community service. Like their predecessors, the Torch Bearers, the youth are also responsible for cleaning the areas around the church and the pastor's residence.
They are also called on to assist in activities which community members cannot otherwise perform because of age, health, or limited manpower resources. The group sometimes helps childless elderly couples by clearing the bush and planting crops for gardening purposes. In some instances they have helped individuals to build houses or dig the grounds for a new toilet.

Another example of assistance was during Easter 1985 when a feast was hosted by a very small clan who had put in the most money for the annual church offering in 1984. One of the four groups in the Youth Fellowship assisted the clan by cooking for the whole community throughout the night of the festivity. The clan would otherwise not have managed this hectic task at all without the assistance of the youth. All these activities were of course carried out free of charge under the community service programme. Financial reward is not seen as important but the social interaction and co-operative and collaborative efforts which promote individual growth and development are considered well worth it.

Because the youth groups have to raise funds to cover their share of the annual offerings to the church, some of the above mentioned activities are used for fund raising purposes. An example was when a businessman offered K100 to a group who cleared rubbish around his house and dug a new toilet. The feeling was that it is good to give money for a particular service instead of just giving money away to any group. To earn the money feels better than accepting gifts or charity.

**Changes that have taken place**

One of the most significant changes to note is that the youth and the community as a whole have adjusted to the cash economy but have at the same time maintained their traditional livelihood of fishing, hunting and gardening. Unlike many urban dwellers, the Baruni people still have land ownership rights over their traditional land.

The appointment of youth co-ordinators had sometimes created ill feelings and conflicts among individuals. These co-ordinators appointed by the congregation had minimal or no formal education and lacked knowledge of how to work with youth as individuals or in groups. Because a great majority of youth members are in school or have gone through formal education, they found it hard to follow instructions from someone less educated than themselves. The co-ordinators had always used a directive approach in working with the youth who reacted negatively to authoritarian pressure. On becoming the co-ordinator I tried a less directive approach. This
was welcomed by the youth group because it gave them opportunities to
decide for themselves what was best and the feeling of responsibility
if anything went wrong. It also gave them more independence than in
the past.

The parents' attitude towards youth activities initially was
quite negative. They saw youth nights as times for boys and girls to
go courting each other. As a result only a handful of girls attended
youth fellowship nights while the rest were kept at home by
suspicious and protective parents.

However, as the activities of the youth were productive and not
as most parents perceived them to be, more girls were allowed to join
the youth group.

The early stages of the Baruni Youth Group were full of
challenges and confusion. One of the problems was financial
mismanagement or misappropriation by office bearers. This was one of
the reasons that led to the youth movement collapsing temporarily in
1984 but the experience made youth aware of the need for a proper
accounting and banking system. They have learnt from their mistakes
and removed all the office bearers concerned. The new office bearers
are trustworthy individuals who seem to be doing very well.

These significant changes under the auspices of the church and
the community have brought about desired developments. The problems
of youth behaviour has been brought well under control. There is now
no rascal gang in existence in the village. The village court is
also doing its part in promoting social control by imposing fines or
engaging offenders in community projects like cleaning up the area
near the community hall. Youth members who used to roam around Port
Moresby causing trouble are now engaged in productive development
activities. This is because the community has a lot to offer them
and, even though they are unemployed, they still have useful things
to do at home. Almost all nights of the week are devoted to youth
programmes and spiritual activities. Free community services or fund
raising activities are engaging youth in the development of Baruni in
general. Today, there is always something to occupy the youth in
Baruni.

One potential problem is that there is so much activity that
there is no breathing space. The one fear here is that too many
activities might lead to the group's downfall in the future if
management skills are insufficient to cope with the task. Individuals
and groups in the community are utilizing the services of
youth more and more. This in turn will encourage the youth group to
tackle more substantial tasks in the future. Nevertheless, youth
activities could contribute towards personal growth of individual members of the group and the development of the community as a whole.

**Lessons which are relevant to other youth groups.**

There are two important lessons which can be learned from the experiences of the Baruni Youth Group:

First, it is most important to do youth work or any other work (nutrition, women's activities etc.) within the context of the whole community rather than exclusively in one section of the community. If you only work in one section of the community, this will create conflicts and hostility among members of the community. As a result the group might be denied access to amenities such as the community hall, land use for projects, or fishing and hunting grounds. Youth problems and programmes should not be tackled in isolation from the community but as a part of the whole community life.

Secondly, externally imposed solutions to internal or local problems will not survive. The colonial administration and clergy brought in youth models from their own background (Boy Scouts, Girl Guides, Young Men's Christian Association, Young Women's Christian Association, Torch Bearers etc.). They were, however, not conscious of the existing social structure of communities in Papua New Guinea. As a result, a great deal of these foreign solutions to our local problems have not survived. They could be relevant to the cultural background where they were initiated but cannot easily be transported elsewhere. People therefore need to see their own problems and work to find solutions within their own cultural context.

**Conclusion**

Despite earlier experiences of failure by administration and clergy in controlling deviant youth behaviour, the Baruni experience is important because of its successes. Efforts to tackle youth problems should be integrated into the community life at large and youth should not be seen as a special case. If treated as a special case, isolation and conflict will result, leading to disintegration of community welfare generally. The experience of Baruni has also proved that efforts by the church should not be undermined prematurely. The church and community need to combine their efforts in order to combat the problem of youth. One group should not operate in isolation from the other. This is with the understanding that the church is made up of community members who provide the manpower and natural resources as well as the finance.
The use of local resources and solutions to combat youth problems is important. The failures by the administration and clergy earlier in the history of Baruni and elsewhere illustrates that foreign solutions will not always succeed. What is important is to work within the cultural context of a locality, utilizing local solutions, manpower and material resources to back up a foreign solution. Although youth work was foreign and sponsored by the church, it succeeded in Baruni because it had the blessing of the community. The community knows the problem best and should work out its own strategies to eradicate or minimize a social ill.

The experience of the Baruni Youth Group illustrates that the appointment of youth workers, co-ordinators etc should be done in consultation with the youth. It is important to appoint people who have the knowledge of working with youth as individuals and in groups. Experience has shown that a formal education background is also an important factor. Having the freedom to decide what programmes the group would like to have and how to go about achieving objectives, promotes a great deal of independence and self-fulfilment. The Baruni youth group is hesitant to seek assistance from the National Youth Movement Program and the Motu Koita Assembly because of the fear that these agencies will dictate what directions the group should take. This would also undermine the sense of independence being enjoyed presently.

However, in the near future it is anticipated that Baruni youth will open their doors to outside agencies for support. They will know what to accept and what to reject. After all, it was this approach in the past which led to the success of their efforts to be part of their community.
YOUTH IN CONFLICT WITH SOCIETY
Youth from Unggai marching to Goroka Police Station to 'surrender', March 1982. (courtesy Post-Courier)

The launching of the Youth Employment Scheme: chairman of the Law and Order Task Force, Pious Kerepia, with youth group members and National Capital District Interim Commission officials, 3 July 1985. (courtesy Post-Courier)
Youth from Unggai marching to Goroka Police Station to 'surrender', March 1982. (courtesy Post-Courier)

The launching of the Youth Employment Scheme: chairman of the Law and Order Task Force, Pious Kerepia, with youth group members and National Capital District Interim Commission officials, 3 July 1985. (courtesy Post-Courier)
PART 1: THE EASTERN HIGHLANDS PROVINCIAL REHABILITATION COMMITTEE

Introduction

By sheer coincidence, in February 1981, I found myself talking with a so-called 'rascal' gang in Goroka (the term 'rascal' is better avoided as it conveys a sense of naughtiness or harmless roguery, when in fact people are juvenile delinquents or criminals. However, it has been adopted into common usage in Papua New Guinea and so seems the more appropriate term to use). Within two weeks they had introduced me to two more gangs, and within as many months I had met six. The word had spread around town there was someone who would talk with them, listen to their problems, allow them to ventilate their grievances and discuss their futures but I was unprepared for the challenge and wished it would go away. The Eastern Highlands Provincial Rehabilitation Committee was not planned, perceived, or instigated by me but it was the youth, the ex-gangs, who pushed, pressured and demanded a response (see Giddings 1981 for a description of the backgrounds of gang members).

To give these young people something to do and keep them out of further trouble, contract work, permanent jobs or economic projects had to be found. A short-term contract, or an application to the Provincial Youth Council, were openings for establishing a project. Economic projects could not be discussed only with the youth in town; there was a need for consultation with village leaders and the communities from which the youths came. These were the people with wisdom and expertise, and the people who could give the youth access to land, or withhold it. Indeed one of the problems is the reluctance of the village leaders to make land available. They say it was not traditional to give land to people before they were married but school-leavers who have been unable to find jobs interpret the withholding of permission to use land as punishment for not finding work. The parents consider they have made considerable
sacrifices, sometimes for many years, to raise the money for school fees in the anticipation that when the youth find work they will send money back to the village to look after them in their old age. Parents see education as an investment, and a school-leaver without a permanent job is a poor investment on the 'share market'. The youth, therefore, pressured me to visit their communities saying, 'our parents will not believe us when we say we cannot find work, but they might listen to you'.

After numerous excursions into the rural areas to talk with the parents and communities of the youth, it became apparent that the task was too big for one person alone. About this time both national and provincial government leaders were stating that law and order was not just a problem for the police and courts, but was a community problem. I decided to put it to the test and through the Provincial Youth Council suggested that the Goroka Town community form a rehabilitation committee as a response to the problems surrounding us. The work had to be preventive as well as curative so that it was not interpreted by the youth to mean they must participate in a life of crime before help would be forthcoming for them.

Projects and volunteers: 1981-1984

The seed that was sown by my interview with the first gang germinated in September 1981 when a small committee was formed to attempt a new approach in Goroka to the problem of the rehabilitation of youth. The initial core group members were predominantly church workers but some public servants also showed interest. Private enterprise in Goroka was, and still is, not interested. The following table shows the occupations of members of the inaugural committee:

TABLE 9.1: OCCUPATIONS OF MEMBERS OF THE INAUGURAL EASTERN HIGHLANDS REHABILITATION COMMITTEE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Public servant</th>
<th>Church worker</th>
<th>Private enterprise</th>
<th>Village official</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>Total (spouse)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Goroka</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henganofi</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kainantu</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Watabung</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Eastern Highlands Rehabilitation Committee records.
Of the seventeen inaugural members, nine were nationals, and eight were expatriates. Of the ten Goroka Town members, eight were expatriates and two were Papua New Guineans. One expatriate was a Solomon Islander (see Giddings 1982 for a description of the initial activities of the Committee).

The committee was established none too soon, for in March 1982 a large number of young people from the Unggai census division marched through town carrying placards asking for forgiveness, and surrendered themselves at the Goroka police station. This idea was not entirely without precedent; during the late 1970s the newspapers had occasionally reported criminal gangs in Port Moresby 'surrendering their lives to the Lord' at evangelical meetings. It seemed there was good publicity and a considerable degree of prestige to be had from a surrender as some of the ex-criminals in Port Moresby had been feted around the country with 'testimony tours'. Unless there has been a genuine change of heart, there is invariably an element of blackmail about a surrender but the Rehabilitation Committee was able to ensure that the Unggai surrender did not degenerate into this.

Although approximately one hundred youths surrendered, the police finally laid charges against only eight of them. Committee members went to court and spoke on their behalf requesting a short prison term, followed by a long suspended sentence so that we still had control over them for some time. The National Court took up the suggestion and sentenced the eight who had been charged to three years imprisonment of which they were to serve the first eight months in jail, and the remainder was suspended. This meant that there were about ninety supposedly ex-rascals not imprisoned and wanting immediate assistance to keep them out of further trouble so the committee went on an emergency recruitment campaign for more members.

The real work now began. None of the committee members had qualifications in social or community development work, although some, being church workers, had some counselling and pastoral experience. The bulk of the committee had little more than goodwill and commonsense on which to rely. From the outset we decided that community involvement did not mean the town community acting like a benevolent society; it had to mean community involvement at the local level including the parents and village leaders of the youth. So we recruited further membership from among the village communities with whom we were working (see Eastern Highlands Rehabilitation Committee 1982 Annual Report).
As the process of applying for and receiving grants for projects through the Provincial Youth Council was often slow, we saw a need to be able to act promptly, and so we raised some money overseas to use as 'soft' loans to start groups with projects. Within a year we had raised K40,000 from overseas voluntary aid sources and local donations of seed potatoes. We found that help could be obtained from overseas funding agencies for voluntary groups working at the grass-roots level although it is more difficult to raise money for administrative costs. This is where provincial governments should be prepared to step in with assistance, as the Eastern Highlands Provincial Government has done for us. Overseas funding agencies want to see some local component and if it can be shown that the administrative costs will be met by the receiving country, they will fund the project at the community level.

We did not charge interest when youth groups were given a loan, and we did not ask for capital assets as backing. We simply asked for community support as a 'mortgage'. We were willing to carry a high-risk factor that banks will not entertain, and initially the majority of the groups began repaying their loans, although sometimes slowly and irregularly. With this loan policy, groups had the option of waiting for a Provincial Youth Council project grant which was free but could be slow, or contracting for a loan through our committee which could be approved promptly (see Office of Religion, Youth and Recreation 1982 for a description of the National Youth Movement Program grants scheme). The money was lent to village leaders for the youth, and the leaders had to be prepared to sign the contract with the committee and take responsibility for its repayment. In this way we hoped to enlist their support for the project, and by making the youth indebted to their leaders, some control could be exercised over the young people and the generation gap might be reduced.

By December 1983, after two years' work in the Unggai, a total of thirty-seven projects had been established. These included nine trade store projects, and thirteen other projects involved with sheep, coffee, cattle, goats, chickens, bees, scone ovens and sewing. There were also fifteen potato projects and these were the most successful of all, bringing K2,000 into the area in one harvest. Not all projects ran smoothly, but law and order had certainly improved in the Unggai. Unintentionally, we had broken up the gangs by suggesting projects. The Unggai gangs had been formed by frustrated, like-minded youth from all over the census division. Their solidarity had not been based on village or clan affiliations, but on age, economic circumstances and shared anger. No landowners would give land to youth from other clans, so each individual had to return to his own community, a more stabilizing situation than if the former gangs had retained their own identity for the economic project.
While individual trouble makers could still remain in the Unngai, the gang raids on the town which had persisted for the previous two years ceased.

The expectations of the Committee had never been high regarding the projects. We expected problems from the youth: idleness, dishonesty and waning of interest. What we had not anticipated was problems from the village leaders. In fact the picture that unfolded to us was that about one third of our projects ran smoothly with youth and village leaders co-operating. About one third failed because of the restless and irresponsible attitude of the youth. But the remainder failed because the village leaders took over the project to become businessmen. However, the fact that we were talking with people and establishing relationships meant that law and order seemed to improve whether the project was successful or not. What happened is best summed up by an Unngai seminarian at the Bomana Catholic Seminary who said to me:

Please do not feel discouraged. I come from a group in the Unngai whose project failed because a village leader stole it. But when I returned home recently, the members of that group had ceased their rascal activities and had all found work to do at home or in a nearby coffee plantation. Don't think your work has failed, you have shown these young people that there are alternatives to being members of a rascal gang.

In December 1982, because of success in the Unngai, we were asked to do the same work on Daulo Pass, a notorious trouble spot for highway robbery. Committee members were exhausted from the work in the Unngai which was over difficult and rough terrain, and were afraid that if we spread ourselves too thinly, nothing would be a success.

While we were wondering what to do about Daulo Pass, we heard of an Austrian volunteer couple who had one year of a three-year work permit left and were looking for a project to complete their time in the country. The Eastern Highlands Provincial Government agreed to provide K3,600 as their married allowance. The Committee obtained an equivalent amount from a funding agency in Germany to employ a national understudy to work with them during 1983, and take over the work entirely in January 1984. The committee members pulled out of the Unngai at the beginning of 1983 and moved into Daulo Pass to repeat our work there. The volunteer took over monitoring the Unngai work and extended the work by answering requests from Henganofii, Kainantu and Upper Asaro areas. By the beginning of 1984, the Committee had grown to 136 members. The following table shows the location and occupations of members:
TABLE 9.2: EASTERN HIGHLANDS REHABILITATION COMMITTEE: LOCATION AND OCCUPATIONS OF MEMBERS IN JANUARY 1984

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Public</th>
<th>Church</th>
<th>Private</th>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Other e.g.</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Goroka</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henganofi</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kainantu</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Watabung</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marawaka</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lufa</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Okapa</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unggai</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>17</td>
<td></td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daulo Pass</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>19</td>
<td></td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>39</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Eastern Highlands Rehabilitation Committee Records.

Table 9.3 shows the occupations of national and expatriate members at the beginning of 1984:

TABLE 9.3: EASTERN HIGHLANDS REHABILITATION COMMITTEE: OCCUPATION OF NATIONAL AND EXPATRIATE MEMBERS IN JANUARY 1984

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>National</th>
<th>Expatriate</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Public servant</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church worker</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private enterprise</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Village official</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other (e.g. spouse)</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>94</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Eastern Highlands Rehabilitation Committee records.

By the beginning of 1984, the volunteer had been replaced by his understudy, a graduate of Yangpela Didiman (a 'young farmer' or village motivators' scheme with an emphasis on integrated human development run very successfully by the Lutheran Church; see Tietze 1980 for a description of this organization). A Catholic seminarian completed his year's fieldwork with our committee instead of being
placed in a parish and the involvement and co-operation of church workers is an important aspect we hope to continue and expand.

Having no model on which to build, the Committee has developed its own philosophy and methods through 'trial and error'. It recognized from the outset that in traditional Melanesian society wealth was more equally distributed than it is today, and that the seeds of discontent have taken root as society has become divided between the urban elite and the peri-urban and rural people. School-leavers, although educated to have the same expectations as their urban neighbours, are often unable to share the opportunities that economic development should provide. However, it did not take us long to realise that, while economic problems were paramount, economic wealth was not the panacea for all the ills of society.

Reflections on integrated human development

The Committee saw the wisdom in the concept, which at times can appear to be no more than an idle cliche. of 'integrated human development': the need for economic, social, political and spiritual development to go hand-in-hand. It rejected the term 'drop-out' for school-leavers as a disintegrating label: school-leavers have neither 'dropped', nor should they feel 'out'. Here was the root of one of the problems: they need to be 'in', to be included in their communities, to feel that they belong and have a contribution to make. A sense of belonging is an important factor facilitating the exercise of social control.

We saw, too, that those involved in youth work very often do not bring integrated development. The government brings mostly economic development, but almost no spiritual development. Yet there is a real need for development of young people, so that they learn how to handle a project with integrity, and work together in relation to the project. Even at community school level, much more could be done to develop the child with a stress on ethics and morals, integrity, a sense of responsibility, motivation to pursue a task through to its completion, and above all, a respect for others.

On the other hand, most church youth work concentrates almost exclusively on spiritual development, with perhaps some recreational activities to maintain interest, but ignores economic development seeing it as secular and a cause of disruption from jealousy and associated problems. Most young people coming through the courts have had some association with a church. This means the churches are losing their young people because they are not fulfilling felt-needs, particularly economic needs. So often church youth groups only pick up the 'good' people and reward them. Projects are frustrating and often bring tension and disappointment but, as the Unggai seminarian
It is not hard to determine the problems of youth and their needs if we look at their responses but the difficulty is in finding appropriate solutions. So many of these young people are reacting to their social reality in either one of two ways: lethargy or crime; but, if youth are ignored by society, then they will ensure that society at least takes notice and defers to their trouble-making capacity. Formation of powerful gangs is compensation for their powerlessness and sense of failure. These needs and these factors must be kept in mind when we start thinking of youth work. Somehow our work has to meet at least some of these needs and bring a sense of dignity in work to the young people, remembering that while there is a desire for the Western cargo and technology, there is not an equal desire for the Western ethic. If both the urban and rural sectors make the youth feel unwanted and unwelcome, then both sectors are edging them down a one-way road to a life of crime, and education is a graduation certificate into a rascal gang.

One component of youth work must be 'awareness building' with both the youth and their communities. If there is not on-the-spot non-formal education, we cannot correct the imbalance and unequal opportunity between those who are successful in the school system, and those who either do not enter the system, or become one of its casualties. Parents need help as much as their children. They need help to see that they have a responsibility to their young people beyond merely finding the school fees and educating them. Traditional communities adjusted to the sweet potato, and cash cropping, and they can adjust to the school-leaver problem too. They can adjust by making land available to young people at an earlier age than was traditionally the norm.

There has been some discussion with Unggai village leaders of developing youth coffee gardens. The idea is that school-leavers could attend to sections of the garden and pick the coffee for themselves. When they get married they would leave the garden, and new school-leavers would fill their place. No particular youth would have permanent rights over his or her section of ground. It is hard to know if this is one answer for the rural youth problem, but it certainly is a move in the right direction for community leaders to
think creatively about the changing times and their ensuing problems. Youth should maintain their communal obligations in the traditional economy, but parents and leaders should not expect youth to become merely 'cheap labour' in the cash-cropping sector. If communities do not want their young people to become 'rascals', they must open up avenues for them to obtain money legitimately — through contract work, such as coffee-picking or cutting copra. Our experience with youth groups who run successful projects is that the parents and village leaders may try to take the project over as their own and exclude the youth from it. Quite often they are jealous and threatened by a youth project.

At the end of June 1984, the Committee was in contact with 142 youth groups, most of whom had projects:

**Table 9.4: Youth Groups in Contact with the Eastern Highlands Rehabilitation Committee**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Unggai</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daulo Pass/Upper Asaro</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kainantu</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henganofi</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lufa</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lowa</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bena Bena</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goroka Town</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Watabung</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wetsan</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>142</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Eastern Highlands Rehabilitation Committee Records.

An important element of the Rehabilitation Committee has been that of non-formal education with communities, to discuss problems, listen to their ideas, and together try to find some solutions. In doing this we are building up relationships. This has become the central philosophy of the Committee: the establishment of relationships with individuals, groups and communities. Our success and strength has been this aspect, more so than any money that has been poured into our work. Time and interest have been the important features, coupled with concern and we are using the Melanesian tradition of systems of relationships which create obligations. The
implication is that: 'we will support you, if in return you control your young people and improve the law and order situation in your area'. The Committee formulated the following general guidelines:

1. We are a BRIDGE between offenders (gangs and delinquents) and the police and courts, remaining neutral ourselves.

2. We provide information and expertise to people, and assist them to get in touch with the appropriate authorities.

3. We assist first offenders to try to keep them out of jail for a first offence, and support them in their rehabilitation.

4. We assist genuine appeals for help from criminals or gangs who wish to reform. This means encouraging them to surrender, facing their outstanding charges, and supporting them through their court case, and after their release.

5. We work with the community, not just the youth, and encourage village leaders, councillors, village court magistrates and parents of the young people to participate in the rehabilitation of their youth.

6. We assist groups to find contract employment to earn money to commence a project.

7. We work with and through the Provincial Youth Council.

8. We offer interest-free 'soft' loans when other sources of income are unavailable, and when our funds permit. We will only lend money if the community will go guarantors for the group receiving the loan. In this way the youth become obliged to the community, and the community can exercise some control over their youth.

9. We listen to people's problems, grievances and articulation of their frustrations. We ask them what they recommend as solutions. We make suggestions, and encourage people to seek for solutions themselves.

10. We work for an improvement of law and order, and a better society at the village level.
However, by 1984 it became clear that there were considerable problems with the management of the interest free 'soft' loans and it was decided to discontinue this part of the programme. The 1984 Annual Report described some of the problems in these terms:

1. Our work has grown beyond manageable limits for a voluntary committee. Because we have money to offer as 'soft' loans, we feel we cannot turn away youth who have not been in trouble with the law. If we did, they would interpret the situation to mean that the way to get help is to become a criminal first! This meant that we were assisting church groups, youth groups, women's groups and almost anyone who put in an application, as well as the criminals to whom our work was originally directed. Without the offer of a loan, we feel we will be able to return to the original objective of working with criminals and ex-prisoners and assisting their rehabilitation and be free of the other people who come to us only for the money.

2. The majority of groups to whom we lent money have been remiss in repaying their loans according to the terms of the contract. A few groups made no repayments at all. Usually this meant that one of the youth had stolen the money, or a village leader had taken the project over to promote his own business interests. In these cases, where no money at all had trickled back, we have seen the need to take the offenders to court as an example to other groups that 'crime does not pay'. This put the Committee in the anomalous situation of taking people to court when our stated aims and objectives are to keep people out of court!

3. Because of the problems with repayments of loans, our relationship with our groups was often damaged. On visiting a project, the issue of money had to be raised as well. Without the money, we feel we will have happier contact with the groups.

4. One of our objectives was to create a self-help response from communities to the law and order situation: to try to educate parents to be responsible for their youth beyond the mere raising of school fees. The 'soft' loans, instead of encouraging this attitude, sometimes had the reverse effect and parents and communities became more
dependent on looking to outside help to solve their problems, instead of looking to themselves to discover what they could do.

Although it is disappointing to have to acknowledge that not every area of the work is a marvellous success, it must be remembered that this work is a new concept and the Committee has no real model on which to work. We ourselves are becoming a model and therefore we can only learn by 'trial and error'. Each previous report has honestly pointed out these difficulties, so it should not be surprising that after two and half years we should pause and critically review what has been happening. At least we are in a position of being of assistance to any future groups which should arise in the country and advise them of the pitfalls to avoid. On balance ... it it seemed that discontinuation of the 'soft' loans policy was the wisest move (Annual Report 1984:11 ff.).

Reflections on the first three years.

The birth and growth of the Eastern Highlands Rehabilitation Committee has been in response to the needs of youth at a particular period of time. The following excerpt from the 1984 Annual Report describes how the committee has tried to meet these needs:

Since the inception of the EHP-Rehabilitation Committee in September 1981, each year has had its own emphasis. In each case, the emphasis has not been the result of a carefully-laid plan or programme devised by the Committee, but a response to the need of that year.

1981 could have been called 'The Year of First Contact' (i.e. with criminal gangs). Several gangs in Goroka showed that the great majority of people in trouble with the law are responsive to reasonableness if someone takes the time to show an interest in them, listen to their frustrations, and encourage them to re-direct their energy into productive legal activities as against illegal activities. This has been confirmed over the past three years. In almost every contact with criminal gangs, about 10 per cent are incorrigible and can only be handled by the police, courts and prisons. But the other 90 per cent have responded well to the 'hand shake' offered to them by the Rehabilitation Committee, and it is to this 90 per cent that we direct our efforts.
1982 was 'The Year of the Unggai'. In February 1982 approximately one hundred gang members from the Unggai surrendered at the Goroka Police Station. Following the surrender and the jailing of the gang leaders, the year saw the energies of the Committee being directed to the Unggai youth who had not gone to jail and twenty-four youth groups commenced income-generating projects, of which the most successful has been the growing of English potatoes.

1983 was 'The Year of Daulo Pass'. Following the death of a young man on the Pass as the result of a bullet fired by a policeman, the Committee was invited to commence similar work in this area. With a denser population than the Unggai, and less land available for agricultural projects, scone ovens and coffee-buying projects have been more popular.


PARI 2: THE EASTERN HIGHLANDS PROBATION SERVICE.

Introduction

As early as December 1981, within three months of the Eastern Highlands Rehabilitation Committee being formed, it was apparent that there was little hope of convincing the courts of our good intentions unless we had official recognition and were part of the legal framework. This meant that the Eastern Highlands Province needed to be gazetted under the Probation Act 1979 (Papua New Guinea Acts No 46 of 1979) so we could offer a formal probation service. Section 6 of the Act allows for the appointment of voluntary probation officers, and section 11 spells out the duties of such people:

It is the duty of a voluntary probation officer:

(a) to advise, assist and where possible to befriend a probationer as directed by a probation officer; and
(b) when required by a probation officer to do so to prepare and submit written reports to that probation officer in respect of a probationer; and

(c) generally to assist a probation officer in the performance of his duties.

Before the Rehabilitation Committee members could offer their services as voluntary probation officers, a full-time probation officer was needed under whom they could work. The matter was taken up with the then chief probation officer and the Justice Department but, while the request was supported there appeared to be no funds to extend the service beyond those provinces already gazetted: Morobe, Central and National Capital District. We had to find a probation officer and a means of running a probation office from within our own provincial resources.

The Eastern Highlands provincial government provided a rent-free office, a telephone allowance of fifty kina a month and office equipment. We were able to enlist the voluntary services of the wife of the Austrian volunteer working with the Rehabilitation Committee as the provincial government was already paying him a married allowance. In January 1983, thirteen months after our initial request, the Eastern Highlands Province was gazetted.

Probation and good behaviour bonds

After finally receiving our official gazetted, the courts still took a 'hard line' against even the most petty first offenders, such as shoplifters and pick-pockets, and were unwilling to offer probation as an alternative, stating that: 'The stores in town are the urban-dwellers' gardens, and stealing from gardens is strictly taboo' (comment of a senior provincial magistrate). The statistics of the Eastern Highlands Probation Office show the cautious approach by the courts to probation orders and it took a few months before the service was really accepted.

Just as the office started to build up a service during the months of June, July and August, the Summary Offences (Amendment) Act which had been passed in May 1983 came into effect. At first the Goroka courts did not realise that probation could not be an option to prison when a mandatory minimum sentence applied. The Probation Act 1979 states (in 16 (2) (a)) that 'for the purposes of Subsection (1), "offence" does not include an offence for which a mandatory minimum sentence is provided for by any law'. At the time this legislation was drawn up the only crimes carrying a mandatory minimum sentence were very serious crimes, such as murder, rape, treason and armed robbery, crimes for which we could not request probation as an
alternative. However, under the mandatory minimum sentences incorporated into the Summary Offences (Amendment) Act 1983, many offences such as minor assaults, or abusive and insulting language, were precluded from having probation offered as an option to imprisonment (see Dinnen forthcoming for a discussion of the various minimum sentence provisions which were enacted in 1983).

By September, when the courts became aware that mandatory minimum sentences disqualified the option of probation for these offences, the momentum went out of probation. Only five people were placed on probation during the last three months of 1983.

However, the courts in Goroka turned to good behaviour bonds in place of probation, using section 138 of the District Courts Act, as an alternative to jail sentences. This led to a rapid increase in good behaviour bonds after October 1983. Most people in Eastern Highlands Province who are put on good behaviour bonds receive the same service from the probation office as those placed under probation, that is, they are told to report to the probation office on a regular basis, and the probation officer or one of the voluntary probation officers visits them and their families in their homes. In 1983/84 this was the only province in Papua New Guinea currently offering this service and the numbers have grown steadily since 1983.

### TABLE 9.5: EASTERN HIGHLANDS PROVINCE, GOOD BEHAVIOUR BONDS AND PROBATION ORDERS 1982-1984

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Good Behaviour Bonds</th>
<th>Probation Orders</th>
<th>Total Male \ Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>220</td>
<td>170</td>
<td>390</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>237</td>
<td>176</td>
<td>413</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>506</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Eastern Highlands Probation Service Records

The proportion of men to women passing through the courts cannot be accurately established as the court papers do not distinguish between the sexes. However, a one-week survey at the Goroka Court House indicated that only 6.4 per cent of the total cases that week involved women. The accuracy of this sample is supported by the figures given in the March 1984 issue of The Reporter (a monthly
publication produced by the Australian Institute of Criminology); as at 1 October 1983, out of 3,671 prisoners in Papua New Guinea, there were only 192 females (The Reporter 5 (3):16). However, the number of females on good behaviour bonds is proportionately much higher than the number of males: 179 out of a total of 413 (34.5 per cent). The majority of women on bonds are women with marital problems who have either assaulted other women or have used abusive and threatening language. A few are women who have involved themselves in other marital problems by going to the assistance of another woman. Excluding these offences, women are generally law-abiding citizens and this suggests that, apart from problems of youth, the next greatest pressure point in the country is that of marital conflict. However, many of these women seem to be victims rather than aggressors, and it is ironic that they face a jail sentence and their children often suffer when others involved in the conflict remain free.

The two most persuasive arguments for probation are its rehabilitative potential and its cost efficiency. Of the total of 311 persons referred to the probation office to the end of June 1984, only four had become recidivists and were re-arrested. Even allowing for the fact that the Goroka courts are not referring 'high risk' cases to the probation office, this is an impressive success rate. Social pressure and control can be powerful influences if families and communities can be involved in the rehabilitation of probation. Often people report to the Probation Office more frequently than required, suggesting that many of those passing through the courts require counselling and someone to show an interest in them more than they need a jail sentence. By the probation officer or volunteer probation officers visiting people in their homes, families and communities are also alerted to the need to offer support to that person, and this encourages the community to participate in the rehabilitation of its members. It means, too, that the probationer can build up a one-to-one relationship with the volunteer probation officer and it is this personalized interest in people which we believe has been the key to our success.

Secondly, in a country which is short of money for basic health and other social services, probation offers a saving in real terms. It proved impossible to obtain an accurate figure of the cost of accommodating a prisoner per day in Papua New Guinea. However, the Vote Index Budget Notes for 1984 show that the government has allocated a total of K10,359,100 for Corrective Institution Services. The population of Papua New Guinea in 1980 was 3,010,727 (National Statistical Office 1982). The Report of the Committee to Review Policy and Administration of Crime, Law and Order, December 1983
(hereinafter referred to as the Report) gave the imprisonment rate for Papua New Guinea as 151 per 100,000, approximately 4,546 prisoners at an annual cost of K2,279 or K6.24 per prisoner per day.

During the first half of 1984, the courts referred 450 people to the probation service. If this service were not available, they would have probably received an average imprisonment term of six months so the Eastern Highlands Probation Office has saved the government K492,750 over this period. The Eastern Highlands Probation Service was granted K8,000 from the Non-Government Organisations Funds for probation for 1984. If this is deducted, a total of the K484,750 was saved by the government.

The probation service has in effect maintained a 'jail' outside the jail. In 1984, the Bihute Corrective Institute, which accommodates an average of 260 inmates, was the only prison in the country which was not overcrowded as a result of the mandatory minimum sentence provisions.

Statistics included in the Report show that Papua New Guinea has one of the highest imprisonment rates in this part of the world. This is no accident, or an indication that people in this country are more prone to criminal behaviour than elsewhere. It is undoubtedly a legacy of the recent colonial past, when the Australian administration 'pacified' the country by sending people to prison and while in jail they were taught Tokpisin so that on return to their communities they, in turn, became instruments of the government in the pacification process. Nine years after independence, large numbers of people were still being imprisoned for what might be regarded as minor summary offences. In 1975, for example, 985 persons were imprisoned for 'council' offences, presumably failure to pay Local Government Council taxes, and 197 were imprisoned for obscene language. The Report (pp. 289-290) states that:

There would appear, on the face of it, to be more than a suggestion that there are far too many people in jail for minor offences. The judges and the magistrates are aware of the problem. However, they are confronted with a legal system that in the absence of the capacity of a defendant to pay a fine, there appears no reliable alternative to that of imposing a custodial sentence.

...One possible answer lies in probation. The Probation Service exists in name, but it is not funded properly, and is inadequately staffed. The powers under the Probation Act which allow (for) the extensive use of volunteer Probation Officers have not been properly exploited.
Both judges and magistrates complain that they do not see the salaried Probation Officers attending court. There is virtually no co-operation between Judges, Magistrates and Probation Officers.

Probation could save the country large amounts of revenue, and prevent the unnecessary jailing of young and first offenders.

At the beginning of 1984, the Eastern Highlands probation officer was the only probation officer in the country and the Goroka Probation Office was the last vestige of the service. However, there were fifty-two voluntary probation officers assisting the office, some of whom were outside Eastern Highlands Province. The full-time probation officer travelled as far as Southern Highlands and Madang Provinces to place probationers back in their communities.

Community involvement in the law and order problem

For many years there have been constant appeals from national and provincial government leaders for community involvement to help solve some of the problems associated with the continuing apparent break-down in law and order in Papua New Guinea.

There is a vast untapped resource surrounding government: the community. This resource needs a minimal amount of funding to provide guidance and organization. Communities will respond to guidelines, directions, timetables, rosters, but they require one or two leaders to give this direction.

On Monday 14 November 1983, Goroka residents held a protest meeting against the rise in crime in the town, following three rape cases in one weekend. The following day the Niugini Nius estimated that about 5,000 people attended the meeting. During the meeting it was suggested that a reserve police force be formed to assist the police and about one third of those present indicated that they would be willing to either join a reserve constabulary or come to the police station at weekends and man the telephones to free the police for more patrol duty. A conservative estimate of the numbers present, with allowance for those who lost enthusiasm when the crisis was over, suggests that 1,000 people in a town of 18,000 appeared willing to make a voluntary contribution to the law and order situation. Since that meeting, amongst other things, an Urban Crime Prevention Committee has been instrumental in having police dogs brought to the province: dogs which command remarkable respect!
Yet the easiest communities to involve are those at the local level. They have their leaders while town communities are more fragmented, more suspicious of each other, and more transient; possibly more selfish too. But it can be done. Our experience shows that the easiest people to enlist for support are those associated with a church; the second easiest are government officers; and the hardest to enthuse are those in the private sector. Yet, while it seems unlikely that the private sector will be among the pioneers, if the pioneers can prove the merit of community involvement they may, although undoubtedly late-comers, finally join the ranks.

### Table 9.6: Voluntary Probation Officers by Location, Occupation and Sex
(as at 31 December 1984)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Church Workers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EASTERN HIGHLANDS</td>
<td>M  F  T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goroka</td>
<td>25 23 48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asaro/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Watabang</td>
<td>4 4 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kainantu</td>
<td>7 7 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unggai</td>
<td>2 2 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Districts</td>
<td>4 1 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OTHER/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROVINCES</td>
<td>1 1 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>43 24 67</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Eastern Highlands Probation Service Records.

It is important to note that 103 (68 per cent) of the voluntary probation officers were Papua New Guineans. The number of females was much lower; out of a total of thirty-two female voluntary probation officers only thirteen (41 per cent) were Papua New Guineans. Female probation officers are more likely to be church workers (75 per cent compared to only 36 per cent for male probation officers).
The introduction of community work orders as a sentencing option is another viable and inexpensive measure which needs only a little organization and direction. Again community co-operation could be enlisted. Local government councils, churches, government departments and private enterprise could be enlisted to assist, by making work available on their premises and giving it some supervision. Community work orders as a form of punishment are not only less expensive than incarceration, but may well prove more effective as a punishment. The gang members I have talked with seem to fear public humiliation more than the inconvenience of going to gaol. In some cases, a gaol sentence is a 'rite of passage' and a mark of gang membership. After a gaol sentence, they are a true initiate. Most gang members say: 'You must find us "special" work because we were so famous'! They list their provisos and conditions of work: 'We cannot be seen working on the sanitary truck, but we will work on the gravel truck'.

In June 1984, the chief justice ordered the release of twenty children who had been sentenced to terms of imprisonment in adult gaols (see '6-year-old locked up in Wabag' Post-Courier 11 June 1984:1) and drew attention to the plight of many juvenile offenders in this country. These may be tomorrow's criminals and, unless measures are taken today to attempt to rehabilitate them before they qualify for tomorrow's gangs, the situation will become much worse. Again one inexpensive and simple way to do something about the situation is to make positive contact with these youngsters and their families. If the mandatory minimum sentences legislation were repealed and at the same time the age at which a juvenile could be placed on probation lowered to twelve years, many of these children could be pin-pointed immediately, and community support could be enlisted to assist [The mandatory minimum sentence provisions for a number of lesser offences were repealed in August 1985 by the Summary Offences (Amendment) Act, No 14 of 1985 (ed.)].

Not only do children and juveniles need counselling and guidance, but so do their parents and communities. People need help to cope with the conflict between the traditional ethic and the western ethic. The traditions of the ancestors were part of an ideology based on a subsistence economy. Papua New Guinea remains primarily an agricultural subsistence economy for which the traditional ethic is the more appropriate. However, if the country is committed to a western-type economy running side-by-side with a traditional economy, people need help to sort out the two ethics and know when and where to apply them. In a discussion of 'traditional values and ethics', Ennio Mantovani (1984:206) says that 'values are not inborn: they are acquired through culture and experience' so:
An action takes its ethical value from its influence on the community: to steal from a brother is ethically wrong because it spoils a key relationship and endangers the community as a result. But to steal from an enemy is ethically good if it helps the community, or at least, it can be ethically indifferent if it does not harm the community. As a further consequence, if nobody finds out the identity of a thief, there is little harm done: no relationships are broken. Once the thief is found out, it results in a broken relationship either within his own community or between two communities and so he causes his community to experience a loss of 'life'. Hence, a thief will start feeling ashamed, not because stealing is wrong in itself, but because in this instance, stealing has caused trouble for the community. In other words, the ethical value of an action is assessed according to the effect of that action on the community.

But in today's new society there is conflict and confusion among parents and communities in general. What is wrong and what is right? Changing times have overwhelmed them and very little has been done to try to assist them to handle adequately their changing situation. There are no non-formal education programmes to help these people. Non-formal education is thought of in terms of correspondence courses which once again raise the expectations of people for that longed-for piece of paper which will be an entree to a job. Non-formal education must be more than this: it must also be a source of information and awareness-building. Literacy campaigns would be more beneficial to the country as a whole than opening more high schools. As was noted in the discussion of the Eastern Highlands Rehabilitation Committee some parents punish their youth when they do not find jobs. People need to appreciate the value of education whether a job is found in the formal economy or not.

As one voluntary youth worker pointed out to me, initiation ceremonies really prepared youth for life. Once the ceremony was completed and the young men were out on their own facing real-life situations, they could apply the things they had been taught by the elders to their situation. They could say:

That man is an enemy because he acts like this, and this; that man is a friend because he does this and this; that man pretends to be my friend but is trying to trick me.

Schools need to equip students for life, whether that life is in the cash economy or the traditional economy. Schools should be sources of character-building and children should be taught integrity and responsibility. If children left school with these qualities
instilled in them it would not matter whether they ended up in a Waigani office or picking coffee in their family garden, they would have worthwhile qualities they could apply to either situation. They would be productive, decent citizens of their country, and their parents could still be proud of them.

Side-by-side with this, government must come to terms with unemployed youth. If for political reasons it is going to continue to build new high schools then it must find some answers for school-leavers. By setting up of the National Youth Movement Program it has acknowledged the problem of youth, and it has commenced to allocate money for the youth sector. While this has been a major move in the right direction, it needs at the same time to allocate money to provincial governments and in turn to councils for contract work on a rotational basis for young people. For many youth there is real joy in having a job and receiving a pay packet, be it temporary or not. Youth need hope that they will have some work and prestige and dignity from that work. We can argue that there is dignity in the subsistence economy, but it is very difficult to convince educated youth of this when their education has alienated them from their traditional economy.

Conclusion

At the inception of the Rehabilitation Committee there was a great deal of cynicism among the town community. At times it seemed as if some were willing that the idea would not succeed: a collapse would vindicate their own disinterest. However, as we approach our fourth anniversary, there are no signs as yet of the work falling apart. It grows faster than we can respond to the demands. It has been shown in the areas in which we have worked that a little self-help and community involvement can provide some help even in a lawless situation.

We have learnt that the majority of so-called 'rascals' feel neglected, inconsequential and frustrated, as though they have been thrown on the rubbish dump by both sectors of society. The fact that someone talks to them and shows an interest provides an alternative and hope. Most are really seeking an identity, and if they cannot find it in the wider society, they will find it as a member of a gang. Their tattoos and identification marks - some as stars on their foreheads, others as two links of a chain on their arms - are symbols of this search for an identity. The towns push them out with sori no gat wok (sorry no vacancies) signs and lukaut dok i save kaikai man, (beware of the dog), and their own communities often will not give them space. Both sectors are pushing them down a one-way road to a life of crime.
At the time of Independence there was much talk about unity and _bung wantaim_ (unite) was the catch-cry. It might be time to resurrect this slogan and make it more than words. It might be time for the law-abiding to _bung wantaim_ with the youth, be they good or bad, to bring both discipline and hope into their lives. Finally, as the 1984 Report of the Eastern Highlands Rehabilitation Committee (p.24) noted:

If law and order is to be a community response, then the smallest assistance, such as buying a bag of potatoes from a youth group is of paramount importance because it is involving the community in the problem.
Youths from Kessai Settlement, Port Moresby, employed by the National Capital District Interim Commission to clear storm water drains, 11 September 1984. (courtesy Post-Courier)

Students from the Hohola Youth Development Centre raising money for their programme, 11 September 1984. (courtesy Post-Courier)
Youths from Kessai Settlement, Port Moresby, employed by the National Capital District Interim Commission to clear storm water drains, 11 September 1984. (courtesy Post-Courier)

Students from the Hohola Youth Development Centre raising money for their programme, 11 September 1984. (courtesy Post-Courier)
Chapter 10

URBAN YOUTH AND FOLK DEVILS: REFLECTIONS ON INTERNATIONAL YOUTH YEAR *

Maev O'Collins

Introduction: social planning perspectives

The understanding of public events of importance to a community or a whole society involves a wide variety of approaches to the particular social situation. In looking at the situation of youth in Papua New Guinea today, we need to know what the situation was like in the past and so use an historical perspective. We must also ask how Papua New Guinea's situation is similar to, or differs from, that of other countries around the world. What are the social facts or social realities with which we are concerned? Are they unique, or are they part of a broader social phenomenon and so need to be understood in relation to the whole?

Durkheim (1956:145) makes the point that: 'the future is not improvised' and that the past helps to give us insights into our present condition. The past may do more, however, as it may point to past solutions for our present problems and we can avoid the struggle to create again something which has already been created! Reflecting on youth in society calls for the use of historical and comparative perspectives but, even more importantly, for an holistic perspective which does not separate this social phenomenon from broader social realities of continuity and change, and the economic, political and social forces which influence community attitudes and public decision-making.

The emphasis on Papua New Guinea as a developing country with a cultural and environmental heritage strikingly different from the group of English speaking countries from which many social planners have been recruited, makes one wary of using British, North American, or other models as the starting point for new social programmes. The

*This paper is a revised version of a public lecture entitled 'Port Moresby youth and folk devils', given at the University of Papua New Guinea on 8 August 1985.
use of Australian models is even less appropriate as this suggests that Papua New Guinea society has become a type of distorted image of Australian society. Yet, similarities in time and economic circumstance may really point up the differences in social contexts and the need for caution in proposing similar solutions for culturally and environmentally different situations. As with so many aspects of Papua New Guinea society, there is a temptation to emphasize either uniqueness or universality of social experience. However, this discussion will focus on the ways in which Papua New Guinea's concern about alienated youth is similar to, yet differs from that of the societies from which most of our youth planners and consultants have come.

This paper will consider the development during the early 1980s of a 'moral panic' which led to public demands for something to be done about urban, unemployed, out-of-school youth who had become the ultimate 'folk devils' for the politicians, the educated urban employed establishment and national and international mass media. It will then look at some of the alternate approaches which are being used to help young people participate in the development of their communities and the nation as a whole. Finally, it will be argued that an understanding of the universality of the situation of youth in a changing society may be the major achievement of the celebration of 1985 as International Youth Year.

International Youth Year in Papua New Guinea

...Along with other member countries, Papua New Guinea accepted the call from the United Nations to celebrate 1985 as International Youth Year. Preparations began in 1983 with the formation of an organizing committee at national level and there has been a strong emphasis on provincial and community activities with a focus on the role of youth in national development. Nevertheless, the executive secretary of International Youth Year has warned (Sharif 1984) that:

Effective solutions to the issues facing young people cannot be quick or superficial... There will be many celebrations during 1985. Concerts, competitions and youth gatherings will show off the talent, imagination and creative power of young people and will create awareness of International Youth Year, but they will not change the situation of most of the world's youth.
In Papua New Guinea, 1985 has been a year for other celebrations as this is the tenth anniversary of Independence and a time for reflection on the current challenges facing the nation; a year in which widespread concern over an apparent increase in violent crime and the effect of 'law and order' problems on economic and social stability has led to the declaration of a 'state of emergency' and a curfew in Port Moresby. The focus on youth problems and frustrations which is evident in many of the current policy and programme initiatives in Papua New Guinea reflects the belief of policy-makers and planners at both national and provincial levels that young people's energy and talents must be mobilized so that they can more effectively contribute to development efforts.

A major difficulty for urban youth has been the public image which has been created of unemployed, out-of-school migrant youth as the major cause of the law and order problems which beset Port Moresby and other major urban centres throughout the country. School leavers, and others who have never been involved in the formal education system, leave their communities in search of employment and excitement but often find that life in towns is very different from 'the city of their dreams' (see *New Nation* June 1979:11 for accounts by school-leavers of the reasons they came to Port Moresby and their failure to find employment).

The threats posed by an increase in violent crime affects all groups in the community but has been a particularly serious question for Papua New Guinean women, as they are often victims of sex related attacks and politically, as well as socially, have had less opportunity to express their grievances. It is significant that 1985 is also the year when the International Decade of Women comes to an end. These various events are not unconnected as national and international interest in the needs of young people are related to the wider search for societal security, stability and growth. Youth, as part of the wider society, mirror the tensions and preoccupations of their times and both influence, and are influenced by, the values and objectives articulated by national and provincial leaders.

In Papua New Guinea, the International Youth Year slogans of 'participation, development, peace' have been used in a number of seminars and youth celebrations held throughout the country but their real meaning remains vague and ill defined.

Is, one might ask, participation a necessary condition for development? If so, who should participate? Is peace an inevitable consequence of a focus on participation and development or, as some might warn, is it more likely that increased tension and conflict will be inevitable consequences of struggles to improve the situation of disadvantaged groups in society. Alternately, what are the ways
in which increased participation by young people in national and local development efforts can most effectively create greater peace and stability in the whole society?

These questions became more urgent as International Youth Year began in Papua New Guinea with daily reports of gangs of youths, often between fifteen to nineteen years of age, being involved in sexual assaults, robbery with violence, and other serious offences. The national government's Urban Youth Program (Office of Youth, Women, Religion and Recreation 1983b) seemed to be ineffective as self-styled gang leaders threatened to revert to crime if they were not given employment or grants to set up economic projects in town. A public impression was built up that youth, especially recent urban migrants, were dangerous elements in society and must be controlled at all cost so that peace could be returned to Papua New Guinea's towns.

It was not surprising, given the climate of public opinion, to find that the Law and Order Task Force, which had been established by the national government in October 1984, tended to focus almost exclusively on youth in conflict with the law.

Urban youth as folk devils?

The way in which a social problem becomes a focus of public concern, which is in turn highlighted and fostered by the mass media, has been documented by many social scientists. Two British studies illustrate the parallel experiences of the creation of 'mods and rockers' as folk devils in the 1960s and the way in which public concern about reports of 'muggings' led to an emphasis on tougher law and order policies in the early 1970s (Cohen 1980 and Hall et al. 1978). In his analysis of the violence popularly associated with 'mods and rockers' Cohen argues that the mass media fastened upon the negative aspects of the behaviour, particularly in groups, of the young people who were involved and built them into 'folk devils'. While it was clear that criminal or anti-social behaviour did occur, the exclusive focus on negative activities created an image of the inevitability of violence and confrontation which reinforced and encouraged this behaviour in later encounters between police and young people.

The relationship between public images and official responses is described as the 'social history of a moral panic', and the authors note that: 'labels are important, especially when applied to dramatic public events' (Hall et al. 1978:19). Their focus is on the term 'mugging' and the way that this term was used to emphasize concern about rising crime rates, leading to the public acceptance that
harsher penalties and tougher law and order policies were needed to deter those attracted to violent crime and, as the title of their study suggests, control or 'police' the crisis. Another study of youth and crime in Britain concluded that:

The young have consistently been identified in the post-war years as a major social problem. Many of these fears have clustered around the image of a 'vicious young criminal' or 'hooligan' intent on meaningless violence, who has made the streets unsafe for 'law abiding citizens'. Such notions are repeatedly employed by the media, and as we have seen the state has responded by adopting an increasingly punitive attitude to young offenders (Muncie 1984:179).

In Papua New Guinea, we can trace the development of a moral panic by examining media reports of violent crime and the emergence of 'rascal gangs' as a common feature of urban centres. The way in which deviance becomes expected normative behaviour among young people is illustrated by the startlingly similar reporting by mass media in Britain in the 1960s and 1970s and the Papua New Guinea and Australian press in the 1980s. In both situations, criticism that this exclusive focus would serve to glorify or legitimate criminal violence was met with the outraged response that the press had a duty to 'publish the facts' (see Cohen 1980:161 and The Times of Papua New Guinea 16 June 1985:12). Interviews with individuals or groups of young men in the weeks prior to the declaration of a state of emergency in Port Moresby and the 'Mr Moresby 1985' type expose of gang members, which was a feature of local news media just prior to the declaration of the state of emergency, was surpassed by the scramble of the Australian and other international press to be in at the kill by gaining interviews with gang members either boasting of, or deploring, their past criminal activities. This led to the inevitable sequel of arrests by police using press photographs and televised news stories to identity gang members, or their possible associates.

During the 1980s we have seen a number of different approaches aimed at 'policing the crisis'. These have involved a wide variety of formal social control programmes. In addition to an emphasis on increased police action in identifying and charging young offenders, the use of juvenile detention centres, probation services and community work orders have been approved and are being implemented in several provinces. The Eastern Highlands Rehabilitation Committee and the more recent probation service provide a model of what can be done to make use of community resources in co-operation with government efforts. The National Youth Movement Program has assisted
former gang members to set up projects although, as with the earlier Urban Activities Scheme, there have been criticisms that this assistance is only rewarding those in conflict with the law. What is needed, it has been argued, is a new image for youth with an emphasis on preventing delinquency, rather than reacting to it.

Creating a new image for youth: educational solutions

It is significant that during the 1970s and early 1980s a number of solutions had been suggested, and a variety of programmes implemented, which aimed at helping school leavers fit back into their communities and become productive members of society. Education, employment and social integration were seen as key elements in creating a better relationship between young people, their parents and community leaders. These were not aimed at producing a counter-image of youth as 'folk heroes', but sought to provide school leavers with knowledge and skills which would be useful for rural community life.

The Secondary Schools Community Extension Project (SSCEP), which was introduced as a pilot project in 1979, had as a major initial objective greater links between teachers, parents, community leaders, and the students within the programme. The acquisition of knowledge and skills which could be of value to students when they returned to the village was seen, not as an alternative to wage employment outside the village, but as a realistic option where it was likely that a majority of school leavers would indeed return home. It was hoped that those who took part in this educational experience would be better able to use what they had learned and that parents and community leaders would see the value of education for self-employment. The evaluation of the project in several schools has shown, however, that there is still a tendency for education to be seen by parents, students, and teachers as the road out of the village and into wage employment, rather than a preparation for life. Nonetheless, many students have returned home to take part in family and community economic and social activities (see Cummings 1984 and Vulliamy 1985 for evaluations of the SSCEP programme in action).

Other vocational training programmes have aimed to prepare youth for life in the village and to equip them with new agricultural or small business skills so that they could become productively employed and would have less pressure to migrate to towns in search of wage employment. It is also important to emphasize that opportunities for wage employment in rural areas of Papua New Guinea still exist although the large-scale plantation recruitment programmes which were once a feature of life for many young men have disappeared. Selection of entrants for continuing education programmes varies widely but very few make an attempt to gain community and family
promises of support for youth who have completed the training programmes and who need access to land and other local resources to put into practice their newly acquired skills.

Young people who return home after a period away from the village share with their age mates who have remained behind an ambiguous and frustrating status. Older men and women may be reluctant to provide new opportunities which have an implication of relinquishing traditional authority and control to the younger person. On the other hand, some writers caution that there may be too much stress on what young people cannot do in their villages and point to the way in which knowledge and skills gained from both formal and non-formal educational programmes can be and are being used in local communities (see Kemelfield 1975, Kemelfield and Keviame 1976. Weeks 1978 and Tietze 1980).

Nevertheless, the social reality for youth in their villages is that their opportunities to fully participate in development efforts is sharply circumscribed by pressures within the society. Older relatives have control over the use of land, fishing grounds, timber and other material resources. Evaluation of youth projects in both urban and rural communities shows that conflict with community or family leaders over the use of resources is a major problem:

Provincial youth workers, community leaders and group members agree that many youth groups apply for financial assistance for economic projects without thinking through how they are going to obtain access to the family, clan or community resources needed for the project. Refusal by the controller of a section of the reef to allow access may be because some group members come from other areas. Another may see that economic opportunities are limited and so be unwilling to allow the younger members of the clan to compete for use of land or forest produce (O'Collins 1984:99).

The likelihood of conflict if younger members of the clan or community are successful is also a problem, both for individuals and for youth groups. The Eastern Highlands Rehabilitation Committee has found that, even when the initial reluctance of family and community leaders to provide access to land is overcome, permission may be withdrawn once the project is off the ground if the leaders see an opportunity for economic advancement. The Committee has concluded that a greater sense of partnership between youth groups and community leaders may help ease this problem but that it remains one of the major limiting factors for participation by youth in local level economic projects (Eastern Highlands Rehabilitation Committee Annual Reports 1982-1984).
Jealousy of those who have achieved economic success and the desire to 'cut down the tall poppies' is a feature of community life which also makes it difficult for new ideas, and social as well as economic projects, to be accepted by others and to receive support and encouragement from community leaders. Carrier, in his consideration of the use of new knowledge in a Manus island community (1984:67-86), points to the problems experienced by those who return to a small community with skills which have an economic value but which other members of the community expect to obtain freely or as part of an unequal exchange relationship.

There are other ways in which jealousy can evidence itself through the use of sorcery or through fear that sorcery may be used, either against the individual or more commonly against a member of his or her family. This may be a serious limiting factor in the development of small business ventures or other rural economic projects (see Monsell-Davis 1981 and Vulliamy and Carrier 1985 for discussions of how fear of sorcery may be a constraint on economic innovations). Until formal education is linked more to other social values and beliefs in society it is likely to be difficult, or even impossible, for many young people to make full use of knowledge and skills for local level development.

Attempts to develop a more community-based approach to primary school education have met with mixed success. Just as with the SSCEP programmes, parents often see the school as the road out of the village, particularly as the language of instruction is a major factor isolating the school from the community. Parents have little real understanding of the type of education which their children are receiving, except that it will help get them jobs in town. They are disappointed when children fail to gain places in high schools or return home after failing to obtain wage employment and may blame the child for not working hard enough or the teachers for favouring other children.

The continuation of an official national education policy that English must be the overall medium of instruction for the formal education system has been questioned but, for the present, remains as a factor isolating schools from the communities they are supposed to serve. One important attempt to bridge the gap between the formal school system and village communities has been the introduction of a pre-community school programme in which local languages are used as the medium of instruction. The viles tok ples (village local language) schools (VTPS) in the North Solomons Province commenced in 1980, and an initial evaluation suggests that parents and community leaders are more involved in the educational experience of the
children who attend the centres. There remain problems of translating educational objectives into functioning programmes but the VTPS programme:

...appears to represent moves towards maintaining community cohesiveness - especially cross-generational cohesiveness. Even when young people move away from their villages to attend high schools or work in town, older village dwellers say, they will be able to keep in contact through letter-writing in tok pelae, the language that their parents are sure to comprehend.

...They wish their children to acquire new knowledge but wish that they also acquire the ability to utilize that knowledge in the village setting (Delpit and Kemelfield 1985: 120-121).

Most of the new educational programmes focus on the social reality that the majority of school leavers will return home, rather than continuing to further levels of formal education. For the urban resident this poses particular problems as the growing number of school leavers cannot be accommodated in existing school leaver centres or vocational schools. The College of External Studies does provide some opportunity for grade 6 leavers to continue studies and in theory a 'home scholar' will be able to complete grades 7-10 while at home. However, the cost for each subject and the lack of an adequate environment in which to study makes this difficult or almost impossible for the majority of school leavers.

Despite all the criticisms of the existing formal education system and its inability to prepare young people for employment in the formal sector, while at the same time preparing them for productive activities in the home communities, an even greater problem is the inability of the school system to provide sufficient places for all who wish to enrol. By July 1985, a front page news item was already proclaiming that hundreds of seven and eight year olds would be unable to find places in Port Moresby schools in 1986 ('Schools - No Places For 1986', Post-Courier 17 July 1985:1). For these children, particularly if they miss out again in 1987, and if they come from an urban-based family who cannot send them home to enrol in the village community school, the development of a 'folk devil' may have already begun.

Employment and work projects for urban youth

The increasing numbers of school-leavers who have been unable to find work in urban areas has been of concern to policy makers and planners since the early 1970s. To be 'young and out of work in
Papua New Guinea's towns' was the original title of a paper by Louise Morauta in which she noted that opportunities for wage employment were very limited for the school leaver who needed several years of general maturity before prospective employers would be willing to give him a chance (Morauta 1981). In 1982, a National Youth Employment Strategy Task Force was set up under the chairmanship of the then Office of Youth and Recreation. At that time it was noted that:

The Task Force has been set up in line with recommendations by two consultants from Australia who came in January under the Youth Exchange Scheme (Youth on the Move Vol.2, No.2, April-August 1982:2).

Special statistical bulletins were prepared under the auspices of the Task Force to provide base line information from which to plan employment strategies for young people. Data from the 1980 national census showed that there were 24,805 citizen 12-25 year olds in Papua New Guinea's towns who were not part of the educational, subsistence or economic sectors and who were either 'looking for work' or carrying out 'other activities and not looking for work'. In Port Moresby alone there were 6,878 in this group, of whom 2,507 (36 per cent) were 12-16; 2,232 (32 per cent) were 17-19 and 2,139 (31 per cent) were 20-25 years of age (Department of the Prime Minister 1984). The 1985-88 National Public Expenditure Plan included in its 'Analysis of projects by agency' (p. 60), provision for the establishment of a Youth Production Training Program which would be located within the Department of Youth and Development (this department was set up in 1985 but in January 1986 was integrated with home affairs, women, religion, liquor licensing and the censorship board to form the Department of Home Affairs). The aim was to help unemployed out-of-school youth find useful employment and to obtain the co-operation of statutory bodies and the private sector so that a wide variety of new employment opportunities could be created (National Planning Office 1984).

In 1984 a Board of Enquiry into Youth Wages was set up to examine the problem of youth wages and conditions of employment. Despite criticisms that this was largely duplicating the work of the Task Force, it was decided that structural constraints on wage levels would need to be altered if youth groups or young individual job seekers were to find employment in sufficient numbers to meet their needs. At the same time there were moves by a number of urban authorities to provide work projects for youth groups. The National Capital District Interim Commission, in co-operation with the Urban Youth Program of the Department of Youth and Development, set aside money to employ youth groups to cut grass and clean up Port Moresby.
In preparation for the celebration of the tenth anniversary of Independence. Youth groups had to be registered members of the Urban Youth Program or to have taken part in a 'retreat' organized in April 1985 by the Law and Order Task Force to gather the views of 'gang leaders'. Further requirements were that the group have a savings account and a president, secretary and treasurer. Advertisements were placed in the Post-Courier setting out the procedures to be followed by youth groups seeking short-term employment.

A question which arises is why young people must necessarily be gathered together into registered youth groups with passbooks and executive committees before they can be given the job of cutting grass? Similarly, while training and overall management may be essential for some youth employment projects, there are numerous productive tasks which require little or no training or which involve one or two school leavers working on the job with older individuals. A variety of employment opportunities might involve family or neighbourhood work groups in which youth worked with older members of their extended family or with community work leaders. As in rural areas, informal groups of young people might act as a work group for particular tasks and receive payment direct from the individual, family or community concerned.

This is not to deny the importance of organizing youth employment opportunities as a major step towards alleviating urban youth unemployment but to note the danger of an exclusive focus on 'youth groups' rather than on 'youth in their communities'- some in groups, some with their families, some as individual workers or apprentices.

For many recent migrants who find themselves out-of-work and out-of-school in Papua New Guinea's towns, the best solution may be to return home. The 1980 National Census showed an increase in the proportion of the population born in town, but the presence of a larger population in urban villages in the National Capital District makes this more of a feature in Port Moresby than in most other towns. Despite this factor, only 21 per cent of the out-of-school youth of the National Capital District were born in the National Capital District (7,635 citizen youth), and 28,334 (79 per cent) were born elsewhere (see Walsh 1983 and Department of the Prime Minister 1984a and 1984b for statistics on urban populations).

Some may not wish to return home, some may have stayed in town for so many years that they feel reluctant to go back. Help may be needed for their successful reintegration back into their families and communities. For others the factors which will influence their
return home relate more to rural development opportunities which exist in the areas from which they come and the economic reasons which prompted them to migrate in the first place.

Youth, family, community: creating a new image

Earlier in this discussion, I noted that it would be unrealistic to try to counter the 'folk devil' image with a 'folk hero' alternative. Nevertheless, young people are often capable of heroic actions and the same youth whom we condemn as 'rascals' or 'hooligans' may be those who are capable of positive and continuing efforts to remedy a problem or to assist in a crisis.

In July 1985, a newspaper report of a serious fire in a low income inner city area of Sydney, reported how the community youth centre was used to shelter and provide first-aid for elderly and handicapped residents. Young people played a major role in assisting shocked older residents and in helping prevent the fire from spreading. One resident commented afterwards:

I saw boys I know aged 17 and 18 and some girls of the same age...They climbed up on the roofs with brooms and hoses, picking off the embers and sweeping the water away....Those same young people who often get in so much trouble with the police actually saved a lot of houses in my street...('Redfern's young rally to rescue elderly from fire', The Eastern Herald 18 July 1985:1).

A similar reaction was described to me by householders in Lorengau, Manus Province, who had been helped by a group of unemployed town youth after a fire broke out at their home. The energy and enthusiastic help provided by young people in times of disaster or crisis suggest that more imaginative planning of employment or other non-economic activities could help create a new image for youth, a new self-image as well as a new public image.

The involvement of youth with their families and with other community residents is a common, but often overlooked, feature of life in most towns and villages throughout Papua New Guinea. Awareness of the continuing role of family and community needs strengthening as social planners have tended to focus on strategies for youth employment and development which separate, or even isolate youth from their extended families.

In recent years, efforts to involve community members as probation workers, peace officers, youth leaders and non-formal educators have shown that there are valuable community support
systems which could be used more effectively. Local business and community groups and individuals can help provide ongoing productive employment for some young people, while provincial and national government programmes help others. For some 12-19 year olds, continuing education may involve urban or rural vocational training which can be given by older family or community members in an apprenticeship type situation. Many untapped community resources exist which could be mobilized to involve youth more effectively in their own communities. Older controllers of resources may, if they see the real needs of their society, be more willing to allow youth to become partners in development although they would resent and deny youth the opportunity to compete for separate rights to use of resources. Again, there will be many situations where more formal youth groups can operate successfully, whether these are part of wider church or government youth activities.

It is this very diversity of approach and involvement which may be the best way to create a new image for youth. International Youth Year has provided a forum for discussion and debate on youth problems and challenges for the future. Solutions are still being sought but it is clear that the answers lie within the society itself rather than with the forces of social control.
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